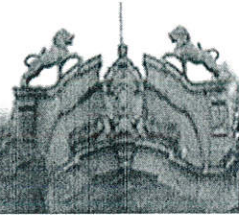


Addis Ababa
University
(Since 1950)



**Media Framing of Nations Nationalities and Peoples Day in Ethiopia: The
Case of Some Selected Newspapers**

Dessalegn Yeshambel

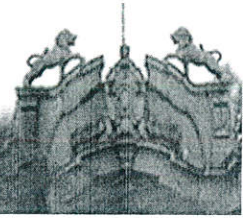
A Thesis Submitted to the School of Journalism and Communications

**Presented In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication**

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

November, 2015

Addis Ababa
University
(Since 1950)



**Media Framing of Nations Nationalities and Peoples Day in Ethiopia: The
Case of Some Selected Newspapers**

Dessalegn Yeshambel

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Journalism and Communications

**Presented In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication**

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

November, 2015

Addis Ababa University

Graduate School of Journalism and Communication

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Dessalegn Yeshambel, entitled " Media Framing of Nations Nationalities and Peoples Day in Ethiopia: The Case of Some Selected Newspapers" 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 notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

Examiner Mesker Lencho (PhD) Signature [Signature] Date Dec 2015

Examiner Agnedech Semaneh (PhD) Signature [Signature] Date Dec 9 2015

Advisor Fenese Beyene (PhD) Signature [Signature] Date Dec. 2015

Mesker Lencho (PhD) [Signature]

Chair of Department or Graduate Coordinator



Table of Content

Contents	page
Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgments	ii
List of Tables	iii
List of Figures.....	iv
List of Acronyms	v
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Background of the Study	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.3. Objectives of the Study	6
1.3.1. General Objective	6
1.3.2. Specific Objectives	6
1.4. Research Questions.....	6
1.5. Scope of the Study	7
1.6. Significance of the Study.....	7
1.7. Limitations of the Study.....	8
CHAPTER TWO	9
2. Review of Related Literature	9
2.1. History and Conceptual Definition of Framing Theory.....	9
2.2. Types of Media Framing.....	13
2.2.1. Game Frame or Strategic Frame	14
2.2.2. Human Interest Frame.....	15
2.2.3. Morality or Value Frame	15
2.2.4. Attribution of Responsibility Frame	16
2.2.5. Empathy Frame	16
2.2.6. Educative or Advocacy Frame.....	17
2.2.7. Other Media Frames	17
2.3. Factors Affecting Media Framing.....	21

2.3.1. Ownership	21
2.3.2. Journalistic Routines and Professionalism.....	22
2.3.3. Interest Groups and Sources	22
2.3.4. Freedom of Press and Censorship.....	23
2.3.5. External Factors (Politics and Economy)	23
2.4. Elements or Location of Media Framing	24
2.5. Framing of Major Government Events around the World and Ethiopia in Focus.....	25
2.5.1. Nations Nationalities and Peoples (Ethnic Identity) in Ethiopia	26
2.5.2. Events and event organization in Ethiopia.....	30
2.6. The Effect of Media Framing on People’s Perception.....	31
2.7. Media Sources while Reporting the News Articles	33
2.8. The Historical Development of Newspapers in Ethiopia	35
2.9. The Relationship between Media and Politics.....	39
2.10. Political Economy of Mass Media.....	40
CHAPTER THREE.....	43
3. Methodology	43
3.1. Research Design.....	43
3.1.1. Qualitative Research Method.....	43
3.1.2. Quantitative Research Method.....	44
3.2. Data Collection Methods	45
3.2.1. Content Analysis	45
3.2.2. In-depth Interview.....	46
3.3. Research Subject and Data Source	46
3.3.1. Newspapers	46
3.3.2. Unit of Analysis	48
3.3.3. Time Frame	49
3.3.4. Developing Code Sheet.....	49
3.4. Sampling Technique and Procedures.....	52
3.5. Data Analysis and Presentation Techniques	51

CHAPTER FOUR	52
4. Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion.....	52
4.1. Data Presentation and Analysis	52
4.1.1. Frequency of Coverage in the Selected Newspapers	53
4.1.2. Type of Media Frames the Story used for the Selected Newspapers	57
4.1.3. Story Types in the Target Newspapers	60
4.1.4. Tone of the News Story with respect to the Celebration of NNPD	63
4.1.5. Source of Information while Framing NNPD of Ethiopia from 2010-2014.....	65
4.1.6. Reporting Styles in the Target Newspapers.....	67
4.1.7. The Way of Presentation of NNPD of Ethiopia in the Selected Newspapers	68
4.1.8. The Reflected Role of Media and Journalists with Respect to NNPD	70
4.1.9. Factors Affecting Media Framing in the Coverage of NNPD of Ethiopia	75
4.1.10. Theme of the News Stories in the Target Newspapers	77
4.2. Discussion of Findings.....	80
4.2.1. The Extent of Coverage/ Frequency	80
4.2.2. Dominant Media Frames Employed in the Target Newspapers	82
4.2.3. Tone of the Stories	87
4.2.4. Sources of Information that the News Stories Employed in NNPD	89
4.2.5. Type of the Story while Covering the Event of NNPD of Ethiopia	91
4.2.6. Theme of the News Story on the Selected Newspapers	93
4.2.7. The Reflected Role of Journalists and Media	96
CHAPTER FIVE	98
5. Conclusions and Recommendations	98
5.1. Conclusions.....	98
5.2. Recommendations.....	100
REFERENCES	
APPENDICES	

Abstract

Media Framing of Nations Nationalities and Peoples Day in Ethiopia: The case of Some Selected Newspapers

Dessalegn Yeshambel

Addis Ababa University, 2015

The main objective of this study was to examine media framing of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples day both in government and private print media outlets from 2010-2014. In order to conduct this study, three newspapers: namely, the government owned Addis Zemen, and the privately owned Addis Admass and Reporter newspapers have been purposefully selected based on ownership, access and large circulation of newspapers. The study also included newspapers published in November 24 to December 24 from 2010 to 2014. Accordingly, 135 news articles were analyzed by using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative content analysis and in-depth interview methods were dominantly used. Moreover, in-depth interviews were conducted with 9 key informants from government and private media houses as well as from the house of federation. This study also dominantly employed framing theory as a theoretical framework. The findings of this study revealed the dominance of development frame over other media frame types both in Addis Zemen and Reporter Amharic newspapers. However, in the weekly, Addis Admass, advocacy frame was the most frequently employed frame type for the coverage of the event. With reference to the coverage of NNPD of Ethiopia, the findings of the result indicated that Addis Zemen relatively published more news articles than Addis Admass and Reporter newspapers due to its daily published and government owned newspaper. In addition, Addis Zemen and Reporter Amharic framed and portrayed the day in a positive way since Addis Zemen is government controlled media, it has no space to criticize the event whereas, the weekly Addis Admass portrayed the event of NNPD of Ethiopia in a negative way because it has relatively better media freedom than the government owned media. This shows that there are biased views in the newspapers towards the celebration of the event. Moreover, in the findings of the study, living peacefully in tolerance with NNP's and building a single political and economic community in the country was found to be the dominant discussed theme both in Addis Zemen and Reporter (Amharic) newspapers.

Acknowledgments

May all the glory be to the almighty God!

I would like to express my deepest and sincere gratitude to Dr. Zenebe Beyene for his unreserved and persistent advice throughout the study period. I am very grateful for his concern and immediate response. Had it not been for his constructive, important, timely and professional comments, the realization of this work would have been very difficult.

I express my sincere gratitude to my friends: Menchyle Meseret, Mekonen Yidersal and Assefa Mekonnen who took care of the coding process, for their editing the paper and for their help and patience. This paper would not have become evident without their unlimited effort and willingness.

I cannot forget the moral assistance I received from my parents throughout the writing of this thesis. Their perseverance and determination to make me successful in my education is always peerless. My gratitude goes to my brothers (Genetu, Addisu, Yenesew and my sister Yeserash), who have been source of inspiration. My warmest gratitude also goes to my friends: Dereje, Bewket, Eyilachew, and Wondossen for their unreserved encouragement.

Last, but not the least, I would like to thank employees of the Ethiopian National Archives and Library Agency and the Ethiopian Broadcast Authority for their help in providing the newspapers necessary for the study.

List of Tables

Table1. Frequency distribution of stories published on <i>the selected</i> newspapers regarding the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia from 2010-2014	54
Table2. Media frames used while covering the event of NNPD of Ethiopia from 2010-2014 (Type, number and percentage of frame distribution across the newspapers)	58
Table3. Frequency distribution of newspapers with respect to story types	61
Table4. Cross tabulation of story type with respect to media frame types	62
Table5. Frequency distribution for author/byline of the story	63
Table6. Distribution of tone of the news story for the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia ..	64
Table7. Frequency distribution of media Source for the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia	66
Table8. Frequency distribution of dominant reporting styles in the celebration of NNPD ..	68
Table9. Frequency distribution of the way in which the selected newspapers framed and presented the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia	69
Table10. Frequency distribution of the reflected roles of media in the selected	71
Table11. The reflected stance/role of journalists in the selected newspapers	74
Table12. Theme distribution across the selected newspapers in relation to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia from 2010-2014	78

List of Figures

Figure1. Frequency of news stories about the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia published by the selected newspapers with in (November 24-December 24; from 2010 -2014)	55
Figure2. Cumulative percentage of frames employed in the selected news stories	60
Figure3. Tone of the news stories in the target newspapers	65
Figure4. Theme of the news narratives towards the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia	80

List of Acronyms

EBA.....	Ethiopian Broadcast Authority
EPRDF.....	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE.....	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
NNP’s.....	Nations, Nationalities and Peoples
NNPD.....	Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Day
GERD.....	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
IREX.....	International Research and Exchange Board
EPA.....	Ethiopian Press Agency
SPSS.....	Statistical Package for Social Science
GTP.....	Growth and Transformation Plan
PAM.....	Pan African Movement

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

In the pre- mass communication era, people used more of traditional way of communication like interpersonal communication to exchange information about the events and major happenings in their localities. During this period, the exchange of information was poor. As a result of poor communication, people in this era were prone to information shortage, which created when the message passes from the sender to the receiver (McQuail, 2001). However, in today's globalized world, all these hindrances or challenges are changed with the emergence of new technological advancements in mass media. Such technological advancements in mass media have enabled the world to share various social, economic and political happenings faster than ever before. Since then, mass media play a pivotal role in composing and transmitting different social, economic and political activities occurring in different parts of the world (ibid).

As a matter of fact, mass media are used for different purposes. In early times, before the emergence of the concept of democracy, most politicians or government officials utilized mass media for disseminating propaganda. As a result, it is a common aspect to see politicians using the mass media for propaganda purpose (Kumar, 2006). Such use of mass media for political purposes is referred to as the mediatization of politics.

Nowadays, it is a common phenomenon to see different organizations which use mass media to address issues for the wider public. Among these organizations, government organizations are the major ones, which heavily use mass media to achieve their main objectives. As it has been noted by different scholars, politicians use mass media for propaganda, election campaigns, and public mobilization purposes (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). As a result, media and politics are two sides of the same coin. The relation between the two concepts has attracted the attention of most scholars in today's world. In doing so, politicians need to use mass media to reach a large audience at once and to distribute their ideas and point of views broadly for the general public. On the other hand, mass media are potentially needed by politicians to write their stories.

Particularly, these kinds of relation become more visible in election campaigns and major government events (Tuing and Hasim, 2009).

According to Graham (nd), major events are organized formally and informally to achieve the pre-determined set of objectives and enhance the reputation of an organization within a laid down budget. He further elaborate that events are any organized presentations or activities that are consciously planned and conducted to achieve specific goals or objectives. Major or special events have also become popular as a means of entertainment and creating a social interaction among the society. Concurrently, various organizations including, Ethiopian government have organized different annual events for various purposes. Particularly, politicians used those events to transfer persuasive political messages as well as to propagate their policy and strategy for the general public besides promoting that particular occasion. In this regard, many events are organized by Ethiopia government, like Sport and Entertainment; May 28/Ginbot 20; National Flag Day; Public Holydays; and Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Day of Ethiopia.

Thus, this study primarily deals about media framings of "Nations, Nationalities and People's Day" in some selected Amharic newspapers in Ethiopia. It is known that Ethiopia is a country that consists of more than 80 nations and nationalities with their own respective historical, cultural, linguistic, religious and other remarkable peculiarities. Moreover, it is a country which is extensively endowed with plenty of historical, social, cultural, ecological, natural and religious resources and diversities (Hopkins, 2005).

Accordingly, in an attempt to give full recognition to these tremendous peculiarities and identities of the Ethiopian Nations, Nationalities and Peoples and to respond on the historical claimed oppressions or tyrannies such as: violation of people's basic human rights, inequality and mistrust among nations by the previous regimes; and to declare the existence of democracy in the country, Ethiopian government has decided to annually celebrate Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Day (Hidar 29 /December 8) since 2006. Because of the celebrations of nation's day, it is widely claimed that the Constitution of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (here after referred as, FDRE) opened a new prominent chapter of political history in the country. As it has been noted above, the celebration of nation's day ensures basic human rights and

fundamental democratic freedoms of the Ethiopian nations, nationalities and peoples' for the first time in their history. To affirm this, the preamble of the FDRE constitution starts by saying that:

“We the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia” and the Ethiopian Nations, Nationalities and Peoples have unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to secession (1995 FDRE Constitution).

With this regard, Ethiopian government has organized the event of nation's day in a special manner. During event organization campaigns, political parties and government officials use various strategies to get media attention, which in turn leads them to secure their main objectives. Particularly, they employ different media outlets to mobilize the general public at the grass root level and leading media institutions to be the instruments of government propaganda tools. Accordingly, to mobilize the mass of the people, they use both broadcast and print media outlets to frame the event from various perspectives.

In doing so, Ethiopia government has been celebrating the day starting from 2005-2006 on 8th of December. This was the day on which the current constitution of the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia was adopted. Owing to this, the first nations, nationalities and peoples' day was celebrated in Addis Ababa in 2006. In 2014 it was celebrated for the 9th time in Asossa, Capital of Benishangul Gumuz Regional State. Therefore, the main intention of this study is to examine critically how different government and private newspapers frame the event of nations, nationalities and peoples' day of Ethiopia from 2010-2014.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

According to Hallin & Mancini (2004), most developed nations in the Western world, including the USA, follow a liberal democratic type of political system, which allows media to function fully with little intervention from political institutions except southern European countries like France, Italy, Spain, Greece, and Portugal and Northern and Central European countries like Germany, Norway and Poland. They allow exercise of full freedom of speech to the mass media. As a result, media outlets in these Western societies are relatively free to frame any news article as they wanted and can also expose all the wrong doings of politicians. On the contrary, in the developing nations where political and media structure significantly differs from that of the

western world, media are suffering from lack of freedom. Under such circumstances governments exert a high pressure on the work of journalists. The jailing and intimidation of journalists are a common phenomenon in developing nations. The existence of this significant difference is because of the political ideology and the media systems which these two different worlds or nations follow (ibid).

Concomitantly, the reports from international organizations like Reporters without Borders and Human Rights Watch indicated that the intimidation and jailing of journalists in most developing countries is more pronounced. In the presence of such intimidation and jailing of journalists, it is naïve to think the media will operate freely to accomplish their social responsibility role. Due to the existence of such pressure from the government, media framing both in government and private media outlets of developing countries would significantly differ from that of the developed countries (Ohchr Report, 2012; Human Rights Watch, 2012 cited in Ashenafi, 2013).

Regarding media framing differences, there are different scholars that put their assumptions. Accordingly, Hallin & Mancini (2004) and Stromback and Kaid, (2008) contend that, various media outlets may frame the same topic in different ways based on the type, the organizational (editorial) policy, the ownership of the media outlet and the prevailing social, political and economic condition of the country. As a result of this, in many countries including Ethiopia, different organizations have organized national and international events in order to achieve their goals. Among these organizations, the government takes the biggest role because it organizes various national and regional events including public holydays and nations, nationalities and people's day. Therefore, it is very important to see how the media frame the event of nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia in both government and private newspapers where the social, political and economic conditions are significantly different from developed nations.

In line with event celebration, Ethiopian government gives great emphasis to the major annual government events like, Adwa Victory Day, National Flag Day, and Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' day, because such events are mostly the stages used as the tools to propagate the ideologies of the ruling party and used to mobilize the society easily even though the society seems to perceive without justification. Moreover, event organizers or the government tried to

use both broadcast and print media outlets to maximize the effectiveness of events (Nigussay, nd).

On the contrary, higher government officials argue that the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia has not been taken as an instrument to propagate the political ideologies of the current government, instead the commemoration of the event helps nations, nationalities and peoples to sustain peace, unity and equality among nations and nationalities, to share different cultural values and linguistic peculiarities, to keep their ethnic identities, language and religion, to develop common goodness among each nation and to preserve their history by using their own languages (Hibre Bihere Annual Magazine, 2013).

Even though, limited number of studies had been conducted in the area of media framing in various issues such as election, climate change and children rights by Ashenafi Gudeta (2012), Ashenafi Abate (2013), Azeb Gebrekiros (2014), and Betelhem Abegaz (2011) respectively, there is no study which had been done on media framing of government events, particularly nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia except Hailu Mideksa in (2014). As a matter of fact, Hailu Mideksa (2014) had conducted a study on the discursive construction of nations, nationalities and people's day by Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (hereafter referred to as EBC). He analyzed three documentaries and found out that Ethiopian broadcasting corporation discursively constructed the day of nations, nationalities and peoples as a forum of displaying their culture and mobilizing them for development. His research merely focused on broadcasting media particularly the EBC, so the print media remains uncovered throughout the research. Since, the nature of print media is different from the broadcasting media, the researcher believes the ways that newspapers framed the nations, nationalities and peoples' day should be researched fervently. Besides, the audiences of print media are supposed to be the literate people, so print media are expected to report more critical, wide and interpretive nature of stories.

On the other hand, he focused on interpreting the meanings that was constructed by the EBC. However, he did not focus on critically analyzing how the day of nations, nationalities and people's has been framed both in broadcasting and print media. Even the way, how it has been reported to the public remains untouched. Hence, his study didn't include the print media outlets;

this in turn should make the readers difficult to see divergent views and arguments about the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

As a result, the main intention of this study is to examine media framing of nations, nationalities and peoples' day in the case of (*Addis Zemen, Addis Admass and Reporter Amharic*) newspapers and will fill the gap in the area. Hence, in this study the researcher also tries to see how and to what extent do government and private print media outlets framed the messages of political leaders or government officials in the name of nations, nationalities and peoples' day and disseminate to the wider public.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The main objective of this study is to examine how the event of nations, nationalities and peoples' day of Ethiopia is framed by government and private newspapers.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

Specifically, the study also tries:

- ❖ To assess the extent of coverage of the print media on NNPD in terms of frequency.
- ❖ To identify the sources of information for media while framing the event of NNPD of Ethiopia.
- ❖ To identify media framing types that has been employed while framing the event of NNPD of Ethiopia both in government and private newspapers.
- ❖ To explore factors that affect media framing of NNPD of Ethiopia.

1.4. Research Questions

Based on the aforementioned research objectives, the study seeks to provide answers to the following research questions.

- To what extent do print media outlets allot their newspaper space for the event of NNPD?
- What are the main sources of information that the newspapers used during covering NNPD of Ethiopia?

- What are the dominant types of framing that are employed both in government and privately owned print newspapers while covering the event of NNPD of Ethiopia?
- What are the factors that affect media framing of NNPD of Ethiopia?

1.5. Scope of the Study

This study was focused on media framing of nations, nationalities and peoples' day of Ethiopia with respect to three selected government and private print media outlets. So, the study is limited to *Addis Zemen*, *Addis Admass* and *Reporter Amharic* newspapers coverage of nations, nationalities and peoples' day. Besides, the study was focused only on the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and the 9th round of the celebration of nations, nationalities and peoples' day. The study does not include the whole commemoration of the nation's day, because it would have been difficult to manage the data and to get the whole data or news stories which were written about this event from archives. Therefore, it should be noted that the study does not examine all coverage of nations, nationalities and peoples' day in other media outlets due to time and other constraints.

1.6. Significance of the Study

This study attempted to examine the differences that how both government and private newspapers frame the event of nations, nationalities and peoples' day. As a result, it will be used as an input for other future researchers who conduct a study on the same area. Since the study is all about media framing, media personnel as well as government officials can get some important lessons from this study. For instance, they will get a lesson about how they frame and distribute to the general public in order to achieve their desired goals. It can also serve as an input in which media professionals can see their works in relation to the practice of journalistic profession.

This study can be also important for comparative researchers to have different aspects of looking at how media frames are shaped by the prevailing social, political and economic conditions in the country. Therefore, it is the researcher's belief that this study will contribute its share in shaping the knowledge of journalists in print media as well as other media in empowering their knowledge of media framing in different government events.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

Lack of time and resources would make the study area limited to some selected government and privately owned print media outlets. The study would have been more detailed and more representative samples if adequate time and resources are available and the data would be gathered from more samples or more selected newspapers. Absence of well documented materials in the area of media framing and detailed information about major government events especially on nations, nationalities and peoples' day would also make the study more difficult. The researcher might also face openness of the respondents as well as fear and hesitation to give clear information and openly discuss the issue. So far, in-depth researches have never conducted on the area of major government events particularly; on nations, nationalities and peoples' day. As a result, it would also put some hindrances on this study. Moreover, the study does not include what is being said (discourse) behind the celebration of nations, nationalities and peoples day of Ethiopia.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of Related Literature

2.1. History and Conceptual Definition of Framing Theory

In order to know about how the event of nations, nationalities and peoples' day of Ethiopia was presented in the selected media outlets, it is important to understand the notion of framing; because the term framing shows how the event was portrayed in each of those selected media outlets. Accordingly, according to Abddisa (2010), there is no consensus among different scholars about the founder of the term framing. As it has been indicated in his work, most sources credited it to the work of an American sociologist Erving Goffman (1974). On the contrary, Goffman and some others (for instance, Stone et al., 1999; Vliegthart and Zoonen, 2011) attributed it to the work of Gregory Bateson (1955, 1972). But, it were Touchman (1978) and Gitlin (1980) "who introduced the notion of frames in the area of communication research" (Van Gorp, 2005, p. 2-5).

However, the concept of framing is considered as one of the most prominent features within the field of communication sciences and it is one of the major tools which politicians and media personnel use to address different issues to the wider public (Entman,1993). Regarding media framing, different scholars define framing in different ways. One of the recent and popular definitions of framing comes from Gitlin (1980). He defines framing as:

A persistent pattern of cognition, interpretation, presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse whether verbally or visually. Furthermore, events, issues and actors can be framed in ways that promote perceptions and interpretations that benefit one perspective while hindering others (p. 17).

Hertog and McLeod (1995) also stated that the frame used to interpret an event determines what available information is relevant. This construction of power and relevance is integral in understanding the frame's significance to the assimilation of frames by the receiver. In line with this idea, Entman suggests that frames increase the salience of particular aspects of a story by

promoting a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation or treatment recommendation for the item described (1993).

Using the same theme, Entman (2007) defines framing as the process of selecting a few elements of a perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation. In this way, framing becomes a valuable tool for journalists as they attempt to produce stories most efficiently under various organizational pressures such as space constraints or airtime limits. On the other hand, Tankard et al. (1991) define media framing as “the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration” (p. 3). Entman (1997) offered a more detailed explanation of how media provide audiences with schemas for interpreting events. For him, essential factors are selection of salience. Thus:

To frame is to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way so as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation (p.52).

Concomitantly, Diana described that framing is an important term in which media emphasize some ideological perspectives over others and manipulate salience by directing people’s attention to some ideas while ignoring others. She also added that media framing is used to describe the process by which information and entertainment are packaged by the media (newspapers, magazines, radio and television networks, stations and the internet) before being presented to the audience. This process includes factors such as the amount of exposure given to a story, where it is placed the positive or the negative tone it conveys and its accompanying headlines, photographs or other visual and auditory effects (2005).

Even though frames are defined by different scholars in different ways, all of the definitions given to media frames revolve around one common pillar, which is silencing of some perceived reality. As it has been understood from the above definitions, the specific topic which is being silenced or emphasized is selected by giving special attention for the issue under investigation and excluding those which are out of the major concern. Thus, in order to get media attention

journalists select some reality and give emphasis for the selected text before transmitted it to the wider public.

Owing this, there are different ways of silencing a given topic, as Fiske and Taylor (1991, p. 18) contend:

Text can make bits of information make salient by placement or by associating them with cultural familiar symbols, even a single unillustrated appearance of a notion in an obscure part of text can be highly salient, if it comports with the existing schema in a receiver's belief system.

On the other hand, Pan and Kosicki (1993) contend that media frame is a cognitive device that contributes to new encoding, interpreting, and retrieving; it is communicable and related to journalism professional routines and conventions. Framing therefore, may be studied as a strategy of constructing and processing news discourse or as a characteristic of the discourse itself. Moreover, they argued that every news story contains a dominant theme which is the frame of the story and functions as a central organizing idea.

Media effects can be characterized as social constructionism. Mass media constructs social reality by framing images of reality in a predictable and patterned way (McQuail, 1994). According to Gamson and Modigliani (1989), media discourse is part of a process by which individuals construct meaning, and public opinion is part of a process in which journalists develop and crystalize meaning in public discourse. By incorporating media framing with agenda setting, priming and bias, Entman believes that readers can better comprehend how and why framing occurs in the media. Thus, agenda setting serve as the first function of framing as it defines the problem worthy of government attention. Priming is the goal, the intended effect of strategic actors and framing activities (1993).

As a result, framing is a tool which is used by media and politicians to make salient points that will direct their readers to a desired frame of mind. On top of this, Frank Luntz was the first professional pollster to systematically use the concept of framing as a campaign tool and it is not what you say, rather it is how you say it (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). In relation to media framing, Diana (2011) described that framing is the process by which sense is made of events. When we read a newspaper or watch television or a movie, we live vicariously. The media

selectively frame the word, and these frames manipulate salience, meaning media direct audiences to consider certain features, or key points and to ignore or minimize others.

In different situations, events happen randomly in which some other minor things are following them. These minor events, which come following some major happenings, may have an impact on people's day to day life. They will impact people's perception of reality if they are framed in different ways. Consequently, by framing certain topics of an issue, politicians or journalists can give varying meaning to the same issue and influence the public perception of some reality.

Taking all arguments in to consideration, Scheufele (1999) identified two concepts of framing; media frames and individual frames. As to him, "media framing refers to a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an up folding strip of events... the frame suggests what the controversy is about the essence of the issue (p. 143)." Media frames organize everyday reality and it is an essential feature of the news. As it has been argued by Gitlin (1980), media frames also serve as working routines for journalists that allow them to quickly identify and relay to their audience.

On the other hand, individual frames are mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals processing information. So, for Entman individual frames are "information processing schemata" of individuals whereas media frames are attributions of the news itself (1993). Most scholars in the area of political communication assert the importance of combining individual and media frames to make frames very effective. Scholars like (Chang and Druckman, 2007; Shen, 2004), contend that framing effect is more likely to occur when the media frames comport with the existing beliefs of audience or individual frames rendering related concepts more salient and more cognitively accessible than others. This indicates that frames become more effective when they support the existing beliefs or statuesque in society. Hence, in order to get maximal effect from framing, it is mandatory to use media and individual frames in combination.

Taking all this characteristics of framing, most theories directed towards framing seem to overlap with other concepts like that of priming and agenda setting theories. Even though there seems to be some common characteristics among three theories, there is a clear difference among them. As Stromback and Nord (2006) contend, agenda setting is concerned with the question of "what" the media reports about and framing is concerned with the question of "how" the media reports

about different issues, events and persons. Priming on the other hand is considered as the consequence of agenda setting which plays a key role in the evaluation of leaders and politicians (p. 149).

More specifically, the power of the news media to set a nation's agenda, to focus public attention on a few key public issues, is an immense and well documented influence. Not only people do acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers but also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news. Thus, news media can set an agenda for the public's attention to that small group of issues around which public opinion forms (McCombs, 1972).

On the other hand, the principal outlines of this influence were sketched by Walter Lippmann (1922). In his classic public opinion which began with the title *the world outside and the pictures inside our heads*, he noted that, the news media are the primary source of those pictures in our heads about the larger world of public affairs, a world that for most citizens is out of reach, out of sight, and out of mind. He also added that what we know about the world is largely based on what the media decided to tell us. Thus, the result of this mediated view of the world is that the priorities of the public. The elements which are prominent on the media agenda become prominent in the public mind.

What we have understood from the above excerpts is that the agenda setting influence of the news media is not limited to this initial step of focusing public attention on a particular topic. The media also influence in the communication process of our understandings and perspectives on the topics in the news. For instance, if we think about an agenda in abstract terms, the potential for a broader view of media influence on public opinion becomes very clear. As a result, the news media, especially the print media serve as valuable sources of information and powerful modes of communication.

2.2. Types of Media Framing

With regard to media framing, De Vreese put it in a simplistic manner by stating that framing issues in a particular way is one influential system which the media uses to shape public perception towards their intended goal. Even though inconsistency is its central nature, the idea

of framing mainly focuses on emphasizing on the selected issue through leaving other stories (2005).

In order to frame the event of nations, nationalities and peoples' day, journalists use different frames in addressing the issue to the general public. In doing so, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), discuss five dominant news frames that have been identified in earlier studies. These are conflict frame, human interest frame, economic frame, morality frame and attribution of responsibility frame. However, in the majority of studies the predominance of four different kinds of media frames were identified. These includes: game frame, issue frame, personality centered frame, and episodic frame. In some other media framing theories, empathy frame is included. Accordingly, other frames like diagnostic, prognostic and educative frames are also commonly used frames (Mantler and Whiteman, 1995).

Hence, in this study, the researcher selectively used Game frame, Human interest frame, Empathy frame, Attribution of responsibility frame, Morality frame, Educative frame, and Episodic frame to examine how frequently the selected government and privately owned print media outlets employed while covering the event of nations, NNPD of Ethiopia. Besides, the researcher took four important frames from Yeshiwas's (2014) work and tried to improve them and relate to this study. These, frames include development frame, rights frame, national image frame, mutual benefit frame and victimhood frames.

2.2.1. Game Frame or Strategic Frame

It is a model of using social and cognitive sciences that seek to identify the dominant frames of how the public understands issues and the dynamic role that the media plays in creating and activating particular frames. The core argument of strategic frame analysis is that how issues are framed both in the public mind and the mass media has a measurable impact on public discourse. This is significant because how people think about issues influences the policy outcomes. Game frame, which is often used interchangeably with either strategic frame/horse race, is the most frequently used frame by journalists while covering major government events (Domke *et al*, 1997; Mantler and Whiteman, 1995; Stemple and Windhouser, 1991).

Consequently, this kind of frame gives more emphasis for government officials to use the media effectively for mobilizing the public at the grassroots level. Most of the time, journalists as well

as higher government officials highly depend on the issue of game frame while covering or framing the event of nations, nationalities and peoples' day of Ethiopia.

2.2.2. Human Interest Frame

According to Neuman *et al.*, (1992), human interest frame emphasizes on the situation of an individual or a group who is affected by the problem. This frame brings a human face or an emotional perspective on the report or presentation of an issue. Accordingly, because of the increasing competition in the market for news, journalists and editors exert greater effort to produce stories that capture public's interest. Framing news in terms of human interest is one way to achieve this and historically human interest frame has been used to capture audiences' interest and attention by stimulating their emotions in hysterical journalism through over dramatized coverage (Semetko and Valkenberg, 2000).

By its very nature, the media should capture the attention of the public through framing the issue in different ways. Human interest frames in line with the commemoration of nations, nationalities and peoples' day shows that the media should portray the event from humanistic angle and must capture the attention of the general public easily. In doing so, this frame describes on the situations that the individual or a specific group who is affected by the problem of freedom of rights and different opportunities in earlier times and better portrays in a humanistic face or an emotional perspectives on the issue.

2.2.3. Morality or Value Frame

This frame sets the event, problem, or issue in the context of morals, social prescriptions, and religious tenets. Neuman *et al.* (1992) found out that morality or value frame is commonly used by journalists indirectly through quotations or inference, rather than directly because of the journalistic norm of objectivity. As much as the media try to be objective, the cultural values within which the media operate will find their way into the media content.

The media place the issue or problem in the background of 'religious tenets' or moral prescriptions. This does not mean that media directly include moral values instead they may quote sources that raise this issue. For instance, in discussing HIV AIDS, the media might quote

a catholic priest who advocates AIDS as punishment for sinners. In addition to moral messages, the media offer social prescription about how to behave (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000:96).

Consequently, morality or value frame with regard to the commemoration of the event of nations, and nationalities day shows that how different media outlets portray or frame the issue in line with the moral and religious perspective of the general public. The media should directly or indirectly quote the sources in a religious tenet and should guide the public about how to behave in a social arena. The media should also show the morals that a specific language or ethnic group have been faced in the previous as well as in the existing ruling systems.

2.2.4. Attribution of Responsibility Frame

Accordingly, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), define this frame as a way of attributing responsibility for a cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group. Also they found out that attribution of responsibility frame was most commonly used in serious newspapers. As to Bennett (1995), attribution of responsibility frame is evident in the way that media subtly frame stories and assign responsibilities.

Eventually, social problems and issues usually involve a question of causes and responsibility such as who is blamed or credited for events (Hallahan, 1999: 219). Iyengar (1987) also argued in his part that when television news covers an event/ individual/episodically/ rather than presenting the larger historical social context (thematically) it encourages people to offer individual level explanations for social problems. Due to this, attribution of responsibility frame in relation to the event of nations, nationalities and peoples' day shows that who is responsible and blamed for the victims or a specific ethnic groups who are denied from their rights and freedoms for a long period of time in the previous and existing regimes.

2.2.5. Empathy Frame

This frame emphasizes with suffering people by identifying them as victims (Robinson, 2000). He further elaborated how media often portray victimhood groups. In order to create empathy, media can use adjectives or put labels on the people when describing them. This frame shows the power relationship among different agents involved in a crisis. With regard to the commemoration of nations, nationalities and peoples' day of Ethiopia, this frame basically

indicates that the victim of ethnic groups as well as minorities in the past and the re-affirmation of their rights and freedoms in the present government system. Most probably, this frame shows the blamed rights and opportunities of those minority ethnic groups had in the regime of Haile Selassie, in the military junta of Dergu and the existing EPRDF as well and how they are attribute to the current ruling system.

2.2.6. Educative or Advocacy Frame

One of the most important and powerful things that political officials do with nations, nationalities and peoples' day is to organize the event in a specialized way and propagate their ideologies about the previous situations and the existing nature of ethnicity in the present time by using different media outlets. This type of media frame gives information on how and what should be done to avert a deteriorating situation of a certain issue or to keep a certain reputation. In addition, this frame is usually used to promote an initiative for rehabilitative activities or to sustain an already existing situation (The Kennedy Center Alliance for Arts Education Network, 2009).

Thus, effective event organization advocates and develops the habit of providing individuals with education. Many government officials have set political agenda to the wider public and coordinate the flow of information in different media outlets. As a result, developing ongoing relationship with reporters in the local media and creating a well-informed citizen is a critical habit for both media and government officials.

2.2.7. Other Media Frames

2.2.7.1. National Image Frame

Regardless of increasingly global economy, introduction of modern technology, the immense majority of people in the world do not travel intentionally. Media play an influential role in portraying other countries images in a striking way. It is based largely on journalism that we make up our national mind (Navasky cited in Zelizer and Allen, 2002). What becomes more evident in this study is that national image frame of the representation of a country in terms of, societal peace, and political economic variables among others.

In the previous periods, Ethiopia is well known in its negative images like, drought, famine, war and instability in global media spotlight. However, comparatively, after the adoption of the new

political economic system the country declare that all nations, nationalities, and peoples have equal right to learn, to express their feelings and have equal opportunities of participating in every aspects. Such kind of practice directly or indirectly changes the previous negative image of the country in the global media since Ethiopia is the sum of all people's history, effort and participation. Thus, this framing intern conveys a sense of political cooperation, harmony, unity amongst the general public and the government as well (Hibre Bihere Annual Magazine, 2014).

2.2.7.2. Development Frame

With this regard, media conformity between the editorial position of the newspaper and the government policy in a political context reconfigured by the essentials of developmental state is a very strong aspect especially in government owned media outlets (Yeshiwas, 2014). Despite it is not the event that nations, nationalities, and peoples celebrate together; rather, it is because of the significant benefits that can derive from the commemoration of the event. Accordingly:

Event commemoration is a crucial thing for bringing peace, unity, strength, and the habit of sharing different linguistic peculiarities. In doing so, it will play a crucial role in the growth of culture in the worlds perspective. Besides, the celebration of the event will attract many tourists and used for the source of income generation (Hibre Bihere Annual Magazine, 2014; p.14)

Thus, celebrating the event together with nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia will mount the development need of the country. For instance, the construction and portrayal of GERD by the cooperative hands of nations, nationalities and peoples' of Ethiopia is optimistically as a key project to development, to eradicate socio-economic miseries and to achieve a countries glory of the millennia rooted in the discourse of dominant media framing and public discourse in the country (ibid).

It is quite evident that under this frame, a national perspective of depicting the commemoration of nation's day as well as rising their hands for Ethiopian renaissance as an engine for Ethiopia's economic growth is much more prominent. As a result, when the whole nation makes a social interaction to each other, they are also keen for practicing in development and the media will highly motivate them to participate. This development centered frame of nations, nationalities,

and peoples' reinforces the people as well as the government dominant perspective reproduced and reemphasized in news stories and commentaries.

2.2.7.3. Mutual Benefit Frame

Mutual benefit frame, which often united with development frame appeared in a significant number of articles which seek to illustrate the greater common good that will be obtained from the commemoration of nations, nationalities and peoples' of Ethiopia. Celebrating the event paves the way to social interaction and unity among each other. If they are socially interacted, and created a harmony, they will have a common background for strength and development. In such a system, they will create conducive environment for benefiting each other, especially in keeping their linguistic peculiarities like, culture, language tradition and other sources (Hibre Biher Annual Magazine, 2014).

Even though the practice of the rights of full freedoms, expressions and the right to hold opinions are not perfectly implemented in Ethiopia, multi-ethnic togetherness is one manifestation of the country and a genuine vehicle for development and mutual benefit to lower the grievances of the previous ethnic superiority and inferiority complexes among nations and nationalities. Creating peace, unity and strength among nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia will unquestionably make an immense contribution to sustainable development and long lasting peace and stability of the nation (ibid).

Accordingly, this frame is a reflective of the dominant perspective of Ethiopian government reinforces a huge public support for the commemoration of nation's day and validates the justification that Ethiopia has put forward to pursue GTP as well as multi-ethnic benefit among each other.

2.2.7.4. Rights Frame

This frame reinforces and gives much more salience to NNP's legitimate right to use their language, culture, religion, custom and other linguistic peculiarities by themselves. Despite the fact that in the previous regimes, it was believed that a powerful nation dominates and deprives on the rights of others, especially in the regime of Haile Selassie and Mengistu. However, in the existing constitutional system marginalizing any nation more specifically, in terms of language,

race, tribe, clan, culture, religion and other linguistic peculiarities and recognizing the superiority of others are comparatively unacceptable (Hibre Bihere Annual Magazine, 2014).

Alongside, the salience of the rights frame in this study will also represent that there is more or less no any NNP that impose or deprive on the rights and freedoms of minority classes after the adoption of 1991 constitution (Federal Negaret Gazeta, 1995). In doing so, this frame accepts and respects the interest of the whole nation and it implicates that if the majority class is going to deprive the rights and freedoms of the minorities, their will have a direct repercussion on its entailment.

As a result, NNP's of Ethiopia has the right to expression, freedom of speech, and develop their own language and culture as well their linguistic peculiarities by themselves. These are stated in the constitution of 1995 under article No 29 and implemented. Thus, this frame will be employed to shows how the rights, freedoms and opportunities of NNP's day of Ethiopia are covered and treated in both private and government owned media outlets.

2.2.7.5. Victimhood Frame

As it has been explained above, some of Ethiopian NNP's were victims of the system. They were denied from their rights, freedoms and opportunities for a long period of time, especially in the previous ruling systems. Consequently, the power was in the hands of few groups and the dominance of a powerful nation over the minority classes was viewed largely. After, the downfall of the Dergu regime in 1991, Ethiopia has witnessed a relatively increased number of both private and state owned mass media due to reconfiguration and the political system and through liberalization and privatization. The proclamation of FDRE constitution recognizes citizen's freedom of press and expression; right to hold opinions, thoughts, and free expressions is legally granted. The constitution protects freedom of expression without interference, including the freedom to seek and receive information. It also provides the freedom of press and mass media, and prohibits censorship and so far, then the legal basis of the mass media is evident (Federal Negarit Gazeta, 1995).

In doing so, this frame will be employed in order to portray how NNP's of Ethiopia were deprived and became victims of their rights, freedoms and opportunities for a long period of time in the then system. The frame will also represent victimhood groups or nations during the system

and how they are treated in the existing ruling system. Besides, this frame better portrays how they have got coverage in the selected government and private print media outlets.

2.3. Factors Affecting Media Framing

Framing can be affected by various factors. Accordingly, Scheufele (1999), Shoemaker, and Reese (1996) have examined the role of various factors that are influencing the creation and modification of frames. Among these, journalists of framing an issue may be influenced by several social structural or organizational reasons and by individual or ideological factors. Scheufele further identifies five variables that may potentially affect journalists framing of an issue or an event: social norms and values, organizational pressure and constraints, pressure of interest groups, journalist routines, and journalist's ideological or political orientations. Accordingly, Van Dijk (1985) noted that the way news is framed in the mass media is a result of social and professional routines of journalists. For the sake of clarification, it is better to see them independently.

2.3.1. Ownership

According to Graber (2002) and Johnson Cartee (2005), ownership of media and their interest, whether it is profit making or not affects what and how the media cover events, issues or problems. In the western nations, the concern of ownership influence on media content is concerned with merging of different media in to a single entity. However, in developing countries media conglomerates do not yet exist (ibid).

In addition to ownership, resource constraints determine how a given media frame an issue or an event (Scheufele *et al.*, 1999). Accordingly, financial, time, space, and human constraints largely determine how the media frame an issue, problem, or an event. As to Mekuria (2005), Ethiopian print media suffer from lack of trained journalists, illiteracy, limited readership and advertisement income. Therefore, it is difficult to think that both government and private media, particularly the print media outlets do perform its activities and to surmount the social responsibility roles.

2.3.2. Journalistic Routines and Professionalism

Organizational pressures and resource constraints are not the only determinant factors that affect how issues are framed. Journalistic routines and journalists ideological and political orientations also contribute the framing of events or issues (Scheufele, 1999). The first source of influence is journalistic centered influences. According to Gans (1979), journalists actively construct frames which are moderated by variables such as ideology, attitudes and professional norms are eventually reflected in the way journalists frame news coverage. The other issue which should be raised while talking the practice of journalism in Ethiopia is the educational qualifications of practicing journalists. As to Ashenafi (2013, cited in IREX, 2010) from earlier times to the present, journalism was treated as a profession not requiring any educational qualification. Even though there is no data which shows the educational qualification of practicing journalists in the country, it is believed that most journalists practicing today never received proper journalism training.

Journalists relay on frames to make sense of facts to focus the headline and to structure the story line. They contend that journalists observe and cover new issues or events based on frames which are used to cover similar issues or events in the past. Furthermore, frames are used as working routines for journalists. In this way, they enable them to immediately identify and group information and make news suitable for their audiences (Scheufele, 1999).

Thus, the way journalists go about gathering information, selecting sources combined with their purpose in writing the news and the recurrent deadline determine how the event is framed. In order to alleviate the problems of journalistic routines, different Universities have started offering journalism courses at both undergraduate and post graduate levels in the country. Also in order to equip journalists with knowledge to report fair and balanced information, different international and local non-government institutions provide training for journalists in framing issues.

2.3.3. Interest Groups and Sources

Most of the time, journalists depend on eye witnesses and other sources to write news articles on the event. The sources might have their own agendas that they want to share with the audience. According to Nelson and Oxeley (1996), powerful communication agents such as elected

government officials and interest groups advocate and encourage frames with purpose of planting them in news contents. The first encounter between journalists and sources particularly for breaking news put the framing process in motion (Entman, 1997). Thus, frame sponsorship needs to be considered in framing research. Otherwise, study risks exaggerating the extent of journalists' autonomy during news framing. This doesn't mean journalists have no place in news framing.

Accordingly, Carragee and Roefs (2004), describe that external factors in part also shape journalists interpretation of the issues. They also add that all sources do not equally success in framing the issue or problems and they provide factors that determine sources success in framing issues: its (frame) sponsors economic and cultural resources, its sponsor's knowledge of journalists' practices and a frame resonance with broader political values. Based on these principles, agents such as government have the power and instrument to frame news. Furthermore, it is possible to argue that government can easily affect news frames when they directly or indirectly control the media. This may have put its own implications for framing major government event of NNPD of Ethiopia.

2.3.4. Freedom of Press and Censorship

In a democratic society, the exchange of information and ideas through a free press as well as free and open public debate is a crucial element of mass participation and a requirement for democratic responsiveness to public preferences (Sartori, 1987). In developing nations, where the government are not well established economically and politically, they remain intolerant of media criticism regarding the government's policy and development. Accordingly, Mekuria (2005, 13) describe that in Ethiopia there are different laws among them, the constitution, grant freedom of expression and access to information. Particularly, the 1992 provision of freedom bill opened for the private media (restricted to print media) to flourish. Although the media became relatively free from direct censorship, the government continued to control all broadcasting and some of the print media.

2.3.5. External Factors (Politics and Economy)

The concept of framing embodies a context sensitive explanation for shifts in political beliefs and attitudes. Framing defines a dynamic, circumstantially-bound process of opinion formation

in which the prevailing modes of presentation in elite rhetoric and news media coverage shape mass opinion (Iyengar, 1991; Scheufele, 1999). As a result, framing effects refers to behavioral or attitudinal outcomes that are not due to differences in what is being communicated, but rather to variations in how a given piece of information is being presented in public discourse. According to Ishiyama (2007), political-related challenges are restrictions which are imposed by government officials.

As it has been understood from the above excerpts, government is often observed while indirectly restricting the contents of newspapers and taking actions against journalists. For instance, the government of Ethiopia is well known and quite intolerant to criticism and had frequently imposed restrictions on the rights, freedoms of journalists and on the countries private media outlets.

2.4. Elements or Location of Media Framing

There are many elements of media framing. Accordingly, Entman (1993) noted that frames have several elements including the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. The components are integral to the process of framing that consists of distinct features. Communicators make conscious and unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames (often called schemata) that organize their beliefs systems. The text also contains frames which manifested by the presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provided thematically reinforcing cultures of facts or judgments. Furthermore, he elaborates frames that guide the receivers thinking and conclusions may or may not reflect the frames in the text and the framing intension of the communicator (ibid).

Accordingly, culture is the stock of commonly involved frames. Culture might be defined as empirically demonstrable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse and thinking of most people in the social grouping. Framing in all four locations includes similar functions: selection and highlighting use of highlighted elements to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation and solution (Entman, 1993). On the other hand, Hallahan (1999) noted that frames reflect judgments made by message creators or frames. Some frames represent

alternative valances of information i.e. (putting information in either a positive or negative light, or valance framing).

Hence, when we talk about media framing, it is better to consider frame locations because without the elements of media framing it is even difficult to build a frame for certain news. So, considering communicators, text, culture and receivers in the working environment is a better means to create the information valance and important to demonstrate a common set of frames.

2.5. Framing of Major Government Events around the World and Ethiopia in Focus

The concept of framing is considered as one of the most prominent features with in the field of communication science. According to Hallin and Mancini (2004), most developed nations in the western world, including the USA, follow a liberal democratic type of political system, which allows the media to function fully with little intervention from political institutions. They allow exercising of full freedom of speech to the mass media. As a result, media outlets in these western societies are free to frame any news article as they wanted and can also expose all the wrong doings of politicians. Comparatively, in the western world, both government owned as well as private media outlets surmount the social responsibility roles of the community.

On the contrary, in the developing nations, where political and media structure significantly differs from that of the western world, we can observe the media's suffering in lack of freedom. Under such circumstances governments exert a high pressure on the work of journalists and editors. The jailing and intimidation of the journalists are also a common phenomenon in emerging democratic states (ibid).

Concomitantly, the reports from the international organizations like Reporters without Borders and Human Rights Watch indicated that the intimidation and jailing of journalists in most developing countries is more pronounced. In the presence of such intimidation and jailing of journalists, it is naïve to think that media will operate freely to accomplish their social responsibility role. Hence, media framing in the developing nations particularly in both government and private media outlets would significantly differ from that of the developed ones (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

In relation to these, media outlets (both government and private) in Ethiopia are highly under the direct pressure and control of the ruling party. Due to this reason, the social, cultural and economic roles of these media outlets are very low and most of the time they are governed by the rules of the media houses which are proposed by the ruling party. Therefore, in such kind of a dire situation it is difficult to think or blame the media to fulfill the social responsibility roles of the society. Accordingly, this study, tries to comparatively analyze and examine the media framing of NNPD of Ethiopia in the selected media. Hence, the event of NNPD of Ethiopia is a great event that asks a huge amount of resources and needs more emphasis from the government, it has been focused on giving responses to the denied rights, freedoms and opportunities of NNP's of Ethiopia.

2.5.1. Nations Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia (Ethnic Identity in Ethiopia)

In anthropological studies, all anthropological reasoning rests on the premise that cultural variation is discontinuous: that there are aggregate of people who essentially share a common culture, and interconnected differences that distinguish each nation, such discrete culture from all of each other. Since, culture is a way to describe human behavior, it would follow that there are discrete groups of people, i.e. ethnic units, to correspond to each culture. The difference between culture and their historic boundaries and connections have been given much attention. The constitution of ethnic groups and the nature of the boundaries between them, has not been correspondingly investigated (Barth, 1994). The naïve assumption that each tribe and people has maintained its culture through a bellicose ignorance of its neighbors is no longer entertained. The simplistic view that geographical and social isolation have been the critical factors in sustaining cultural diversity persists (ibid).

As it has been described by Naroll, (1964, p. 14), the term ethnic group is generally understood in anthropological literature that to designate a population which:

Is largely self-perpetuating, shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms, makes up a field of communication and interaction, have a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.

The interdependence of ethnic groups or the positive bond that connects several ethnic groups in encompassing social systems depends on the complementarity of the groups with respect to some of their characteristic cultural features. Such complementarity can give rise to interdependence or symbiosis, and constitutes areas of articulation (ibid).

In line with ethnicity, in 1991, following the collapse of military rule, Ethiopia established a federal system creating largely ethnic based territorial units and gives full recognition to ethnic autonomy, while maintaining the unit of the state. Based on 1995 new constitution system, Ethiopia is considered as a country of a great ethnic diversity (Alem, 2003). In accordance to ethnicity:

Ethiopia is the home of more than 80 ethnic groups or nations and nationalities with its social, cultural and linguistic peculiarities. Each nation, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia has been classified based on the ethno-linguistic characteristic features. Due to the authoritative nature of the administration system in the past many years, these nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia have denied equal opportunity of the rights and freedoms even to promote their own cultural and linguistic peculiarities. During the then time, the power was in the hands of a few elite groups or ethnic identities. This power imbalance has created a great influence on the rights and freedoms of minority classes. As a result of this, many ethnic groups, especially minorities were deprived of their rights and opportunities for a long period of time (Hibre Bihere Annual Magazine, 2013, p. 8-10).

According to Aalen (2002), federalism was introduced in Ethiopia in 1991 when the Ethiopian people's revolutionary democratic front (EPRDF) came to power and launched the idea of "self-determination for the nationalities", up to and secession, devolving political, administrative and economic power to ethnically defined regional states. As to the preamble of the transitional charter, "self determination of all the peoples shall be (one of) the governing principle of political, economic, and social life" henceforth. It underlined the need to end all hostilities, heal (ethnic) wounds, and create peace and stability.

The transitional charter affirmed the right of ethnic groups to self-determination up to and including secession (Article 39/ 2) and provide for the establishment of local and religious governments "on the basis of nationality" (article 13). The constitution of the FDRE starts with

the preamble of: “we the nations, nationalities, and peoples of Ethiopia”. This phrase indicates that all ethnic groups as collectivities, rather than individual citizens are, in principle the author of the constitution. As a result, Ethiopia’s ethnic federalism has been established based on ethnic communities as the constituent units and foundations of the federal state. Although Ethiopia is a multiethnic state, the preamble affirms that the Ethiopian peoples in full and free exercise of their right to self-determination strongly commit themselves to build one political and economic community based on their common interests, common outlooks, and common destiny (ibid).

Even though outside observers today see Ethiopia as a country of famine, war, autocratic rule and internal strife, the Horn of African state has long been regarded as a land of legend and exceptionality. Ethiopia is considered as an anomaly on the African continent with its early adoption of Christianity, imperial rule, written language and plough agriculture. The fact that it was the only country in Africa that remained independent during the colonial era adds to the image of Ethiopia as unique. The pan African movement (PAM) considered Ethiopia as the shrine enclosing the last sacred sparks of African freedom, the imaginable rocks of black resistance against white invasion, a living symbol, and an incarnation of African independence (Aalen, 2002).

Ethiopia is also a nation immensely endowed with plenty of historical, social, ecological, cultural, natural, and religious etc. resources and diversities. Even though Ethiopian nations, nationalities and peoples were the kind of proud people who successfully had defended their sovereignty and country against foreign aggressors, also had struggles in their long standing existence.

Due to this, the 1991 Federal Constitution of Ethiopia gives a chance to all nations and nationalities to pave the way to determine their fates by themselves. Through using EPRDF in 1991, NNP’s have established a strong unity for keeping their identity, to become independent, to promote their rights, opportunities and to strength unity among each other. The supporters of ethnic federalism also point out that it has maintained the unity of the Ethiopian peoples and the territorial integrity of the state, while providing equal recognition to the principle of ethnic equality.

Moreover, basing strong unity, diversity and coexistence, NNP's of Ethiopia has established a national day which is called NNPD of Ethiopia since 2005 by the House of Federation and has been celebrating started from 2006 on December 8 or Hidar 29, Ethiopian calendar. They have been celebrating the day on which the current constitution of the FDRE was adopted. In their celebration, all nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia have showed their culture, language, custom, as well as their living and wearing styles equally and freely. They are celebrating this special day with different and meaningful themes/mottos in each year (Hibre Bihere annual magazine, 2003).

In relation to the commemoration of NNPD, the following table shows the year and the places where the event of nations, nationalities and peoples' day of Ethiopia has been celebrated with their respective themes (mottos):

N Q	Celebration year	Region/Administration	City/Town	The main theme of the year
1	1999/2006	Addis Ababa	Addis Ababa	"Our constitution is an expression of our unity and diversity"
2	2000/2007	Southern nations, nationalities and people's region	Hawassa	"Our diversity is our beauty and strength" or "our difference is our beauty and our unity is our strength"
3	2001/2008	Oromia region	Addis Ababa	"Let us accelerate development through our unity"
4	2002/2009	Afar, Oromia, Somali, Hareri, and Dire Dawa regions	Dire Dawa	"Tolerance for democratic unity and development"
5	2003/2010	Addis Ababa	Addis Ababa	"We nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia join hands to take the Renaissance to a point of no return"
6	2004/2011	Tigray region	Mekelle	"Our Constitution for our unity, Diversity and Renaissance"
7	2005/2012	Amhara region	Bahir Dar	"Unity with Diversity: through Meles's vision and the Constitution for our Renaissance"
8	2006/2013	Somali region	Jigjiga	"Our constitution for our Renaissance"
9	2007/2014	Benishangul Gumiz region	Assosa	"our constitutionally guaranteed rights shall blossom in unity and diversity" or "Diversity is our unity" (Constitutionally embellished Ethiopianness for our renaissance)

Source: Hibre Bihere annual magazine, 2013/14

As it has been indicated in the table above, the 1st, 3rd and the 5th event of NNPD was celebrated in Addis Ababa. The 2nd, 4th, 6th, 7th, and the 8th NNPD were respectively celebrated at Hawssa, Dire Dawa, Mekelle, Bahir Dar, and Jigjiga. However, in this year (2007/2014), it was colorfully celebrated in Asosa, the capital of Benshangul Gumz for the 9th time under the theme of “**our constitutionally guaranteed rights shall blossom in unity and diversity**”. During the time of celebration, all NNP’s of Ethiopia assured to be strong in accelerating the development process and showed their strength and unity for the construction of GERD.

2.5.2. Events and event organization in Ethiopia

Major government events are organized formally in order to achieve the pre-determined set of objectives and used to enhance their reputation within a laid down budget. Accordingly, events are any organized presentations or activities that are consciously planned and conducted to achieve specific goals or objectives. Furthermore, special events have become popular as a means of entertainment and creating a social interaction in the society (Graham, nd).

Regarding to event organization, different countries, governments including many media organizations have organized different annual events to wider public. Among these special events: national holy days, national flag day, national independence day, and nations, nationalities and peoples’ day are the major once which have been celebrated annually in different parts of the world. For instance, the United States of America has been celebrating the national Flag Day on June 14 each year to honor the United States flag and to commemorate the flag’s adoption. The Flag Day falls within National Flag Week, a time when Americans reflect on the foundations of the nation’s freedom. <http://www.timeanddate.com/holidays/us/flag-day>

Similarly, Ethiopia government has organized different events. Particularly, government officials use those events to transfer their persuasive political messages as well as to propagate its policy and strategy for the general public besides promoting that particular occasion. Among those events, great emphasis has been given to the event of NNPD. The day has been celebrated in a special manner both inside and outside the country. Most of the time, events consists of multiple perspectives but all sides rarely gate equal media attention. Some aspect of an issue or an event becomes more dominant and more salience due to the way they are framed.

As to Gibbs and Warhover (2002), two newspapers may frame the same event differently by selecting and focusing on different angles of the same story. Thus, media framing deals with how a given media outlet shapes an event. As a result, media do not merely provide facts rather they add some context and take out the other in order to engage their readers, viewers and audiences. Regardless of celebrating NNPD of Ethiopia:

Every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia has the right to speak, write, develop and preserve its own history. Thus, federalism and the rapid, successive and equitable development of the nation have become synonymous with the Ethiopian Renaissance. The celebration of NNPD is aimed at strengthening the unity of nations, nationalities of the country and consolidating their participation in the efforts to create a single political-economic society. Additionally, the FDRE constitution has helped them to bring development, to build democracy and to reach consensus among the Ethiopian people. It has shown itself to be the best means of accommodating multinational and multi-ethnic diversity. Federalism allows the decentralization of politics and has also enhanced participation of nations, nationalities, and peoples in the political process of the country (Hibre Biher Magazine, 2014, p.15-18).

Consequently, all NNP's of Ethiopia has been celebrating nation's day by thinking that all NNP's of Ethiopia have equal rights and recognitions as well as equal opportunities in the system of new federalism. Basing their freedoms and rights in the new constitution, these nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia has been celebrating the day in a special occasion in order to promote strength among each other, share different costume and cultural peculiarities and show their unity for development and showing their strong commitment to the newly constructed EGRD.

2.6. The Effect of Media Framing on People's Perception

Most people accept the idea that media can influence people, but the degree of influence as well as who is most influenced, when, how and why, have been the subject of great debate among communication scholars for nearly a century. Concerning media effect, McQuail (1994) argued that media have significant effects on individuals and on the society. They may be influenced by

both news and entertainment mass media, including films, television, radio, newspapers, books, magazines, websites, video games and music.

McCombs and Estrada (1997) also argued that how news frames affect public opinion is the emerging second level of agenda setting since the first level is the transmission of object salience. To them, the second level is the transmission of attribute salience. Accordingly, attribute salience refers to the multitude of ways in which political elites or media sources can choose to shape the presentation of an issue as such the second level of agenda setting implicitly draws upon theories of media framing. Thus, by framing issues in certain ways, the media may influence the way people perceive a problem of issue and its consequences possibly altering their final evaluation of the issues.

In the modern era, it is a common knowledge that people learn about the larger world beyond their immediate experience primarily through television news presentations. As a result, media representations are not simply a mirror of society, but rather they are highly and selectively constructed portrayals. Media have the capacity of portrayals to shape and frame our perception of the world which is under consideration (Iyengar, 1998). Regarding about the effect of media message, in the early 20th century, Lasswell, 1927 and Lipmann, 1922 contend about political propaganda, manipulation by the elite and the rising popularity of electronic media led to the so called “hypodermic needle or bullet” theories, which predicted media messages as strong drugs or potent weapons that would have powerful effects on a helpless audience. However, while these theories explained some behavior, they did not account for different responses individuals may have to the same media source. In the 1950s and 1960s empirical research began to uncover the moderating power of predispositions and peer groups concluded that the media’s impact was small or limited-often referred to as limited effects theory (Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet, 1944).

Although different scholars explain the effect of media influence in different ways, there is a common thing that brings them together that is media have its own influence or effects on the audience (viewers, listeners and readers). Either it has been strong or limited effect; it has its own influence on the listeners, viewers and readers of a particular media outlet.

In connection to media effect, framing effect is premised on the notion that frames are likely to shape the way people think about issues, persons and events and this effect can be driven at times by choices of particular words which activate distinct and predictable ways of thinking. Scholars like, Touchman (1978) considered framing as two processes: one process is that in which society helps to shape consciousness and the other is that in which people collectively construct and constitute social events through their intentional apprehension of words in a shared social world. However, Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) focused on the influence of framing on audiences. They argued that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is interpreted and understood by audiences. Since the audience is thought to adopt the frames of reference offered by journalists and see the world in a similar way, framing tells the audience how and why to think about the issue by leading them to see things from a certain perspective.

Hence, this study examined the effect of media framing on the readers of *Addis Zemen*, *Addis Admass* and *Reporter Amharic* print media outlets with respect to the commemoration NNPD of Ethiopia. Since they are different organizations and have different house styles, they are expected to frame this public day in different ways. The portrayal of this nation's day in a different perspective may directly or indirectly put some influences on the readers mind and on their perception. Thus, the implications of the above arguments are the way in which Ethiopian print media outlets frame a certain issue. In light of this, the portrayal of NNPD of Ethiopia on a certain angel has significant impacts on its audience's belief and attitudes.

2.7. Media Sources while Reporting the News Articles

The use of accredited sources has been underlined in many codes of ethics and has been the basic tenet of objective journalism. In fact, objectivity lies in the domain of professional standards that journalists need to attain and maintain. According to Roscho (1975), objectivity does not reside in news sources themselves; rather it resides in the behavior of journalists. Due to this, for journalists objectivity does not mean that they are impartial observers of events, but they seek out facts and report them in a fair and balanced way. By giving a balanced presentation of facts, journalists are able to satisfy more members of audience than if they were to report the news in an overtly political manner. One way to balance news is by using balanced facts provided by multilevel sources not just a single source. The use of multilevel sources will enable journalists

to assemble various opinions from a multiplicity of perspectives in a single story especially a lead story (Faridah Ibrahim, et al, 2009).

Accordingly, Miller and Krosnick (2000) describe that sources in journalism are defined as any person, publication, or other record or documents which help the journalists to get credible information to develop their story. A story written without source is a fictitious story which lacks credibility. Sources also add human interest, credibility, color etc...which are very crucial to attract and hold readers attention. The use of sources become more important among journalists whom they deal with issues related with/to highly sensitive areas like that of politics. This happens because of any word which is being said or told by top officials can affect the lively hood of the general public in one way or the another (ibid).

Manning in (2001) contend that official sources (government officials, leaders, department of states) are the most likely used sources by journalists for they are claimed to be the most credible. Similarly, Gans (1999) argued that news sources try to manage the news putting the best light on them, journalists concurrently manage the sources in order to extract the information they want.

Similarly, Hall et al. (1978) there are several reasons that those journalists to use the aforementioned sources as a starting point while developing their stories. Firstly, such institutions are powerful and therefore, newsworthy; secondly, because journalists view such institutions and personals as owing higher status in in the community which intern force them to use them as a source; thirdly, some sources enjoyed credibility not as representatives but as disinterested or objective experts contributing expertise and authoritative knowledge.

Nord and Stromback (2006), Gans (1980) and Sigal (1973) noted that the relation between journalists and their political sources is a mutual relationship where by both needed each other to accomplish their duty. The journalists need politicians to build their story and the politicians need the journalists to reach the wider public. Such relationships are well pronounced in times of event organization. For example, in the developed nation like in the Swedish media landscape, most of the time they are journalists not their political sources who creates agenda, but in countries like US and UK, it is the politician who creates agenda for the media (ibid).

Similarly, in Ethiopia most of the time political officials set an agenda for the media. Then, the media agenda become the public agenda. In general, whoever sets or creates an agenda, the point here remains that higher political figures/government official remain on the priority agenda among journalists while dealing with issues related with politics especially in event organizations like, NNPD.

2.8. The Historical Development of Newspapers in Ethiopia

According to Hopkins (2005), Ethiopia is a country which is located in the horn of Africa and is one of the most populous countries in the continent. The country is endowed with lots of history which dates back to some three million years and is believed to be one of the oldest sites for early human existence. This nation is one of few world countries and the only African country which is never been colonized, and it was one of the only four African members to the League of Nations. Beside its long history, the country is also known for its ancient manuscripts. Ethiopia has its own alphabet and numbering system which makes it to be unique from other African countries (Teshome, 2009).

Even though Ethiopia has an extensive history of literary work, the history of mass media in the country is a recent phenomenon. According to Pankhurst (1992) and Sophia (2006), the history of newspapers in Ethiopia dates back a century. Some historical evidences suggest that *Blatta Gebre Egziabhere's* handwritten sheet around in 1900 was the first press product in Ethiopia. However, it is widely accepted that *Le Semeur d Ethiopie (Ethiopian Sower)*, a bilingual weekly (1905-1911) and the Amharic four page weekly *A'emro (intelligence)* in 1902-1903 were the first two Amharic newspapers in Ethiopia.

The first volume of *A'emro* had a circulation of only 24 handwritten copies, but the circulation rose to about 200 when it began to be duplicated on a new printing machine in Addis Ababa in 1905-1906. During the regime of Menelik II, therefore, the press was encouraged but it obviously was not seen as a major factor in the development of a national identity or in enhancing the centralization of government powers (Population Media Center, 2006). Then followed *Berhanena Selam (light and peace)* in 1923 by Prince Ras Teferi Mekonnen who intended "to disseminate leftist views as instrument against the conservative Nobility" (Shimelis, 2000 cited in Sahilu, 2008, and Skjerdal (2002).

Berhanena Selam was a special propaganda machine and important lobbyist for Ras Tefari Mekonnen who later became Emperor Haile Selassie I. Using the newspaper, priests in their daily teaching and government officials in their speeches, had to praise Tefari Mekonnen and tell others of his greatness and kindness, wisdom, leadership and that he had no comparison in his time. Moreover, the communications media were fully controlled by the government in order to advance its objectives under the protection of a very stable government. Haile Selassie was always very keen to use the media, the modern news media as well as the traditional channel (Population media center, 2006).

The other important factor concerning the Ethiopian mass media in the past was the nature and method of censorship in Ethiopia. During the regime of Haile Selassie, there was a subsequent legislation placed strong limitations on the press. As a result, all branches of mass media had been under the direct control of government. The daily newspapers and the radio had always tended to exclude pieces that had anything to do with highly controversial matters (ibid).

Even though the nature of writing in Ethiopia is a long history, the modern newspapers and the development of journalism in Ethiopia was a post 1941 phenomenon. The printing presses, which were abandoned or damaged by the retreating Italians were turned on and started production. With regard to this, two Amharic newspapers namely *Sendek-Alamachin* and *Addis Zemen* were launched in 1941 to reflect the era after liberation from the Italian occupation. Following this liberation, other newspapers both in local and foreign languages were also started publication in Haile Selassie regime (Mekuria, 2006).

In addition to these two newspapers, the printing press played a role in the publication of the *Ethiopian Herald* which is a weekly newspaper and the English counter part of *Addis Zemen* in 1943. Hence, *Ethiopian Herald* was intended to serve the state as the only way to give information and propaganda for foreign readers. This newspaper usually carries the English version of the Amharic newspaper *Addis Zemen*. For the most part, these print media were controlled by the countries government, subject to official censorship.

When Dergu came to power in 1974, the landscape of the Ethiopian press changed. The socialist government controlled the publication of newspapers and used the press for propaganda purpose. The Dergu regime also has unequivocally been portrayed as a dark chapter in the history of

Ethiopian media and journalism. The regime turned all media outlets into propaganda channels and effectively prohibited any opening for professional independence. The newsroom environment was marked by fear and anxiety. In the words of contemporary media analyst Frank Barton, founding editor of African times contend that the Dergu's media became the worst piece of Marxist mouthpiece on the continent (Skjerdal, 2012).

Accordingly, with the coming of EPRDF in 1991, the press freedom came to be public agenda. The media situation in the present government is significantly different from that of the two previous regimes, especially with regard to formal media policy and openings for independent journalism. However, there are also signs of lasting constraints particularly on the informal level. The 1995 constitution of Ethiopia secured a free press in its article 29 and press proclamation Number of 39/1992 was issued to provide freedom of the press (Mekuria, 2006; and Skjerdal, 20012).

Nowadays, there are a total of 33 print media outlets in Ethiopia both in government and in private aspects. Among these print media outlets, 19 newspapers and 14 magazines are in circulation, which include issues ranging from socio economic and political issues to sport and entertainment. Nevertheless, most of the newspapers and magazines have vanished from the market due to some political and economic related problems (EBA, 2007/15). From these printed media outlets, the researcher have focused on *Addis Zemen* which is a daily newspaper from the government and *Addis Admass* a weekly, and *Reporter Amharic* a biweekly Amharic newspapers from the private media for this study.

Addis Zemen, Addis Admass, and Reporter Amharic Newspapers

Addis Zemen newspaper was launched in 1941 as a government newspaper heralding a new era after the liberation of Ethiopia from Italian invention. It was established during the period of Emperor Haile Selassie I as a national weekly newspaper; later on, this newspaper shifted from a weekly to a daily publication since 1958. This newspaper was giving a service during the Dergu period. The present government (EPRDF) is the third government to continue publishing it. The newspaper is one of the publications of the Ethiopian press agency, which is organized under the ministry of information (Mekuria, 2006).

Regarding *Addis Zemen*, Aadland and Fackler (2003) contend that *Addis Zemen* newspaper is one of the main official press organs of the state and the main source of information to educate the public about government issues. According to EBA 2007/2015, the newspaper has the publication of 15000 copies per day. It is also one of few daily newspapers and a general newspaper whose sections include local news, international news, editorials, agenda, letters to editors, advertisement, economy, politics, parliament, sport, miscellaneous, culture and art, life is like this, and science and technology.

Addis Admass is a private newspaper which was established in 2000 and owned by Admass advertising. According to Gebre Medihin (2006), *Addis Admass* is one of the few newspapers which is backed by strong private investment and it is a newspaper with the highest circulation among the private press. During the time of election its circulation reached 31,000 copies per week and making it larger than *Addis Zemen*, which has a circulation of 18,443 (Ministry of information). However, at this time, *Addis Admass* has a circulation of 6,720 copies per week (EBA, 2015). Hence, *Addis Admass* is a general newspaper which contains issues like, local news, international news, readers opinion, the present agenda, editorial, society, culture, let's discuss for children, students and teachers stories, trade and economy, health, advertisement, science and technology, art, women's issues, the observers view, from around the world, for you two and sport and entertainment.

On the other hand, *Reporter Amharic* is one of the private owned and independent newspapers established in 1994 and published in Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia. It is owned by media and communications center with the motto of "Free press, Free speech, and Free spirit" and it produces English newspapers on weekly basis and Amharic newspapers twice a week and makes both newspapers available in online. As stated in its mission statement, its readers are the public in and outside the country (Population Media center, 2006).

The government, the private business, and the general public are the main source of information and it predominantly covers both national and international events, like politics, sport, social issues, business and economy, art, and culture. According to EBA 2007/ 2015, its circulation has reached 11, 000 copies per week. Indeed, the quality and nature of its news coverage influences how the issue is perceived in the public eyes and coupled with a different editorial policy with

the state owned newspapers that make *Reporter* quite important media for research (Population media center, 2006).

Therefore, this study examined and analyzed the contents of the stories in the selected newspapers which are discussed above with respect to the commemoration of NNPD. More specifically, the study mainly focused on how these newspapers portrayed the event to the wider public. The contents of the stories were analyzed based on the prepared code sheet.

2.9. The Relationship between Media and Politics

Media and politics are two sides of the same coin or they have a symbiotic relationship to each other. As a result, media as a political institution plays an important role in politics along with many other institutions. Media favors more sources concerning politicians and political parties involved in policy making and governance of the country which directly involve public interest (Cook, 1998). Since, the event of NNPD of Ethiopia is the cornerstone of politics, media have the vital role in informing the public about what the politicians are promising, and in telling the politicians what ordinary people want, or do not want and ensuring the rights that each nation, nationality and peoples of Ethiopia have equal rights.

Accordingly, we can communicate, share, and attempt to come to terms with political events through mass media. At the same time, most people are aware that there is a range of filters in place that shape this relationship between politics and the mass media. In some countries, mass media focus more on light news and entertainment at the expense of serious political analysis. In other places, state-run or public media dictate a greater emphasis on the needs of the society rather than the demands of commercialism. Most of the time, viewers, listeners and readers are fairly complacent about what they learn from the mass media (Oates, 2008).

The main thing here is that how can we understand the dynamics between modern mass media and the political sphere. It is a complicated yet a fascinating relationship that has engaged scholars and analysts for decades. Thus, media and politics are in a tense relationship in functioning democracy. Despite their divergent missions, it has a symbiotic correlation. Political forces turn to the public to motivate their actions, to campaign for their ideas and to win the people's trust. Media in turn have to inform the people about politics and to exercise control over

politicians when the latter perform their duties. They need each other and at the same time, they benefit from each other. Without access to current affairs, media would be deprived of topics to cover, and without media, political officials are nothing to do with the general public (Cook, 1998).

Hence, the relationship between politics and media lies at the core of democracy. This relationship needs constant rebalancing. Highest transparency and a permanent- critical evaluation are of at most importance. Despite their interdependence, the demarcation line between the two must be maintained. We need a sensible balance between media and politics for the sake of democratic society. It offers or shows how the media inform the people about current political affairs and it provides absolute view of the relationship between politics and media in events (ibid).

Thus, the analogy media and politics elucidate the relationship between media and politics and critically evaluate its relation. Regardless of exercising democracy and to instill as well as to aware the wider public, the most important component of political parallelism is organizational connectionism between media and politics since the existence of free and independent media are a vital component of any democratic society.

2.10. Political Economy of Mass Media

The concept of political economy of mass media is a broad term covering a great variety of approaches from social sciences mainly in political science and international relations. The early adoptions of political economy of mass media are associated with the emergence of critical theory and the work of the Frankfurt school theorists. The term political economy was applicable in work starting from 18th century to the 19th century in order to describe what social theorists, political philosophers, and economists did in the past (Woods, 2000).

Accordingly, William (2012) noted that political approaches to media analysis emphasize both holistic and historical reflections on the behaviors and effects of media institutions. He considered economy as interconnected with society, culture and politics, not as a separate domain. Besides, political economies of media take it as axiomatic that the media must be studied in relation to their place within the broader economic and social context. Political

economy of mass media theorists from cultural studies and political economy adopt multi-perspectival theoretical frameworks that explore how ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, nationality and additional influences may affect the way in which we interpret and understand media (Mosco, 1996 and Williams, 2012).

Thus, the term political economy of mass media in media research has a critical implication and often associated with media ownership and control, interlocking directorships and other factors that bring together media industries with other media with political, economic, and social elites and with other industries. It basically looks at processes of consolidation, manufacturing consent, diversification, commercialization, internationalization, the working of profit motive in the quest for audience and/or for advertising, and its consequences for media practices and media content.

In the same token, Mosco (1996) contend that political economy of culture, media and communication analysis is the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources including communication resources.

Therefore, the theory of political economy of mass media argues that the structure of industry influences content and the presumption of the theory is that media content is influenced by a combination of media owners (individuals or corporations), advertisers, competitors/other media, government regulations and viewers and readers. In the case of media ownership, private individuals decide what information should be provided to the public based on what earns them the most money (Andrejevic M, 2007 cited in Hailu 20014).

Thus, the area of political economy of mass media endeavors to connect how media and communication systems connect and contents are shaped by ownership, market structures, commercial support, technologies, labor practices and different government policies. Furthermore, the political economy of mass media links the media and communication systems to how both economic and political systems work and social power is exercised in the society.

Accordingly, media do not simply explain everything, rather understanding media is indispensable to grasping the way power works in contemporary societies. In this regard, government is the major factor that influence or shape how events are portrayed in media by constraining media content production and distribution (McCheseny, 1999). Similarly, Scagliusi

(2010) argues that media are mere megaphone or amplifier of the politicians. In doing so, they categorized the media as tools of the nation or of those dominant elites. Hence, important decisions which are transferred by different media channels are being decided by the government and those decisions will affect the perception of the public in one way or the other. Despite the fact that many decisions are being decided by the government, media plays a crucial role in informing and deceiving the general public about their environment and their social arena.

Moreover, media coverage of political, economic, social, and developmental issues may differ from country to country and from one political system to the other political system. Hence, political economy of mass media has a significant impact on shaping the contents and producing texts. Therefore, this study would examine how both government and privately selected print media outlets have framed NNPD of Ethiopia.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Design

The objective of this study is to examine media framing of NNPD of Ethiopia in the three selected government and private print media outlets. The study employed a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. The quantitative approach was selected as a major method for its importance in the area of media framing. On the other hand, Orcher (2005) argued that through supporting quantitative method, qualitative techniques also provide a deeper understanding of the issue since the two approaches address different aspect of the problem. Therefore, in order to examine how the selected newspapers frame the event of NNP's day to the wider public and to find out what kinds of dominant frames are employed, and to analyze the contents of media messages as well, this study used both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

3.1.1. Qualitative Research Method

According to Bobbie and Mounton (2001), qualitative research is used to understand social actions in terms of specific context rather than attempting to generalize to some theoretical population. It enables to seek out and interpret the meaning that people bring to their own actions, events and used to analyze human behavior.

Qualitative research method enables researchers to gain insights into attitudes, beliefs, motives and behaviors of the research sources, and gain a better understanding of the main issue (Mwanje, 2001). Accordingly, from the interpretive social sciences paradigm, qualitative research is a systematic inquiry that offers a broad array of human understanding in different contexts and it can be defined as a type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures (Anselm and Juliet, 1998). Concurrently, Mwanje (2001) also added that this method covers the realm of observation (especially ethnography), texts (mostly document analysis using textual analysis), interviews, audio and video (especially discourse analysis, conversation analysis, and analysis of face to face interactions), validation and aesthetics of research.

As a result, Robert K. Yin recommends the better way to understand the distinct features of qualitative research and he outlined the five characteristics: (1) studying the meaning of people's lives under real-world conditions, (2) representing the views and perspectives of the people, (3) covering the contextual conditions within which people live, (4) contributing insights into existing or emerging concepts that may help to explain human social behavior and (5) striving to use multiple sources of evidence rather than relying on a single source alone (2011).

Hence, in this study, qualitative method of data collection and analysis was employed to compliment the quantitative data. Accordingly, higher government officials, editors and journalists who are working for both government and private print media outlets were interviewed to examine media framing of NNPD of Ethiopia from 2010-2014.

3.1.2. Quantitative Research Method

Quantitative research approach is used to measure the amount and to explore further numerical data. To critically analyze the data sets and to answer the research questions raised, this study has employed quantitative research methods. Quantitative research is a social research method that employs empirical methods and empirical statements. Empirical statements are about what is the case in real world rather than what ought to be the case and suggests the use of quantitative research method for studies directed at investigating cases which are already in the real world Cohen (1980).

Accordingly, Ting-Toomey (1984) contends that using quantitative research method has an advantage to summarize large set of information and hence making it possible for comparison over time and across categories. It is used to generate greater accuracy and eliminates bias by avoiding the researcher's own values and subjective preferences. In this type of research, researchers can view the communication process as concrete and can analyze it without contacting actual people involved in communication.

As a result, quantitative approach is used to measure frequency of coverage, tones, themes, the type of frames and sources of information used by the newspapers, whereas the qualitative approach is used to interpret themes, words and expressions (idioms, metaphors, and commentaries) of the texts written on the event of NNP's day.

3.2. Data Collection Methods

In order to collect the necessary data from the representative samples, this study employed quantitative content analysis and in-depth interview methods.

3.2.1. Content Analysis

Content analysis is used to study a broad range of texts from transcripts of interviews and discussions in clinical and social research to the narrative and form of films, TV programs and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines. Media content analysis was introduced as a systematic method to study mass media by Harold Lasswell (1927), initially to study propaganda. A widely used definition of content analysis which illustrates the early focus on quantitative analysis was provided by Berelson (1952) who described it as a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.

He further explains that content analysis is a research tool which focuses on the real content and entire feature of the media. On Lasswell's examination of propaganda in 1927 Wimmer & Dominick (2010), describe that content analysis can be conducted on books, written texts, magazines, newspapers and it has long been used in communication studies. Despite media content analysis can be divided into behavior tradition and humanistic tradition; behavior tradition prioritizes the media's effect by using scientific methods, while in humanistic tradition content analysis is conducted by looking into media content and what they wish to deliver to the society and culture in which the media functions (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996).

Consequently, in this study the researcher used the humanistic tradition category of content analysis, since it is believed that using this category will help to attain the objectives of this study. It is directed at investigating what has already been written on the newspapers and on their editorial policies. Thus, the researcher employed quantitative content analysis method to measure the frequency of coverage, the tone, the themes, the type of frames and the sources of information used by the newspapers.

3.2.2. In-depth Interview

A number of social researchers assert that one of the major ways that qualitative researchers can understand a phenomenon, perceptions, feelings and knowledge of people is via in-depth interviews (Steiner & Svend, 2009; Bryman, 2004; Creswell, 2003 cited in Namasinga, 2011). According to Boyce and Neale (2006), in-depth interview is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea or program. Thus, the primary advantage of in-depth interview is to provide more detailed information than what is available through other data collection methods. It may also provide a more relaxed atmosphere to collect information and the people may feel more comfortable having a conversation with researchers about their program as opposed to filling out a survey.

Accordingly, to get detail information or a complete picture of the event and to explore the perspectives of higher government officials, journalists and editors who are working for both government and private print media outlets in the selected newspapers, in-depth interviews were conducted. Hence, for this study the researcher purposively selected two political and economic oriented editors, two journalists who wrote news articles on the event of NNP's day in each media outlets for in-depth interview. Besides these, the researcher also purposively conducted an interview with two higher government officials who are mainly involved in event organization in order to support the views of journalists and editors. Because the researcher believes that these respondents would provide first-hand information for this study and they are included as key informants.

3.3. Research Subject and Data Source

3.3.1. Newspapers

In order to examine the type of framing used in the coverage of NNPD of Ethiopia, the researcher used printed newspapers as its main source. According to Koenig (2005), Iyengar (1991) and Entman (1993), printed newspapers are used as subjects because they are preferred subjects for studies employing either qualitative or quantitative content analysis than broadcast media and they are easy to access. As a result, the researcher selected three locally printed

Amharic newspapers for this study. The privately owned *Addis Admass and Reporter (Amharic)* tabloid newspapers and *Addis Zemen*, governmentally owned broadsheet newspaper were selected. The selected newspapers are weekly, bi-weekly and daily newspapers respectively. The selection of the newspapers was made based on the circulation, ownership and coverage of domestic political-economy. In addition, due to the accessibility of newspaper archives it is easy for interested bodies to cross check the findings of studies which in turn assure the reliability of the study.

According to EBA (2014), the privately owned (*Addis Admass and Reporter Amharic*) newspapers have the circulation of 6,720 and 11,000 copies respectively. However, the government owned *Addis Zemen* newspaper has a circulation of 13000-15000 copies per day (Ethiopian Press Agency, 2014). The newspapers that focused on other issues like sport and entertainment and with high circulation but low coverage of political economy of the country were not included in the study. Moreover, conducting a study on both government and private owned print media helps the researcher to do a comparative analysis.

When we compare government owned printed newspaper (*Addis Zemen*) with privately owned newspapers, (*Addis Admass*) has a greatest probability to be chosen or read by many readers. Moreover, privately owned newspapers were selected because they have more readers than governmentally owned broadsheet newspapers in the country (Sahilu, 2008). He also describes that *Addis Admass* newspaper has the prominence and it is the most read newspaper in the private newspaper industries in Ethiopia.

Addis Admass newspaper is a privately owned, published and circulated mostly in Addis Ababa and around in different regions. The newspaper has the circulation of 6,720 copies and was established in 2000 and it was the leading privately owned newspaper in terms of circulation in election times. It also contains portions or sections like: local news, international news, the present agenda and the reader's opinion (EBA 2014). On the other hand, *Reporter Amharic* newspaper is a privately owned newspaper which is established in 1995 and circulated in the capital Addis and other regional towns. It is published by the media and communication center. Its circulation has reached up to 11, 000 copies per week and contains columns like, politics, sport, social issues, business and economy, art and culture (Population media center, 2006).

In order to get reliable data and to make the information /data deep-rooted for this study, the researcher purposively selected representative samples from these selected newspapers. It is apparent that the numbers of newspapers in government media are not proportional to private newspapers since there is only one Amharic newspaper.

3.3.2. Unit of Analysis

The units of analysis in framing studies are varied. They may include a word, metaphor, exemplar, catchphrases, depictions or visual images (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Accordingly, for this study individual stories were selected manually by searching for specific words containing events, event celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia in the front page headlines, editorial pieces, news features, interviews and commentaries from inside pages of the newspapers. Therefore, the units of analysis which have been employed in this study are: news stories, feature news, commentaries, interviews and editorials that were written about the event of NNPD of Ethiopia.

Based on this mechanism, a total of 135 news articles i.e. 32 news stories, 26 editorial pieces, 40 feature news, 11 interviews and 4 commentaries were collected from *Addis Zemen* and 2 feature news and 6 commentaries were collected from *Addis Admass*. Concurrently, a total of 2 news stories, 3 editorial pieces, 8 news features and 1 commentary were collected from the *Reporter Amharic* newspaper. Thus, content analysis on individual news stories, editorial pieces, news features, interviews and commentaries was conducted by using a prepared code sheet.

To prepare both code sheet and code book, the researcher used different variables which were used in previous studies like: (Iyengar, 1991; Entman, 1993; Stromback and Dimitrova, 2001) which identify salient elements in news reporting. Depending on the prepared code sheet, coders were allowed to code individual news stories, editorial pieces, news features, interviews and commentaries by using the code book as their major instrument. In the coding process, coders have selected the type of frames like: game or strategic frame, episodic frame, human interest frame, morality or value frame, empathy and attribution of responsibility frame, national image frame, mutual benefit frame, development frame, rights frame, victimhood frame and educative frame. In order to identify the tone of the newspapers and intended to grasp the newspapers

orientations with respect to government officials, the coders select between positive, negative and neutral for the variables.

Moreover, the coders were code the theme and different kinds of sources that are used in individual news stories or articles and finally, they select the dominant framing types through focusing on the space allotted to each respective frame time. Then, if the specific frame holds or occupies a large space, the coders have label that frame as a dominant frame. Accordingly, after the news stories, editorial pieces, news features, interviews, and commentaries were coded, relevant statistical tools were used and analysis was done to answer the research questions.

3.3.3. Time Frame

In order to get a reliable result for the study, the researcher used stories on representative samples of both government and private newspapers which were written about the event of NNPD of Ethiopia. Obviously the commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia is celebrated on December 08 since 2006 G.C. So, the researcher selected the newspapers which were published from November 24 to December 24 (Hidar 15 to Tahsas 15 Ethiopian calendar) from 2010-2014. This time frame is selected because it is the time where the event becomes the top government, public and media agenda.

3.3.4. Developing Code Sheet

In order to analyze the contents of the newspapers, the researcher developed a code-sheet from the previous researches and from the review of literature in order to look the frequency of coverage, tone, themes, sources of information, and types of media frames of articles used to discuss about the event of NNPD of Ethiopia. The data was gathered by reading thoroughly the news articles, commentaries, editorial pieces, and news features of the sample newspapers. For the coding purpose, the researcher selected two trained coders, who have a better understanding of the issue, and the coding system.

The coding sheet of the quantitative data was classified in to different analytical categories. The first part is frequency of coverage, and this helped the researcher to examine how frequently the issue or event of NNP's day is covered or being said in the selected newspapers. The second category is concerned about tone, which refers to whether the coverage was positive, negative or

neutral. The third category is source, and this deals with individuals or organizations that are directly or indirectly quoted as source of information. The other category is about the theme of the article, which tries to analyze whether the main idea of the article is politically corrupted, reflect on (human interest, sharing of different cultures and initiate for development, peaceful coexistence and brotherhood, economically oriented, or national interest and other political issues and focused on a divisive strategies). The last category is the different types of frames used in the media, and this includes the attribution of responsibility, human interest frame, game or strategic frame, morality frame, educative or advocacy frame and other types of frames.

However, the qualitative aspects of content analysis have looked in to the words and expressions used by the writers of the stories. In this part, words, figurative speeches, proverbs, and other expressions were analyzed. In addition to quantitative data, critical interpretations of the themes of the articles were included and the study also tries to examine how differently the print media frame events of NNP's day by comparing different news narratives of the newspapers on the same issue.

After, collecting and classifying the data in to different categories based on their themes, types, and other important concepts of framing, the data was translated from Amharic to English. Finally, a thorough analysis and interpretation of the gathered data has taken place, and then conclusions and recommendations have been drawn.

Inter-Coder Reliability

For the coding purpose, the researcher used two trained post graduate students from Addis Ababa University. The coders had a better understanding of the issue and fluent speakers and readers of Amharic language. After the coding procedure, inter-coder reliability test was conducted on a randomly selected 10% of the sample news stories, feature news, interviews and editorial pieces. Then by using Holist's formula inter-coder reliability test was conducted. In this regard:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2 * M}{(N1 + N2)}$$

Where, **M** represents the number of coding decisions by which the two coders agree, while **N1** and **N2** are the total number of coding decisions by the first and the second coder, respectively.

Concerning reliability, Krippendorff (1980) set a rule of thumb above which inter-coder reliability test is taken as significant. According to him, if an inter-coder agreement is above

80%, the coding is considered as good and if it lies between 67-79% the coding result is within acceptable range. On the other hand, Lacy and fico (1998), advise researchers not to use inter-coder agreement results which are below 70%.

Based on these two perspectives, the reliability test rests on a good range which is 85%. From the total of 135 news articles, 10% of the news stories have been coded. Among 14 coded news articles, the coders agreed on 12 coding decisions. The calculated result is: $(2*12) / (14+14) = 0.85$ (85%) which is significant and reliable.

3.4. Sampling Technique and Procedures

Samples are taken from populations. In research, the term population can refer to people, aggregates of texts, institutions, or anything else being investigated. A sample is also any sub-set or representative of a total population from which sample is drawn in order to generalize the finding of a given study to the population as a whole (Kumar, 1999).

As it has been clearly stated above, this study employed three newspapers namely *Addis Zemen*, *Addis Admass* and *Reporter Amharic*. Accordingly, the newspapers were selected by using a non-random sampling techniques especially purposive sampling. The newspapers were selected based on circulation, ownership and access of articles on archives. After the selection of the newspapers a through reading was conducted on the sample newspapers. Then, sample stories or articles that hold the issue of celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia were selected from these three newspapers. Accordingly, 135 articles or stories were selected and a content analysis was conducted.

3.5. Data Analysis and Presentation Techniques

As it has been mentioned earlier, the required data was collected through qualitative and quantitative methods. So, it was analyzed based on the appropriate qualitative and quantitative analysis techniques. The quantitative data was entered to SPSS 20.0 version and analyzed using descriptive statistics to measure the coverage, tone, theme and compare the type of media frames that the newspapers employed while framing the event of NNPD of Ethiopia. On the other hand, the data which was collected through semi-structured interviews were analyzed qualitatively. That means, audio recorded interviews with government officials, journalists and editors were first transcribed into text form. Then the transcribed notes/texts and other reliable information were analyzed thematically.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Data Presentation Analysis and Discussion

4.1. Data Presentation and Analysis

Based on the objectives of the study, data were collected by using both quantitative and qualitative methods. This chapter deals with the presentation of results and discussions of the data collected through quantitative content analysis and in-depth interviews. The data focused on how both government and private print media outlets like *Addis Zemen* (daily), *Addis Admass* (weekly), and *Reporter Amharic* (a bi-weekly) have framed the event of “*Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Day of Ethiopia*” with in the period from 2010- 2014 (*specifically, from November 24 to December 24*). The main focus of the study was to examine how the selected newspapers have framed the issue of NNPD of Ethiopia. With this in mind, the coverage of the event, major frame types, descriptions of the event of NNPD program, main sources of information used and factors affecting journalists while framing the event were examined.

The extent to which, media covers an issue has its own implications on the importance of the event in both public and media agenda. As different scholars contend that the more the media covers or gives emphasis for the certain issue, the more the issue become the public agenda (Price and Tewksbury, 1997; Scheufele, 1999). The events which are given high attention and taken as an agenda in the media, became more important and can influence its social, political and economic conditions in one way or another.

In today’s democratic world, event organizations or celebration of national holydays, like nations, nationalities and people’s day is one of the major (top) issues which grasp the public as well as the media agenda. Even though the event of NNPD is taken as a high or prior agenda in the political atmosphere of the country, the extent of the coverage and weight given to it differs across different media platforms; such celebration also varies from country to country. Due to this and other factors, it is crucial for the researchers to look at the extent of coverage and how intense the media frames this public event. Accordingly, this study tried to examine how the

event of *Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Day of Ethiopia* given attention in both government and private (*Addis Zemen, Addis Admass, and Reporter Amharic*) newspapers from 2010 -2014. The following pages discuss the presentation and analysis of data collected through different instruments.

4.1.1. Frequency of Coverage in the Selected Newspapers

Table 1. Frequency distribution of stories published on the selected newspapers regarding the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia from 2010-2014

	Name of Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage
Publication	Addis Zemen	113	83.7%
	Addis Admass	8	5.92%
	Reporter (Amharic)	14	10.37%
Total		135	100%

How much coverage did Addis Zemen, Addis Admass and Reporter Amharic Newspapers give for the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia?

As can be seen from *Table 1*, 135 articles or stories have been published in the selected newspapers about the celebration of NNPD's day in the period between November 24 to December 24 from 2010-2014 (the time in which the issue becomes both government and media agenda). When we examine the total number of articles published about the event of NNPD of Ethiopia independently, the government owned newspaper, *Addis Zemen* published 113 (83.7%) of articles. In this newspaper, more than one news story or feature article is published per publication about the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. Similarly, the result in private newspapers indicates a total of 8 (5.92%) articles are published in *Addis Admass* and the remaining 14 (10.37%) of news articles have been published on *Reporter newspaper*.

As indicated from the table above, *Addis Zemen* newspaper gives more coverage or space to the celebration of the event. Since it is daily and has been owned and controlled by the government, the newspaper treats stories which are positive about the event and do not criticize the event of nation's day. On the other hand, the number and the extent of coverage increase as the day of celebration approaches. On top of this, media coverage becomes intense in times where the events are taken as

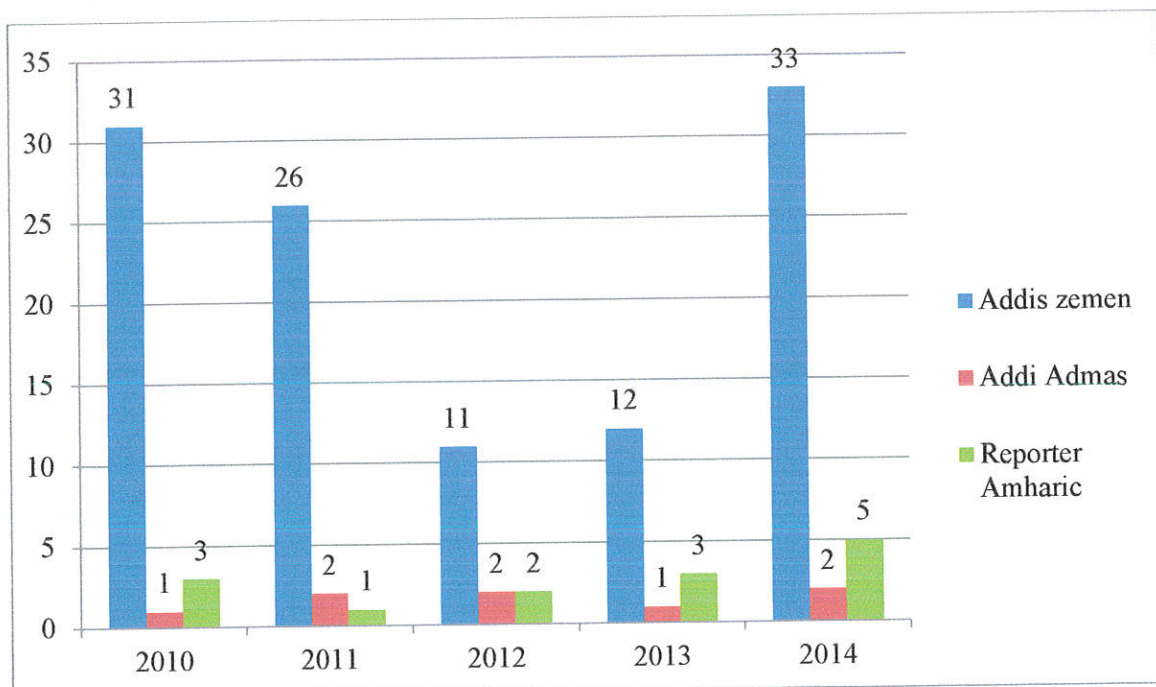
public and political agenda. This has been also evident in the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia since 2006. Findings from the interview also supported the content analysis.

In light of the coverage of NNPD of Ethiopia, informant “IP” from the government owned media states that:

Though there is no clear feedback system from the readers, we as journalists and the media we are working in have given a special coverage/space to the celebration of NNPD. To do so, we have given space for the celebration of the event before and after the celebration of the day. While, we covered/framed the event of nations and nationalities day to the public, our basic reference was the editorial policy of the media house (Personal interview, June 13, /6/2015).

The following bar graph presents the amount of coverage which *Addis Zemen, Addis Admass* and *Reporter Amharic* newspapers have been given space for the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia and related stories at different times.

Figure1. Frequency of news stories about the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia published by the selected newspapers with in (November 24-December 24) from 2010 -2014



*** The total number of news stories equals to 135(n=135)**

As can be revealed in *figure 1*, out of the coded 135 articles, majority of the news articles were published by the government owned *Addis Zemen* on the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. On the contrary, the privately owned *Addis Admass and Reporter*, which focus on politics and other social issues, published 8 and 14 percent of the stories respectively. The privately owned *Addis Admass and Reporter (Amharic)* gave little coverage for the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. As can be depicted from the graph above, *Addis Admass* did not give more space for the celebration of the event. As a matter of fact, it was not published more than two stories under the specified study frame. Correspondingly, Informant “IV” from *Addis Admass* media house believes that: “the commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia is not the right way to bring each nation, nationalities and peoples in to unity and solidarity instead it divides the people in to different ethnic groups and will aggravate animosity among the people (Personal interview, 17/6/2015).”

Concurrently, *Reporter (Amharic)* has given little emphasis to the commemoration of the event besides focusing on other social issues. In line with the coverage of the nation’s day, Informant “VI from *Reporter* newspaper suggests that:

We gave a little space/ coverage to this government event. Our media house didn’t give a great emphasis before and after the celebration of the day as that of government owned media outlets. Our media focuses on special issues of the event rather than the celebration of the day to the people (Personal interview, 12, /6/2015).

However, the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia has entirely become an agenda for the government, media and public in the current ruling system. As a result, the government has given a special emphasis to the event in each year and the celebration of the day becomes more and more prominent from time to time. In order to achieve its own goals, the government of Ethiopia has been using different media outlets to transfer ideological messages of the event to the public since the beginning of the celebration of the event. In light of this, different media organizations are working cooperatively with the government on celebrating major government events like NNPD of Ethiopia. Most of the time, government owned media are the megaphones or conduits of higher political officials. They are expected to broadcast and distribute the information which is given from higher political or government officials (Scagliusi, 2010).

Since, *Addis Zemen* is one of government owned print media it has given almost full coverage to the event and also published more than one news articles per publication under the specified time frame. Its coverage also increases from time to time. It has been started publishing the news articles before and after the celebration of the NNPD of Ethiopia. The publication of newspapers about the event has been started before November 24 and will continue until the mid of December 24. This might indicate the emphasis that was given by higher government officials and different media outlets for the celebration of the event.

The celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia was dominated by different activities and preparations in which different political parties as well as government officials deliver a speech regarding the event. Different symposiums, panel discussions and scholarly works were conducted on ethnicity for the realization of the event. In addition, the celebration of the event was highly glorified with different NNP's that came from different parts of Ethiopia with respect to their cultural dances, closing/traditional dressing styles and other linguistic peculiarities. In line with the event, different media organizations especially, *EBC and Addis Zemen* favored the celebration of the event and tried to propagate the ideologies of the ruling party for the readers through setting different agendas. Besides to providing information and entertaining the public, they are highly working on persuading the general public and manufacturing consent in order to achieve their objectives.

As a result, during the period of event celebration (December 8) on average three news articles or news stories were published per publication by a single newspapers. The coverage of news stories increased in this period due to the interest of higher government officials and local and international civic society groups. Therefore, it is evident that *Addis Zemen* provided its readers with more or enough amount of news coverage for the commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

4.1.2. Type of Media Frames the Story used for the Selected Newspapers

Table 2. Media Frames Used while Covering the event of NNPD of Ethiopia from 2010-2014 (Type, number and percentage of frame distribution across the newspapers)

Type of Media Frame	Addis Zemen		Addis Admass		Reporter Amharic		Total	
	No. of stories	Percent	No. of stories	Percent	No. of stories	Percent	No. of stories	Percent
Game frame	4	15.9%	1	12.5%	1	35.7%	6	4.4%
Episodic frame	3	14.2%	ND	ND	1	14.3%	4	2.9%
Human interest frame	2	8%	1	25%	1	7.1%	4	2.9%
Morality frame	2	8%	ND	ND	1	7.1%	3	2.2%
Empathy frame	14	40.7%	ND	ND	2	50%	16	11.8%
Attribution frame	9	30%	1	50%	2	78.6%	12	8.8%
Educative frame	4	15%	1	87.5%	ND	ND	5	3.7%
National image frame	7	26.5%	1	25%	1	7.1%	9	6.6%
Development frame	21	77%	1	12.5%	2	50%	24	17.7%
Mutual benefit frame	18	67.3%	1	12.5%	1	35.7%	20	14.8%
Rights frame	12	39.8%	ND	ND%	1	50%	13	9.6%
Victimhood frame	16	54.9%	1	12.5%	1	42.9%	18	13.3%
Other type	1	2.7%	ND	ND	ND	ND	1	0.7%
Total	113	370%	8	237.5%	14	378.5%	135	100%

**ND refers to no data*

*** A single story may/can use more than one media frame types. Considering this, the above table was analyzed based on a descriptive analysis method especially by using Multiple Response Method. Thus, the basic thing here is “how repeatedly” the news/feature article used a certain frame. That was the reason why the percentage becomes more than 100 percent.*

As a result, one of the most salient questions of this study was “to examine how the selected media outlets framed the event of NNPD of Ethiopia”. After a range of different types of frames were employed in the selected newspapers, the dominant types of frames were selected. Accordingly,

development frame was found to be the dominant frame type that has been repeatedly used in the news articles. The table above depicts the predominance of development frame in almost 24 (17.7%) of the analyzed stories followed by mutual benefit frame which occupied 20 (14.8%) of the total coverage with respect to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. This is due to the positive portrayal of NNP's of Ethiopia as having a special occasion for development importance. The newspaper also has been taken the day as a positive opportunity that can potentially bring mutual and sustainable economic development to the NNP's in particular and to the country in general. Victimhood frame was the third most commonly used type of media frame holding 18 (13.3%) and empathy frame was the fourth media frame type which contributed 12 (11.8%) of news articles from the analyzed 135 stories under a specified study frame.

Rights frame was the fifth most repeatedly used type of media frame which accounted 13 (9.6%) of stories. Attribution of responsibility frame, national image frame, game frame, educative frame, episodic frame, human interest frame and morality frames obtained somewhat a moderate/slight access with (8.8%, 6.6%, 4.4%, 3.7%, 2.9%, 2.9%, and 2.2%) of coverage respectively. The remaining 0.7% of stories used other kind of media frames to cover the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

With regard to media framing differences, Gibbs and Warhover (2002) argue that two newspapers or media outlets may present or frame the same event or story differently by selecting and focusing on different aspects or angles of the same story. Thus, media framing deals with how a given media outlet or newspaper organization shapes an event. In addition to journalistic angles, framing of an issue might be influenced by political, socio-economic and editorial policy of a specific media outlet or organization. For instance, the space allotted for celebrating the event of NNPD for government owned media is different from the attention which is given by privately owned print media.

As can be seen in the table above, the government owned newspaper, *Addis Zemen* was dominantly used development frame followed by mutual benefit frame which is the second most employed frame type while covering the event of NNPD of Ethiopia. On the other hand, when we examine the relative amount of media frames used by the two privately owned *Addis Admass and Reporter (Amharic)* newspapers in the study frame, we can see some observable variations in the use of media frame types. Accordingly, *Addis Admass* has predominantly employed educative frame with 87.5% of the analyzed news stories and attribution of responsibility frame (50 %) as the second widely used

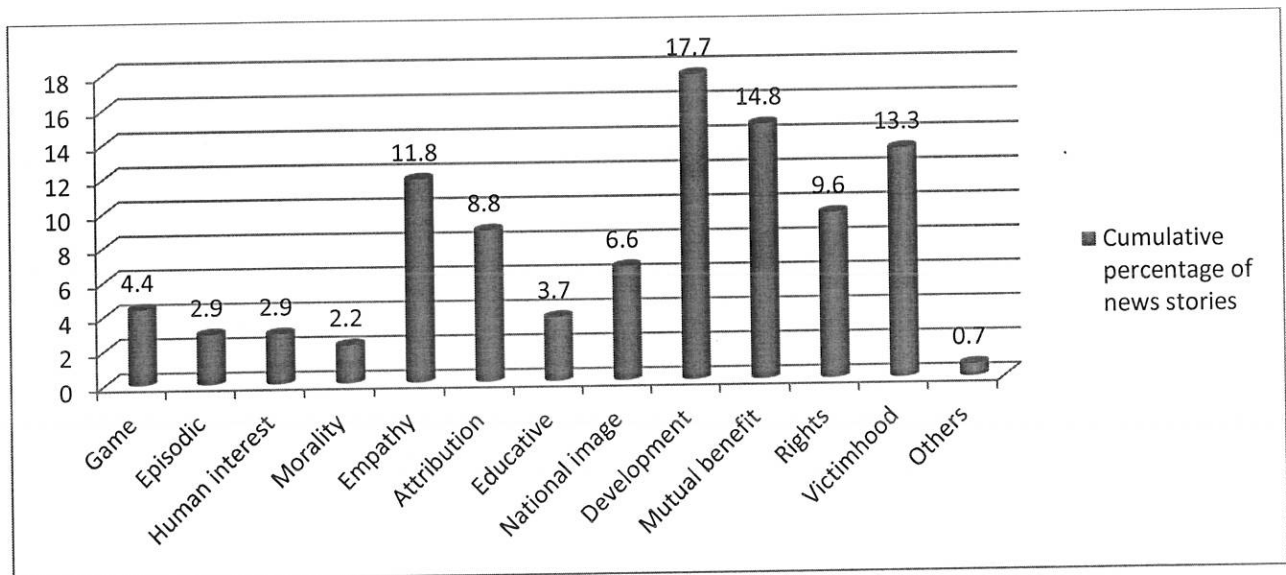
frame in the news articles. National image and human interest frame which both accounted 25% of the news stories were employed the third media frame type in the news story with respect to the commemoration of NNPD.

While, *Reporter* dominantly used attribution of responsibility frames in 78.6% of its publication and empathy, development and rights frame as the second most important frame types which were employed in the news articles with holding 50% of the analyzed news stories each. It also used victimhood (42.9%) frame as the third media frame type for covering the event of NNPD of Ethiopia.

However, when we examine the cumulative average of the three selected newspapers with respect to media frame types, development frame predominantly overweighs other media frame types and followed by mutual benefit frame. This might correlate with Entman (1993) media selection of salience. Thus, as to him: “To frame is to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way so as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation (p.52).”

As a result, this study showed that “**development frame**” was the most salient (repeatedly used) frame both in government and privately owned (*Reporter*) media in the overall analyzed narratives under a specified time frame for structuring the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

Figure 2 Cumulative Percentage of Frames employed in the Selected News stories



As it has been indicated in the above figure, the dominance of development frame was observed by taking the biggest share (17.7%) of stories while covering the event of NNPD of Ethiopia. Mutual benefit was the second most frequently used media frame by accounting (14.8%) of news stories written on the celebration of the event followed by victimhood frame which exists in (13.3%) of the news articles.

Even though the three selected newspapers framed the event of NNPD through multiple types of frames, their respective dominant frames were divergent. To this regard, *Addis Zemen's* outstripped frame was development frame which accounted for 77%. This might mean that the newspaper has mainly framed NNPD in terms of bringing a potential or significant development or change among nations, nationalities as well as for the country as a whole.

On the contrary, the situation seems to be different in the privately owned *Addis Admass newspaper*. For instance, the dominant frame in *Addis Admass* newspaper is advocacy or educative frame (87.5%) which primarily revolves around calling both on the government and the people of Ethiopia should learn from the previous/past mistakes and explaining possible solutions to prevent the probable problems associated with ethnicity. On the other hand, the attribution of responsibility frame is the dominant frame type in *Reporter Amharic* which accounted (78.6%) and which entails those who were responsible for taking actions associated with the problems of group dominance or ethnic problems among NNPD's of Ethiopia.

4.1.3. Story Types in the Target Newspapers

Table 3. Frequency distribution of newspapers with respect to story types

Newspapers	Story Type with respect to number and percentage						Sub Total
	News	Editorial pieces	Feature article	Interview	Commentary	Others	
Addis Zemen	32 28.3%	26 23.0%	40 35.4%	11 9.7%	4 3.5%	ND	113 100%
Addis Admass	ND	ND	2 25%	ND	6 75%	ND	8 100%
Reporter (Amharic)	2 14.3%	3 21.4%	8 57.1%	ND	1 7.1%	ND	14 100%
Sub Total	34 25.18%	29 21.48%	50 37%	11 8.14%	11 8.14%	ND	135 100%

As can be seen from the table above, out of the analyzed 113 articles, 34 (28.3%) of news stories were written in the news form and were published in the front page of *Addis Zemen*, newspaper. Also, 26 (23%) of articles were written in editorial form and found on the editorial page of the newspaper. Similarly, majority of stories 40 (35.4%) were published in the form of feature articles, while the remaining 11 (9.7%) and 4 (3.5%) of stories were exclusively employed interviews and give commentaries respectively while developing their news with respect to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

Contrast to *Addis Zemen*, the privately owned *Addis Admass* used 6 (75%) of commentaries in its writing and 2 (25%) of the stories were written in the form of feature articles. This may signify that the intention of the newspaper was against to the celebration of NNPD. Instead, the newspaper was developing the news stories in the form of giving critiques or significant comments about the celebration of the event. On the other hand, out of the analyzed 14 stories under the study frame, *Reporter (Amharic)* newspaper dominantly used 8 (57.1%) of feature articles and 3 (21.4%) of editorial pieces in writing and developing the news of NNPD. Moreover, the newspaper uses 2 (14.3%) of news and 1 (7.1%) of commentaries respectively in reporting the event.

Table 4 below shows the cross tabulation of story type with respect to media frame types.

Frame types	Story type with respect to type of media frames						Sub Total
	News	Editorial	Feature article	Interview	Commentary	Others	
Game	5	8	6	3	2	ND	24
Episodic	6	2	6	4	ND	ND	18
Human Interest	3	2	5	1	1	ND	12
Morality	4	2	2	1	1	ND	10
Empathy	12	7	27	5	6	ND	57
Attribution	11	10	19	2	10	ND	52
Educative	4	6	4	3	2	ND	19
National image	10	11	7	2	2	ND	32
Development	25	23	36	9	2	ND	95
Mutual benefit	22	13	37	7	2	ND	81
Rights	11	11	24	5	2	ND	53
Victimhood	14	10	38	6	3	ND	71
Others	ND	2	ND	ND	1	ND	3

When we look at different news narratives employed in various frame types while covering the event of NNPD of Ethiopia, development frame outstripped other frame types. As it has been clearly indicated in the table above, development frame used 25 news, 23 editorial pieces, 36 feature articles, 9 interviews and 2 commentaries. Mutual benefit and victimhood frames were observed as the second and third frame types in existing majority of news narratives with each contributing (22,14) news, (13,10) editorial pieces, (37, 38) feature articles, (7, 6) interviews and (2, 3) commentaries respectively. However, educative, episodic, human interest and morality frames were the least used types of news narratives with the total of (19, 18, 12, & 10) news stories respectively.

Hence, majority of the news narratives in government media outlets were focused on development and mutual benefit frame types with the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. This might imply that the plan and the strategy of the government to line up (level out) the country with middle income nations and hold as the strategy in the new renaissance.

Table 5. Frequency Distribution for Author/Byline of the Story

Variables		Addis Zemen		Addis Admass		Reporter Amharic	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Author of the story	Journalist working for the news paper	98	86.7%	8	100%	13	92.9%
	News Wire	9	8%	ND	ND	1	7.1%
	Freelancer	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
	Can't be Determined	6	5.3%	ND	ND	ND	ND
	Sub total	113	100%	8	100%	14	100%

ND refers to No Data

The above table illustrates the frequency distribution of the author/byline of the news story with regard to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia under the study frame (from 2010-2014). As can be mentioned in all of the selected newspapers, the articles were written by a journalist who is

working for the newspapers. Out of 113 (100%) of the analyzed stories, 98 (86.7%) of the stories were predominantly written by a journalist who is working for *Addis Zemen*. Accordingly, 9 (8%) of the news stories were written by a news wire (a journalist who is working outside the newspaper workers). While, the writers of the remaining 6 (5.3%) of stories were not clearly indicated.

However, in the privately owned newspaper, *Addis Admass*, all of the news stories were written by journalists who are working for the newspaper which accounted for 8 (100%). Similarly, in *Reporter* 13 (92.9%) of the news narratives were written by a journalist who are working for the newspaper, but 1 (7.1%) of the news articles has been written by the news wire. When we observe the cumulative percentage of authors in the three selected newspapers, most of the news stories of NNPD of Ethiopia have been written by journalists who are regularly working for the newspapers. However, the rest of the stories have been written by the newswire especially in *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter* newspapers.

4.1.4. Tone of the News Story with respect to the Celebration of NNPD

Table 6. Frequency distribution of tone of the news story for the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia

The Tone Of the story	Newspapers						Total Number of the stories	Percenta ge on average
	Addis Zemen		Addis Admass		Reporter (Amharic)			
	Frequency	percentage	Frequency	percenta ge	frequenc y	Percentage		
Positive	101	89.4%	ND	ND	9	64.3%	110	81.6%
Negative	ND	ND	8	100%	3	21.4%	11	7.9%
Neutral	12	10.6%	ND	ND	2	14.3%	14	10.3%
Total	113	100%	8	100%	14	100%	135	100%

ND refers to no Data

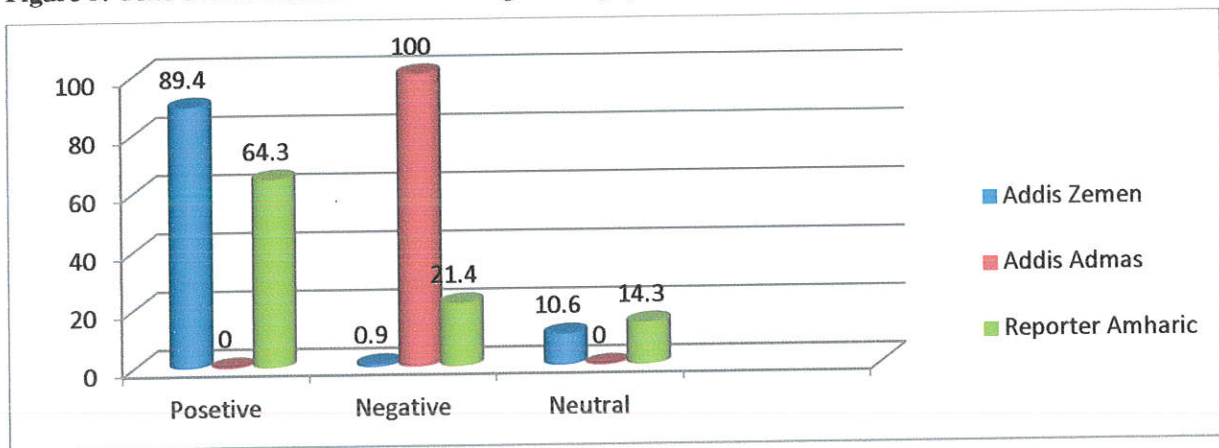
It is usually a common experience that a single event may have different tones as reported in different media outlets. Consequently, as it has been shown in the table above, clear differences were observed among the three selected newspapers especially, in *Addis Zemen daily* and *Addis Admass weekly*. The government owned *Addis Zemen* has reported 101 (89.4%) of news stories

in a “positive” tone. Here positive tone refers to the newspaper structured in favoring the celebration of the day by decorating with the expressions and by taking reference points such as, *after the toppled down of Mengistu, after the ratification of the 1991 constitution, after 1991, also after the rights and equalities of nations, nationalities and peoples affirmed...etc.* This is due to the reason that the newspaper is government owned and controlled; it has no space to criticize as well as portray government events negatively.

Also, other 12 (10.6%) of the news stories were written in a “neutral” tone. It could partly be because it is government controlled media, but the newspaper didn’t give space for a negative coverage to the celebration of the day. Accordingly, when we observe the overall intention of the newspaper, the stance of the newspaper completely favored the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

On the contrary, the privately owned *Addis Admass* has been given different tone for the event of nation’s day. As can be seen in the table above, out of 8 (100%) of the analyzed stories all of the news narratives were presented in a “negative” tone and the newspaper has reported nothing in line with a “positive” tone. This may signify that the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia is not the day of affection that brings peace, unity and tolerance among NNP’s. Hence, the newspaper portrayed the day negatively due to the reason that it has relatively media freedom than government controlled media. However, *Reporter* presented 9 (64.3%) of stories in a “positive” tone and 3 (21.4%) of news stories in a “negative” tone. The remaining 2 (14.3%) of the stories were presented in a “neutral” tone. The following figure better depicts the percentage distribution of the tone of the story in all across the selected newspapers with respect to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

Figure 3: Tone of the news stories in the target newspapers



To summarize the cumulative percentage of the tone, out of the analyzed 135 stories 110 (81.6%) of the news narratives has labeled the event positively (in a positive tone) and *Addis Zemen* takes the biggest share followed by *Reporter* which accounted 9 (64.3%) of the news stories. Accordingly, 14 (10.3%) of the news stories also presented the event in neutral way. While, the remaining 11 (7.9%) of the news stories has been labeled the celebration of NNPD negatively (in a negative tone). As can be depicted in the figure above, the presentation of the event in *Addis Admass* newspaper was entirely not in a positive tone as no story was found so far.

4.1.5. Source of Information while Framing NNPD of Ethiopia from 2010-2014

Table 7. Frequency distribution of media source for the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia

Sources used	Newspapers						Total Number of stories	Percentage on average
	Addis Zemen		Addis Admass		Reporter (Amharic)			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Government officials	61	54	3	37.5	6	42.9	70	51.8%
Civic Society organization	6	5.3	ND	ND	ND	ND	6	4.4%
Foreign political officials	7	6.2	ND	ND	1	7.1	8	5.9%
Individuals	18	15.9	1	12.5	1	7.1	20	14.8%
Opposition Parties	3	2.7	4	50	3	21.4	10	7.4%
Documents and press release	4	3.5	ND	ND	3	21.4	7	5.1%
Other Media houses	3	2.7	ND	ND	ND	ND	3	2.2%
Not Determined	11	9.7	ND	ND	ND	ND	11	8.1%
Total	113	100	8	100	14	100	135	100%

*ND refers to No Data

Most of the time, journalists depend on sources to be credible and to get public attention easily. The use of qualified and accredited sources has been underlined in many codes of ethics and has been the basic tenet of objective journalism. In fact, objectivity lies in the domain of professional standards that journalists need to attain and maintain. In doing so, journalists use different sources to report events for the general public. When they report events to the public, they quote either government officials or non-governmental officials. During reporting, journalists can create differences from one media to the other. The presence of such differences would influence the reporting style of the news media since part of the media's product is in some way dependent

on what the politician says. Hence, it is very crucial to see changes in the media frame and in using of sources.

In order to examine the existence of such differences, the researcher performed separate cross tabulation tests by taking different media source quoted while reporting the event of NNPD of Ethiopia under the specified time frame. Therefore, as can be seen in the table above the government owned newspaper, *Addis Zemen* used/quoted the majority, 61 (54%) of government officials to develop their news articles for the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia followed by individuals 18 (15.9%). Also, 7 (6.2%) of the news narratives were used Foreign political officials as the source of their news about the event and 6 (5.3%) of the news stories quoted Civic society organizations to develop their stories for celebration of the day. The remaining, 4 (3.5%), and 3 (2.7%) of articles used opposition parties and other/anonymous sources for their news articles.

On the other hand, the privately owned *Addis Admass* newspaper used 4 (50%) of opposition political parties as their major source of information for the commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia. The newspaper also, quoted 3 (37.5%) higher government officials and 1 (12.5%) individuals/ordinary people as the source of information. Similarly, *Reporter (Amharic)* used 6 (42.9%) of higher government officials as their major source of information for the celebration of the day. They also used 3 (21.4%) of documents and press release and 3 (21.4%) of opposition political parties as their source. The remaining 1 (7.1%) of stories used both individuals and Foreign political officials as a source for the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

However, when we see the cumulative percentage of the sources used while reporting the event to the public, more or less sources were used higher government officials. Irrespective of this fact, higher government officials 70 (51.8%) were used in the majority of the news stories and outweighed the use of other sources with a significant degree. This signifies that the use of sources of stories in all the selected newspapers were highly dependent on government officials. Individuals/ordinary people were also quoted as the second source of information for the media which accounted for 20 (14.8%), but 11 (8.1%) of news stories used anonymous sources to report about the event.

4.1.6. Reporting Styles in the Target Newspapers

Table 8. Frequency distribution of dominant reporting styles in the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia

Reporting Styles	Frequency	Percentage%
Event Oriented	51	37.8%
Investigative	44	32.6%
Opinion	14	10.4%
Narrative	19	14.1%
Not Determined	7	5.2%
Ground Total	135	100%

In the profession of journalism, there are different types of reporting styles which are employed while developing and reporting news stories to the general public. In line with this, different styles of reporting are found in the selected cases based on the ownership of the media house and the editorial policies of a specific organization. Thus, newspapers in Ethiopia have different views to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. The presence of such difference would influence the reporting style of the news media since part of the media's product is dependent both on what politician say and what the journalists going to investigate about the issue.

As can be seen in the table above, majority 51 (37.8%) of the news articles were dominantly reported in an event oriented style. Among the analyzed stories, 44 (32.6%) of the news stories were reported by using investigative style followed by narrative style which accounted 14 (19.1%) of the news articles in the study frame. Accordingly, 14 (10.4%) of the news articles were dominantly reported by using opinion or judgmental style with respect to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. While, the remaining 7 (5.2%) of the news stories were not clearly defined. To sum up, the selected newspapers dominantly employed event oriented style of reporting while developing and reporting their news stories. These stories are written by predominantly based on panel discussions, symposiums and short term meetings about the celebration of the event.

In light to this, Informant "IV" from the newspaper, *Addis Admass* suggests that:

We didn't have space for the central theme of the celebration of the event rather our media primarily focuses on research findings which were presented on the celebration of the event with respect to ethnic differences, ethnic identities, group problems, the rights, opportunities and freedoms of NNP's of Ethiopia. Therefore,

the commemoration of the day is not limited to panel discussions, symposiums and meetings, but also includes different scholarly works or research findings (personal interview, 17/6/2015).

4.1.7. The Way of Presentation of NNPD of Ethiopia in the Selected Newspapers

Table 9. Frequency distribution of the way in which the selected newspapers framed and presented the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia

The way presentation of NNPD	Newspapers						Total Number of the stories	Percentage on average
	Addis Zemen		Addis Admass		Reporter Amharic			
	Frequency	percentage	Frequency	percentage	frequency	percentage		
As an Opportunity	113	100%	ND	ND	11	78.6%	124	92%
As a divisive strategy	ND	ND	8	100%	3	21.4%	11	7.98%
Total	113	100%	8	100%	14	100%	135	100%

ND refers to No Data

When we examine the celebration of NNPD of presentation, it is possible to look at two different perspectives; either as an opportunity for nations, nationalities and peoples to live in harmony or as a divisive strategy which jeopardizes unity among peoples of Ethiopia. Irrespective of this fact, as indicated in the table above, *Addis Zemen* portrayed the day as an opportunity for NNPD's to live in harmony and peace which accounted for 113 (100%). Accordingly, the newspaper didn't give space for a negative portrayal of NNPD or as a strategy which jeopardizes unity among nations since it is government controlled media.

However, *Addis Admass* newspaper has been completely portrayed the day as a divisive strategy which jeopardizes unity among peoples of Ethiopia and will aggravate an ethnic conflict among nations, nationalities and peoples. In doing so, out of 8 (100%) of the analyzed news narratives, all of the stories negate NNPD of Ethiopia. The stories gave a negative connotation or as a divisive strategy to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia which jeopardizes unity among peoples of the country. Hence, distributing propagandas like the previous governments were brutal,

undemocratic, oppressor and didn't recognize the rights and freedoms of the people in the celebration of the day will create ethnic and political tyrannies among the people.

Unlike *Addis Admass*, the privately owned newspaper *Reporter* gave a positive interpretation to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. For instance, out of 14 (100%) of the analyzed articles, 11 (78.6%) of news narratives have portrayed the day as an opportunity for NNP's to live in harmony and bringing peace among nations, nationalities and peoples. However, 3 (21.4%) of the stories have portrayed the day as a divisive strategy which jeopardizes unity among peoples of Ethiopia.

When we examine the cumulative percentage of total frequency in the three selected newspapers, the advantage or the strong side of celebrating NNPD of Ethiopia overweighs from its disadvantages or weaknesses. As it has been depicted in the chart above, out of 135 (100%) of the analyzed stories, 124 (92%) of the news articles have presented the strong or positive side of the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. Moreover, the analyzed stories suggest that the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia is a conducive environment or taken as an opportunity for NNP's to live in unity and harmony. On the other hand, the remaining 11 (7.98%) of the news articles were presenting the negative side of the celebration of the day. They considered the day as a divisive strategy which endangers unity among NNP's of Ethiopia. Such presentation also suggests that the commemoration of the day together with nations and nationalities does not have a meaning on the people's side; rather it is a government agenda or strategy to manufacture consent for the sake of consolidating their power and show its dominance over others.

4.1.8. The Reflected Role of Media and Journalists with Respect to the Celebration of NNPD

Table 10. Frequency distribution of reflected roles of media in the selected newspapers in line with the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia from 2010-2014

The reflected role of media	Newspapers						Total Number of the stories	Percentage on average
	Addis Zemen		Addis Admass		Reporter (Amharic)			
	No.	percentage	No.	percentage	No.	percentage		
Providing Neutral information	24	21.2%	ND	ND	6	42.9%	30	22.22%
Awareness creation	47	41.6%	ND	ND	3	21.4%	50	37%
Intentionally setting the agenda	42	37.2%	ND	ND	2	14.3%	44	32.59%
Becoming critical	ND	ND	8	100%	3	21.4%	11	8.14%
Total	113	100%	8	100%	14	100%	135	100%

***ND refers to no Data**

Independent media outlets have its own roles with respect to covering or reporting a certain issue. However, the stance and the role of media may differ from one media outlet to another media outlet due to the ownership, socio-economic and political aspect of the media houses and the editorial polices of a specific media house. With the special focus of print media outlets of the three selected newspapers, the researcher analyzed 135 news articles with the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

Taking the reflected stance/role of the media as a category, the government owned newspaper, *Addis Zemen* primarily gives more emphasis to awareness creation about the event to the general public. As can be seen in the table above, out of 135 (100%) of the analyzed news stories, 47 (41.6%) of news narratives were focused on creating awareness on the celebration of NNPD for the general public. Similarly, 42 (32.2%) of the news stories were focused on intentionally setting the agenda on the celebration of the day and persuading the public. The main agenda which is propagated in NNPD is that all NNPD's of Ethiopia has the right to speak, to learn and to express by their own languages as well as the right to develop and keep their cultural peculiarities. Besides, they propagate the ideological messages of the current constitution to the

new generation and the wider public as well. However, they use this day as an opportunity to manufacture consent and consolidate their power.

Since, *Addis Zemen* is government owned and controlled print media, it is used as a tool of propaganda and the government wanted the public to consider it as a greatest achievement in the democratization of the country that is the key for all rounded development. While, the rest 24 (21.2%) of the news stories somehow tried to be neutral in reporting the commemoration of the day to the general public. However, among the analyzed news stories from the study especially in *Addis Zemen*, there is no a single news narrative covered through criticizing the event of nation's day. This might suggest that there was a high government control over the newspaper and resulted in covering and reporting success stories of the government with regard to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia which is not purely the task of journalism.

On the contrary, the stance of *Addis Admass* was different from *Addis Zemen*. Unlike *Addis Zemen*, it has the space to blame as well as to criticize the wrong doings of the government in relation to the celebration of the day. Thus, the reflected role of this media was completely different from that of the previous one. As it has been revealed in the table above, out of the analyzed 8 (100%) news stories, there were no any news article which has been working on persuasion as well as intentionally setting agendas on the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. The content of the analyzed stories in general reflect the negative impact of the celebration of the day and focusing on criticizing the event.

Even though the newspaper was not completely independent from political views and factors, it tried to be somehow independent and provide opposite and varieties of views to the general public. As the evident of this, the reflected stance of this print media outlet towards the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia was negative. Among the published news stories, the newspaper has been become with a critique of:

“እዉነት ይች አገር የማን ናት? (Whose country is this? or to whom this country belong to?), የብሔር ብሔረሰቦች ቀን የፍቅር ቀን መስሎኝ ነበር? (I thought that the day of nations, nationalities and people's day was the day of love/affection?). On its argument, the newspaper blamed the government in the way that the government of Ethiopia is not responsible for freedom of expression, speech, individual and group rights in general even though it has been clearly stated in the proclamation. Apparently, the current government

is oppressive and brutal of human rights and freedoms of expressions. Accordingly, it has a considerable impact on the rights of the people which is not less than the previous regimes (Addis Admass, December 29, 2005 Vol, 12 Issue No, 673 p. 5).

The *Reporter* on the other hand, has become inclusive roles while covering the event. In doing so, the newspaper gave almost half of the news coverage to stories which provide neutral information about the event of the day to the general public. Out of 14 (100%) of the analyzed news stories, 6 (42.9%) of the news articles were focused on giving neutral information about the event followed by awareness creation and becoming critical to the event which accounted 3 (21.4%) of news articles. The remaining 2 (14.3%) of the news stories were focused on intentionally setting an agenda on the celebration of the day and tried to persuade the public about the positive significance which is resulted from the commemoration of the day. When we compare with *Addis Admass*, the trend of emphasizing on political issues, particularly in giving the critiques about the celebration of the day was very low.

To sum up with the cumulative percentage of the reflected stances/roles of the media, the dominance of the news stories which aimed at awareness creation on the event of the nation's day outstripped to the other roles. From the total of 135 (100%) of the analyzed news stories, 50 (37%) of the news stories were working on giving the information that the system of federalism is good for our country to live in unity and in harmony. Besides, the commemoration of the day paves conducive environment for sharing different cultural values and linguistic peculiarities among nations and nationalities.

The other, 44 (32.59%) of the news stories were written to intentionally set an agenda on the event and had persuade the public about the celebration of the day, sustaining peace, strengthening unity and developing positive side of the event to live in harmony with NNP's. However, the remaining 30 (22.22%) and 11 (8.14%) of the news stories have reflected aim of providing neutral information and were critical to the event of NNPD respectively.

Table 11. The Reflected Stance/Role of Journalists in the Selected Newspapers

The reflected role of journalists in the news stories	Newspapers						Total Number of the stories	Percentag e on average (%)
	Addis Zemen		Addis Admass		Reporter Amharic			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Serving the people based on the profession	24	21.2	ND	ND	6	42.9	30	22.22
Advancing their own and government propaganda	54	47.8	ND	ND	3	21.4	53	39.2
Persuading the people	35	31	ND	ND	2	14.3	37	27.4
Entertaining the people	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
Becoming critical	ND	ND	8	100	3	21.4	11	8.14
Others	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
Total	113	100	8	100	14	100	135	100

*ND refers to no Data

Journalists have their own roles/stances while they write news stories to the general public. Especially, ethical or professional journalists are always lead by the principles as well as the editorial policies of a certain media house. They are also neutral or independent of holding a side. Even though there are different political as well as ethical problems that hinder the practices of professional journalism, at least a few journalists have tried their best to act based on the profession. However, if the news media is controlled by the government and owned by a certain individual, it would be difficult for the journalist to practice his/her work based on the profession. In this situation, journalists became the handicap of the government or a certain media organization. In line with this, there are journalists who are working for the government and private media organizations. As it has been mentioned before, journalists working for the government media do not have any space to criticize on the wrong doings of the government. Instead they are always aware to report only the success stories of the government. The pressure and the interference of government officials on journalists may affect the profession of journalism in one way or the other.

Regardless of this fact, the reflected role of journalists who are working in the newspaper, *Addis Zemen*, with respect to the commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia was positive. As can be depicted in the table above, out of the analyzed 113 (100%) news stories 54 (47.8%) of the news stories has reflected the positive side of the journalists towards the celebration of the day. The

newspaper dominantly gave emphasis to set agenda and also advance government propaganda with respect to the celebration of NNPD. Even though a smaller or 24 (21.2%) of news stories were written in a neutral way/serving the public professionally, 35 (31%) of the news articles were clearly depict the journalists role at persuading the general public for the celebration as well as the positive outcomes of the day. However, it was impossible to find any news stories which reflect critical role of journalists in relation to the celebration of the day.

The reflected roles of journalists working for the privately owned newspaper, *Addis Admass* were extremely critical to the celebration of the event. Among the analyzed 8 (100%) news stories, all of the news articles showed the negative side of the celebration of the event. Thus, the reflected role of journalists in all news narratives were critical and against to the commemoration of the NNPD of Ethiopia. As it has been understood from the excerpt, the current constitution (EPRDF) used the day as a strategy to manufacture consent for the sake of consolidating their power not for bringing peace, unity and tolerance among NNP's of Ethiopia.

Furthermore, when we see journalists from *Reporter*, 6 (42.9%) of the news articles showed that journalists were neutral while they report the commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia for the general public. From the total of the analyzed 14 (100%) news stories, 3 (21.4%) of the news narratives were indicated the role of journalists that are creating their agenda to advance government propaganda on the event. 2 (14.3%) of the news articles indicate the persuasion role of the journalists. Nevertheless, 3 (21.4%) of the news stories indicated that journalists have criticized the celebration of the event and focused on telling the negative side of the event.

To sum up the overall reflected roles of journalists in the analyzed news narratives, there were some observable divergent views on the news presentation of the event. Such differences can apparently be explained by the very nature of the ownership of the media houses within government and private controlled media. In doing so, journalists who are working for government media obviously favor and cover the positive side of the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. Private media journalists on the other hand tried to be independent/impartial information providers to cover the celebration of the event. Whether they favor or become impartial, the basics should be governed by the code of ethics or by the requirements of journalistic profession.

4.1.9. Factors Affecting Media Framing in the Coverage of NNPD of Ethiopia

According to different writers, framing can be affected by various factors. In line with media framing factors, Scheufele (1999), Shoemaker and Reese (1996) noted that when journalists frame an issue, on one hand they may be influenced by several social structural or organizational reasons and on the other by individual or ideological factors. Accordingly, Scheufele further identifies five variables that may potentially affect journalists when they are framing of an issue or an event: social norms and values, organizational pressure and constraints, pressure of interest groups, journalist routines, and journalist's ideological or political orientations. Media framing of NNPD by Ethiopian journalists is also affected by the above mentioned factors. One of the most influencing factors that put a greater pressure on the work of journalists was the political arena/system that the country has practiced.

In this regard a journalist working for a private newspaper, *Addis Admass* noted:

Most of the time, I wrote the news stories in the way that I understood/passionately in connection to the celebration of NNPD. However, I have been accused for many times in the case of the news stories that I wrote. The news stories were interpreted as a criminal offense on the side of the ruling party and considered as something that rise problems on ethnicity and create ethnic conflicts. On top of this, the government/political system in Ethiopia put a greater hindrance on the journalists in order not to cover or frame the issue as they want. After I have been given an advice, I have decided to refrain from writing the news stories which creates ethnic conflicts among NNP's (Personal interview, 20/6/2015).

On the contrary, Informant "II" from the government owned media claim that:

In light of the celebration of NNPD, there was no any challenge that affects/challenges me since I wrote the news stories based on the editorial policies of the media house. When I wrote the news articles about NNPD, primarily I used to focus on the reality. Accordingly, I have never written the stories through blaming the previous ruling system as oppressive and the current system as more democratic. Besides, in my writing, I didn't

concentrate on the stories which bring ethnic conflicts among nations and nationalities. Due to this, I didn't face any confrontation with government officials as well as my Bosses (Personal interview, 14/6/2015).

By the same token, Informant "I" from government owned media describe that:

I have never encountered any pressure from anybody while I wrote the news articles with respect to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. Even though it is government controlled media, nobody influence me. However, the previous senior people propagate the commemoration of the nation's day negatively, because, they have previous bad mentality about ethnicity. I have been writing the news stories in my angle based on the editorial policies of the media house. Since the country is mainly working on tolerance, I never wrote the news articles that create ethnic conflicts among NNP's. Therefore, while I wrote the news stories with respect to the celebration of NNPD, I didn't gave emphasis for a single nation and undermine the other nation. I have seen them in equal eyes and gave equal opportunities since my point of reference is the editorial policy of the media house (Personal interview, 16/6/2015).

However, key Informant "III" from the same media house argues that there is no any journalist who is completely free from problems like government pressure, media ownership, lack of professionalism and economic barriers. As to him, if the media is governed by private individuals, journalists are also governed to write news stories based on the guidelines of that specific media house. Due to this, the work of journalists are not totally independent from different factors rather it is relatively independent. Thus, when we write the new articles we are somehow impartial since the role of the journalist is serving the public (personal interview, 13/6/2015).

Consequently, the result of this study correlates with the idea of Ishiyama's (2007) political related challenges. As to Ishiyama, political challenges are restrictions which are imposed by government officials. Different research works also show that government is often observed while indirectly restricting the contents of newspapers and taking actions against journalists. As a

result of this, the government of Ethiopia is known and quite intolerant to criticism and had frequently imposed restrictions on the countries private media outlets.

With regard to ownership, there are certain observable differences on journalists covering the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia in government and private media outlets. Most of the time the media which are owned by government, recommend journalists to write the news article favoring the celebration of the day whereas, journalists who are working for the private media outlets are also governed by the owner of media organization. This influence might directly or indirectly put an influence on professional routines of journalists. Concurrently, Van Dijk (1987) suggested that the way news is framed in the mass media is a result of social and professional routines of journalists.

Generally, this study shows that journalists who are working for both government as well as private media houses were influenced by different factors to frame or cover the issue of NNPD of Ethiopia. Thus, if there is an influence from government officials, media ownership, journalistic professionalism and economy, the work of journalism has become undermined in one way or the other.

4.1.10. Theme of the News Stories in the Target Newspapers

Table 12. Theme distribution across the selected newspapers in relation to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia from 2010-2014

Themes	Addis Zemen		Addis Admass		Reporter Amharic		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Living peacefully in tolerance & building a single political and economic community	51	45.1	ND	ND	6	42.9	57	42.22
Building Democracy & Development	37	32.7	ND	ND	2	14.3	39	28.88
Sharing of different cultural values	6	5.3	ND	ND	1	7.1	7	5.18
Reconciliation and Nation building	6	5.3	ND	ND	2	14.3	8	5.9
Opening new opportunities for newly emerging nations	11	9.7	ND	ND	1	7.1	12	8.88
A divisive strategy which jeopardizes unity among peoples	ND	ND	8	100	1	7.1	9	6.66
Others	2	1.76	ND	ND	1	7.1	3	2.22
Grand Total	113	100	8	100	14	100	135	100

***ND refers to no Data**

Theme is one of the most important issues in framing research. As a result, the theme of a certain story can play an important role in portraying a certain category among ethnic groups. The theme and the tone of the news stories have been analyzed in the selected newspapers based on the third objective of the research that “what are the dominant media framing type that has been employed

in the selected newspapers with regard to the celebration of NNPD”. Accordingly, different themes were found out to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia since the selected newspapers were owned and controlled by different individuals or organizations.

When we examine the theme of the selected newspapers independently, *Addis Zemen* predominantly focused on the theme of living peacefully and building a single political and economic community in the country. Because of this, out of 113 (100%) of the analyzed stories, 51 (45.1%) of the news narratives focused on the theme of living peacefully in tolerance with NNP’s and manufacturing consent as well as building a single political and economic community in the country followed by building democracy and development which accounted 37 (32.7%). Among the analyzed stories, 11 (9.7%) of the news stories focused on the theme of opening new opportunities for the emerging nations. However, other categories such as, sharing of different cultural values, reconciliation and nation building, as well as others constituted (5.3%, 5.3% & 1.76%) of themes respectively.

Unlike *Addis Zemen*, *Addis Admass* has divergent themes to the event. Out of 8 (100%) of the analyzed articles, 5 (62.5%) of stories were dominantly focused on the theme of reconciliation and nation building among nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. Nevertheless, the remaining 3 (37.5%) of the news articles were focused on the theme of discrimination or has taken the event of nation’s day as a divisive strategy which jeopardizes unity among peoples of Ethiopia. This may signify that for this media house, celebrating the NNPD together NNP’s of Ethiopia is not taken as an opportunity to bring peace and unity among the people rather, it has been divided the people based on ethnicity and aggravated animosity between different ethnic groups and the newspaper better implicates reconciliation and peace building.

On the other hand, the Reporter mainly focused on the theme of manufacturing consent. From the total of 14 (100%) of the analyzed news stories, 6 (42.9%) of the news articles were focused on the theme of living peacefully in tolerance with NNP’s of Ethiopia and building a single political and economic community in the country. Moreover, 2 (14.3) of the news stories were also gave coverage to the theme of bringing peace, unity, reconciliation and nation building among different nations, nationalities and building democracy and development in the country. The remaining categories like sharing of different cultural values, discrimination, opening new

opportunities for newly emerging nations and others were constituted each 1 (7.1%) of the themes with respect to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

As can be depicted in the figure below, in *Addis Zemen*, the dominant theme was living peacefully in tolerance and building a single political and economic community in the country in addition to manufacturing consent. Even though the stated theme of NNPD of Ethiopia is seemed to be living in peace and harmony, the implied theme is completely different. This may suggest that the current government used NNPD of Ethiopia as a strategy for the sake of consolidating/sustaining its power.

On the other hand, *Addis Admass* gave a great emphasis to the theme of nation building and reconciliation. This may also directly or indirectly suggest that the current government should accept the grievances that should be raised from different ethnic groups and should reconcile on the mistakes that has been done by the previous government. In doing so, the newspaper suggest that government should create conducive environment for nation building and accept and respect divergent views.

Similar to *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* was dominantly focused on living peacefully in tolerance with NNPD's for building democracy and bringing a better development. The newspaper, also give more emphasis to the theme of building a single political and economic community in the country.

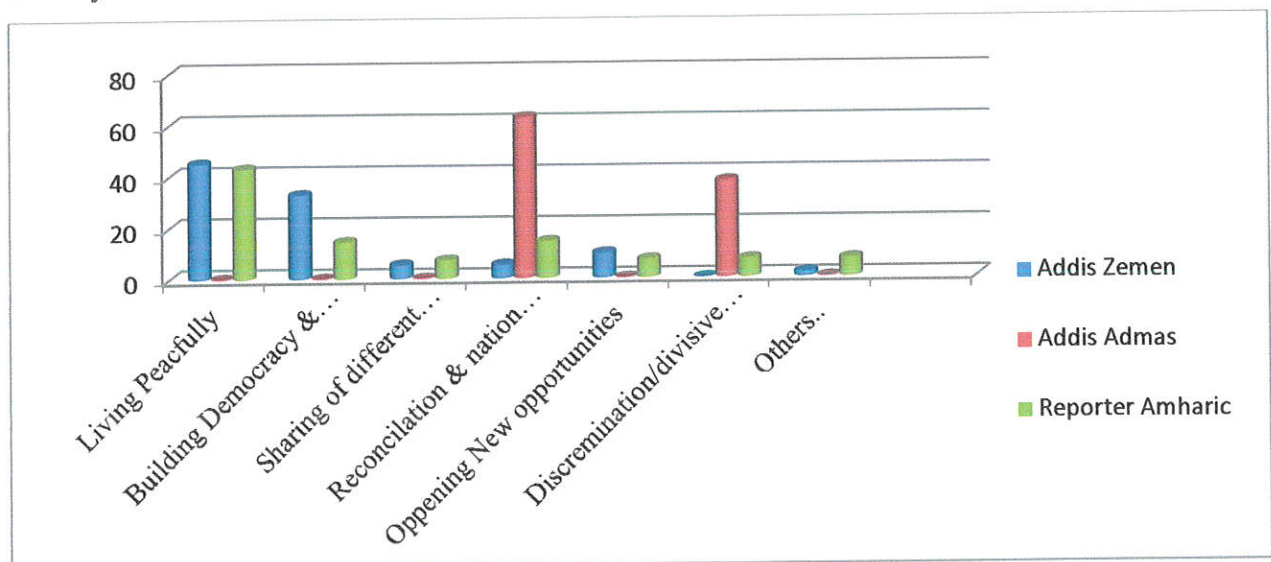


Figure 4 theme of the news narrative towards the celebration of NNPD

4.2. Discussion of Findings

The main purpose of undertaking this study was to examine how the Ethiopian newspapers frame major government events, particularly emphasizing on the framing of NNPD from 2010-2014. It also intended to find out the dominant themes while covering the event, sources as well as the roles that the media played in the coverage of the event. In doing so, the study was done based on content analysis of the three newspapers under a specified study/time frame. The analysis is done on the newspapers reports of news stories on the celebration of NNPD. The types of stories, locations, coverage, themes, sources, tones and frames of articles were examined from 135 news stories (113 from *Addis Zemen*, 8 from *Addis Admass* and 14 from *Reporter Amharic*). Additionally, journalists and editors who are working on the selected newspapers as well as higher government officials who are working on the political economy of the media were interviewed.

This section interprets and discusses the results presented in the above sections. Moreover, this section relates the findings of the current research to the bigger picture of framing theory and prior research that are presented in the literature review.

4.2.1. The Extent of Coverage/ Frequency

As it has been mentioned earlier, the reader's perception of a certain perceived reality is highly dependent on the quality and intensity of news information which they get from the news media. The more the media covers certain issues, the greater the chance that the issue becomes part of the public agenda which in turn indicates how important the event was for the media, the politicians and the public at large (Iyenger, 1991). With regard to this fact, to weigh the importance of the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia, this study tried to answer the research question number four that says, "To what extent do print media outlets allot their newspaper space for the event of NNPD?"

A total of 135 news stories were published in *Addis Zemen*, *Addis Admass* and *Reporter (Amharic)* newspapers concerning the celebration of the nation's day. Accordingly, the data analyzed above revealed that there was a significant difference between the newspapers covering the issues related to the commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia from 2010-2014. As a result,

Addis Zemen provided more coverage to the celebration of the event, whereas the privately owned newspapers *Addis Admass* and *Reporter* have been given some what a little or less coverage to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. In terms of number of stories, *Addis Zemen* published 113 news stories that were related to the celebration of the event. It is considerably large amount that on average from two to three news stories were published per publication about the celebration of the event on the specified time.

One potential reason that contributed for high number of news stories in *Addis Zemen* newspaper might be related with its nature as a daily newspaper in that it has more space than weekly and bi-weekly newspapers under the study. On top of this, the exposure to media can make certain things popular and this popularity can lead those things to become government, media as well as public agenda. In relation to this, Tuing and Hassim (2009) noted that the frequency, depth and the importance given by the media towards a certain issues is believed to determine the level of reaction or thoughts of targeted audience towards it. Similarly, Rias (2008) contends that the increase in the news coverage is thought to bring about increase in the salience of a particular issues or events.

Even though both private owned media outlets gave emphasis to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia, the degree of coverage was completely different from each other. When we compare the two private print media publications, the bi-weekly *Reporter (Amharic) newspaper* relatively published more news stories about the event than the weekly *Addis Admass* newspaper. However, if we take the amount of coverage and analyzed news stories, feature articles, editorial pieces, commentaries and interviews in *Addis Zemen*, we can clearly see that the celebration of the event from 2010 -2014 has gained large media coverage than the privately owned media outlets. This is due to the reason that after the adoption of the current constitution in 1991, the issue of the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia becomes a big government as well as media agenda. To implement their policies and strategies as well as to consolidate their power, government officials use government controlled media. To do so, they highly use both broadcast and print media outlets for transferring their propaganda to the general public.

With regard to media coverage, Informant “I” from government media house suggests:

Though the event of NNPD of Ethiopia is a big government issue, we journalists who are working in this public media gave a special attention and coverage to this event. In doing so, when we see the objective of the commemoration of NNPD for Ethiopian people, it has more significance. For instance, it gives the opportunity to speak, learn and chronicle their history by using their own languages (Personal interview, 14/6/2015).

Accordingly, this excerpt has been correlated with the FDRE constitution of *Article 39* of sub article 2 which reads: *every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture; and to preserve its history.*

Unlike to public media journalists (government), privately owned journalists were not that much aware of the commemoration of the day. In light of this, Informant “VI” from *Reporter* argued that:

Though the foundation of the system was nations, nationalities and peoples, we and the media we are working in missed to cover NNPD for the last four years. But now, we give a little attention and coverage to the celebration of the event. However, the degree of the coverage that our media organization gave to the celebration of the day is not comparable to that of government media. Most of the time, government media houses focused on the ceremonial/cultural festivity of the event whereas, we focused on different perspectives, like research findings with respect to ethnicity, cultural shows from newly emerging nations, as well as on the roles of event celebration to the public and the like (Personal interview, 12/6/2015).

4.2.2. Dominant Media Frames Employed in the Target Newspapers

One of the most important categories in framing research is identifying major types of media frames employed by newspapers while covering issues under study. When we see the nature of framing, it is related with how a certain media presents an issue to a certain audience. In line with this, Kendal (2005, pp.9-10), noted that “in the process of selecting some issues/topics important, other issues are

becoming discarded. Once a topic has been selected, which aspects of that topic are to be emphasized and which issue is excluded is largely left up to the journalist.” Thus, the most significant question in media framing especially in this study is how the selected newspapers framed the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia from 2010-2014.

Even though the selected newspapers have employed various types of media frames, the findings of the study revealed that development frame was the dominant frame used on average in all of the analyzed news stories. When we compare to the privately owned newspapers, *Addis Zemen* has covered the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia in a wider and significant number of frames (21 out of one 113 news stories). To elaborate it further, it is better to discuss it separately.

Development Frame: As it has been mentioned earlier, development frame was the dominant frame that has been employed in the selected newspapers which accounted for 17.7 percent on average. Among the selected newspapers, *Addis Zemen* was the only newspaper that contributed the largest coverage with 77 percent of news narratives to the commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia. The privately owned *Addis Admass* newspaper has ignored the coverage of NNPD of Ethiopia with respect to development frame. However, a bi-weekly, *Reporter Amharic* newspaper gave 50 percent a slight coverage to the developmental aspects of the commemoration of NNPD. In light of this, development frame was by and large dominantly used in the new articles and has become main frame due to the positive portrayal of the NNP’s of Ethiopia as having a special occasion for development importance. With this regard, media conformity between the editorial position of the newspaper and the government policy in a political context reconfigured by the essentials of developmental state is a very strong aspect especially in government owned media outlets (Yeshiwas, 2014).

Similarly, *Addis Zemen* published news stories that have connections to development frame. Accordingly, the excerpt reads:

የኢትዮጵያ ብሄር፣ ብሄረሰቦች እና ህዝቦች እጅ ለእጅ ተያይዘው በፈገግታቸው ተግባብተው፣ በሰላማቸው ሰማይ፣ በሰንደቀአላማቸው ቀለም ደምቀው፣ በእኩልነትና በአንድነት የመኖርን ተስፋ በሚያገኝባቸው አርማቸው ተውድታቸውን አጠናክረው ወደ ህዳሴው ጉዞ አቅጣጫ ለመትመም ቃል-ኪዳን የሚገቡበት ቀን ለአገሪቱ ታሪክ እድገትና ብልፅግና ቀጣይነት ተጨማሪ አቅም ፈጥሯል። እንዲሁም የጋራ እሴቶቻቸውን በማበልፀግ ጠንካራ ያደገችና የበለፀገች አገር ለመገንባት መከፈል ያለባቸውን ዋጋ ከፍለዋል ። ብሄሮች፣ ብሄረሰቦች እና ህዝቦች እጅ ለእጅ ተያይዘው የሀገርን እድገት እና ልማት ለማፋጠንና ድህነትን ለማስወገድ የተነሱበትን ምቹ ሁኔታ የፈጠረ መሆኑን በተግባር አይተናል (አዲስ ዘመን ህዳር 27፣ 2007 74ኛ ቁጥር 087 ገፅ 3)።

Through peaceful coexistence, cooperation and recognition, nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia have glamorously shined in their peace, unity and equality. The day that realized the equality of all nations, nationalities and peoples have assured the covenant of being brotherhoods have paved great opportunities for better development and for the renaissance of this country. On developing common values, nations and nationalities have paid more sacrifice for better development of the country. They realized their unity in their cooperative hands to accelerate the development of the country and to eradicate poverty (Addis Zemen, December 27, 2007/2014, 74th Vol 087 p. 3).

Therefore, it is apparent that *Addis Zemen* newspaper has mainly framed the celebration of the day as a positive opportunity that can potentially bring mutual and sustainable economic development to the nations, nationalities and people in particular and to the country in general. Thus, celebrating the event of NNPD of Ethiopia together with NNP's of Ethiopia will mount the development need of the country. For instance, the construction and portrayal of GERD by the cooperative hands of NNP's of Ethiopia is optimistically as a key project to development to eradicate socio-economic miseries of the country.

Mutual Benefit Frame: Mutual benefit frame is the other widely used frame found in this study. It was the second most frequently used frame in *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter Amharic* newspapers. On average mutual benefit frame has been used in 14.8 percent of the news articles about the celebration of the event. However, out of the analyzed 113 news stories, *Addis Zemen* newspaper gave 67.3% of news stories to mutual benefit frame of the event while, *Reporter Amharic* newspaper gave 35.7 % of a moderate coverage to the celebration of the event with respect to mutual benefit frame. On the contrary, the privately owned *Addis Admass* newspaper has given 12.5% of a little attention to the celebration of the event with respect to the mutual benefit frame.

Regardless of the mutual benefit of celebrating the event with NNP, Mulatu (Phd) suggests:

Mutual benefit frame, which often united with development frame appeared in a significant number of articles which seek to illustrate the greater common good that will be obtained from the commemoration of NNP's of Ethiopia. Celebrating the event together with all nations and nationalities of Ethiopia paves the way to social interaction and unity among each other. If they are socially interacted and create a harmony, there will have a common background for strength and development. In such a system, they will create conducive environment for benefiting each other, especially in keeping their linguistic peculiarities like, culture, language tradition and other sources (Hibre Bihere Annual Magazine 2014, p. 11-13).

With regard to mutual benefit frame of the commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia, the following excerpt in *Addis Zemen* newspaper also reads□

የኢትዮጵያ ብሄር፣ ብሄረሰቦች እና ህዝቦች ቀን በጅግጅጋ መከበር ለኢትዮጵያ ሰማሊ ህዝብ ብቻ ሳይሆን ለአጠቃላይ ለኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ልዩ መልዕክት አለው። የአንድነትና አብሮ የመበልፀግ ብሎም በጋራ የማደግ እድሎች የታየበት አጋጣሚ ነው። ምክንያቱም ክልሉ በዓለን ማክበር የሚሰችሉትን ልማት ማልማት ሰላምና መረጋጋት ማረጋገጥ ችለዋል። ፌዴራላዊ ስርዓቱ ሁሉንም የአገራችን ህዝቦች እኩል የልማቱ ተጠቃሚ እንዲሆኑ እና ሁሉም ብሄሮች በባህላቸውና በማንነታቸው እንዲኮሩ እና በቋንቋቸው የመጠቀም መብታቸውንም እንዲጎናፀፉ አድርጓቸዋል (አዲስ ዘመን ህዳር 25፣ 2006 73ኛ፣ ቁጥር 081 ገፅ 3)።

The commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia in Jigjiga has conveyed special message for all Ethiopian people not only Somali region. It was the day that realized the opportunities of peaceful coexistence and brotherhood as well as development has assured peace, the intended development which enabled it to host the celebration of nation's day and it has the capacity of building peace and securities in their region. Accordingly, the Federal system gave equal opportunities for all people to secure equality in development activities and has create a conducive environment for nations and nationalities to keep their culture and being proud of their identities as well as recognized the rights to use by their own language” (Addis Zemen, December 4,2007/ 2014; 73th Vol 081 p. 3).

The above excerpt exclusively signifies that the commemoration of the day together with all nations of Ethiopia helps the people to share some important cultural values and initiates them for a better development. To this end, the above excerpt also revealed that this frame which makes mutual benefit more salient highly encourages understanding and cooperation between nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia to maximize their share benefits like culture, language, tradition and other linguistic peculiarities as well as participating in huge mega projects and in different development activities.

Victimhood Frame: In the previous regimes in Ethiopia, some of Ethiopian nations, nationalities and peoples were victims of the system. They were denied from their rights, freedoms and opportunities for a long period of time. The power was in the hands of few groups and the dominance of a powerful nation over the minority classes was viewed largely before the adoption of 1991 FDRE constitution (Hibre Bihere annual magazine, 2014, p.6).

In light of this, victimhood frame was the third major dominant frame employed in the selected newspapers which accounted 13.3% of the news stories on average under the specified time frame. The selected newspapers particularly, *Addis Zemen* newspaper framed in the way that nations, nationalities and peoples were victims in the previous regimes and advocate the propaganda of the current government on the event of NNPD of Ethiopia.

Empathy frame: Empathy frame was the fourth frame employed in the newspapers. Among the analyzed 135 (100%) of news stories, 11.8% of the news stories were written using empathy frame. This frame mainly covers issues which were related to blaming the previous systems as oppressive regimes and attributing the current system as the most democratic. With regard to this, *Addis Zemen* newspaper gave a significant amount of coverage on blaming the previous ruling systems in terms of the rights, freedoms and opportunities of NNP's. In light of this, with the discursive construction of NNPD Hailu (2014, p. 59) suggested that:

The past Ethiopian regimes had committed serious repressions and atrocities against nations, nationalities and peoples. During those times, they don't have the right to use their languages, promote their cultures and preserve their religions, history, and other identities. Above all, they don't have the right to self-rule and determination. There were no active participations of nations, nationalities and peoples in socio-economic and political spheres. Peoples were mistreated and alienated for their political views. Economically, members of different NNP's were not equally benefitted from the country's economic growth. Let alone equally benefitting from the country's development endeavors, they were not even treated as a human in some extreme cases.

As a result, the previous governments were highly blamed by the current government for not recognizing different diversities, human rights, group rights, freedoms and opportunities like language, culture, religion and the opportunity to learn by their own language. Moreover, rights frame attribution of responsibility frame, national image frame and educative frame were also the most important, but slightly less employed frames in the three selected newspapers. However, episodic, human interest and morality frames were other frames used by the target newspapers. These frames were among the least frames used in *Addis Admass* and *Reporter Amharic* newspapers. With regard to this, one of the most important ways of capturing and retaining the

interest of the audience is by framing the issue in the human interest angle (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). However, the selected newspapers have failed to cover the event of NNPD of Ethiopia. Accordingly, the aforementioned newspapers have also failed in covering the event that presents in the way of moral perspectives and from the perspective of focusing on the single ethnic or language group.

4.2.3. Tone of the Stories

The way journalists cover a certain group of issue either positively or negatively might imply the presence of some kind of political orientations in the media which in turn affects the political perception of the audience as a whole. On the other hand, the extent of revealing a certain issues positively or negatively sometimes believed to affect the perception of the general public. As it has been noted by Halli and Mancini (2004), the profession of journalism has long been interwoven with political advocacy which is expressed by the media's political parallelism aspect. In order to see the connection between media and politics and to assess the research question " how was the event of nations, nationalities and peoples day of Ethiopia framed in both government and private media outlets, it is better to focused on the tone of the stories.

Positive Tone: Positive tone implies that the attitude of media as well as journalists towards giving a positive attention to a certain issue. When we examine the tone of news stories with respect to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia in the three selected newspapers, a clear difference was revealed between the government and privately owned media outlets. Apparently, the analyzed data indicated that the government owned *Addis Zemen* newspaper portrayed the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia positively. On top of this, out of the analyzed 113 (100) % of the news stories, 88.8 percent of the news articles were depict the commemoration of the day positively. Such kind of positive portrayal of the event might be related to media ownership and political regulations and power relations. In line with this Mosco (1996) contend that political economy of mass media research has a critical implication and often associated with media ownership and control, interlocking directorships and other factors that bring together media industries with other media with political, economic, and social elites and with other industries.

Accordingly, *Addis Zemen* newspaper portrayed 10.6% of news stories in a neutral way. On the other hand, the privately owned *Reporter Amharic* newspaper revealed the day positively which

accounted 64.3% of the news stories. Unlike *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter Amharic* newspapers, *Addis Admass* weekly reported nothing with a positive tone towards the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. Therefore, *Addis Zemen* newspaper favored the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia in its coverage while, *Addis Admass* chooses silence in covering the celebration of the day in a positive way.

Negative Tone: The finding of the study revealed that privately owned *Addis Admass newspaper* portrayed the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia negatively. This highly contradicts with the government owned, *Addis Zemen*, which presents the event only in positive ways.

In accordance with the tone, the theory of political economy of mass media argues that the structure of industry influences content and the presumption of the theory is that media content is influenced by a combination of media owners (individuals or corporations), advertisers, competitors/other media, government regulations and viewers and readers. In the case of media ownership, private individuals decide what information should be provided to the public based on what earns them the most money (Andrejevic M, 2007 cited in Hailu 20014). Hence, *Addis Admass portrayed the day negatively due to the reason that it has a relative media freedom than Addis Zemen.*

The other bi-weekly, *Reporter Amharic* newspaper had 21.4% percent of its stories covered in a negative tone. Much of the private media outlets framed NNPD of Ethiopia in a negative tone by using strong expressions like, oppressor, autocrat, persecutor etc.... to describe the current government (EPRDF). With regard to this, an excerpt from the privately owned Reporter Amharic reads:

Everyone has the right to hold opinions and has the right to freedom of expression without interference. Though the freedom of expression is clearly stated in the FDRE constitution under Article 29, the government of Ethiopia is still continued its repression especially in the rights and freedoms of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. Moreover, the people are denied of information and justice (Reporter Amharic December 25, 2006/2013 Vol.19 Issue No 1425 p.2).

Neutral Tone: Neutral tone is related to the stance of the media and the journalist as an outside observer of the issues. When we say neutral, both the media and the journalist should not be inclined to a positive as well as a negative tone while covering and reporting events to the wider public.

Consequently, neutral tone was the second major tone found in the news stories which accounted 10.3% of coverage. Two of the newspapers (*Addis Zemen* and *Reporter Amharic*) gave a slight coverage on the celebration of the day with a neutral tone. Whereas, the other private media, *Addis Admass* chose to silence in covering neutral tones in relation to the celebration of the event. This might indicate that this newspaper has something positive or negative towards the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

In order to sum up the tone of the news stories in the selected newspapers, a daily, *Addis Zemen* and bi-weekly *Reporter Amharic* newspapers favored the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. However, a weekly *Addis Admass* newspaper had a negative tone to the celebration NNPD. As stated above, the newspaper has been observed to strongly criticize the current government with respect to the celebration of the event. From this, we can infer that the government print media are highly favorable towards the events which are organized by the government, while most of the private print media are highly critical of the events which are prepared by government officials.

4.2.4. Sources of Information that the News Stories Employed in the Celebration of NNPD

Journalists primarily relay on sources when they are writing and reporting the news. These makes sources of information to be very important for journalists in efficiently carrying out their responsibilities and are also essential to frame news stories in a certain angle. It is difficult for journalists to provide credible and reliable information for the general public without the use of sources. As a result of this, the use of sources is a very important issue in dealing with matters like event organization, election, politics and others.

When we see the relationship between journalist and politicians, as Strömbäck and Nord (2006) noted, both has a symbiotic relationship where by both are mutually benefited from each other. Similarly, as Tuing and Hussim (2009) elaborate, media can easily manipulate their news framing by only referring to sources that held out the same thought with their agendas.

Therefore, sources can easily influence the tone and the way journalists frame the news stories. In light of this, the research question number five, “What are the main sources of information that the selected newspapers used during covering NNPD of Ethiopia?” is raised.

As it can be stated in the findings of the study, *Addis Zemene* newspaper dominantly used higher government officials as a source of information while covering the event of NNPD of Ethiopia. Out of 113 (100%) of the analyzed news stories 54% of the news articles used higher government officials as a main source of information in their stories about NNPD followed by ordinary individuals/people which accounted 15.9 %. Concurrently, Foreign political officials were also quoted the third source of information in *Addis Zemen*. On the other hand, opposition political parties, documents and press release, civic society organizations and other media houses were among the least used sources in *Addis Zemen*.

Similarly, the bi-weekly *Reporter Amharic* newspaper primarily used higher government officials as a source of information. As it has been indicated in the analyzed data, 42.9% of the news articles used government officials as a source of information for developing the news towards the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. In this newspaper, opposition political parties and documents and press releases were used as the second most dominant sources which accounted for 21.4% each. The newspaper has barely used ordinary individuals and foreign political officials as a source of information. Moreover, the use of sources such as civic society organizations and other media houses was almost non-existent in the stated media outlet.

On the contrary, the privately owned *Addis Admass* newspaper highly relied on opposition political parties. Half (50%) of the coded news stories has primarily used opposition political parties as a source of information with respect to the commemoration of the day. Nevertheless, government officials were the second most quoted sources of information which accounted 37.5% of news stories. The newspaper has also used individuals/ordinary people as the third source of information in their stories about the celebration of the event. However, the use of civic society organizations, foreign political officials, documents and press releases and other media houses as a source of information was found to be very small.

In general, when we examine the overall usage of sources in the stories written about NNPD, higher government officials are the leading source of information. On average, 51.8% of the

news stories used government officials as a main source of information followed by ordinary individuals which accounted 14.8 %. Consequently, opposition political parties were found to be the third most frequently used sources of information about the event. However, foreign political officials, civic society organizations, and others were the least used source of information. Even though the degree varies from one newspaper to the other, it has been observed that *Addis Zemen* newspaper used different sources. This might signify that the ownership of the media has its own influence on using sources while covering the issue.

Most of the time the media which are owned by government used government officials as their main source of information whereas, privately owned media outlets are highly relied/ focused on opposition political parties and other sources of information. Moreover, depending on a single source and reporting the news without verification might affect and distort the information that they had. As a result, credible and verified sources are fundamentally considered as the backbone of any pieces of news stories, especially in the news aspect otherwise, it might be a rumor. However, the reality is that journalists should use multiple sources to be credible on the views of the public. With connection to this, Shoemaker (1996) and McQuail (1994) noted that journalists should potentially use different/multiple sources to write credible and reliable news to the general public.

Accordingly, all of the respondents from the selected media house said that we have used credible and verified sources while we cover the issue of the event, but the type of the source we have employed might differ from one media house to the other media and among journalists. Such kind of using different sources on a certain issue may bring framing difference. Consequently, such framing difference may affect reader's perception.

4.2.5. Type of the Story while Covering the Event of NNPD of Ethiopia

Journalists use different story types while covering a certain issue to the public. Among these, news, editorial pieces, feature articles, interviews and commentaries are the major ones. Among the analyzed 135 news articles, feature articles were dominantly used by journalists which accounted 37% on average followed by news 25.18%.

However, when we examine the selected newspapers separately, the daily *Addis Zemen* newspaper primarily used feature articles. In the newspaper, 35.4% of feature articles were used to cover the celebration of the event to the public. The news narratives were the second most type of the stories used by the newspaper with respect to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. Moreover, editorial pieces were the third mostly used news story type in the newspaper. On the other hand, interviews and commentaries were the other story types that were frequently employed to cover the event of NNPD of Ethiopia.

Similarly, the privately owned *Reporter Amharic* newspaper dominantly used feature articles in order to cover the event of nation's day. As it has been indicated from the findings of the result, 57.1 % of feature articles were used by journalists to address the celebration of the event to the public. Editorial pieces were the second most used hard pieces in the newspaper which accounted 21.4% of the news stories. Although the news narratives were used in the third level to cover the day with contributing 14.3% in the newspaper, it has been failed to use interviews for covering the event.

In contrast, the privately owned *Addis Admass* newspaper primarily used commentaries to cover the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. Out of the analyzed data, 75% of the newspaper used commentaries followed by feature articles which accounted for 25%. The newspaper has been ignored to use news genres, editorial pieces and interviews to cover the event to the public.

Irrespective of the above fact, considerable differences were seen between government and privately owned media outlets. The presence of such difference in the news narratives and editorial pieces can be attributable to the nature of the story types. As it has been noted by Mencher (2010) and Agbese, (2008) news stories are principally mean to provide readers with information, education and entertainment based on the nature of the newspapers characteristics. As a result, news stories can use different frames to disseminate the information to the public and get the reader's attention. Moreover, editorial pieces are story types in which most of the time it is hard in content and reflect the stance of the newspaper on the certain issues. Due to this, it is always harder for editorial writers to use human interest frames which have more of sensational characteristics.

4.2.6. Theme of the News Story on the Selected Newspapers

One of the most important categories in framing research is theme. According to Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007), framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by the audience. Thus, this characterization is the central idea/theme of the news story. Taking this in to consideration, living peacefully in tolerance with NNP's, manufacturing consent and building a single political and economic community in the country were the main theme of the news stories found in this study. Building democracy and development were the second most discussed themes in the news stories. Under this study, opening new opportunities for newly emerging nations and nationalities were the third most important discussed theme in the news stories. The rest of the themes like, sharing different cultural values, reconciliation and nation building as well as the divisive strategy which jeopardizes unity among nations and nationalities have been given a less attention in the news stories.

However, there was a clear difference of discussing the issue of commemoration in the selected newspapers especially, in *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass* newspapers. Apparently, *Addis Zemen* newspaper focused on the theme of living peacefully in tolerance with NNP's, manufacturing consent and building a single political and economic community in the country. As can be illustrated in the result, out of 113 (100%) of the analyzed news stories, 51 (45.1%) of the news stories discussed the issue of living together in tolerance followed by building democracy and development which accounted 32.7% of the news stories. Moreover, opening new opportunities for the newly emerging nations and nationalities was the third discussed theme which contributed 9.7% of the news stories.

Regarding to the celebration of the day, one of key informants ("VIII") from the House of Federation argues that:

During the celebration of the day, nations and nationalities together have social, political and economic goals. For instance, when we celebrate the nation's day, developed regions together with the emerging regions, the celebration of the day gives an opportunity and intensifies basic infrastructures for the host city, such as the construction of roads, fresh water, electric lights and different health centers. Consequently, the construction of these basic infrastructures will give a full service to the large community. Moreover, when we

observe from the political perspective, it gives knowhow about the adoption of the new constitution for the new generation and let them to know and examine the reality that the current constitution has. It also motivates the young generation to join in development activities and the creation of young generation with full exercise of their rights and duties. Socially, the celebration of the day brings social interaction and paves great opportunity for NNP's to know the language, culture, religion and other linguistic peculiarities of the other nations (Personal interview, 8/6/2016).

The above excerpt explicitly indicates that the commemoration of the day, especially in emerging regions has brought a significant change both at the community and regional level. The community have benefited from the fruits of development, particularly they get benefits from infrastructure, road, light and health center. Regionally, the host city/town has become prosperous and become competent with developed regions.

On the contrary, *Addis Admass* newspaper has given different themes to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. The newspaper dominantly discussed and portrayed the celebration as a divisive strategy which jeopardizes unity among peoples of Ethiopia. Although the commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia is good for sharing different cultural values and linguistic peculiarities, it creates animosity among NNP's. In light of this, Informant "IV" from *Addis Admass* newspaper notes:

In my report, primarily I have been focused on sharing of different cultural values not on tolerance and respect. Because of this, I am always striving with the idea of tolerance, respect and the like. On the same theme, he further elaborated that the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia is not the right way of commemorating the nation's day, rather used as the instrument and system of struggling power (Personal interview, 17/6/2015).

The newspaper also indicated the current government as oppressive, cruel, undemocratic and brutal of human rights and freedoms as well as a system which didn't recognize equal opportunities of nations, nationalities and peoples of the country. In doing so, out of the analyzed 8 (100%) percent of news stories the whole news stories negate the celebration of the day.

Similar to *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter Amharic* newspaper focused on the theme of living peacefully in tolerance with NNP's of Ethiopia and building a single political and economic community in the country. As indicated in the result of major findings, 42.9% of the analyzed news stories primarily focused on the theme of living peacefully and manufacturing consent followed by building democracy and development as well as bringing peace, unity, reconciliation and nation building which contributed 14.3% of the news stories each. The remaining categories have been given a little attention to the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia in the newspaper.

Accordingly, in terms of the focus of the news stories, the selected newspapers news stories have predominantly discussed the issue of tolerance as well as living peacefully and building a single political and economic community in the country. Specifically, *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter Amharic* newspapers favored the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. Concerning this issue, the following excerpt can be taken as instance their contrast that:

In the umbrella of multi-ethnic federalism, NNP's are beneficiaries in political, economic and social aspects. The celebration of the day also, created conducive environment for sustainable development, peace and good governance in the country. Moreover, in the federal system the celebration of the day has brought great achievements on exercising and developing democracy. In addition to giving freedom of expression for NNP's, the commemoration of the day has created an opportunity for nations, nationalities and people's right to use and develop their own languages, culture, religion, traditions and other linguistic peculiarities (Addis Zemen, December 29, 2010/2003, Vol, 70th year; Issue No, 89 p. 11).

Even though, the above paragraph indicates the importance of celebrating the NNPD of Ethiopia, the weekly *Addis Admass* newspaper on the other hand contravenes the celebration of the day. For *Addis Admass*, explaining about the problems of the previous ruling system to the Ethiopian nations, nationalities and people's by gathering them together may aggravate the animosity among nations instead of stabilizing them and creating sense of intimacy. Due to such and other factors the newspaper disavows the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

4.2.7. The Reflected Role of Journalists and Media

Media in today's society is known to play a significant function/role in national development and building the image of a country. Journalists are the key actors in the media's crucial role in each and every aspect of socio-economic and political situations of the country. Accordingly, this study tried to examine the reflected function of media and roles of journalists in the analyzed news stories. Among the analyzed 135 news stories 37% of the news articles predominantly have an awareness creation function. Additionally, the selected newspapers were intentionally setting the agenda and tried to convince the public about the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

However, differences have been observed in government and privately owned media outlets. In the government owned *Addis Zemen* newspaper, the new stories primarily focused on the role of creating awareness about the celebration of the day. Whereas, the privately owned *Addis Admass* newspaper has becoming critical of the celebration of the event, instead the newspaper mainly focused on informing the public about the celebration of the event not to brought unity within diversity rather than cultural festivity. Unlike *Addis Admass*, *Reporter Amharic* newspaper dominantly focused on the role/function of providing neutral information to the public. Regarding about the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia, 42.9% of the news stories has been given a special attention on providing neutral information about readers. In light of this, Informant "VII" from this media house suggests that:

We are always conscious about neutrality. When our media tried to cover and report the celebration of the day to the public, the media became independent from government policies and propagandas. Moreover our media have given a little attention to the intentional creation of the agenda for the sake of persuading the public (Personal interview, 16/6/2015).

Contrary to the above argument, Informant "III" from the government media also notes that "we journalists were setting an agenda and persuading the public about the objectives and the basic importance of the celebration of the day to general public" (*Personal interview, 13/6/2015*).

When we examine the overall reflected role of journalists in the analyzed data with respect to the celebration of the day, they are advancing their own and the government agenda about the event. As it has been revealed in the findings of the study, 39.2% of the news stories were indicated the

reflected role of journalists as key actors on setting an agenda about the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia even though some differences were witnessed in the selected newspapers. Besides, 27.4% of the news articles indicated that journalists were concerned on the role of persuading people about the event based on the policies and objectives as well as the ideologies of the government. As far as the profession of journalism is concerned, journalists should be obeyed by ethical standards and independent from propagating the ideologies of the ruling class as well as they should serve the public honestly.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusions

The main purpose of this study was to examine how the selected government and private media houses framed the event of nations, nationalities and peoples day of Ethiopia from 2010-2014. Accordingly, the study aimed at assessing the tones, themes, the extent of media coverage, sources of information and different types of media frames based on the data gathered from both in government and private owned print media outlets as well as media professionals who are working for both media organizations. Hence, this study tried to comparatively analyze media framing differences and the way of framing NNPD in government and private print media outlets.

With reference to the extent of coverage, the selected print media outlets framed NNPD in a different way. In light of this, the findings of the study revealed that the daily newspaper, *Addis Zemen*, published significant number of news articles on the celebration of NNPD. As can be understood from the data, one of the most suggested reason for its high coverage is because it is daily and government owned media, it has more space to cover and entertain issues than the bi-weekly (*Reporter*) and the weekly (*Addis Admass*) newspapers. However, when we compare the extent of coverage in privately owned print media outlets, *Reporter Amharic* relatively published more news stories than *Addis Admass*. In accordance with the tone of the news stories, the findings of the study also indicated that *Addis Zemen* framed the celebration of NNPD in a positive tone due to the reason that the newspaper is owned and controlled by government, it has no space to criticize as well as frame the event in a negative tone. The newspaper gave emphasis to the positive outcomes of celebrating the day with comparing the current ruling system to the previous governments. Accordingly, the bi-weekly *Reporter* framed the day in a positive tone, but the degree of coverage is not comparable with the government media.

Nevertheless, the weekly newspaper, *Addis Admass* negatively framed the celebration of the event. The newspaper has also given little attention to this event. The existence of such variation

in coverage might be related to the prevailing political, social and economic conditions in the country as well as the editorial policy of a specific media house.

Despite the fact that different media frame types were employed in the sample news stories, the findings of the study indicated that development frame is found to be the most frequently used frame both in *Addis Zemen and Reporter* newspapers in the coverage of NNPD of Ethiopia. Even though there were significant differences in the approach of media frames in the sample newspapers, the finding point out that the selected newspapers dominantly employed development frame in their news articles. The newspapers, especially *Addis Zemen and Reporter* frequently employed development frame followed by mutual benefit frame. This might supposed to be the actual and potential economic development strategy of the government resulted from the cooperation of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia.

In relation to the use of sources, differences were observed between government and private media outlets. For instance, *Addis Zemen* mainly relied on government sources, while *Addis Admass* newspaper used opposition political parties as its main source of information in covering the celebration of NNPD of Ethiopia. Similar to *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter Amharic* newspaper highly relied on government officials during its coverage of NNPD day of Ethiopia. This might directly or indirectly put an influence on the work of journalists to frame the event from different perspectives. Accordingly, the positive or the negative connotation which has been given to the celebration of the event may influence the perception of the readers or the public at large.

The findings of the result also indicated differences in discussing the theme of NNPD of Ethiopia. On top of this, the selected print media outlets (*Addis Zemen and reporter*) dominantly discussed on the theme of living peacefully together with NNP's, manufacturing consent and building a single political and economic community in the country. Hence, this is the sole propaganda and strategy of the existing constitution (EPRDF) for consolidating its power. While, *Addis Admass* newspaper discussed on the themes of reconciliation and nation building and also described that NNPD is a divisive strategy that jeopardizes unity among nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia.

Even though the selected newspapers have framed the commemoration of NNPD in different way, journalists of framing issues might be affected and influenced by political pressures, socio-

economic factors, media ownership and journalistic routines. Generally, when we examine the overall coverage of NNPD of Ethiopia, most of the time the news articles especially articles from the government media focused on motivation of the people for bringing a potential economic development. However, private media outlets implicate on reconciliation, national consensus and nation building.

5.2. Recommendations

As it has been stated in the previous part, the major objective of this study was to examine how the commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia has been framed in the selected government and private print media outlets. The study mainly focused on the comparative analysis of both government and private print media outlets with regard to media framing of NNPD. However, this study didn't include what was being said behind the portrayal of NNPD of Ethiopia (discourse) and divergent views and arguments from various broadcasts and social media outlets.

It is clear that journalists are influenced by political and other related factors while they frame an issue. Such pressures from political and other leaders might directly or indirectly put an influence on journalists to frame an issue from different angles. Thus, to avoid such problems and to build a dynamic nature of media house, the government and other concerned bodies should rather respect the editorial independence of the media houses.

Even though media are shaped by the existing political ideologies and editorial policies, it has to be holistic and present fair, balanced and serve the public interest. Furthermore, private media houses should provide fair and accurate information to the readers/audiences even though they are working to fulfill the objectives of a certain organization.

With reference to journalistic professionalism, journalists who are working for government owned media usually write and report their news stories through supporting the views and ideologies of government officials. They are not working based on the editorial policies of a specific media house. In line with this, journalists who are working for the private media house are also work to full fill the interest of a specific business organization. Such kind of situations let the journalists to work out of the ethical standards of journalism. In order to avoid such

problems, journalists should be always governed by journalistic ethics and they should not be servile or partisan.

Moreover, journalists framing of an issue from different angles can affect the attention of the readers/audience. For instance, if the journalist is going to cover contradicting issues that can create ethnic conflict among NNP's, the framing of the issue will affect the perception of the public. Thus, in order to be impartial and to provide balanced information, journalists should consider the interest of the audience while covering the issues like the commemoration of NNPD of Ethiopia.

References

- Abdissa Zerai. (2010). U.S. Press Representation of the South Sudanese Civil War, 1983-2005. (Unpublished PhD Dissertation). University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, Mexico.
- Alem Habtu. (2003). Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: Present Conditions and Future prospects. Queens College Department of sociology. (Retrieved from/ [www. hofethiopia.gov. et.](http://www.hofethiopia.gov.et))
- Anteneh Mekuria. (2006). The Coverage of Ethiopia in BBC and CNN. News websites.
- Ashenafi Abate. (2013). The Framing of The 2005 Ethiopian National Election by Privately Owned Print Media Outlets in Ethiopia. (Unpublished MA thesis). Mid Sweden University, School of Journalism and Communication.
- Bahiru Zewde. (2001). A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991. Oxford: James Curry/Ohio University.
- Bath Fredrik .(1994). A Personal View of Present Tasks and Priorities in a Cultural and Social Anthropology. In assessing cultural anthropology. New York: McGraw- Hill.
- Bennett, W. L., and Entman, R. M. (2001). Mediated Communication in the Future of Communication. Cambridge University Press.
- Berelson, B. (1952). Content Analysis in Communications research. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Bruktawit Ejigu. (2008). The Framing of Gender Violence by the Ethiopia Print Media. (Unpublished MA thesis). Addis Ababa University, School of Journalism and Communication.
- Capella.J.N., and Jamieson.K.H. (1966). News Frames, Political Cynicism, and Media Cynicism, 546, 71-84
- Cappella, J. N., and Jamieson, K. H. (1997). Spiral of Cynicism: The press and the public good. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Chong, D., and Druckman, J. (2007). A Theory of Framing and Opinion Formation in Competitive Elite Environments. *Journal of communication*, 57(1):91-118 retrieved at <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf>.
- Chong, D., and Druckman, J.N. (2007). Framing Public Opinion in Competitive Democracies. *American political science review*, 101 (04), 637-655
- Cohen, M. (1980). No title. Recent advances in our understanding of school effects research. Chicago.
- Cohn, T. H. (2008). *Global Political Economy: theory and practice* (4th ed.). New York: Pearson Longman.
- Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 8th December, 1994.
- Cook, T. (1998). *Governing with the News: the News Media as Political Institutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Entman, M. R. (1995). Television, Democratic Theory and the Visual Construction of Poverty. *Research in political sociology*, 7:139-159.
- Entman, R. (1991). Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of kAL and Air incidents, *journal of communication*, 41(4): 6-27. Retrieved at <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/> [Accessed on September 13.2014].
- Entman, R. (2007). Framing Bias: Media in distribution of power: *Journal of communication*, 57(1) at <<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/>> [Accessed on September 6, 2014]
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of communication*, 43(4), 51-58.
- Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority (EBA). (January, 2015). Number of periodicals retrieved from <http://www.eba.gov.e/web/data/periodicals/main.htm>.

- Faridah Ibrahim., Latiffah Pawnteth., Chang Peng. K. (2009). Journalists and News Sources: Implication of professionalism in war reporting. *The public sector innovation journal*, Vol. 16(3).
- FDRE (1995). *The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Fiske, S. T., and Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social Cognition* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Gamson, W. A., and Modigliani, A. (1987). The ChangingC of Affirmative Action. In R. G. Braungart and M.M. Braungart (eds.), *Research in political communication*. 3 (137-177).
- Gamson, W. A., and Modigliani, A. (1989). Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A constructionist approach. *American journal of sociology*, 95(1), 1-37.
- Gans, H. J. (1980). *Deciding What's News. A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*. New York: Vintage.
- Gebremedhin Simon Gebretsadk. (2006). *Ethiopia, Research Findings and Conclusions*. African Media Development Initiative. BBC World Service Trust. London.
- Gibbs, C., and Warhover, T. (2002). *Getting the Whole Story: Reporting and Writing News*. New York: The Guilford Press
- Gitlin., T. (1980). *The Whole World is Watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the New left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Graber, A.D. (2002). *Mass Media and American Politics* (6th ed.). Washington, D.C., A Division of Congressional Quarterly Inc.
- Graber, D. (1993). *Mass Media and American Politics* (4th ed.). Washington DC: CQ Press.
- Hailu Mediksa. (2014). *The Discursive Construction of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Day by the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation*. (Unpublished MA thesis): Addis Ababa University, School of Journalism and Communication.

Hallahan, K. (1999). Seven Models of Framing: Implications for public relations. *Journal of public relations research*, 11(3): 205-242.

Hallin, Daniel C., and Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing Media Systems. Three Models of Media and Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Herman, Edward. S., and Noam Chomsky. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon.

Hibre Biher Annual Magazine, Publication of 2013/14, Berhanena Selam Printing Enterprise.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/>> [Accessed on October 26, 2014].

Ishiyama, J. (2007). Examining the 2005 Ethiopian Parliamentary Election Results under Alternative Electoral Rules. A paper to be presented at the 4th International Conference on Ethiopian Development Studies (4th ICEDS) the challenges of peace and development in Ethiopia & the Horn of Africa, August 3-5, 2007, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, USA.

Iyengar, S., and Kinder, D.B. (1987). *News that Matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Iyenger, S. (1991). *Is Anyone Responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jamieson, K., (1992). *Dirty Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kellner, Duugals. (2004). The Media and Social Problems. In *hand book of social problems: A comparative international perspective*, thousand Oaks: Sage.

Kensicki, J. L. (2004). No Cure for What Ails Us: The media constructed disconnect between societal problems and possible solutions. *Journalism and mass communication quarterly*, 81(1): 53-73.

Kern. M., et al. (2003). *The Lesson of Framing Terrorism: The news media, the government and the public*. New York and London Routledge.

- Koenig, Thomas. (2005). Routinizing Frame Analysis through the use of CAQDAS. Accessed at http://www.restore.ac.uk/lboro/research/methods/routinizing_frame_analysis (on March 6/ 2015).
- Konard. Adenauer-stiftung. Sofia .(2011). Media and Politics.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). Content Analysis: An introduction to its methodology. London: Sage Publications, Ltd.
- Lawrence, R. G. (2000). Game Framing the Issues: tracing the strategy frame in public policy news. *Political communication*, 17 (2), 93-114.
- Louise Aalen. (2002). Ethnic Federalism in a Dominant Party State: The Ethiopian experience (1991-2000). Chr. Michelson Institute.
- Manning, P. (2001). News and News Sources: A critical introduction. SAGE Publication Limited.
- Mantler, G., and Whiteman, D. (1995). Attention to Candidates and Issues in Newspaper Coverage of 1992 Presidential Campaign. *Newspaper Research journal*, 16(3), 14-28.
- Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw. (1972). The agenda setting role of the mass media. *Public opinion quarterly*, 36, 176-187).
- McChesney, R. W. (1999). Rich Media Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in dubious times: Chicago. University of Illinois press.
- McCombs, M. (2004). Setting the Agenda: The mass media and public opinion. Cambridge, Polity Press.
- McCombs, M. and Shaw. D. (1994). Agenda Setting Theory. Retrieved from [http:// www. a first look.com/manual/ed](http://www.afirstlook.com/manual/ed) on December 16, 2014.
- McQuail, D. (1993). Media Performance, Mass Communication and the Public Interest. London: Sage.

- McQuail, D. (2001). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory* (5th ed.). London: Sage
- McQuail's Mass Communication Theory* (4th ed.). London: SAGE Publications Limited.
- Mekuria Mekasha. (2005). *Ethiopian Media Landscape*. Report for Ethiopia Mass Media Training Institute: Addis Ababa, Ethiopian Press Agency
- Miller, J. M., and Krosnik, J. A. (2000). News Media Impact on the Ingredients of Presidential Evaluations. Politically knowledgeable citizens are guided by a trusted source: *American journal of political science*, 44(2), 301-315.
- Moeller, D. S. (1999). *Compassion Fatigue. How the media sell disease, famine, war and death*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Mosco, V. (1996). *The Political Economy of Communication: rethinking and renewal*. London: sage publications.
- Naroll, R. (1964). On Ethnic Unit Classification: *Current anthropology*. 5:283-312.
- Norris, P. and Carroll, J. S. (1997). The Dynamics of the News Framing Process: From Regan's gender gap to Clinton's soccer moms. Annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Harvard and Rutgers University. November 5-8, 1997, Norfolk Virginia.
- OHCHR REPORT 2012. Human Rights Watch. (2012). New York. Retrieved from http://www2.ohchr.org/english/ohchrreport2012/web_en/allegati/downloads/1WholeOHCHR_Report_2012.pdf
- Otaes, S. (2008). Introduction In: *Introduction to Media and Politics*. Sage, London, UK.
- Pankhurst, R. (1992). The Foundation of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia. In *Ethiopian observer*, 16(3).
- Patterson, T. E. 2000. (1993). The United States: News in a Free-Market Society. In *democracy and the media. A comparative perspective*. (Rechard Guther and Anthony Mughan, ED.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Population media center. (2006). Ethiopian Mass Media Profile. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Powers, A. and Andeesager, J. (1999). How Newspapers Framed Breast implants in the 1990's. *Journal of communication quarterly*: 76(3).
- Retrieved at < <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/wapp/research> [Accessed on September 12, 2014].
- Retrieved from < <http://www.daneprairie.com>>; accessed on September 21, 2014
- Rias. (2008). The Frequency of Newspaper Issues corresponds to Newspaper Content.
-
- Riffe, D. Lacy and Fico, F.G. (1998). The Importance of Inter coder Reliability for Content Analysis. Accessed at <http://communitiesofinquiry.com/documents/MethPaperFinal> (on March 6/2015).
- Robinson, P. (2000). The Policy-Media Interaction Model: Measuring media power during humanitarian crisis." *Journal of peace research*, 37(5):613-633. Retrieved at < <http://links.jstor.org/search>> [Accessed on May 11, 2015].
- Roscho, B. (1975). *News and News Making*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sahilu Kassa. (2008). Readership Satisfaction of Addis Zemen and Addis Admass in Addis Ababa.
- Scagliusi, C. (2010). Political Economy of Mass Media: Public Good, News and Voting Behavior. Economics Department Discussion Papers Series ISSN 1473-3307, Paper number 10/02. Retrieved from <<http://business-school.exeter.ac.uk/economics/papers/>>; accessed on March 10, 2015
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a Theory of Media Effects. *Journal of International Communication Association*, 49(1), 103-122. (Retrieved on January 2, 2015 from www.asc.upenn.edu/usr)

- Semetko, H., and Valkenburg, P. (2000). Framing European politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News. *Journal of communication*, 50(2): 93-109. (Retrieved at March 10, 2015).
- Shen, F. (2004). Chronic Accessibility and Individual Cognitions: Examining the effect of message frames in political advertisements. *Journal of communication*, 54(1), 123-137.
- Shimelis Bensa. (2002). The State of the Press in Ethiopia. In Bahiru Zewde and Pausewang S (eds) *Ethiopia: the challenge from below*. Stockholm: Nordiska Afrik Institute, 184-200.
- Shoemaker, P. J., and Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the Message*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Skjerdal, T. (2011). Development Journalism Revived: The case of Ethiopia. *African journalism studies*. (Retrieved on November 4, 2014 from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs>)
- Skjerdal, T. (2008). Self-Censorship among News Journalists in the Ethiopian State Media. *African Communication research*, 1(2), 185-206.
- Strauss Anselm C., Corbin Juliet. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative research methods and Methodology* (2nd ed): Overview at atlati. Com
- Stromback, J. (2011). Mediatization and Perception of the Media's Political Influence. *Journalism studies*, 12(4), 423-439).
- Stromback, J., and Nord, L. W. (2006). Do Politics Lead the Tango? A study of the relationship between Swedish journalists and their political sources in the context of election campagigns. *European journal communication*, 21(2), 147-164.
- Tankard, J., Hendrickson, L., Silberman, J., Bliss, K., and Ghanem, S. (1991). *Media Frames: Approaches to Conceptualization and Measurement*. Paper presented at the annual convention of the Association for Education in journalism and Mass Communication, Boston, MA.
- Teshome, Bahiru W. (2009). Media and Multi-party Elections in Africa: The case of Ethiopia. *International Journal of Human Sciences*, 6(1), 94-122.

- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York: Free Press.
- Tuing, L. and Hasim, M. (2009). Media Framing of a Political Personality: A Case Study of a Malaysian Politician. *European Journal of Social Science – Volume 9, Number 3/408 pp 408-424*
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1987). *The Mass Media Today: Discourses of Domination or Diversity?* L. Erlbaum Associates.
- Van Gorp, B. (2005). Where is the Frame? Victims and Intruders in the Belgian press coverage of the asylum issue. *European Journal of Communication, 20, 484-507.*
- Vivian, J. (2003). *The Media of Mass Communication (6th ed.)*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Vreese, C. H. D.E., Peter, J., and Semetko, H. A. (2001). Framing Politics at the Launch of the Euro: A cross-national comparative study of frames in the News, 107-122.
- Weaver, D., and Elliott, S. N. (1985). Who Sets the Agenda for the Media? A study of local agenda building. *Journalism Quarterly, 62(1), 87-94.*
- Williams, K. (2012). *Understanding Media Theory*. London: Arnold in the Hodder Head line group.
- Wimmer, R., and Dominick. J. (2003). *Mass Media Research (7th ed.)*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth=Thomson Learning.
- Woods, N. (2000). The Political Economy of Globalization. In N. Woods (Ed.), *The political Economy of Globalization* (pp. 1-19). New York: St Martin's Press.
- Ye Jon Hong. (2004). Framing Citizen Journalism in Mainstream News Coverage: A quantitative and a qualitative analysis (1999-2012 in Fisherman).
- Yeshiwas Degu. (2014). Mass Media in Nile Politics. The Reporter Coverage of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. Retrieved from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4172/2165-7912.1000197>

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Key Informants

Informant's Name	Organization	Position	Date of Interview
1. Araya Getachew	Addis Zemen	Senior editor	June, 14/6/2015
2. Biruk Berihe	Addis Zemen	Journalist	June, 14/6/2015
3. Getinet Mihrete	Addis Zemen	Senior reporter	June, 13/6/2015
4. Alemayehu Anbese	Addis Admass	Journalist	June, 17/6/2015
5. Elsabet Ekubay	Addis Admass	Senior Reporter	June, 20/6/2015
6. Selemon Goshu	Reporter	Senior Reporter/Journalist	June, 12/6/2015
7. Melaku Demise	Reporter	Editor in-chief	June, 16/6/2015
8. Kassahun Bekele	House of Federation	Media Monitoring Expert	June, 8/6/2015
9. Dreba Degefu	House of Federation	PR Expert in NNPD	June, 8/6/2015

Appendix B: Code Sheet

Media framing of Nations, Nationalities, and People's Day

1. Name of the coder _____
Code for coder one=01
Code for coder two=02
2. Name of the newspaper _____
3. Date of publication (Date/Month/year and volume No) _____
4. Title of the story _____
5. The ownership of the media
 1. Government owned/for the general public
 2. Privately owned/for commercial purpose

6. Article author (Byline)

- 1. Journalist working for the newspaper (Full time staff in the Newspaper)
- 2. News wire or journalists who are working outside the newspapers
- 3. Freelancer
- 4. Cannot be determined

Type of the story or Article description

7. Which category best describes the story type or the news story?

- 1. News
- 2. Editorial (op-ed)
- 3. Feature article
- 4. Interview
- 5. Commentary
- 6. Others...

8. Location of the news article in the newspaper

- 1. Front Page
- 2. In side page
- 3. Back page

9. Coverage or Frequency of nations, nationalities and peoples day with in the selected time frame (in number).

- 1. Addis Zemen 1. ____ 2. ____
- 2. Addis Admass 1. ____ 2. ____
- 3. Reporter Amharic 1. ____ 2. ____

Types of Media Frames that are employed in news articles

Please check if any of the following frames are used in the news, feature articles, commentaries, interviews and editorial pieces.

10. What type of media frame is predominantly employed in the news story? (A single news story could have more than one answer).

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Game or strategic frame---- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8. National image frame---- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Episodic frame ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9. Development frame ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Human interest frame----- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 10. Mutual benefit frame --- | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Morality or value frame---- | <input type="checkbox"/> | 11. Rights frame ----- | <input type="checkbox"/> |

5. Empathy frame -----

12. Victimhood frame -----

6. Attribution of responsibility frame--

13. Not determined-----

7. Educative or Advocacy frame-----

Tone of the story towards the celebration of Nations, Nationalities, and People's Day of Ethiopia (Positive, Negative, Neutral)

11. What is the tone the story which is written about nations, nationalities and people's day in Addis Zemen newspaper?

1. Positive
2. Negative
3. Neutral

12. What is the tone of the story which is written about nations, nationalities and people's day in Addis Admas newspaper?

1. Positive
2. Negative
3. Neutral

13. What is the tone of the story which is written about nations, nationalities and people's in the Reporter Amharic newspaper?

1. Positive
2. Negative
3. Neutral

Source of information for the news story while reporting the event

14. What are the main sources of information employed in the news story?

1. Government or political officials
2. Civic society organizations
3. Foreign political officials
4. Individuals or ordinary people
5. Opposition parties
6. Documents and press release
7. Other media houses
8. Not determined...

Appendix C: Code book

Media framing of Nations, Nationalities, and People's Day of Ethiopia

1. Name of the coder

Type the name of the person doing the coding process, like **01** for coder one and **02** for coder two

2. Article Id Number

Give each news story a unique ID number according to the following system: Newspaper-XX. For instance, the first Addis Zemen newspaper story is identified as AZ-001, the second AZ-002, the third AZ-003, and so on. By using such a system the coder should give a code for privately owned newspapers like, AD (for Addis Admass) and RA (for Reporter Amharic).

3. Date of Publication

Type the name of the newspaper (Date/Month/year and volume No).

4. Title of the story

Write the title of the story in the space which is provided in the code sheet.

5. Ownership of the media

Among the given two variables select "1" if the media stands for the service of the public or belongs to the government. If the media are owned by private organizations or individuals for the sake of making business or commercial purpose, the coder should select "2".

6. Article author (Byline)

Select "1" if the news story was written by a **journalist** working for the newspaper (full time working staff in the newspaper), or select "2" If the article byline includes the name of a journalist working for "**wire services**" or a journalist who is working outside the staff of the newspaper categories. Select "3" if the news article is written by a journalist who is working for voluntarily for the newspaper organization. Select "4" if the author of the news story "Cannot be determined" and if it should be used in situations where it is not possible to decide whether the story is written by a news wire or a journalist working for the news organization.

7. Type of the story or Article description

Select "1" or the "news story" category if the news story is found in the front page of the newspaper and fulfill the elements of news as well as the story answers at least **5Ws** and **1H** questions and label it as "editorial" or select "2" if it is found on the Op-ed page and the story

explains the stance or opinions of the newspaper organization. Also name the news article as a “feature article” or select “3” if the story gives detail and critical analysis about the issue in the way of entertainment. Moreover, label the news article as “interview” or select “4” if the news story holds an interview with the concerned bodies. Select the news article as “commentaries” or “5” if the story gives a critical comments and personal views about the issue and finally, select “6” or “others” if the news story includes letters of the readers and the like.

8. Location of the news article in the newspaper

For this section there are three variables that the coders are going to code. The coder should select “1” if the news article is located in the front page of the newspaper and the coder should select “2” if the news article is found from the op-ed page otherwise, the coder should select “3” if the news articles are located at the back page of the newspaper.

9. Coverage or Frequency of nations, nationalities and peoples day with in the selected time frame (in number).

For this section, the coders are expected to put the number of news articles which are published in the selected newspapers with respect to the selected time frames.

10. Types of Frames that are employed in news articles

Game or Strategic frame

The coder should select “1” if the news story at least once mentions opinions about events, event organization and news of nations, nationalities and people’s day; the government or the political officials say something about the support of the nations, nationalities and people’s day.

Episodic frame

The coder should select “2” if the news story focuses on the individual private realm; narrate some episode of a single nation, language family, or group or focuses on a single event about nations, nationalities and people’s day.

Human interest frame

The coder should select “3” if the news story focuses on providing a human example, or human face or emotional perspectives on the issue; the story emphasizes the situation of an individual or group who is affected by the problems of ethnicity or the story captures the public’s interest by stimulating their emotions and dramatize the coverage and go in to the private and personal lives of the characters.

Morality or Value frames

The coder should select “4” if the news story focuses on how to put the event, problem or issue in the context of morals, social prescriptions, and religious tenets and if the media will operate with cultural values and if the media should offer or focus on social prescriptions about how to behave. In other words, if the story contains moral messages and if the story makes reference to morality, God and other religious tenets with respect to the celebration of the event, the coder should select this frame type.

Empathy frame

The coder should type “5” if the news story focuses on indicating abuse of ethnic groups and shows a big power difference in groups involved in the story as well as the story shows the adjectives that consider specific groups as victims in the past.

Attribution of responsibility frame

The coder should select “6” if the news story focuses on suggesting that any responsible body or the government has the ability to alleviate the problem of a certain groups. In addition, if the story suggests that the general community and the whole individual have the ability to alleviate the group problem or problems related to ethnicity.

Educative or Advocacy frames

The coder should select “7” if the news story focuses on giving information on how to protect a group dominancy regarding about equality of nations and nationalities of Ethiopia and if the article or story explains how to cope up with the situations after the violence or problems. If the story suggests policy changes in the country regarding the rights of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia and the story states the need of societal change in attitude. Moreover, the coder should check if the story gives information on how and what should be done to avert the problem and to keep a certain reputation as well as important to promote an initiative for used rehabilitative or to sustain an already existing situation.

National image frame

The coder should select “8” if the news article gives more emphasis for national image in representation of a country in terms of societal peace, and political economic variables among other countries. Moreover, if the news story represents the eradication of poverty, famine, drought, elimination of instability, and bringing peace and unity in the global media spotlight,

and how the people and the government work together cooperatively to change the national image of the country, the coders should select “8”.

Development frame

The coder should select “9” if nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia have got some significant benefits from the commemoration of the event and if the news story initiates the people for further developmental aspects like culture, language and other socio economic aspects of our country. Besides, the coder should select “9” if the news story revolves around the growth of language, culture and other linguistic peculiarities in the world’s perspective and if the celebration of the event will attract many tourists and used for the source of income generation and better initiates the people for development.

Mutual benefit frame

If the news story illustrate the greater common good that will obtained from the commemoration of the event of nations and nationalities day, and if the news article shows the celebration of the event paves the way to social interaction and creates harmony among the people as well as create conducive environment for benefiting each other specially, in keeping their linguistic peculiarities, the coder should select “10”. Moreover, if the story suggests about the potential multi-ethnic togetherness for the manifestations of a country and a genuine vehicle for mutual benefit in lowering the grievances of the previous ethnic superiority and inferiority complexes among the nations and nationalities, the coder should select “10”.

Rights frame

The coder should select “11” if the news story focuses on using the legitimate right to use their language, culture, religion, custom and other linguistic peculiarities by themselves and if the story revolves around the nations, nationalities and people’s rights to determine their fates by themselves and the story shows the nations and nationalities right to expression, freedom of speech, and develop their own language and culture as well their linguistic peculiarities by themselves.

Victimhood frame

The coder should select “12” if the news story narrates or indicates the victimhood aspect of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia in previous period. Also, the coder should select “12” if the news story represents the supremacy of a single nation over the minority classes and the denial of minority groups in the previous ruling system. Moreover, the coder should select

“12” if the news story portrays how nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia were deprived and became victims of their rights, freedoms and opportunities for a long period of time in the then system.

Other frames

The coder should select “13” if the type of the frame that is employed in the news story is different from the above mentioned once. And if the news story talks about media framing in relation to economy (economic frame), and strong differences in different parties (conflict frame), the coder should select “13” and the coder can mention other frames if any.

N. B. if a story uses more than one type of frames, the dominant frame would be chosen. Despite the fact that the term dominant frame refers to the frame type that was repeatedly mentioned in a given story.

11. Tone of the story towards the celebration of Nations, Nationalities, and People’s Day of Ethiopia (Positive, Negative, Neutral)

This variable has 3 categories: 1=positive, 2=negative, 3=neutral. The coder should select 1 if the story shows the stance, agreement, support, favored, or affirmation to policies, events or actions taken by the general public as well as one that mainly focuses on giving example of positive impacts of the celebration of the event. If the story shows disagreement, opposition, or denial of events or actions taken by the general public, as well as, if the story predominantly criticized, blamed and questioned the celebration of the event with in the existing situations the coder should type 2 and if the story does not contain any word of phrases in favor or disagreeing (positive or negative) impacts about the celebration of the event, the coder should type 3.

14. Source of information for the news story while reporting the event

In this section, only individuals and named sources are to be counted. Anonymous sources should thus not be counted, even if the news story says something that might indicate that the anonymous sources belong to a certain category. For someone to be counted as a source, a statement, fact or quote must be attributed to him or to her. Therefore, the coder should select “1” if at list one representative of domestic government or higher political official is included as a source in the story. Select “2” if the news story used at list one representative of domestic or international civic society group or representative is included as a source in the story. Select “3” if foreign political officials are used as a source of information in the news story and select “4” if at list one ordinary individual or Ethiopian person is included as a source in the story.

15. What is the dominant reporting style used in the news story?

1. Event oriented
2. Investigative style
3. Opinion or Judgmental style
4. Narrative style
5. Difficult to judge...

16. How does the celebration of nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia is presented in the news article?

1. As an opportunity for nations, nationalities and peoples to live in harmony
2. As a divisive strategy which jeopardizes unity among peoples of Ethiopia
3. Difficult to determine

17. What is the reflected stance of the media on the celebration of the event?

1. Providing information for the public (neutral observer)
2. Working on awareness creation about the event
3. Intentionally, setting the agenda and persuading the public (supportive stance)
4. Becoming critical (criticizing the event).
5. Others

18. What is the reflected role of the journalist in a news story on the celebration of the event?

1. Serving the public based on their profession (neutral observer)
2. Advancing their own and government propaganda
3. Persuading the public
4. Entertaining the public
5. Become criticizer of the event
6. Others...

The main theme of the news story while reporting the news to the general public

19. What is/are the main theme/s (messages) of the news story regarding the event of nations, nationalities and peoples day of Ethiopia? (A single news story could have more than one theme).

1. Living peacefully in tolerance with nations, nationalities and peoples and manufacturing consent and Building a single political and economic community in the country
2. Building democracy and development
3. Sharing of different cultural values (language, culture, custom and other linguistic peculiarities)
4. Bringing peace, unity, reconciliation and nation building among nations and nationalities
5. Opening new opportunities for newly emerging nationalities
6. A divisive strategy which jeopardizes unity among peoples of Ethiopia
7. Others...

Then select “5” if opposition political parties are used as a source of information in the news story and select “6” if the news story used documents and press releases as a source. Select “7” if the news story use other media houses as a source and finally select “8” if the news story uses anonymous sources.

15. The dominant reporting style used in the news story

Select “1” if the news story or the program covers meetings, symposiums, panel discussions and other related reportage programs focusing on the issue of nations, nationalities, and people’s day of Ethiopia. The coder should select “2” if the story or the program is well researched, entertains deeply the issue of event organization with a better quality. If the news story shows some kind of personal opinions, judgments or speculations about the event, the coder should select “3”. The coder should also select “4” if the news story is reported by the way of catching the attention of the general public or in a narrative style of reporting. If styles of reporting in the newspapers are not clearly shown, the coder should select “5”.

16. How does the celebration of nations, nationalities and people’s day of Ethiopia is presented in the news article?

Select “1” if the celebration of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia is presented in the newspaper as an opportunity to live in peace, and in harmony. The coder should select “2” if the celebration of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia is presented as a divisive strategy which jeopardizes unity among peoples of Ethiopia. Otherwise, the coder should select “3” if the celebration of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia is not clearly presented in the news story.

17. What is the reflected stance of the media on the celebration of the event?

The coder should select “1” if the stance of the media in the celebration of the event provides neutral information for the public. The coder should select “2” if the stance of the media is simply working on awareness creation about the celebration of the event. The coder should also select “3” if the stance of the media deliberately (intentionally) set the agenda and persuade the public. If the media gives critiques about the celebration of the event, the coder should select “4”. Otherwise the coder should select “5” if the stance of the media is not clearly reflected on the news story.

18. The reflected role of the journalist in a news story on the celebration of the event

The coder should select “1” if the role of the journalist is reflected in a news story in the way that are serving the public based on their profession (neutral observer of the event). The coder should select “2” if the news story is reflected in advancing the stances of the journalist and government propaganda in the newspaper. If the role of the journalist is reflected in persuading the public about the celebration of the event, the coder should select “3” and the coder should select “4” if the role of the journalist is focused on entertaining the public. The coder should also select “5” if the role of the journalist is reflected as a criticizer of the event in the news story. Otherwise, the coder should select “6” if the role of the journalist is not clearly reflected in the news story.

19. The main theme of the news story while reporting the news to the general public

The coder should select “1” if the theme of the story revolves or focused on tolerance, peaceful coexistence, brotherhood, manufacturing consent and focus on building a single political and economic community in the country or the coder should select “2” if the theme of the story basically focused on building democracy and initiates the public for further development. If the theme of the story mainly focused on sharing of different cultural values (language, culture, custom and other linguistic peculiarities) with in nations and nationalities, the coder should select “3”. If the theme of the story basically focused on bringing peace, unity, reconciliation and nation building among nations, and nationalities, the coder should select “4”. Moreover, the coder should select “5” if the theme of the story gives emphasis for opening new opportunities for newly emerging nationalities. The coder should select “6” if the theme of the celebration of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia is presented as a divisive strategy which jeopardizes unity among peoples of Ethiopia. Unless otherwise, the coder should select “7” and mention other things if there are any themes like the theme of the story creates conducive environment for market linkage or market interaction and others.

Appendix D: Interview check lists

Interview Question for Journalists

Section One

1. Name _____ Sex _____ Age _____ marital status _____
2. Your employer organization/ Mass Media _____
3. For how many years have you served in Journalism (reporting, and editing) _____

Section Two

1. General

- ✓ Ethiopian government is celebrating or commemorating different events annually. Among these events, the event of nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia is the major one which is given a great emphasis and asked a huge amount of money. In relation to this, what is your general view about ethnic identity or (nations, nationalities and peoples)), in relation to language, culture and other linguistic peculiarities? Different views (government and opposition parties)
- ✓ Regarding about coverage, how do you and your media organization cover nations, nationalities and peoples day of Ethiopia and do you think that your reports had influence on the general public or audiences? If there was an influence, were there responses from readers through telephone, mail, or email?

Themes

- ✓ When we commemorate an event or a national holy day, at least we have to have a central idea. With this regard what were the central points or ideas you discussed in the articles or news stories and what was the justification for focusing these theme and who were the sources you quote? Why did you approach these sources?

Framing

- ✓ There are a certain factors that are affecting your writing or reporting activities. In relation to this, was there any pressure from these interest groups to write the story in a certain ways?

In writing the stories

- ✓ Did you purposefully shape or organize the story in a certain ways, for instance in a humanistic angle, morality/value frames, empathy, attribution of responsibility frames,

- ✓ game frames and educative or advocacy frames etc... and were you aware of how the stories or articles were framed and what additional factors affected the way you covered or framed the event of nations, nationalities and people's Day of Ethiopia since 2010? What are the procedures in writing the stories?
- ✓ As a matter of fact, the event of nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia is a great government, media and public agenda since 2006 G.C. With regard to this how far does your media organization give space for this event and do you have justifications and what are your editorial policy special guidelines that recommend the journalists to follow while reporting this event?
- ✓ It is obvious that different media houses or outlets have played a significant role in informing, entertaining and educating the world society regarding about the socio-economic and political nature of the country as well as different events. In this regard what roles do you think your media played in reporting about the issue of nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia?
- ✓ Do you think that multi-ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has contributions for the celebration of nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia?

Interview for Editors

1. Name _____ Sex _____ Age _____ marital status _____
2. Your employer organization/ Mass Media _____
3. For how many years have you served in Journalism (reporting, and editing) _____

General Questions

- ✓ It is obvious that different media houses or outlets have played a significant role in informing, entertaining and educating the world society regarding about the socio-economic and political nature of the country as well as different events. In this regard what roles do you think that you and your media played in reporting about the issue of nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia?
- ✓ Basically, different media organizations or media houses have their own styles of reporting events based on the editorial policies of specific organization. Do you think

- ✓ that your journalists who are working for your media are governed by the editorial policies of your house while writing and reporting especial government events like, the event of nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia?
- ✓ In the profession of journalism there are different factors that are affecting journalistic profession in particular and the work of journalists in general. For instance, politics and economy, government, media ownership and journalistic routines and professionalism. This kind of activity directly or indirectly put a great pressure on the work of journalistic professionalism. In relation to this do you think that your journalists are free to report events as well as free to criticize the wrong doings of the government?
- ✓ While reporting special government events like nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia do you think that your editorial policy is independent or reporting events through emphasizing one side (one sided) and do you believe that one sided is important?
- ✓ As a matter of fact, the event of nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia is a great government, media and public agenda since 2006 G.C. With regard to this how far does your media organization give space for this event and do you have justifications and what are your editorial policy special guidelines that recommend the journalists to follow while reporting this event?
- ✓ Do you think that the celebration of nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia has contributions for multi-ethnic federalism in Ethiopia?

Interview guide or questions for Government/political officials

1. Obviously Ethiopia is celebrating different events or holydays annually. Among these holydays the event of nations, nationalities and people's day is the major government event that has been celebrating throughout the year since 2006. It is a great event that our government has given a great emphasis and expends a huge amount of money to commemorate the day in a special manner. With regard to this, what is your general overview or sentiment about ethnic identity (Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Day of Ethiopia), in relation to language, culture, religious and other linguistic peculiarities?

2. When we celebrate or commemorate different events, at least we have to expect some goals and objectives for the public. In line to this what was the main objectives or goals of the event of nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia in general?
3. As we know Ethiopian government is expending in millions for the commemoration of this event. What was the main reason that the government of Ethiopia gives special emphasis and costs a huge amount of money to this event?
4. Do you think that multi-ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has contributions for the celebration of nations, nationalities and people's day of Ethiopia?
5. Regarding about event commemoration, different organizations and stake holders are giving their supports. How/ what was the view of the concerned bodies and stakeholders (like different media houses (print and broadcast), political contenders/opposition parties and other NGO'S) about the event of NNPD of Ethiopia? And how far they contributed to achieve the goals of the events and how they are benefited from the contribution?
6. When we see or observe the celebration of the event from time to time, it is becoming more and more prominent and getting improved. So what are the main reasons behind the agenda?
7. Different government officials have initiate and support media outlets in several ways to create a public agenda for discussions in order to create public awareness. In doing so, what was role of the government in initiating different media outlets for the sake of creating agendas and putting the story in different angles?