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Comparative Analysis of Framing of Good Governance Issues by Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) Newspapers

Gashaw Derese

A Thesis submitted to The Graduate School of Journalism and Communication
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
in Journalism and Communication

Addis Ababa University

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

November 2020

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School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Gashaw Derese titled **Comparative Analysis of Framing of Good Governance Issues by Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) 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	Signature	Date
Examiner	Signature	Date
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School Chair or Graduate Program Coordinate

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List of Acronyms

CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
IMF	International Monetary Fund.
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
UN	United Nation
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCAP	The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
WB	World Bank

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate how Addis Zemen (a state daily) and The Reporter Amharic (a private bi-weekly) newspapers framed good governance issues. The study focused on hard news, editorials and feature articles covering the time periods from July 27, 2017 to 8th January 2018. Out of 92 newspapers, a total of 45 news articles were identified and analyzed. The study applied a mixed research approach in which both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to analyze the selected news articles. The research findings revealed that responsibility frame, economic frame and conflict frame were dominantly used frames in both Addis Zemen and the Reporter newspapers. Furthermore, efficiency & effectiveness, equity & inclusiveness, corruption, responsibility and the rule of law were the major themes addressed both in Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers. Government officials were the main sources of information cited in Addis Zemen whereas experts were the predominantly cited sources in the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers. The study concluded that many of good governance news articles addressed by Addis Zemen tilted towards EPRDF the then ruling party whereas many of the good governance news stories covered by the Reporter were critical of the ruling party and critical social, economic and political issues were overlooked in the pretext of good governance problems.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Background of the Study

The concept of governance is as old as human civilization. However, the practical aspect of governance is still new. The term good governance was first introduced by the World Bank in 1989 to characterize poor governance and corruption in sub-Saharan Africa. Since then, the issue of good governance, as instrument for sustained development and poverty reduction has gained widespread acknowledgement, especially among international organizations. As the result, the term good governance has become a buzz word in development thinking and the advancement of a variety of issues have linked to improved governance today.

Ethiopia like any other African country has faced a number of challenges in building good governance. After long years tradition of centralized government and governance structure, the country has adopted a decentralized form of government and governance structure since 1991. The 1995 FDRE constitution recognized principles of good governance, ethnic based political map, extensive devolution of power to regions, voluntary union multi-party system, freedom of the press, self-determination right of nationalities, civil and political rights of citizens. Despite such rhetorical commitment to achieve good governance, the country's governance has been suffering from a number of limitations in the last two decades. According to Semahegn (2016), even if the country has adopted decentralized or federal system of government, the abusive and exploitative nature of government revealed in all regions of Ethiopia being governed by the central government. Erwin (2016) also states that even if Ethiopia reached a fairly stable political settlement, after the overthrow of its military dictatorship in the period 1991, historical political factors like a legacy of centralization, control and coercion continues to influence styles of rule and administrative approaches and a legacy of exclusionary rule with ethnic undertones limits broader distribution of power and risks counter-mobilization and contemporary political factors like the expectation that TPLF/EPRDF rule will continue perpetuates a single-party monopoly, have been the roots of anti-government protests.

According to the report of center on conflict and development (2017), not every Ethiopians can agree on the answer why they are protesting, as polarized politics and a new form of ethnic nationalism are at the forefront meanwhile the government doesn't seem to be interested in addressing the real factors of unrest shaking the country. Instead, it pins the blame for the anti-government protests on opposition parties in and outside the country in which the government

referred these protests as “diaspora organized” movements planned to dismantle state structure (ibid).

In the last few years, the degree of public complains, and protests have increased with more questions raised on land grabbing, economic marginalization, corruption, inequality, human right violations, lack of political space, and freedom of expression. However, the government was reluctant to take corrective measures timely against public grievances instead kept framing the public protests as anti-peace forces.

As the protest went popular all across the Oromia and Amhara regions, the government declared state of emergency on October 9, 2017 to July 27, 2017 and the government shifted the focus of the protest into good governance. By the time mentioned, the discourse around the issues of good governance became prominent and the government used to repeatedly vow to ensure good governance but how good governance issues were framed after the state of emergency was a subject of this study.

Thus, framing research on this matter is not only critical to understand how the public is let to perceive in certain ways but also helps to measure how independent the media was while writing news stories on the issues of good governance. The media help to promote good governance issues and make public services more responsive to the people. It can also provide a critical check on state abuse of power by disseminating relevant information even if media do not merely provide facts, add some context, take out other in order to engage their readers, viewers and audiences.

In media reporting, framing has a powerful role in shaping the public opinion. It can sometimes conceal inherent causes or exaggerate it or twist realities to fit the line of ideological interests. This in turn delays the time when both government and the public can fairly understand the underlying cause of action thereby achieve a genuine and appropriate response to the public concerns.

Therefore, conducting this research on how Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter newspapers framed good governance issues after the state of emergency, would enable to explore the epicenter of the framing of good governance issues of the time. The reasons for choosing these media outlets are explained in the statement of the problem part.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Good governance is essential for a nation’s long-term and sustainable development. The Ethiopian government has faced a strong criticism and public pressure against good governance problems in recent years. Following the persistent pressure from the public, the government declared ten

months of state of emergency from October 9, 2016 to July 27, 2017. During these ten months. the discourses around the issues of good governance became prominent.

As Norris (2006) stated, the media, as an important information source, play a crucial role in bolstering good governance and democratization through freedom of expression, accountability, rule of law and providing a pluralist platform for political expression about controversial issues. Different forms of media, whether private or government owned, are responsible for addressing issues of good governance and imparting relevant information to the public. However, whether the media have played their roles effectively after the state of emergency remains a subject of scholarly debate on different issues that signifies the practice of good governance issues.

This study examined the framing of good governance issues by Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter newspapers. The choice of this subject was because of the researcher’s personal observation while working in the position of media monitoring and reporting administrator from June 2015 to December 2018. During this period, the researcher witnessed that the framing of news stories on these newspapers seemed to be simplifying, polarizing and contradictory with the reality on the ground.

Therefore, the researcher was interested to examine how Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter newspapers framed good governance issues and analyzed if there were framing differences on good governance issues starting from July 27, 2017 to January 8, 2018. The absence of empirical studies done (as to the knowledge of the researcher) against the framing of good governance issues on print media was also the other triggering point to conduct the study.

The newspapers are selected based on their highest circulation among the top five local newspapers as mentioned below in the table, coverage of domestic social, political, and economic issues, accessibility, language, popularity, and ownership that help the researcher do a comparative analysis. *Figure 1: Lists of Newspapers*

No.	Newspapers	Day and Number of publications						
		Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1	Addis Zemen	14,000	14,000	14,000	14,000	14,000	14,000	14,000
2	Addis Admas	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,500
3	Addis Lisan	-	-	-	-	3,750	-	3,750
4	Reporter Amharic	15,000	-	-	12,000	-	-	-
5	Sendek	-	-	-	-	2,000	-	-

Note: - the above data is according to Ethiopian Broadcast Authority in 2017/2018 report.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to investigate how Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter newspapers framed good governance issues.

More specifically, the study aims: -

- to identify the frames used in the selected newspapers.
- to find out themes developed to address good governance issues.
- to compare the newspapers in their framing of good governance issues.
- to identify the sources that the newspapers predominantly used when framing good governance issues.

1.4. Research Questions

This study explored the following basic questions:

1. Which types of frames were used in the selected newspapers?
2. What themes were developed to address the good governance issues?
3. What were the differences between the two newspapers in their framing of good governance issues?
4. What were the sources that the newspapers used when framing good governance issues?

1.5. Scope of the Study

This study would be limited to examining the framing of good governance issues by Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter outlets. Addis Zemen being state-owned newspaper and Amharic Reporter a private one, these news outlets would enable the researcher to reveal if there were any framing difference between private and state newspapers in Ethiopia when reporting good governance issues.

This research is limited to analyzing hard news, editorials, and feature articles that appeared on the selected newspapers from 27th July 2017 to 8th January 2018. Following the persistent pressure and public protest against the government, Ethiopia was under the state of emergency for a solid ten months starting from October 9, 2016 to July 27, 2017. During these ten months, the discourses

around the issues of good governance were prominent. In the meantime, the government had reshuffled and appointed new officials hoping that the public pressure would be eased. This study therefore critically checked the changes witnessed on good governance issues right after the eve of the state of emergency ending day as a starting date and 8th January 2018 as an ending point of the research as the government's half budget year performance review was supposed to be address to the parliament.

To put it in a nutshell about the section, any hard news, editorial or feature article, that is not related to good governance were not part of this study.

1.6. Significance of the Study

Newspapers play significant roles in promoting good governance issues in various ways and therefore, investigating framing of good governance issues by those print media outlets can contribute a lot in showing the various ways the same issue could be framed by the state and private print media. Conducting research on media content will help the newspapers to scrutinize their approach towards good governance through the window of their contents. This research would also help to examine how ownership pattern affects the message the public receive.

Moreover, the issue of good governance is not yet exhaustively explored as far as the knowledge of the researcher is concerned and this study will provide additional knowledge to media framing particularly on good governance issues. Most specifically all media outlets are expected to benefit from the study especially from the findings of the research, which is expected to generate ideas for policy recommendations towards media reform for free and fair media policy.

Lastly, this research will also be a document from which future researchers can refer to it to understand how Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter newspapers framed good governance issues during the 2017/2018.

1.7. Limitation of the study

The present study set out to achieve a comprehensive analysis of state and private media coverage of good governance issues. Since the number of newspapers published in the country is quite large and because of the constraints of resources, any attempt to cover all publications in the country was impossible. Therefore, the researcher was obliged to choose only two major Amharic language newspapers, Addis Zemen daily newspaper from the state-owned sector, and The Reporter, a bi-

weekly newspaper from the private sector. It should also be noted that the comparison of a daily newspaper with a biweekly newspaper could have some effect on the results obtained in the study. Even this research was limited to the textual or content analysis aspects of the newspapers. The other elements that affect media framing are not included. Furthermore, analyzing media farming's effect from the readers' side would complement the current knowledge of media framing. The way the broadcast stream of Ethiopian media frame good governance issues could also be another useful perspective. Besides, given the framing effect study made with only two media outlets and having interview with their chief editors and three journalists of each media may not show the complete picture the study on the framing of good governance issues.

On top of that, government's report on good governance issues within the half budget year and news stories of newspapers following the reports were not part of the study as a press conference was not given because of the situation the country was in. Thus, this study has not been comprehensive in containing all the possible research regarding media framing of good governance issues although it has attempted to throw light on how print media framed good governance issues.

CHAPTER TWO

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents the concept of good governance, theories of good governance, features of good governance, good governance and mass media, theory of media framing, types of media frames, media framing affecting factors, approaches to identifying frames in the news, historical overview of the selected media outlets and theoretical framework of the study.

2.1. The Concept of Good Governance

Currently, the terms governance and good governance are being increasingly used in development literature. There are lots of definitions of governance as there are various theorists in the field. According to Sheng (2009) governance is the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented.

In governance, there are actors who act in the process of decision making. These actors exercise their powers in different levels. In this regard, Sheng (2009) argues that the analysis of governance focuses on the formal and informal actors involved in decision-making and implementing the decisions made and the formal and informal structures that have been set in place to arrive at and implement the decision. These actors act in a certain way in governance. The scholar further states that:

Government is one of the actors in governance. Other actors may include influential landlords, associations of peasant farmers, cooperatives, NGOs, research institutes, religious leaders, finance institutions, political parties, the military etc. At the national level, in addition to the above actors, media, lobbyists, international donors, multi-national corporations, etc. may play a role in decision making or in influencing the decision-making process (Ibid).

Governance is about a process. As to Peters and Pierre (1998) defined governance as it is about maintaining public-sector resources under some degree of political control and developing strategies to sustain government's capacity to act. This is to mean that the government has power that is exercised on the governed public. This process generally refers to governance. In that different structures of the government can make decisions on resource allocation and manage service deliveries in the extent of their power share.

The term governance, sometimes, is seen to refer to government and government to refer to governance, though there is distinction between the two. This is evident from, Thomas.G (2000). In the style of governance, the practices of the actors are seen as good or bad form. Therefore, the whole process is taken as good or bad form of governance. The style of governance can be treated as bad when the government practice fails to meet the public's interest and development.

2.2. Theories of Good Governance

Good governance is one of the most controversial issues to bring various theorists. For this study, the two theories: Centralist and Decentralist theory are highlighted under.

Centralist Theory: This theory presumes that good governance flows from institutions that centralize power in single laws of sovereignty (Gerring et.al. 2005). In this regard, good governance is preserved when power is concentrated and manipulated by the central government. In the history of Ethiopia, during the monarchical period, power was preserved only in the hands of the emperor which lasted till 1974. The coming socialist regime of Mengistu Hailemariam was also unitary. Power was dominated by the governing party up to 1991 (Mohamed, 2001). Since power was in the hands of the government, good governance was not practiced.

Decentralist Theory: This theorizes that good governance arises from the diffusion of power among multiple independent bodies (Gerring et.al. 2005).

After the collapse of the Ethiopian military regime in 1991 by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the 1991 Charter was formulated. In 1994, the constitution that established the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia adopted the federal system of Ethiopia (Mohamed, 2001). This means that all regions of the country have got power on deciding certain issues of their people.

Accordingly, Storm (2005) argues that there are few democratic centralists at the present time either in the academy or in the world of policy making and politics. Both the left and right now apparently agree on the virtues of decentralized democratic institutions. They believe that since the system allows different institutions to share certain power, the tendency of government's accountability and transparency to the public is relatively higher. For developing good governance, as the scholar, decentralized form of government is more appropriate for granting the essence of good governance.

2.3. Features of Good Governance

As Mcquail (2000), quoted in Negeri (2010) argues that governance is about power relationships and accountability. It is about who has influence, who decides, and how decision makers are held accountable. It refers to the interactions among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power is exercised, how decision makers are taken on issues of importance, how citizens or other stakeholders have their say. However, not all governances are good governances. According to UNESCAP (2005) argues that good governance exists when its features i.e., participation, rule of law, consensus oriented, efficiency and effectiveness, lack of corruption, transparency, responsibility, accountability and equity and inclusiveness are well practiced.

Participation: participation by both men and women is a key corner stone of good governance. Participation could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. It is important to point out that in representative democracy, the attitudes and requirements of the most vulnerable in the society will not be considered in the process of decision making. Participation needs to be informed and organized. This means freedom of expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand (Sheng, 2009).

Rule of law/law enforcement: good governance requires fair and legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities. Impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force (Ibid).

Corruption: Corruption is a symptom of something gone wrong in the management of the state. Various institutions that are designed to govern the relationships between citizens and the state are used instead for the personal enrichment of public officials and the provision of benefits to the corrupt. Its basic cause is the prevalence of bad form of government's governance (United Nations Development Program, 1997). The report asserted that corruption is the direct response of bad governance.

Transparency: according to Sheng transparency refers to decisions taken, and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations. It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who are affected by such decisions and their enforcement. It also means that enough information is provided and that it is provided in easily understandable forms and media (Sheng 2009).

Responsiveness: good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable time frame. God Bole consistently argues that:

The primary responsibilities of the government can be briefly stated as laws and order and police, adequate and promote criminal and civil justice systems, and protection on interests of economically and socially weaker sections of society. The government will also have to take the responsibility for provision of primary education, public health, and water supply, particularly in the semi-urban areas. If these are fully taken care of, a number of the remaining activities can be left to be provided by the private or cooperative sectors (2001).

Consensus Oriented: in different societies, there are certain interest groups who can represent and influence the attitudes and interests of the community. Therefore, mediating these groups with government bodies can help to reach a broad consensus in society on what is in the best interest of the whole community. This requires a broad and long-term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. This can only result from an understanding of the historical, cultural and social contexts of a given society or community (God Bole: 2001).

Equity and Inclusiveness: Sheng (2009) stated that a society's wellbeing depend on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This requires all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.

Effectiveness and Efficiency: good governance means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal. Accordingly, God Bole (2006) believed that the concept of efficiency in the context of good governance also covers the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.

Accountability: According to Sheng (2009) accountability is a key requirement of good governance. Not only governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public and their institutional stakeholders. Who is accountable to who varies depending on whether decisions or actions taken are internal or external to an organization or institutions.

In general, an organization or an institution is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law.

2.4. Good Governance and Mass Media

Currently, the terms governance and good governance are being increasingly used in development literature. There are lots of definitions of governance as there are various theorists in the field. According to Sheng (2009) governance is the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented.

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In the history of Ethiopia, during the monarchical period, power was preserved only in the hands of the emperor which lasted till 1974. The coming socialist regime of Mengistu Hailemariam was also unitary. Power was dominated by the governing party up to 1991 (Mohamed, 2001). Since power was in the hands of the government, good governance was not practiced. After the collapse of the Ethiopian military regime in 1991 by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the 1991 Charter was formulated. In 1994, the constitution that established the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia adopted the federal system of Ethiopia (ibid). This means that all regions of the country have got power on deciding certain issues of their people.

Accordingly, Storm (2005) argues that there are few democratic centralists at the present time either in the academy or in the world of policy making and politics. Both the left and right now apparently agree on the virtues of decentralized democratic institutions. They believe that since the system allows different institutions to share certain power, the tendency of government's

accountability and transparency to the public is relatively higher. For developing good governance, as the scholar, decentralized form of government is more appropriate for granting the essence of good governance.

In the process of creating democratic and rational society many scholars consistently argue that media has been playing a significant role through disseminating information. This information helps the public to make critical debate on issues of common interest. As to Vivian (2005), media coverage can shape what we think about as well as how to think through covering or ignoring certain issues in their airtime or space. This means the media are a powerful linkage between the governments and how people view their government.

Media coverage not only creates public's awareness but can also trigger dramatic shift in opinion. The media manipulate the environments in which people see political figures and issues. This is to mean that covering issues on media is very important to get inclusive and concessive solutions and understandings and/or changes in the society. In the process of democratization and good governance, media can serve a lot by mediating the government or other actors and the public.

Media can also provide a critical check on state abuse of power or corruption, enable informed and inclusive public debate on issues of concern to poor people, and give greater public recognition to the perspectives of marginalized citizens and help the public to question the concerned body in various ways. Particularly, independent media is important for the quality of governance.

In Ethiopia, however, many scholars debate that the degree of media's freedom in covering certain public issues is still restricted by the government. According to Semahegn (2016), even if Ethiopia's constitution guarantees freedom of the press and prohibits censorship, the application is still in its infant stage. Besides, even if the country has adopted decentralized or federal system of government, all the regions of Ethiopia are governed by the central government. Hence, media in Ethiopia is controlled by the state, and the private press is subject to tight surveillance by the government (Ibid).

Vivian, (2005) has identified three ideal roles for the news media that have a tremendous impact on good governance and accountability, if effectively fulfilled. These are fourth estate, civic forum and agenda setting.

2.4.1. Media as a Fourth Estate

As Vivian (2005), the press was informally called as the fourth estate next to the three branches of the government, the legislative, judiciary and the executive. Its job is to monitor the other branches

as external checks on behalf of the people. This is the watchdog role of the press. In their watchdog role, media can contribute a lot for democratization, good governance and human development through investigating the activities of actors to the public by monitoring society's powerful sectors to uncover corruption and misinformation. Therefore, the actors could work in the sense of accountability and responsibility, which are the most important aspects of good governance. In doing this, the actors on a position can also know the perceptions and attitudes of the public through media.

However, the media face a number of challenges in practicing these roles. These challenges can be sourced from the ruling political system, incompetent professional skills of the journalists themselves, and the degree of publics' media awareness.

To overcome these problems in the media structure, the scholars suggest that there need to be a more coordinated and holistic approach for media development. Secondly, the activities and practices of journalists need to be formulated and assisted by laws and principles. The third important thing is the citizenries' level of understanding need to be improved to motivate journalists to work effectively.

2.4.2. Mass Media as a Civic Forum

Media, as its name connotes, mediates between two referees: the receiver and the source. This activity can be effective if the issues raised are at least commonly important to the public. To facilitate institutions' accountability and culture of transparency, media can play an important role by exposing the activities and future plans of these institutions to the public. Accordingly, McLaughlin and Scott (2010) argue that the media can bring an agenda of the public debate and discussion of social issues. It can also represent a plurality of perspectives, including those of poor and marginalized societies.

2.4.3. Media as Agenda Setter

The term agenda setting means media effects concisely when they said the media don't tell people what to think but rather what to think about. This has come to be called agenda setting (Vivian, 2005).

Media can function as an agenda setter for the public and the government and other organizations. Norris (2006) and Vivian (2005) media can function as an agenda setter through providing information about urgent social problems and there by channeling citizens' concerns to decision makers in government.

The media can raise awareness of social problems, informing elected officials about public concerns and needs.

2.5. Theory of media Framing

Framing as a theory in mass communication research dates back to Bateson (1972) who, in his book *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, defined a frame as "a spatial and temporal bounding of a set of interactive messages". Despite the elapse of decades since its coining, the term framing remains one of the most contested terminologies in media studies. This is partly attributed to—according to scholars like Scheufele (1999)—the absence of a universally accepted definition for it. To mention the view of Scheufele, previous studies on framing theory lack clear conceptual definitions.

A similar opinion arises from Renström (2011) who—in an article titled *Framing Obama*—admits that it is hardly possible to find a universal definition for the term framing. Putting his own assertion, however, Renström positions frame as a tool through which a writer takes perspective when presenting contents. This view of Renström seems helpful in media studies because it is through framing that the newsroom provides context and meaning to a certain issue or event. According to Boydston et al (2013), the most commonly used definition for framing is the one given by Entman (1993). To use the exact words of Entman as quoted in Boydston et al (2013), "Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."

In spite of all the differences in perspective, the definitions on framing seem to revolve around selection and context as basic tools. Boydston et al (2013), on the other hand, noted that even though framing has to face significantly different definitions, language remains the central notion of the definitions—begging the question that language is a significant element of framing studies. Literature suggests that the theory of framing has underwent progressive developments in its depth and extent since its coining decades ago. According to Abreu (2015), the theory emerged in the field of sociology in the mid-1960s though it gradually became a popular model in media effects researches. To quote Chong, et al (2007), the major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations.

Linström, et al (2012) argue that the popularity of framing in media studies is growing. They maintained that framing theory as a media analysis tool was applied by Goffman (1974) who used the idea of frames to label “schemata of interpretation that allow people to locate, perceive, identify, and label” occurrences or events.

It is deducible from the ideas presented thus far that the centerpiece of framing theory is that the way people present information, data, etc. not only affects other people who consume the information or data but also impacts their decision making and the choices they make.

Today, media frames are becoming the focus of media studies locally and internationally. A media frame, according to D’Angelo (2017), refers to the “written, spoken, graphical or visual message modality” that a communicator uses to contextualize an issue or event. In the views of Cynthia, et al (2017), media frames are useful to influence individuals or groups so that they develop a certain outlook or take some actions.

A more vivid definition for the term emerges from Reese (2001) who defines media frames as patterns of news coverage where the meaning of an issue or event is structured and organized. The emphasis in this definition, as one can see, is the idea that media frames enable the news media to make a particular selected meaning out of the event in order to shape the audiences’ view in some way.

Bateson (1972) takes the issue of framing to a broader level and maintains that our communication itself occurs within “frames”. These frames, according to him, provide contexts, signals and even identifications that facilitate the communication process. For him, we use frames to transmit certain messages and withhold others and vice versa.

It is clear from the views above that the newsroom has to do selection bias when deciding that one issue or event is more important to the audience than the other. A similar bias must be done when setting the selected story in a certain frame at the expense of some other frames. To put it in a simpler language, journalists must select one frame at the expense of another one.

According to Entman (1993), most media frames are defined by what they omit as well as include and the omission of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience. The main object of framing, according to this view, is guiding the audience—a phrase that shows the media’s effort to shape its audiences’ attitude in a certain way.

One can vividly see that both Bateson (1972) and Entman (1991) emphasized the view that through the use of framing, communicators amplify the voices of certain messages at the expense of some other messages and this researcher buys this definition of framing. It could be inferred, therefore, that all media have their own way of slanting events according to their editorial policies and their journalists' views of the world.

In general, the framing process involves the selection and illumination of certain aspects of an issue, personality, or event through the use of key words, phrases or "devices" that emerge through themes. Busher (2006) argues, facts alone have no meaning of their own. Busher's argument is that facts take on relevance when they are put into context through the use of framing tools like emphasis or focus.

It should, however, be borne in mind that several frames can occur in a single news story. It is worth mentioning here Gamson and Modigliani (1989) who believed that it is very natural for a single news story to contain more than one frame because frames are elements within a news story. In fact, the presence of multiple frames within one media text poses critical problems to frame analysts.

Our exposure to the media tells us that a single story is likely to go through different ways of being told to the audience. As part of their daily routine, newsrooms collect information on events or issues. Based on their editorial policies and ideologies, they put these events and issues into context.

Media has become a powerful framing institution in the modern world. Back in 1920, Walter asserts the world is too complex for the public unless the media simplify it using framing. Media framing is the process by which an issue is portrayed in the news media. Media frames also provide prescription around a news story and draw lines between what is not newsworthy or notable. So, journalists rely on media frames to decide what to include in a story and what to leave out, a process that may be conscious, instinctive or culture bound. Media frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring others.

A professional journalistic frame is a "schema or heuristic, a knowledge structure that is activated by some stimulus and is then employed by a journalist throughout story construction" (Dunwoody, 1999). Framing scholars argue that journalists prefer information that is consistent with their journalistic frames (Scheufele, 2006). In times of routine coverage, journalistic frames are applied to incoming information. As a consequence, frame-consistent information is more likely to be used

for the construction of a news report than inconsistent information. However, key events can shift existing journalistic frames and even replace these frames.

2.6. Framing in Communication Process

Entman (1993) identifies framing in at least four “locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture” (p. 52). First of all, for communicators, their thought process influences what they say thus enabling them to consciously or unconsciously frame or represent the world around them. Then, framing in texts is demonstrated by “the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences” that imply a certain theme or aspect of a “factor judgment” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Thirdly, framing with the receiver implies how the audience perceives and interprets i.e. decode issues discussed over certain media content; their frame of reference may be subject to their own point of view or influenced by the frames of the communicators and the text. Finally, the culture frame refers to what is usually expressed as right or wrong, good, or bad, acceptable, or unacceptable in the discourse and thought process of a group of people in a certain domain which is the audience. In all four communication processes framing is about what is being selected and frequently discoursed. As Entman (1993) puts it; “Framing in all four locations includes similar functions: selection and highlighting and use of the highlighted elements to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation and/or solution.” (p. 53).

2.7. Why media Framing?

Entman (1993) lists four theoretical debates in the study of mass communication that can be supported by common notion of frames.

1. **Audience autonomy:** framing concept provides the fact that the audiences are independent to understand the given media text irrespective of the dominant meaning- the intended meaning of the source.
2. **Journalistic objectivity:** journalists, due to lack of common understanding of framing, may present dominant framing which may hinders receivers’ balanced assessment of an issue. Journalists might come up with more balanced reporting if they happen to learn the difference between using juxtaposition of various competing facts and challenging the dominant frame.

3. **Content analysis:** Content analysis, if not supported by framing theory may not reveal detailed meaning of a given text. Therefore, if supported by framing theory, content analysis may yield comprehensive findings.
4. **Public opinion and normative democratic theory:** in democratic process, public opinion is influenced by politicians as they manipulate the power of framing in communication. However, it does not mean that framing is wholly good for democracy. Entman (1993), the concept of determining public opinion through framing in democratic process endangers democracy itself. Though it may not sound concluding framing affects every audience; it more likely influences the majority (ibid).

This shows us that framing is influenced by many factors like the audience we deliver the news, power and etc. and this study sets out to investigate how Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter newspapers framed good governance issues. The newspapers were selected because they are popular among the audience in distribution and content. Besides, Addis Zemen is owned by government and Reporter is privately owned. This helps in finding out if ownership has an effect on news framing.

2.8. Factors that affect media framing

The existing literature on news frames presents various factors that affect such news frames as the media themselves or as external influence. The external and internal factors include social norm and values, organizational pressure and constraint, pressures of interest groups, journalist routine and ideological or political orientations (Scheufele, 1999). The main factors that affect news frames are discussed below.

2.8.1. Ownership

The ownership of the media and their interest, whether it is profit making or not, affects what and how the media cover events, issues or problems (Graber, 2002 and Johnson- Cartee, 2005). Since in Ethiopia media conglomerates do not yet exist, ownership of media refers to whether the media are government or privately owned. In Ethiopia, both medias have been criticized for not engaging the public particularly concerning development issues (Panos, 2002).

In addition to ownership, resource constraints determine how a given media frame an issue or event (Andsager and Powers, 1999 and Scheufele, 1999). According to these authors financial,

time, space and human constraints largely determine how the media frame an issue, problem or event.

2.8.2. Journalistic routines

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

The view that journalists' routines affect the news framing is composed of two components. First, as much as the frames provide cue for readers, they provide similar functions for journalists. Journalists rely on frames "to make sense of facts, to focus the headline and to structure the storyline" (Norris and Carroll, 1997). Further, frames are used as 'working routines' for journalists. In this way, they enable them to immediately identify and group information and make news suitable for their audiences (Giltin, 1980 cited by Scheufele, 1999). Journalists observe and cover new issues or events based on frames which were used to cover similar issues or events in the past (Bird and Darden, 1997 cited in Norris and Carroll, 1997). Berkowitz and Beach's (1993) indicated that non-routine news usually needed a more diverse mix of sources than did routine newsgathering stories.

2.8.3. Interest groups and sources

Journalists depend on eyewitness and other sources to write a story. Berelson defined a source as a person, group or object "in whose name a statement is made" in 1971 (p.244). Molotch and Lester (1974) suggested that news was framed by the sources used the most by journalists. These sources might have their own agendas that they want to share with the audience. News sources have more effect on the content of news than journalists do (Berkowitz & Beach, 1993). Powerful communication agents such as government officials and interest groups advocate and encourage frames with purpose of planting them in news contents (Nelson and Oxley, 1996). The first encounter between journalists and sources particularly for breaking news put the framing process in motion (Entman, 1991:7). Thus, 'frame sponsorship' needs to be considered in framing research. Otherwise, a study risks exaggerating the extent of journalists' autonomy during news framing. But this does not mean journalists have no place in news framing.

Researchers have emphasized the value of studying different sources cited by media (Entman, 1993), as a cornerstone routine of professional journalism that affects both media credibility and

framing. As Entman (1989, p. 18) noted, “highly placed government and corporate spokespeople are the safest and easiest sources in terms of giving stories legitimacy.”

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

This may have important implications for framing good governance issues. The media relay largely on official sources. News frames that relay on governments’ frames do not serve the public. In fact, Kern et al. (2003) argue the media cannot exercise their watchdog role when they merely relay on the government’s frames. This is because, when media adopt a government’s frame, they legitimize the government’s actions (Johnson-Cartee, 2005).

Still there is a view that journalists regard government official sources as indication of completeness of the news.

Furthermore, type and political orientation of the medium can also influence news framing (Gans 1979 in Scheufel, 1999).

2.8.4. Freedom of the Press and Censorship

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

2.9. Types of Media Frames

Communication scholars at different times have devised various categories of framing according to the depths and perspective of their studies. According to Shah’s, et al (2004) categorization, frames can be broadly classified as episodic and thematic. Dijk (2015), citing Iyengar (1991), wrote that episodic frames focus on a specific event or case. In episodic framing, for instance,

violence, rape, drug addiction, etc. are presented in a specific context. To exemplify, a journalist who reports a rape case by using episodic framing might show to the audience the psychological status of the victim.

Thematic frames—in the views of Barnes et al. (2008) present broad problems and are policy oriented. In thematic framing, political issues or events are presented in a general context. To cite an example, if a journalist uses thematic frames when reporting a rape scenario, he/she is likely to tell us, for example, the causes of rapes or the devising of law as a protective measure.

Iyengar (1991) throws light on the differences between these two types of framing: He explains, while episodic frames focus on “a concrete event or victim; thematic framing is about collective or general evidence”. On the other hand, in a study dating back to almost two decades, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identified five news frames namely attribution of responsibility frame, conflict frame, economic frame, human interest frame, and morality frame.

In this study, the researcher adapted this list of frames to find out the type of frames that the selected newspapers used. Several frames can occur in a single news story. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) believe that it is very natural for a single news story to contain more than one frame because frames are elements within a news story. Below are details of the types of media frames and different scholars explanations about them are also incorporated for the better understanding the types of frames.

2.9.1. Conflict frame

Even surface reading tells us that conflict frame centers its notion on disagreements between or among differing parties. As Semetko and Valkenburg, (2000) agree that media use conflict as a means of capturing audiences’ attention. However, focusing on conflict as a major aspect of a problem, issue or event may result in negative consequences. First, such a frame encourages media to exaggerate conflicts even when the issue has a limited controversy element. Second, media provide issues as having only two sides to emphasis conflict. In other words, the media will provide only extreme views. As a result, middle view, where much of opinions belong will be over-looked. A quite similar explanation emerges from the works of Dirikx, et al. (2010) where conflict frame is defined as a type of frame that focuses on conflicts between individuals or groups and magnifies points of disagreements among opposing parties.

To wrap up, in simpler terms, a conflict frame in a journalistic writing stresses the existence of disagreement between or among individuals, groups or organizations.

2.9.2. Human impact frame

As the name implies, the human-impact frame appeals to the emotion of the audience. As Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), media use human-interest frames to capture audience's attention and to show the significance of the problem. This frame emphasizes the situation of an individual or a group who is affected by the problem. The media bound by objectivity do not directly express events in 'empathic or compassionate terms' they will rather employ adjectives, personal vignettes, and visuals that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy, sympathy or compassion from the audience. At other times, the media quote sources and victims with full emotional force.

To sum up, we can infer that the goal of this frame is stimulating the psychological pulse of people so that the audience can react positively or negatively to the situation.

2.9.3. Economic Frame

As its name indicates, economic frame shows how an issue or event brings about economic consequences on a country, institution, group or individual. This frame focuses on financial consequences of issue, event, or problem, on groups, institutions, nations, or individuals (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Similarly, Dirikx, et al. (2010) claimed that economic frame highlights how an issue or event can economically affect the public. When an issue or event has wide impact, it adds value to the news, and its economic consequences are often vital. Furthermore, Neuman et al. (1992) indicates the economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing various politics objectives.

2.9.4. Attribution of responsibility frame

This is a type of frame known for externalizing a certain result to an outside factor. Be it for praise or criticism, someone, or something else is held responsible. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) explain that responsibility frame is a type of frame used to place the responsibility or blame for the cause or the solution...on political authorities, individuals, or groups. Social problems and issues usually involve a question of causes and responsibility such as who is blamed or credited for events (Hallahan, 1999). The attribution of responsibility frame suggests what measure should be taken (Kensicki, 2004). When the media fail to cover causes and solutions of social problems, they create discontent between the problem and actual ramifications (ibid).

2.9.5. Morality Frame

Morality frame presents situations from a religious/moral angle and journalists find it difficult to adhere to the journalistic norm of objectivity while offering a moral message. Journalists thus, usually have but to bypass this norm by quoting others. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), in order to keep the professional norm of objectivity, journalists often make use of the moral frame indirectly by using quotation and inference. Likewise, Ana, et al. (2009), morality frame observes events and issues from the viewpoint of “morals, social prescriptions and religious tenets”. Journalists commonly used morality frames indirectly by using quotations or inferences and to maintain objectivity, journalists usually refrain from using morality frames directly (Ibid).

2.10. News Frames and Approaches to Identifying Frames in the News

For Entman (1991) news frames are identified from and expressed in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images emphasized in a news narrative. Framing in news can be identified by looking for words or pictures that are repeatedly used to convey some sort of monotonous theme. Every news organization is bound to practice a certain framing style influenced by its organizational structure, ideologies, owners and subscribers, audience, or all. For Mellese & Muller (2012) due to the reasons above framing is an inevitable step in news production and crafting audience perception. Implementing framing in the news is a way of making some idea prominent, others less significant and even some totally irrelevant through repetition, placement and reinforcing associations with each other, the words and images that compromise the frame render one basic information more readily discernable, comprehensible, and memorable than others (Entman, 1991). This practice leads to predictable and recurring motifs (Mellese & Muller, 2012) or an identifiable design which is usually implemented and can be understood by analyzing contents of a certain period. Such kind of research is called a media frame research—which is actually the focus of this study. Media frames and individual frames are the two types of news frames research that apply to two different components of the communication process i.e. the media and the audience, respectively. For Gamson and Modigliani (1987) media frame is the dominant and recurring discourse in a news story that explains an event as it happens by defining conflicts or interactions and what the real implication of the issue is (as cited in Scheufele, 1999). According to Littlejohn and Foss (2009) these frames is a macro level components that focus on how issues are presented in the media and resonates to agenda-setting theory because it is about how certain aspects of an issue are selected and presented on the media to influence audience

interpretation. For Tuchman (1978), news frame is an essential feature of the news; it organizes everyday reality by turning meaningless and no recognizable happenings into discernible events (Scheufele, 1999). The second type of frames i.e. individual frames or audience frames are the micro-level component of research in political communication. Individual frames also known as audience frames are defined as mentally stored clusters of the idea that guide individuals' processing of information (Entman, 1993 as cited in Scheufele, 1999). They are cognitive level frames used by the audience to comprehend the world.

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

On the other hand, Neuman et al. (1992), restrict framing to the first moments for television news and to the early sentences for articles in newspapers and magazines. In other words, newspapers frame stories in their headlines and leads. Headlines and subheads are therefore very important frame indicators. They provide not only a glimpse of journalists' treatment of the story but the whole frame of the story (Johnson-Cartee, 2005). This might explain the extra measure media practitioners take to ensure that the headline captures the sense of the story. However, this does not mean that journalists are always conscious of how they frame stories. In fact, there is a strong assertion from scholars that journalists are not usually conscious about their framing of issues (Hallahan, 1999). Frames are results of the journalists' unconscious assumptions about the social world (ibid). Further, the intimidating deadlines do not allow journalists to stop and think how they frame the story even though they frame each and every story (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002).

There are different approaches of identifying frames in the news. As discussed in deVreese (2005), one approach is inductive in nature and refrains from analyzing news stories with a prior defined news frames in mind.

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

The second approach in which this study employed, is deductive that investigates frames that are defined and operationalized prior to the investigation. When working with a deductive approach, the relevant question is: what (which components) in a news story constitutes a frame? Entman (1993) suggested that frames in the news can be examined and identified by ‘the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments. These clues are commonly applied to identify frames in media texts especially when the researcher follows deductive approach.

Along these lines, Shah et al. (2002) refer to ‘choices about language, quotations, and relevant information.’ Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identify ‘framing devices’ that condense information and offer a ‘media package’ of an issue. They identify (1) metaphors, (2) exemplars, (3) catch-phrases, (4) depictions, and (5) visual images as framing devices.

Dorfman et al, (2005), on the other hand, says frames are equivalent to optical illusions and are seen in terms of whether the glass is half full or whether the glass is half-empty. Thus, it depends on the choice of people to see the same event or issue from the perspective of half full or half empty. Accordingly, people make different choices depending on how information is framed.

Lakoff (1996) points out some pieces about framing asserting on the idea that Communication itself comes with a frame. The elements of the communication frame include: a message, an audience, messenger, a medium, images, a context, and especially, higher-level moral and conceptual frames and, the choice of language, which is vital, but vital because language evokes frames: moral and conceptual frames.

2.11. Historical Overview of the Selected Media Outlets

2.11.1. The Addis Zemen Amharic

Addis Zemen is the first state Amharic newspaper in Ethiopia launched in 1943 after the return of Emperor Haile Selassie from exile. Back from exile, the king made speech in Addis saying “yeh ye Addisitua Ethiopia Addis Zemen mejemeria naw” which means “this is the beginning of new era in Ethiopia”. So, it was after this speech that the newspaper was named Addis Zemen.

It was first published in a weekly tabloid format having two pages with circulations of ten thousand copies. The newspaper developed into to a broadsheet page in 1960’s. Around 1958, following the establishment of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Addis Zemen was changed into a broadsheet page. Though Addis Zemen pledged in its first editorial that it would not be

serving as a propaganda tool for regimes, it, however, continued to be the Emperor's apologist from 1941 to 1960's. The regime being a traditional monarch, the newspaper for most of its life hardly enjoyed freedom. Ethiopian Scholar Checkol Meseret (2014), in his book "The Quest for Press Freedom" One hundred years of the media in Ethiopia wrote the golden age of journalism was enjoyed in Ethiopia during transitional periods between the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie, Mengistu Hailemariam and the incumbent.

Addis Zemen and The Ethiopian Herald were the two most popular print outlets during those transitional periods as print media was not widespread enough in those periods. After the 1990's the government introduced press laws that grant freedom of information to the media and a relative treatment of opposing viewpoints have been observed.

2.11.2. The Reporter (Amharic)

The Reporter newspaper was launched in 1987 E.C as a private weekly, owned by former EPDRF (the ruling party) member Amare Aregawi. It is one of the few private newspapers that survived from the closure of many newspapers during and after the 2005 Ethiopian election. Besides, being one of the largest private weeklies in Ethiopia, it is known for its wider coverage of social, political and economic issues. Even though its circulation is limited to a few areas of the country, its online version is accessible to many people.

Checkol as cited in Wondwosen Abera (2017), owing the owners background some assume his paper stands in support of the party's key stances. Regardless of such presumptions there are evidences to prove that The Reporter writes critical of the government.

In 2015, the researcher collected court cases that were already granted a decision from the Federal Supreme Court for the purpose of term paper in 2015. The court case list taken from federal Supreme Court had a list of more than 80 court cases on journalists. That was a record from 1996 to 2005 E.C. Twenty cases were taken to the class for discussion. Among the 20 court cases, Amare Aregawi, Chief Editor of The Reporter newspaper was charged several times for lots of causes related to coverage of mismanagements of resources in some government institutions as well as corruption. But all the decisions on his case showed he was set free from all the charges proving that his newspaper's report was up to the standard objectivity, fairness and journalism ethics.

Although these court scenarios could show us that Amare, a man assumed have a masked affiliation with the ruling party, was being able to reveal mismanagements in some government institutions, some still assume his newspaper is not yet free from political influence.

Whatever the case may be, studying the narrative of both *Addis Zemen* and *The Reporter* towards the framing of good governance issues that took place within the time frame of July 27, 2017 to January 8, 2018 partly revealed their stands as in the process of the actual analysis of frames in the next chapter.

2.12. Theoretical Framework of the Study

The present research used political economy theory of mass media and social constructivism theory of framing as its theoretical framework because the former theory helps to relate the effect of political and economic factors on media's coverage of news while the later theory maintains that not only does the news media influence the audiences' attitude, but also public opinion impacts how the newsroom presents stories to the audience in a certain frame at the expense of another.

2.12.1. Political Economy of Mass media

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

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

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

Chomsky and Herman (1988) argue a range of political, economic, and organizational filters constrain the reporting of news. The size, ownership, and profit orientation of the mass media is **the first filter**. The dominant media firms are quiet large businesses, they are controlled by very wealthy people and or by managers who are subject to sharp constraints by owners and other profit oriented forces; and they are closely interlocked, and have important common interests, with other major corporations including government. This is the first powerful filter that will affect news choices (Ibid).

Advertising is **the second filter**. With the growth of advertising, papers that attract advertising were encouraged and got huge profit while others that failed to do so were in hardships. For this

reason, an advertising- based system will tend to drive out of existence or into marginality the media companies and types that depend on revenue from sales alone. With advertising, the free market does not yield a neutral system in which final buyer choice decides. The advertisers' choices influence media prosperity and survival. The ad-based media receive an advertising subsidy that gives them a price-marketing-quality edge, which allows them to encroach on and further weaken their ad-free (or ad-disadvantaged) rivals.

The power of advertisers over media stems from the simple fact that they buy and pay for the advertisement-they are the "patrons" who provide the media subsidy. As such, the media compete for their patronage, developing specialized staff to solicit advertisers and necessarily having to explain how their publicizing serve advertisers' needs. The choices of these patrons greatly affect the welfare of the media.

Source of mass media news is **the third filter**. The mass media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest. The media need a steady, reliable flow of the raw material of news. They have daily news demands and imperative news schedules that they must meet. The media concentrate their resources where significant news often occurs, where important rumors and leaks abound, and where regular press conferences are held.

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

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

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

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

This theory, therefore, helped to examine Addis Zemen and The Amharic Reporter newspapers if freedom of the press, ownership, and source of mass media news influenced the framing of good governance issues.

2.12.2. Social Constructivism Theory of Framing

According to social constructivism theory, framing is not a pure monopoly where journalists and the newsroom solely monopolize the way stories are disseminated to the public. McQuail (2010), insists that framing is, rather, the result of reciprocity in which both the newsroom and the audience interchange power. The social constructivism theory of framing shows the presence of reciprocity between the media and audience in news framing.

In the view of Scheufele (1999), mass media strongly influence the public by constructing social realities, and public opinions play vital parts when journalists go through the process of developing and crystallizing meaning in public discourse. For Scheufele (ibid), journalists make stories with the public's view and attitude in their minds. In other words, there is interdependence between the newsroom and the public when stories are put in a certain frame.

The driving concept behind the social constructivism theory of framing, according to McQuail (1994), is the idea that framing is the construction of social reality. In the view of McQuail, framing is not merely the result of the journalist's or the newsroom's intent of putting stories in a particular frame. Rather, news framing is a combined result of the views of the newsroom, the journalist, and the audience.

Similarly, Neuman et al (1992) contends that social constructivism theory of framing bases itself on the belief that audiences depend on a kind of reality which is constructed from individual experiences and interactions. According to this theory, the audience is not just a passive entity who merely absorbs every information they receive from the mass media. Rather, audiences engage in active processing and reflection. As society itself is the result of social construction, it is customary that people discuss in peers or groups the issue they heard or read from mass media. The audiences'

involvement ranges from peer discussions to giving feedbacks to the news media which, in turn, affects how the media has to put a story in a particular frame.

A similar view emerges from Gamson (1989) who wrote that journalistic discourse is the result of social construction where individuals make meaning. For Gamson, journalists rely on public opinion when they develop and synthesize information for public consumption.

According to Tankard (1991), framing enables mass media to construct a social reality. The commonly used tools in constructing this reality are selection, exclusion, emphasis, and elaboration. Tankard believes that media houses process events and issues in a certain frame based on the background of the audience because the needs of the audience also dictate the framing process.

An important idea to be borne in mind from the arguments presented thus far is that framing is not the sole action of the news media. In fact, the newsroom takes into consideration the needs of the audience in their day-to-day news production activities. Though the media is the chief disseminator of public discourse, audiences also deliberate on and discuss media discourses in their daily lives, apart from providing feedbacks to media organizations. This, indeed, calls for media studies, particularly framing studies which help find out how media organizations frame issues or events when disseminating information to their audiences.

The main propositions of social constructionism theory of framing are: society is a construct rather than a fixed reality, media provide the materials for reality construction, meanings are offered by media, but can be negotiated or rejected, media selectively reproduce certain meanings, and cannot give an objective account of social reality (all facts are interpretations). Based on the propositions of social constructivism theory of framing, the present research examined how themes and frames were constructed while addressing the good governance issues in Addis Zemen and the Amharic Reporter newspapers.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the research design and method employed, the data collection instruments, sampling technique and procedures followed while undertaking this research. It also discussed the content analysis, reliability, and validity of data.

3.2. Research Method

The main objective of the study was to examine how good governance issues were framed by Addis Zemen and The Amharic Reporter newspapers. To meet these objectives, this study employed a mixed method, a qualitative approach as a major research method accompanied by a quantitative one. It is a frequently used and a suitable approach for looking at the media framing research. Further, it is assumed that supporting qualitative method with a quantitative approach will provide a deeper understanding of the problem since the two approaches address different aspects. Moreover, when we blend qualitative and quantitative methods both neutralize each other's weakness (Creswell, 2012).

According to Wimmer & Dominick (2011), the qualitative research method is used to explore a problem and develop a detailed understanding of a central phenomenon. Kvale (1996) also says that the objective of a qualitative research method is interpreting “meaningful relationships” rather than quantifying data.

Furthermore, Rahman (2017) states that qualitative research methods help researchers develop a holistic understanding of the human experience in specific settings. A qualitative research method is effective in producing detailed descriptions and in-depth interpretations, which are significant elements in media studies. This method revolves around analyzing subjective meanings.

As Grix (2004), the qualitative research method involves the interpretation of data, whereby the researcher analyses, usually a few in number, in their social and cultural context over a specific period of time. And it emphasizes tracing the process and sequence of events in specific settings. Therefore, the use of qualitative method particularly text analysis was part of the study that has served for the purpose of triangulation of data. As qualitative approach offers information about the context and setting, however, it lacks generalizability. Hence the quantitative approach was used to address this limitation.

This study also applied quantitative research method to numerically supplement the data obtained through the qualitative method. In fact, the quantitative method was used in the present research to measure the occurrence of certain frames and themes used in each newspaper. According to Williams (2007), one of the benefits of using the quantitative method is that it allows the researcher to maintain objectivity when measuring subjects, for data are examined mathematically. Besides, since numerical data are used in quantitative research method, the researcher can make objective comparisons when this method is applied.

Hence, quantitative approach content analysis was used to collect quantitative data from the news about the occurrence of certain frames and theme so as to interpret themes, words and expressions (idioms, metaphors and proverbs) of the texts to explore meaning depicted in the selected newspapers written on good governance issues together with qualitative approach to find out quality information of articles.

3.3. Content Analysis as Instruments of Data Collection

Content analysis was employed in this research to analyze how good governance issues were framed by Addis Zemen and The Amharic Reporter. As the main focus of this thesis was to examine stories of good governance issues, content analysis will become vital in assessing the manifested texts on these two newspapers. The analysis is mainly carried out to collect data about media content such as topics or issues, words, messages, and expressions (idioms, metaphors and proverbs), of the texts to explore meaning depicted in the selected newspapers written on good governance issues.

Content analysis as Kerlinger (2000) (as cited in Wimmer & Dominick, 2011) defines it as “a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables”. It required the establishment of guiding rules applied identically to all study entities, with the researcher’s subjective analysis and the interpretation put aside. The results are bound to be quantified for reasons related to precision, generalization and interpretation and analysis (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). The statistics will help make more precise data conclusions.

Quantitative content analysis has several advantages among which a reliable measurement technique and longer shelf value are listed (Riffe et al., 2005). It follows an unmistakable step that can be replicated and guarantees a purposeful result backed by sufficient statistics. Also, it can outlive the time it was conducted thus making longitudinal studies possible “by using archived

materials that may outlive the communicators, their audiences, or the events described in the communication content” (Ibid). According to Babbie (2007) content analysis has additional advantages that make it favorable for research: in relation to other data gathering methods, it is safe in case the researcher is required to repeat the investigation and it has limited or no effect on the subject being studied. In addition, since the researcher applies objective analysis during the course of his study, the content analysis doesn’t directly affect the text or image by inflicting some sort of analysis and interpretation.

On the other hand, content analysis has its shortcomings. A content analyst depends on an oral or written text, image, etc., to make an analysis. Accordingly, content analysis is limited to examining recorded communication only (Babbie, 2007). Therefore, to fix this gap the researcher has employed textual analysis to further denote the underlying meaning of articles under this study.

However, as quantitative content analysis mainly examines the manifested text in the newspapers, it gives no further chance to look at what the text does really mean, according to the socio-politics and other discourses. This makes textual analysis different from the quantitative content analysis. The quantitative content analysis only focuses on the manifested texts, whereas the qualitative content analysis goes beyond the manifested text. In other words, the textual analysis is generally a type of qualitative analysis beyond the manifested content of the media, and it focuses on the underlying ideological and cultural assumptions of the text (Fürsich, 2009).

It is witnessed from the explanations above that integrating qualitative and quantitative techniques of analyzing and interpreting data is highly recommended in researches, especially in the field of media and communication studies. The present research, therefore, applied combination of qualitative and quantitative content analyses when examining how the news, editorials and feature articles in Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers framed good governance issues.

3.3.1. Unit of Analysis

As Wimmer and Dominick (2016), unit of analysis is the smallest element of a content analysis but also one of the most important. For Jensen (2002), a unit of analysis, in media studies, could range from a single word or symbol to an entire article or story.

Based on the interests of research that make a comparison about, or analyses, the unit of analysis varies from one research to another. It can be a word, a sentence, a paragraph, or an entire document. Hence, the unit of analysis in this study were the word counts and the central idea or the theme of the news articles selected from Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers.

3.3.2. Analytical Content Categories

Establishing and defining the analytical categories was the next step after identifying the unit of analysis. Gray (2013) argues that categorizing data is crucial in content analysis. For Wimmer and Dominick (2006) who consider analytical category the heart of content analysis, developing mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories makes the works of the content analyst practical. There are two approaches of establishing categories in content analysis as pointed out by Stemler (2001) namely emergent coding and prior coding. As the name implies, emergent coding refers to establishing categories after studying the data being tested. Prior coding, on the other hand, involves establishing categories before the data are collected and studied.

From the two approaches discussed above, the present research employed prior coding when establishing analytical categories because the researcher used categories already developed by previous researchers. In fact, the researcher examined some words, phrases and expressions in the news texts when developing the categories. Hence, the subsequent category was made on the basis of the common themes arising from the data themselves.

On the other hand, word count doesn't always show us the type of frame and a single news story may have more than one type of frame or theme and such news articles were treated under complex categories particularly if the count of words of frames and themes become equal or when there is no significant difference.

3.3.3. Operational Definitions

The following scholarly operational definitions were provided for the three categories developed so that coders easily understood the meanings of each item and noticed the underlying demarcations.

Frame: refers to how a news story was written to stress or emphasize the significance of a certain subject.

- **Responsibility frame:** occurs when a story places responsibility or blame on a political authority, individual, group or country.
- **Conflict frame:** occurs when a story reflects the conflict and disagreement among individuals, groups, or organizations.
- **Economic frame:** occurs when an issue or event has wide impact that affects individuals, groups, organizations, or countries economically.

- **Morality frame:** occurs when a story observes events and issues from the viewpoint of morals, social prescriptions, and religious tenets.
- **Human interest frame** occurs when a story presents an issue from a more emotional point of view.
- **Economic and conflict:** A news story is said to have economic and conflict frame when it has a characteristics of both economic frame and conflict frame. In a simple term, when a news article discusses, conflicts between individuals, groups or organizations and when a news article discusses financial consequences of an issue, event, or problem, on groups, institutions, nations, or individuals simultaneously with equal emphasis.

Theme: refers to the central idea or message of a story, which includes indicators of good governance issues.

- **The rule of law:** A news story has a law enforcement theme if that story talks about human rights, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, peace and order including the functions of the three government organs.
- **Corruption/rent-seeking:** A theme is said to be corruption if the central idea of a story deals with possessing the public wealth to personal enrichment using power illegally or wasted public resource in vain.
- **Transparency:** A theme is said to be transparency if the story implies that information is freely available, provided in easily understandable forms and media and directly accessible to those who are affected by such decisions following rules and regulations.
- **Responsibility:** A theme is said to be responsibility if the central idea of a story talks about actions taken or not taken by political authority, individual, group, other responsible actors, or country.
- **Equity and Inclusiveness:** A theme is said to be equity and inclusiveness if the central idea of a story deals with resource allocations and infrastructure accessibilities are inclusive or exclusive in the country.
- **Effectiveness and Efficiency:** A news story is said to have effectiveness and efficiency if the main idea of a particular story talks about processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources and doing things right & doing the right thing focusing on the end result.

- **Accountability:** A theme is said to be accountability if the central idea of a story deals with governmental institutions and also the private sector and civil society organizations accountability to the public and their institutional stakeholders.
- **The rule of law and Accountability and Corruption:** A news article is said to have the rule of law and accountability and corruption theme when it has a theme that characterized the rule of law, accountability and corruption at the same time. In a simple term, when a news article discusses law enforcement related issues like human right issues, explains the accountability of government and subordinates like decisions and responsibility for consequences together with public power abuses for personal enrichments simultaneously and when it discusses the interplay among these three elements of good governance.

Source: refers to the name of a person, group or organization used by the newspaper as providing the piece of information quoted or cited which could be:

- ✓ **Government officials:** are persons serving in the Ethiopian government like heads of state, ministers, commissioners, directors, etc.
- ✓ **International organizations:** are organizations having international membership or presence like the Embassies, Human Rights Watch, CPJ, WHO, UNESCAP and WB.
- ✓ **Experts:** are people having extensive knowledge or ability based on research, experience or working in a certain area like political, economic and social analysts, etc.
- ✓ **Community members:** are individuals who are highly respected and participate actively in the community affairs.
- ✓ **Other media:** refers to any news outlet excluding Addis Zemen and the Amharic Reporter that were used as sources when framing good governance issues.

3.3.4. Coding Protocols

As McAlister, et al (2017), coding is a repetitive process used to categorize words and expressions to put the data into context. A code refers mostly to the words or short phrases that symbolically give cumulative and relevant attributes to textual or visual data. A code helps the researcher find out the general blueprint of the textual or visual data under scrutiny. Just as a title represents and captures a book or film or poem's primary content and essence, so does a code represent and capture a datum's primary content and essence (Anselm, 1987). Through coding, researchers are able to identify themes in their data and provide explanations and conclusions.

In the present research, coding was done by two individuals: Two trained colleagues who had an experience in coding during their graduates study when they did thesis for their MA degrees in Journalism and Communication. They were mentored on the overall contents of the coding checklist including the relationship between the categories and the objective of the research work. Hence, the coders did two phase of coding, namely pilot coding and final coding, the details of which are provided below:

A. Pilot Coding

Prior to undertaking the final coding, the two coders took 20% of the news articles in the two newspapers, Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic), for a pilot test. This initial test was intended to enable the researcher to notice whether there were inconsistencies or insufficiencies in establishing and/or defining categories.

Intercoder agreement in the pilot coding was tested using Krippendorff's α which is formulated as:

$$\alpha = 1 - D_o / D_e$$

Where D_o represents observed disagreement and D_e represents expected disagreement. The researcher used this technique because Krippendorff's α helps accommodate multiple variables with all levels of measurement, hence, providing appropriate reliability interpretations (Neuendorf, 2002).

The calculations were done using the **kalpha.spss** macro software developed by Hayes and authorized for its precision by Krippendorff himself, which decreases the chances of mathematical errors that might have emanated had human hand been used instead (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007).

For precision's sake, intercoder reliability was calculated separately for each item, as recommended by Hayes & Krippendorff (ibid).

- Intercoder Reliability for types of frames: **0.7256**
- Intercoder Reliability for major themes: **0.7405**
- Intercoder Reliability for news sources: **0.7957**

Note:- The raw SPSS data, frequency tables and kalpha.spss results for these items have been separately attached at the back of this paper.

As it can be seen, intercoder reliability in the pilot coding for each item is below 0.8 and hence there is low reliability. Hence, the researcher had to revise the coding sheet as part of resolving the

shortcomings witnessed in the pilot coding. Thus, the operational definitions were revised, and each category was exhaustively defined, as it can be seen in the operational definitions subsection.

B. Final Coding

In the final coding, the coders re-coded stories of the two newspapers selected for the present study. Having deliberated on the revised coding sheet, the two raters coded the news items in Addis Zemen, and the Reporter (Amharic) that are concerned with good governance issues. Like the pilot coding, the final coding was calculated using Krippendorff's α as has already been discussed above. Here are the results of the final coding:

- Intercoder Reliability for types of frames: **0.8058**
- Intercoder Reliability for major themes: **0.8124**
- Intercoder Reliability for news sources: **1**

As discussed in the subsection above, the researcher presented each item's intercoder reliability separately to increase the accuracy of the coding results, as suggested by Hayes & Krippendorff (2007).

3.4. Validity

Validity is the extent to which a measuring procedure represents the intended and only the intended concept (Neuendorf, 2002). According to Krippendorff (2004), validity is the quality of research results that leads us to accept them as true, as speaking about the real world of people, phenomena, events, experiences, and actions. A measuring instrument is considered valid if it measures what its user claims it measures. (ibid). For Wimmer and Dominick (2011), validity refers to the extent to which a research instrument actually measures what it was set out to measure and for this making sure categories do not overlap is one of the ways to achieve validity. They also advise that adequate and exhaustive definitions are provided to categories.

To ensure validity, therefore, the researcher developed exhaustive and suitable operational definitions apart from establishing mutually exclusive categorical items, as explicated in the preceding operational definitions subsection.

3.5. Sampling Technique and Procedures

Purposive sampling was used for the purpose of attaining the aims of this research. As Neuendorf (2002), this sampling method involves the researcher making a judgment about which ones will be the most useful or representative. This is to mean that the sampling method helps the researcher decide the samples convenience to the resources and time available, as well as the study's objectives (ibid).

For this study, Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter newspapers were the media outlets selected purposely for framing analysis. Besides, these newspapers were selected based on their circulation, coverage of domestic issues, readership, language, popularity, and ownership that help the researcher do a comparative analysis in investigating good governance issues marking July 27, 2017 as a starting point on which state of emergency ended and January 8, 2018 as the ending point of the research as good governance issues are supposed to be part of the government half budget year performance review addressed to the parliament. The researcher preferred the print media to the broadcast since the former can communicate more complex ideas as compared to the latter. But this does not mean the broadcast media cannot be a venue of framing analysis. On top of this, a comprehensive analysis of good governance issues in all the existing media in the country is probably impossible. Given the time, space, and resource available it is not possible to investigate all the newspapers that are published in the country.

All publications of Amharic Reporter (Sunday and Wednesday) and two publications per week (Sunday and Wednesday) of Addis Zemen were included in the study. The selection of the two publications is deliberately done to be on the same day expecting that there would be a high degree of similarity of the events discussed in the newspapers. Hence using purposive sampling is appropriate to research the topic.

The collected data with this sampling method was examined through quantitative and qualitative methods complimentarily. The quantitative content analysis helped to identify frames used and themes addressed in good governance issues framing by the selected two newspapers. On the other hand, the qualitative content analysis that requires analyzing the textual component provided a ground to explain frames selected and themes addressed. It also supported the argument by comparing and contrasting news frames between Addis Zemen and The Amharic Reporter. Blessing & Chakrabarti (2009) state that, this strategic mix of qualitative and quantitative methods

to identify similar data through different means to strengthen the evidence and verify the finding is referred to as Triangulation.

3.5.1. Story Selection

The time frame of this study was from July 27, 2017, the day when state of emergency ended to January 8, 2018. This final date included government's half budget year performance review since good governance issues were supposed to be addressed to the parliament. Within this period of time, hard news, editorials, and feature articles written on good governance issues were examined.

3.5.2. Sources of Data

In this study, the researcher used Addis Zemen and Amharic Reporter newspapers as a main source of data. These newspapers were raw data to this study and thus, they were closely investigated and further processed. Good governance related stories in these newspapers were collected, translated, and interpreted in light of the research objectives.

In addition to this, the researcher reviewed various books, journal articles, research papers, media policies, other publications and audio video records related to good governance issues as a secondary sources. These materials helped the researcher view the issue indifferent angles and strengthen his argument by making sound reason.

3.5.3. Time Frame

The study collected about five-months and 15 days data starting from July 27, 2017 on which state of emergency ended to January 8, 2018 as the ending time frame since good governance issues were supposed to be part of the government half budget year performance review addressed to the parliament.

3.6. Data Analysis Procedure

As the present study employed a mixed method, data was coded and organized both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative data were appropriately coded and organized using the software SPSS (short for Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), which helped to examine data statistically. Besides, the `kalpha.spss` macro software used to test the intercoder reliability of these data. The statistical data were tabulated in tables, charts, and percentage in the fourth chapter of this thesis. Furthermore, as a single news story is likely to make use of more than one type of frame or theme, statistical data were significant here because the researcher counted certain words,

phrases, or expressions to measure their occurrence of appearance. Hence, the appearance of multiple themes or types of frame in a single story were shown in comparative terms via numerical data using percentage and tabulation in the data presentation and analysis chapter.

On the other hand, qualitative data which were obtained through textual analysis were used to support, define, and describe the quantitative data presented numerically.

All in all, the present research tabulated and presented statistical data in charts and percentages, followed by textual descriptions that supplement qualitative evidence and description.

CHAPTER FOUR

Presentation and Analysis of Data

Broadly divided into three sections, this chapter presents results obtained from quantitative and qualitative data. The first section discusses the types of frame used in the news items analyzed, followed by the second section which deals with findings on major themes. The third section presents analyses on sources of information. Besides, a brief comparative analysis between the two newspapers will be provided at the end of the sections.

4.1. Distribution of Frames

This section involves investigation of frames in presenting good governance issues in Ethiopia across the print media, namely Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic). The purpose is to identify how the two newspapers differ in their characteristics of presenting good governance issues in Ethiopia as reflected in frames of news articles.

It focuses on responsibility frame, conflict frame, economic frame, morality frame and human interest frames of Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers.

4.1.1. Distribution of Frames in Addis Zemen

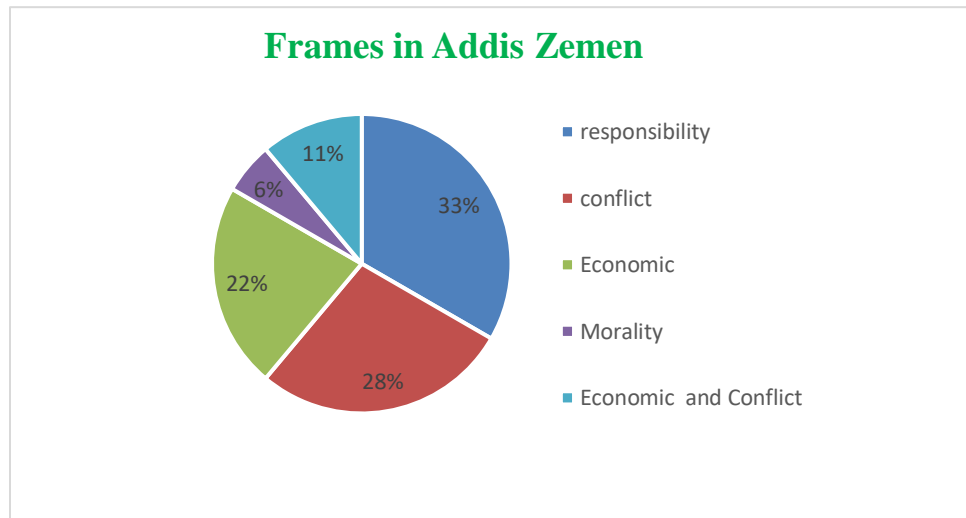


Figure 2: frames in Addis Zemen

4.1.1. Attribution of Responsibility Frame

This is a type of frame known for attributing a certain phenomenon to an external cause. Be it for praise or criticism, someone, or something else is held responsible. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) explain that responsibility frame is a type of frame used to place the responsibility or blame for the cause or the solution...on political authorities, individuals, or groups. According to Kensicki (2004), the attribution of responsibility frame suggests measures to be taken and when the media fail to cover causes and solutions of social problems, they create discontent among the public or citizens.

Furthermore, attribution of responsibility frame and responsibility theme are two different concepts where the former can be deliberately manipulated to blame or praise someone for the cause or the solution of an issue whereas the later talks about defined duties and hold responsible for actions taken or not taken by political authority, individual, group, other responsible actors, or country accordingly. Such as maintaining laws and order, promote criminal and civil justice systems, making strategic decision that meet the needs of citizens, delivering public services and responding requests and complaints within a reasonable timeframe are some of the responsibilities of government.

As the pie chart shows, responsibility frame is the most dominant frame in Addis Zemen with the share of 33%. 6 news articles were identified as having the responsibility frame and the essence of each news story is summarized in the table below:

Excerpts	The essence of the news article
1	The news article praises the government for holding corruption suspects as part of its responsibility. ¹
2	The news story blames the so called chauvinist and narrow-minded forces as twisting the demand of the people for good governance issues into their own mission. ²
3	The news story suggests the government to address public grievances timely. ³
4	The news article criticizes the government for its failure to respond public questions timely and for the consequences resulted accordingly. ⁴
5	The news article blames the Anti-corruption commission for its irresponsibility in disclosing the wealth of government officials. ⁵

6	The news article criticizes the House of Representatives for failing to campaign against corruption in a fully integrated approach. ⁶
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For instance, according to excerpt 2, the public questions on good governance was treated aligning with the chauvinist and narrow-minded forces.

“የህዝቡን መልካም አስተዳደር ጥያቄ የትምህርትና የጥበብ ሃይሎች በመቀማት የራሳቸውን ተልዕኮ ለማስፈጸም ሲጥሩ ይስተዋላል..” (መስከረም 7 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)²

Means:

It is being witnessed that the chauvinist and narrow-minded forces are framing the demand of the people for good governance issues into their own mission (September 17, 2017).

Addressing good governance problems or public grievances is one of the responsibilities of government. But as can be inferred from the above excerpt, instead of dealing with the good governance problems surfaced, the government wanted the so called “chauvinist and the narrow-minded” forces to have become the drawbacks to carry out its responsibilities.

Furthermore, as witnessed in excerpt 4, the news article criticizes the government for its failure to respond public questions and the consequences resulted because of it.

“ካለፉት ሶስት ዓመታት ወዲህ እየተነሱ ያሉ የህዝብ ጥያቄዎች ተገቢ ምላሽ አለማግኘታቸውና ችግሮች በፍጥነት አለመፈታታቸው ችግሮችን እያበባሉ ነው...” (ታህሳስ 11 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)⁴

It says:

Over the past three years, public inquiries, which have not been properly and timely addressed, are aggravating problems (December 18, 2017).

Though many of the news articles tried to attribute good governance problems with anti-peace elements and portrayed them as the bottle necks for government to address bad governances, few of the news articles as of the excerpt above, critically comment the government’s weakness and tried to voice what was happening on the ground.

To put the findings in a nutshell, the news articles dominantly criticized the government and public institutions for their failure in addressing public grievances timely, for their failure in holding corrupt officials accountable and for externalizing issues to the outsiders which they could have taken measure as part of their responsibilities.

4.1.2. Conflict Frame

Conflict frame centers its notion on disagreements between or among differing parties. As Dirikx, et al. stated (2010) conflict frame is defined as a type of frame that focuses on conflicts between individuals or groups and magnifies points of disagreements among opposing parties. In simpler terms, a conflict frame in a journalistic writing which stresses the existence of disagreement between or among individuals, groups or organizations.

As the pie chart on p.34 shows, conflict frame statistically accounts a 28% share in the total number of news articles written. 5 news articles were identified with the features of conflict frame the essence of each news story is highlighted in the table below:

Excerpts	The essence of the news article
1	The news article discussed resource oriented conflicts or administrative boundary conflicts between and among regional states. ⁷
2	Ethnic based conflict was treated in the news article. ⁸
3	Lack of strong institutional and political leadership driven conflict was part of the news article. ⁹
4	The superiority of one nation leadership was hinted as the cause of conflict in the news article. ¹⁰
5	Failure of timely addressing public grievances was discussed as the triggering factor of conflicts in the news article. ¹¹

As the following excerpt indicates, the Ethiopian constitution has assured the question of equality of the nation that has been a cause of conflict over the years past.

“በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የአንድ ብሄር የበላይነት እንዳይኖር በማድረግ ህገ መንግስቱ በብሄር እኩልነት ምክንያት ይነሳ የነበረው ግጭት እንዲያከትም አስችሏል..”(መስከረም 14 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)¹⁰

It says:

The constitution of Ethiopia has assured equality and eliminated superiority of one nation which has been the center of civil conflict in the country (September 24, 2017).

As inferred from the above statement, the implication of the superiority of one nation meant a lot in line with the political discourse of the nation. In the narratives of Ethiopian politics, the ruling class domination has been a dominant discourse for long. But the point that the Addis Zemen brought into discussion went against the discourse and incited dual interpretation which might

inflict other negative consequence. On the one hand, the newspaper wanted to prove the absence of one nation superiority nowadays and on the other hand it provoked that there had been one nation domination and it seemed to have been agenda setting to divert the attention of the public towards the narrative of one party superiority.

Addis Zemen also wrote the following news article that highlighted the conflict occurred in Oromia and Amhara regions as triggered by extremist and anti-development forces and argued that good governance problems were used as the banners for the conflicts.

“በአንዳንድ የኦሮሚያና የአማራ ክልሎች ውስጥ የመልካም አስተዳደር ችግሮችን መነሻ በማድረግ ጽንፈኛ ሀይሎችና የሀገራችንን መለወጥ የማይሹ አንዳንድ ወገኞች አማካኝነት የተከሰተውን ሁከት ለመቋቋም ህዝቡ በባለቤትነት የከፈለው መስዋዕትነት በቀላሉ የሚታይ አይደለም...”(ታህሳስ 15 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)⁷

It is translated as:

In some Oromia and Amhara regions, the role the people played in order to calm down the violence caused by extremist forces and anti-development forces under the banner of good governance problems, is not easily seen (December 24,2017).

In this excerpt, extremist and anti-development forces were articulated for the cause of the conflict happened. On the other hand, the administrative boundary issue was taken as the triggering factor of the conflict. The newspaper also discussed that the conflict was orchestrated by government officials and individuals that went against the repetitive narrative of extremist and anti-development forces as the triggering factors.

The following assertion indicated that what the government actions should be in response to ethnic based conflicts.

“ጎሳን ወይም ዘርን መሰረት አድርጎ ጥቃት በሚፈጽሙ አካላት ላይ መንግስት ተከታትሎ ህጋዊ ተጠያቂነት ማስፈን መቻል አለበት:: ሳይቃጠል በቅጠል!” (ታህሳስ 22 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)⁸

It says:

The government must be able to maintain legal liability against tribe or ethnic based violence. A stitch in time saves nine (Addis Zemen December 31, 2017).

As shown in the above statement, the newspaper wrote a critical news story about what the government should do in relation with race-based disputes. But the way it incorporated the proverb to strengthen the news story was used in the wrong context and open for interpretation. Since the

beginning of October 2017 or two months earlier of the publication of this news story, nearly a million people (Oromos from Ethio-Somali and Vice-versa) were displaced due to ethnic-based disputes. In the midst of these number of displaced people, bringing such provocative proverb results in negative consequence than achieving the intended message and even adds fuel on the already existed fire. In relation to this issue, Lakoff (1996) points out that the choice of language evokes moral and conceptual frames.

To sum up, the news articles focused on resource conflict, ethnic based conflict, and power conflict. Besides, lack of strong public institutions and public grievances were pointed out as the triggering factors of conflicts. At the same time, the news articles argued how these conflicts should have been settled by the government.

4.1.3. Economic Frame

This frame focuses on financial consequences of issue, event, or problem, on groups, institutions, nations, or individuals (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Similarly, Dirikx, et al. (2010) claimed that economic frame highlights how an issue or event can economically affect the public. When an issue or event has wide impact, it adds value to the news, and its economic consequences are often vital.

As indicated in the pie chart above, economic frame accounts 22% of the news articles. 4 news articles were identified as characterized by economic frame; the essence of each news story is discussed in table below:

Excerpts	The essence of the news article
1	The news article discussed the resource wasted on government mega projects. ¹²
2	The news article talked about the financial consequences of mega projects design improvements. ¹³
3	The news article discussed corruption as a bottle neck for the ongoing rapid economic growth of a nation. ¹⁴
4	The news article pointed out the presence of unfair resource allocations among regional states of the nation. ¹⁵

As its name indicates, economic frame shows how an issue or event brings about economic consequences on a country, institution, group or individual.

For instance, Addis Zemen wrote the following news article about the poor performance of mega projects and its implications on the economy of the nation at large.

“ከፍተኛ የውጭ ምንዛሬ ያስገኛል ተብሎ ካለን ውስን የውጭ ምንዛሬ፣ ከፍተኛው ተመድቦለት ወደ ስራ የገቡት የስኳር ፋብሪካዎች፣ በፕሮጀክቶች አፈጻጸም ደካማነት የተነሳ በአንድ የዕቅድ ዘመን ይደርሳሉ የተባሉ የስኳር ፍብሪካዎች ግንባታ ከሰባት ዓመት በኋላም እንኳን ህልም ሆኖ ዛሬም ድረስ አለ..” (ታህሳስ 11 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)¹³

It means:

The construction of sugar factories that went to work with the maximum amount of foreign currency investment hoping for high foreign exchange earnings, are still a dream to come true for seven years due to poor project management. (December 20, 2017).

In the same news story, Wonji Shoa, Tendaho and Metehara sugar factories high levels of audit deficiencies and the impacts on the nation’s economy were addressed. Likewise, resource wasted for redesigning projects was brought into light in Addis Zemen as stated below.

“የተንዳሆ ግድብና የመስኖ ልማት 52 ጊዜ የዲዛይን ማሻሻያ ተደርጎበት የ1.4 ቢሊዮን ብር ኪሳራ አድርጏል..” (ህዳር 13 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)¹²

It says:

The Tendaho Dam and Irrigation Development Project design improvements have been done for about 52 times with a cost of 1.4 billion birr (November 22, 2017).

As the above statement reveals, a single project has just swallowed 1.4 billion birr for design improvements. This showed that the government has been inefficient in monitoring these much capital consuming mega projects and inefficiency is the symptom of bad governance and an indicator of the absence of performance focused government as God Bole (2006) said.

In sum, the news articles pointed out waste of resources and unfair resources allocation together with the financial consequences of poor mega projects management and the influence of corruption on the economy of the nation at large.

4.1.4. Economic Frame and Conflict Frame

The coding protocol came up with what is known as complex categories of frames in the literature. A news story is said to have economic and conflict frames when it has characteristics of both

economic frame and conflict frame. In simple terms, when a news article discusses, conflicts between individuals, groups or organizations and financial consequences of issue, event, or problem, on groups, institutions, nations, or individuals simultaneously with equal emphasis. For instance, the first article had a total number of 217 words, among them 67 words and phrases talked about economic issues and the remaining 73 words and phrases discussed disputes occurred. Thus, both economic frame and conflict frame were equally significant in the news article and said to be economic frame and conflict frame.

As shown above in the pie chart, economic frame and conflict frame constitutes 11% of the news articles. Statistically, two news articles were found to have used this frame. The essence of these two news articles are summed up in the following table:

Excerpts	The essence of the news article
1	The news article discussed the interplay between job opportunity and conflict. ¹⁶
2	The chemistry between infrastructure development and conflict was treated in the news article. ¹⁷

The interplay between job opportunity and conflict was explained in the news article as stated.

“በክልሎች መካከል ተመጣጣኝ የስራ ዕድል ባለመፈጠሩ ምክንያት ለግድቶች መንስኤ እየሆኑ ነው፤ የሚል እምነትም አለ..” (ታህሳስ 11 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)¹⁸

It means:

Having no fair job opportunity amongst the regions of Ethiopia is believed to be a cause of conflict in the nation.

It is true that economic growth can stimulate job creation and those who has the upper hand economy can have rooms for employment opportunities. As the extract above indicated, the absence of reasonable job opportunities was one of the driving forces of conflict and implied that there has to be a fair resource allocation so as to open rooms for new jobs and maintain violence.

In sum, the news articles revealed the interplay between lack of job opportunity and conflict. Unfair infrastructure expansions among regional states was also pointed out as a driving force for disagreements and conflict with the government.

4.1.5. Morality frame

Morality frame presents an issue from a religious/moral angle. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), in order to keep the professional norm of objectivity, journalists often make

use of the moral frame indirectly by using quotation and inference. Likewise, Ana, et al. (2009) stated that morality frame observes events and issues from the viewpoint of “morals, social prescriptions and religious tenets”.

Morality frame accounts a 6 % share of the total number of news articles in Addis Zemen. The morality frame reflected in Addis Zemen mainly focused on what roles religious fathers would have played to resolve the disputes in Ethiopia. The excerpt says...

“የሀይማኖት አባቶች ራስ ወዳድነት የተጠናወታቸው ሀይሎችን “ለእናንተ መጠቀሚያ አልሆንም” በማለት ለሰላም ያላቸውን አቋም ማሳየት ይኖርባቸዋል..” (ታህሳስ 29 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)¹⁹

It is translated as:

Religious fathers should play key roles in going against the intentions of selfish and anti-peace forces (December 6, 2018).

Religious fathers are said to be opinion leaders and have great acceptance in their community. Taking this assumption in to consideration, the newspaper gave due attention to what religious fathers contribute in maintaining peace and stability in Ethiopia.

4.2. Distribution of Frames in the Reporter (Amharic) Newspaper

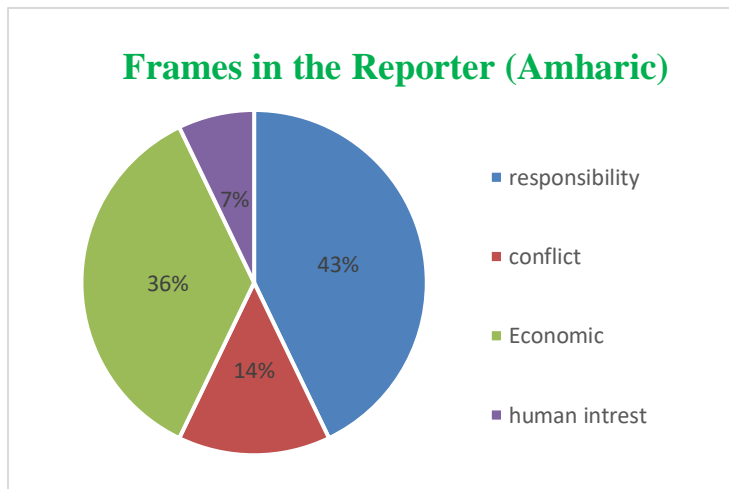


Figure 3: frames in the Reporter (Amharic)

4.2.1. Responsibility Frame

This is a type of frame known for attributing a certain phenomenon to an external cause. Be it for praise or criticism, someone, or something else is held responsible. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) explain that responsibility frame is a type of frame used to place the responsibility or blame

for the cause or the solution...on political authorities, individuals, or groups. According to Kensicki (2004) also stated that when the media fail to cover causes and solutions of social problems, they create discontent among the public or citizens.

It is evident from the chart above that responsibility frame accounts 43% of the news article in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper. The following 6 news articles were identified as characterized by responsibility frame; the essence of each news story is summarized in the table below.

Excerpts	The essence of the news article
1	The news article criticizes the government for not working towards everlasting solutions against public inquires. ²⁰
2	The news article blamed the government for not keeping its promises on addressing good governance issues. ²¹
3	The news article criticizes the government for not ensuring good governance which is one of the responsibilities of the government. ²²
4	The government was blamed for its failure of safeguarding its own citizens against brutal security forces in the news article. ²³
5	The news article comments the government’s legislature body to ensure the public administration is transparent and accountable, to prevent retaliatory laws, and to listen to public opinion. ²⁴
6	The news article suggests the government to ensure freedom of expression and allow multiple voice to get heard. ²⁵
7	The news article also criticizes intellectuals, elders, religious leaders... and individual citizens of Ethiopia for keeping silent against government negligence on its institutions failure of transparency and accountability. ²⁶

In the following statement, The Amharic Reporter revealed that the government simply danced on telling the known problems every now and then instead of being responsible and taking actions accordingly.

“አገር የሚያስተዳድረው መግስትም ሆነ ፓርቲ የምናውቀውን ችግር ከመናገር በዘለለ ለዘለቁታዊ መፍትሄ ሲተጉ አይታይም..” (ጥቅምት 19 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)²⁰

It reads:

Either the government or ruling party has never brought an everlasting solution for public questions instead of echoing the existing problem (October 29, 2017).

The above statement indicated that the government has repeatedly narrated the known problems but failed to take the possible measures against those bad governances. It also manifested that the government has become irresponsible on issues that matters the public most. The above statement flagged that untimely and temporary responses to the problems would lead to bad forms of governance.

The Reporter also wrote a news article that was critical of the ruling party in its editorial as can be seen in the following excerpts.

- “በአንድ ወገን የበላይነት ብቻ አገር መተዳደር የለበትም..” (ህዳር 10 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “የሀሳብ ብዙሃነት ባለው ህዝብ ውስጥ አንድ አይነት መዝሙር ብቻ እንዘምር ማለት ጤናማ አይደለም..” (ህዳር 13 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It says:

- A nation should not be ruled by a single party superiority (November 19, 2017).
- It is not healthy to sing only the same song in a multicultural community (November 22, 2017).

As inferred from the above statement, there has been a single party superiority in EPRDF which could contribute a lot to the impracticality of the rule of law. Ensuring power distributions and monitoring its practicality is one of the responsibilities of the government. As witnessed in the second the extract above, the Reporter (Amharic) implied that multiple ideas had not been voiced and freedom of expression was not ensured. The public needs alternative ideas to be exercised.

To put the findings in a nutshell, the news articles mainly blamed the government and government bodies for their failure in protecting human rights, the denial of freedom of expression, lack of timely addressing public inquires and for their negligence and poor monitor systems of public institutions.

4.2.2. Economic Frame

This frame focuses on financial consequences of issue, event, or problem, on groups, institutions, nations, or individuals (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Similarly, Dirikx, et al. (2010) claimed that economic frame highlights how an issue or event can economically affect the public. When an issue or event has wide impact, it adds value to the news, and its economic consequences are often vital.

As indicated in the pie chart on p.42, economic frame accounts 36% of the news articles. 5 news articles were identified as characterized by economic frame; the essence of each news story is summarized in the table below:

Excerpts	The essence of the news article
1	The news article demonstrated that nation, nationalities and people of Ethiopia are not equally benefited from the economy of the nation. ²⁷
2	The news article indicated that there are economic gaps between the poor and the developing regions and unfair infrastructure expansions. ²⁸
3	The news article stated that corruption was widespread, and the wealth of the nation was being robbed. ²⁹
4	The news article pointed out that equity is the only way to halt large-scale incidents of Ethiopian nationalism. ³⁰
5	The news article stated that some sections of the society are excluded from the mainstream economy of the nation. ³¹

The following extract showed how the economic gap among regions of the country are wide.

“የሀገሪቱ ዕድገት በክልሎችና በሀዘቦች መካከል እኩል ተጠቃሚነትን አላረጋገጠም፤ በድሆችና በማደግ ላይ ባሉ የሀገሪቱ አካባቢዎች መካከል የሚታየው የኢኮኖሚ ርቀት መጥበብ፤ የመንገድ መሰረተ ልማት ሽፋኖች በሚዛናዊነት መስፋፋት ይገባቸዋል..” (መስከረም 17 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)²⁸

Which means:

The country's growth does not guarantee equal benefits between regional states and peoples of the nation and the economic gap between the poor and the developing regions should be narrowed, and road infrastructures should be expanded fairly (Reporter September 27, 2017).

The article suggests that the economic gap between the poorest and the developing regions should be narrowed, and the expansion of infrastructures should be done fairly. The news story that The Reporter wrote on its November 1, 2017 edition also strengthened the above statements.

“አንዱ የቤት ልጅ፤ ሌላው የእንጀራ ልጅ፤አንዱ ዋነኛ የአገሩ ባለቤት ሌላው አኩራፊና ጠላት፤ አንዱ ተሸቆጥቶ አዳሪ ሌላኛው ሰማይ ልቧ ያለ፤ አንዱ ድሃና ዋስትና ቢሰጥ ሌላኛው በትቂት አመታት የናጠጠ ቱጃር....እየሆነ የወል አገር መገንባት አይታሰብም..” (ጥቅምት 22 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)³⁰

It is to mean:

Nation building will be a daydream when one is a child and the other is a God child, when one is the owner of the country and the other is the enemy, when one is outlawed, and the other is submissive, when one is a push button overnight millionaire and the other is poor and guarantee-less (November 1, 2017).

The above statement indicated that there has been unfair resource distribution and inclusiveness. Those sections of the society who have been excluded from the mainstream economy and politics of the country, wouldn't work for a common goal in the quest for nation building.

To sum up, the news articles demonstrated lack of equity and inclusiveness in the mainstream economy of the nation and the economic gap among regional states with the consequences of corruption on the growth of the economy of Ethiopia.

4.2.3. Conflict Frame

As Dirikx, et al. (2010) conflict frame is defined as a type of frame that focuses on conflicts between individuals or groups and magnifies points of disagreements among opposing parties. In simpler terms, a conflict frame in a journalistic writing which stresses the existence of disagreement between or among individuals, groups or organizations.

Statistically, conflict frame accounts 14% of the news articles found in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper. 2 news articles were identified as having conflict frame, the essence of each news story is briefly explained in the table below.

Excerpts	The essence of the news article
1	The news article stated ethnic based group conflicts between Oromo and Ethio- Somali and administrative boundary issues, illegal monetary circulation and contraband were portrayed as the cause of the dispute. ³²
2	The news article states the conflict that emerges due to government's failure in getting the rule of law respected. ³³

The following extract stated that the causes of conflicts between Oromia and Ethio- Somali.

“በአሮሚያና ሶማሌ ለተከሰቱ ግጭቶች ምክንያት የሆኑ ያልተፈቱ የወሰን ማኅለል ጉዳዮች ከሞላ ጎደል ለመፍታት የተቻለ ቢሆንም፣ ያልተሰተካከሉ አፍራሽ አመለካከቶች የወለዳቸው ናቸው..” (ጥቅምት 19 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)³²

It says:

The Administrative boundary became the cause of conflicts between Oromia and Ethio Somali has been almost solved, but disputes are triggered due to the result of negative attitudes (October 29, 2017).

In this excerpt, Dr. Mulatu claimed that attempts have been done to solve the administrative boundary disputes and at the same time stated that the conflict was intensified due to the conception of wrong perceptions. The explanation of the president contradicted each other, how could be a yearlong administrative boundary question was considered as a negative attitude? Even if there were wrong doers, the question couldn't be dragged down to an illegitimate negative perception. The newspaper further explains that conflicts happening here and there were the result of lawlessness.

To sum up, the news articles discussed the ethnic based conflict that happened between Oromo and Ethio- Somali. The news article also pointed out administrative boundary and the presence of lawlessness as the causes of the conflicts.

4.2.4. Human interest Frame

As the name implies, the human-impact frame appeals to the emotion of the audience. As Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), media use human-interest frames to capture audience's attention and to show the significance of the problem. This frame emphasizes the situation of an individual or a group who is affected by the problem. The media bound by objectivity do not directly express events in 'empathic or compassionate terms; they will rather employ adjectives, personal vignettes, and visuals that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy, sympathy or compassion from the audience.

The human impact frame was not statistically significant in its occurrences in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper. The violence against the displaced people of Oromo and Ethio-Somali was the issue discussed up on human impact frame in the Reporter. The newspaper wrote the article using emotion driving adjectives to express the empathy of the victims as witnessed in the following extract here below:

“የደረሰብንን በደልና ግፍ ሳታሰሙ በህዝብ ወንበር ላይ መቀመጥ ለምን ያስፈልጋል? ህገመንግስቱን በመጻረር በደልና ግፍ ሲደርስብን ድምጻችሁን ለምን አላሰማችሁም?” (ታህሳስ 29 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)³⁴

It says:

Where have you been when we have been deprived of our rights to live and got mistreated? Why didn't you voice the injustice and grievances we bitterly happened to face? (January 7, 2018).

The newspaper expressed the sympathy of the people in order to show how serious the issue was. Besides, the extract indicated that the injustice and grievances happened on the people of Oromo and Ethio-Somali went against the constitutional rights of the country. The newspaper wrote the claim of the people through the window of the parliament members in accordance with their too late response and failure to be the voice of the victims.

To sum up, the responsibility frame in Addis Zemen which accounts 33% of the total number of news articles dominantly criticized the government and public institutions for their failure in addressing public grievances timely and for their failure in holding corrupt officials accountable. Besides, the newspaper blamed the anti-peace and anti-development groups for being roadblocks for government to address public grievances. On the other hand, the responsibility frame in the Reporter (Amharic) constitutes 43% of the total number of news articles that mainly blamed the government and government bodies for their failure in protecting human rights, the denial of freedom of expression, lack of timely addressing public inquires and for their negligence and poor monitor systems of public institutions. Both Addis Zemen and the Reporter are similar in blaming government for the malpractices occurred. What make them different is that the issues they raised. For instance, plenty of the Addis Zemen news articles were structured around anti-peace elements. Whereas the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper affiliated with the root cause of public discontents and protests the practices of government.

Conflict frame in Addis Zemen constitutes 28% of the total number of news articles and is the second dominant frame. The news articles focused on resource conflict, ethnic based conflict, and power conflict. Besides, lack of strong public institutions and public grievances were pointed out as the triggering factors of conflicts. On the other hand, conflict frame in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper accounts for 14% of the total number of news articles and the news articles identified discussed the ethnic based conflict and pointed out administrative boundary conflicts. Besides, the newspaper claimed that lawlessness was the causes of the conflicts. Though there were no significant number of conflict news articles in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper, more or less the two newspapers shared similar concepts in their conflict frames.

Economic frame is the second dominantly used frame in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper which accounts 36% of the total number of news articles. The news articles mainly demonstrated lack of equity and inclusiveness in the mainstream economy of the nation, the economic gap among regional states and the consequences of corruption on the growth of the economy of the country. Whereas economic frame in Addis Zemen which constitutes 22% of the total number of news articles. The news articles pointed out waste of public resources, the financial consequences of poor mega projects management and the influence of corruption on the economy of the nation at large. Many of the economic issues raised in Addis Zemen were not too critical to the government as of revealed in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper hereabove.

Economic and conflict frame was the frame solely identified in Addis Zemen and accounts 11% of the total number of news stories. The news articles revealed the interplay between and among lack of job opportunity, unfair infrastructure expansions among regional states and conflict.

On the other hand, human interest frame in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper and morality frame in Addis Zemen were not statistically significant in their occurrences where the former revealed the violence against the displaced people of Oromo and Ethio-Somali and the later discussed the role of religious fathers in maintaining peace. This entails us that the private media tends to sensationalize the emotion of the victims that might target their markets.

4.3. Thematic Coverage of Good Governance

According to UNESCAP (2005) the themes of good governance are participation, rule of law, consensus oriented, efficiency & effectiveness, lack of corruption, transparency, responsibility, accountability and equity & inclusiveness. This section is devoted to coverage of good governance themes of the major issues represented in Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers.

4.3.1. Distribution of Themes in Addis Zemen

The chart below illustrates that efficiency & effectiveness, corruption, responsibility, accountability, and the rule of law were the themes which appeared in Addis Zemen newspaper news articles, respectively. In the following subsections, detailed analyses of the distribution of each theme across the newspaper is presented.

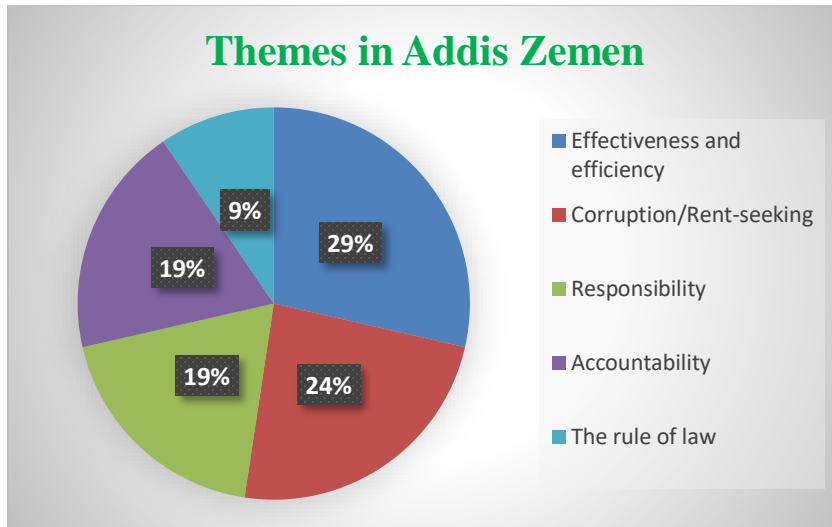


Figure 4: themes in Addis Zemen

4.3.1.1. Effectiveness and Efficiency theme

People expect government to achieve results using public resources wisely without wastage. Accordingly, God Bole (2006), effectiveness and efficiency means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal and the concept of efficiency in the context of good governance also covers the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.

The above pie chart reveals that the most widely used theme in the news articles presented by Addis Zemen is effectiveness and efficiency. Statistically, it accounts 29% of the news articles; 6 news articles had effectiveness and efficiency theme in the newspaper.

The following extract showed that the government didn't achieve results in the education sector and indicated the waste of public resources as the quality of education has not yet been assured.

“በሀገሪቱ የትምህርት ጥራት ላይ በተደረገው የዳሰሳ ጥናት መሰረት የተማሪዎች ውጤት ከሀምሳ በመቶ በታች መሆኑ ተረጋግጧል..” (ዘመን ታህሳስ 4 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is translated as:

According to a survey done on the quality of education in the country, student achievement was below 50% (Addis Zemen December 13, 2017).

The newspaper further claimed that students performance evaluation system, unqualified teachers, inadequate facilities and English language efficiency problems of both students and teachers were indicated for the poor quality of education. It is obvious that quality of education matters a lot to get government strategies and policies done efficiently and effectively at all levels. Quality of the

curriculum, quality of teachers, quality of educational leadership and quality of other facilities would determine the result obtained. The bad form of governance and government is inefficiencies in the education sector. The newspaper on one hand revealed that the quality of education is inefficient and ineffective but on the other hand it stucked the failure of the education system with the bygone Ethiopian governments in its editorial as witnessed in the following assertion.

“በኢትዮጵያ የትምህርት ስርዓት ውስጥ የሚታየው የጥራት መንደል የሁሉም መንግስታት የረጅም ዓመታት ችግር ነው”

It says:

The quality of Ethiopian education system has been a long problem of all the governments.

The newspaper incited that poor quality of education couldn't be improved overnight and it might be a problem in the future, too. But it also externalized the government's inefficiency. Strategies and policies have been designed by the then ruling party. Failure of the government policy might happen due to wrong framing of the policy, wrong implementation of the policy or wrong governance. A policy good in papers might be also poor in action as the policy of the government is judged by the results of it. Monitoring these issues and taking actions accordingly is the responsibility of the government instead of fantasizing success stories. Contrary to externalizing the poor quality of education being stated above, the newspaper pointed out the government's effectiveness in addressing primary education for all programs. It said that primary education for all millennium goals has been assured in this system of government. As inferred from the above statement, the newspaper compared the then EPRDF with the previous Ethiopian governments when their ideologies, policies and strategies and even the period were far related in content and context. On top of the above assertions, the following news article was written on the inefficiency of new graduates citing the German ambassador to Ethiopia.

“በኢትዮጵያ በየዓመቱ ወደ ስራ ገበያው ከሚቀላቀሉ ሁለት ሚሊዮን ወጣቶች መካከል አብዛኛዎቹ ብቁ እንዳልሆኑና ባልሰለጠኑበት የሙያ ዘርፍ እንዲሰማሩ ይገደዳሉ..”(ታህሳስ ሰኞ 16ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is to say:

Among two million young people entering the labor market every year in Ethiopia, most of them are inefficient and forced to work in the unprofessional occupation or in far related professions (December 24, 2017).

According to the above statement, the resources allocated for the sector have been wasted in vain as inefficiencies and ineffectiveness are witnessed. The government allocated a huge amount of budget for the sector not only to address education for all but also to meet the quality of education, but the result is the reverse. In the midst of all those challenges in the education sector, Addis Zemen wrote the following excerpt as well.

“ስርዓቱ ጠያቂና ሞጋች ህብረተሰብ ፈጥሯል” (ታህሳስ 1 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is translated as:

The federal system has created a questioner and contender society (December 10, 2017).

In this excerpt, Addis Zemen indirectly implied that the government has been effective in producing educated manpower. Sound policies and strategies designed and implemented in the education sector are among the factors for the enhancement of questioner and contender society and otherwise. But as can be inferred from the statements indicated earlier, the existence of questioner and contender society due to the government policies seemed a paradox.

As the excerpts below, good governance problems arise from low performance, weak leadership and poor service delivery which indirectly indicated the inefficiency and ineffectiveness government institutions.

“የመልካም አስተዳደር ችግር የሚመነጨው ከአፈጻጸም ችግር ነው። የተቋማት አመራሮች ለዕቅድ አፈጻጸም የሚያደርጉት ክትትልና ድጋፍ ደካማ መሆን፣ የመካከለኛና ከፍተኛ አመራሩ አቅም ማነስ በዕቅድ ተፈጻሚነት ላይ ችግር እየፈጠረ ነው” (ነገሴ 24 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

It says:

The root cause of good governance problems arises from low performance. Institutional leaders are weak in monitoring the plan implementation and performance evaluation and the inefficiency of medium and high-level leadership are the causing of poor plan execution (August 30, 2017).

Likewise, Addis Zemen in its edition on December 20, 2017 wrote the following news article on the inefficiency of government mega project. It says that the construction of sugar factories that had believed to be functional in the first growth and transformation plan, are still a dream to come true for seven years due to poor project management. The newspaper claimed that it was due to the poor project management that the sugar factories have become a dream. It is noted that project

inefficiencies highly cost the nation and challenges its growth. Failing to take timely corrective measures and unable to hold the concerned bodies accountable results in bad governance. Addis Zemen also revealed the following account on the waste of public resources.

“የተንዳሆ ግድብና የመስኖ ልማት ፕሮጀክት 52 ጊዜ የዲዛይን ማሻሻያ ተደርጎበት የ1.4 ቢሊዮን ብር ኪሳራ አድርጏል” (ህዳር 13 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is to say:

The Tendaho Dam and Irrigation Development Project design improvements have been done for about 52 times with a cost of 1.4 billion birr (November 22, 2017).

As can be inferred from the above statement, the country had lost a huge amount of money on just a particular project that could have been invested on other sectors that can easily generate income. How inefficient has the government been when a project has been redesigned for about 52 times? Allocating budget and boosting on that only doesn't bring good performance and after all doesn't meet the needs of the society. The government should have followed the project closely to get completed within the allocated budget and time frame. But failed to do so and incurred for additional budget. Inefficiency is the symptom of bad governance. After all this is an indicator of the absence of performance focused government.

To sum up, the news article pointed out that government's failure in achieving quality of education mentioning the inefficiency of government higher institutions graduates and the ineffectiveness of the education policy as an example. It also indicated the inefficiency of government mega project in producing results and the waste of resources accordingly.

4.3.1.2. Corruption/Rent-seeking theme

According to the statement from the United Nations Development Program (1997), corruption is a symptom of something gone wrong in the management of the state. Various institutions that are designed to govern the relationships between citizens and the state are used instead for the personal enrichment of public officials and the provision of benefits to the corrupt. Its basic cause is the prevalence of bad form of government's governance. In short, corruption is the direct response of bad governance.

As shown in the pie chart above, the second most widely used theme in the news articles presented by Addis Zemen is corruption. Numerically, 24% or 5 news articles were identified in the newspaper.

As witnessed in the following excerpt, corruption was discussed as one the chronic reasons that forced the government to have made the so called deep reforms.

“የኪራይ ሰብሳቢነት አስተሳሰብና ተግባር መገንገን መንግስትና ገዢውን ፓርቲ ወደ ጥልቅ ተሃድሶ እንዲገቡ ካደረጓቸው ምክንያቶች መካከል አንዱ ነው” (ሀምሌ 23 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

It means:

The development of rent-seeking thinking, and practice is one of the reasons why the government and the ruling party forced to have made deep reform (July 30, 2017).

The above statement implied that corruption has the power to shake the structure of the government. But the terms like rent seeking thinking, rent collectors.... used in Addis Zemen didn't directly describe corruption instead it used vague terms or nicknames to lessen its attention. Addis Zemen on its 10th December 2017 edition also wrote the following news article that entails the abuse of power for personal gains.

“የተሰጣቸውን የህዝብ ውክልና በመጠቀም በህዝብ ሀብትና ንብረት ዘረፉ ኪሳቸውን ሲያደልቡ፣ ዘመድ አዝማዳቸውን ሲጠቅሙና የመሬትና የቦታ ባለቤት ሲያደርጉ የኖሩ...” (ታህሳስ 1 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

Means:

Government officials, using their public mandate, have looted the wealth and property of the nation for their personal benefit and have been grabbing lands to their relatives.

Abusing public power for personal enrichment is one of the characteristics of corruption. Similarly, in the following excerpt, Addis Zemen pointed out that power was the sources of corruption.

“መንግስት ኪራይ ሰብሳቢነትን ለመቀነስ ጥረት ቢያደርግም “ሲሾም ያልበላ ሲሻር ይቆጫዋል” በሚል ኢ-ስነ-ምግባራዊና ጸረ-ዲሞክራሲያዊ አስተሳሰቦችና ተግባራት አሁንም ጨርሰው አልጠፉም” (ሀምሌ 23 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

It is to say:

Despite the government's repeated attempts to reduce the number of rent seekers, unethical and anti-democratic attitudes and practices have not yet been disappeared as there is a saying that is one who doesn't eat while appointed would stand to regret when dismissed (**Sishom yalbela sishar yickochewal**) (July 30, 2017).

The saying used in this assertion is one of the popular sayings or the most common Amharic saying used to encourage the practice of corruption. The literal translation is to mean that one is likely to regret when resign out of office if she or he has not used her/ his official position for gaining as much personal advantage as she/ he could. The saying appeared in the newspaper revealed that corruption has become prevalent and a disturbing trend of pervasiveness of corruption is witnessed through the window of the saying.

As of the following excerpt in Addis Zemen, corruption is said to have endangered the country's growth in the years to come.

“አገሪቱ በፈጣን ዕድገት ላይ ብትሆንም የሙስና ችግር በቀጣይ ለአገሪቱ ዕድገት እንቅፍት እንደሚሆን ያሰጋል” (ነሃሴ 17 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

It is to say:

Despite Ethiopia has a rapid growth, corruption will remain a challenge for the nation's growth. (August 23, 2017).

The news article implied that corruption has to be battled before it goes out of control and becomes the bottle neck of the nation's growth.

In sum, the news articles showed how power was abused for personal enrichment, how corruption has the power to shake the structure of the government and how the corruption was the bottle neck of the nation's growth.

4.3.1.3. Responsibility theme

According to God Bole (2001) responsiveness in good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable time frame. The primary responsibilities of the government can be briefly stated as laws and order and police, adequate and promote criminal and civil justice systems, and protection on interests of economically and socially weaker sections of society. The government will also have to take the responsibility for provision of primary education, public health, and water supply, particularly in the semi-urban areas (Ibid).

As witnessed in the pie chart above, responsibility theme accounts 19% (4) news articles were found to have responsibility theme in the newspaper analyzed.

The following extract entails the government to carry out its responsibility of responding public questions.

“መንግስትም የህዝብ ጥያቄ የማይቀር መሆኑን ተገንዝቦ ለጥፋት ሀይሎች መሳሪያ እንዳይሆን በአወንታ ተቀብሎ መስራት የግድ ይሆናል” (ታህሳስ 15 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

Translated as:

The government must accept the people's inquires and respond accordingly otherwise it will pave the way for the perpetrators (December 24, 2017).

In this excerpt, Addis Zemen implied that the government has been irresponsive for public questions. At the same time, the newspaper suggested that if the government failed to give positive response for public questions, those questions could be the agenda of the so-called perpetrators. Addis Zemen on its 30th July 2017 edition also reads: As a result of the government's commitment during the reform process, the government has started a law enforcement action against corruption suspects. Similarly, the newspaper on it September 21,2017 edition, indicated government's readiness towards its responsibility of addressing public grievances. It said that the ruling party and the government are at the right position to address public grievances and problems.

Addis Zemen also wrote news articles focusing on what roles religious fathers and other concerned bodies would play to resolve disputes in the country. The following statement extracted from Addis Zemen indicated what the response of religious fathers has to be for selfish and anti-peace forces.

“የሀይማኖት አባቶች ራስ ወዳድነት የተጠናወታቸው ሀይሎችን “ለእናንተ መጠቀሚያ አልሆንም” ማለት አለባቸው” (ታህሳስ 29 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is translated as:

Religious fathers should play key roles in condemning selfish and anti-peace forces (December 6, 2018).

The newspaper noted that religious fathers can influence the opinion of the society they live in. Taking this assumption in to consideration, the newspaper gave due attention to what religious fathers contribute in maintaining peace and stability when they properly execute their responsibility.

The following extract also pointed out that lack of addressing public grievances has been the cause of disputes which is one the responsibilities of the government.

“አሁን እየታዩ ያሉ የግጭት መንስሄዎች የህዝቦችን ጥያቄዎች ተከታትሎ ተገቢ መፍትሄ አለመስጠት ነው” (መስከረም 14 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is to say:

The root cause of the current conflict is the failure of the government in addressing public inquiries timely (December 18, 2017).

The news articles monitored from July 2017 to November 2017 in Addis Zemen used to continuously frame news stories in association with elements like anti-peace forces, chauvinist and narrow-minded forces when discussing good governance problems. But later the discourse began to shift the narrating towards addressing the real questions of the public as witnessed in the above extract.

In summary, though the news articles mainly treated the anti-peace elements and the so-called perpetrators as the bottle necks for government while addressing public grievances, it also pointed out the irresponsiveness of the government against the issues that the public matters most.

4.3.1.4. Accountability theme

According to Sheng (2009) any organization or institution is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions and actions. Procedures requiring officials and those who seek to influence them to follow established rules defining acceptable processes and outcomes, and to demonstrate that they have followed those procedures. Public officials should do what they promise, explain the decisions and be held responsible for consequences.

As witnessed in the above pie chart, accountability theme accounts 19% (4) of the news articles in Addis Zemen. As seen the extract below, the news article stated that accountability has not been assured in the government civil service structure.

“በሲቪል ሰርቪስ መዋቅሩ ተጠያቂነትን አለማስፈን አሁን ላይ ለሚስተዋሉ ችግሮች አንዱ መንስኤ ነው” (ታህሳስ 29 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It says:

In the government civil service structure, the absence of accountability is one the root causes of the current problem (January 7,2018).

Likewise, on its 30th July 2017 edition, Addis Zemen wrote the following extract.

“...ሌላው ቀርቶ የዋናው ኦዲተር ሪፖርት ብቻ ከግምት ውስጥ ቢገባ የማይጠየቅ መ/ቤት አይኖርም” (ሀምሌ 23 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

It is translated as:

No government office would have been left unaccountable if the report of the Federal Auditor had been considered.

Holding public officials accountable for their misuse of power is the responsibilities of the government and the public needs to such government actions to trust.

As witnessed below, the news article entails that the government should hold individuals accountable who were involved in race based disputes and assure the safety of the people.

“ኅሳን ወይም ዘርን መሰረት አድርጎ ጥቃት በሚፈጽሙ አካላት ላይ መንግስት ተከታትሎ ህጋዊ ተጠያቂነት ማስፈን መቻል አለበት... ሳይቃጠል በቅጠል” (ታህሳስ 22 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is to say:

The government must be able to maintain accountability against those who are involved in tribe or race-based violence. A stitch in time saves nine (Addis Zemen December 31, 2017).

As shown in the above statement, the newspaper wrote a critical news article about what the accountability of government should be in relation with raced based disputes. Lack of accountability is one of the prevalence of bad governance.

The news article written on August 23, 2017) indicated that there has no accountability even in the government office whose major duty is holding individuals accountable for their wrong doings. It revealed that the law of wealth registration of government officials, appointees and employees was simply for show off and has become impossible to be practical. The newspaper implied that the wealth registration law couldn't be fully functional due to lack of accountability. The Anti-Corruption Commission is the responsible body to get government officials' wealth registered and held them accountable accordingly when something is wrong.

In a nutshell, the news articles explained how accountability has not been assured in the government civil service structures, how government failed to hold individual accountable for their wrong doings and how public power has been misused and left unaccountable.

4.3.1.5. The rule of law theme

To UNESCAP (2005) good governance requires fair and legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities and impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force (Ibid).

According to the above pie chart, the rule of law theme constitutes 9% (2) news articles in Addis Zemen newspaper. For instance, the upcoming statement entails that the security force has violated the human rights in using excessive and lethal force.

“የጸጥታ ሃይሉ ጸጥታን ሲያስከብር በህግ አግባብ መሆን አለበት” (ታህሳስ 11 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is to mean:

The security forces’ action must be taken according to the rule of law (December 20, 2017).

The above statement implied that the security forces have been using excessive force when the public went out to streets for going against bad governances surfaced. Four days later, Addis Zemen wrote a news article that legitimated the action taken against the protesters by the security forces in the pretext of safeguarding the constitutional order (see Addis Zemen December 24, 2017). Violating human rights and taking unnecessary actions goes against the rule of law is the results of bad form of governance. Contrary to the above news article, Addis Zemen indicated that law enforcement has been done at government municipality offices.

“በመዘጋጃ ቤት አገልግሎት ላይ ችግሮችን በሚፈጥሩ ባለሙያዎች ላይ የተለያዩ እርምጃዎች እየተወሰዱ ነው” (ታህሳስ 8 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is translated as:

Various actions are being taken against inefficient professionals in municipal service. (December 17, 2017).

According to Sheng (2009) good governance requires full protection of human rights and impartial enforcement of laws. Making sure these requirements are met is the responsibility of the government.

On the whole, the news articles, on the one hand stated the rule of law as has been fully practiced to safeguard the constitution order and on the other hand, it claimed that the security force has violated the human rights in using excessive force which went against the rule of law.

4.3.2. Distribution of Themes in Reporter

The chart below shows that equity & inclusiveness, responsibility, the rule of law, corruption and the rule of law and accountability and corruption were the themes identified in the Reporter

(Amharic) newspaper news articles, respectively. In the following subsections, detailed analyses of the distribution of each theme will be presented.

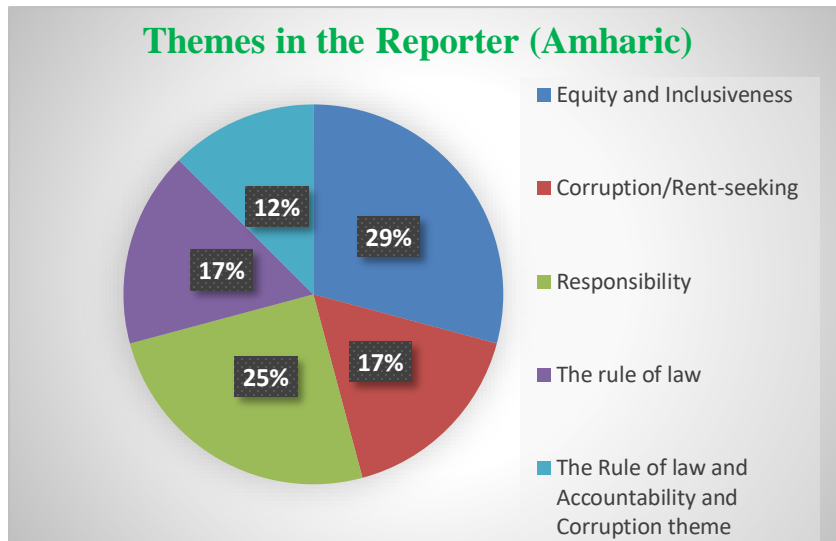


Figure 5: themes in the Reporter (Amharic)

4.3.2.1. Equity and Inclusiveness

Government policy should benefit all people equally. As Sheng (2009) stated that a society’s wellbeing depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This requires all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.

As the pie chart above revealed that the most widely used theme in the news articles presented by the Reporter (Amharic) is equity & inclusiveness theme. It accounts 29% share or 7 of the news articles were identified in the newspaper. The following sample extract showed, the Reporter pointed out that political inclusiveness hasn’t been assured.

“የሀሳብ ብዙሃነት ባለው ህዝብ ውስጥ አንድ አይነት መዝሙር ብቻ እንዘምር ማለት ጤናማ አይደለም” (ህዳር 13 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is to mean:

It is not healthy to sing only the same song in a multicultural community (November 22, 2017).

The newspaper further explains that multiple ideas should be voiced as the public needs alternative ideas to be exercised to ensure freedom of expression. It also indicated that many of the alternative

ideas and suggestions have been either shaped or ignored and only one party's voice and says have been heard.

As witnessed in the following excerpts, the newspaper claimed that there has been unfairness in every corridor of government structure.

“ኢትዮጵያዊነት የሚባለውን ትልቅ ምስል የሚጋፉ ድርጊቶችን ማስቆም የሚቻለው ፍትሃዊነት በማስፈን ነው” (ነሀሴ 7 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

It says:

Equity is the only way to halt large-scale incidents of Ethiopian nationalism (August 13, 2017).

The statement implied that fair resource distribution is the only way out option for togetherness and nation building. In other words, the Reporter claimed that the presence of unfair resource distribution and political representation were the sources of unrest happened in many parts of the country. It also meant to say that the people must feel that they are considered and included in the political, economic and social affairs of the country in order to maintain the spirit of Ethiopianism. The upcoming extract strengthens the facts explained in the above statement.

“የስልጣን ጥያቄ ከሚያቀርቡ ጀምሮ የፍትህ እጦት፣ ከኢኮኖሚ ተጠቃሚነት መገለል፣ በነጻነት መደራጀትና ሀሳብን የመግለጽ ነጻነት ማጣት፣ በሀሰተኛ ክስ ፍዳ መቁጠር፣ በገዛ አገር ባይተዋር መሆን፣ ከብሄራዊ ጉዳዮች ተሳትፎ መገለል ወዘተ ምክንያት የተጠራቀሙ ብሶቶች አገሪቷን አጣብቂኝ ወስጥ ከተዎታል” (ህዳር 24 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It says:

Complaints ranging from unfair power sharing, injustice, exclusion from the economy, lack of freedom of expression, fraudulent accusations to exclusion from national affairs, etc. have plagued the country (December 3, 2017).

As can be inferred from the above extract, people have long been pushed to the periphery of the social, political and economy of Ethiopia. The excerpt also suggested that the federal system has failed to treat all the people of the country with equality and the newspaper also implied that those sections of the society who have been excluded from the mainstream economy wouldn't have positive attitude towards nation building. Any issue including policies should be made in such a way that the people should be equally benefited. There should also have been consultation to know what people think, and the people must feel that they are consulted, and their voices are heard and included to reach a consensus for a common goal.

the challenges in the issue of equity and inclusiveness were explained in the following excerpt.

“አንዱ የቤት ልጅ፣ ሌላው የእንጀራ ልጅ፣አንዱ ዋነኛ የአገሩ ባለቤት ሌላው አኩራፊና ልብጥጥ፣ አንዱ ተሸቆጥቋጦ አዳሪ ሌላኛው ሰማይ ልቧጥ ያለ፣ አንዱ ድግና ዋስትና ቢስ ሌላኛው በትቁት አመታት የናጠጠ ተጃር...እየሆነ የወል አገር መገንባት አይታሰብም” (ጥቅምት 22 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is to mean:

Nation building will be a daydream when one is a child and the other is a God child, when one is the main owner of the country and the other is a criminal and an "enemy"...when one is a push button overnight millionaire and the other is poor and guarantee-less. (November 1, 2017)

In this excerpt, the newspaper pointed out that being disadvantaged from the economy of the country is one of the causes of disputes. In other words, the Reporter implied that being marginalized from the mainstream economy and power are the reasons of the instability in the country. All citizens must therefore feel that they are part and parcel of every matter in the country. pointed out that political inclusiveness hasn't been assured., unfairness in every corridor of government structure.

To summarize, the news articles claimed that the federal system has failed to treat all the people of the country with equality and the mainstream economy was said to have failed to be inclusive. It also pointed out that being marginalized from the mainstream economy and lack of fair political representation were the reasons of the instability in the country.

4.3.2.2. Responsibility

According to God Bole (2001) responsiveness in good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable time frame. The primary responsibilities of the government can be briefly stated as laws and order and police, adequate and promote criminal and civil justice systems, and protection on interests of economically and socially weaker sections of society. The government will also have to take the responsibility for provision of primary education, public health, and water supply, particularly in the semi-urban areas (Ibid).

As the pie chart revealed, responsibility theme constitutes 25% (6) of news articles were found in the newspaper analyzed.

As the following extract claimed that the government has the responsibility to ensure good governance.

“የመልካም አስተዳደር ማስፈን ጉዳይ አገር በመምራት ላይ ያለው መንግሥት ሀላፊነት ነው...” (ነሀሴ 7 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

It means:

Ensuring good governance is the responsibility of the government (October 29, 2017).

The newspaper further explained that the ruling party and the government have never brought an everlasting solution instead of echoing the existing problem now and then. Besides, the newspaper criticized elders, religious leaders... and concerned citizens for failing to speak out and condemn the government’s wrong actions.

The following assertion also revealed that the irresponsiveness of the government. Keeping the safety of the people is one of the responsibilities of the government. The failure of the government in exposing the country to face multifaceted challenges.

“መንግሥት የህዝብ ሰላም፣ ደህንነትና ጥቅሞች ማስከበር ሀላፊነቱን ባለመውጣቱ አገሪቱ ችግር ውስጥ ናት” (ህዳር 24 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is to say:

The state is in trouble because the government is not responsible for the public peace, security and its benefits (December 3, 2017).

The statement implied that due to lack of responsible government, the country is in chaos. The following account also pointed out that all the government structures be at federal or regional levels, must be equally responsible in keeping the safety of citizens. The newspaper claimed that both the federal government and the regional states were not only responsible for the safety of their people, but they were obliged to do so. Human rights have been violated by irresponsible government security forces and the news article blamed the government for keeping silent when excessive forces were taken against protesters irresponsibly.

The Reporter also revealed that the failure of the house of people representatives responsibility in not being voice for the people they represent.

“የደረሰብንን በደልና ግፍ ሳታሰሙ በህዝብ ወንበር ላይ መቀመጥ ለምን ያስፈልጋል? ህግ መንግሥቱን በመጻረር በደልና ግፍ ሲደርሱብን ድምጻችሁን ለምን አላሰማችሁም?” (ታህሳስ 29 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It is translated as:

Where have you been when we are deprived our right to live and mistreated? Why didn't you voice the injustice and grievances we happened to face? (January 7, 2018).

The quoted news article indicated that the injustice and grievances happened on the people of Oromo and Ethio-Somali went against the constitutional rights of the country. The newspaper wrote the claim of the people through the window of the parliament members in accordance with their too late response and failure to be the voice of the victims.

In sum, the news articles explained the ruling party and the government's failure in bringing lasting solutions for public inquires and blamed the government for human rights violations and irresponsible and excessive forces against protesters.

4.3.2.3. The rule of law

To UNESCAP (2005) good governance requires fair and legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities and impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force (Ibid).

According to the above pie chart, the rule of law theme constitutes 17% (5) news articles in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper. In line with the rule of law, the following extract showed that the rule of law was being violated by security in using excessive and lethal force against human rights.

“የመብት ጥያቄ የቀረበለት መንግስትም ሆነ ባለ ስልጣን ከህግ በታች መሆን አለበት”
(ጥቅምት 19 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

It says:

The government and government officials must respect the right of expression and should be under rule of law (October 29, 2017).

The newspaper implied that the government and its authorities have been violating human rights stepping aside the rule of law. The following extract strengthens this fact.

“ሀገር የግለሰቦች መፈንጫ አትሁን!” (ጥቅምት 22 2010 ዓ.ም)

It means:

The country shouldn't be ruled by few authoritarian individuals (November 1, 2017).

The Reporter further explained that the country had been under the rule few individuals who gave their back to the rule of law. The Reporter on its 26th November 2017 edition, stated what the lack of rule of law resulted in. It revealed that the absence of good governance was a result of lawlessness. In addition to this, the newspaper indicated that the rule of law must be upheld in order to ensure social justice. The following excerpt entails how the rule of law matters most.

“የፈለገውን ያህል ተሃድሶ ወይም ግምገማ ቢካሄድ ህግን አለማክበር ውጤቱ የከፋ ነው” (ህዳር 17 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

Means:

Whatever reforms or evaluation is done, in the impracticality of the rule of law will have worse consequences (26th November 2017).

The rule of law needs to be respected and human rights have to be protected and the law enforcement should be done impartially.

In sum, the news articles mainly claimed that the rule of law was not respected, and the security force has violated the human rights in using excessive force which went against the rule of law.

4.3.2.4. Corruption/rent-seeking

According to the statement from the United Nations Development Program (1997), corruption is a symptom of something gone wrong in the management of the state. Various institutions that are designed to govern the relationships between citizens and the state are used instead for the personal enrichment of public officials and the provision of benefits to the corrupt. Its basic cause is the prevalence of bad form of government’s governance. In short, corruption is the direct response of bad governance.

As shown in the pie chart above, corruption/rent seeking theme constitutes 17% (4) news articles were presented in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper. As explained in the excerpts below, government institutions are caves of corruption.

“ለህዝብ አገልግሎት የሚሰጡ ተቋማት የሌብነት መቀፍቀፊያ ዋሻ መሆናቸው በእጅጉ የታወቀ ነው” (ኅሀሴ 14 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

It says:

It's a well-known fact that the public service providers are caves for corruption breeding (August 20, 2017).

The newspaper also revealed that corruption was one of the chronic reasons that forced the government to get into deep reforms. The newspaper described corruption as a theft that is an act of immoral conduct. In addition to this, the following statement showed the degree of corruption in the country.

“ሙስና እንደ ሰደድ ተስፋፍቶ አገር እየለበለበ ነው” (ነሀሴ 14 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

It is to mean:

Corruption has widely spread across the nation and endangers the people (August 2017).

The news article also added that corruption has spread from the lower kebele to the wider federal government structure. Corruption has a deep rooted and extends from Kebele regulators to higher officials, from ordinary brokers to the so called investors and corruption is a manifestation of a nation’s misery. The statement implied that corruption has spread everywhere and appeared to be institutional and where a few got benefited and the majority are harmed in the practice. The newspaper claimed that the rules of government procurement and financial managements are being violated and the wealth of this poor nation is being robbed. Furthermore, the newspaper showed how power and being a member of the leading part are abused and used as a shield for the practice of corruption. It claimed that being a member of the ruling party is a shortcut to utilizing the country's wealth through power, and the country's wealth has become a thriving business of robbers. The following extract also revealed that individuals were arrested for handing bribe to a government official.

“ለሚኒስትር ዴታው ግማሽ ሚሊዮን ብር ጉቦ በማቀባባል የተጠረጠሩ አምስት ግለሰቦች ታሰሩ!” (ነሀሴ 10 ቀን ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

It means:

Five individuals are arrested for granting half a million birr bribes to the vice minister (August 2017).

According to United Nations Development Program (1997) such a practice is the direct response of bad governance.

All in all, the news articles claimed that corruption has spread like wildfire in every corridor of government structure and appeared to be institutionalized. It also pointed out that how public power and being a member of the ruling party were used to utilize the wealth of the country. Various forms of corruption including bribe were also discussed in the news articles.

4.3.2.5. The Rule of law and Accountability and Corruption theme

The coding protocol came up with what is known as complex categories of themes in the literature. A news article is said to have the rule of law and accountability and corruption theme when it has a theme that characterized the rule of law, accountability and corruption at the same time. In a simple term, when a news article discusses law enforcement and legal framework related issues like human right issues, explains the accountability of government and subordinates like decisions and responsibility for consequences together with public power abuses for personal enrichments simultaneously and when it discusses the interplay among these three elements of good governance. For instance, the first article had a total number of 304 words, among them 103 words and phrases talked about the rule of law, 96 words and phrase talked about corruption and 89 words and phrases displayed accountability. Above all, the whole article discussed the interdependence among these three elements of good governance.

As shown in the chart above, rule of law and accountability and corruption theme accounts 12% (3) news articles presented by the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers. The upcoming extract showed the interplay among these three elements.

“የህግ የበላይነትና ተጠያቂነት ከሌለ አገር በነቀዝ ትበላለች” (ነሃሴ 10 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

It says:

Unless the rule of law and accountability are assured, the country will be exposed for corruption (August 16, 2017).

Likewise, the newspaper on its 20th August edition wrote the news article that strengthened the above statement.

“በየትኛውም ሀላፊነትና ደረጃ ላይ የሚገኙ የሙስና ተጠርጣሪዎች ለህግ መቅረባቸው እና ተጠያቂ መደረጋቸው ተገቢ ነው” (ነሃሴ 10 ቀን ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

It is to say:

Corruption suspects at all levels should be subjected to the rule of law and held accountable.

In addition to this, the newspaper revealed that the absence of the rule of law and accountability has paved a way for the wide spreading of corruption. It sated that if corruption is widespread and the country is being robbed, it can be said that lawlessness has prevailed instead of accountability and the rule of law. The newspaper also inquired if there would be a term to describe this syndrome. It implied that the rule of law must be respected, and accountability should be assured to fight

against corruption. It entails that these three indicators of good governance issues have to be practiced inseparably in order to get the intended result.

To sum up, effectiveness & efficiency was the dominantly and solely used theme in Addis Zemen and accounted for 29% of the total number of news articles. The news article pointed out that government's failure in achieving quality of education mentioning the inefficiency of students and teachers English language at all level and the ineffectiveness of the education policy as an example. It also indicated the inefficiency of government mega projects in producing results and the waste of resources accordingly. On the other hand, equity & inclusiveness was the first predominantly and solely used theme in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper which constitutes 29% of the total number of news articles. The identified news articles claimed that the federal system of government has failed to treat all the people of the country with equality. It further revealed that the mainstream economy was not inclusive and being marginalized from the mainstream economy and lack of fair political representation were the reasons of the instability in Ethiopia.

Corruption/rent seeking was the second dominant theme used in Addis Zemen. Corruption accounted for 24% of the total number of news articles. The news articles collected from Addis Zemen showed how power abused for personal enrichment, how corruption has the power to shake the structure of the government and how corruption was the bottle neck of the nation's growth. Whereas corruption accounted 17% of the total number of news articles in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper. Unlike Addis Zemen, the themes addressed in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper were critical of the government. The news articles claimed that corruption has spread like wildfire in every corridor of government structure and appeared to be institutionalized. It also revealed that being a member of the ruling party were used to utilize the wealth of the country. Furthermore, Addis Zemen tried to use terms like rent seeking, rent collectors, dependents...so as to ease the issue whereas the Reporter directly used either corruption or theft while showing the seriousness of the issue.

Responsibility theme accounts 19% of the total number of news articles in Addis Zemen. The newspaper mainly used the anti-peace elements and the so-called perpetrators as the bottle necks for government while addressing public grievances and the irresponsiveness of the government against the issues that the public matters most was addressed. On the other hand, having 25% share of the total number of news articles, responsibility theme in the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers addressed the ruling party and the government's failure in bringing lasting solutions

for public inquiries. It also revealed that the government security forces usage of excessive forces and human rights violations against protesters. Both Addis Zemen and the Reporter had a similar news articles treatments against government limitation in addressing public grievances. But the Addis Zemen used to legitimize the government actions taken against the protesters whereas the Reporter went against the actions and addressed the issue in connection with human rights violations.

The rule of law was the other common theme for Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers. The rule of law accounted 9% of the news articles in Addis Zemen and many of the news articles stated the rule of law has been fully practiced to safeguard the constitutional order of the federal government. On the contrary, having 17% of share in the total number of news articles, the rule of law in the Reporter (Amharic) mainly claimed that the rule of law was not respected, and the security force violated the human rights in using excessive force that went against the rule of law. The Reporter also claimed that the use of force only brings more instability, which will incur more uncertainty in the country's future as the protests were the cumulative effects of grievances.

Accountability was one of the themes solely addressed in Addis Zemen and accounted for 19% share. The news articles claimed that accountability has not been assured in the government civil service structures. It also indicated the failure of government in holding individual accountable for their wrong doings and misuse of public power. On the other hand, the rule of law and accountability and corruption themes were addressed in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper. Having a 12% share of the total number of news stories, this theme entails that these three elements of good governance issues have to be practiced inseparably in order to assure good governance and get the intended result.

4.4. Distribution of Sources

According to Mosseri (2017) source refers to the name of a person, group or organization used by the newspaper as providing the piece of information quoted or cited. The details will be presented below.



Figure 6: Sources of news articles.

As the chart above tells, government officials, community members, experts and international organizations are the dominant sources used in Addis Zemen. They account 40% (6), 27% (4), 20% (3) and 14% (2) share consecutively.

Whereas in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper experts, government officials, international organizations and community members were the sources of news stories which accounts 36% (5), 29% (4), 21% (3) and 13% (2) respectively. Government officials were the dominant sources used in Addis Zemen taking 40% account while government officials were the second dominantly used sources in the Reporter Amharic which accounts 29% news stories. As the following sample excerpt shows, On the issue of administrative boundary disputes between Oromia and Ethio-Somali, Addis Zemen quoted a government source as witnessed in the statements below.

“ከዚህ አመት በኋላ የአስተዳደር ወሰን ጉዳይ ችግር አይሆንም”

It says:

Right after this year, the administrative boundaries will not be an issue of dispute anymore (November 19, 2017).

On the similar issue, the Reporter featured Haile Mariam Desalegn who was the then prime minister of Ethiopia as of the assertion below:

“በኦሮሚያና በኢትዮ ሶማሌ የተከሰተው ግጭት ዋና መንስኤ ያልተፈቱ የኪራይሰ-በሳቢነት ጉዳዮች በዚያ አካባቢ በመኖራቸው ነው። ህገወጥ የዶላር ዝውውርና የኮንትራባንድ እንቅስቃሴ የብሄር መልክ እንዲይዝ ተደርጓል፤ አለመረጋጋት በመፍጠር ህገወጥ ንግዱን ለማስቀጠል። የአመራሩ የተሳሳተ አመለካከት ሌላው መንስኤ ነው”

It is to mean:

The major cause of conflict between Oromia and Ethio-Somali is due to the presence of unsolved rent seeking issues in the area. The occurrences of illegal monetary circulation and contraband have been twisted into ethnic centered problem so as to create unstable conditions and maintain the illegal trade in return. The wrong viewpoint of the leaders is another cause of the conflict (October 29, 2017).

In addition to this, experts are the dominantly quoted news sources in the Reporter Amharic having 36% share while they take the third place source of news stories in Addis Zemen and constitutes 20%. For instance, the Reporter cited a lawyer and a law advisor while writing news stories about the nature of EPRDF party and its negligence and irresponsibility against the issues that matters the public most as the sample shown below.

“ኢህዴድ የሚናገረውና ተግባሩ ለየቅል ነው”

It is to mean:

What EPRDF speaks and does things are differently (December 3, 2017).

As the excerpts below Addis Zemen quoted intellectuals while treating news stories about governments hesitation to take corrective actions against higher government corrupt officials.

“እርምጃው ፈራ ተባ የማለትና ትልቁን ዓሳ ትቶ ትንንሾችን የማጥመድ መሆኑና በየጊዜው ለሚነሳው የህዝብ ቅሬታ ጊዜያዊ መፍትሄ የመስጠት እንጂ ዛላቂ መፍትሄ አይደለም”

It says:

Actions being taken against corrupt officials are targeting the small fish ones in the midst of the big ones and it will only be a temporary solution to the public grievance (July 30, 2017).

Having a 27% share, community members are the second dominantly quoted news sources in Addis Zemen while they are the least cited source of news stories in the Reporter with a 13% accounts. The following extracts are taken as a sample of community members as sources of news stories. For example, Addis Zemen cited elders while writing a news story on the unnecessary and excessive forces used by security forces against street protesters.

“የጸጥታ ሃይሉ ጸጥታን ሲያስከብር በህግ አግባብ መሆን አለበት”

It is translated as:

The security forces' action must be taken according to the rule of law (December 20, 2017).

The Amharic Reporter also quoted religious leaders while addressing issues in relation to outlawed individuals.

“የፌዴራል መንግስትም ሆነ ክልሎች ደህንነት የማስጠበቅ ሀላፊነት ብቻ ሳይሆን ግዴታ አለባቸው።”

It is mean:

The federal government and the regional states are not only responsible for the safety of their people, but they are also obliged to do so (November 1, 2017).

International organizations as sources of news stories account 21% in The Reporter Amharic newspaper but they are the least quoted sources in Addis Zemen. For instance, The Reporter wrote news stories quoting an international organization as the excerpts below.

“የሀገሪቱ ዕድገት በክልሎችና በህዝቦች መካከል እኩል ተጠቃሚነትን አላረጋገጠም ተባለ!”

It says:

According to World Bank, the country's economic growth does not guarantee equal benefits between regions and peoples (September 27, 2017).

Likewise, Addis Zemen cited the German ambassador to Ethiopia while discussing the failure of the education sector.

“በኢትዮጵያ በየዓመቱ ወደ ስራ ገበያው ከሚቀላቀሉ ሁለት ሚሊዮን ወጣቶች መካከል አብዛኛዎቹ ብቁ እንዳልሆኑና ባልሰለጠኑበት የሙያ ዘርፍ እንዲሰማሩ ይገደዳሉ።”

It is to say:

Among two million young people entering the labor market every year in Ethiopia, many of them are inefficient and forced to work in the unprofessional occupation or in far related professions (Addis Zemen 24, 2017).

The details will be further explained in the discussion section of the study.

4.5. Discussion

This section of the thesis will discuss the findings in relation to objectives of the study.

4.5.1. Types of Frames

In this study, responsibility frame, economic frame and conflict frame were identified as the dominant frames used in the two newspapers.

As mentioned before, **responsibility frame** was the dominantly used frame in the newspapers. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) responsibility frame is a type of frame used to place the responsibility or blame for the cause or the solution...on political authorities, individuals, or groups. In the Reporter (Amharic), the news articles mainly blamed the government and government bodies for their failure in protecting human rights, the denial of freedom of expression, lack of timely addressing public inquires and for their negligence and poor monitoring systems of public institutions. The news articles argued that the government has been simply dancing on telling the known problems repeatedly instead of taking decisive actions accordingly. Furthermore, the government was blamed for its poor response on lack of transparency and accountability in various structures of the government. Similarly, the responsibility frame news articles in Addis Zemen also criticized the government and public institutions for their failure in addressing public grievances timely, for their failure in holding corrupt officials accountable and for externalizing issues to the outsiders which they could have themselves taken measure as part of their responsibilities. The newspaper also discussed the so called chauvinist and narrow minded forces as bottle necks for government's swift response against issues the public demands most. In the news articles, the government on the one hand argued that good governance problems were not timely addressed and on the other hand and most dominantly the government discussed the public questions along with anti-peace elements.

The economic frame was the other dominant frame observed in the newspapers. As Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), economic frame focuses on financial consequences of issue, event, or problem, on groups, institutions, nations, or individuals. The two newspapers mainly raised issues that have significant impact on the economy of the nation. The Reporter showed that there were lack of equity and inclusiveness in the mainstream economy of the nation, the economic gap among regional states and the consequences of corruption on the growth of the economy of the country. Furthermore, the Reporter claimed that unfair infrastructure expansions, unjust resource distributions and being disadvantaged in the economy of the country has been the root cause of disputes. On the other hand, Addis Zemen pointed out waste of resources on government mega

projects and the consequences of corruption on the economy of the nation at large. This contradicts with what God Bole (2006) explanation of good governance as means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal.

Though the framing narratives in the newspapers were different, **the conflict frame** was the other frame identified in Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers. As Dirikx, et al. (2010) conflict frame is defined as a type of frame that focuses on conflicts between individuals or groups and magnifies points of disagreements among opposing parties. Addis Zemen discussed the ethnic based conflict that happened between Oromo & Ethio- Somali and out lawed oriented conflicts. Administrative boundary and the wide spreading of lawlessness were indicated as causes of the conflicts orchestrated by government officials and individuals who wanted to maintain illegal trades. The Reporter on the other hand discussed the resource conflict, ethnic based conflict, and power conflict. Lack of strong public institutions and public grievances were also pointed out as the triggering factors of conflicts. The impracticality of the rule of law or lawlessness, human rights violations, corruption, lack of freedom of expression, injustice and being marginalized from the mainstream economy of the nation and unfair resource allocations and exploitations were also discussed as the reasons of disputes in the country.

4.5.2. Themes developed to represent good governance issues.

A theme plays a crucial role in framing an issue. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) pointed out that 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. This characterization is the central idea/ theme of the story. In this study, efficiency & effectiveness, equity & inclusiveness, corruption, responsibility, accountability, the rule of law and the rule of law and accountability and corruption were the main themes emphasized by the two newspapers.

Addis Zemen revealed government's failure in achieving quality of education and the inefficiency of government higher institutions graduates together with the ineffectiveness of the education policy. It also indicated the inefficiency of government mega project in producing results and the waste of resources accordingly. Thus, according to God Bole (2006), if the processes and institutions didn't produce results and the resources are not utilized properly, it could indicate that there is bad governance. This might happen due to the improper implementation of education

strategies and policies. A policy good in papers might be also poor in action as the policy of the government is judged by the results of it. Furthermore, the inefficiency of government mega projects might happen because of the poor management and monitoring systems of the government. On the other hand, The Reporter revealed that the federal system of the government has not properly implemented and failed to treat all the people of the country with equality. The mainstream economy was said to have failed to be inclusive. It also pointed out that unfair resource distribution, injustice, exclusion from the economy of the nation, lack of freedom of expression, fraudulent accusations, exclusion from national affairs, the wide spreading of the inadequacy of injustices among citizens and being marginalized from the mainstream economy and lack of fair political representation were the reasons of the instability in the country. If the government policies should benefit all people equally, it can be said that there is lack of equity and inclusiveness which is the indicator of bad form of governance. This goes against what Sheng (2009) has said. He stated that a society's wellbeing depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society.

Responsibility was one the predominantly used theme in both Addis Zemen and the Amharic Reporter newspapers. Addis Zemen mainly claimed that the anti-peace elements and the so-called perpetrators as became the bottle necks for government while addressing public grievances. It also pointed out the irresponsiveness of the government against the issues that the public matters most. Furthermore, lack of responsibility in redressing the Oromia Integrated Master Plan in Oromia, the issue of Qemant and Wolkait in Amhara, corruption, the poor implementation of government mega projects and other maladministration issues were discussed. In fact, protests occurred following Addis Ababa Integrated Master Plan in Oromia was the immediate cause but the reasons behind the curtain were illegal land grabbing, resource exploitation, injustice, real power representation and many more yearlong questions. Though the newspaper argued that the reasons of the unrest was good governance problems, it mainly framed issues in connection with the anti-peace forces. The newspaper portrayed the anti-peace forces as the factors that ignited strife and hindered the government from addressing the public questions against good governance issues. In the newspaper, the government blamed the so called "chauvinist and the narrow-minded" forces as an escape instead of carrying out its responsibilities and settling the good governance problems surfaced. According to God Bole (2001) bad governance will happen when the government doesn't

address public grievances timely, when its institutions fail to be responsive for their actions and when there is no laws and order. On the other hand, the reporter revealed that the ruling party and the government have failed to bring lasting solutions for public inquires and it blamed the government for human rights violations and excessive forces used against protesters responsively. The Reporter argued that though ensuring good governance was the priority and responsibility of the government, the government failed to be responsive and neglected issues that the public matters most. In addition to this, the newspaper alleged the government for its continuous narrative on anti-peace elements in order to hide its real weakness along with its untimely and temporary oriented responses to settle good governance problems.

Corruption/rent seeking was the common theme for Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers. Addis Zemen showed that how power was abused for personal enrichment, how corruption has the power to shake the structure of the government and how corruption was the bottle neck of the nation's growth. Addis Zemen revealed that corruption was one of the reasons that forced the government and the ruling party to have made deep reform. It also mentioned of the administrative boundary disputes between Oromia and Ethio-Somali regions as orchestrated by rent seekers and controbandists. This aligned with the United Nations Development Program (1997) has said on corruption. Corruption is a symptom of something gone wrong in the management of the state and the news articles stated in Addis Zemen showed this fact. The Reporter (Amharic) also revealed that the spreading of corruption in every corridor of government structure. It claimed that corruption has appeared to be institutionalized, public power was abused and being a member of the ruling party was used to utilize the wealth of the country. This is the direct response of bad governance.

The rule of law was another main theme tabled into discussion in both Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers. Addis Zemen pointed out that the rule of law has been properly implemented and practiced to safeguard the constitutional order of the country and on the other hand, it claimed that the security force has violated the human rights in using excessive force which went against the rule of law. This contradicted with UNESCAP (2005) concept of good governance in general and the rule of law in particular. Good governance requires fair and legal frameworks that are enforced impartially, and full protection of human rights is required. The news articles in Addis Zemen showed that the very essence of the rule of law was violated by the government

which directly indicated the prevalence of bad governance. The Reporter also revealed that the rule of law was not respected. It claimed that human rights violations and poor implementation of government mega projects was the results of lawlessness. The news articles blamed the government for the excessive forces taken by the security forces under the umbrella of safeguarding the constitution and maintaining the federal system of the country against those civilians who went out to the street opposing the government's maladministration and irresponsiveness.

Accountability was the theme only treated in Addis Zemen. The news articles showed how government civil service structures were suffering from lack of accountability and the failure of the government in holding individuals accountable for their wrong doings. It also revealed that how public power has been misused and government officials left unaccountable for corruptions, injustices, human right violations and other maladministration. Accountability is a key requirement of good governance. If the governmental institutions and the private sector and civil society organizations failed to be accountable to the public and their institutional stakeholders, as Sheng (2009) said bad governance has already maintained.

4.5.3. Sources of News

According to Ericson et al. (1989) sources are critical for producing media content, and media sources are also very important elements in framing issues, because sources who talk to a specific media outlet can make some issues salient and ignore some other issues deliberately or unconsciously. The existing literature on news frames presents various factors that affect news frames as the media themselves or as external influence. Though the role of the media is to inform, educate and entertain the public, they are hardly observed while providing objective and balanced news. In this regard, Gudeta (2008) said that the government print media serve as a conduit to the government propaganda, while some of the private media focused on news articles that maximized the profit of their media houses.

The present research found out that there were differences between the government owned newspaper and the private newspaper in their choices of sources. The study showed that single sources highly influenced the frames and themes of the news content both in Addis Zemen and the Reporter. For instance, Addis Zemen newspaper highly relied on information from government officials. In contrast, the Reporter (Amharic) used experts as the predominant sources of

information. Furthermore, community members were the second dominant sources of information in Addis Zemen while they were hardly used sources of news articles in the Amharic Reporter newspaper. In addition to this, international organizations were mainly used by the Amharic Reporter newspaper, but they were the least used sources of news articles in Addis Zemen newspaper. As explained above, government officials were the most cited sources by Addis Zemen. The newspaper also referred to different viewpoints of community members and experts. But it hardly used research, researchers and international organizations as source of information. News articles should be well integrated and balanced, experts and scholars must be incorporated and give analysis or commentaries. In Addis Zemen, government-based news stories were found to have been used without balance even if a counter claim is a must. . In this regard, Kern et al. (2003) argues that the media cannot exercise their watchdog role when they merely relay on the government's frames. News sources that relay on governments' frames do not serve the public. This is because, when media adopt a government's frame, they legitimize the government's actions (Johnson-Cartee, 2005). The problem of unbalanced news articles sometimes relays on the inefficiency of the journalists and the managements of media houses. Journalists and the media house should pay sacrifice to get various sources for their news articles. Similarly, Entman (1989) noted that highly placed government and corporate spokespeople are the safest and easiest sources in terms of giving stories legitimacy. As a public printing outlet, Addis Zemen needs to entertain diverse and plural views, so that everyone might feel represented in the media. Elites get to influence news more frequently than ordinary individuals do. In Addis Zemen, institutionally affiliated sources mostly dominated the news discourses regarding the protest. As a result, the news reflects government interests. The stories mostly condemn and delegitimize the protest by framing it as a deed of anti-peace forces. Significant numbers of news were also legitimizing government's actions and measures taken to resolve the protest. Therefore, it is possible to say that most of the stories carried government's stance on the issue.

On the other hand, the Reporter tried to accommodate different sources. Some news articles were written in the context of the newspaper under the banner of anonymous sources. As Molotch and Lester (1974) suggested that sources might have their own agendas that they want to share with the audience, and this may affect the content of news according to Berkowitz and Beach (1993). The Reporter (Amharic) newspaper should also entertain community members to make the news stories more inclusive and maintain the issue of fairness and impartiality. Journalists should verify

and well integrate their news from different sources, if not the news can be distorted or framed to one side. Heavy reliance on official sources for news affects the social reality depicted by the media. Journalists usually rely on sources for news, but these sources can have their own personal or organizational interests, and they will protect their vested interests while giving the information to the reporters (Riaz 2003). Journalists' common reliance on interest groups for quotes and analysis means that the news media may serve as conduits for individuals and interest groups eager to protect their perspectives. There is still a view that journalists regard government official sources as indication of completeness of the news. Heavily reliance on one source is the weakness of a media house. The media also need to discharge its responsibility of keeping the public well informed so that citizens make an informed decision towards any issue. Public voices should be free from any affiliations. News articles should be balanced and must have at least two sides so as to maintain fairness and impartial news reporting.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate how Addis Zemen (a state daily) and The Reporter Amharic (a private bi-weekly) newspapers framed good governance issues. Two newspapers namely Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) were selected based on their wide circulation in Ethiopia. The study focused on news, editorials and feature articles covering the time periods from July 27, 2017 to 8th January 2018. Out of 92 newspapers, a total of 45 news articles were, thus identified and analyzed. Content analysis with its coding protocols was utilized to analyze the news articles. The study applied a mixed research approach in which both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to analyze the selected news articles. The SPSS software was also employed to analyze quantitative data and the kalpha.spss macro software was used to test the reliability of the data.

The research findings revealed that responsibility frame, economic frame and conflict frame were dominantly used frames in both Addis Zemen and the Reporter newspapers. Furthermore, efficiency & effectiveness, corruption, responsibility and the rule of law were the major themes addressed in Addis Zemen. Whereas, equity & inclusiveness, corruption, responsibility and the rule of law were the major themes addressed in the Reporter (Amharic) newspaper. Both Addis Zemen and the Reporter had a similar news articles treatments against government limitation in addressing public grievances. But the Addis Zemen used to legitimize the government actions taken against the protesters whereas the Reporter went against the actions and addressed the issue in connection with human rights violations. The Reporter also claimed that the use of force only brings more instability, which will incur more uncertainty in the country's future as the protests were the cumulative effects of grievances.

Government officials were the main sources of information cited in Addis Zemen whereas experts were the predominantly cited sources in the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers. The study showed that single sources highly influenced the frames and themes of the news content both in Addis Zemen and the Reporter. In Addis Zemen, government-based news stories were found to have been used without balance even if a counter claim is a must and institutionally affiliated sources

mostly dominated the news discourses on good governance issues and the protests. As a result, the news reflects government interests. The stories mostly condemn and delegitimize the protest by framing it as a deed of anti-peace forces. Significant numbers of news were also legitimizing government's actions and measures taken to resolve the protest. On the other hand, in the Reporter (Amharic), some news articles were written in the context of the newspaper under the banner of anonymous sources.

5.2. Conclusion

The research revealed that efficiency & effectiveness, equity & inclusiveness, corruption, responsibility, accountability and the rule of law were the areas that disputes were fetched from and various narratives and discourse were formed around. Mainly, lack of leadership, the delay of mega projects, poor public services, high degree of corruption, unfair power sharing, injustice, exclusive economy, lack fair resource distribution, resource exploitation, land grabbing, lack of freedom of expression, human rights violations, fraudulent accusations, the wide spreading of the inadequacy of injustices among citizens, lack of responsibility, lack of accountability, the presence of the rule of outlawed individuals and other maladministration were the general issues discussed across the newspapers. Some of the issues that have been the causes of disputes and mentioned as the pretext of good governance problems were rooted back to long years of deeply held public grievances like being marginalized politically, economically, culturally and identity stigmatized within mainstream perspectives by successive governments in Ethiopia.

The newspaper particularly Addis Zemen did not dare to show up the accumulated and long-standing grievances, historic injustices and deeper crisis of political representation and systematic marginalization from the economy of the nation that called a wave of demonstrations and protests across the country. Furthermore, the study showed that single sources highly influenced the frames and themes of the news content both in Addis Zemen and the Reporter. The government owned newspaper (Addis Zemen) highly relied on information from government officials and government-based news stories were found to have been used without balance even if a counter claim is a must and institutionally affiliated sources mostly dominated the news discourses on good governance issues. As a result, the news reflects government interests. In contrast, the privately owned newspaper named the Reporter (Amharic) used experts as the predominant sources of

information and some news articles were written in the context of the newspaper under the banner of anonymous sources.

5.3. Recommendations

The finding of the study clearly showed that the coverage of good governance issues in Addis Zemen newspaper was largely tilted towards advocating the owners interest while Amharic Reporter tried to give relatively fair coverage of good governance issues. Instead of being loyal to the facts on the ground, Addis Zemen chose to follow the interpretation built by the government. In other words, Addis Zemen strictly adhered to the frames constructed by government.

One of the roles of the media is investigating and showing up such deep rooted problems to the audience and the policy makers will take their actions accordingly. But such issues seemed to have been taboos for Ethiopian media that might be due to government's tight control and censorship. Media houses should well integrate and balance their news articles when addressing public grievances like bad governances. As have been said earlier, Addis Zemen mainly tended to praise and promote the government policies and initiatives and is often uncritical of the state. The Reporter (Amharic) newspaper, on the other hand tended to focus more on criticizing government activities. For the Reporter it should have to give positive outlooks towards what the government is trying to address the issue. Providing options to solve the problem rather than simply criticizing the government and needs to avoid reporting highly politically sensitive issues. The government should also look for alternative and everlasting solutions for public grievances surfaced inclusively with the concerned bodies to resolve all the intended disputes. Furthermore, critical social, economic and political issues should not be overlooked in the pretext of good governance problems. The reliance on the interpretation of government elites or their frames led the papers to provide a biased coverage of good governance issues. The newspaper coverage clearly showed its contradiction with the profession of journalism where journalists are expected to present a complete truth and comprehensive look at the issue. Thus, this study recommends that the two papers should surrender themselves to the professional values of journalism instead of owner's interest. This, however, cannot be achieved by the wish of journalists but by the support of owners. Hence, owners have to give their media institutions independence so that they can evaluate facts by their importance rather than by their allegiance.

5.4. Suggestions for Future Studies

This study has not been comprehensive regarding media framing of good governance issues. Specifically, because of time and financial constraints, the present research was limited to analyzing only two newspapers. Therefore, analyzing media farming's effect from the readers' side, the way the broadcast stream of Ethiopian media framing good governance issues and other elements that affect media framing together with a wider and representative assessment with more population than was used in this study could be a potential areas to get the overall picture of the study. Furthermore, incorporating in-depth interview as sources of data can make the study more comprehensive and useful perspective for future researchers. What is more, the future researcher can conduct a study on how good governance issues are framed after the reform. Hence, the current researcher would like to call upon future researchers to take considerations the points raised above.

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Appendix A: SPSS Coding Sheet

The following snapshots show raw data of the types of frame identified by the two coders

The following table represents the raw data shown in the SPSS screenshots. The columns are News_Code, Rater001, Rater002, and five empty 'var' columns.

News_Code	Rater001	Rater002	var	var	var	var	var
Addis_Zemen001	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame					
Addis_Zemen002	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame					
Addis_Zemen003	Economic_Frame	Economic_Frame					
Addis_Zemen004	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame					
Addis_Zemen005	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame					
Addis_Zemen006	Economic_Frame	Economic_Frame					
Addis_Zemen007	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame					
Addis_Zemen008	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame					
Addis_Zemen009	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame					
Addis_Zemen010	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame					
Addis_zemen11	Economic_Frame	Economic_Frame					
Addis_zemen12	Economic+Conflict	Economic +Conflict					
Addis_zemen13	Responsibility_Frame	Conflict_Frame					
Addis_zemen14	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame					
Addis_zemen15	Economic+Conflict	Economic +Conflict					
Addis_zemen16	Economic+Conflict	Economic +Conflict					
Addis_zemen17	Morality_Frame	Morality_Frame					
Addis_zemen18	Economic_Frame	Economic_Frame					
Addis_zemen12	Economic+Conflict	Economic +Conflict					
Addis_zemen13	Responsibility_Frame	Conflict_Frame					
Addis_zemen14	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame					
Addis_zemen15	Economic+Conflict	Economic +Conflict					
Addis_zemen16	Economic+Conflict	Economic +Conflict					
Addis_zemen17	Morality_Frame	Morality_Frame					
Addis_zemen18	Economic_Frame	Economic_Frame					
Reporter01	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame					
Reporter02	Economic_Frame	Economic_Frame					
Reporter03	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame					
Reporter04	Economic_Frame	Economic_Frame					
Reporter05	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame					
Reporter06	Economic_Frame	Economic_Frame					
Reporter07	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame					
Reporter08	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame					
Reporter09	Economic_Frame	Economic_Frame					
Reporter010	Conflict_Frame	Responsibility_Frame					
Reporter011	Economic_Frame	Economic_Frame					
Reporter012	Human-Interest_Frame	Human-Interest_Frame					
Reporter013	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame					
Reporter014	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame					

The windows below show raw data of major themes obtained from the coding sheets

News_Code	Rater001	Rater002	var	var	var	var
1 Addis_Zemen001	Effectiveness and efficiency	Effectiveness and efficiency				
2 Addis_Zemen002	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
3 Addis_Zemen003	Responsibility	Responsibility				
4 Addis_Zemen004	Effectiveness and efficiency	Effectiveness and efficiency				
5 Addis_Zemen005	Responsibility	Responsibility				
6 Addis_Zemen006	Effectiveness and efficiency	Effectiveness and efficiency				
7 Addis_Zemen007	Accountability	Accountability				
8 Addis_Zemen008	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
9 Addis_Zemen009	Effectiveness and efficiency	Effectiveness and efficiency				
... Addis_Zemen010	Accountability	Accountability				
... Addis_zemen11	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
... Addis_zemen12	Effectiveness and efficiency	Effectiveness and efficiency				
... Addis_zemen13	Accountability	Accountability				
... Addis_zemen14	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
... Addis_zemen15	Accountability	Accountability				
... Addis_zemen16	Effectiveness and efficiency	Effectiveness and efficiency				
... Addis_zemen17	The rule of law	The rule of law				
... Addis_zemen18	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
... Addis_zemen19	The rule of law	The rule of law				
... Addis_zemen20	Responsibility	Responsibility				
... Addis_zemen21	Responsibility	Responsibility				

News_Code	Rater001	Rater002	var	var	var	var
... Reporter01	Responsibility	Responsibility				
... Reporter02	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				
... Reporter03	The rule of law	The rule of law				
... Reporter04	Responsibility	Responsibility				
... Reporter05	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				
... Reporter06	The rule of law	The rule of law				
... Reporter07	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				
... Reporter08	The rule of law	The rule of law				
... Reporter09	Responsibility	Responsibility				
... Reporter010	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
... Reporter011	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				
... Reporter012	Responsibility	Responsibility				
... Reporter013	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
... Reporter014	The rule of law	The rule of law				
... Reporter015	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				
... Reporter016	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
... Reporter017	Responsibility	Responsibility				
... Reporter018	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
... Reporter019	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				
... Reporter020	Rule of law+Accountability+ ...	Rule of law+Accountability+ ...				
... Reporter021	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				

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News_Code	Rater001	Rater002	var	var	var	var
Reporter04	Responsibility	Responsibility				
Reporter05	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				
Reporter06	The rule of law	The rule of law				
Reporter07	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				
Reporter08	The rule of law	The rule of law				
Reporter09	Responsibility	Responsibility				
Reporter10	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
Reporter11	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				
Reporter12	Responsibility	Responsibility				
Reporter13	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
Reporter14	The rule of law	The rule of law				
Reporter15	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				
Reporter16	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
Reporter17	Responsibility	Responsibility				
Reporter18	Corruption/rent-seeking	Corruption/rent-seeking				
Reporter19	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				
Reporter20	Rule of law+Accountability+ ...	Rule of law+Accountability+ ...				
Reporter21	Equity and Inclusiveness	Equity and Inclusiveness				
Reporter	Rule of law+Accountability+ ...	Rule of law+Accountability+ ...				
Reporter	Responsibility	Responsibility				
Reporter	Rule of law+Accountability+ ...	Rule of law+Accountability+ ...				

Data View Variable View

Appendix B: SPSS Reliability Estimate Sheet Calculated via kalpha.spss macro program

```

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate

      Alpha  LL95%CI  UL95%CI  Units  Observrs  Pairs
Nominal  .8058   .6672   .9168   47.0000  2.0000  47.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:
  alphamin  q
    .9000   .9310
    .8000   .4018
    .7000   .0803
    .6700   .0366
    .6000   .0031
    .5000   .0000

Number of bootstrap samples:
  10000

Judges used in these computations:
  Rater001 Rater002

Examine output for SPSS errors and do not interpret if any are found

----- END MATRIX -----

```

IBM SPSS Statistics Processor is ready | H: 522, W: 1004 pt.

```
Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate

      Alpha  LL95%CI  UL95%CI  Units  Observrs  Pairs
Nominal  .8124   .6952   .9297   47.0000  2.0000  47.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:
  alphamin  q
    .9000   .9229
    .8000   .4039
    .7000   .0450
    .6700   .0087
    .6000   .0004
    .5000   .0000

Number of bootstrap samples:
  10000

Judges used in these computations:
  Rater001 Rater002

Examine output for SPSS errors and do not interpret if any are found

----- END MATRIX -----
```

IBM SPSS Statistics Processor is ready

```
Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate

      Alpha  LL95%CI  UL95%CI  Units  Observrs  Pairs
Nominal  1.0000  1.0000  1.0000  47.0000  2.0000  47.0000

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:
  alphamin  q
    .9000   .0000
    .8000   .0000
    .7000   .0000
    .6700   .0000
    .6000   .0000
    .5000   .0000

Number of bootstrap samples:
  10000

Judges used in these computations:
  Rater001 Rater002

Examine output for SPSS errors and do not interpret if any are found

----- END MATRIX -----
```

IBM SPSS Statistics Processor is ready

H: 522, W: 101

Appendix C:

The Amharic textual evidence quoted from Addis Zemen and the Reporter (Amharic) newspapers.

I. Textual evidence quoted from Addis Zemen for the frames discovered.

1. Responsibility

- “መንግስት ከህዝብ የተጣለበትን ሀላፊነት ለመወጣት በተሃድሶ ወቅት በገባው ቃል መሰረት የሙስና ተጠርጣሪዎችን በህግ ቁጥጥር ስር የማዋል እርምጃ ተጀምሯል..” (አዲስ ዘመን ሀምሌ 23 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)
- “የህዝቡን መልካም አስተዳደር ጥያቄ የትምህርትና የጥበብ ሃይሎች በመቀማት የራሳቸውን ተልዕኮ ለማስፈጸም ሲጥሩ ይስተዋላል..” (አዲስ ዘመን መስከረም 7 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “መንግስትም የህዝብ ጥያቄ የማይቅር መሆኑን ተገንዝቦ ለጥፋት ሀይሎች መሳሪያ እንዳይሆን በአወንታ ተቀብሎ መሰራት የግድ ይሆናል..” (አዲስ ዘመን ታህሳስ 15 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “ካለፉት ሶስት ዓመታት ወዲህ እየተነሱ ያሉ የህዝብ ጥያቄዎች ተገቢ ምላሽ አለማግኘታቸውና ችግሮች በፍጥነት አለመፈታታቸው ችግሮችን እያባባሱ ነው” (አዲስ ዘመን ታህሳስ 11 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “የጸረ ሙስና ኮሚሽን የመንግስት ተመራጮች፣ ተሻሚዎችና ሰራተኞችን ሀብት መዝግቦ መያዝና በመገናኛ ብዙኃን፣ በኮሚሽኑ ደረ-ገጽና ህትመት ለህዝብ ተደራሽና ግልጽ የማድረግ ሀላፊነት የተሰጠው ተቋም ነው” (አዲስ ዘመን ነሃሴ 17 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)
- “የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት ጸረ ሙስና ትግሉ ሁሉን ባማከለ መንገድ እንዲቀጥል ከፍተኛ ሃላፊነት አለበት..” (አዲስ ዘመን መስከረም 21 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

2. Conflict

- “በኢትዮ ሰማሌ ክልሎች አዋሳኝ አካባቢ የተነሳው ግጭት የህዝብ ግጭቶች አይደለም። ይህንን የሚያደርጉ አመራሮችና ግለሰቦች መኖራቸው ሀቅ ነው። ስለዚህ የፌደራል መንግስቱ የህግ የበላይነት ለማስከበር በግጭቱ እጃቸው ያለባቸውን አመራርም ይሁን ግለሰብ ተጠያቂ ያደርጋል” (አዲስ ዘመን መስከረም 24 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “ጎሳን ወይም ዘርን መሰረት አድርጎ ጥቃት በሚፈጽሙ አካላት ላይ መንግስት ተከታትሎ ህጋዊ ተጠያቂነት ማስፈን መቻል አለበት...ሳይቃጠል በቅጠል!” (አዲስ ዘመን ታህሳስ 22 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “አሁን እየታዩ ያሉ የግጭት መንስሄዎች ጠንካራ ተቋማዊ አሰራርና ፖለቲካዊ አመራር አለመኖር ነው” (አዲስ ዘመን መስከረም 14 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የአንድ ብሄር የበላይነት እንዳይኖር በማድረግ ህገ መንግስቱ በብሄር እኩልነት ምክንያት ይነሳ የነበረው ግጭት እንዲያከትም አስችሏል” (አዲስ ዘመን መስከረም 14 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “በአንዳንድ የኦሮሚያና የአማራ ክልሎች ውስጥ የመልካም አስተዳደር ችግሮችን መነሻ በማድረግ ጽንፈኛ ሀይሎችና የሀገራችንን መለወጥ የማይሹ አንዳንድ ወገኞች አማካኝነት የተከሰተውን ሁከት ለመቋቋም ህዝቡ በባለቤትነት የከፈለው መስዋዕትነት በቀላሉ የሚታይ አይደለም” (አዲስ ዘመን ታህሳስ 15 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

3. Economic

- “ከፍተኛ የውጭ ምንዛሬ ያስገኛል ተብሎ ካለን ውስን የውጭ ምንዛሬ፣ ከፍተኛው ተመድቦለት ወደ ስራ የገቡት የስኳር ፋብሪካዎች፣ በፕሮጀክቶች አፈጻጸም ደካማነት የተነሳ በአንድ የዕቅድ ዘመን ይደርሳሉ የተባሉ የስኳር ፍብሪካዎች ግንባታ ከሰባት ዓመት በኋላም እንኳን ህልም ሆኖ ዛሬም ድረስ አለ” (አዲስ ዘመን ታህሳስ 11 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “የተንዳሆ ግድብና የመስኖ ልማት 52 ጊዜ የዲዛይን ማሻሻያ ተደርጎበት የ1.4 ቢሊዮን ብር ኪሳራ አድርጓል” (አዲስ ዘመን ህዳር 13 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “አገሪቱ በፈጣን ዕድገት ላይ ብትሆንም የሙስና ችግር በቀጣይ ለሃገሪቱ ዕድገት እንቅፍት እንደሚሆን ስጋት አለ” (አዲስ ዘመን ነሃሴ 17 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)
- “በህገ መንግስታዊ መብት ሽፍን ህገመንግስታዊ ስርዓቱን ለመናድ የሚቃጠሉት ሙከራዎች የአብዛኛው ጊዜ መነሻዎች መልካም አስተዳደር፣ ፍትሃዊ የሀብት ክፍፍል መነሻ በማድረግ ነው” (አዲስ ዘመን ታህሳስ 8 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

4. Economic +Conflict

- “በክልሎች መካከል ተመጣጣኝ የስራ ዕድል ባለመፈጠሩ ምክንያት ለግጭቶች መንስኤ እየሆኑ ነው፣ የሚል እምነትም አለ” (አዲስ ዘመን ታህሳስ 11 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “በአማራ ክልል ለሁከትና ብጥብጥ መነሻ የሆኑ ዋነኛ የመልካም አስተዳደር ችግሮች የመሰረተ ልማት አቅርቦትና የአገልግሎት አሰጣጥ ችግሮች ናቸው” (አዲስ ዘመን ታህሳስ 8 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

5. Morality

- “የሀይማኖት አባቶች ራስ ወዳድነት የተጠናወታቸው ሀይሎችን “ለእናንተ መጠቀሚያ አልሆንም” በማለት ለሰላም ያላቸውን አቋም ማሳየት ይኖርባቸዋል..” (አዲስ ዘመን ታህሳስ 29 ቀን 2010ዓ.ም)

II. Textual evidence quoted from the Reporter (Amharic) for the frames discovered.

1. Responsibility

- “አገር የሚያስተዳድረው መግስትም ሆነ ፓርቲ የምናውቀውን ችግር ከመናገር በዘለለ ለዘለቂታዊ መፍትሄ ሲተጉ አይታይም” (ሪፖርተር ጥቅምት 19 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “ኢህዴግ የሚናገረውና ተግባሩ ለየቅል ነው” (ህዳር 24 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “የመልካም አስተዳደር ማስፈን ጉዳይ አገር በመምራት ላይ ያለው መንግስት ሀላፊነት ነው..” (ሪፖርተር ነሀሴ 7 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)
- “በአንድ ወገን የበላይነት ብቻ አገር መተዳደር የለበትም” (ሪፖርተር ህዳር 10 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “የህግ አውጭ አካል የመንግስት አሰራር ለህዝብ ግልጽና ተጠያቂነት እንዲኖርበት ጫና መፍጠር፣ አሳሪና አፋኝ ህጎች እንዳይወጡ መከላከል፣ የህዝብን የልብ ትርታ ማዳመጥ ወዘተ ሀላፊነት አለበት” (ሪፖርተር ህዳር 17 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “የሀሳብ ብዙሃነት ባለው ህዝብ ውስጥ አንድ አይነት መዘመር ብቻ እንዘምር ማለት ጤናማ አይደለም” (ሪፖርተር ህዳር 13 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “ግልጽነትና ተጠያቂነት በሌለበት አገር ውስጥ ምን አገላለጽ በማለት ባለድርሻ አካላት ዝምታን መርጠዋል። የመፍትሄ ያለህ ማለት የሚገባቸው ወገኖች አድፍጠዋል (የሀገሪቱ ሙህራን፣ የአገር ሽማግሌዎች፣ የሀይማኖት መሪዎችና ተቆርቋሪ ዜጎች የሌሊት ይመስል ዝምታው መክበዱ ነው” (ሪፖርተር ጥቅምት 19 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

2. Economic

- “ከኢኮኖሚ ተጠቃሚነት መገለል፣ በገዛ አገር ባይተዋር መሆን” (ሪፖርተር ህዳር 24 ቀን 2010ዓ.ም)
- “የሀገሪቱ ዕድገት በክልሎችና በህዝቦች መካከል እኩል ተጠቃሚነትን አላረጋገጠም፣ በድሆችና በማደግ ላይ ባሉ የሀገሪቱ አካባቢዎች መካከል የሚታየው የኢኮኖሚ ርቀት መጥበብ፣ የመንገድ መሰረተ ልማት ሽፋኖች በሚዛናዊነት መስፋፋት ይገባቸዋል” መስከረም 17 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “የሀገሪቷ ሀብት የዘራፊዎች ሲሳይ ሆኗል”
- “ገዥው ፓርቲ ውስጥ አባል መሆን በስልጣን አማካኝነት ጥቅም ለማጋበስ አቋራጭ መንገድ በመሆኑ፣ የሀገሪቷ ሀብት የዘራፊዎች ሲሳይ ሆኗል” (ሪፖርተር ህዳር 24 ቀን 2010ዓ.ም)
- “ኢትዮጵያዊነት የሚባለውን ትልቅ ምስል የሚጋፉ ድርጊቶችን ማስቆም የሚቻለው ፍትሃዊነት በማስፈን ነው” (ሪፖርተር ነሀሴ 7 ቀን 2009 ዓ.ም)

3. Conflict

- “በአሮሚያና ሰማሌ ለተከሰቱ ግጭቶች ምክንያት የሆኑ ያልተፈቱ የወሰን ማካለል ጉዳዮች ከሞላ ጎደል ለመፍታት የተቻለ ቢሆንም፣ ያልተስተካከሉ አፍራሽ አመለካከቶች የወለዱቸው ናቸው” (ሪፖርተር ጥቅምት 19 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)
- “ህግ የማያከብርና የማያስከብር መንግስት ራሱን ለአደጋ ከማጋለጡም በላይ አገርንና ህዝብን ትርምስ ውስጥ ይከታል” (ሪፖርተር ህዳር 17 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

4. Human interest

- “የደረሰብንን በደልና ግፍ ሳታሰሙ በህዝብ ወንበር ላይ መቀመጥ ለምን ያስፈልጋል?” ህገመንግስቱን በመጻፈር በደልና ግፍ ሲደርስብን ድምጻችሁን ለምን አላሰማችሁም?”(ሪፖርተር ታህሳስ 29 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)