

Ethiopian Newspapers' Framing of
Orphaned Children's Issues

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Abstract

Decades have passed since the ever-increasing number of orphans has become one of the social problems prevalent in Ethiopia. This study primarily intended to examine how the Ethiopian newspapers framed the issues of orphaned children in terms of themes dealt with and sources quoted during 2005-2006, Framing theory was used as a conceptual frame to conduct the study.

Both quantitative and qualitative data was collected from three sample newspapers (*Addis Zemen*, *Addis Admas* and *Reporter*) that were purposefully selected in order to ensure diversity in content and ownership. Content analysis was used as a major research method. Two trained coders coded 147 articles, which correspond to the criteria's set by the researcher. Further, in depth interviews were conducted with key informants of the respective organizations.

The result of the study indicated that the newspapers focus on appeal with the primary aim of mobilizing the indigenous community. The newspapers employed a number of different frames while covering orphaned children is issues. Event and appeal frame as compared to the diagnostic and prognostic frames. The newspapers framed the problem as something that happened suddenly and as if it could be solved using temporary aids. Moreover, the newspapers attributed the responsibility of solving the problem to the indigenous communities.

The newspapers dominantly used non-governmental organizations as sources. Although Government officials were used as sources largely, the orphaned children, experts and the indigenous communities were non-existent in the newspapers. The orphaned children were not only remained unheard but also were attached to charity and depicted as “dependent”.

Acronyms

AIDS: -	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ETV: -	Ethiopian Television
HIV:-	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MOLSA: -	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
NGO: -	Non -Governmental Organization
OVC: -	Orphaned and Vulnerable Children
NPA: -	National Plan of Action
UNAIDS:-	The Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS
UNCRC: -	United Nations Child Rights Convention.
UNICEF: -	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP: -	United Nations Development Program
USAIDS: -	United States Agency for International Development
WHO: -	World Health Organization

Chapter One

1. Introduction

As opposed to their dire need of living condition to their survival, protection and development, each day a countless number of children in developing countries are exposed to damage that hampers their growth and make them casualties of violence (Patron,1997:24). Thousands of children in developing countries suffer from the scourges of poverty, homelessness, epidemics, and so on (Direessie, 1999: 2).

As one of the least developed countries, the situation of children in general and orphaned children in particular is very critical in Ethiopia (ibid). Although the definition of orphans varies from country to country, in Ethiopia an orphan is conventionally defined as a child less than 18 years of age, who has lost both parents, regardless of how they died (Hiruy, 1, 1998 cited by Direessie).

In Ethiopia, manmade and natural disasters have led to an increase in the number of orphans deprived of family care and support. According to the 2004 national report on HIV/AIDS by the Ministry of Health, there were an estimated 4.6 million orphans in the country. Twelve percent of these children were said to be orphans due to AIDS. This figure represents 11% of all children in the country in the same year.

The study conducted by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, UNICEF, and Italian Cooperation in 2003 indicated that in Ethiopia 18% of the households are taking care of orphans, out of which 42% are female-headed and possess an average of 1.6 orphans per household. The study further elaborates that in most cases, these children could not secure their daily meals. Some of these children live with their grandparents who themselves need to be cared by others and some are cared by older siblings(ibid). This shows the magnitude of the problem and the need to scale up the response to address the urgent needs of these children.

The public gets information about social problems mostly through the media (Kensicki, 2004:54). It should be noted however that even two identical problems, which attract equal media attention, will not enjoy equal public responses (Robinson, 2002). Among other factors, the way media frame these social problems contributes to difference in the level of response. The media are potentially powerful agents of socialization and social change by presenting model, conferring status, suggesting appropriate behaviors and encouraging stereo types (Gallagher 1983:22). Thus, media studies should pay attention to the way the media frame a given problem (Bullock at al., 2001). Media framing explains the media's treatment of an issue that is, whether the media states causes, the broader context, nature and magnitude of an issue or problem.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Feilitzen and Carlsson (1999) stressed media are not the only means of creating suitable societal conditions for children. They said that parents, politicians, and a whole range of voluntary organizations play an enormous role in contributing to a better situation for children. However, important efforts are also required on the part of the media in for instance, self regulation and production of an extensive output of Television, Radio and other media contents of high quality that fulfill the needs of children. The information conveyed by the media ultimately serves as a foundation for the public opinion about the need for policy action to promote children's interests on a wide range of issues (ibid). The media are important vehicles for drawing attention to abuses, neglect and violation of the Child Rights Convention (the Guidelines for Journalists and Media Professionals, 2002). Furthermore, the guidelines suggest that media can play an informative and educational role. They are also important for offering children the possibility of expressing themselves. Children should not only receive information but also participate in the media.

Article 13 of the United Nations Child Rights Convention states:

“The child has the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information, ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, orally, either in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child’s choice”.

Being cognizant of the crucial role media play in protecting the rights of children, different researches were carried out in the area. Chimisa carried out an assessment report “on the Works of *Addis Zemen* Newspaper in Promoting UNCRC” in 2002. To conduct his assessment he disseminated questionnaires and interviewed ten journalists from both media outlets, with an average of four years experience and working on children’s programs.

Furthermore, he analyzed the content of children’s issues published in *Addis Zemen* during the years July 1997 to July 2000. His findings indicated that about 33% of the total editions during the assessment period were issues concerning children. Most of the issues about (54%) were news while 46% were articles and others (including editorials, poems, and sayings about children and so on). The findings showed a declining tendency in the number of children’s issues covered by the newspaper over the previous three years. The total number of issues was 127 in 1997 and 104 in 1998 and reached 87 in 1999.

Content analysis of the issues revealed that there were very few research reports or articles, which directly dealt with children’s rights in its specific form to create understanding of the concepts and challenges of children’s rights as stipulated in the convention. Moreover, the articles and news produced were not designed to evoke other writers and did not draw the attention of the public. Although the assessment was significant in that it tried to study the way the issues were written, its focus was to assess to what extent the newspaper did promote Child Rights Convention. It did not try to identify the frames used in these issues.

Furthermore, the Forum on Street Children in collaboration with the Save the Children Alliance Sweden carried out a research on child rights and media. However, it mainly focused on highlighting the media as important vehicle for drawing attention to child abuses. Although the way media frame the issues of children has a profound impact on society's attitude towards children's behavior (Feilitzen and Carlsson 1999) there exists no research, at least to the researcher's knowledge, that addresses how the Ethiopian media frame children's issues in general and orphaned children's issues in particular. Hence, this research intends to study how *Addis Zemen*, a Government newspaper and *Addis Admas* and *Reporter*, private newspapers frame orphaned children's issues.

1.2 Objectives

1.2.1 General objective

To examine how media framed orphaned children's issues.

1.2.2 Specific objectives

- a. To collect and analyze the content of articles written on orphaned children that appeared in *Addis Zemen*, *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* newspapers during the period of September 2005- August 2006.
- b. To identify how these newspapers framed articles written concerning orphaned children.

1.3 Research questions

The study set out to investigate the following questions.

- a. What was the nature of *Addis Zemen*, *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* newspapers' coverage of orphaned children's issues in terms of quantity, themes and location?
- b. What was the trigger behind the stories?
- c. What kind of sources did these newspapers use?
- d. How did the newspapers frame orphaned children's issues?

1.4 Methodology

The study used a quantitative content analysis of all the articles written on orphaned children appearing on *Addis Zemen*, *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* published during September 2005-August 2006. An in-depth interview was also conducted with three editors in chief and six journalists of the respective newspapers organizations.

1.5 Scope and limitation of the study

The study was limited to three Ethiopian newspapers and assessed their coverage of orphaned children. It therefore did not include framing of orphaned children's issues in television, radio and other media outlets. The research included assessment of articles written on orphaned children during September 2005-August 2006. Furthermore it did not include how orphaned children or other readers perceive or respond to the media output. It did not also include visual elements, such as pictures, cartoons and so on.

1.6 Significance of the study

- A. This project is undertaken with the belief that examining national media framing on orphaned children's issues might throw light on the national media's role in addressing such issues.
- B. It will help the newspapers to scrutinize their approach towards orphaned children, since it will address their strengths and drawbacks.
- C. It can also serve as a start or base for further studies of media guidelines for reporting on orphaned children.

1.7 Definitions of terms

This research used the following working definitions.

Child means every human being below the age of 18years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier (Convention on the Rights of the Child).

Framing is the principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters (Schudson, 1989:35).

An orphan is a child who lost both parents before reaching the age of 18 (Hiruy, 1998:1).

Chapter Two

2. Review of related literature

The aim of this chapter is to provide literature review that may function as a relevant framework for the current research. The chapter is organized into three sections.

A brief discussion of selected literature on orphaned children

Media and children

Media framing theory

2.1 An overview of selected literature on orphaned children

An orphan is a person (typically a child), who has lost both parents, often through death (Wikipedia et al., 2007). One legal definition used in the USA is someone bereft through “death or disappearance of, abandonment or desertion by, or separation or loss from, both parents”. On this basis, half-orphans are those with one surviving parent (ibid).

UNAIDS, WHO and UNICEF define AIDS orphans as children who lose their mother to AIDS before reaching the age of 15 years. Some of these children have lost or will later lose, their fathers to AIDS. Thus defined, while there are 108 million orphans from all causes in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Caribbean, which makes up about 7.4 percent of all children in these regions, the percentage that was orphaned by AIDS is 12 percent (Children on the brink, 2004: 3-4).

By 2010, it is estimated that 106 million children are projected to lose one or both parents, with 25 million of this group orphaned due to AIDS. Sub-Saharan African bears by far the greatest burden. Twelve percent of all children in this region are orphans as compared to 6.5 percent in Asia and 5 percent in Latin America and Caribbean (ibid).

According to a biannual report of USAID, UNAIDS and UNICEF in just two years, between 2001 and 2003, the global number of children orphaned due to AIDS has risen from 11.5 million to 15 million, the vast majority in Africa. The report further states that in 11 of the 43 countries in the region, more than one in seven children are orphans. In five of those 11 countries, AIDS is the cause of parental death.

Orphaned children are defined in Ethiopia as children less than 18 years of age and who have lost both parents (Hiruy, 1998: 1 cited by Deressie). According to the national report on HIV/AIDS made official by the Ministry of Health in 2004, there were an estimated 4.6 orphans in the country, out of which 12 percent were orphaned due to AIDS.

2.2 Problems of orphaned children

The problems orphaned children face are both multifaceted and complex. Orphaned children are forced to endure over whelming and largely unmitigated losses, living as they do in societies already weakened by underdevelopment, poverty and the AIDS pandemic itself (Intensifying Action against HIV/AIDS in Africa, 1999:20). This is particularly true in Sub Saharan Africa, where few social support systems exist. Neither words nor statistics can adequately capture the human tragedy of children grieving for dying or dead parents, stigmatized by society through association with HIV/AIDS, plunged into economic crisis and insecurity after their parents' death and struggling without services or support systems in impoverished community (ibid).

One of the best indicators showing whether children are benefiting from social services is the rate of school attendance. According to a review made by UNICEF on Sub Saharan African countries in 2002, children between the age of 5 to 14 who had lost one or both parents were less likely to attend school and more likely to work for more than 40 hours a week (UNICEF et al.,2002). A survey of 646 orphan children and 1239 non-orphan children in Kenya also revealed that 5.2 percent of the orphaned children were

not in school, while only 2 percent of the non-orphan children were not enrolled. A study in Zambia showed that 32 percent of orphans in urban areas were not enrolled in school, as compared with 25 percent of non-orphan children (Children on the Brink).

The study conducted by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs , UNICEF and Italian Cooperation in 2003 indicated that school attendance rate for those 10 to 14 years of age was 26 percent for those who lost both parents as compared to 43 percent for non-orphans. The study further indicated that most of the orphaned children could not secure their daily meals. As a result, many of them are forced to live on the streets where they become victims of various forms of child labour including child prostitutions (ibid).

The problem of inability to benefit from social services is expected to be more severe on AIDS orphans due to stigmatization. There are a number of different definitions of stigma. Burriss as cited by Strode and Grant(2001), has defined stigma not as a status, but as a social relation between a stigmatized person and a “normal” person based on a shared belief that some part of the stigmatized person’s identity is “spoiled”. Stigma can also be seen as the imposition of a special, discrediting and unwanted mark on a person or a specific category of persons in such a way that in their interactions with others they are looked at as fundamentally and “shamefully different” by themselves and others. The mark of difference is imposed on people who have or are believed to have a distinctive status or a “deviance”.

Brown cited by Strode and Grant, defines prejudice or stigma more in terms of social attitudes and resistant behavior:

“the holding of derogatory social attitudes or cognitive beliefs, the expression of negative affect, or display of hostile or discriminatory behavior towards members of a group on account of their membership of that group”.

According to Richter , “fear; ignorance and an inability to accept any deviance from the ‘norm’ constitute are the main reasons for prejudice or stigma against people living with HIV/AIDS (ibid).

Children and youth infected with and affected by HIV/AIDS are even more vulnerable than adults as they face the possibility of stigma relating to their own status as well as stigma flowing from their parent or caregiver’s status. This stigma often continues even after the death of their caregiver, when they are rejected or treated with scorn by the extended family and the community. It forms part of wider denial of the HIV/AIDS epidemic (ibid). Children and youth infected with and affected by HIV/AIDS too often form a constant reminder of the death of parent or sibling: something that our community does not want to face and confront. A research carried out by Strode and Grant identifies the stigma orphaned children face in the following manner.

Stigma and Discrimination within the family

Research indicated the following forms of stigma and discrimination within the family. Children are stigmatized and isolated with in their own immediate families.

For example, parents and caregivers whose children receive health care at Cotlands Baby Sanctuary are reported to visit infrequently, due to the stigma attached to HIV and AIDS.

A women living with HIV whose young child also lives with HIV reports that: “The children do not find enough love at home. Everyone in the family removes themselves because the mother has got the sickness. When a child touches something they give it to her because they think that they’ get the disease from the child and they also tell the children as much”.

Children infected with or affected by HIV/AIDS often experience difficulties finding foster or adoptive parents even within the extended family. Children infected with or affected by HIV/AIDS who are accepted into extended family networks often receive sub-standard care, work harder and are given the least priority in terms of access to

family resources. An orphaned boy who was taken in by his aunt's family in Ingwavuma reports,

“Sometimes they are treated badly. They are made to work more than other children do in the families that they stay with. They fetch water whereas other children are just sitting, they cut wood. They work more than the others”.

A girl orphan in Ingwavuma states that;

“I fetch water from the river I am the only one who takes care of the maize field, the only one who is expected to do work around the house”.

Stigma and Discrimination within the community

We can see how the above-mentioned examples indicate both stigma and discrimination against children infected with and affected by HIV/AIDS. The social attitudes towards the children in the examples show that the children are viewed as “shamefully different” and are stigmatized due to their known or perceived HIV status, or due to their association with HIV and AIDS. The apparent community values system and discourse shows a persistent unwillingness of many people to let them be identified in any way with any persons infected or affected the epidemic.

If we take a look at the situation of orphaned children in Ethiopia, a study conducted in Addis Ababa (Save the children, Denmark 2002) found that 15 percent of AIDS orphans had dropped out of school after the death of their parents. The same study revealed that some AIDS orphans faced abandonment, displacement and lack of medical care at times of illness. A study in North Wollo (Ethiopia) explained the case of an orphaned child who encountered serious problems because no relative was willing to take care of him, after the death of his mother because of economic problem, lack of commitment and misconception of HIV/AIDS (Chimsa 2002:25).

One of the other impacts of the growing number of orphans is its strain on household resources and community safety nets. Many of the extended families are already poor or

elderly people who had been dependent on the dead parents. Therefore, they have to stretch the already minimal resources to provide for the orphans and their own family members. For instance, a study in Uganda households in 2000 showed that foster-way has aggravated the already entrenched household poverty (children on the Brink, 2002: 35).

With the traditional support systems in these countries already under severe pressure, many extended families are, or soon will be, over whelmed and in greater need of external support and protective safety nets(Children on the Brink). A recent analysis by UNICEF on caring practices in 40 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa show that extended families have assumed responsibility for more than 90 percent of orphaned children (ibid). The AIDS epidemic contributes to deepening poverty in many communities, since the burden of caring the vast majority of orphans falls on already overstretched extended families, women or grandparent with the most meager resources. Such households are expected to earn 31% less than other house without a real safety net.

Nevertheless, with the increasing burden of the orphan hood and coming into being of HIV/AIDS the support of the extended families seem to be eroded from time to time. The deep-rooted kinship system that existed in Africa, extended family networks of aunts; uncle's, cousins and grandparents for such children that have long proven are resilient due to major social changes (Hampton J 1990; 20). Traditionally, orphans in Africa are taken by extended families. Nevertheless, since the onset of AIDS large number of these children is being left in orphanage, hospital and other institutions, while countless others end up in joining the street life (ibid).

Often financially desperate and emotionally vulnerable, orphaned children are more likely to be sexually abused and forced into exploitative situations such as prostitution as a means of survival (Direessie, 1999: 4). Street life is the recourse for many orphans, who often suffer from trauma and psychological distress, making them more vulnerable

to abuse and exploitation. Ethiopia has taken different measures to address such problems among which the following are worth mentioning.

2.3. Legislations to protect Child Rights

2.3.1. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child came into force in 1990 and has been ratified by almost every member state, except the United States of America and Somalia. The United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child is a framework that guides programs for all children, including OVCs. The UNCRC has 54 articles.

According to the guideline developed by Forum on Street Children and Save the Children Sweden and to provide journalists with resource and guide for reporting on children and child rights in Ethiopia, the Convention can be divided into four clusters of rights i.e. Survival, Developmental, Protection and Participation Rights. (1998:10)

Survival Rights

- ◆ The child not only has the inherent rights to life but to be protected from dying, from whatever life threatening conditions.
- ◆ It relates to the material and physical conditions of life essential for the survival of the child.
- ◆ It mainly refers to infants and young people's survival and access to food and preventive health care.
- ◆ State parties have the obligation to take appropriate measures (Article.24):
 - To diminish infant and child mortality.
 - To combat diseases and malnutrition.
 - To ensure appropriate pre-natal and post-natal health care for mothers.
 - To respond appropriately measures with a view to abolish traditional practices prejudicial to the health of the child.

Developmental Rights

Relates to the social conditions of life necessary for the development of the child.

- ◆ It includes:
 - The rights to health care and social welfare (Articles 24&26),
 - The rights to an adequate standard of living (Article 27),
 - The rights to education (Articles 28 &29),
 - The rights of parents to get support from the States Article.18(1);and
 - The rights to recreation and leisure's activities (Article 31).

Protection Rights

- ◆ The convention incorporates a number of provisions, which guarantee child protection against physical, psychological or moral injuries.
- ◆ It also provides special protection measures for children in difficult circumstances.
- ◆ The protection rights includes;
 - To be protected from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury, or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation (Article 19).
 - To be protected from economic exploitation (Article 32).
 - To be protected from drug abuse, sexual exploitation and sexual abuse (Articles 33 &34).
 - To be protected from abduction, sales and trafficking (Article 35).
 - To be protected from torture or other cruel and inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Article 37).
 - To get special protection measures for children in armed conflict, forced migration and in conflict with the law (Articles 38 & 40).

Participation Rights

- ◆ It relates to the spiritual and moral conditions of life.

- Children should no longer be seen as the objects of action on their behalf, but should be entitled to voice in decisions affecting their well- being according the level of their maturity.
- These Rights include:
 - The right to express their opinion (Article 12).
 - The right to seek, receive and impart information (Article 13).
 - Freedom of conscience, thought and religion (Article 14).
 - Freedom of association and peaceful assembly (Article 15).
 - The right to privacy (Article 16).
 - The right to culture and language(Article 31).
 -

In addition to this the Convention stipulates that

The right to freedom from discrimination (Article 2);

All children should be given the opportunity to enjoy the rights recognized by the Convention on the Rights of the Child. States must identify the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children and take affirmative action to ensure that the rights of these children are realized and protected. Orphans and vulnerable children are at risk of discrimination in all aspects of their lives and therefore, this principle is essential in guiding all efforts to address HIV/AIDS.

That the best interests of the child should be of primary consideration (Article 3);

The Convention on the Rights of the Child states that in each and every decision affecting the child the various possible solutions must be considered and due consideration given to the child's best interests. This principle is immediately relevant to orphans and vulnerable children where decisions are being made regarding their caretakers, property and their future, but extends further to all matters that concern children, including development policies and programs and allocation of public resources

2.3.2. The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

- The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child is a binding regional human rights adopted by the Organization of the African Unity in 1992. It comes into force in 1999.
- Currently, thirty-one countries have ratified the Charter.
- Ethiopia ratified the Charter in June 2002 and this has been issued in Proclamation No. 283/2002.

The Charter developed out of member states' concern for children on the African continent who have to contend with "the added burden resulting from social, economic, cultural, traditional and developmental circumstances". The Charter serves as complementary to the Convention. Most of the provisions of the Charter are similar to the Convention.

2.3.3. The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

- Ethiopia has ratified the Child Rights Convention, and hence, by virtue of article 9 (4) of the FDRE constitution the convention is an integral part of the law of the land.
- Moreover the constitution has provisions under article 36:

In all actions concerning children undertaken by public and private welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the primary consideration shall be the best interests of the child.

- The state shall accord special protection to orphans and shall encourage the establishment of institutions which ensure and promote their adoption and advance their welfare and education.
- The child is constitutionally protected from exploitative practices, corporal punishment or cruel and inhumane treatment in schools and other institutions responsible of the care of children.

- The developmental social welfare policy of the Nation on Article 5.1 gives especial emphasis on the rights of children including orphans and vulnerable children.
- The HIV/AIDS policy of the country gives special attention to care and support of OVCs in addition to the strategic plan of HIV and AIDs 2004-2008 that addresses issues of OVCs.

2.3.4. National Plan of Action for Children: 2003-2010

The National Plan of Action focuses on the four themes that the UN special session on children agreed on: namely promoting healthy lives; providing quality education; protecting against abuse, exploitation and violence; and combating HIV/AIDS. Based on this context the following goals, strategies and actions are planned for each sector:

- A. Promoting healthy lives involves increasing health care coverage to 62%, reduction of maternal, child mortality by improving the nutrition, sanitation and water facilitates, and controlling the major killer diseases such as HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Tuber Closes.
- B. Providing quality education involves the expansion of early childhood education, providing quality primary education to 90% of the Ethiopian children, improvement of the quality of teachers, allocation of larger amount of resources (budget), and working towards narrowing the disparity gaps between regions and the sexes. Special assistance will be provided to children in pastoralist's areas, and those with disabilities. By the end of the plan period, adult literacy rate is to be 50%.
- C. Protecting children from abuse, exploitation and violence involves registration of children at birth, revision of laws, raising awareness about harmful traditional practices, and the improvement of juvenile justice system. In addition, it is planned to assist Children under Difficult Circumstances and to reduce child labour.

2.3.5 Labour Law

Ethiopian Labor Law states that there are two categories of minors: Persons under 14 years of age and “young workers”, (persons between 14 and 18 years old). The first category of minors is prohibited from contracts of employment. Children between 14 and 18, however, can sign employment contracts for work and apprenticeship. Finally, the Labour Law treats a person as an adult worker only when he is over 18 years of age; otherwise, he is a minor or a child.

2.4. Media and children

In today’s world highly dubbed as the information age, the media are our primary sources of information about the world and therefore they are the primary sources for how we use the world. McCullagh (2002: 15) states, “Our images and knowledge of social reality are formed and shaped by the images and information that the media deliver to us. If these images and information are selective and partial, then our images and information will be selective and partial”. Thus, the power of the media is the power to define our sense of the social reality of the society and the world that we live in, the media achieve this through control over the information that they present to us (ibid). We think more about those issues the media present to us and regard them as more important than those that are not presented in the media. (Griffin, 2003:390). MCombs(et al.1997) takes this further and suggests that the media do more than selecting and presenting important voices and issues, they influence the way we think about these selected voices and issues.

Hence, as one section of a community the way the media represent children influences the outlook of the community towards them. The way in which the media represent or even ignore children, can influence decisions taken on their behalf and how the rest of the society regards them (Guidelines for Journalists and Media Professionals, 2002:35). Media are important vehicles for drawing attention to abuses, monitoring of the implementation of the Child Rights Convention, awareness raising and information.

Furthermore, the guidelines stress that media can play informative and educational role, promote UNCRC and support children's ombudsman's function by gathering useful information essential for political debate(ibid).

The UNCRC for which Ethiopia is signatory also guarantees children the right to receive and impart information, to express and have their opinion's taken into account in matters concerning them, to be protected from harmful information and depending on their age and level of maturity, to participate in decisions that affect their lives.

The UNCRC requires that

- Children be seen as important subject of the media.
- Children contribute greater voices to the media.
- Children are portrayed accurately and with greater depth in the media.

The module developed by Save the Children Denmark, the School of Journalism & Communication and Addis Ababa University for journalists reporting on children (2006:56) further elaborates this idea "Journalists shall not rely, on official sources that deliver information on behalf of the children. Rather they should give recognition to voices of children, in order to give a complete picture of the issues revolving around children giving due attention to their age and maturity level, especially when dealing with complicated matters". It further states that by providing children with the opportunity to speak for themselves, about their hopes, fears their achievement and the impacts of adult behaviors on their lives; media professionals can remind the public of their child rights.

In addition to this the module(2006:32) emphasizes that reporting can go beyond identifying a problem and includes interview with young people and others that shows how the problem arose, what its consequences are and describe the issue from a variety of points of view. It further elaborates that this may be done through a series of feature articles or programs over a period. Such an approach is more likely to influence public policy by informing policy makers and those in a position to take action. Incorporating

experts' opinions is also considered important in the module to pave the way for popularizing and promoting the rights of children, since it creates opportunities to familiarize the society with national and legal instruments pertaining to children. It also encourages the society to discharge its responsibilities in protecting the rights of the children (ibid: 53).

Prominence is another centre of focus in the module; "Stories that are deemed important by journalists are normally presented on the front pages of newspapers or at the beginning of broadcast media. "The guidelines (2002:22) also give due emphases to the necessity of caring out researches while reporting". They state that the journalists should cast genuinely new light on a situation by carrying out a long-term investigation. In this case the media may also reveal an unsuspected link with a problem or investigate a new angle or even erring light to an unseen problem or solution".

In addition to this the Guidelines for Journalists Covering Children's Issues developed by Federation of Journalists(1998) as cited in the module, stress this idea by saying that "Media should not consider and report the conditions of children only as events but should continuously report the process likely to lead or leading to the occurrence of these events". Taking this further the guidelines state not to further stigmatize any child and avoid category to descriptions that expose a child to negative reprisals, including additional physical or psychological harm or to lifelong abuse, discrimination or rejection by its local communities. Among other things which were given due emphasis by these guidelines(1998) as cited in the module was for media organizations to regard violations of the rights of children and issues related to children's safety, security, their education, health and social welfare and all forms of exploitation as important questions for investigation and public debate.

Although media are supposed to adhere to the above-mentioned frameworks while reporting on children, different researches indicate their failure to do so. The mainstream media is fast becoming a full-fledged commercial enterprise quite often, the

mouth-piece of selected political parties or fundamentalist groups ([http://www info change India. Org](http://www.infochangeindia.org) features 410). As the state or elite sections of society own most of the mainstream media, they frequently manipulate it to further their own concerns and ideologies. In its attempt to become popular, the media increasingly sensationalizes or toes the popular line at the cost of its integrity and credibility. In this way, the voices of the marginalized, most of all children are muffled (ibid).

In the media, news about children is either cute copy or sensational news (Thrope, 1994). He further states child victims are routinely written about in gory detail, violating all norms of decency and privacy, children's rights are hardly ever talked about, nor are children provided the opportunity to express themselves in the media. To show how the situation is worse in developing countries, the module(2006) elaborates that children in developing countries had even less opportunities to be heard in the media coverage. It further said that they are seen as helpless sufferers, unable to act, think or speak for themselves.

The fact that children appear and are portrayed in media may thus be regarded as an indication that these less frequently portrayed groups are in many respects attributed lower value and that the media in many ways, give expression to and exercise, a form of violence or cultural oppressions (Thrope, 1994:65). One recurrent image in news media, at least in some countries is that children are often represented in relation to violence, crime, where children and young people are perpetrators and victims. (kunkel and Smith as cited by Feilitzen and Carlsson). The consequence is that young people are often represented as a problem and a threat, that vulnerable groups are stigmatized without respect for their integrity, something that also occurs in connection with media's reports of war, catastrophes and starvation (ibid).

When clarifying the reason for not including children in the media Feilitzen and Carlsson(1999) said we can safely say that media's image of the child is similar to society's. Regarding the experience in Pakistan they said, "Generally child is not treated

as an individual or educated on her or his rights. It is difficult to find any publications mentioning the UNCRC in Pakistan”. Therefore, they said when today’s children become tomorrow’s adults they will not know what rights children have. Children are not only seen relatively seldom but their voices are seldom heard. Furthermore, adults in the media rarely talk about the children.

The media accept the traditional role of a child in the society and portray it accordingly. In Ethiopia, children are always told to do what they are told by their families. They are not allowed to explore or to talk (Azeze 2002:156 cited in Media and Children). The traditional attitude of the society towards children in Ethiopia is not encouraging and supportive of children’s participation (Child Friendly Kebele Proposal cited in Media and Children). In most cases, adults speak, decide and approve on behalf of children (ibid).

Children around the world are also denied access to information that has a direct bearing on their lives, in deed they are not considered as capable of accessing or analyzing information, forming opinions, expressing their thoughts or taking decisions, (Haes, 1986: 35). The guidelines for journalists (2002:18) further elaborating this idea states “if children’s rights figure prominently in mainstream media, it is usually in the context of child abuse, exploitation & sensationalist news making. Children are generally seen and heard at a distance.”

2.5. Framing Theory

Media framing refers to the selection process whereby pieces of information are selected and placed together in news stories (Andsager and power, 1999). Two newspapers may present the same story differently by selecting and focusing on different aspects or angles of the same story (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:159). Media framing deals with how a given media outlet presents an event. Media do not merely provide facts; they add some context and take out others targeting their readers, viewers

and audiences. For instance, a tabloid newspaper might try to draw the attention of the audience to human implications of orphan hood, while a more serious newspaper would focus on the political, economic and social consequences of the issue.

Over the last twenty years, the literature on framing theory has grown extensively. However, authors such as Entman (1993) and Scheufele (1999) agree that there is no precise definition of framing. Still, the different definitions that have been utilized suggest a range of similar characteristics (Semetko and Valkenburg,2000:94).

Ryan in *Prime Time Activism* described a frame 'How news stories are made that is how pieces of information are selected and organized to produce stories that make sense to their writers and audiences (1991:53). She goes on to develop further this definition:

“Framing is more process of interpretation; it is the process of creating events, of signifying from the vast pool of daily occurrences, what is important framing decides which of the day’s many happenings are awarded significance”.

Many theorists support the view that in most cases the media present news and events in a manner that not only agrees with the views of the powerful, but also actually supports their domination. Therefore, the argument is that the dominated are encouraged to see the world as the powerful do, using the various media in this manner is obviously an excellent and efficient means of control. In our subjugation we do not see that our values are in fact not our own, but we are continuously receiving the messages of the powerful and sublimating them to our conscious every time we consume a media product. (see: Barthes, R. 1972. Althusser, L.1971 Gramsci, A. 1971. Hall, S 1981. Bignall, J 1997).

Tankard et al (1991:11) define media frames as "a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration" (cited by Johnson-Cartee, 2005:24).

'Repeated representations of ideological domains continue to define or 'indicate' culture, particularly for people who are heavily exposed to the media ... media often interpret and synthesize images in accordance with the assumptions of dominant ideology'. This includes how people make sense of their society including its levels of violence, racial composition and gender roles, even their vocational expectations and political alternatives (Gerbner and Gross, 1976).

Hall states that hegemony is the " dominance and subordination in the field of relations structured by power" (in Lull, J. 1995:31). With respect to the aforementioned theorists, Hall says that 'the mass media are tools of ruling elites used to perpetuate their power, wealth and status [by popularizing] their own philosophy'. In effect, the media conform to the ideals of hegemonic control by perpetuating the very system under which it operates.

Frames are basic cognitive structures, which guide the perception and representation of reality. Overall frames are not consciously manufactured but unconsciously adopted in the course of communicative processes. On a very banal level, frames structure, which parts of reality become noticed. For example, a group of persons lined up in an orderly fashion at the side of a road might evoke the frame "bus queue" in a passer-by. This particular frame structures perception in the way that attention is paid to the orderly arrangement of people in a line, which is one indicator of the "bus queue frame" and might have actually triggered it. The frame also directs attention to other latent frame elements, such as a bus stop sign. At the same time, it deflects attention from clothing style, body shape, or communications among the presumed prospective bus passengers.

Using similar principles, Entman (1993) provides a generally accepted framing definition, where framing refers to "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (1993:52). For instance, a newspaper might use

certain words like 'parentless', 'with no destiny', 'helpless' to refer to orphaned children. These kinds of wording according to Entman are elements where a particular issue might be defined in certain manners, hence become salience in a communicating text of a newspaper. In such a way media provide not only facts about an issue but also put an issue in contexts to engage the readers or viewers. As a result frames influence how public think of an issue by defining the issue, indicating what/who the causes are, and suggesting what should be done to overcome the problem(Entman).

Based on Entman's definition, frames have four main functions in relation to the news. First, they define the problem by determining the causal agents' activities in terms of cost and benefits. Second, they diagnose causes by pointing out the factors behind the problem. Third, they provide moral judgments through evaluating causal agents and their effects. Finally, they suggest remedies and forecast the effect of this treatment (Entman. 1993:52).

Framing tells more than what is significant and newsworthy. The chosen frames indicate which opinions, interpretations and definitions are more valid particularly in controversial issues (Pen and Kosicki, 1993) Framing consists of three important activities: selection, salience and omission (Entman. 1993:53-54). A frame is defined by what it includes and excludes because omission of the problem definition, explanation, evaluation and recommendations is as important as inclusion in guiding the audience (ibid). By focusing on one aspect and omitting the other, the media draw and direct attention away from the other side, which might lead readers to a different reaction (Kensicki, 2004 and Entman, 1993 and 1995). In other words, through omission and emphasis, the media make some considerations or measures seem more important (Nelson et al., 1997 cited by Johnson-Cartee, 2005:26).

The media frames further reflect the dominant norms, values and culture of society. Kathleen,(2004), referring to Reese et al.,(2001), says that frames must be consistent with the values of the audience to be effective. For instance, the frequency of orphaned

children's representation tells something about the concern of the society and media. In other words, it tells something about the values attached to them by the society and media. Reese et al,(2001), however, goes on to assert that unless those social, economic or cultural values are shared by the audience, the frames lose their organizing effectiveness.

When Journalists frame an event, they activate the existing beliefs and understandings and they do not need to create them, though they are not often aware of whether they are framing a story or not McQuail, (2000). It shows how frames are understood among audiences who have had their own prior understanding and beliefs. Media frames also serve as working routines for journalists that allow the journalists to quickly identify and classify information and "to package it for efficient relay to their audiences" Gitlin, (1980). For Gitlin, frames are indispensable for communication; they are the scaffolds for any credible stories.

The lack of a clear concept of framing has resulted in confusion of this theory with other concepts (Scheufele, 1999:103). Primarily framing has been associated with agenda setting. McCombs et al., (1997) cited by Scheufele (1999:103) argue framing is an extension of agenda setting called second level agenda setting. According to these authors, agenda setting deals with salience of issues while second level agenda setting concerns with salience of attributes. Based on these principles and Entman's (1993) definition of framing, McCombs define framing as "the selection of - and emphasis upon- particular attributes for the media agenda when talking about object" (2004:87).

According to McCombs, placing framing in agenda setting context has two advantages. First, it unifies the scattered concepts of framing by differentiating it from other attributes. Second, it transfers media research beyond accuracy and balance. The agenda setting based framing addresses emphasis and tone of media content and their effect on audiences.

However, this optimistic view has been met with strong criticism. For Semetko and Valkenburg (2000:94), framing goes beyond agenda setting since it assigns significance to the public. In other words, framing concerns with what people think and talk through their articulation in the news (Pan and Kosicki. 1993).

Scheufele (1999:107) provides a more useful distinction between agenda setting and framing. His distinction is based on the two important elements of Entman's definition: selection and salience. Agenda setting is concerned with selection and salience of issues while framing examines selection and salience of elements of a single issue. This distinction has direct implications for the current study since the current research project to a great extent depends on Entman's definition of framing.

2.5.1. Frame Components

News frames are often unnoticed, but powerful mechanisms (Bullock et al., 2001:235). It is important to recognize what frames constitute, particularly in analyzing real world news accounts (Johnson-Cartee, 2005:164). Therefore, the question what differentiate frames from other components of the news text become important.

Based on different orientations of framing theory, authors suggest different components of frames. In the realm of agenda setting frames are either the central ideas or aspects of the issue. The distinction between these two types of frames depends on how we analyze the media. If we identify the major theme of the story frames become the central theme. Aspects become frames when we analyze the various attributes that exist in sentences and paragraph of stories (McCombs, 2004:89).

Pan and Kosicki (1993:59) underline the story themes as frames. According to them, the theme refers to the central idea that connects the different 'semantic elements' into a meaningful whole. The theme becomes those little parts of the message that the audience will remember after they read or watch the news (Johnson-Cartee, 2005:164).

Other researchers consider this view because of an incomplete framing definition for at least four reasons. First, this view ignores the context and power in which frames are produced. Second, this view simply categorizes frames by subjects. Thus, it ignores how frames create meanings through selection of emphasis and interpretation. Third, it ignores how issues are defined and how they reinforce certain ways of seeing issues. Finally, it neglects how a single frame can be used to several issues, as well as how a single issue can include more than one frame (Carragee and Roefs, 2004: 217-218).

One of the important conjectures of framing theory relates to what frames are made of. They consist of both the theme and framing devices that carries the theme (D'Angelo, 2002:873). In other words, frames are amalgamates of textual items (such as words and images) with contextual treatment of framing devices.

News frames incorporate examples, catch phrases, depictions and visual images (Gamson and Lasch. 1983:399 cited in Johnson-Cartee. 2005:196). Furthermore, frames are constructed and embodied through keywords, concepts and symbols that are emphasized in the news story (Entman, 1991:7). Entman's account takes a step further since he stresses not only the presence but also the emphasis of these components. A news text emphasizes a piece of information through repetition, placement and by associating them with culturally familiar symbols (Entman, 1991:7 and 1993:6). Through these activities a "frame renders one basic interpretation more readily discernible, comprehensive, and memorable than the other (Entman, 1991:7).

There are two exceptional situations regarding text emphasis of frames. First, even an un-illustrated point, which is put in an unimportant part of the text, can be highly salient, if it relates with existing frames in the receiver's belief system. Similarly, it can be difficult for the audience to recognize interpret and remember specific information in a text, if they have different orientation regarding the issue (Entman, 1993:53). Second, as much as frames are recognized by presence they are manifested by absence of key words important phrases, stereotype images, sources and sentences, which they reinforce through clustering of facts and opinions (ibid).

One trend among different authors is to believe that frames become successful when they support the existing beliefs or status quo in the society Durham (1998:100) differentiates between successful and unsuccessful frames and only successful frames make the world knowledgeable and understandable. Frames are neither good nor bad by their nature. Their success depends on whether they being appropriate for a certain story (Gibbs and Warhaver 2002:166).

According to Bullock et al. (2001:233), framing researchers need to consider both rhetorical devices (catch phrases and images) as well as news handlers. The later frames stories through 'reasoning devices', which lead to causal attributions, consequences and appeals to principles (Thornton and Shan, 1996 cited by Bullock et al, 2001:233). Further, they directly or indirectly indicate the significance of the issue (Eko, 1999:280). In short, frames are different from other text elements since they include only critical messages that have presumed impact on information analysis. Usually framing researchers are determined to differentiate frame from text or to identify which components are frames and which are not. Researchers need to have a theoretical basis for making these distinctions (Entman, 1999:38).

2.5.2 Position of news frames in media texts

From the literature on framing, one can conclude that framing exists in certain part of the news text. A single sentence can hold more than one framing function (i.e. defines problems, diagnoses causes, makes moral judgments or suggests remedies). Still many sentences in a text contain none of these framing functions (Entman, 1993:52 and 54).

On the other hand, Neuman et al (1992:55), restrict framing to the first moments for television news and to the early sentences for articles in newspapers and to the early sentences for articles in newspapers and magazines. In other words, newspapers frame stories in their headlines and leads. Headlines and subheads are therefore very important frame indicators. They provide not only a glimpse of journalist's treatment of the story

but the whole frame of the story (Johnson-Cartee, 2005:165). This might explain the extra measure media practitioners take to insure that the headline captures the sense of the story.

However, this does not mean that journalists are always conscious of how they frame stories. In fact, there is a strong assertion from scholars that journalists are not usually conscious about their framing of issues (Hackett, 1984 and Parenti, 1993 cited by Hallahan 1999:222 and Ansager and Power 1999). Frames are results of the journalists' unconscious assumptions about the social world (Hallhan, 1999:222). Further, the intimidating deadlines do not allow journalists to stop and think how they frame the story even though they frame each story (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:160).

2.5.3. Dominant frames

Media framing of an issue relates not only to the content of the articles but also to physical characteristics, particularly frequency and the location of the story. Sizing of stories remains one way of saliencing a story (Entman. 1991:9). By adding and subtracting the number of articles, media salience or downplay the issue in the general flow of information (ibid). Similarly, a story's location within the newspaper indicated how much the event or issue is important (Norris and Carroll, 1997). Neuman et al, (1992) identified five frames, which are applicable to politics, economic and health some of which are discussed below.

2.5.3.1. Economic frame

As its name indicates, this frame focuses on financial consequences of issues, events, and problems, on groups, institution, nations or individuals (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000:96). Government programs, which deal with health or other problems, are particularly expressed within this frame (Neuman et al., 1992). According to Neuman and his colleagues, this frame is usually, an outcome of covering issues from authorities' standpoints. This frame also indicates "the economical consequences of pursuing or not pursuing various political objectives" (1992:63). Two years ago two orphaned child girls of the late comedian Tesfaye were interviewed on the Ethiopian

Television. It goes like “your father has already died what you are going to do?” Instantly the older one’s tear jerked and said we count on you.

2.5.3.2. Conflict frame

This frame refers to disagreement or competition among different groups or individuals (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:166). Different authors such as Neuman et al. (1992:64) and Semetko and Valkenburg, (2002:95) agree that media use conflict as a means of capturing audience’s attention. However, focusing on conflict as a major aspect of problem, issue or event may result in negative consequences. First such a frame encourages media to exaggerate conflicts even when the issue has a limited controversy element(Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:166). Second, media provide issues as having only two sides in order to emphasis conflict, (Neuman et al, 1992:64) in other words the media will provide only extreme views. As a result, middle view where the majority of opinions belong will be over-looked (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:167)

2.5.3.3. Human interest frame

This frame is the second most popular frame next to the conflict frame. Like the conflict frame, media use human-interest frames to capture audience’s attention and to show the significance of the problem. (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000:96) This frame emphasizes the situation of an individual or a group who is affected by the problem. The media bound by objectivity do not directly express events in ‘empathic or compassionate terms’ they will rather employ adjectives, personal vignettes, and visuals that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy, sympathy or compassion from the audience (Nueman et al, 1992:69). At other times, the media quote sources and victims with full emotional force.

2.5.3.4. Morality frame

As much as the media try to be objective, the cultural values within which the media operate will find their way into the media content (Neuman et al., 1992:12).The media place the issue or problem in the background of ‘religious tenets’ or moral prescriptions. This does not mean the media directly include moral values; instead they may quote

sources that raise this issue (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000:96). In addition to moral message, the media offer social prescription about how to behave (Ibid).

2.5.3.5. Attribution of responsibility frame

Social problems and issues usually involve a question of causes and responsibility such as who is blamed or credited for events (Hallahan, 1999:219), The attribution of responsibility frame suggests what measure should be taken (Kensicki, 2004:56).

Iyengar (1989 and 1990) classified attribution of responsibility into two types of framing: episodic and thematic. The episodic frame refers to social problems as events rather than processes within the socio-economic context. On the other hand, the thematic frame would put social issues or problems into a historical social context. Through studies of people who watched crises covered in episodic frames, Iyengar found that these people held the poor responsible for their situation. Viewers who watched the events covered in thematic frames, however held the government responsible for the social problem (Iyengar, 1990).

2.5.3.6. Empathy frame

This frame shows the power relationship among different agents involved in a crisis. It empathizes with suffering people by identifying them as victims (Robinson, 2000).

Moeller (1999:108) stresses how media often portray victims, usually women and children, as sympathetic. In order to create empathy the media can use adjectives or put labels on the people when describing them.

Generally, the media encourage readers, viewers and audiences to identify with the affected by “(1) Emphasizing their status as victims, (2) remembering the readers of their essential similarity with the victims and (3) representing connotations of innocence and vulnerability” (Robinson, 2000:620). A story printed in the Ethiopian Herald on October 22, 2003, can be a good example. It is a true story of a nine-year-old girl child, who contracted HIV/ after being raped. “X...was ostracized by her playmates. Gradually, the disease took over her body and then her mind...it was like she wanted to

get over her short nipped life quickly. Death did come in the hospital to this innocent child unloved, unwanted, abuse, rejected and wronged by guardians who betrayed her innocent trust”.

2.5.4. Factors that affects media framing

The existing literature on news frames presents factors that affect such news frames generally as the media themselves or as external influence. Nevertheless, there are no facts that show how internal and external factor impact on media framing. The external and internal factors include “social norm and values, organizational pressure and constraint, pressures of interest groups, journalist routine and ideological or political orientations of journalists” (Scheufele, 1999:109). The main factor that affect news frames are discussed below.

2.5.4.1. Ownership

The ownership of the media and their interest, whether it is profit making or not affects what and how the media cover events, issues or problems (Graber, 2002 and Johnson-Cartee, 2005). In addition to ownership, resource constraints determine how a given media frame an issue or event (Andsager and Powers, 1999 and Scheufele, 1999). According to these authors financial, time, space and human constraints largely determine how the media frame an issue, problem or events.

2.5.4.2. Journalistic routines

Journalistic routines and journalists’ ideological and political orientations also contribute to the framing of issues (Scheufele, 1999; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996; and Tuchman 1998 cited by Scheufele, 1999).The view that journalists’ routines affect the news framing is composed of two components. First, as much as the frames provide cue for readers, they provide similar functions for journalists. Journalists relay on frames “to make sense of facts, to focus on the headline and to structure the story line” (Norris and Carroll, 1997:1). Further frames are used as ‘working routines’ for journalists. In this

way, they enable them to immediately identify and group information and make news suitable for their audiences (Giltin, 1980 cited by Scheufele, 1999:106).

Journalists observe and cover new issues or events based on frames that were used to cover similar issues or events in the past (Bird and Darden, 1997 cited in Norris and Carroll, 1997:1). The way journalists go about gathering information, selecting sources combined with their purpose in writing the news and the recurrent deadlines determine how the event is framed. Elaborating this idea with regard to children, Cecilia Von Feilitzen and Ulla Carlsson said that programs are not designed scientifically, but are instead based on 'editors' or 'producers' presumptions about child.

2.5.4.3. Interest groups and sources

Journalists depend on eyewitness and other sources to write a story. These sources might have their own agendas that they want to share with the audience. Powerful communication agents such as elected officials and interest group advocate and encourage frames with purpose of planting them in news contents (Nelson and Oxley, 1996:1041). The first encounter between journalists and sources particularly for breaking news put the framing process in motion (Entman, 1991:17). Thus, 'frame sponsorship' needs to be considered in framing. Graber (2002:173) summarizes the role of journalists in framing as follows:

“The degree of control that journalists exercise over framing varies widely, from merely reporting the frames chosen by regular beat sources or special pleader to choosing source who share the frame preferences of journalists, to expressing their own frame choices in editorials and editorialized news.”

Yet, external factors in part shape journalists interpretation of these issue (Carragee and Roefs, 2004:219). All sources do not equally have success in framing the issue or problems (Andsager, 2000 and Kensicki, 2004). Carragee and Roefs (2004:216) provide factors that determine sources' success in framing issues: “its (frame) sponsor's

economic and cultural resources, its sponsor's knowledge of journalist values." Based on this principle, agents such as governments have the power and instrument (public relations) to frame news. Further, it is possible to argue that governments can easily affect news frames when they directly or indirectly own or control the media.

News frames that rely on governments' frames do not serve the public. In fact, Kern et al, (2003:298) argue the media cannot exercise their watchdog role when they merely rely on the government's frame, they legitimize the government's actions (Johnson-Cartee, 2005:139 and 189). This is because, when media adopt a government's frame, they legitimate the government's action (Johnson- Cartee, 2005:139 and 189). Still there is a view that journalists regard government official sources as indication or completeness of the news.

2.5.4.4. Freedom of the press and censorship

The extent of freedom of the press in a given society can affect media framing. According to Kern et al., (2003:239) news frames on terrorism are shaped by censorship from government or self censorship on the part of the journalists. According to the Guidelines for Journalists and Media Professionals, the right to freedom of expression is always important to media professionals, but has to be balanced against other important rights, most notably the rights of the children. In developing nations where the governments are not well established economically and/or politically, they remain intolerant of media criticism regarding government's policies and development (Graber, 2002:19).

In Ethiopia, different laws, including the Constitution, grant freedom of expression and access to information. Particularly the 1992 Freedom Bill, opened an opportunity for the private media (restricted to print media) to flourish. Although the media become relatively free from direct censorship, the government continued to own and control all broadcasting and some of the print media (Mekasha, 2005:13).

2.5.5. Criticism of framing theory

Although framing theory clearly provides good insight into how events are covered by the media, it has been criticized. According to Scheufele (1999:103) many of the limitations of media framing theory relate to its lack of a clear conceptual definition and generally applicable operation.

Media framing theory is found within the theoretical context of media effects, more specifically within media manipulation theories. Thus, it shares the limitation that is associated with media effect theories. Framing theory is criticized for exaggerating the media texts' power. Framing theory sees the audiences as powerless to oppose the persistent, pervasive, and emotionally sophisticated persuasions of an interlocking media political-economic establishment (Neuman, et al., 1992:9). Further, even when researchers undertake experimental studies, they do not exactly show how and why news frames influence or readers' behavior, attitude and cognition (Scheufele, 1999:117 and 118).

Researches that do not focus on framing effect on audience may focus on dominant frames in news texts. According to Durham (1998), researchers' focus on dominant frame results in neglect of oppositional frames that might exist in single texts. The other limitation of framing research relates to the framing process. According to Scheufele (1999:115) framing studies neglect the important factors that determine frame production.

Further, the disagreement on what frames constitute results in difficulties in measuring frames (Hallin, 1994:81). According to him "the cues that analysts typically look for to identify the framing of a story can be varied and subtle, and judgments about whether a particular frame is present or absent often are quite subjective" (1994:81).

The selections of different topics do not necessarily require certain frames (Neuman et al, 1992:62 and 74). Framing theory has been employed in media coverage studies in humanitarian crises (Li and Izar, 2003: and Robinson,2000). Therefore, the current research will use the theory to study the media coverage of orphaned children's issues. It should be noted that this study is concerned with the processes behind the production of news frames.

Chapter Three

3. The study design

3.1. Research Method

This study employed a quantitative method as a major research tool combined with a qualitative one. The quantitative approach was selected as a major method for its suitability in conducting a research on framing. Along side this, it is assumed that supporting quantitative method with a qualitative one will provide a deeper understanding of the issue since the two approaches address different aspects of the problem (Orcher, 2005). Hence, a quantitative approach was used to collect data from newspapers with regard to sources, themes, frames ..., whereas a qualitative method, that is in-depth interview, was used to collect information that complements the quantitative findings.

To look at the framing process in a deeper manner the researcher conducted a content analysis of the stories in three newspapers, namely *Addis Zemen*, a Government owned newspaper, *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* that are privately owned newspapers. The researcher used a key word search that is, orphaned children, while looking for all stories published during September 2005- August 2006. Then the stories were coded by date, source, location, theme and frame.

3.2. The Sample

The researcher selected three Amharic newspapers, which cover political, economic and social matters and at the same time which have a wide circulation. Furthermore, an in-depth interview was conducted with journalists and editors of the sample newspapers. Since the recorded materials of Ethiopian Television (ETV) and Ethiopian Radio programs are destroyed immediately after being aired, it becomes difficult to utilize them as sample. Hence, the researcher preferred to use newspapers for they are printed materials and are available at the libraries of the respective publishing organizations.

According to UNESCO's estimate, adult illiteracy in Ethiopia reaches 57.3 percent in 2003. Although due to illiteracy and circulation constraints, newspapers may face certain limitations, they are considered to reach the decision makers at a national level through their public relations officers. On top of this, newspapers are in a position to reflect a picture of an issue from different perspectives. Since there are many privately owned news papers other than the Government ones as opposed to ETV which is fully Government owned and radio with only two stations privately owned at the time the research was conducted apart from the Government ones.

According to the Ministry of Information (2007), there are 53 both Government & privately owned newspapers in Ethiopia that deal with political, economic and social matters. From the 53 newspapers, three newspapers one Government owned and two private newspapers were included in the study.

In-depth interview was conducted with journalists and editors, who play the major role in producing the articles, in order to complement the findings. The common limitation of framing research relates to the neglect of frame building process and factors that affect this process (scheufele, 1999). Thus, it is assumed that including the journalists and editors who play a major role in producing the articles might address or at least minimize this limitation.

3.3 Sampling technique

This project intended to study how the three newspapers namely, *Addis Zemen*, *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* framed orphaned children's issues during the period September 2005- August 2006. To ensure diversity in ownership and content, the researcher purposefully selected one Government and two privately owned newspapers, which focus on social, economic and political issues. This was because 77 percent of the total population of Ethiopian newspapers is privately owned and the rest, 33 percent is government owned (Mekasha, 2005). On top of this magnitude of circulation and the

medium of language that is Amharic, were taken as central criterion in selecting the newspapers.

Addis Zemen newspaper was established in 1933. Ever since its coming into being, it remained under the ownership and control of the Government. It is a daily Amharic newspaper, which focuses on political social and economic matters. Amharic was preferred with the presumption of getting a clear picture of the issue, given that only few educated people would understand the English ones (though only the literate people read the Amharic ones). It has a circulation of 18443 as to the recent monthly statistics data of February 2007 of the Ministry of Information. The reason for choosing this newspaper was, apart from its being political, social and economic newspaper, due to the presumption that the Government has the obligation to take into consideration the issues of orphans while formulating policies.

Reporter in a privately owned newspaper published in both Amharic and English languages. This research considered the Amharic version, which currently becomes a bi-weekly newspaper with a circulation of 16500 (Ministry of Information, 2007). It deals with political, social and economic matters. Moreover, it has a sponsored column to accommodate children's issues.

Addis Admas is a weekly Amharic newspaper that covers political, social, economic and entertainment issues. It has a circulation of 30,500 (Ministry of Information, 2007). Apart from its dealing with social, political and economic matters and having a special children's column, it has started to cover sponsored children's column.

Time Frame

The newspapers printed during the year September 2005- August 2006 were purposefully selected, with a view that more articles concerning orphaned children will be produced, pursuant to the finding of the 2004 UNICEF research. The research

indicated the number of orphaned children reached 4.6 million and warned the number was projected to be almost 5.2 until 2010.

Within the selected time frame (September 2005-August 2006), from *Addis Zemen* a daily newspaper one edition from each week was selected for analysis. This means 48 editions for 12 months were taken for analysis. In order to include the days in the week into the analysis and make the study representative, one day was selected from each week's edition. For instance, Monday was taken from the first week and Tuesday from the second and so on.

Likewise, from *Addis Admas* and *Reporter*, since both were weekly newspapers four articles per month were included in the study. This means 48 editions from each newspaper were analyzed. Thus, all editions of both newspapers were included in the analysis. Therefore, from the three newspapers 48 each, 144 newspapers were included for analysis in the study.

Articles

All articles news, features, editorials, related to orphaned children were analyzed. *Addis Zemen* published 57 articles on orphaned children, while *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* published 15 and 12 respectively. In sum, 84 articles were coded 57 from *Addis Zemen* (although 48 editions were selected there was an instance where more than one article were published in one edition), 15 from *Addis Admas* and 12 from *Reporter*. Visual elements (such as pictures) were not included.

Journalists and Editors

The journalists and editors were selected purposefully. Six journalists and three editors were interviewed. This selection was used in order to involve journalists who had written most of the analyzed stories. Thus, the researcher contacted *Reporters* who wrote more articles, based on the frequency of the names mentioned on the bi-line section. Convenience sampling was used in selecting one editor, since it was learnt that

the editor-in-chief of the *Reporter* left the country . The deputy-editor in chief was included in the study.

3.4. Data Collection instruments

In order to collect the necessary data, content analysis was employed. This is because content analysis is a widely used method in conducting a research on framing. Content analysis is a standard methodology in the social sciences on the subject of communication content. Ole Holsti (1969) offers a broad definition of the content analysis as “ Any technique for making references by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages”. Furthermore, an in-depth interview was conducted with journalists and editors of the respective organizations in order to complement the findings. All interviewees were provided copies of the articles they wrote during the interview.

Definitions and categories

For the purpose of this research, orphaned children are defined as human beings less than 18 years of age and who lost both parents. Each article was coded in relation to a number of variables, genre, refers to whether the story was news, feature, editorials and so on. Location refers to whether the story was placed on the front or inside pages. Theme was identified with the central focus of the story. Source refers to the name of a person, group or organization directly or indirectly quoted in the story (See Appendix B).

Frame analysis

To measure frames, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) developed a series of questions to which the coder has to answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’. The current research project adopted these questions with some minor changes to measure the existence of frames of conflict, human interest, economic, moral and attribution of responsibility. Further, following Semetko and Valkenburg’s model and based on the review of literature the researcher

developed a range of similar questions to measure frames of appeal, diagnostic, prognostic, solution, empathy, event and process. Similarly, the researcher developed a series of ‘yes’ or ‘no’ questions to examine what types of function the media performed during September 2005- August 2006 concerning orphaned children. Media function was coded for three variables; warning, providing information and indicating progress of the donation and other measures (see Appendix C).

Coding process

Two graduate students were trained to code articles of the three newspapers that address the issues of orphaned children. Being trained they were given the coding sheet and a coding book with lists of questions and guides. Then coders replied to those questions accordingly as they were given hard copies of each newspaper. Lists of questions for the coding sheet were developed from the literature and the current issue of orphaned children. Furthermore, questions about framing and the existence of a frame in an article were adopted from the previously made framing researcher (Wondafrash, 2006, unpublished thesis). The researcher also made relevant, current, and contextual questions that correspond to the prevailing situation of orphaned children in Ethiopia.

Reliability and Validity

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

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

M is the number of coding decisions on which the two coders agreed

N1 and N2 are the total numbers of coding decisions by the first and the second coder respectively (Wondafrash, 2006). The inter-coder reliability across all categories ranges from 1.0 to .91 for the 15% of the stories that were coded by the two coders (for each variables reliability see Appendix C)

Frame prevalence

The existence of a frame was decided based on the following calculation: The number of 'yes' was divided by the total number of questions under that frame. The coefficient of frame existence varies from 0.0 to 1.0. It was assumed that a specific frame existed if the coefficient was more than half (more than 0.5).

Chapter Four

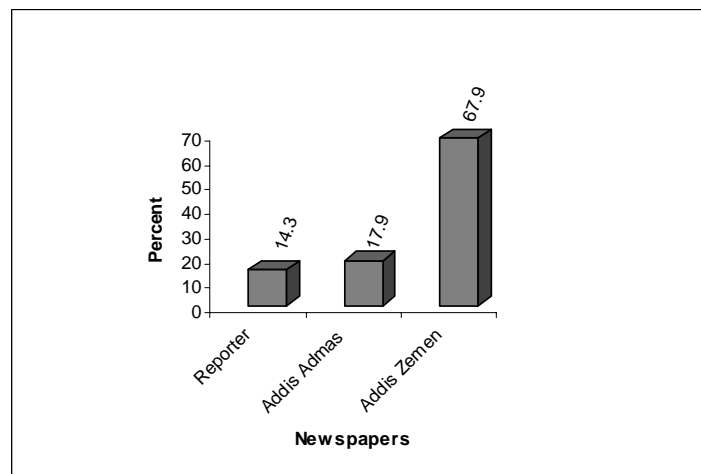
4. Presentation of findings and data analysis

This chapter deals with data presentation, analysis and discussion. As stated, earlier the main objectives of the study were to examine how the Ethiopian newspapers framed orphaned children's issues. To this end, 3 sample newspapers were coded during the period of September 2005- August 2006. Furthermore, additional data was gathered through in-depth interviews with editors and journalists. The results of the content analysis and in-depth interviews were presented together because the interviews were conducted to get responses that the quantitative content analysis alone could not provide.

4.1. The nature of the newspapers' coverage of September 2005- August 2006 on orphaned children's issues

There were 84 articles published on orphaned children during 2005-2006 within the selected materials. As Figure 4.1 shows the Government-owned newspaper, *Addis Zemen* which focuses on political, economic and social issues, published 67.9 percent of the total articles. The private owned *Addis Admas*, which focuses on politics, social issues, and entertainment and *Reporter*, which focuses on politics and social issues accounted for 17.9 and 14.3 percent of the analyzed articles respectively.

Figure 4.1 Percentages of articles published by the newspapers



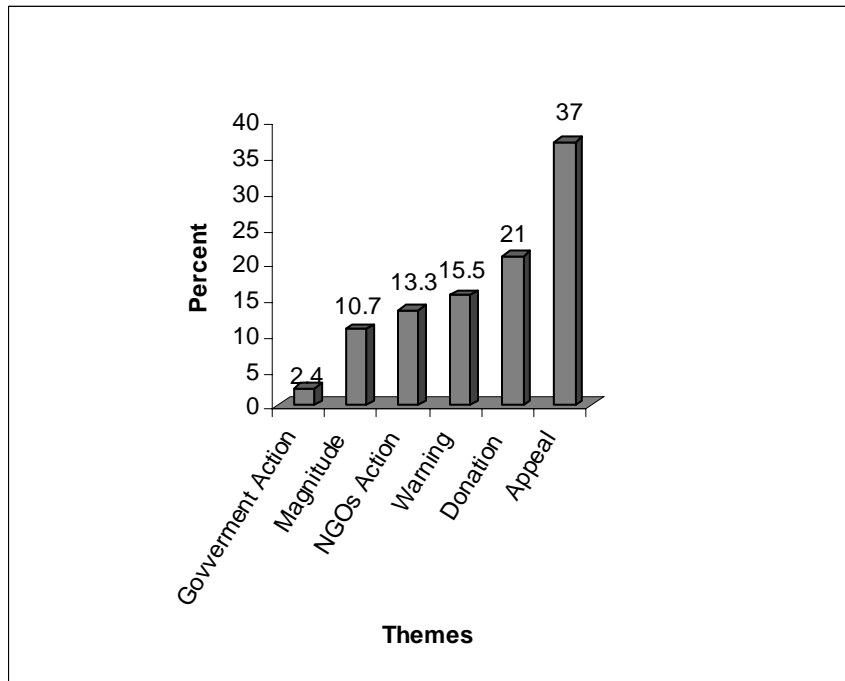
During the interviews, all key informants stressed that the increasing number of orphans deserved attention and was a 'national agenda'. Cognizant of the adverse situation the orphaned children are in, *Addis Zemen* established a weekly column entitled 'Yezemenu dewel' (a wake up call). In addition to this the newspaper tried to accommodate orphaned children's issues in 'Hiwot Endih Nat' (this is how life is), and Agenda, which deal with HIV and other social matters.

Through interview, it was further discovered that a lack of commitment, financial and professional constraints had influenced the quantity and quality of the articles. Resource constraints determine how a given media frame an issue or event (Andasger and Powers and Scheufele 1999). Informant 4 from *Addis Zemen* said, for instance, that the trend in media reporting in Ethiopia was not encouraging. As the literature suggested (section 2.5) journalists observe and cover issues or events based on frames that were used to cover similar issues or events in the past (Bird and Daren, 1997 cited in Norris and Carroll). Along side the lack of skill, he said journalists were not committed to undertake deep research that would enable them to write their stories in a better manner. They preferred to use the easiest way of writing stories based on ready-made reports and speeches. As the result, the event became the central focus than the issue. He further said, 'we as media professionals echo the reports of the organizations. When we should have talked about the children, we rather talk about the accomplishments of the organizations. Here I would be pleased to admit the weakness on our side'. In this case, the voices of the orphaned children remain unheard. Explaining the reason for dominantly using appeal frame he said it was done with the intention of mobilizing the indigenous community. Informant 2 from *Addis Admas* and informant 8 from *Reporter* also confirmed the lack of commitment on the media's side, while reporting on orphaned children.

In terms of themes most of the stories centered on limited subject matter. As Figure, 4.2 shows appeal and donation accounted for 37 and 21 percents of the articles respectively. The two major players (Government and NGOs activities) were represented with 2.4

percent and 13.3 percent respectively. Regardless of the massive nature of the problem only 10.7 percent of the stories dealt with the magnitude of the problem and 15.5 percent with warning of the alarming increasing rate of the problem.

Figure 4.2 Percentage of themes covered by the newspapers



4.2. Distribution of Themes

The distribution of themes showed some diversity. In *Addis Zemen* 35.1 percent of the articles dealt with donation made to orphaned children, while no article in *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* dealt with donation. Although *Addis Zemen* is a Government owned publication, only 3.5 percent of the analyzed stories covered the Government’s action. While no Government action was presented as central focus in *Addis Admas* and *Reporter*. Although the second least employed themes in *Addis Zemen* were, the magnitude of the problem and warning of the alarming increasing rate of the orphans, both were on the contrary, used in a higher frequency in the private newspapers.

Table 4.1 Percentage of themes distribution across the newspaper

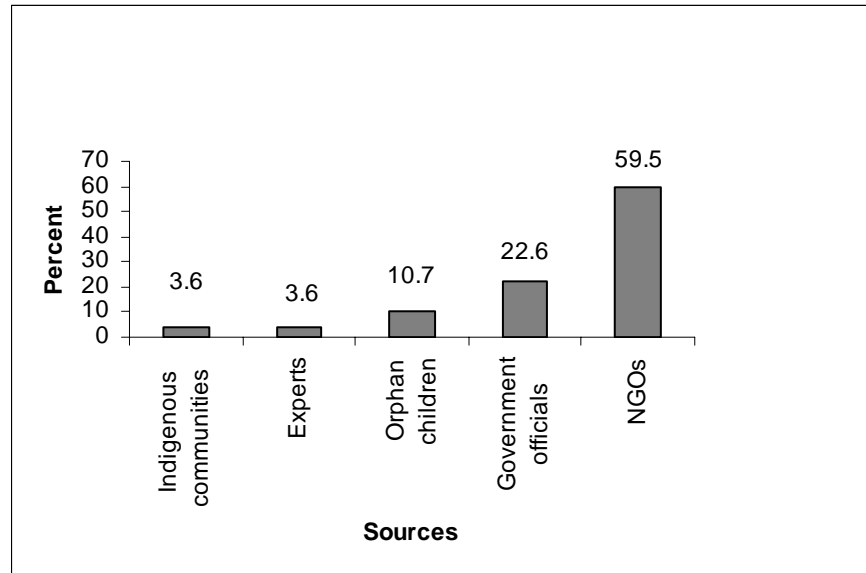
Theme	Addis Zemen n=57	Addis Admas n=15	Reporter n=12
Appeal	35.1	40	41.7
Donation	31.6	0	0
Non Governmental Action	12.3	13.3	16.7
Warning	10.5	26.7	16.7
Magnitude	7	20	25
Government Action	3.5	0	0
Total	100	100	100

It was found out that *Addis Zemen* focused on appeal and donation because the Government intended to show the extent of the problem and acknowledge the local donations regardless of their sizes. Informant 4 attributed the high number of appeal theme in *Addis Zemen* to the emergency nature of the social problem. Furthermore, the newspapers aimed at mobilizing the local community (informant 2 from *Addis Admas*). All informants stated that appeals made by Government, NGOs and donors were given priority.

4.3. Sources identified and quoted in the articles

The findings indicated an overwhelming use of NGOs as sources. Figure 4.3 shows the majority of the stories (59.5) percent were attributed to NGOs, while the Government officials accounted for 22.6 percent. In total, the three newspapers indirectly quoted a mere 10.7 percent of the total sources included in the newspapers, while there are 4.6 million orphans. Moreover, experts and the indigenous communities were the least quoted sources.

Figure 4.3 Percentage of sources used by the newspapers



The distribution of sources in the newspapers is reflected in table 4.2. The number of stories attributed to NGOs as compared to the Government sources is high in all newspapers, it accounted for 59.5 percent. Government officials quoted in *Addis Zemen* accounted for 22.6 percent, with no attribution to Government sources in the two private newspapers. Experts and indigenous communities were non-existent in the private newspapers, but employed to a lower extent in *Addis Zemen*. Whereas, orphaned children indirectly quoted in *Addis Admas* accounted for 13.3% and in *Addis Zemen & Reporter* 10.5% and 8.3% respectively, confirming the statement of Thrope “Children are not provided the opportunity to express themselves in the media”.

Table 4.2 Percentage of sources distribution across the newspapers

Source	Addis Zemen n=57	Addis Admas n=15	Reporter n=12
Non-governmental organization	47.4	80	91.7
Government officials	31.6	6.7	0
Orphaned children	10.5	13.3	8.3
Experts	5.3	0	0
Indigenous community	5.3	0	0
Total	100	100	100

All informants acknowledged the excessive use of NGOs and they attributed this to the existence of many NGOs working on child-related activities as compared to that of Governmental organizations. Informant 4 from *Addis Zemen* said that NGOs, invited Government officials as guests of honor only, in order to get coverage of state media as well as Government's support, with the intention of acquiring additional funds from donors. Informant 2 from *Addis Admas* on the other hand said NGOs were so much interested to access the private newspapers, since they were unable to get state media's coverage. Their inability to get information easily from the Governmental organizations was also another reason for excessive use of NGOs. He further added they preferred the private media since they could own special paid columns, in which they could publish their articles in return for the payment they made (informant 8 from *Reporter*).

All informants agreed that Governmental organizations as well as NGOs tried to manipulate the media. Moreover, the organizations were the ones to organize the event and they would not allow the journalists to verify the information given from the 'beneficiaries'. Therefore, in this way they manipulate the media. The manipulation was irresistible, for on the Government's side there was no way to violate the editorial policy. While informants from *Reporter* and *Addis Admas* confirmed that, the payments they made for the columns, entitled the NGOs to articulate the articles in whatever way they liked.

All informants stated that lack of due attention and concern for children were some of the reasons for not including their voices in the stories published. Informant 4 from *Addis Zemen* further elaborated that everybody could feel the agony of being an orphan when one got the chance to listening to these children. In addition to this, it would help to present a complete picture of the stories and could have ended in mobilizing the community aggressively. " Omission of the problem, definition, evaluation and recommendation is as important as inclusion in guiding the audience" (Entman, 1993). However, he said that a lack of commitment and professional skill were the major reasons for not including the voices of orphaned children in *Addis Zemen*. Informant 1

from *Addis Admas* said that orphaned children that were accessible to the media professionals were the ‘beneficiaries’ pre-oriented to talk about the commendable activities carried out by the respective NGOs for the betterment of the orphans lives. Informant 8 from *Reporter* said that the NGOs would not let them investigate and verify the reports presented from the beneficiaries point of view.

4.4. Framing of orphaned children’s issues during 2005-2006

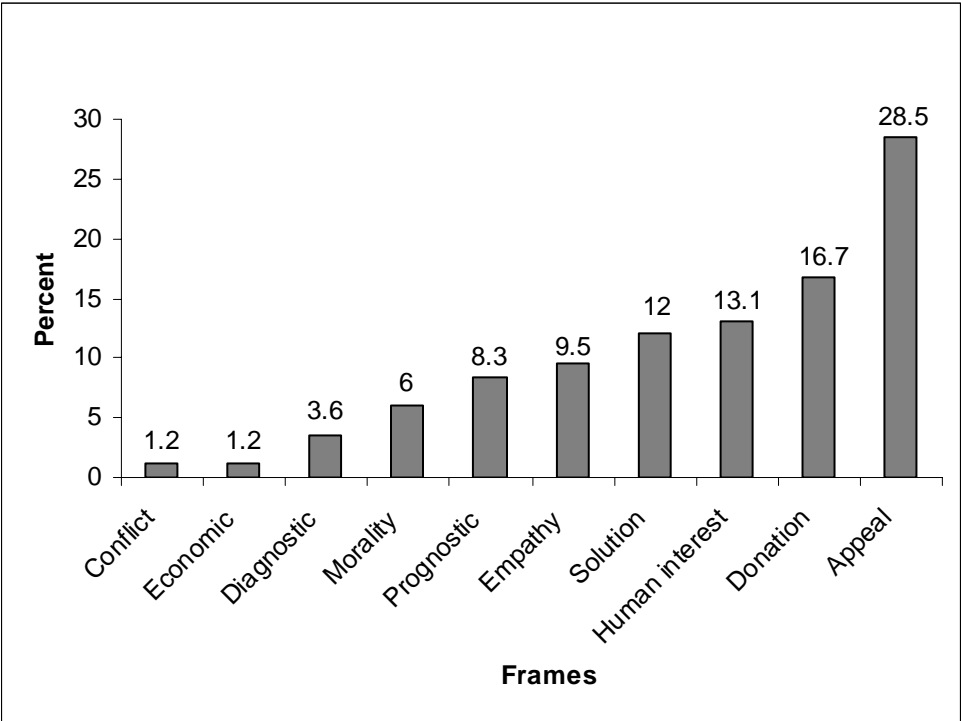
In terms of importance, *Addis Zemen* placed as many as 89.5 percent of the stories on the inside pages, while the rest appeared on the front and back pages holding 5.3 percent each. Media framing of an issue relates not to the content of the articles but also to physical characteristics, particularly frequency and the location of the story. *Addis Admas* located 93.3 percent of the analyzed articles on the inside pages, while 6.7 percent were placed on the first page, and no story on the back pages. Similarly *Reporter* placed 93.3 percent on the inside pages and 6.7 percent on the front pages, with no story on the back.

Table 4.3 Percentage of location distribution on the newspaper

Location	Addis Zemen n=57	Addis Admas n=15	Reporter n=12
Inside pages	89.5	93.3	93.3
Front pages	5.3	6.7	6.7
Back pages	5.3	0	0
Total	100	100	100

Regarding frames, Figure 4.4 shows appeal as the dominant frame within the analyzed articles containing 28.5 percent. Donation frame held the 2nd place in terms of frequency with 16.7 percent. Next came the human interest frame, it accounted for 13.1 percent while solution frame accounted for 12 percent. Empathy, prognostic and morality accounted for 9.5, 8.3 and 6 percent respectively, while diagnostic accounted for 3.6 percent. On the other hand, the economic frame, which might be considered as highly relevant to orphaned children, and conflict frame accounted only for 1.2 percent each.

Figure 4.4 Percentage of frames used by the newspapers



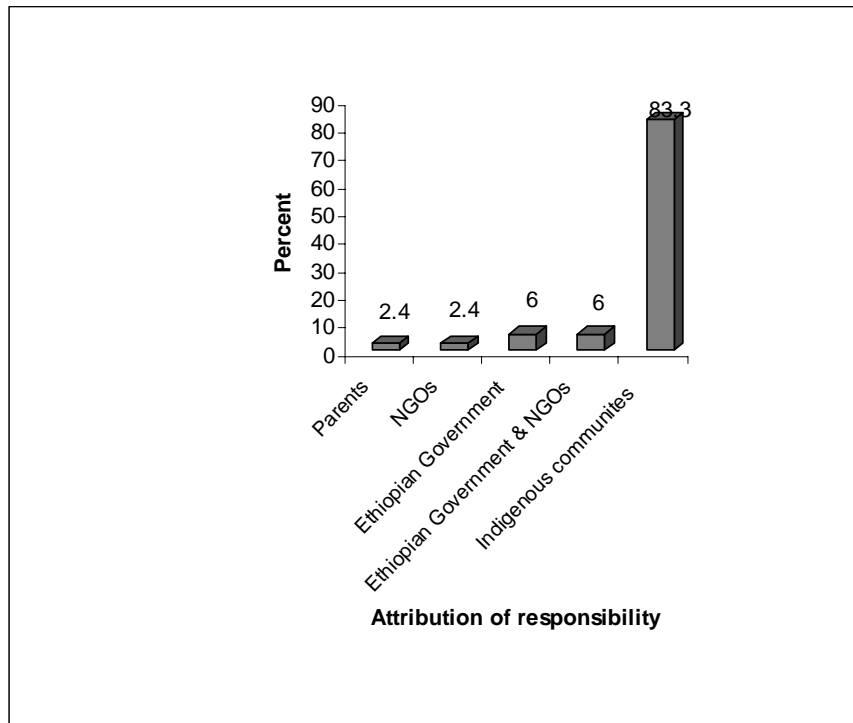
In addition to these frames, the articles were coded to identify two additional frames (Table 4.4). The findings indicated the overwhelming use of event frame, 84 percent of the stories published in *Addis Zemen* employed this frame. *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* utilized 67.7 percent event frame each.

Table 4.4 Percentage of event and process frames distribution across the newspapers.

Frames	Addis Zemen n=57	Addis Admas n=15	Reporter n=12
Event	84	67.7	67.7
Process	16	33.3	33.3
Total	100	100	100

The way the articles were coded allowed the researcher to examine the attribution of responsibility to Government, NGOs, and indigenous communities. As Figure 4.5 shows, the indigenous community was highly attributed 83.3 percent as responsible, while the Ethiopian Government in collaboration with NGOs and Ethiopian Government alone attributed to be responsible accounting 6 percent each, Governmental-organizations and parents' accounted 2.4 percent each.

Figure 4.5 Percentage of attribution of responsibility



The distribution of frames across the newspapers indicated some diversity. *Addis Zemen* frequently employed appeal and donation frame (Table 4.5). However, *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* mostly utilized appeal, human interest, prognostic and empathy frame.

Table 4.5 Percentage of frames distribution across the newspapers

Frames	Addis Zemen n=57	Addis Admas n=15	Reporter n=12
Appeal	26.3	33.3	33.3
Donation	24.6	0	0
Solution	17.5	0	0
Morality	8.8	0	0
Human Interest	7	26.7	25
Empathy	7	13.3	16.7
Prognostic	3.5	20	16.7
Diagnostic	3.5	6.7	8.3
Economic	1.8	0	0
Conflict	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100

Another central finding is how the victims were quoted frequently and empathetically in stories that used human interest. The result of the interview regarding frame is presented in two sections. The first part deals with frames themselves, while the second part deals with factors that affect frames.

4.4.1 Frames

Informants 4 from *Addis Zemen* and informant 7 from *Reporter* related the focus on appeals to the emergency nature of the problem. They said the main target of the media was to make people aware of the alarming increasing rate of orphans, to involve the

community in serving the welfare of the orphaned children and to contain the spread of HIV/AIDS, which is reportedly the main cause of orphan hood. Informant 5 from *Addis Zemen* attributed the frequency of appeal and donation to the event based routine way of reporting confirming “journalists observe and cover new issues or events based on frames that were used to cover similar issues or events in the past” (Bird and Darden, 1997 cited in Norris and Carroll, 1997). He further elaborated that they exerted no effort towards making the stories attractive due to in-efficiency of the media system in Ethiopia, lack of creativity and commitment on the media practitioners’ side. In his view, giving human face to the stories would have resulted in attracting the attention of the audience and getting aggressive response. He also said that as journalists they never tried to follow up the progress of the projects. They did not even try to scrutinize the reports presented to them.

On the other hand, the informants from *Reporter* and *Addis Admas* confirmed that their focus on human interest was attached to increasing the size of newspaper circulation to prolong the existence of the respective organizations. Media use human-interest frames to capture audience’s attention (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Moreover, regarding the special columns sponsored by the NGOs the payment legitimated the respective NGOs to have full right of preparing whatever articles they wanted and there was no room for correction from the media’s side. When asked about the causes of orphan hood, all informants mentioned HIV as the primary cause.

With regard to responsibility, all informants said that the massive nature of the problem necessitated empowering the community as the major solution to solve the problem of orphans. Informant 7 from *Reporter* further stressed building the economic capacity of the extended family as the best remedy for the problem, since it enabled orphans to grow up in their usual environment.

Regarding the discrepancy of figures, informant 1 from the *Addis Admas* said they tried to present the different figures attributing their sources. Informant 7 from *Reporter* said,

he preferred to ignore the figures rather than accommodating opposing ideas. Informant 4 from *Addis Zemen* on his part said the discrepancy between figures prevails not only between Governmental and NGOs but also within the Government organizations. In addition to this, the Governmental organizations feel afraid to provide the media with updated figures, other than those, which become official two, three years ago. Although this is the case, as a state media he preferred to use the figure made official by the Government.

Concerning the economic aspect of the problem, informant 2 attributed the absence of economic aspect of the problem in *Addis Admas* to the lack of reliable data concerning the impact rather than the general saying, which indicated that it had negative consequences on the economy of the country. Informant 8 from *Reporter* and informant 4 from *Addis Zemen* said the lack of quantifiable impact of the problem on the economy, lack of professional skills and research habits among the journalists contributed to the absence of the economic frame in *Reporter* and *Addis Zemen*.

All informants supported the idea that children were the most victimized section of the society because of the increasing rate of orphans. The orphans are exposed to economic, social and psychological problems. They are stigmatized and in some cases, they might not be able to have friends. They are also exposed to child labour, sexual exploitation and street life. Informant 3 from *Addis Admas* further added that the elderly and extended families were also victimized since they were forced to shoulder the responsibility of taking care of their grandchildren and out stretching their meager means of living.

All informants said attaching the issues of orphaned children to HIV/AIDS added to the severe problems of orphans. They admitted the mistakes formerly committed by the mass media using certain adjectives with a view to enhancing the community to grant pity and compassion to orphans. However, nowadays, they said, being aware of the stigmatization the orphaned children face and the negative attitude the community

developed towards them, that is considering them as ‘dependent’ and ‘inferior’, the journalists were trying to take the necessary care not to use such words. However since it was impossible to quit conventional trends once and for all sometimes some words slipped. As was mentioned in the literature review using some adjectives which label children as ‘acted upon’ rather than ‘actors’ brings a negative impact on the outlook of the community towards the children.

4.4.2 Factors that affected the frames

Informants were not aware of how the stories were framed in the newspapers. All agreed they attempted to achieve objectivity and accuracy. This reflects the professional self-reflection of journalists that often claim simply reflects what really happened or provide factual accounts of the truth (Eddy, 1999).

Informant 4 from *Addis Zemen* said that their reporting system was event-based and they tried to write the stories from the speeches and reports delivered to them at the specific ceremony. He said “we do not attempt to incorporate the facts with our agenda rather we present them as they are”. Moreover due to a lack of commitment and professional skill many *Reporters* choose the easiest way of writing stories based on the reports and speeches delivered at the ceremony”. He further said *Addis Zemen* had other columns to accommodate such social problems, including Hiwot Endihnat, (this is how life is), Yezemenu Dewel, (A wake up call), Agenda. When asked about their purposes to publish the stories, all informants stated that raising awareness and mobilizing the local community were the primary targets. Informant 4 from *Addis Zemen* said the organizations working on orphaned children utilized the media coverage to get additional budget and Government’s support. At the same time, they did not allow the media to search for facts other than those delivered to them by the organizations. He said they are very skeptical with media.

Although all informants stressed that poverty was one of the major problems that exacerbated orphan hood, they admitted the problem of the media for not discharging

their responsibilities in an appropriate manner. All of them admitted that they neither invested enough effort in making the community aware of the problem, nor in publicizing the researches conducted in the area, which they attributed to their lack of commitment. They said even the little work they carried out was superficial, lacking investigation and not showing the real picture of orphaned children.

Concerning morality although all of the informants sensed its being crucial way of mobilizing the community, the reason for not using it they said was again not giving due consideration to the matter. With regard to the solutions, accepting the problem as a national agenda, being aware of its adverse consequences and devising community-based projects were suggested from the informants. Regarding journalistic routines, the informants said the organizations did not get the consent of the organizations to contact the 'beneficiaries' other than the ones chosen and pre-oriented for interviews by the organizations themselves.

The private newspapers, said that they had limited control over the articles prepared by the NGOs, whereas, they said they had full freedom to prepare other stories on their own. According to the informants, although the organizations had their own editorial policies, they did not try to pose imposition on them, unless they wrote on ethnicity, religious articles and so on. Informant 4 said media professionals were given certain direction based on the editorial policy on how to write the articles, when they presented their plan to their respective departments. Therefore, they were supposed to write in that direction. Although this was the situation, all interviewees confirmed that the editor-in-chiefs decided the final outputs of the newspapers.

Similarly, the information from the interviewees revealed that at all times the newspapers faced pressure from the NGOs, to focus on what the organizations had accomplished, instead of searching and focusing on what was really going on. The informants said the organizations became offended, when the journalists tried to verify the facts from the 'beneficiaries'. Informant 6 from *Addis Zemen* said there was an

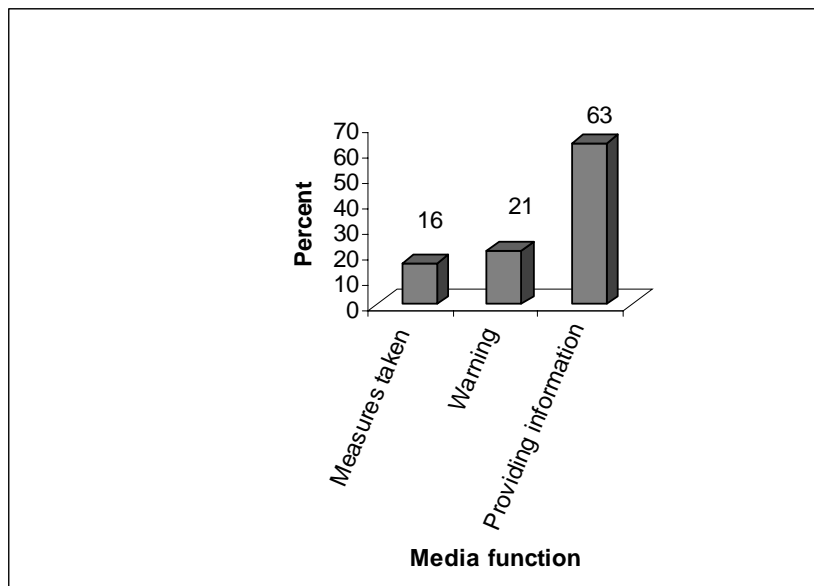
occasion when her trial to research on the report ended up in a fight with the organization.

All informants confirmed that the lack of professional skills and financial constraints had great impact on the quantity and quality of the outputs. Informant 4 further added that a journalist should be committed to serve the public as a worker of state media, rather than echoing the reports of the respective organizations and serving as their public relations officers.

4.5. Functions performed by the newspapers

Figure 4.6 shows how providing information was the dominant role of the analyzed newspaper articles. It accounted for 63 percent on the other hand the warning role was the less frequently used, 21 percent, despite the alarming increasing rate of orphaned children while the measures taken frame was the least frequently used frame, accounting 16 percent.

Figure 4.6 Percentages of media functions fulfilled by the newspapers



The distribution of functions across the newspapers indicated the dominance of providing information in the analyzed articles (Table 4.7). Regardless of their ownership and topic of interest, providing information was the central role for all newspapers. *Reporter* covered warning with a higher frequency than the other two newspapers, while *Addis Admas* covered measures taken with a relatively higher frequency.

Table 4.6 percentage of media function distribution across the newspapers

Media Function	Addis Zemen n=57	Addis Admas n=15	Reporter n=12
Providing information	80	60	65
Warning	15	25	30
Covering measures	5	15	5

4.6. Analysis and Discussion

The purpose of this thesis is examining how Ethiopian newspapers framed the issues of orphaned children, one of the massive problems the country is facing. To this end, three newspapers were content analyzed during a period of one year, September 2005-August 2006. Moreover, journalists and editors who worked for the respective newspapers were interviewed.

As stated in the presentation section *Addis Zemen* covered many stories about orphaned children. In *Addis Zemen* donation and appeal were the most recurrent themes when covering the issue of orphaned children. Furthermore, the majority of these stories were attributed to NGOs. This section interprets and discusses the results presented in the above sections. Additionally, it relates the findings of the current research to the bigger picture of framing theory.

4.6.1 Number of Articles

The findings indicated a high degree of difference among the three newspapers with regard to their field of interest. In terms of quantity, the Government media, *Addis Zemen*, published 57 stories that related to orphaned children. One factor for this high number as compared to the other newspapers might be that it is a daily newspaper and as such has more space than the weekly newspapers. *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* published 15 and 12 articles on orphaned children respectively. Entman (1991), Norris and Carroll (1997), stated (section 2.5) media frame an event or issue as significant through the number of articles and their placement.

Based on this it might be possible to say that *Addis Zemen* had framed the issues of orphaned children as important, with regard to the number of stories. Sizing of stories remains one way of saliencing a story (Entman. 1991:9). On the other hand, *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* attached less importance to the issue. By adding and subtracting the number of articles media salience or downplay the issue in the general flow of information (ibid). Although the private newspapers suffered from resource constraints during the research period, it might be argued that a maximum of one story on orphaned children per month (four editions a month) is by any standard a very small number as compared to the alarming and massive nature of the problem.

4.6.2 Themes

Children become orphaned due to many reasons. In addition to this, many stakeholders involve in addressing and preventing the problem. When an issue or event has several sides, the media tend to focus on certain elements of that issue or problem (Andsager and Powers,1999). Based on this view, the findings of the current research indicated that the newspapers tended to concentrate on limited themes. That is the analyzed print media gave priority to giving information and dealing with temporary relief.

The massive nature of the problem lends itself to other themes, such as warning; explaining the magnitude and measures taken or that should be taken to safeguard the

welfare of the children. Obviously such types of coverage were highly important given that 4.6 million children were orphaned and in need of support from the community. The extensive focus on these themes has two limitations. First, it contributed less to an informed public debate since the newspapers failed to provide thorough information (De Waal, 2000). Second, the analyzed media treated and framed the problem as simple, which would be resolved through temporary aid such as food and non-food aid (Moeller, 1999).

The Government remained an important stakeholder in safeguarding the wellbeing of orphaned children. Government's policy and action can contribute a lot in both preventing and addressing the problem. The community is as important in the same way. Similarly, NGOs and donors played important roles in addressing, and preventing the problem.

The findings suggested that the analyzed newspapers focused less on these stakeholders' efforts. They did not seem to bother to mention what the above-mentioned stakeholders were doing, with regard to discharging their responsibilities to fulfill their commitment. As Roefs states governments can affect news frames when they directly or indirectly control the media. They did not try to concentrate on verifying whether the Government, NGOs working on children, were exerting due effort to implement the legal instruments, for which they were committed. Here it might be said, the newspapers "can not exercise the watch dog role". As Kern (2004), states the media can also use their power and freedom to highlight social issues and exert a kind of subtle pressure on government to implement laws and fulfill its commitment to international convention. Nevertheless, the priorities of the media seemed to become more 'materialistic' than 'realistic'. The Government media seemed to give priority to serving the interest of the organization, while the private ones focused on commercial interest.

As mentioned in literature review (section 2.4), the journalists should cast genuinely new light on a situation by carrying out long-term in-depth investigation. The findings however showed that the journalists had not discharged their responsibility in this way. Had they tried to investigate their activities in a deeper manner, it might be argued that they could have been able to identify the problems as well as throw a light on unseen perspectives, which may bring a profound effect on the audience. Frames influence how public think of an issue by defining the issue, indicating what/who the causes are, and suggesting what should be done to overcome the problem (Entman).

4.6.3 Sources

The newspapers primarily relayed on sources of NGOs and Government officials with 59.5 and 22.6 percent respectively. The Government media, *Addis Zemen* attributed 47.4 percent of the articles to NGOs and 31.6 percent to Government officials, while the indigenous communities and experts appeared to a very limited extent. The private media attributed mostly to NGOs, while Government officials were attributed less. The module (section 2.4) states that journalists should not relay on official sources that delivered information on behalf of the children. Rather they should give recognition to voices of children in order to give a complete picture of the issue. In addition to this the UNCRC for which Ethiopia is a signatory guarantees children the right to receive and impart information, to express and have their opinion's taken into account in matters concerning them, to be protected from harmful information and depending on their age and level of maturity, to participate in decisions that affect their lives.

The UNCRC requires that

- Children be seen as important subject of the media.
- Children contribute greater voices to the media
- Children are portrayed accurately and with greater depth in the media.

However to the reverse of this, orphaned children were attributed less in all the newspapers. This confirms what the module states “Children in developing countries

even have less opportunities to be heard”. It might reflect that orphaned children are in many respects attributed lower value and that the media in many ways give expression to and exercise a form of violence or cultural oppression (Feilitzen and Carlsson 1999). Since we think more about those issues, the media present to us and regard them more important than those not presented in the media Craferiss (section 2.5) here it might also be argued that not presenting the problem from the children’s angle might have negative impacts in the responses given from the community. The way in which the media represents or even ignores children, can influence decisions taken on their behalf, and how the rest of the society regards them (the Guidelines, 2002).

Furthermore, experts and indigenous communities were invisible in the newspapers. Incorporating experts’ opinions was also considered important in the module (section 2.4) to encourage the society to discharge its responsibilities towards respecting the rights of the child. In addition to this, excluding experts’ views might have caused less understanding of the rights and legal instruments issued concerning children. When elaborating the reason for not including the experts' views, the informants from *Addis Zemen* said, since the newspaper was a daily newspaper, ‘the intimidating deadlines do not allow journalists to stop and think how they frame the story even though they frame each story” (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002).

On the other hand, the informants from the private media said they had no room for correction in the special columns. In addition to this source constraint was the other reason for excluding experts’ views. Here it might also be possible to say that the newspapers’ primary purpose was ‘materialistic’ rather than ‘realistic’. They seemed to give priority to their commercial interest and serving the interests of their editors rather than giving in-depth insights to the problem. This correlates with “The ownership of the media and their interest whether it is profit making or not affects what and how the media cover events” (Graber,2002and Johnson and Carter,2005).

The other finding was that there is a close relationship between sources and donations. It might be said that the newspapers were trying to attach children to charity, that is children were depicted as 'acted upon' and not as 'actors'. "We continuously receive the message of the powerful and sublimating them to our consciousness every time we consume a media product" (Barthes, 1972 and Althusser, 1971). Thus, it might be possible to say that this kind of representation might reinforce negative perception on orphaned children. Moreover, this kind of representation seems to deprive the orphaned children from the rights of expressing their views that was accorded to them in the UNCRC by regarding them as 'objects' rather than 'subjects'.

4.6.4 Frames

As stated earlier, analyzing media framing may start with the number of stories and their location within the media outlet in question. Media framing of an issue relates not only to the content of articles but also physical characteristics, particularly frequency and location of the story (Entman). The module (2006) elaborates that stories that were deemed important by journalists are normally presented on front pages. Nevertheless, the result indicated that all the newspapers framed the issues of orphaned children in a less significant manner, publishing 90 percent of the stories on their inside pages.

Moreover, the newspapers employed a number of frames in covering issues of orphaned children during the research period. In most of the framing, the newspapers tried to attach the orphaned children to AIDS only rather than giving due attention to other social and human rights perspective. Thus, it might be possible to say that the media had neglected their education, health and economic status. In addition to this, it might have negative impacts in understanding the real situation the children are in and in turn, the response they should get from the community. "Omission of the problem definition, explanation, evaluation and recommendation is as important as inclusion in guiding the audience (Entman 1993).

At one-step of the research process the newspapers articles was coded for two types of frames. The first group of frames includes event and process frames. As the result (Table 4.4) shows the event frame was used dominantly in the newspapers. Furthermore, the newspapers employed a number of other frames. The frequency of these frames differed from the most frequent (appeal and donation) frames to less frequent (economic and conflict frame). The majority frames human interest, solution, empathy, prognostic, morality and diagnostic were used more frequently than the economic frame but not as often as the appeal and donation frames. For simplicity purposes, the frames were grouped into four sets.

The following discussion will deal with one set of frames at a time.

4.6.4.1 Event and process frames

Among other things which are given due emphasis by the guidelines adopted by the Federation of Journalists in 1998 cited in the module, is for journalists covering children's issues violation of the rights of children's safety, security, their education, health and social welfare and all forms of exploitation as important questions for investigation and public debate. Moreover, the Guidelines (1998:28) stressed that media should not consider and report the conditions of children as events but should continuously report the process likely to lead or leading to the occurrence.

The results, however, suggested that the newspapers used event frames in 80 % of the stories rather than dealing with in-depth sights of the rights of children mentioned above. As Iyengar's (1990) suggests the thematic frame would put social issues or problems into historical social context. Thus, it might be argued that concentrating on the event frame might divert the attention of the media from seeing and reflecting to others the real picture of the problem. The informants from *Addis Zemen* said they utilized event frame mostly because they cover the issue when there was an event and this can be seen from two angles. Firstly, it might show that the problem is not given due consideration and is treated as an event frame. Secondly, the events mostly focus on donation and support that might signify orphaned children as dependent.

As was mentioned in the literature, children are orphaned to their due parents' death, which results from several reasons (poverty, war, sickness including HIV). The module (section 2.4) stresses that reporting could go beyond identifying a problem and include interviews with young people and others that showed how the problem arose and what its consequences are. It further elaborates that such an approach is likely to influence policy-makers. However, when the media use event frame, they are suggesting that the problem was an event that suddenly occurred, rather than a complex incident that developed over time. Hence, the findings correlate with the episodic frame refers to social problems as events rather than process within socio economic context (Iyengar,1990). This means the analyzed newspapers put the problem out of its context (poverty, war, HIV and others). In addition to this, since no in-depth analysis was given to the socio economic impacts of orphan hood, no ways of prevention were duly presented, which might have resulted in failing 'to suggest what should be done to overcome the problem'(Entman,1993). Nelson states, through omission and emphasis, the media make some consideration or measures seem more important. The guidelines also stress that journalists through investigation can throw light to unseen solutions. The results however indicated that most of the coverage rested on short-term solutions like providing food, uniforms, pencils, exercise books and so on.

The high number of event frame used was associated with the large number of NGOs (59.5 percent) as they provide aid to the orphaned children. Here it is possible to argue that the media might adopt the NGOs frame, since these sources are less likely to attribute other factors (such as failure to implement the Convention on the Government's side for fear of losing support or on their side) but to report positive reflection of the respective organizations. "Sources might intentionally direct the attention of the media to such type of coverage, since they might have their own agendas that they want something to share with the audience (Johnson and Carter, 2005).The finding correlates with the governments can easily affect news frames, when they directly or indirectly own or control media (Carrage and Roefs, 2004).

This might also seem that there are many NGOs working on children, which might signify that it is easy to get donations easily in the name of children, although the donations do not seem to be utilized for the betterment of the children's lives. As was mentioned in the literature, the mainstream media is fast becoming a full-fledged commercial enterprise quite often, the mouthpiece of selected political parties or fundamentalist groups ([http://www info change India Org features 410](http://www.infochangeindia.org/features/410)). Hence, it might be possible to say the media are striving to fulfill their commercial interest or the interest of their owners rather than serving the public.

4.6.4.2 Appeal, donation, solution and empathy frames

The appeal frame was one of the most frequently utilized frames in all the newspapers. On average, it was used in 21 percent of the analyzed stories. The use of this frame might suggest that the media recognized the problem as an emergency that required urgent measures. The use of the appeal frame might indicate that the journalists tried to mobilize indigenous community so that the impact of the problem could be minimized.

The appeal frame was also used in relation to the high number of NGOs and Government sources, who were involved in demanding more aid. The appeal frame had implication similar to the event frame. By focusing on the emergency nature of the problem the newspapers implicitly suggested short-term solutions (food & non-food aids) and did not question the political system, international relation or other fundamental causes. Here it might be said that although the journalists understood the emergency nature of the problem they tend to treat it as simple, which could be solved through food and non-food items.

Moeller (1999:108) stresses how media often portray victims, usually women and children, as sympathetic. In order to create empathy the media can use adjectives to put labels on the people when describing them. Generally, the media encourage readers, viewers and audiences to identify with the affected by "(1) Emphasizing their status as

victims, (2) remembering the readers of their essential similarity with the victims and (3) representing connotations of innocence and vulnerability” (Robinson, 2000:620). The newspapers used words like ‘helpless, ‘hopeless’ and ‘with no destiny’. This forces readers to label children as helpless and correlates with the statement made in the module “Children in the developing countries are seen as helpless sufferers, unable to act, think and speak for themselves”. The frequency of this frame may indicate that the media regarded the orphaned children as victims (Robinson, 2000). This might seem to have an implication on the outlook of the community towards children. That is putting children as ‘acted upon’ instead of as ‘actors’. It might be said here that this situation matters not only the present children but also have impact on the outlook of tomorrow’s adults. That is, there will be no way for them to understand that children have the rights. The study’s findings also indicated that there is a close relationship between the empathy frame on the one hand, and NGOs and orphaned children serving as sources on the other.

This frame existed in all the analyzed stories that directly or indirectly quoted the orphaned children. Here it might be possible to argue that NGOs are using the orphaned children as sources (who might be oriented ahead to reflect the positive side of the organization) to demand for additional resource from donors and support from the local Government. Powerful communication agents such as elected officials and interest group advocate and encourage frames with purpose of planting them in news contents (Nelson and Oxley, 1996:1041).

In addition to this employing solution frame as was mostly employed in *Addis Zemen* (in most cases the distribution of cattle to the orphaned children) depicts the salience of donation. The consequence is (section 2.4) that young people are often represented as a problem and a threat, that vulnerable groups are stigmatized without respect for their integrity; something that also occurs in connection with media’s reports of war, catastrophes and starvation (Kunkel and Smith cited by Feilitzen and Carlsson).

The newspapers failed to recognize the negative impact of attaching the issue of orphans to donation. ‘They tried to encourage readers by emphasizing the status of the affected as victims’ (Moller 1999:108). This might reflect how much the problem has been detached from its root causes (poverty, policy implementation, etc) and was considered as something to be solved by temporary means. When only food and once in rare cases other materials were suggested to solve the problem, it seemed that the media were not aware of the massive and adverse nature of the problem, which needs the concerted effort of all organs for its solution.

4.6.4.3. Morality, prognostic, diagnostic, and responsibility frames

The study’s other finding proposed that the newspapers employed these frames to a limited extent. These frames range only from 8.3 to 3.6 percent of the stories. Prognostic and diagnostic frames were employed in higher frequency in the private newspapers as compared to the Government one. On the contrary, with regard to morality the reverse holds true, *Addis Zemen* used morality frame to some extent that is only during holidays. The media offer social prescriptions about how to behave” (Semetko and Valk.). Although Addis Zemen told the readers about how Christians should act towards orphaned children, how to behave and bring attitudinal change, it was only event based, in most cases during official holidays.

Here it might be said that the morality frame was not used in an effective way. Authors such as Neamanetal (1992) argue the cultural values find their way into the media. *Addis Zemen* utilized the moral frame to a limited extent, while this frame did not exist in the private newspapers. The low use of this frame implies that the newspapers did not urge the readers to take actions towards the problem, since one element of this frame is providing social prescriptions of how to behave. This might suggest lack of commitment towards urging the community using the effective way attached to their day-to-day lives.

These three frames together (diagnostic, prognostic & responsibility) constitute Entman's (1993) definitions of frames, which states frames define problems, indicate effects, suggest solutions and attribute responsibility. Diagnostic frame provides an assessment of how and why orphan hood happened, while prognostic frame emphasize outcome of the problem and responsibility. *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* published as many as 15 and 12 articles respectively some of which discussed the factors behind, the outcomes of the problem and suggested solutions to a limited extent and then conclude in advertising the activities of the respective NGO in supporting the orphaned children. Thus, the frequent use of these frames might relate to the newspaper's choice of sources. That is a special column funded by NGOs, which had a commercial purpose behind.

Given the low number of each frame in the analyzed material of *Addis Zemen*, it is possible to conclude that the newspaper failed to discuss the complete range of causes of the problem. On the other hand, although the private newspapers employed prognostic and diagnostic to a relatively higher extent, one might conclude from the content of the articles that their primary aim was full filing the interest of funding NGOs. The mainstream media is fast becoming a full-fledged commercial enterprise quite often, the mouth- piece of selected political parties or fundamentalist groups ([http://www info change India Org features 410](http://www.info change India Org features 410)). The findings correlate with the newspapers tend to focus on advertising the work of the funding NGOs.

As the event frame indicated, only HIV was nearly underlined as the main cause of the problem. The Guidelines (2002:29) emphasize that journalists should not stigmatize any child and avoid categorizing to discrimination that exposes a child to negative reprisals including additional physical, or psychological lifelong abuse, discrimination or rejection by their local communities. As opposed to this, however most of the articles began relating even the topic with HIV and reads "5000 Br was donated to HIV orphans". As Entman states (in section 2.5) "Newspapers frame stories in their headlines hence the headlines and sub-heads are very important frame indicators".

Hence discussing HIV as the only cause of orphan hood might result in adding to the discriminatory situation the orphaned children face.

Furthermore, the newspapers never analyzed the effects and results of the problem and attach it to the socio economic situation in a deeper manner, which contradicts with “Thematic frame would put social issues or problems into a historical social context” (Iyengar,1990). Given these two points, it is expected that the newspapers will not suggest a framework of solutions. As the discussion on event frame stated, the newspapers suggested largely food, non-food aid and cattle as solutions of the problems. In other words, the analyzed newspapers were largely involved in a superficial coverage. They ended up in commending the efforts of the NGOs in supporting the ‘beneficiaries’.

Generally, the newspapers attributed responsibility to indigenous communities to a large extent and the Ethiopian Government and NGOs to a lesser extent. This may be related to the media’s, belief that the alarming increasing rate of the problem cannot be solved with out the cooperation of the stakeholders.

4.6.4.4. Conflict and economic frames

The newspapers employed these frames to a limited extent as well. Within this group of frames the economic frame, (which can be seen as quite closely related to the problems of orphaned children) was the second least employed in the analyzed newspapers. This low number might suggest the isolation of the problem of orphaned children from its socio-economic and political context. The three newspapers were coded for conflict frame to see whether the newspapers picked up this disagreement. The result suggested that *Addis Admas* utilized conflict frame to a limited extent, whereas no conflict frame appeared in the stories published in *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter*. Thus, infrequent use of conflict frame might suggest the absence of accommodating opposing ideas in the newspapers.

When we come to the issues of absences, the newspapers did not mention the causes of orphan hood, other than AIDS. As much as frames are recognized by presence, they are manifested by absence of key words, important phrases and sources (Entman, 1993:53). For instance, they never mention poverty, flood, war, and other illnesses as causes of orphan hood. The newspapers did not try to reflect the depth of the problem, that is they did not give due attention to the economic, social and psychological problems as well as the violation of the orphaned children's rights stipulated in the national, regional and international instruments.

Furthermore, the newspaper did not try to investigate whether the Government and NGOs working on children are exerting efforts towards implementing the national, regional or international legal instruments. From this, it could be argued that journalists were far from reflecting the real picture of the problem, which might have a great impact in enhancing these stakeholders to contribute their share in solving the problem. In this way as Entman suggested frames influenced how people think of the issue. In this way, these newspapers by focusing on one aspect and omitting the other drew and directed the readers or viewers' attention away from one side, which perhaps might lead to different reaction, as emphasized by Entman (1993).

4.6.5 Media Functions

The last research question examined was what type of functions the researched newspapers provided during the period in question. The newspapers to some extent warned about the alarming increasing rate of orphan hood. At times, they even provided projections. However, the findings showed how the newspapers primarily were engaged in providing information about aid. *Addis Zemen* provided information regarding how many people got aid and what kind of aid. As the analysis of the frames has indicated, the newspapers were largely preoccupied with this type of information rather than analyzing the root causes of the problem and suggesting long-term solutions. On the other hand, though the private newspapers tried to give the stories a human face, they did not present different views, since the primary target was fulfilling the interests of

the funding NGOs. That is “Sponsors’ economic resources” success in framing issues (Carragee and Roefs, 2004:216).

Therefore, this might suggest that they were far from providing ground for understanding the seriousness and real picture of the problem. The other finding was that in *Addis Zemen* the news concerning orphaned children was mostly combined with other matters, which did not have any relation with the topic. From this it could be said that the media did not give the orphaned children due focus. Moreover, it might be possible to say the way these stories were written might divert the readers focus on the orphaned children.

To have a look at some examples, the article entitled ‘Lij hodu kemola’ meaning ‘if the child’s belly is full’, published on Ginbot 4, 1998E.C. in *Addis Admas* seems like an advertisement of the African Child Policy Forum, where the public is patronized as being ignorant about the need of orphans. Again recommendations are given with due discussion of the pro’s and con’s, as in the case of having orphanage open to the society. Thus, as this is funded by the NGO, it would seem that the journalist has simply allowed it to state its views and made it more of an opinion column than one with objective reporting.

Another article in *Reporter* on Miazia 3, 1998E.C. on adoption seems to have been plagiarized from a foreign newspaper. Moreover, the writer seems to lack a definite purpose for writing it and ends up on the lame note that the advantages of foreign foster parents will be known several decades in the future.

The article appearing in *Addis Zemen* on Hidar 26, 1998 has as its title the fact that the church gave financial and other assistance to AIDS orphans. It begins by stating the Ethiopian Catholic Church gave financial and other assistance to 450 HIV positive orphans in Adigrat but then rambles on about all the good the Catholic Church is doing in Gamo Gofa and concludes by talking about how rapidly AIDS is spreading in the

Southern Region. This article is a good example of how writers easily go off track and can be used in writing exercises as examples of diversion and going off at a tangent.

The other article published in this newspaper on Tahsas 15, talks about how the Ethiopian Orthodox Church gave financial and other assistance to AIDS orphans. This article is a good example that the newspaper does not seem to be planning its issues well and that journalists are using their space more for advertising specific organizations rather than transmitting the news.

Another article on Ginbot 29 in the same newspaper similarly seems to be advertisement of an NGO called Fikreselam. After a few sentences that appeal to emotion about orphans and hunger it goes on to advertise the staff and the work of this NGO. It actually concludes by saying NGO has feeding programs for adults, which is in no way related to its title on Orphans.

Moreover, as was mentioned in the literature the media accept the traditional role of a child in the society and portray the child accordingly. This correlates with what McQuail says when journalists frame an event, they activate the existing beliefs. Mostly a child is perceived as a tiny thing who is supposed to learn what its teachers or parents say. The newspapers never tried to listen to the voices of the orphaned children. As was stressed by Feilitzen and Carlsson(1999), the media can also use their power and freedom to highlight social issues and exert a kind of subtle pressure on government to implement the laws and international conventions.

However, as opposed to this no such effort was noticed in the articles published by the newspapers during the research period. In addition to this, as was approved from the informants, the journalists have neither in depth knowledge about children and their rights, nor general skills on the profession, which proves what Feilitzen and Carlsson said “Programs are not designed scientifically, but are instead based on ‘editors’ and ‘producers’ presumption, about children.

Chapter Five

5. Summary conclusion and recommendations

This chapter provides a brief summary of the research process, conclusions of findings and recommendations. After the summary and conclusion are presented, goals are set for future studies. These recommendations are believed to broaden our understanding of Ethiopian media framing of orphan children's issues.

5.1 Summary and conclusions

The increasing number of orphaned children has been one of the adverse social problems in Ethiopia. After the coming into being of HIV/AIDS, the outcome has mostly been felt in children. According to the 2004 official report of the Ministry of Health, there are 4.6 million orphaned children in Ethiopia. Since media are one of the important shareholders in containing the increasing number of orphans and solving the problems of those who have already been orphaned, this paper argues that the way the media frame the problems has significant implication in the response provided from the community. Thus, arises a need to examine the local media.

To this end, this research proposed to examine how Ethiopian newspapers framed orphan children's issues in terms of themes, sources quoted and frames employed. Besides, it intended to find out what roles the media played in containing the increasing magnitude of orphan hood and urging the community to participate in solving the problems of the orphaned children.

Framing theory was used as a conceptual framework for the current study. As the literature suggested through frames the media define problems, imply solutions and attribute responsibilities. The research was conducted using a combination of quantitative and qualitative research approaches. Content analysis was utilized to gather information regarding the number and location of articles, themes and sources quoted as well as frames employed in the articles. A one-year (September 2005- August 2006) coverage of three newspapers *Addis Zemen*, *Addis Admas* and *Reporter*, was

examined, Further in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants of the respective media to complement the findings. The data was analyzed and discussed based on the framing theory and related with the research discussed in the literature review. Regarding the conclusion, as the media is duty bound to play great role in addressing orphaned children's issues, with regard to protecting their rights, their major responsibilities are providing information and educating the public concerning the problem and measures taken.

The three newspapers tended to provide more information rather than discussing the nature of the problem and providing the projection of its further status. Appeal was the most frequent theme dealt with, particularly in the Government owned media. The increasing number of orphaned children and the projections that the figure will double itself in the near future seems to provide the basis for such type of coverage. The newspapers mostly focused on mobilizing the local community.

However, the newspapers seemed not to discharge their responsibilities in an appropriate manner, that they tend to provide superficial coverage. In most cases, the newspapers seemed to concentrate on advertising the accomplishment of certain NGOs rather than focusing on identifying the causes and the consequences as well as the potential solutions for the problems. Although the private newspapers in some cases seemed to identify the outcome but the end up in advertising the accomplishment of the respective organizations, which shadow the issue of the orphaned children.

In most cases, especially *Addis Zemen* seemed to present articles more like progress report. Moreover, topics are combined with others in no way related to their titles, which could show how the journalists went off easily. Focusing on the advertisement of activities of NGOs seemed more prevalent in private newspapers. As the columns are funded by NGOs, it would seem that the journalist simply allow them to state their views and made it more of an opinion column than one with objective reporting.

The media relay on different sources to report some events, issues or problems. Similarly, the newspapers primarily relayed on Government officials and NGOs as sources. These sources remained closer to the media because they were among the major shareholders in containing the increase in the number of orphans and have a great share in solving their problems.

On the other hand, the study has shown how the orphaned and the rest of the local communities were invisible in the newspapers. The newspapers tried to attach charity to orphaned children and reinforce negative perception on them. A lack of commitment on the part of the journalists and the media were among the main factors for the absence of these voices, which could have great impact on urging the pertinent bodies, that is the Government, NGOs and the community at large in contributing their share towards mitigating the problem. Moreover, they violated their rights to express their thoughts stipulated on the UNCRC. Media frame issues or problems they cover through different techniques.

Addis Zemen tended to frame the problem as significant based on the number of articles it published and establishment of special columns. Nevertheless, the private newspapers seemed to frame it in a less important manner with regard to the number of articles. On the other hand, in terms of placement neither the Government nor the private newspapers tended to attach significance to the problem as they place most of the articles on the inside pages.

It has been argued in the study that media framing remains important because frames may define problems, suggest solutions and attribute responsibilities. The selected newspapers tended to cover the problem through the event frame. By using this frame, they imply the problem as some thing that happened suddenly and could be solved with food and non-food items.

They also tended to underline HIV as the only cause of orphan hood and suggested food and non-food aid as solutions to the problem. The responsibility of solving the problem was largely attributed to the indigenous community. The analyzed newspapers provided less analysis of the entirety of factors involved (diagnostic frame) and the extent and effect of orphan hood (prognostic frame).The study has shown how the event frame was largely associated with a lack of commitment and skills to undertake research, to identify the problems, consequences and the suggest solutions.

The newspapers tended to employ different frames based on their main topics of interest. *Addis Zemen* largely used appeal and donation while *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* focused on appeal and human interest. The 10.7 percent of the orphaned children quoted in the analyzed articles were covered mostly through empathy and human interest frames. As Moeller (1999) suggested, it seems the their voices were considered as less significant than the official sources, since the affected people were only used to show the extent of the problem or giving human examples instead of commenting on what is going on.

In addition to sources, other factors affected how the analyzed media framed the orphan children's issues. Ownership of the newspapers seemed to affect the newspapers. Furthermore, the media's ideology regarding the causes and solutions of the problem seemed to influence their coverage. It seemed that almost all key informants regarded HIV/AIDS as the only cause of orphan hood and food and non-food aid as the solution to the problem.

5.2 The need for further research

This study has attempted to throw light on how print media framed orphaned children's issues during September2005-August 2006. However, it has not been comprehensive in containing all the possible research, regarding media framing of these issues of orphaned children. This study was limited in that it analyzed only textual articles. The

visual elements of these articles are not included. However, visual elements such as pictures affect framing of orphaned children's issues.

Thus, researching on visual elements will be of vital. Furthermore, analyzing media farming's effect from the readers' side would complement the current knowledge of media framing. The way broadcasting media frame orphaned children's issues could also be another useful perspective.

The increasing number orphans has negative impact not only on the lives of the orphans but also in the lives of the extended families, who have to outstretch their meager means of living. Moreover, its impact is felt in the economic development of the country. In some cases, it may also hamper in achieving the economic development plans set by the country.

Therefore, there arises a need in giving due attention to contain the problem as well as solving the problems of those affected people. As Gibbs and Warhover suggested in the literature 'media do not merely provide facts; they add some context and take out others targeting their audiences'. Therefore, media need to give due attention while framing orphaned children's issues.

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Appendix A

List of Key Informants

Informant's Name	Position	Organization
1. Nebiyu Mekonen	Editor-in-chief	<i>Addis Admas</i>
2. Selomon G/egiziabher	Deputy-editor-in-chief	<i>Addis Admas</i>
3. Fikadu Debessa	Journalist	<i>Addis Admas</i>
4. Wondimkun Ayene	Editor-in-chief	<i>Addis Zemen</i>
5. Abiy Getahun	Journalist	<i>Addis Zemen</i>
6. Almaz Ayalew	Journalist	<i>Addis Zemen</i>
7. Eshete Asefa	Deputy-editor-in-chief	<i>Reporter</i>
8. Tadesse G/ mariam	Journalist	<i>Reporter</i>
9. Tigist Zerihun	Journalist	<i>Reporter</i>

Appendix B

Coding Sheet

Name of coder -----

Newspaper -----

Date of publication -----

Headline of the article-----

Article description __

1.1. Article type

- News __
- Feature __
- Interview __

1.2. Location

- Front page __
- Inside page __
- Back page __

1. Theme

- Donation __
- Appeal __
- Government action or policy __
- Warning of the alarming increase rate __
- The magnitude of orphaned children__
- Non- governmental organization action

2. Sources

- Government officials
- Non-government organizations
- Orphaned children
- Experts
- Indigenous communities

3. Frames

3.1. Appeal frame

- Does the article involve appeals made by government, non governmental organizations and other agents? Yes or No
- Does the story state needs for additional aid? Yes or No
- Does the story suggest that the problems require an urgent action? Yes or No

3.2. Diagnostic frames

- Does the story provide HIV as the cause of orphan hood? Yes or No
- Does the story provide war, drought, policy implementation inefficiency etc as causes for orphan hood? Yes or No
- Does the story state poverty as the cause of orphan hood? Yes or No
- Does the story state socio-economic factors as causes of orphan hood? Yes or No

3.3. Prognostic frames

- Does the story state the outcome of the increasing magnitude of orphan hood on children, extended family or on the community?
- Does the story state that children are exposed to abuse and exploitation due to orphan hood?
- Does the story state inability to benefit from social services of orphaned children?
- Does the story state stigma and discrimination of children due to orphan hood? Yes or No

3.4. Human interest frame

- Does the story provide a human example or “human face” while talking about orphan hood? Yes or No
- Does the story present the lives of certain orphaned children? Yes or No
- Does the story give stress to how children or extended families, elderly or the community at large are affected by orphan hood? Yes or No

3.5. Economic frame

- Does the story contain something that focuses on financial loss? Yes or No
- Does the story indicate the negative impact orphan hood has on the economy of the country? Yes or No
- Does the story emphasize the impact of orphan hood on meeting the plans designed to ensure sustainable economic developments in the country? Yes or No

3.6. Conflict frames

- Does the story accommodate two opposing ideas? Yes or No
- Does the story incorporate the discrepancy on the magnitude of orphaned children? Yes or No

3.7. Solution Frame

- Does the story suggest money, food or non-food as solutions for the problems? Yes or No

Does the story indicate the problem of orphans as something unsolvable? Yes or No

3.8. Attribution of responsibility frame

Does the story suggest that government have the ability to alleviate the problems of orphaned children? Yes or No

Does the story suggest that non-governmental organizations have the ability to mitigate the problems of orphaned children? Yes or No

Does the story suggest that governmental and non governmental organizations have the ability to alleviate the problems of orphaned children? Yes or No

Does the story suggest parents have the ability to alleviate the problems of orphaned children? Yes or No

Does the story suggest that indigenous community have the ability to mitigate the problems of orphaned children? Yes or No

3.9. Morality frame

Does the story contain any moral message? Yes or No

Does the story make reference to God, religious tents? Yes or No

Does the story offer social prescriptions about how to behave towards orphaned children? Yes or No

3.10. Event versus process frames

Does the story suggest HIV/AIDS as the cause for the problems? Yes or No

Does the story suggest food and non-food aids as solutions for the problem? Yes or No

Does the story suggest more that one factor as causes for the problem? Yes or No

Does the story suggest more than one factor as solutions for the problem? Yes or No

Does the story provide background information to the problem? Yes or No

3.11. Empathy frame

Does the story indicate orphaned children as victims? Yes or No

Does the story use some adjectives that signify children as victims? Yes or No

4. Media Functions

- Do the media include different points of view? Yes or No
- Does the article accommodate the point of view of orphaned children? Yes or No
- Does the article accommodate the experts' views? Yes or No
- Does the article define the problem? Yes or No
- Does the article state the cause of the problem? Yes or No
- Does the article suggest solutions? Yes or No
- Does the article provide logical reasoning for why the problem happened? Yes or No

Appendix C

Coding Guide

Name of coder: the coder should write her/his name

Newspaper: the coder should write the name of the newspaper.

Date of publication: write the date the story was published month, day and year.

Headline: write the headline (and sub-headline if there is any)

Article description: (Inter-coder reliability 1.0)

Article description: note whether the article is news, feature or interview.

Location: note whether the article was placed on the front, inside or back pages of the newspapers.

Theme (Inter-coder reliability. 94)

Theme refers to the central focus of the story. Put a thick mark on the blank space.

Donation: when the central focus of the story is on donating food or non-food items.

Appeal: refers to request for aid made by the government or other agents.

Government action or policy: when the story focuses on what the government officials or organs are doing.

Warning: when the story warns about the increasing rate of orphaned children or the adverse effects of the problem

Magnitude of the problem: when the story indicates the status (rate) of orphaned children.

Non-governmental organizations action when the story focuses on what these organizations are doing.

Prognostic Frame

Q1. When the story indicates the effects of orphan hood.

Q2. When the story indicates the problems faced by orphaned children as a result of losing their parents.

Solution Frame

- Q1. When the story focuses on food, non-food and money as solution.
- Q2. When the article states change of policy as solution.
- Q3. When the story states that grants of debts or plots of land etc as solution.
- Q4. When the story states the measures being taken or needs to be taken by different agents to solve the problem.

Empathy Frame

- Q1. When the story uses different adjectives that describe orphaned children as victims, as if they are only dependent on others.
- Q2. When the story uses words that generate compassion and pity.
- Q3. When the story uses words like 'desperate', helpless and 'hopeless'.

Morality Frame

- Q1. When the story states something as good or bad in relation to responding to orphaned children.
- Q2. When the story refers to God.
- Q3. When the story states how to behave towards orphaned children?

Human Interest Frame

- Q1. When the story provides one or more individuals or a group as an example or indicator of the problem.
- Q2. Human face when the story includes personal history of directly or indirectly of quoted sources.
- Q3. when the story indicates how the problem changed the situation of sources directly or indirectly quoted.

Economic Frame

- Q1. When the story indicates the impact of orphan hood on the economy of the country or the development plans of the country.

Q2. When the story indicates the impact of the problem on the living conditions of orphaned children or their extended families.

Conflict frame

Q. When there are different or opposing views regarding the cause or magnitude of the problem, does the story accommodate both views?

Q2. When one group criticizes the other or the activities of these agents.

Event Versus process frame

Q1. When the story suggests giving food or non-food items as solution.

Q2. When the story provides more than one factor as causes for orphan hood

Q3. When the story suggests more than one solution.

Q4. When the story provides background information and analysis on orphaned children.

Media Function

(Inter- coder reliability.95)

When the story mentions or indicates the listed activities in any parts of the story.

Appendix D

Interview Guides

1. General

- What is your reflection on the alarming increase of orphaned children?
- How did you and your media cover the issues of orphaned children?
- Do you think your reports had influence on the audience?
- Was there any feedback from the audience?

2. Themes

- What were the central points you discussed in the articles?
- What was the justification for focusing on these themes?

3. Sources

- Who were the sources you quoted when you write articles on orphaned children?
- Why did you prefer these sources?
- Was there any pressure from these interest groups to write your story in certain ways?
- What was the reason for the absence of the voice of orphaned children in the stories?

4. Frames

- How did you construct the stories and why?
- Were you aware of how the stories were framed?
- Did you intentionally shape or organize the story in certain ways?
- What were your routines when writing such stories?
- Do you think the routine had affected your how you write your stories?
- What additional factors affected the way you covered the orphaned children's issues?

Appeal Frame

- What is the justification for focusing on appeal aspect of the problem?
- What was your objective when you focus on appeal?

Diagnostic Frame

- What do you think is the cause of the problem?
- Why did most of the stories tell HIV/AIDS as the cause for orphan hood?
- What was the reason for the limited discussion of other causes in most of the articles?

Prognostic Frame

- What do you think about the effects of the increasing rate of orphan hood?
- What were the justifications for not focusing on this aspect of the problem?

Solution Frame

- In your view what were the solutions for the problems of orphaned children?
- Why did most of the stories focus on food and non-food items (aid)?

Attribution of responsibility frame

- Who do you think is responsible for solving or addressing the problem?
- Why did most of the stories primarily attribute responsibility to the indigenous community?

Conflict Frame

- What is your reflection on the disagreement of the magnitude of orphaned children?
- How did you accommodate opposing views in your newspapers?

Economic Frame

- What were the implications of orphaned children on the Ethiopian economy and vice versa?
- Why did not most of the stories treat the economic aspect of the problem?

Morality Frame

- Did you consider including society's beliefs, norms and values in your stories have impact on the readers?
- What was the reason for not frequently including such beliefs in your stories?

Empathy Frame

- Why did most of the stories use certain adjectives that consider orphaned children as victims?

Media Function

- What do you think are the roles of the media in solving the problems of orphaned children?

Declaration

I the undersigned declare that this thesis is my original work. All the sources have been duly acknowledged.

Tsigeweini Tsadik

January 2008.