



*Ethiopian Media Coverage of the South Sudan Conflict;-The case
Of The Ethiopian Herald, Fortune and Reporter*

Yeshewa Masresha



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

Feb, 2015

Addis Ababa University

Graduate School of Journalism and communication

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Yeshewa Masresha, entitled *Ethiopian Media coverage of The south Sudan conflict; the case of the Ethiopian Herald, Fortune and The Reporter Newspapers* submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in journalism and communication complies with regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining committee;

Examiner Aganedech Semaneh (PhD) sig. [Signature] Date March 2015

Examiner Abdissa Zeraï (PhD) sig. [Signature] Date March 2015
Zenebe Beyene (PhD) sig. [Signature] Date March 2015

Advisor _____ sig. _____ Date _____

Abdissa Zeraï (PhD) [Signature]

Chair of Department or Graduate Program coordinator

ABSTRACT

Ethiopian media coverage of South Sudan conflict: - The case of Ethiopian Herald, Fortune and Reporter.

Yeshewa Masresha

Addis Ababa University, 2015

The main aim of this study was to examine how the Ethiopian Media covered the South Sudan conflict in the study period. In order to undertake the assignment, framing theory was employed. The study was conducted on three English newspapers: the Ethiopian Herald, Fortune and the Reporter. A four- month data was taken from each newspaper. Quantitative content analysis, Textual analysis and in-depth interview were the techniques used. Quantitative content analysis and qualitative Textual analysis were applied to investigate how the issue of South Sudan was framed in the newspapers and to identify which frame types were used. In-depth interview was conducted to support the results found from the two methods.

The study reveals that the conflict frame was the dominant frame used by Fortune and The Reporter. And the next frame was the attribution of responsibility frame which was the dominant frame for The Ethiopian Herald. Conflict and human interest frames were the common frames used by the three papers. The Ethiopian Herald and fortune showed similarity in using Attribution of responsibility frame. For the two newspapers the elites from the rivalry groups are responsible for the cause of the conflict and also to bring about solution. different to the two newspapers, for The Reporter, Ethiopia is more responsible in bringing peace because of the proximity it has with south Sudan and also in defending herself from the contagious nature of the conflict. The contingency frame was found only in The Reporter's coverage to show that the

conflict may spillover to Ethiopia, Unlike the Reporter, The Ethiopian Herald and Fortune preferred to say nothing though aware of it. And also the economic frame was found only in Fortune which is business focused newspaper.

In using news sources, it was found that Fortune was highly dependent on international media sources. While, The Reporter tried to use different sources in a balanced way. On the other side, almost all the stories in The Ethiopian Herald were event based which coated the officials' speeches at the events and reports from different organizations. In the case of Ethiopian Herald, The study also prevails how ownership matters in delivering information on time. Based on the finding, some recommendations were forwarded.

Acknowledgments

My most sincere gratitude goes to the Almighty God for His countless blessings. I would like to thank my adviser, Dr. Zenebe Beyene, for not only guiding and supporting me in this research, but also, for the contagious positive attitude he has towards hard work.

I also want to thank my parents and all my sisters for being supportive. Special thanks go to my father who taught me to value education since my childhood and for being the role model in the family practically by going to school in his old age.

Hiwaye, I thank you for your patience in typing my abstract. Last but not least, my gratitude goes to Habtamu for helping me use all the necessary materials in the library he works in.

Table of Contents

Content	pages
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgment.....	V
List of Acronyms.....	Ix
List of Tables.....	x
Chapter one: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background of the study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	4
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	7
1.3.1 General Objective.....	7
1.3.2 Specific Objectives.....	7
1.4 Research Questions.....	7
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	7
1.6, Scope of the study.....	8
1.7 Limitation of the Study.....	8
Chapter Two: Review of Related Literatures.....	9
2.1 An overview of Sudan.....	9
2.2 South Sudan.....	11

2.2.1	Struggle for Interdependence.....	11
2.2.2	Independence.....	13
2.2.3	The Post –Independence South Sudan.....	15
2.3	Ethiopia and South Sudan.....	18
2.4	Media and Conflict.....	21
2.5	Theoretical Framework.....	26
2.5.1	Framing Theory.....	26
Chapter Three: Research Methodology		33
3.1	Research Method	33
3.2	Method of Data Collection.....	34
3.2.1	Quantitative Content Analysis.....	34
3.2.2	Qualitative content Analysis.....	35
3.2.2	In-depth Interview.....	36
3.3	Sampling Strategy.....	37
3.4	Data Analysis.....	39
Chapter Four: Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion.....		40
4.1	Data Presentation and Analysis.....	40
4.1.1	Framing of the South Sudan conflict by the selected Newspapers.....	41
4.2	Discussion of the Findings.....	49

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations.....	58
5.1 conclusions.....	58
5.2 Recommendations.....	60
References.....	62
Appendices.....	68

List of Acronyms

AU	Africa union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CIS	Credibly implemented and sustained
CNN	Cable news network
CPA	Comprehensive peace agreement
ENA	Ethiopian news agency
EPRDF	Ethiopian people's revolutionary Democratic front
HIC	High intensity conflict
IGAD	Inter governmental authority development
LIC	Low intensity conflict
NCP	National congress party
SPLA	Sudan people's liberation army
SPLM	Sudanese people liberation movement
SSHRC	South Sudan human rights commission
UCDP	Uppsala conflict data program

List of Tables

Pages

Table 1. Dominant frames in each newspaper	41
Table 2. News and article Sources in each newspaper	55

Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

The republic of Sudan was the largest country in Africa and the Arab world, until the secession movement in the South led by the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM) emerged and forced the government to hold a referendum that resulted in the division of the country and an end to a more than two decades of brutal civil war. The country has been characterized by internal conflicts since gaining independence from the colonial rule of Egypt and Britain in 1956 (McKay, 2012).

The history of the country is unfortunately dominated by two bloody civil war accounts; one in the south and the other in the western Darfur region. The first civil war which gave religious and cultural autonomy to the Southern part of the country ended with the signing of Addis Ababa peace agreement in 1972 between the government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM).

As reported by the Frontline World in 2005, since the start of the civil war in 1983 up to 2003 alone, more than 4 million people have been displaced, and an estimated two million have died. The violence in Darfur, which is characterized as an act of ethnic cleansing by some and genocide by others, has left an estimated 50,000 to 80,000 dead and an estimated 1.2 million to 2 million people displaced.

Although the numbers vary, all sources agree that the war has caused not only millions of deaths and displacement, but also has left a permanent scar on the social, economic and political future

of the country. The North - South peace deal came following years of attempts to reach peace deals and was regarded as the most important milestone in the process of healing the wounds and addressing the problems.

If the comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) is credibly implemented and sustained, it would offer the people in the North and the South their first opportunity to resolve the chronic crisis of national identity and establish a system of governance that constructively manages diversity within and between the two states (Heinrich Boll and Toniweis,2012 p.20).

The North/South CPA helped to end civil war in the Sudan and resulted in the creation of a power sharing government. However, following the death of the SPLM leader, John Garang, in 2005 due to plane crash, the temporary peace was again at stake. The Northern Sudanese forces and former rebels (of SPLM) fought in November 2006 which was reported as one of the deadliest clashes in the history of the war between the Khartoum government and the SPLM. There were also other rounds of conflicts notably the intense fighting in the disputed oil-rich region of Abyei in May 2008.

The peace deal was a major achievement that helped the successful implementation of the referendum, which culminated in securing South Sudanese independence on July 9, 2011. It was a remarkable day for those who believed it would bring peace and a better country to live in. The people of South Sudan celebrated the birth of their young nation and hoped that improved living conditions would come from a united developmental state (The brooking Africa growth initiative 2012). Unfortunately the people of South Sudan could not celebrate the fruits of the independence for much long. In August 2011, ethnic clashes erupted in the state of Jonglei and in

October 2011, the rebels of the South Sudan liberation Army attacked the town of Mayom in Unity state with other clashes springing in many flash points. The intensified border conflict between the two Sudanese to claim full ownership of the oil fields of Abiyeis, however, was the most visible and serious one that required multiple rounds of peace talks in Ethiopia.

The president of South Sudan, Salva Kiir, has made reforms in his cabinet and took decisions to dismiss ministers in June 2013, a political move that ousted vice president Rick Machaer in July 2013. These two acts did put South Sudanese political environment in a new phase of political tension and turned into a conflict that pitted the major tribes of Nuer and Dinka against each other. In December 2013, just three years after the South Sudan gained independence from Sudan in an internationally supported referendum it made headlines for getting into another civil war.

The Ethnic tensions, which have characterized the country's political landscape since independence in South Sudan, continue to manifest themselves in the current South Sudan conflict and peace processes. The conflict began in the evening of 15 December 2013, on the national liberation Council meeting at Nyakuron. Fighting erupted between the Dinka soldiers of the presidential Guard and the Nuer groups of the former vice president. The two tribes; the Dinka (15% of the population) and the Nuer (5%), were both initially united in their struggle against Khartoum before their slow engagement in an internal conflict for hegemony (Geopolitical monitor December 31, 2013).

The ongoing conflict which saw ceasefire agreements broken several times comes as shocking especially for the South Sudanese public that was eager to see the tangible outcomes of the

independence. The abrupt nature of the conflict, the scale of the violence within a single military unit, the rapid spread to other branches of the armed forces in other states, and the speed at which it began to take on ethnic overtones has shocked the population (policy brief, January 4, 2014)

Though the people of South Sudan are the ones suffering the consequences on the ground, this conflict has also received a strong international attention. That is the reason why a number of efforts are sponsored to help end the crisis and put a peace plan in place. It is especially a home work of the African Union and the Inter-Governmental authority development (IGAD) to guarantee that peace accords are respected and plans are implemented.

As a member of the AU, current chair of IGAD, and a neighboring country, Ethiopia has been playing a key role as an arbiter between the two sides before and after the independence. It is against this backdrop that the current study sought to investigate how Ethiopia's media framed the conflict next door.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Common journalistic beliefs suggest that bad news is good news and good news is no news, which obviously explain why the South Sudanese conflict is getting the attention of different media outlets although some institutions like the Action contre la faim (ACF) in Ethiopia claim that the conflict is being met with silence.

The crisis in south Sudan now affects the entire horn of Africa and east Africa region. It gets little media coverage.... regretfully, the international community is not responding to south Sudan and media attention to it is now almost non-existent (ACF, 2014)

But others criticize not only the amount of the coverage the conflict is getting but the bias and unbalanced reports on the media outlets. There are also claims that within the undeveloped South Sudan media environment itself, the media is not playing a positive role to help solve the problem. “The weak media culture in south Sudan continues to fuel the ongoing conflict because of limited legal protection for public broadcasting, media regulation and freedom of information (Sudanese online April 2014).

Many journalists attribute this problem to inability to report fairly or reporting with the objective to please the government. The union of journalists of South Sudan says it is fighting to tackle the issue.

These people (in government) are telling our journalists to report in a certain way that favors the government. They don't want voices of people in the opposition to be heard. But as a union we are telling journalists that they should stick to their ethics and ensure they have balanced stories (IPS-April 2014).

Some argue that the lack of freedom of expression is not the only problem faced by journalists in reporting the crisis in south Sudan. Above all, the deteriorating security situation in the areas did Not allow the media to send reporters into the field. The head of South Sudan television was quoted as saying that “If journalists are sent to the front and get killed or came back handicapped, I would not be able to pay compensation because we have no insurance” (Reporters without Borders, 2012, p. 6).

The western media were giving coverage for the situation in South Sudan while still complaining about the unfavorable environment for journalists. However, some observers argue that the western media is biased or used entrusted sources.

A petition signed for the Guardian's editor in chief describes the situation.

We are aware of the difficulties in gathering information from outside of Juba, the capital city. However, we are extremely concerned about the risks of reporting exclusively about anti Nuer Violence in one location. We are aware that international media plays a strong role in fuelling retaliation elsewhere in the country and we believe that your report contributes to this threat (Change organization April 2014).

Similarly, the South Sudan crisis received the growing attention of Ethiopia not just as world news to be consumed but more importantly as a real and imminent danger from the next door neighbor. To this effect, the government of Ethiopia, through its spoke person of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was continuously giving updated information on the situation in South Sudan regarding the impact the conflict might have on Ethiopia.

The media in Ethiopia were covering the issue mostly focusing on the potential impact of the crisis in the country. Eritrea's possible involvement in the tension and its effect on the Ethiopian renaissance dam was of concern for Ethiopian media. Moreover, the Nuer tribes fighting in South Sudan are one of the ethnic groups who live in western state of Gambella in Ethiopia, which altogether makes the situation more troublesome to Ethiopia."Some fear that the ongoing conflict may expand to other countries specially the Gambella region of Ethiopia" (Translation.. Addis Geday, Feb 2014, P.2).

Media outlets are believed to have power over and a role in solving problems through their coverage and the interpretations they give for a given issue. Media is critical in building up our knowledge and has significant influence on our attitude towards the problems (Sunil pinto,

2012). Although the Ethiopian media continues to cover the issues of South Sudan, no study has been conducted to investigate how they are covering it. Hence, it is the aim of this research to address that research gap.

1.3 objectives of the study

1.3.1 General objectives

The general objective of this research is to assess the coverage and framing of the South Sudan conflict by the Ethiopian media.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

1. To examine how the Ethiopia media are framing the conflict
2. To identify the dominant frame used by the sample newspapers.
3. To investigate factors which are influencing the coverage of south Sudan conflict.
4. To identify the news sources the media houses are using to cover the conflict.

1.4 Research questions

This study would answer the following questions.

1. How are the Ethiopia media covering (framing) the south Sudan conflict?
2. What are the factors influencing journalists or media houses in covering the conflict?
3. Which frames are frequently applied in covering the issue?
4. What are the sources in reporting the issue?

1.5 Significance of the study

Considering the geographic proximity Ethiopia has with South Sudan, the finding will hopefully give some insight as to how media coverage affects sensitive national interest areas. The result of this study will also give insight on how Ethiopian media are covering the south Sudan conflict. In doing so, it will also help the media houses to recognize their strong and weak sides in covering the issue.

Moreover, because there have been no researches conducted in this area as far as the researcher's knowledge is concerned, this research will help as a good source of information for whoever is interested in doing further researches on how Ethiopian media covers The south Sudan conflict.

1.6, Scope of the study

This study is conducted on the coverage of the south Sudan conflict and it focuses on three print media outlets; The Ethiopian Herald, Fortune and The Reporter. The coverage of the south Sudan conflict by the selected media will be analysed within the time frame of December 15, 2013 and April, 15, 2014.

1.7, Limitation of the study

Due to resource and time constraints this research examines only the coverage of print media outlets of Ethiopian media namely: the Ethiopian Herald, Fortune, and the Reporter. It attempts to analyze the written texts of these three English news papers. Hence, it did not represent the whole coverage of the Ethiopian media. The coverage of South Sudan would only be analyzed in a limited time frame from December 15, 2013 to April 15, 2014.

Chapter Two: Review of Related Literature

This part of the study presents various issues related to the topic under investigation. It also entertains framing theory which serves as the theoretical framework of the study.

2.1 Sudan; an overview

Sudan, which once was the largest country in the African continent before splitting into two countries in July 2011, has according to 2011 census, a population of 32 million people. (Reporters without Borders 2012)

The country with hundreds of ethnic and tribal groups speaking over 400 languages is rich in mineral wealth, natural gas, and crude oil and Agricultural products but unfortunately well known for its civil war history. Sudan was administered by Great Britain in 1956 and the first to gain independence after world war two; it was also the first country in post- colonial Africa to be trapped in a civil war. “For the 1989-2010 periods, the UCDP has recorded 27 communal conflicts in Sudan: 14 in Southern Sudan, 12 in Darfur and one in Kordofan. (UCDP 2011, Sundbergetal 2012, p. 49).

Since independence in 1956, Sudan has witnessed two civil wars (1963-1976 and 1983-2005) and another civil war currently taking place in the far Western region of Darfur since 2003. The result of the civil wars left the country with deep scars which continue to shape opinions and policy. Two rounds of North-South civil wars have cost the lives of 1.5 million people, and the Darfur one has driven two million people from their homes and killed more than 200,000 (BBC ,2014).

Harir (1994, cited on review of African Economy) noted that civil war in Sudan is commonly portrayed according to the basic differences between different groups based on racial, ethnic and religious animosities and/or in terms of the regional needs of local elites (Ibid, 156). The civil wars fought for more than two decades in Sudan are also given different names including “Arab” against “African” or between North and South, and Muslims against Christians.

Most historians wrote that the cause for the north-south civil wars goes back to the era of colonization. Sudan was a collection of small independent kingdoms and principalities from the beginning of the Christian era until 1820-21, when Egypt conquered and unified the Northern portion of the country. And although Egypt claimed all of the present Sudan during most of the 19th century, it was unable to establish effective control over Southern Sudan, which remained an area of fragmented tribes subject to frequent attacks by slave raiders (Global Security. org).

After the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, the British took over Sudan from 1898 to rule the country together with Egypt until 1955. Although the 1899 Britain-Egypt agreement to share control over Sudan (called the “condominium”) brought relatively peaceful period, it was blamed for treating the Northern and Southern areas of the country differently.

They modernized Northern Sudan, where most of the people lived; expanding telegraph and rail services and helping farmers grow cotton and other cash crops for export. At the same time, believing that the South was not ready for modernization, the British issued laws that prohibited outsiders from working or traveling there. (Robert, 2008, p. 26).

These and additional factors served as causes that deteriorated progressively to put the northern and Southern sides in a cycle of civil war experience.

2.2 SOUTH SUDAN

South Sudan has become the world's youngest country after it gained its independence from Sudan on 9 July, 2011. The Republic of South Sudan is located in East-Central Africa and shares borders with Sudan to the North, Ethiopia to the east, Kenya and Uganda to the Southeast, the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the Southwest and the Central African Republic to the West (Joseph, 2013).

Before the scramble of Africa by Europeans, there was no state named South Sudan but the abundant commodities of the area such as slaves, gold, ivory and timber made it an important center of trade both by neighboring states and colonizers. According to the facts presented about South Sudan by the Goss Mission website compiled from different sources, the modern South Sudan emerged during the Anglo-Egyptian condominium (1898-1955), up on the breakup of the Ottoman Empire. Britain and Egypt agreed to occupy Sudan with separate administrations for the North and South. After the defeat of the Mahadist army in 1898 during the battle of Omdurman, the North Sudanese accepted the rule of the new Anglo- Egyptian regime while the South Sudanese rejected the regime and continued their fight for independence.

2.2.1 Struggle for independence

Although they never accepted the arrangement of administration imposed on them, the South Sudanese couldn't escape from the Anglo- Egyptian regime. As Mandeni (cited on Anjana, 2011) explains, the administrative system by itself was problematic as it failed to give autonomy to the various tribes. "The colonial state was a two-tiered structure:- peasants and tribes were governed by a constellation of ethnically defined native authorities in the local state, who were in turn supervised by white officials deployed from a racial pinnacle at the center." (p.3)

As noted in several literatures, British officials were responsible to manage cultural and religious differences between a predominantly Arabic speaking Muslim North and Christian South. The British interest was to prevent Islamic values and Arabic culture from spreading into Southern Sudan, which led to the prohibition of northerners not to travel to the South and vice versa.

The British gave a free hand to Christian missionaries in the South while considerably restricting their presence in the North. They also expressed concern for the well-being of Southern populations which they perceived as easy prey for Northern “Arab” slave traders. This preoccupation was connected to the long history of slavery in Sudan, but it was consciously used to legitimize separate rule (Iris Seri, 2013, p. 4).

This separation rule and the British “Southern Policy” helped the British to concentrate on exploiting the economic resources in the north while neglecting the South, which they considered “barbaric”.

Infrastructure and development have favored the north while the South suffered from lack of basic needs of life. The gap in government attention and resource allocation is one of the factors used by the South to justify the liberation movement that lasted almost two decades from 1955-1972. (Ibid, 2013).

The first Sudanese civil war which came to an end in 1972 by the Addis Ababa peace agreement guaranteed the South’s regional autonomy within the frame work of a unified Sudanese state. But unfortunately the conflict erupted again in 1983, lasting until a comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) was signed in 2005.

The CPA which ended the war between the Khartoum based government and Southern Peoples Liberation Movement SPLM (A) paved the way for the two party leaders, president Omar Al

Basher of National Congress Party (NCP) and SPLM (A) Leader Dr.Garang to form a government of national unity for six years until a national referendum was held in 2011.

2.2.2 Independence

The comprehensive peace agreement of 2005 signed after 23 years of war made it binding to hold a referendum after 6 years into the accord. It gave a chance to the South Sudanese people to make a decision whether to remain as part of the Sudan or to become an independent state. Accordingly, the referendum held in January 2011 revealed that 98.8% of voters wanted an independent state. The new South Sudan then came into existence and was welcomed to be the 54th member of the African Union and the 193rd member of the United Nations (Horace, 2011).

The independence of South Sudan was not just celebrated by the people of that new state. The international community also expressed its pleasure following the results, and hoped that a better future lies ahead for the war torn nation. It was a common belief among south Sudanese and international observers that the end to the long and bloody path the people had travelled would mean a road to recovery and liberty. It was also assumed that South Sudan had a number of internal and external sources of political and economic power to achieve the goals of development.

The most important of these is probably the tremendous moral force of a people aspiring to build its newly- independent state after years of yearning and fighting for liberation and emancipation. Such a force of a people who have attained a long-awaited dream of a homeland in which they can feel like first class citizens who fear no racial or religious discrimination is an important factor that provides human energy to build the desired

state, fulfill the aspirations of its citizens, and thwart the negativity of detractors (Khalid, 2011, p. 4).

The more commonalities that exist between the people than their differences, similarities among them in livelihood, religion, traditions, and culture in general are believed to strength the new state (Jok, 2011).

But others speculated that the new nation building process would be more challenging because of various reasons. One of the most concerning ones was the pressure on the new government and aid agencies to facilitate the return of refugees. According to the UN, more than 300,000 south Sudanese have voluntarily returned from the north until October 2010 hoping to get citizenship. (Anjana, 2011, p. 17).

More than other issues involving refugees, the biggest challenge was the uncertainty over what kind of relationship would be there between the north and the south. The presence of 3,500 Kms of border they share and the many ethnic groups that have lived on the border areas was feared to become a point of conflict.

Abyei is a living example of this interdependence. The exploitation of oil to provide the financial resources on which both Sudanese became unfeasible without a compromise from both sides since distribution facilities were in the north and oil fields were in the South. This situation on the ground made complimentary between the two states inevitable (Khalid, 2011, p.7).

2.2.3 The post-independence South Sudan

The unresolved issues between the two countries started to manifest themselves immediately after the independence of South Sudan as a state. The fighting in March 2011 between the two armed groups over Abyei and conflicts that erupted in South Kordofan and Blue Nile states in Sudan are among them. Moreover, since the independence of the South, the two countries have been accusing each other of supporting rebels inside each other's territories.

The result of the tensions especially over appropriation of oil revenue escalated in January 2012 as the two countries were unable to agree on transit fee (Solomon 2012, p 90). The economy of the two states heavily depend on oil and it came as no surprise that losing 75% of the oil fields located in the South was going to be a cause of clash. As disagreements ensued over unpaid share of revenue requested by the North from the South for using pipelines, retaliatory measures started being taken by the south beginning by shutting off oil fields and militarily controlling facility towns.

The disagreements eventually led to border war which began on 14 February, 2012 as South Sudan accused Khartoum of bombing the border town of Jau. In return on 27 March 2012, the Sudanese air force reportedly bombed areas around Bentiu oil field in Unity State of South Sudan. Subsequently, Sudan's parliament classified South Sudan as Sudan's "Enemy" (Ibid, 2012).

A number of efforts were taken to stop the violence return South Sudan to the relative peace prior the clashes. The February peace talk in Addis Ababa which put demarcation of the borders was one of the agreements which the two sides signed to respect non-aggression and promote cooperation.

Although the Africa Union and others played important roles to end the conflict between the two rival factions, no external power was able to save the South Sudanese people from the battles within.

Another conflict within

A more recent conflict which took place on 15, December 2013 between South Sudanese power camps was unexpected to all regional and global observers. Considering the fact that all political bodies were tired of decades of fighting it seemed no one was expecting another round of civil to engulf the young nation.

It is important to note that while the goal of the rebels in the first civil war was to achieve autonomy, the second war, “Championed by the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement and army was to restructure the country in to a new Sudan that would be free from and discrimination due to race, ethnicity, religion, culture or gender.” (Anjana, 2011, p.7).

Unfortunately civil war erupted on 15, December 2013 following a weekend meeting of the SPLM’s National Liberation Council (NLC) when fighting turned into an ethnic based fight between units of the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) in Juba, South Sudan’s capital (Africa report, 2014). The clashes that began in the capital Juba soon spread to other parts of the country particularly to Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile states.

President Salva Kiir Mayardit announced the next day that the fighting was a result of an attempted Coup d’état by members of his former vice president Riek Machar. However, Riek Machar gave a different account of the events and rejected the claims saying it was a rebellion.

According to South Sudan Human Rights Commission (SSHRC 2013), the cause for the conflict could be traced back to the major reshuffle in the cabinet made by President Salva Kir on July 2013. The reshuffle dropped key personalities including the then vice president Riek Machar and number of Ministers. However, others argued that the roots of the disagreement were primarily political while ethnic dimensions (Salva Kir is from Dinka and Machar from Nuer tribes) played a major role in fueling the disagreement.

Dinka elements of the presidential Guard and other security organs engaged in systematic violence against the Nuer in Juba in the early days. Armed actors, including the Nuer white Army, responded by targeting Dinka and other civilians in more than a dozen locations (African report, 2014).

Following the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, having large number of ethnic based armed units in the national army is believed to have fueled the conflict. Some Nuer-led armed groups that constituted tribal majorities in the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA), tried to maintain loyalty to their ethnic Nuer commanders including Riek Machar. Similarly, soldiers mainly from Dinka and other tribes including the Nuer became loyal to Salva Kir, who was the legitimate head of state and commander in chief of the SPLA. "Therefore, when the political dispute within the SPLM translated into fighting, consciously or unconsciously, the two groups found themselves in opposite sides fighting each other and trading accusations and counter accusation." (SSHRC, 2013, p.4).

The impact of the conflict on the civilian population (and its hopes of stability) was worse than the previous civil wars in some ways.

The conflict has been brutal. People have been killed, raped and beaten, homes torched and livelihoods demolished. Fighting has wrenched a bigger part of communities that once lived together peacefully. Men, women and children fled from their homes and sought refuge in the bush, inside UN bases and in neighboring countries (Crisis response plan, 2014).

As peace talks were underway, fighting was raging in the bushes and towns in South Sudan. Agreements were violated repeatedly while the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) took part to mediate in Addis Ababa and Bahir-Dar, both in Ethiopia.

2.3 Ethiopia and south Sudan

Ethiopia and South Sudan have a long and historical relationship. The Blue Nile and Atbara rivers have tied them together from earlier times and economic relations and conflicts were part of the century's old bilateral bond.

As the North and South Sudan issues can't be seen separated, Ethiopia has been involved in the conflict since the imperial regime. Ethiopia's association with South Sudan's crisis can also be traced back to August 1955 (torit mutiny) which was the beginning of armed rebellion in the Sudan. The Ethiopian monarch expressed its support to the Government of Sudan saying "It is in both in principle and in fact opposed to any kind of fragmentation of a national territory on the basis of religion or tribalism."(Belete, 2013, p.36).

At the time, the imperial government of Ethiopia provided aircrafts to the northern troops to fight the South rebellion, prevent armed fugitives from entering Ethiopian soil and chase back those who had already entered. The support continued in many ways until Ethiopian Authorities started to perceive the South Sudan situation differently.

More importantly, the deteriorating bilateral relations after October 1964 popular uprising in Sudan had contributed to the revision of Ethiopia's position on the Sudan in general and the South in particular with the termination of the federal arrangement in Eritrea(1962). Ethiopia's internal politics witnessed the emergence of armed resistance. And afterwards, the shift in the Ethio-Sudan political equation led to the commencement by the latter of supporting secessionist elements particularly in Eritrea (Ibid, 2013).

To counter Sudan's support to Eritrea, Ethiopia used the Southern problem in Sudan as a retaliatory ground to encourage rebel activities. As a result of the two ways destabilizing interference, the face of Ethio-Sudan relations was essentially changed.

When the emperor Haile Selassie I was deposed by the military Derg regime in Ethiopia, support to south rebels was not discontinued. To begin with, the Derg's Marxist ideology stood as a strong opposite to Egypt and Nimeir's Sudan.

While Khartoum was governed by a weak coalition of secularists and Islamists and Southern Sudanese groups were split over their ideological direction, the Derg moved in and decided to support the South. The Derg had neither good relations with president Nimeiri, nor with the Islamists but found the SPLA a strong force to counter the Northern elites (Volkert, 2013, p. 127).

While Ethiopia was supporting the rebels, Khartoum was assisting the various Eritrean and Tigrian rebel movements inside Ethiopia. However, the South Sudanese rebels were forced to close down their operations in Ethiopia when the Derg regime collapsed in 1991 following the

Coming to power of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The late leader Meles Zenawi was grateful to Khartoum for the support his coalition received in its fight

against the Derg and he acknowledged that if Khartoum kept fighting with the South, it would be a threat to peace inside Ethiopia (Ibid 2013).

The EPRDF led government of Ethiopia has been able to establish good relationships with both South Sudan and Sudan, and has successfully consolidated its position as a mediator to resolve conflicts such as the Abiye crisis following independence. Ethiopia is also at the forefront of efforts in sending troops for peace keeping missions in the conflict zones.

Many agree that having good relationships with both countries has benefited Ethiopia in a number of ways. "Ethiopia shares a border with North and South Sudan, and would have much to lose if the peace failed. But it is also true that both Khartoum and Juba realize that a good relationship with their much larger neighbor is vital for their own future prosperity"(Roger, 2011p.27).

Ethiopia as a neighboring country, the seat of AU and current IGAD chair is playing a key role in trying to solve the conflict in South Sudan. Though ceasefires and agreements were broken many times, the peace talks are slowly progressing. And Ethiopia is still trying to convince the two parties to reach a compromise and sign a peace deal.

Beyond hosting the hundreds of thousands of refugees, Ethiopia also fears the possible outbreak of ethnic crises as a result of tensions in South Sudan, in its border region of Gambella whose Nuertribes are supporters of Machar. (IRIN, 2014).

More importantly, Ethiopia wishes not to have another hot spot of chaos in the region. As analysts claimed, "it has enough problems with the failed state of Somalia on its eastern border. It doesn't want another one on the western side." (Ibid, 2014)

2.4 Media and Conflict

According to Andrew (2006), conflict is one of the defining features of the modern world and since the end of the Cold War; countless conflicts have taken place in many countries around the world. These conflicts have caused millions of deaths and displacement. Amerlia, Sheldon and Susan (2011) mentioned that in just 2010, an estimated 363 armed conflicts took place around the world. The World Bank estimating that the conflicts have affected more than 45 countries and the lives of more than 500 million individuals.

Research shows that the contemporary violent conflicts tend to occur within, rather than between states. Eytan (2009) explained that even at the beginning of the cold war, the number of internal violent conflicts was higher than that of interstate conflicts. After the cold war was over, the number of internal conflicts kept on increasing. According to Eytan (2009), ethnic and civil wars Erupted in Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union, Rwanda, Congo, Somalia, Sudan, Kenya and Liberia. Besides internal conflicts in the 21st century, a new kind of more dangerous conflict has also emerged at a global level:-

The September 11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington DC by Islamic fundamentalists and similar subsequent attacks in Great Britain, Spain, Kenya, Indonesia, Bali, Turkey, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, as well as the United States-led wars in Afghanistan and Iraq represent conflicts at the global level. (p 90)

Scholars also make distinctions between different kinds of conflict and the level of violence in the nature and evolution of contemporary conflicts. They categorized conflicts as High Intensity Conflicts (HIC) and Low Intensity Conflicts (LIC). High intensity conflict is where violence is

primarily characterized by interstate wars and low intensity conflict is where violence is much more limited and is pursued by irregular forces against regular armies. (Ibid, 2009 p. 91)

There are different factors which contribute for the emergence and fueling of clashes and many scholars mention that the media can be one important actor. Mass media often plays a key role in conflicts and believed that the role can take two different and opposed forms. “Either the media takes an active part in the conflict and has responsibility for increased violence, or stays independent and out of the conflict, thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence.”(Puddephitt,2006,p.4.).This role of media have seen in many conflicts happened since many years back in history. “History has shown that the media can incite people toward violence” (Vladimir and Lisa, 2007). The way Hitler used the media to create hatred for Jews, homosexuals and other minority groups and the role played by Rwanda’s media in the genocide are few example. (p.7). The Arab spring also swept the Middle East and North Africa in early 2011, which again was a demonstration of the power of social media in organizing protests.

Although the role of media can be both constructive and destructive; many agree that its impact on creating, sustaining or preventing conflicts is significant. Journalism scholar Gadib Wolfsfeld notes that there is a fundamental contradiction between the nature of a peace process and news values, and the media often play a destructive role in attempts at making peace. (Ibid, p 8).that is why some name the media as a double edged sword (Pandey,2013,p.2).

It is also argued that while covering conflicts, media plays its role in shaping other’s attitude towards the conflict and in turn endorses selected entities to be major players in the process of solving the problems.“The extent to which the media assigns priority to covering one conflict

rather than another sets the agenda in terms of how the international community must respond. (Andrew 2006). In this regard, conflicts in Africa notably in Congo, Angola, Sierra Leone, Cote D'Ivoire, Guinea and Liberia have passed almost without notice under the international news radar.

To show how the coverage given by media to conflicts influences the decision of actors, Eyfan (2009) says commentators and scholars invented the term the "CNN effect"; which implies that television coverage forces policy makers to take actions they otherwise would not have taken (p 98). Not only forcing global actors to take action, media also provides a platform for dialogue among contesting parties. Between 2006 and 2009 for example, thirteen Sudanese journalists did broadcast radio program on health and human services in Darfur. According to (Amelia, Sheldon and Susan 2001), UNICEF estimates that the number of people participating in national immunization day doubled as a result of these broadcast. Studio jambo of Burundi with a team of twenty Hutu and Tutsi journalists to promote dialogue, peace and reconciliation is also another example which shows the media's influence in promoting peace.

In playing its role, understanding of information in receiving or transmitting it has also an impact in implementing peace and security within and out of the country.

How people receive and transmit information about their countries, their communities and their place within them is central to their perception of peace and security, as well as their relationship to their state, nation, neighbors and community. It may drive a vicious circle of fear and prejudice and, in its most extreme forms, may propel people to violence. It can also shape public understanding of the dynamics of violence, harness or

encourage peaceful ways of addressing them and build communication, accountability and trust between the state and society (Candan&Reeve.2012, p.5.).

If so, some argue and ask why the role of media is greater in amplifying conflicts than doing more in peace building processes. And other scholars answer that, the complexity of conflicts and the dependence on Western media sources may present challenges to attempts at making media more of a stabilizing force. Regarding to international media sources, the problem lies on the media houses editorial policy and the special interest they have towards an issue. “The international media can also complicate attempts to resolve conflicts as their actions can engender resentment among local people at the editorial priorities of the media organizations” (Puddephat,2006,p.8).but in reality, many uses the international sources to cover stories specially those which happens out of their country. Thus, try to select stories carefully and assess the intention behind the coverage works as the filtering mechanism.others suggest that the effective way of avoiding such risks are using and strengthen local media “National media operating within a country have greater potential to manage conflicts than international news organizations because they form part of society and have the means to play a part in it”(James, 2004,p.28). The local media not only helps in promoting peace within. But also it’s believed that it can serve as a complement of the information comes from international media which may focuses on the negative parts of issues.

It is important that national media should encourage tolerance and a willingness to solve conflicts at all levels without resorting to violence. Such coverage can complement reporting by the international media that concentrates on dramatic and negative events while ignoring background history and news of constructive behavior (IBID, 2004, p.29).

Beyond the source problems, the scarcity of resource, the number of professional journalists in the area and other factors also contribute and influence covering conflicts .in order to play a key role in solving conflicts, some suggest that “peace Journalism” may help the media to promote peace and security than fueling the problems. Peace Journalism is a kind of journalism where the media and practitioners focus on reporting in a way that promotes peace. There are however serious arguments against the essence of this notion which argue that Peace Journalism implies that journalists are no longer covering stories but becoming part of them, which negates the very definition of a free media. But others claim that the very practice of a good professional journalism is itself a form of conflict resolution. (Andrew, 2006, P.12).Similarly, conflict reporting involves other debates on the types of journalism. “Bystander Journalist” versus “Journalism of attachment” and “war/conflict journalism” versus “peace journalism” is some of the core debates. Martin Bell, in his work TV NEWS:- how far should we go, (cited in Eytain 2009), criticized conflict media neutrality and explained that bystander journalism is concerned more with the circumstances of violence such as military formations and tactics, while the journalism of attachments concerned with people impacted by the wars. He claims that journalism of attachment allows journalists to report from the perspective they see and understand. But David Binder of the New York Times objects to Bell’s argument and insists that “our job is to report from all sides, not to play favorites” (p. 100). He also says journalism of attachment is not a good alternative to war journalism.

Galtung and Kemf offer another alternative which they call High Road of Peace Journalism. According to Galtung, war journalism focuses on the cost of human lives and material damage. But peace journalism explores the reason behind the conflicts and brings understanding into the

issues. “Peace journalism is more truthful and attempts to de-escalate violence by highlighting peace and conflict resolution as much as violence. (Ibid, p.102)

Generally, either through applying peace journalism or using other kinds of news gathering, many agree that both international and local media can play significant roles in bringing about peace and stability as much as they can foster and promote unrest.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

The researcher determined that the best framework to answer the research questions in this study would be to employ the framing theory.

2.4.1 Framing theory

According to a broader definition given by Boettcher, (2004, as cited in Bruken, 2006, p10), framing refers to the process through which individuals or groups make sense of their external environment. That being said, many scholars and researchers offer several definitions.

Erving Goffman is the most frequently cited and read sociologist who introduced the concept in his book frame analysis in 1974. For Goffman (1974, cited in Abdissa, 2010, p. 26,) a frame is a “Schema of interpretation that provides a context for understanding information and that allows individuals or groups to locate, perceive, identify and label.” In this sense, he gave an emphasis on how the interpretations are constructed through everyday life and the interaction with one another.

On the other hand, Robert Entman (1993p 52), defines framing as “a selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and making 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.” Therefore, according to him, frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest solutions.

Entman (1993) also suggests the most framing research is based on inconsistent meanings which result in fractured paradigm. He argues that the study of framing is incoherent and hence, framing should be a singular paradigm.

But D’Angelo (2002) disagrees by arguing that there is not, nor should there be, a single paradigm of framing. “Rather, knowledge about framing has accumulated because the research Program encourages researchers to employ and refine many theories about the framing process under the guidance of distinct paradigmatic perspectives on the relationship between frames and framing effects” (p 871). He explains that the research program is inclusive of three paradigmatic outlooks called cognitive (which shows how the outlets of journalists are reflected in their audiences’ thought), constructionist (which gives the position for journalists an interpreters of their sources) and critical paradigm (which stresses on how framing has an influential power and sees framing as the value of elites. (D’Angelo,2002).

He continues further that these three paradigms enable researchers to examine the interaction of media frames and individual or social level reality by giving specific images. (Ibid. p 870)

According to Roberto and Stefania, it was in the beginning of 1970s that framing analysis quickly became a popular technique of analysis in different social science disciplines. It was from these early beginnings that different disciplines, from psychology to artificial intelligence, communication and media studies, linguistics, political science, anthropology, and sociology, have produced different frame approaches. (p 2)

When it comes to communication research, framing serves as a tool for media and politicians to transfer the desired information to their audiences.

Framing defines a dynamic, circumstantially bound process of opinion information in which the prevailing modes of presentation in elite rhetoric and news media coverage shapes mass opinion. (Iyengar 1991, Scheufere 1999 cited on Scheufere 1999).

Regarding media, it is believed that the journalists or editors frame the news the way they need others to perceive. And they shape mass opinion not according to the differences in what is being communicated, but rather in terms of the variation in how the same information is presented and framed.

News companies and journalists have the ability to dictate what stories are considered news worthy and how much prominence and space they are allocated. ” (Margaret 2012 p 67), and according to Walter Lippmann (1922) cited in Brunken 2006, public opinion is based up on the pictures inside people’s heads which come from media’s framed reality of events in the world. (p. 8)

It is widely known that objectivity is one of the most significant traits of journalism. But in reality, it is recognized that not all news is objective. In this regard, Entman (1993) states that, journalists may follow the rules for objective reporting and yet convey a dominant framing of the news that prevents most audience members from making a balanced assessment of a situation.

Effects of framing

According to Mcquail (2005 cited in Asmeret 2013), the study of communications by itself starts with a belief that the effect the media has on the entire study of mass communication is based on the assumption that the media has significant effects (p 33).

Framing disseminates its effect on others not because facts or events are different from the other side. Rather, it occurs when the same fact is presented in different ways. Esther Inglis states that the framing effect makes people accept death and pay fines; and they react wildly differently to identical sets of facts if you present those facts in different ways” (Esther 2013).

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2000) state that when it comes to media impacts, there are three models; - framing, agenda setting and priming. The definitions they give for the three elements reveals how the framing model has a direct effect on the audience.

Agenda setting refers to the emphasis that mass media places on certain issues. Priming refers to political communication literatures as a change in the standard that people use to make political evaluations. However, framing differs significantly from these accessibility based models. It is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences. (p. 11).

The effects of framing are articulated in different ways by media outlets and there are indicators of frames. “Key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (Entman 1993). The most comprehensive empirical approach on the issue is offered by Tankard (2001 p 10 as cited in de vreeze 2005). He suggests 11 framing mechanisms in identifying news frames namely:-

1 Headline

2 Subheads

3 Photos

4 Photo captions

5 leads

6 Source selections

7 Quotes selection

8 Pull quotes

9 Logos

10 Statistics and charts and

11 Concluding statements and propagandas (p 54)

The tone used by the media to tell news stories is not just about broadcasting the information. But essentially, it also tells the opinion of a particular reporter. (Brunken, 2006, p. 4).

Though framing has strong effects on audiences, it doesn't mean that audiences are under the influence all the time. They use their own frames to interpret texts too. Entnman (1993) defined this individual frame as "mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individual processing of information." On the other hand, Scheufele (1999) explains that there are two frames of references used by individuals to process the information: - global and long term political views and short term issue related frames of references.

The results of global political views are manifested in certain personal characteristics of individuals with the impact limited to only affecting the perception and interpretation of the political problems. The short-term issue related frames of reference can have significant impact on perceiving, organizing and interpreting incoming information. (p 107)

Types of media frames

In order to frame news and other outlets, news makers employ different frames suggested by scholars. The most widely classified frames are issue specific news frames and generic news frames. The first one is used in working with issues under investigation and the generic frames serve to organize past framing research focusing on differences and are applicable in many researches.

According to Iyengar(1990, cited in Asmeret 2013, p. 31). Generic frames are divided into episodic and thematic frames (episodic refers to the specific cases and the thematic one describes broader social and institutional factors. There are also two groups of studies in generic frames, according to (vreese 2005). The first group studies generic frames in covering politics, particularly election companies and the other one focuses on generic news frames that are structural and inherent to the convention of journalism. (p 54)

In terms of journalism, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000 cited in de vrees 2005) identified five news frames namely; conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, mortality and economic consequences. Definitions for each of them are given as follows:-

The conflict frame: - emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries.

The human interest frame: - brings a human face, an individual's story, or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem.

The attribution of responsibility frame: - presents an issue or problem in such a way that attributes responsibility for causing or solving a problem.

The economic frame:-shows the economic consequence creates of an event on individuals, groups or regions.

The morality frame: - interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions.

Generally, all media institutions and other actors engaged in information dissemination use the power of framing to shape thoughts towards issues by using different types of frames. Accordingly, this study tries to examine how the three newspapers framed the conflict of South Sudan.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.1 Research Method

This study has employed a mix of quantitative research methods to collect the necessary information. Using a mixed method research provides a more complete understanding of research problems and helps the researcher who wants to look at a research question from different angles and better clarify the findings. Moreover, the mixture of quantitative and qualitative research helps both methods to complement each other, helping in identifying their weaknesses and strengths when stand alone.

Quantitative research is weak in understanding the context or setting in which people behave, something qualitative research makes up for. On the other hand, qualitative research is seen as deficient because of the potential for biased interpretations made by researchers and the difficulty in generalizing findings to a large group. Quantitative research does not have this weakness. Thus, by using both types of research, the strengths of each approach can make up for the weaknesses of the other. (Foodrisc.com,2005).

Thus, to identify the frames used in the coverage of the south Sudan conflict in the selected news paper quantitative content were developed. The qualitative textual analysis and in-depth interview is used to show the coverage beyond numbers and to understand the meaning and interpretations better.

3.2 Method of Data Collection

3.2.1. Quantitative Content Analysis

Depending on the research area they conduct, different researchers use different methods of research. Content analysis is one of the common methods used in many research .according to Stone et al(1999,as sited in Muez,2012.p.68),“content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”. The “manifest” content communication is anything spoken (and recorded), written, published, Broadcast, presented as a graphic or on film, or digitized.”

The content analysis is well known for its flexibility also. This characteristic of applicable in a variety fields makes it favorable by many researcher from different sectors. Rosengren (1981, cited in shannen and Hsieh, 2005) describe this nature of content analysis;-“Content analysis describes a family of analytic approaches ranging from impressionistic, intuitive, interpretive analysis to systematic, strict textual analysis” (shannen & Hsieh 2005, p.1277).

From the different fields of study which uses content analysis media content analysis, media content analysis is considered as a specialized sub-set content analysis.(macnamata,2005p.1). It helps to study a broad range of texts, narrative and forms of films, content of newspapers and other outlets.

According to Berlson (1952, cited in macnamamara,2005, p.3), content analysis has five main purposes.

- To describe substance characteristics of message content;
- To describe form characteristics of message content;

- To make inferences to producers of content;
- To make inferences to audiences of content;
- To protect the effects of content an audiences;

Since this research focuses on the analysis of the content of the Ethiopian media coverage of the south Sudan conflict, quantitative content analysis well fit for the purpose. Accordingly, the researcher in this study employed content analysis first, by reading and categorizing all the news and articles carefully. And then by analyzing what kind of frames the newspapers used and investigating their intention in framing the stories.

3.1.1 Qualitative Textual Analysis

Textual analysis is methodology in a data gathering process. It is a method communication researchers use to describe and interpret the characteristics of a recorded or visual message (frey and kreps,1999) .

According to Alan (2003), whenever a researcher produce an interpretation of something's meaning, a book, television programmed, film or magazine, he /she treat it as a text. Because using the word text has particular implications. "The word text has post-structuralism implications for thinking about the production of meaning" (p.4) and as Bernand& Ryan explain in their book in title qualitative & quantitative the ring of methods for conducting text analysis, the method is breathtaking and researchers are expected to do a lot.

"Investigators examine words, sentences, paragraphs, pages, documents, ideas, meanings, paralinguistic features, and even what is missing from the text. They interpret, mark, retrieve, and count. By turns, they apply interpretive analysis and numerical analysis " (p.626).

In doing this, the researchers can obtain information which answers their research questions. Thus in this study the researcher employed textual analysis. In doing this, the first task was reading all the news and articles carefully and then categorize and analysis them in a kind of frames and intentions they were written.

3.2.2 In-depth interview

In depth interview, also known as unstructured interview is a type of interview technique which researchers use to elicit information in order to achieve a holistic understanding of the interviewee's point of view or situation (Rita 1999). According to (E.Stake 2010), for qualitative researchers the main purposes of interviews are,

- Obtaining unique information or interpretation held by the person interviewed,
- Collecting numerical aggregations or interpretations from individuals
- Finding out perspectives that the interviewers are unable to observe themselves.(p.95)

In depth interviews are the most common qualitative methods and a major reason for their popularity lies in their effective provision of a human face to research problems. (Ibid, 1999 p.29).But there are also debates about how far knowledge can be constructed with interviews. Kvale(1996, cited in Ritchie and Lewis 2003), gives the core responsibility to the researcher which he says are 'miners'.

Knowledge is understood as buried metal and the interviewer is a miner who unearths the valuable metal. Knowledge is waiting in the subject's interior to be uncovered, uncontaminated by the miner. The interviewer digs nuggets of data or meanings out of a subject's pure experiences, unpolluted by any leading questions. (p 139)

Most in-depth interviews are conducted face to face and are considered as special forms of conversation. However, its nature needs a careful attention so as not to involve mistakes. The interview is framed as a potential source of bias, error, misunderstanding or misdirection. And it is a persistent set of problems to be minimized. (Jody and Barry p. 141)

In-depth interviews enable the researcher to answer a wide range of research questions and allow the interviewer to delve deeply into social and personal matters. (Barbara and Benjamin 2006, p 315).

Taking these into consideration, interviews were conducted with three journalists who are active in covering the south Sudan conflict with the position of Editor. The interviews were conducted in Addis Ababa in December 2014 face to face using voice recorders and then transcribed.

3.3 Sampling Strategy

Samples are necessary methods in conducting qualitative or quantitative researches. According to Natasha & Cynthia (2011), even if possible, it is not necessary to collect data from everyone in a community to get valid findings. In qualitative research, only a sample (that is a subset) of a population is selected for any given study (p.5). There are two types of strategies to do sampling; Probability and Non-probability sampling.

Probability sampling is generally regarded as the most rigorous approach in sampling for statistical research. Often, the probability of units being selected is equal in which case groups will be represented in the sample in their true proportions. (Ritchie and Lewis 2003 p 78)

Probability sampling strategies include simple random sampling, systematic random sampling, stratified random sampling and multi-stage sampling. On the other hand, in non-probability

sampling strategy, units are deliberately selected to reflect particular features of groups within the sampled population. The sample is not intended to be statistically representative. The chances of selection for each element are unknown but, instead, the characteristics of the population are used as the basis of selection (Ibid 2003 p 78). In this category, quota sampling and purposive sampling are included. Purposive sampling is one of the most common sampling techniques in which subjects or groups are pre-selected with the criteria of their relevance to the particular research question. (Ibid 2011 p. 5)

Hence, the researcher in this study applied a purposive sampling by selecting samples from the newspapers.

Selection of media outlets: - the researcher selected three outlets from the print media in order to examine and get a picture how Ethiopian media covered the South Sudan crisis. The news papers selected are; the Ethiopian Herald, the reporter and Addis fortune. These newspapers are selected because of the high circulation and for their representation of government and private print media.

The Ethiopian Herald is government owned paper; the reporter is private and regarded as balanced, while Addis fortune is a business newspaper which covers current politics and is chosen for this study for its special full coverage on the issue under discussion.

The Ethiopian Herald is a government owned newspaper and among the oldest newspapers in the country; established in 1943. It is published daily except on Mondays. It covers politics, social, economic, cultural and entertainment issues. The Ethiopian Herald has a circulation figure fluctuating between 9,000 and 15,000.

Fortune is a privately owned newspaper founded in 2000 with the aim of serving the readers by providing information on local and world business especially to the business community in the country. The weekly Fortune newspaper has a circulation of around 8,000 copies.

The Reporter, which is published in Amharic and English languages, is also a privately owned newspaper and covers social, political and economic issues. The English Reporter is published weekly and was established in 1995 with current circulation at around 5,000.

Time frame:- The study investigated the news and articles on the newspapers from December 15, 2013, the day the conflict erupted, to April 15, 2014. This period was a critical time for the South Sudanese conflict and in this research, all the news and articles published on these newspapers during the time frame were analyzed. Thus, 20 news and articles from the Ethiopian Herald, 9 from The Reporter and 31 from Fortune were included in the study.

3.4 Data Analysis

Content analysis was employed in the analysis of the news and article stories of the three news papers in the time period December 15, 2013 - April 15, 2014. In addition to content analysis, the researcher conducted textual analysis to provide supportive argument for the frames. In depth interviews were conducted also with three editors from each paper in order to strength the result gained from the text analysis.

In the data presentation, the researcher attempts to show the link between the results of the study with the theoretical framework used in the study. The interviewees are journalists who are in the position of editor and were covering the stories .they were responsible to align news stories with editorial policies.

Chapter Four: Data presentation, analysis and discussion

4.1 Data presentation and analysis

This study has been conducted to examine how the three newspapers, i.e. the Ethiopian Herald, Fortune and The Reporter covered the South Sudan crisis. All news and articles on the conflict in South Sudan are identified. 41 publications and 60 news and articles were identified from the three newspapers. Fortune released 31 news and articles from 15 publications, The Ethiopian Herald 20 out of 19 publications and 9 news and articles were found in The Reporter from 7 publications within the time frame.

Content analysis was carried out on all news articles from December 15, 2013- April 15, 2014. In addition to analyzing the frames used in covering the issue, interviews were conducted with three editors from each newspaper to support the results found from the content analysis. And moreover, to investigate their intention regarding to selecting news stories about the conflict.

The editors are Yonas Abiy, an editor at the Reporter weekly, Tamrat W/Giorgis, managing editor of Fortune and Worku Belachew, editor of view point, political page at the Ethiopian Herald.

4.1.2 Framing of the South Sudan conflict in the selected newspapers

Table 4.1 Dominant frames in each newspaper.

TYPES OF FRAMES	Fortune		Herald		Reporter	
	No. of stories	%	No. of stories	%	No. of stories	%
Conflict	13	41.94%	6	30%	4	44.44%
Attribution of responsibility	6	19.35%	10	50%	2	22.22%
Human Interest	3	9.68%	4	20%	1	11.11%
Economic	9	29.03%	0	0	0	0
Contingency	0	0	0	0	2	22.22%
TOTAL	31	100	20	100	9	100

THE REPORTER

The Reporter has given coverage for South Sudan conflict on its commentary, in depth, Africa and editorial pages and used the four framing types except the economic frame. And out of 9 or 100% of the stories, 4 (44.44%) of them were written using the conflict frame.

The conflict frame is used to report issues between individuals, groups or institutions. For example, the article which was published on Jan. 04/2014 was headlined “War drums in South Sudan”. The excerpt from the article says:-

The new state has continued to suffer from serious internal fighting in many respects worse than what was witnessed in the post-independence period.

The writer expressed his fear about the impact the war was creating on Ethiopians living in South Sudan.

As fears rise of a possible civil war in South Sudan, Ethiopia has begun evacuating thousands of its citizens from conflict-hit regions of the country. (p.26)

Another story written in conflict frame was also published under the title “toll from barracks gunfight in South Sudan capital rises to 35.” It reported the incident’s cause as a salary delay due to the war.

South Sudan’s military said 35 people were killed in fighting at its main barracks this week over delayed salaries, raising the toll from five, and sporadic shooting was heard in the capital Juba on Thursday night. (The reporter, March 8, 2014, p.30).

The other frame used in the newspaper was contingency frame. 2 or 22.22% of the stories were produced by using contingency frame. The focus in this case was the refugees entering Ethiopia. The concern over the spillover potential of the conflict was clearly stated in the articles. The fear originated from the fact that ethnic groups who live in both countries might be pulled into conflicts along the border:-

Insurgent rebel groups may use the resultant instability to establish the border regions. The spillover effect of the crisis may also extend beyond refugee flows to the destabilization of Ethiopia's peripheral areas where kin communities such as the Nuer reside. (The reporter, Dec 28, 2013 p.10)

The article tried to emphasize on not only the South Sudanese or the two Sudan's but how Ethiopia will also benefit from the peace in the area.

Ethiopia has a very high stake in this crisis due to a number of factors. A peaceful region and the two Sudan's at peace with each other and within themselves would benefit Ethiopia's peace and development efforts enormously. (p.10)

The notion of giving the regional responsibility to manage the conflict to Ethiopia was also a focus of the news paper's editorial. Attribution of responsibility frame was used in this case to show how Ethiopia has a leading responsibility in coordinating the response to the South Sudanese conflict. It accounts 2 or 22.22% of the whole story like that of contingency frame. In Showing the impact of the conflict, The Feb 01, 2014 p.2 editorial reads as follows:-

As a country whose national interest is likely to be affected most by the crisis and the solution. Thereof, it is incumbent upon Ethiopia to lead the African response to it.”

The last frame used by the newspaper is human interest frame which gave a human touch and emotional angle to the events. 1 or 11.11% of the story produced using this frame. The newspaper used this framing on Feb 08, 2014 p.28 publication in an article focused on the negotiation process. In this particular piece, different actors who were involved in the crisis discussed their feelings regarding the independence and the conflict. Two among the others read as follows:-

In some cases, families have been faced with the terrifying choice between remaining in South Sudan and crossing into Sudan where war continues to rage in South Kordofan and Blue Nile and Darfur.

When we celebrated the birth of our new country in July 2011, there was a collective joy that we were turning the page after nearly 20 years of civil war. But the promise of a brighter, peaceful path that we would walk as one nation was (in question).

Here, though the articles were written based on an event held focused on the negotiation process, the newspaper chosen the human interest angle exclusively. The angle gave the report a human face.

THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD

The newspaper used the three framing types but no economic or contingency frames to show the consequence of the conflict.

Attribution of responsibility frame was the dominant frame used in the newspaper. it produced 10 or 50% of the stories using the Attribution of responsibility frame. on two editorials published on Jan 7 and March 15, 2014. On the first editorial, the two parties of the South Sudan conflict are blamed for the bad image they are bringing to Africa.

And all this just because its political leaders have not had the occasion to look at the broader picture, the picture of the whole nation put.

In line with this, the newspaper highlighted how the two parties should solve the problem mainly for the sake of their people.

Above all the two parties should be concerned about the local people who are today living under unfavorable conditions. The parties need to abide by the agreements and prioritize the safety of their people.

The conflict frame was the second frame used in the newspaper .it was found in 6 or 30% of The Ethiopian Herald's stories. But the crisis was reported only a week after it began, focusing on how the United Nations secretary general and the chair-person of African Union expressed their concern. The first news was headlined "Civilians in strife-torn south Sudan fleeing to UN bases now number 63,000."

UNMISS said heavy fighting raged between government and rebel forces in Jongle and Upper Nile states over the past 3 days.

The newspaper tried to report the stories using the conflict frame in other stories also. most of them where framed from the peace negotiations held in Addis Ababa.

Human interest frame was accounted 4 (20%) of the stories. The one article which showed the human part of the issue was written focusing of the refugees that fled to Ethiopia and stayed in the refugee camps.

I came here to eat says Nyaluak Chol 31, as she cradles her limping toddler. Chol reached Ethiopia with three children after a 270 kilometer trek from her home in upper Nile state. Two other children and her husband are unaccounted for. “We are staying until it gets better” she says. (The Ethiopian Herald Dec 31, 2013 p.2)

Another article appeared on April 4, 2014 edition also showed how the people of South Sudan suffered even to reach the refugee camps having fled the conflict.

An aggrieved woman in her 30’s cried out loud upon the death of her child that passed away despite medical treatments for health problem sustained from a long travel from South Sudan to “Pakag”, an entry point of refugees at Ethiopia-South Sudan border in the Gambella state.

FORTUNE

Fortune used 4 of Fortune’s stories were produced using the conflict frame. In using the conflict frame as a business focused newspaper, the articles and news were written based on the consequence of the conflict and its impact on infrastructures and other institutions. The one was about the Ethiopian Bank in South Sudan.

Unidentified looters attacked the branch two weeks ago while the city was under the control of rebel forces (Fortune Feb 2, 2014 p.14)

The other was written to show the damage on hospitals based on the information from Aid group Doctors without Borders.

Fighters in South Sudan have destroyed and looted hospitals in what it calls disturbing incidents against medical facilities, Staff and patients.

In addition to reporting conflicts from the economic point of view, the newspaper also used conflict framing to reveal how Ethiopian citizens in South Sudan are affected by the incident.

A number of Ethiopian citizens are amongst the crowds trying to flee or find a safe haven, with one young Ethiopian lady killed in the cross fire (fortune Dec 22, 2013 p.6)

The other frame used widely is economic frame. Out of 31 or 100% of the stories,9 (29.03%) of them used the Economic frame. China, the largest investor in the oil sector in South Sudan, was featured in the article published on Jan 12, 2014 amid fears about its sustainability.

In the meantime, some experts also predict that China might be forced in to re-thinking its high risk oil strategy. (p.74)

The newspaper also focused on the positive sides of the growing economy in the country and emphasized on how the conflict will adversely affect its trading partners.

While all eyes are focused on Juba and Jongle, the conflict in South Sudan has being sending economic ripples across east Africa (Fortune Jan 19, 2014 p.59)

The article mentioned how tens of thousands of Ugandan merchants are forced to leave the country leaving their business behind.

With regards to the attribution of responsibility frame, 6 Or 19.35% of the stories were produced using this frame. The newspaper blamed the elites in the country and also the international community. It tried to remind the elites of their direct and collective responsibility for the disaster faced the country.

They lapsed into a culture of corruption, conspicuous personal life styles and tribalistic political machinations. They have not been serious about democratization, institution building or even the most basic service delivery. (Fortune Jan5, 2014 p.66)

The newspaper also mentioned in another of its article how the international community failed to give the necessary attention to the crisis.

The outbreak of violence in South Sudan in mid- was the culmination of simmering issues that were largely ignored by the international community that was more concerned with the making of a new nation than dealing with its problems. (Fortune Feb 2, 2014 p. 54)

Human interest frame was the least one found in the newspaper. It was found in 3 or 9.68% of the stories. It reported once about Eritreans facing problems because of the conflict. It narrated the story of one of them; Daniel.

Daniel ran to the United Nations mission in Bor with his wife and Brother when the war raged in Bor, leaving behind everything in his shop. (Fortune Dec30 2013 p. 56)

It can be clearly seen that, for fortune, all the four news frame types were used to write the stories from economic point of view as the newspaper is a business focused newspaper.

4.2 Discussion of the findings

According to Entman (1993), to frame means to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating a text in such way as to promote particular definition, casual interpretation, more evaluation and /or treatment recommendation for the item described.

In order to frame issues, media houses and journalists select their own angle from the given issue or events and in doing so, they give an emphasis to the angle they select and omit or give less attention for the other side in the story.

As presented above, we could see that the three selected newspapers used different frames. While Fortune and the Reporter used the four frames out of five frame types explained in this study, the Ethiopian Herald used only three of them. In using the Economic frame, fortune was the only paper as business focused newspaper. Even the other three frames were used in fortune in a way that favor of the economy aspect of the stories. As of Economic frame, contingency frame was also found in one of them. It was applied in The Reporter newspaper to show there might be the same problem In Ethiopia if the necessary measures are not taken to solve the problem. This seems the main reason for the Herald to claim the responsibility to solve the problem goes to Ethiopia. They clearly mentioned this using the attribution of responsibility frame in their Editorial. The fortune and The Ethiopian Herald preferred to say nothing about the possibility of the problem contingency to Ethiopia

Conflict frame

The conflict frame is a common frame used when there is disagreement between groups or individuals .In line with this definition, the South Sudan crisis is purely a conflict based issue and all the three newspapers framed it in a way that describes how the fighting was taking place.

The Conflict frame was found predominantly in the Newspapers .it accounted for 44.44%, 30% and 41.94% of The Reporter, Fortune and The Ethiopian Herald respectively. And for Herald (44.44%) and Fortune (41.94%) the Conflict frame was their dominant frame.

However while, Fortune and The Reporter used the conflict frame immediately after the crisis took place, The Ethiopian Herald was late in reporting it although it is a daily newspaper and had all the opportunities to update its information on time. Reasons for the delay include the lack of information from the Ethiopian government on the issues since it has both internal and external security interests arising from the conflict. Elaborating the issue, the editor of the Ethiopian Herald, Worku Belachew said “we need to identify what the government says about the issue and then wait for it that is why we were delayed.” (Personal Interview Dec 22, 2014)

As a business Newspaper, Fortune used the conflict frame in a way that revealed the damaging effects of the crisis on the economy. On the other hand, the angle chosen by The Reporter was one that highlighted the plight of Ethiopians in South Sudan.

Attribution of responsibility frame

Attribution of responsibility frame was used by all the newspapers under study and the second major frame used in the newspapers. It was found on 91%of the stories of the three newspapers. Here, it is the dominant frame for Herald and Reporter which accounted 50% and 22.22% respectively. According to Semekto and Valkunburg(2000), attribution of responsibility is a frame that is used by the media to attribute responsibility to government, institutions or individuals for causing or addressing problems.

On the one hand, The Herald and Fortune called upon the elites or the two rivalry parties in South Sudan to take sincere actions to bring the crisis to an end. While on the other, The Reporter gave the responsibility to Ethiopia.

Tamrat Woldegiyogis, editor of the weekly Fortune, explained why his paper attributed the responsibility to the party leaders. “They are the one who are killing each other right? So they have to make a choice not to kill each other and decide to accommodate one another. (Personal Interview, Dec7, 2014)

Similarly, Worku Belachew of the Herald explained how his paper believes that the solution of the crisis lies with the two leaders of the parties in the conflict. “If the two leaders reach agreements to share power and if they have a vision to rebuild their country, the conflict will end soon. It’s upon them.”(Personal Interview, Dec 22, 2014)

The two papers have argued that the intervention of others may change the situation to the worse. The Reporter, however, claimed that Ethiopia was the only power that can and should put pressure and help the country pull itself out of the crisis.

The editor of the reporter newspaper Yonas Abiy explained that Ethiopia has a regional responsibility to ensure the safety and security in the horn is guaranteed both for the benefit of the region and its own stability. “The more the region gets into trouble, the more Ethiopia will feel the negative impact of the instability. That is why we claim Ethiopia should take the responsibility to stabilize the region.” (Personal Interview, Oct 23, 2014).

Though all the three newspapers used the attribution of responsibility frame and The Ethiopian Herald and Fortune has similarity in giving the responsibility to the South Sudan’s Elites, there was a difference in giving priority to the issue. While, The Ethiopian Herald and The Reporter

put the news on their Editorial page, for Fortune, it was published on the point of view and other columns.

Human interest frame

Human interest frame was also a common frame type which was found in the coverage of the three papers. It accounted 40.79% of the stories. Herald was the first in terms of contributing large number of the stories by 20% coverage followed by Fortune (9.68%) and Reporter (11.11%).The Reporter framed the human interest stories from the South Sudanese point of view by interviewing people from different sectors from a meeting who expressed their hope, fear and the worse situation in their country. The Herald's human stories are mainly focused on the people who took shelter in the refugee camps. And the people whose businesses were affected by war are given more attention by Fortune.

Contingency frame

Contingency frame was noticed in only one of the newspapers. The Reporter, which believes the crisis in South Sudan is Ethiopia's problem as well, is mainly focusing on the kin ships between the tribes who share the borders. It accounted 22.22%of the stories.

Yonas from the Reporter mentioned that the instability risks in Ethiopia's Gambella should be taken as a significant factor.

Gambella is historically one of the most troubled areas in Ethiopia and divided between Agnua and Nuer. When the Nuer return from South Sudan, there might be a potential of fighting erupting between them and the Agnua (Personal interview, Oct 23, 2014).

The Ethiopian Herald and Fortune are also aware of the war's impact on Ethiopia but they choose not to put it as the main angle in their newspapers.

The managing editor of Fortune, Tamrat, personally believes that there could be a spillover effect on Ethiopia because Ethiopia shares a sizable Nuer population which is already in conflict in South Sudan. But he said he is not in a position to say that because it would be speculative. "We are not creative writers and we are not opinion merchants. We are a group of reporters and editors who are in business of reporting the fact." (Interview, Dec 17, 2014)

But he said, his paper is happy to print other's ideas if they come up with good analytical pieces.

The Ethiopian Herald also does not use the contingency frame. But its reason is not related to issues of speculative concerns like Fortune. It is rather afraid of fueling the crisis by raising the agenda. And also believes such an angle might spoil Ethiopia's effort to mediate between the two rivals. Worku said;-

It could have ruined the diplomatic process initiated by Ethiopia. As a national paper and as responsible and ethical persons, we believe it is not important to magnify the conflict and report it in a negative way. So we didn't frame it that way." (Personal Interview Dec, 22, 2014).

The reporters in the newspaper also believe that they have a responsibility to help end the conflict through their reporting styles. The interview with Worku clearly shows how he was more concerned about Ethiopian government's feedback on their work.

Economic frame

This frame is used in newspapers to show how events or situations affect the economy. In this case, as a business newspaper, it was only the interest of Fortune newspaper to frame stories from economic aspects. 9 or 29.3% of the stories was produced using the frame. The newspaper tried to show the war's impact on the economy of individuals and the country as a whole.

The source usage of the newspapers

Sources are very important in journalism. And journalists use many types of sources in their reporting beside their observation. People, books, letters etc, can be sources of information. But when it comes to the events happening outside their place, journalists need more sources to understand and report better.

“You cannot be everywhere all the time to see those events for yourself. So you need other ways of getting information on all those hundreds (maybe millions) of events you cannot witness yourself.” (The news manual, 2008).

As the war in South Sudan is outside the country, the three newspapers tried to use different news sources in their reporting. Responsible bodies such as IGAD, AU and UN, South Sudanese people, Ethiopian and south Sudan government and officials of the rebellion group and different international media are among them.

Table 4.2. News and article Sources in each newspaper.

Sources	Newspapers					
	Herald		Fortune		Reporter	
	No of Stories	%	No of Stories	%	No of Stories	%
Responsible organizations(IGAD, AU,UN)	17	54.83%	3	7.15%	4	25%
Government officials and Rebellion group	9	29.03%	11	26.19%	6	37.5%
International media	1	3.23%	24	57.14%	2	12.5%
Local Media Source	2	6.45%	-	-	-	
Others(non-governmental organizations)	1	3.23%	-	-	-	
Victims	1	3.23%	4	9.52%	4	25%
Total	31	100%	42	100%	16	100%

Fortune

The dominant sources frequently used in fortune were international media outlets. out of 42 (100%), 24 or 57.14% news and articles were taken from different international media directly. Fortune as a business newspaper selected newspapers which reporting from economic perspectives.

Too many stories come out of South Sudan. But we always try to look through the prism of the economy, money cost and therefore whenever we see a story that deals with those issues, we give it attention. (Personal interview, 2014).

In selecting such issues, Tamrat said, they gave priority to who writes the stories. Financial times, Reuters and other international media sources are more trusted internationally. Ethiopian and south Sudan government officials and the opposition groups were the second major sources accounted(26.19%) victims in the war area, and IGAD, UN, and AU follows by 9.52%,and 7.15% respectively. but none appeared from non-governmental organizations and from local media.

HERALD

On the other hand, The Ethiopian Herald used all the six news and article sources identified in the study and it's the only newspaper used the local media source Ethiopian news agency (ENA). The organizations mentioned as responsible bodies in the study, UN, IGAD, AU were the dominant sources accounted 54.83% out of 31 or 100%of the sources. And most of the news and articles were event based which were held in Addis Ababa. The second major source were Government officials and elites from Machar side accounted for 29.03% followed by International media sources,3.23%,local media,6.45%.NGO's,3.23% and Victims,3.23%. Based on the newspaper's stand, the criterion of selecting sources also depends on the country's national interest.

We see the interest of Ethiopia, IGAD, the community, AU and soon. And if the article has something which is important in a way that it directs genuine solutions to the peace agreement, we publish it.(personal interview, 2014)

REPORTER

Elites of the two rivalry groups and Ethiopian government were the main information sources for The Reporter. from the whole sources, 16 or(100%),it accounted 6 (37.5%).the second sources were responsible bodies, IGAD,UN and AU,(25%).The reporter also used people from the conflict area as information sources, which shared 12.5% of the total source.

To summarize, in using sources, Fortune was highly dependent on international media sources. And most of the News and articles were taken directly and published without any editing. For the Ethiopian herald, most of the sources were taken from speeches and reports of responsible bodies from the peace negotiation process held in Ethiopia. And almost all the stories were event based. The dominant sources for The Reporter were officials and tried to use the balanced sources. But similar to Fortune, reporter used only for types of sources out of six mentioned here.

Chapter Five; Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1, conclusion

Investigating how the South Sudan conflict is framed in the Ethiopian media has been the aim of this study. And for this purpose, The Reporter, Fortune and The Ethiopian Herald newspapers were selected and the news and articles they published between December 15, 2013 and April 15, 2014 are taken as samples. Quantitative Content analysis and qualitative Textual analysis was employed and in addition, an in-depth interview was conducted with three informants from each newspaper to support the results obtained from content analysis.

The findings of the analysis reveal that conflict frames were used by all the three newspapers while the economy frame was only used by Fortune and the contingency only by the Reporter.

Conflict frame was the most dominant frame for Fortune and The Reporter. Here, The newspapers framed the stories in a way that showed their editorial positions. The Reporter, a paper which is more concerned about possibilities of crisis spill-over to Ethiopia used the conflict frame from an angle of Ethiopians living in South Sudan. Fortune used it to frame its stories in a manner that shows the damage it is creating on the economy. Contrary of the two, The Ethiopian Herald chose not to report from angles used by Reporter and Fortune and instead preferred to report only the basic facts and the dominant frame was Attribution of responsibilities. It also didn't cover the situation immediately as it began fearing the uncertainties of the events for Ethiopia. It clearly shows how the journalists are not free of government interference even to cover the situation in a crisis zone on timely basis.

For the reporter, there is a clear stand that the responsibility to solve the conflict falls on Ethiopia, a country which may suffer the direct consequences of an uncontrolled tribal conflict. But Fortune and the Ethiopian Herald failed to use the contingency frame. The reasons were different. For Fortune it is to avoid speculation. But for the Ethiopian Herald, writing stories in such way means fueling the crisis and guiding other to do the same. Journalists also fear the government may look at their reporting from terrorism perspectives if they frame it in a way that shows the impact the war has on Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian Herald and Fortune showed similarity in their use of attribution of responsibility frame. For them, elites and political leaders are responsible to solving the problem in their country. But the Reporter, which believed there might be a possibility of the crisis expanding to Ethiopia, clearly advocates for Ethiopia to take a primary role for its own and the region's sake.

In using human interest frame, all three described how the people in South Sudan are suffering from the conflict. The people still living in the county and the displaced ones are the main parts of the story. Economy frame was employed only by fortune because the newspaper retains special interest as a business newspaper.

In using news sources, most of the stories on Fortune are taken from international media sources without any editing. The Reporter used different sources in a balanced number. For The Ethiopian Herald, most sources were taken from organization leader's speeches and reports. And almost all of stories are fact and event based rather than opinion written by the newspaper journalists.

To conclude, the study revealed that, all the three newspapers tried to frame the conflict of the south Sudan from the Ethiopia's interest point of view by omitting or raising issues in their story.

Fortune gave much coverage to the South Sudanese conflict including entertaining more opinions and articles written by different scholars however the newspaper was highly dependent on outside sources. The Reporter tried to frame the situation from the Ethiopian national interest perspectives and its reporters were active in writing the stories themselves. Differently from the two, The Ethiopian Herald, as a daily newspaper, gave less coverage compared to the weekly newspapers of Fortune and the Reporter. The delayed reporting of the crisis happened in south Sudan by the newspaper and the less coverage shows how the journalists are under the pressure of the government opinion and measures towards the issues they are covering. And it's clear that such unlimited influence of the ownership hinder the journalists even from delivering and to deliver the necessary information to the audience timely.

5.2 Recommendation

Media plays a significant role in disseminating information and has a power to influence an audience's attitude towards an issue. It is obvious in doing this, different media institutions can apply different editorial policies, and frame the stories the way they need. However it should not be in a way it contradict the professional values of journalism. Thus, this study recommends the Ethiopian Herald Newspaper to deliver the news and stories to the readers timely. And to give the journalists a freedom to select and report stories ethically rather than omitting them in fear of the government opinion towards the issues.

In using sources, it is helpful to use other international media sources especially in situations as that of South Sudan a place where it is not always possible to send reporters at the spot. However, it is also not advisable to depend on international media sources fully in order to avoid the risk of bias. for this, the study recommends all the three newspapers to look for other

alternative sources such as different scholars working on the issue, and others as that of Embassy of the South Sudan here in Ethiopia, which can be helpful to get the first hand information on the issue.

References

Abdissa, Z. (2010).US press representation of the southern Sudanese civil war.1983-2005(PhD

Dissertation).University of new mexico.Albuquerque.New Mexico,USA.

Accord (2012).*The African central for the constructive resolution of disputes*. African journal on

Conflict resolution.49:12.1.

Act (2014).south Sudan crisis being met with silence.

Asmeret, H. (2013).Ethiopian print media coverage of the Arab springs. Addis Ababa

University. Addis Ababa.

BBC (2004).Sudanprofile.

Belete, Y. (2013).*Ethiopia's role in south Sudan's march to independence* 1955-1991. Journal

Of African studies quarterly.14.

Berry, S.Sita, Y. (1999).collecting data by in-depth interviewing. Paper presented at the British

Education research annual conference; university of Sussex at Brighton.

Betratd, H.R., Ryan, G. (2013).Qualitative and Quantitative research methods P. 626.Sage

Publications. Inc.USA.

Botan, L, F.Kreps, G. (1999).investigating communication: An introduction to research

Methods.Allyn and Bacon publisher. Boston.

Bratic, V., Schirch, L.(2007).Why and When to use the media for conflict prevention and peace

Building European centre for conflict prevention.Netherland.

Brunken, B, L. (2006) .Hurricane Katrina: A Content analysis of media framing, Attribute

Agenda setting and role of government response. Louisiana state university.

Bruno, A. (2013).The regional impact of a south Sudan civil war. Retrieved from

<http://www.geopoliticalmonitor.com>

Campell.H. (2011).Frame one Sudan to two Sudan's: dynamics of portion and unification in

Historical perspective. Association of action bulletin blog.

Candan,Z & Reeve,R(2012).Initiative for peace building.p.5.Brussels.

Cissel, M. (2012).*Media framing A Comparative Content Analysis on Mainstream and*

Alternative News Coverage of Occupy Wall street .The Elon journal of undergraduate

Research in communication.3 (1)

D'Angelo, P. (2002). News framing as a multi paradigmatic research program: A response to

Entman .Vol 52, issue 4, P870-888.

Di Gicco, B., Carabtk, B. (2006). Making sense of qualitative research 315. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Doop.V.M. (2013). how to handle your neighbor's conflict: Ethiopia's relationship with Sudan

And South Sudan. Journal of UNSC, Discussion.No.33. El-Nout, T, K. (2011). south Sudan: post independent opportunities and challenges. Aljazeera Network. Doha.

Entman.R. (1993). framing toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. Journal of communication.43 (4):51-52.

Franzosi, R., R.car, s. (2013). What is in a text? Answers from frame analysis and rhetoric for Measuring Meaning. Systems and argumentative structuring. (Unpublished) .

Retrieved from <http://www.univeiy/media>

Gilboa, E. (2009). media and conflict resolution: A framework for Analysis. Journal of International media and conflict resolution.p.93.

Helnrchrolls foundation & Weis (Eds.) .Sudan after separation; new approaches to new Region.p.20.Berlin.

- Hersch.I. (2013).Telaviv votes an update on Middle Eastern developments.Mosheoayan
centre.7. (13).
- Himelfarb, S., Abott, s.(2011) Evaluation media intervention in conflicting countries; Towards
Developing common principles and a community of practice .united states institute
Of peace.US.
- Hsieh HF, & Shannon, S.E.(2005),Qualitative Health research,vol,15.No,9.p 1277,sage
publications
- Hwrnirch Roll Foundation and Toni Weis. (2012).Sudan after separation new approaches to a
New region.
- Inglis, E. (2013).the framing effect makes people accept deaths and fines.
- International Crisis Group. (2014).south Sudan: A civil War by Any Other Name. Journal of
African report P 217.sage publication.
- James,B.(2004).Media:-conflict prevention and reconstruction.P.28. UNESCO, France.
- Jok, M, J. (2011).Unity and national building in south Sudan. Retrieved from United States
Institute of Peace. <http://www.usip.org>.
- McKee, A. (2013) .Textual Analysis.A beginner's guide .P 4.Sage publication Ltd.
- Mesich.A. (2014).the role of media in the south Sudanese conflict.Sudan Tribune.

Muez. H(2012),An Investigation of National and International Press Coverage of Ethiopia's Decision to Construct the Grand Renaissance Dam on the Nile River, Addis Ababa university. Addis Ababa

OCHA (2014) .South Sudan crisis response plan. Retrieved from <http://www.unocha.org>.

Pandey,P.(2013).The role of media in conflict resolution and peace building.P.2.SAARC information centre. Sirilanka.

Puddephaft, A. (2006). Voices of war conflict and the role of the media international media Support. Denmark.

Reporters without borders. (2012).south Sudan: World's youngest country yet to embark on road To civil liberties.

Richie, J., Lewis, (Ed). (2003).Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students And researchers.P.139.Sage publication

Routedatagiog and Fiancés group (2010).Sudan civil wars; Review of African political economy.37 (124). <http://www.globalsecurity.org>.

Shaufel, D.Lgengar, S. (2011).the state of framing research; call for new directions. Stanford University.

Scheff, T.T. (2005).The structural of context: Deciphering frame analysis.vol 23, no 4,p 368-385. California.

Silverman.(2004).Qualitative research theory; method and practice.Sagepublications.Inc.

Snyder, M.J. (2013).A Compendium of select document in the library of congress AfricanCollection. Africa &Middle Eastern Division library of congress.

South Sudan crisis and responsible reporting.(2014).Retrieved from <http://www.change.org>.P2.

Stake's, R. (2008) .Continent in balance Africa: Sudan .011N publisher. Stockton.P26.A

Division of Guilford publications, Inc. NewYork

Varma, A. (2011). The creation of south Sudan: prospects and challenges .P27.osever research Foundation. New Delhi.

Vreese, H.De, C. (2005).news framing; theory and typology. John Benjamin's publishing Company.

Appendices

Appendix A

Coding Sheet

Name of the news paper _____

Date of publication _____

Columns name where stories are published _____

Title of the story _____

Appendix B

Frame types the story used

- Conflict frame
- Attribution of responsibility frame
- Human interest frame
- Contingency frame
- Economic frame

Appendix C

Definitions of the frames used in the study;-

The conflict frame: - emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries.

The human interest frame: - brings a human face, an individual's story, or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem.

The attribution of responsibility frame: - presents an issue or problem in such a way that attributes responsibility for causing or solving a problem.

The economic frame:-shows the economic consequence creates of an event on individuals, groups or regions.

Appendix D

Questions for the in depth interview with informants

Questions for Fortune newspaper managing director, Tamrat W/Giorgis

1. What do you think is the immediate cause of the current South Sudan conflict?
2. How did you decided to cover the issue?
3. Most of the articles published on the newspaper are taken from international media sources. How much trust do you have on them?
4. What are your criteria to select the stories from other sources?

5. The news and articles were not only focused on Economic impact of the war. Rather you were also reporting the positive situation in South Sudan in the Economic aspect. Was it deliberate?
6. What is your stand concerning on the impact of the South Sudan conflict on Ethiopia?
7. Why you attribute the responsibility to solve the South Sudan crisis to the elites of the country?

Questions for YonasAbiy the editor of the reporter weekly

1. What do you think of the main cause for the current South Sudan conflict?
2. Do you believe it is a coup?
3. Unlike the two other newspapers I analyzed for this research, your paper mentioned that the South Sudan conflict has a direct impact on Ethiopia. And you also reported that there might be a possibility of the same conflict happening in the country. What is your reason?
4. The two papers analyzed in this research blame the two rivals for the crisis and calls on them to stop it. Unlike them, your paper claims Ethiopia is the only responsible country that must tackle the problem. Why?
5. How does your paper select the stories from foreign news sources?
6. Was there any different attention given by the editorial team regarding how to cover the issue?

Questions for WorkuBelachew editor of the Ethiopian Heraldpolitical page.

1. What do you think is the reason for the current South Sudan crisis?
2. The Ethiopian Herald is a daily newspaper. But you didn't give sufficient coverage for the conflict. You covered the issue a week after the conflict occurred. Why?
3. Most of the news and articles published were event based focused on the negotiation process held in Addis. Do you have special reason for this?
4. What are your main sources in writing the stories?
5. On your editorials you mentioned that the responsibility to solve the current crisis in South Sudan goes to the two party leaders in the country. What makes you say that?
6. Most of the stories on your paper are written in a way that shows how Ethiopia is concerned in the issue. Can you explain on that?

Appendix D

List of informants

No	Name of the Informant	Position
Informant 1	Tamrat G/Giyorgis	Managing Editor of Addis Fortune
Informant 2	Worku Belachew	Editor of political page in the Ethiopian Herald
Informant 3	Yonas Abiy	Editor of the Reporter Newspaper