

**Ethiopian Print Media Coverage of the Arab uprisings: The case
of *Addis Zemen*, *Fetehe*, and *Reporter***

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Asmeret Hailesilasse, entitled: Ethiopian Print media coverage of the Arab uprisings: the case of the *Addis Zemen*, the *Amharic Reporter* and *Fetehe* newspapers and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in journalism and communication complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

Ethiopian Print media coverage of the Arab uprisings: the case of *Addis Zemen*, *Fetehe*, and *Reporter*

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The principal aim of this study was to investigate how the Arab uprising was covered by the selected newspapers. With the aim of examining the coverage, framing theory and political economy of the mass media were employed as the theoretical frameworks of the study. By taking a three month data, the study was conducted on three newspapers namely, *Addis Zemen*, *the Amharic Reporter* and *Fetehe*. Quantitative content analysis, Qualitative content (textual analysis) analysis and in-depth interview were the techniques used. While the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative content analysis were applied to identify the frames and provide supporting excerpts for the frames respectively, in-depth interview was employed to back the results found from the two methods.

The study revealed that the conflict frame was predominantly used by the papers, *Addis Zemen* and *Amharic Reporter*. The next frame was the contingency frame which stands as the dominant frame of *Fetehe*. The use of the contingency frame varied between the private and government owned papers. While the two private papers claimed that there were causes that could have made Arab like uprising possible in Ethiopia, *Addis Zemen* argued that Ethiopia is free from the problems of the Arab uprising. Following contingency frame, the turn was for human interest frame where the newspapers largely entertained the personal behaviour of Muammar Gaddafi. In their Prognostic frame, *Addis Zemen* and *Fetehe* expressed pessimistic and optimistic view about

the consequences of the Arab uprising respectively while *Amharic Reporter* presented both. Attribution of responsibility was found in *Fetehe* and *Amharic Reporter* but not in *Addis Zemen*. Finally, the least used frame happened to be diagnostic frame where differences and similarities were observed among the papers in conceptualizing the causes of the Arab uprising. What is more, it was found out that the coverage of *Addis Zemen* and *Fetehe* was tilted towards owner interest than the real depiction of the issue. *Amharic Reporter* tried to give a fair coverage. Based on the finding, some recommendations were forwarded to mitigate the limitations.

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List of Acronyms

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CPD	Centre for Public Diplomacy
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
EDP	Ethiopian Democratic Party
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
NTC	National Transition Council

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

The Arab world has been in social and political disorder after the Tunisian young man and street vendor Mohammed Bouaziz set himself on fire in December 2010. Mohammed Bouaziz was unable to support his family because he was forbidden by the police from working as a street fruit vendor, the immediate cause that led him to self-immolation and the Tunisians to revolution.

The revolution that erupted in Tunisia later spread to Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria and other Arab countries. The situation in Syria and Bahrain is not yet fully resolved as there is civil war between Bashar al-Assad and opposition groups in the former case and sporadic protests in the latter case. The root causes that led to what is popularly called the Arab spring were corruption, high rate of youth unemployment, poor living conditions, and lack of democracy and protection of human rights even though the extent of the problems differs among countries in the Arab world. According to Dalacoura (2012),

The longstanding structural problems afflicting the Arab world came to a head prior to 2011 through a combination of persistently high unemployment, especially among youth (and educated youth at that), rampant corruption, internal regional and social inequalities, and a further deterioration of economic conditions because of the global 2008 financial crisis and food price increase (p.67).

Compared to previous Arab dissents, the Arab spring was effective in that it toppled despotic rulers and autocratic regimes even though the economic and social change it brings is yet to be seen. In countries where the revolution was fruitful, people are seeing democratic elections for the first time in history. Elections in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya are the witnesses. Even

though it is the defiance of the people that cause regime changes, media outlets have played a great role for the effectiveness of the revolution. Social media like Facebook, Twitter and You tube helped people to organize and communicate the heats of the revolutions. Youths in Egypt have manipulated the benefits of this social media to encourage people to participate in the demonstrations. The mass protests held in January 25 (day of anger) and then in February 1 (the day of rage) in Egypt ousted Hosni Mubarak, a despot who ruled Egypt for 30 years. However, the revolutions were not only spread by Facebook or twitter. The events were also catchy enough to get the attention of 24/7 news cycle in the international media outlets. International news media have given live coverage and analysis that broadens the influence of the uprisings from social media users to satellite television viewers (Ghannam, 2011). It is the combination of the social media and the international news media that facilitates the revolution. In Cottle, (2011, p. 652) words, “international news media, in turn including Aljazeera have distributed the flood of disturbing scenes and reporting of the uprisings now easily accessed via Goggle’s You Tube and boomeranged them back in countries concerned”.

The coverage by the international media not only gives weight to the Arab uprising, but also informs the world about the issue and creates conversations in countries where there are similar economic and social problems. One of the discussions includes the probability that the Arab uprisings would cross the border of the sub-Saharan Africa. A report compiled after a conference held in Addis Ababa in 2011 suggested that there were signs of uprisings in Zimbabwe, Cameroon, and Angola and there were revolts in Malawi and Burkina Faso (Souaré, 2011). This being the case, however, Souaré (2011) argues that there are reasons why Arab like uprisings failed to happen in the Sub-Saharan Africa. Souaré (2011) mentions the dissimilar social and political realities that are found in the sub-Saharan countries as the first reason. Next, Souaré (2011) contends that the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt were not

political and were successful in mobilizing the public by surpassing ethnic, political, and religious differences. People in the sub-Saharan Africa have to overcome such differences if an uprising needs to happen, contends the author. Lidetu Ayalew, the then Chairman of the Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) also argued that in Egypt and Tunisia, 90% of the people have the same religion and language while Ethiopia comprises various ethnic and religious groups which creates a different situation (Capital, 2011). Even though the conference held in Addis Ababa in 2011 failed to say anything about Ethiopia, the issue did not escape from being discussed. Some Facebookers and online opposition media outlets have gone as far as demanding Arab-spring like revolution in Ethiopia while government officials gave a counter narrative that an uprising would not happen in Ethiopia. In his interview with capital newspaper, Bereket Simon, senior cabinet minister and government communication affairs minister said “our people are not desperate, here we have a public that has seen hope, a public that enjoys the glimmer of hope, more than ever due to the recent years’ economic growth and transformation” (Capital, 2011, p.14). Bereket called people in Arab countries “desperate”. On the contrary, Negasso Gidada (PhD), first vice chair of unity for Democracy and Justice stated in the same article that the causes that led to uprisings in Arab countries exist in Ethiopia in the “worst degree”(ibid, 2011). He contended that the poor democratic and human rights conditions, inflation, and unemployment in Arab countries are also the reality of Ethiopia. While the narratives of the government officials revolved around propagating the success achieved in the country, opposition party leaders focused on narrating the problems of the country.

1.2 Statement of the problem

As it was the case for major events like the Iraq war and the 9/11, media coverage of the Arab uprising is getting the attention of different media scholars, Westerners being on the top of the list. Studies that give insight about the Western media coverage of the Arab uprising

shows that the mainstream American media represent the Arab uprising differently from its past coverage about the Arab world. Concerning the previous coverage, Ridouani (2011, p.1) asserts that “the West had been perpetuating the stereotypical images of Arabs and Muslims”. Many scholars have also argued that the Western media portray Muslims and Arabs as terrorists and troublemakers (Said, 1997, Shaded & Koningsveld, 2002). However the Arab uprising was covered in a way that changes the long held view of the Western media narrative about Arabs. In his study of corporate American media coverage of the Arab uprising, Salaita (2012) observes that the coverage of the Arab revolutions have contradicted with the long standing orientalist assumptions of the West over the Arabs’ unsuitability with democracy. According to Salaita (2012),

The beginning of the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt represent the first time since 9/11 (and largely extending to before 9/11) that Arabs weren’t systematically portrayed as barbarians, terrorists, or imbeciles. While it cannot be said that the portrayal of Arabs has been uniformly negative in corporate American media, such portrayal has been negative as a systematic phenomenon. We must now take into account how representations following the protests in Tunisia have complicated had until then been a remarkably predictable representational formula (p.134).

Another study which compares the coverage of Tunisia and Syria protests among Danish prominent newspapers observes that the Arab spring was the only time when the Arabs received balanced attention from the Western media in terms of quantity (Eskjaer, 2012). However, the qualitative study of the same newspapers revealed that the traditional stereotyped outlooks towards Arabs were still predominant.

The study by Salaita (2012) also revealed the less coverage Bahrain and Saudi Arabia protests received from the corporate media. The study demonstrated that protests in states which have strong ties with America were ignored since the corporate media supports the interest of America.

A media monitor report by the Centre for Public Diplomacy (CPD) also confirmed that protests in Bahrain were underreported but not because of Bahrain's strategic importance to the West (Media monitor, 2011). According to the report, the only reason for the inadequate coverage of Bahrain protest by the international media is the unwillingness of the Bahrain regime to secure entrance for journalists. However, the report claims that Aljazeera's less coverage has connections with the fact that it is owned by Qatar monarchy. It states that because the Qatar emir wants to avoid hostile relation with Saudi Arabia, an ally of Bahrain, Aljazeera opted for silence. While it has been blamed for its coverage of Bahrain, Aljazeera was praised for bringing Egypt's 18 day revolution to the home of millions.

Another report came from BBC world trust which analyzed the coverage of the Arab uprising by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). It described the BBC's report as impartial but indicated some shortcomings (Douglas, 2011). It indicated the use of user generated videos without warning and the underreporting of Saudi Arabia protests as the weakness of the BBC's coverage of the Arab uprising (Douglas, 2011).

In contrast to the international media which seem to give legitimacy for the uprisings, state media in Arab states were put to propaganda to elongate the life of their dictators. In this regard, Cottle (2011, p.653) writes "A laughable example of this, perhaps, was Muammar Gaddafi's opportunistic claims on Libyan state television that scenes of the TUC's mass

demonstration in London against the coalition government's cuts (26 March, 2011) was in fact depicting protests against the Western invasion of Libya". Egyptian media were also under the direct or indirect influence of the Mubarak regime. The national newspaper Al-Ahram in Egypt recently published an editorial that carried apology to Egyptians for its biased reports during the reign of Mubarak (Owais, 2011).

The issue of the Arab uprising also got the attention of Ethiopia. Many Facebookers and online Ethiopian media outlets were calling for Ethiopian revolution inspired by the Arab uprising. For the opposition media outlets, the best story was the self-immolation of Yenesew Gebru, a teacher who lived in Dawro, southern Ethiopia (Reuters, 2011). According to reports, Yenesew burnt himself alive because he has been fired from his teaching position as a result of his political view. Official sources, however, made various statements claiming the stability of Ethiopia and the unsuitability of Ethiopia for similar uprisings. An article by René Lefort (2011) in contrast, observes that there were calls to hold demonstrations in Addis Ababa on May 28 (the day the present government first controlled the capital, Addis Ababa). Prime Minister Meles Zenawi (1954-2011) days earlier said that his government was not worried that there would be North African like revolution in Ethiopia. But Lefort argued that seeing what happened in Ethiopia after the Arab spring, it is difficult to believe Meles words. Among his many reasons, one was the Ethiopian media's less coverage of the Arab uprising. He wrote "Ethiopian television – state-run and the only official station – hardly mentioned the Arab uprisings. Meanwhile, the screws have been tightened on the "independent" media, obliging them to censor themselves even further." A report by Committee to protect journalists seems to agree with the above claim. The report indicates that the prominent Ethiopian journalist Eskinder Nega was arrested and accused for writing an article about Arab spring, which the court claims its aim is to instigate an Arab style revolt in Ethiopia

(CPJ, 2011). The report further claimed that Eskinder was told by the police to stop writing about the Arab uprising (ibid, 2011). While the above articles assert less coverage of Arab uprising by the Ethiopian media and intimidation of journalists who report it, others claim that the Ethiopia media covered the Arab uprising but was late to start it. Still others argue that the state media was put to propaganda to justify the causes that led to uprisings in the Arab states are lacking in Ethiopian case because of the sound policies and strategies taken by the government.

Media outlets are said to have a crucial role in giving prominence to an issue through their coverage and interpretation. By covering an issue more and by using selected interpretations, the media can influence policy makers and news consumers. Nelson, Clawson and Oxley explains “by framing social and political issues in specific ways, news organizations declare the underlying causes and likely consequences of a problem and establish criteria for evaluating potential remedies of the problem” (as cited in Johnson-Cartee, 2005, p.26). The Ethiopian media and its coverage of the Arab uprisings is no exception.

Even though various claims have been made by various actors as to how the Ethiopian media framed the Arab spring, a research that thoroughly investigates the coverage of the Arab uprising by the Ethiopian print media is unavailable. So, it is the aim of this research to study that.

1.3. Objectives of the study

1.3.1. General objective

The general objective of this research is to investigate the framing of the Arab uprising by the Ethiopian print media.

1.3.2. Specific objectives

This study has the following specific objectives:

- A. To find out how the print media in Ethiopia framed the Arab uprising.
- B. To identify the major frames used by the Ethiopian print media while covering the Arab uprising.
- C. To compare and contrast private and government media outlets' coverage of the Arab uprising.
- D. To find out the factors that might have influenced the coverage of the Arab uprising.

1.4. Research questions

This study explores the following questions:

1. How did the Ethiopian print media frame the Arab uprising?
2. Which frame was frequently used by the Ethiopian print media in their coverage of the Arab uprising?
3. What difference or similarity was there between the private media and government owned media coverage of the Arab uprising?
4. What were the factors that might have influenced the media outlets' framing of the Arab uprising?

1.5. Scope of the study

This study deals with the coverage of the Arab uprising and it focuses on three major media outlets: *Addis Zemen*, the *Amharic Reporter*, and *Fetehe*. The coverage of the Arab uprising by the selected media would be analyzed within the time frame of January 16, 2010 and April 10, 2011.

1.6. Significance of the study

The result of this research will be of help for the media outlets under study since it will help them to assess their coverage of the Arab uprising and learn their strong sides as well as shortcomings. The study will also help journalists gain knowledge about framing and its effect on constructing reality. It will also provide Journalists with a better insight into how they could achieve balanced coverage of news. What is more, it will help them to be more careful and critical when dealing with sources and their respective frames.

The recent Arab uprising is seen as unique for various reasons as a result of which it is attracting researchers from various fields, media scholars being among the major ones. Since this research is the first of its kind conducted in the Ethiopian media context, it will serve as a spring-board for future researchers.

1.7. Limitation of the study

Even though the researcher has tried to make the sample representative, the results of the study might not still represent the coverage of the whole print media outlets in Ethiopia. More insight could be gained by including more samples in future research. Owing to the limitations noted above, the findings of this study would be more applicable to the media institutions under investigation.

The study focused only on analyzing the written texts. The visual contents, pictures of the newspapers were not part of the study. Future studies should focus on semiotic analysis by taking images as an object of analysis in order to complement the findings of this study.

One of the reasons that make news frames important is their effect in shaping the opinion of the audience towards certain aspect of an issue. It is due to this reason that various groups in

the community compete to make their frame dominant during the construction of news. However, their success or failure can only be known by conducting audience analysis. This research, however, was limited to textual analysis and an in-depth interview with those working in the selected media outlets, and did not make an attempt on the reception side. It would be important if future studies could look into this aspect.

Chapter Two: Review of Related Literature

This part of the study presents various issues related to the topic under investigation. In addition to that it entertains Framing theory and the political economy of the mass media which serve as the theoretical frameworks of the study.

2.1. The Arabs, their encounters with Europeans: An overview

The simplest definition given by scholars and theologians alike about the Arabs is that anybody whose mother tongue is Arabic can be called an Arab (Laffin, 1975). An elaborative definition that bases the above definition would be the one given by professor Gibb of Harvard, claims Laffin. Professor Gibb (cited in Laffin, 1975, 15) defined it as “all those are Arabs for whom the central fact of history is the mission of Mohammed and the memory of the Arab empire and who in addition cherish the Arabic tongue and its cultural heritage as their common possession” (Laffin, 1975, 15). Further Ayoub (2000) claims that an Arab feels Arab citizenship in every Arab country he finds himself.

The coming of Prophet Mohammed was a defining moment in the history of the Arabs and many historians use the dawn of Islam as a starting point when studying the history of the Middle East and the rest of the Arab world (Donner, 1999). Not only Muhammad expanded Islam, he also established an influential confederation in Medina unlike the situation before him where people used to shift from one area to another.

The political structure that was laid down by the prophet had stayed for long even though it made it though recurrent crisis and violence (Humphreys, 1999). The crisis was even immense after the death of Muhammad. After his death, there was a belief among his followers that there must be a single state for the followers of Islam which Muhammad successor should lead.

2.1.1. The Caliphate

The first successor of Prophet Muhammad was Abu Bakr, Muhammad's father-in-law. The rulers who succeed the prophet have taken various names but the predominant one was the caliph which originates from the Arabian word khalifa, meaning, successor (Arnold, 1924).

The community once obedient under the rule of the prophet started to revolt against the caliphs. Some even claimed that they were prophet themselves. It was these complaints that led the caliph to wage successive wars and expansions. The war waged to subjugate the areas that revolted later helped the caliph Abu Bakr, to make the whole Arabian Peninsula under his control after two years of battle (Ayoub, 2006).

The expansion continued even after the creation of a vast empire in Arabia. The Arabs also fought with the territories conquered by Byzantine Empire and they completely obliterated the Sasanian Empire (Arnold, 1924).

The Caliphs, however, have never been considered prophets rather their role was to protect the Islam that was once brought by Muhammad, the messenger of god. Though the caliphate ruled the Islamic community after the death of the prophet, there was a big disagreement over the criteria that they should possess. Because of the lack of agreement on certain criteria two civil wars were fought between caliphs on the one hand and other sects on the other, after the death of Ali, the fourth caliph (ibid, 2006). It was after these two wars that the sects or various subgroups that now comprise the Muslim world emerged.

One group argued that the successor should be selected by people (the male elites) while other thought that the successor should come out of the blessed families that would make the prophet's lineage the preferable (Ayoub, 2006b). The caliph who claimed to have the lineage of the prophet was Ali, Mohammed's cousin and the husband of the prophet's daughter,

Fatima. The group that supported Ali called themselves Shites, the minority Muslims that now constitute 10 to 15 percent of the Muslims (Humphreys, 1999).

The other group which failed to accept hereditary transition were called the Sunni Muslims, majority Muslims today. The Sunnis later established their capital in Damascus and created the Umayyad caliphate which lasted for nearly one century before it was replaced by the Abbasid dynasty. After the Umayyad dynasty lost its governing power, the Abbasids who originally emanated from Eastern Iran moved the caliphate to Baghdad. Historians of Middle East claim that the period of the two dynasties, the Umayyad and the Abbasids was the apogee of the caliphate (Ayoub, 2006b, & Kamrava, 2005). To support the above claim, they mention the territorial expansion and centralization made during the Umayyad rule and the development of art and science, especially in Bagdad during the Abbasids reign. Because of various challenges mainly connected with secessionist groups and conflict over religious doctrines, the Abbasids were severely weakened which later caused them an invasion from the Mongols. The destruction of the Abbasids caliphate by the Mongols led to the emergence of central forces in the area that once were united under Islam. These forces controlled their respective areas until the coming of the ottoman Turks from Anatolia.

2.1.2. The Ottomans

The Ottomans were Turkish tribes that have got their name from one of their rulers. They effectively controlled the western Balkans, Europe that led them to gradually expand their rule to Constantinople, Istanbul later (Rafeq, 2005). Not only Constantinople came under their rule, the Ottomans also established a vast empire combining Middle East, North Africa and the Balkans. Ruling from their capital city, Istanbul, the Ottomans Empire had stayed for 400 years.

The first period of their rule was a story of success and occupation. They organized a skilful and disciplined military force that contributed to their military achievement. The later years, however, witnessed deterioration of their power that was evident in the recurrent fights between the ruling class and the soldiers. This fight between them further weakened the power that the rulers once enjoyed over their vast territory. They were unable to defend threats from neighbouring countries that resulted in successive loss of territory. But what ended the Ottomans' 400 years grip on power were their traditional view and their inability to cope with the Europeans' industrial revolution (Donner, 1999).

By the time the Europeans, especially the Russians, the British and the French were undergoing military and technological changes, the Ottomans were using the same artillery they had been using for 200 years. The Ottomans were out of the game during and after the First World War that started in 1914. Once the war was over, the Arab countries fell under the hands of the European colonial powers.

2.1.3. European Colonialism/Encounter with Europeans

The period after the end of the Ottoman rule was taken as the beginning of the modern Middle East history by significant scholars because it has been the beginning of the state system (Kamrava, 2005). The colonial powers have introduced centralized administration, legal system, internationally recognized boundaries and flags (ibid, 2005). Again, this period had also an important place in the history of the Middle East since it was in this period that many events that shaped the present have happened. It was in this period that new countries were created, boundaries were drawn, and dynasties were created, to name a few.

The source of today's border disputes and ethnic and religious tensions was the colonial period as these tensions were prevalent in most countries that were under colonialism. The borders of the present Middle East were drawn by France and Britain without considering the

aspirations of people in there but only the interest of the colonial powers (ibid,2005). Perhaps Arabs for the colonial powers were uncivilized bunch of people who needed to be trained to cope up with Europeans thinking and technology.

Britain's policy in the Middle East revolved around defending the Suez Canal, which helped Britain to make an easy route to India. In addition, Britain was interested in the newly discovered oil sites to feed its ever expanding naval power (Kamrava, 2005). In the same way, the French interest in the Middle East was related to commercial interests. To ensure their interests were protected France and Britain had cooperated, and various agreements that resulted from the cooperation were born.

The formal colonization of the Middle East began when the League of Nations mandated Britain and France to rule over Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan and Syria, Lebanon. Article 22 of the League of Nations covenant stated "certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire" had not yet reached a stage needed to become fully independent and to foster development. Therefore, "their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory unit until such time as they are able to stand alone" (ibid, 2005, p. 43). From this countries Palestine was replaced by Israel after a short stay. The Balfour declaration which was issued by Britain after the approval from the US in November 2, 1917 led to the creation of national home for the Jewish in Palestine (Harper, 1989). Consequently, Israel statehood came into existence on May 14, 1948. The conflict began when Britain, exhausted by the war in Europe, mandated Palestine to the United Nations. The United Nations then divided Palestine as Jews Palestine and Arab Palestine (ibid, 1989). The resolution gave Israel 55% of the land of which most is fertile. The rest of the land which is not suitable for agriculture was given to the Arabs. Whilst the Jews accepted the resolution, Palestinians rejected it. The history of the Arabs and the Israelis afterward was a history of massacre, conflict and war. The war actually

has not been the war of the Israelis and Palestinians. Other Arab countries mainly Egypt and Syria have also waged war against Israel.

2.1.4. Independence

Most of the Arab states began their march for independence in 1940's. Intellectuals were the first to express nationalist ideas and sentiments during the period where the colonial powers were busy drawing the Middle East map (Owen, 1992). It was this nationalism in Arab states that led to the birth of Pan- Arabism.

In addition to the Arab nationalism and independence movements, Second World War also paved the way for the independence of most of Arab states. The emergence of the United States of America and the Soviet union as powerful state was of paramount importance in the history of countries that once were under the hands of the imperial powers, Britain and France (ibid, 1992).

While independence in the British colonies was achieved relatively through peaceful means, like an Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1954 that freed Egypt, independence in the French colonies was the result of fierce fight and bloodshed (Kamrava, 2005). In the French colonies (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco), it was colonialism that led to nationalism and later to independence movements unlike in the British colonies, where opposition against Israel and support for Palestine was the cause of nationalism (ibid, 2005).

2.1.4. The Post independence Arabs

One of the dominant features of the Arab world after independence was the ubiquitousness of the state. This is largely because of the growing bureaucracy, army and police and the expansion of public enterprises (Owen, 1992). The reasons that led the state to expand its role in the newly independent countries were the sudden exodus of the colonial powers that created gaps, the inability of the private sector to meet the demands of the new states and the

land reformation programs (ibid, 1992). The revenue collected from the oil industry of the Arab countries helped to speed the implementation of development plans. The state's increasing control of the economy also transcended into the political sphere where authoritarianism became the nature of the state in most Arab countries (ibid, 1992). This kind of state was characterized by the monopoly of political activity and centralized system. In Egypt and Tunisia where the society was homogenous, political parties and various groups were isolated or suppressed and that in turn created a single party state. In Morocco and Jordan, the system of government was monarchical family rule where power was concentrated in the hands of few individuals. Independent organizations and associations were either banned or made to comply with the state demands. For most of ordinary citizens who confronted the ever expanding state apparatus, every where the choice was to try to use the best out of the new system.

While France and Britain were dominant before independence in the Middle East, it was US turn after independence (Kirk, 1961). Especially after the cold war, the US has emerged as the sole superpower and was concerned with the contemporary problems of the Arab world.

America's involvement in the Middle East has been massive after the terrorist attack (Al-Qaeda) against the world centre twin towers and the pentagon (Edwards, 2006). All fingers were pointed to the Middle East terrorist groups. The accident let the US to further strengthen its relationship with an already client states in Arab countries. This in turn has helped the rulers to consolidate their power through the help of Washington. As long as they stayed loyal to the US government, they were not pushed to reform their institutions and open the gate for others (Kirk, 1961). In Egypt, for example, President Mubarak was making arrangements to pass the power to his son and in Tunisia President Ben Ali had extended his term in office to five more years.

America's war on terror, especially the one on Al-Qaeda has galvanized the support of the most Arab countries which were threatened by the terrorists group themselves. During the war with Iraq, America has secured the support of many of the Arab states. Especially, Qatar and Bahrain especially have granted direct support for the US Military effort.

The huge involvement of the US in the Middle East, especially its support for oppressive regimes, has caused anti American movements and various terrorist attacks on the US citizens wherever they are (Edwards, 2006). In addition, US support for Israel against Palestine has also caused resentment among many Arabs, especially among radical groups. According to Kirk (1961, p. 9), "the ruling classes of the Arab countries, partly relying on imperialist support for themselves but also indulging their own self-willed appetites for power and material gain" have abused their power and people's aspiration for dignity. It is the political, psychological and socioeconomic grievance that became the cause for the 2011 Arab uprising that took place in most of the Arab world. The uprisings in some countries have succeeded and toppled authoritarian regimes that stayed in power for decades.

2.2. The Arab uprising

At present historians seem to agree that the Arab uprising which started on 17 December 2010 will be the most studied episodes of a recent history. The uprising symbolically started when a hopeless young Tunisian man, Mohammed Bouaziz set himself on fire on the dusty Tunisian town of Sidi Bouzid after he was forbidden to sell fruit in the street by the police (Yadlin, 2012). The flames that ended the life of Bouziz after days of pain did not end in him but travelled to Tunisians and later to a number of Arab countries. After the video of the burning Bouaziz was posted on You Tube, the Tunisians were out in the street demanding the demise of the Ben Ali regime that ruled the country for 23 years. The Ben Ali regime response for the protest was slow even though the protests were spontaneous. When the

regime finally understood the extent the protests, its response was police repression which receded on 10 January when the army takes a stand that it would not take any action against protesters. When President Ben Ali finally fled to Saudi Arabia, it was a triumph for Tunisians and an inspiration for the uprisings waiting to happen in a number of Arab countries (ibid, 2012).

The next turn was the turn of Egyptians. The success achieved in Tunisia has galvanized popular revolt in Egypt and when opposition groups and civil society called a demonstration first, 20,000 people were found (Dalacoura, 2012). After the first protest, all cities in Egypt including Cairo gradually joined the protest. The protests were moving fast after the 18 January or day of rage. Following the magnitude of the protests on the day of rage, President Mubarak formed a new government and assigned a vice president to demonstrate that his son, Gamal would not be his successor. On January 29 the army replaced the police as effective authority. In addition to assigning a vice president on 18 January, Mubarak also announced on 1 February that he would not compete in the coming election. He was able to organize counter protests but when protesters were determined not to leave the Tahrir square before Mubarak leaves power, he announced his resignation on 11 February. While the demise of Ben Ali was a triumph and inspiration to the people of the Arab states, the resignation of Mubarak was the culmination of the Arab spring (ibid, 2012).

Few days after the resignation of Mubarak, protests against the Libyan regime broke out in Benghazi, the second largest city in Libya. Although the protests were relatively low in the capital, Tripoli, they were spread to other cities of Libya. In Libya, the uprisings were changed into conflict and the rebellion was led by National Transition Council (NTC). The conflict in Libya was resolved after NATO intervention and after months of bloodshed which

led to the death of tens of thousands of people. Finally Muammar Gaddafi himself was brutally killed on 20 October.

In Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, the uprisings were successful because they ousted the long standing regimes and leaders. The uprisings, however, were not only made on those three countries. Even though they were not successful in overthrowing regimes, popular protests were made in Bahrain, Yemen, and Syria. In Yemen and Bahrain, the protests seem calm now but there is still a civil war in Syria.

Though the Arab uprising was felt in every Arab country, it was popular in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen and Syria. The causes of this popular uprising might show disparities in each country. However, scholars were able to put some similar causes that led to the Arab uprising. The common causes of the popular Arab revolt are socioeconomic problems and deep political grievances that was common to all Arab countries that undergone the uprising (Dalacoura, 2012). In addition to this, long standing problems, high unemployment, rampant corruption, social and economic inequalities, increment of food stuffs have fasten the Arab spring. The protests were not only driven by economic reforms but also political demand. There was a fierce call for dignity. In Tunisia, for example, protesters have carried a slogan that says “We can live on bread and water alone but not with RCD [Ben Ali’s ruling party]” (Dalacoura, 2012, p. 67). There were calls for the end of repression and discrimination.

But still remains a question about why the Arab spring happened at that particular moment or what triggered the grievances to explode at that particular time. Two causes were given here again. The first explanation claimed that opposition groups and civil society had prepared the ground for rebellion and they were able to control them later. The second explanation is the proliferation of social media and other means of communication that increased the inclusiveness of the uprisings. Concerning the first reason Dalacola (2011) argued even though there appears to be low estimate on the power of civil and opposition groups in Arab

countries, the Arab spring showed their greater involvement in overthrowing regimes. The second explanation on how the grievances were turned into a collective action can be attributed to the influence of social media and satellite channels (Cottle, 2011). The two were able to make the protests to spread across borders and collect people out onto the streets. Social media like facebook and twitter helped protesters to organize protests and communicate them to a large number of people. Satellite televisions especially Aljazeera aired live reports of Tunisia and Egypt protests despite the regimes plea for Qatar government to stop it (Dalacoura, 2012). In addition to transmitting the protests live, international media were able to set the agenda for media elsewhere in the world. Following this, the Arab uprising became the focus of big and small media institutions alike. In the media across the Western world, the Arab uprising was covered in a different way from the previous coverage of about the Arabs and Muslims. Contrary to previous coverage where the Arabs were depicted as terrorists and troublemakers, the coverage about the Arab uprising represents Arabs as different from the long held orientalist view of the west over Muslims. For example, a study by Salaita (2012) revealed that the Arab uprising was the only time when the Arabs were not depicted as barbarians, terrorists and imbeciles by the corporate American media.

Media institutions have also evaluated their coverage of the Arab uprising. Aljazeera was for example, criticized for its less coverage of Bahrain and Saudi Arabia protests (Media monitor, 2011). On the other hand, the BBC saw the use of user generated video and the underreporting of Saudi Arabia as its downside (Douglas, 2011).

While the coverage of Arab uprising in the Western world revolves around how differently the Arabs were portrayed from the past representation, the issue in Africa was whether the Arab spring would be contagious to the other parts of Africa.

The same discussion has been going in sub-Saharan Africa where there was a lot of concern that Arab like protest would happen. The anxiety was immense after signs of protest were seen Zimbabwe, Cameroon, Angola, Malawi and Burkina Faso. However, counter arguments were made to show the impossibility of such uprisings in sub-Saharan Africa. According to Souaré (2011) the sub-Saharan Africa and the North Africa have dissimilar economic and social situations that make the possibility of the same uprising minimal. In addition to that, the fact that the sub-Saharan society is diverse unlike Egypt and Tunisia where 90% of the society have the same religion and language make it difficult to held popular uprising.

In Ethiopia too, there were two contradictory views concerning the Arab uprising. On one hand some facebookers and media outlets were calling for the same uprising in Ethiopia, on the other hand, official sources including government owned media outlets were telling narratives that explain the impossibility of the same uprising in Ethiopia. High government officials including the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi contended that there was no possibility for Arab like happening in Ethiopia because the people of Ethiopia were not desperate like Arab people. They stressed on the economic growth and transformation achieved during the recent years to tell why Arab like uprising could not happen in Ethiopia. On the other hand, some journalists and opposition party leaders claimed that the causes that led to Arab uprising in Arab states can be found in Ethiopia abundantly. They contended that the poor condition of human and democratic rights, high unemployment and inflation, among others can be a reason for the same event. In connection with this, many claimed that the media coverage of Arab uprising in Ethiopia was tilted towards the two contradicting views. In other words, it means that while government media outlets were propagating the view of the government, private media were siding with opposition parties even though no research

still proves that. It is the aim of this research is to investigate how the Ethiopian print media framed the Arab uprisings.

2.3. Theoretical frameworks

The most relevant theoretical frameworks that help to decipher the research questions of this study are framing theory and the political economy of mass media. So, I will first start with framing theory and then I will devote the final part of the sub-section to the concept of political economy.

2.3.1. Framing theory

Many literatures grant credit for the disciplines, psychology and sociology, while discussing about the inception of framing theory. *Frame analysis* by Erving Goffman (1980) has been a classic book for sociologists who claim that the concept of framing is exploited in sociology than in any other field of study. Goffman (1980) based his framing analysis on symbolic interactionism and social constructionism concepts. While symbolic interactionists claim meaning or reality is created through every day interactions in which individuals have their own role, social constructionists say individuals have less control over their meaning, instead they are dominated by social institutions surrounding them (Barin & Davis, 2012).

Goffman's (1980) *Frame analysis* has combined the two notions implying both individuals and institutions have certain amount of power over the creation of reality. For Goffman (1980) frames are "schemata of interpretations" which help individuals to "locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms" (Goffman, 1980, p.21). These frames or according to Goffman (1980) schemata of interpretations, are constructed through daily life and interaction with other people.

When it comes to individual and media framing researches, the credited scholars are Kahneman and Tversky (1984 as cited in Johnson-Cartee, 2005), who discussed how different ways of presentations affect people's decisions in their work: the psychology of decision making. Consequently, news media and other social actors were mentioned as the makers and presenters of the framed messages that influence or alter people's decision in accordance with the frames.

It has long been recognized that media have dominated the process of reality construction in combination with society influence. Many people have never seen or experienced what is told in the media personally, yet they believe and build picture in their head about people who live far from them. Walter Lippmann (1922, as cited in McCombs, 2004, p. 1) who is called the intellectual father of agenda setting concept wrote "the world that we have to deal with politically is out of reach, out of sight, out of mind". Media scholars call this reality mass-mediated reality. People depend on the media especially for their political knowledge which is apparently seen during election seasons or on some other political issues. This knowledge that is gathered from the media, however, is not the replica of the event per se. It is the result of journalistic process that includes selection, prioritizing, inclusion and elaboration.

It is widely recognized that news is no longer objective even though practitioners still claim that they present the event as it is or as Entman, (1989, p.8) wrote it "hold up the mirror to reality". It is the selection, inclusion, exclusion and elaboration made by journalists during news construction that came to be known as framing or media framing. This process (inclusion and exclusion), "sets the boundary of an issue, reduces a complex situation to a simple theme, and shapes people's interpretations by making some elements salient while ignoring others" (Baresch, Hsu & D. Reese n.d, p.638). To elaborate their definition of media frames, the writers of these articles have used the Arab spring frame which was used by the media to refer to the recent popular revolts in the Arab world. According to them, the Arab

spring frame is a perspective which represents the rebirth of new season and the 1968 Prague spring which consequently put protesters as strivers who are determined to bring about self-determination which is a social value of Western culture. The frame put the events in a democratic and favourable light. By putting protesters in a democratic frame, the English language media has promoted the value of western culture, self-determination. Moreover, by giving more emphasis to protesters, the news media have ignored voices from the security and the police.

Gitlin (1980 as cited in Abdissa, 2010 p.28), defined framing as “media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some degree, for us who rely on their reports”.

In his most influential definition, Robert Entman (1993, p.52) precisely defines framing as “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text in such way as to promote particular definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”. For Entman, a fully developed frame has four functions. He explained framing functions by using the cold war frame which was used in the American media during the Cold War period and till recently. According to him, the media set some events as problems, for example, civil war , blames the communists for its cause, judge the action as “atheistic aggression” and suggest recommendation or solution which is help from the US (ibid, 1993).

On the other hand, Nelson, Clawson & Oxley (1997) in their article entitled “psychology of framing effects”, defined framing as a process which the communicator defines the problem of social or political at hand and outlines a specific ways to tell about the issue. That in turn

urges the audience to use the frames as a reference when deciding or making sense of events, according to them.

Though such different definitions and many others are given and being given by scholars, a widely acceptable definition is still lacking. In a move to decrease the disparity, Mccombs (2004) presents framing by discussing its similarity and difference with agenda setting. Mccombs (2004) calls media framing as “second level agenda setting”. According to him, “framing is the selection of - and emphasis upon - particular attributes for the media agenda when talking about an object” (Mccombs, 2004, p.87). While agenda setting is about giving prominence to an issue, framing involves salience on the attributes of an issue. However, because frames are the central organizing perspective of an object, not all attributes are frames. It is limited to very special attributes. This attributes attract our attention to the dominant aspect of a story which in turn organizes and structures our thought.

Furthermore, Entman (1993) called for a unified framing paradigm to mitigate the wide disparity seen in conceptualizing framing. However, the call was not accepted by D’Angelo who argued that the framing literature shows the existence of three different framing paradigms which make the creation of unified paradigm unthinkable instead he claimed that there should be an understanding of all facets of framing process (D’angelo, 2002). According to him, the first of these paradigms is cognitive model which stipulates the works of journalists are reflected in thoughts of their audience. The second is constructionist model which sees journalists as interpreters of their sources position. The third is the critical paradigm which sees framing as having hegemonic influence and as the value of elites (ibid, 2002).

Whilst common definition is still nonexistent, plethora of media researches are conducted by basing framing as their theory and method. According to Matthes (2009) the framing research that starts in 1990's has grown to become the fertile research concept in Mass Communication. However, the growing research is very vulnerable to critics.

Among the many criticisms raised on the researches, one came from Carrage and Roefs (2004) who claimed that recent media framing researches have failed to look into the relationship between media frames and broader issues of social and political power (Carrage & Roefs, 2004). They claimed that various actors in the society compete to make their frame dominant in the news stories. However, their success depends on their economic and political power, their knowledge about journalistic process and the frame acceptability by itself which makes elites the successful framers. This kind of studies which investigate factors that influence journalists to use certain kind of frames are grouped under framing researches that study framing as dependent variable, according to Scheufele (1999) classification of framing studies. He identified "social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines and ideological or political orientation of journalists" as factors that influence journalists to frame a given story in a certain way (Scheufele, 1999, p.109).

Another criticism raised over framing researches is the lack of operational definition. In a study conducted on prominent international journals Matthes (2009) found out that only 20.5% of the researches have translated their definition for their operation. However, not all definitions of media frames are transferable to operations. Matthes (2009) classifies framing definitions into two genres. One is the general definition given for framing without clear guidelines for operationalization. The second one does not explicitly defines, framing but stipulates the function of frames that provides ways to operationalize frames. While Gitlin (1980) definition of framing is grouped under the first category for its generality, framing

definition by Entman (1993) lies in the second group for it gives guidelines on how to change the definition into operation.

Types of media frames

The most widely used classification of frames are issue specific and generic frames. While issue specific frames are those frames that are only relevant to the issue under investigation, generic frames transcend the boundary of a single framing research and can be applicable in many framing researches. Moreover, Iyengar (1990) divided generic frames into episodic and thematic frames. Episodic frames refer to the focus on specific cases or isolated events while thematic frames describe broader social and institutional factors. While conflict frame can be named under episodic frame, Diagnostic and Prognostic frames are thematic frames because they can show broader social and institutional issue by discussing causes and consequences or effects of an event. Issue specific framing can make the researcher to apply event related frames. However, “issue-specific frames are difficult to generalize, compare, and use as empirical evidence for theory building” (de Vreese, 2005, p.55).

There are generally two groups of generic frame researches. The first one studies generic frames in the coverage of politics while the second group identifies generic frames that are found in the convention of journalism or/ and news values. The first group that mainly studies coverage of election by the American media claimed that the media represent election as winning and losing or in the game or horse race frame. In relation to the second or the journalistic convention or news value frames, Semekto and Valkunburg (2000) have identified five generic frames. These are conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality and attribution of responsibility. They defined them in the following ways (pp. 95-96):

Conflict frame: emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest.

Human interest frame: brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem.

Economic consequences frame: reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region or country.

Morality frame: puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions.

Attribution of responsibility frame: presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving either to the government or to an individual or to a group.

The result of the research conducted on European press and television indicated that attribution of responsibility frame is a widely used frame followed by conflict and economic consequence frames. Though the researchers identified the frames in an exploratory study, it is difficult to accept the mentioned frames as general frames because they have not been tested in cross national studies. However, one can easily see that those frames are identified by many researches.

A recent study carried out on the Egyptian media coverage of the Egyptian revolution has disclosed that conflict was the leading frame used by semi-official newspapers in Egypt followed by economic consequence frame (Hamdy & Gomma, 2012). Conflict frame is also a typical media frame that is used in the coverage of military conflicts (Dimitrova, 2006).

Though various types of frames are identified, it has been difficult to find clear cut guidelines as to how to identify the indicators of those frames. According to Entman (1993, p.52), the presence of frames can be manifested in “key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments”. On the other hand, Gamson and Lasch (1983 as cited in Johnson-Cartee, 2005) outline frame indicators as metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions and visual images. What is more, Tankard also (2001 as cited in de Vreese, 2005, p.101) identified focal points in stories where news frames can be found. These are;

1. Headlines
2. Subheads
3. Photos
4. Photo captions
5. Leads
6. Source selection
7. Quotes selection
8. Pull quotes
9. Logos
10. Statistics and charts, and
11. Concluding statements and paragraphs.

And Tankard believes that analyzing frames in these focal points will certainly lead to the identification of frames.

Framing effects

For McQuail, (2005, p.456), wrote that “the entire study of mass communication is based on the assumption that the media have significant effects”, and the study of media effect has

passed through various phases in the history of mass communication research. The first phase was a period where media were considered to have powerful effect in influencing attitudes and beliefs of people. Though not supported with scientific research, people were able to observe the propaganda that was employed during First World War and its effect. But when empirical inquiries began, the notion that media have powerful effect has been revisited in favour of it having minimal effect.

The second phase which stayed till 1960's focused on personal influence than media influence. The third stage began by making reference to revisiting the first phase searching for strong media effects. Researchers in the third stage criticized proponents of the no or minimal effect arguments for concentrating on limited effects rather than broader social and institutional effects. They called attention towards cognitive effects rather than attitude change.

The fourth stage that started in the 1980's and continued to the present combines both limited effect and strong effects and is derived from social constructivism. Researchers in this phase neither solely see media as powerful as the first phase researchers nor they accept that media has a limited effect. Rather, they believe that media have a great role in constructing reality which is used by the audience as a base when making judgements. That means people use what is told by the media in addition to other factors like peer discussion, and personal experience, in order to make sense of the world around them. It is within the realm of social constructivism that framing effects are being studied because "mass media actively set the frame of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret and discuss public events" (1978, Tuchman as cited in Scheufele, 1999, p. 105).

In addition to studying framing in media contents, scholars also conducted research on the effect framing has on the audience even though their number is minimal compared to the ones done on the media content framing.

The foundation of this research was conducted by economists Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky (1984, as cited in Entman, 1993) who analyzed how little alterations in wording change people's support to policies. They found out that people prefer a program where 200 people will be saved from 600 people than one third would be saved from 600. While both options are equal mathematically, people were found to prefer the first. Accordingly the way a story is constructed, as a risk or gain, will influence the subsequent attitude of the people. In the same token, political candidates who are framed as risky are less likely to receive support compared to those who are framed in the "gain" frame. Moreover, when a message is told by using pre-existing individual frames or schemas, it is more likely to affect audience opinion. When these kinds of frames are repeatedly used by the media, they end up being the broader outlook of the world.

Researches also proved that people react in line with frames constructed by the media. For example, Iyengar (1990) revealed that the way an issue is framed by the media influences people while they assign responsibility. His study, which investigated how the way the media frames poverty influences people in indicating "who is responsible for poor people troubles" concluded that the more people are exposed to a certain frame, it is likely that they use those frames during interpretation. The researchers first identified thematic frames and episodic frames and exposed people to those frames. While stories grouped in the first category (thematic) put poverty as a collective responsibility and blames societal factors, the second group (episodic) blamed poor people. The result of the study indicated that the way the story is framed influences people's attitudes towards the issue. People who are exposed to episodic

frames assign responsibility for the poor while people who watched thematically framed stories attribute responsibility to societal factors like less government efforts or poor policy.

Audiences, however, are not always influenced by media frames; they also employ individual frames when interpreting media texts. According to Entman (1993, p.53) individual frames are defined as “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals processing of information. On the other hand, (Scheufele, 1999) argued that individuals use two frames of reference to interpret information. One is long term political views while the other is short term or issue specific frames of reference.

Generally, framing is considered to have a significant influence in shaping the thoughts of people. It is because of this important role of framing that various actors in a society struggle to make their frame dominant. Since this process requires a fierce competition, those who succeed are elites who know how to use and manipulate the media to their end. These elites not only persuade journalists but they have a stake in the ownership of the media outlets themselves. The fact that media is owned by elites means that what is published in their paper is likely to propagate the interest of elites. In other words, stories are framed in the way the owners need them and there are plenty of examples to support the above claim. The following part of the sub-section will explain how ownership influences news and its framing.

2.3.2. Political Economy of the Mass Media

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

When it comes to journalism, political economy studies “the conditions and constraints under which journalism is practised (Street, 2001, p.103). It is interested in the structure of ownership and control over media institutions that consequently influences the content. Winseck argues that “Political economies of media take it as axiomatic that the media must be studied in relation to their place with the broader economic and social contexts” (Winseck, 2011). As far as McQuail (2005) is concerned the consequences of the political economy are seen in the increasing concentration of media, less investigative reporting and the focus on light issues and in the reduction of independent news. Political economy is interested in macro level analysis of media ownership and control in contrast to cultural theorists who focus on individual level micro analysis.

The term political economy was first used by a French writer Monchretien de Watteville, in 1615 when he used the term “political economy” to describe the science of wealth accumulation in the state and in the family (Williams, 2003). But political economy as we know it today was formally established at the end of eighteenth century.

In their effort to understand and explain the transformation that has been going on during the industrial revolution, Adam Smith and David Ricardo revealed that economic organizations are determinant in shaping the activities of other sectors. Consequently, they suggested that capitalism or private ownership is the best mechanism to bring prosperity (ibid, 2003).

At the time where Smith’s theory was forwarded, there were no big media corporations. Rather media were owned by individuals who owned the newspapers with little cost. But later, the process of press industrialization increased the cost of entry to the press market and pushed out small businesses and created large industries which continued to swallow small

ones. It was during this time that many critics raised their concerns about private ownership's failure to serve the purpose of journalism instead; it was accused of being a barrier for its healthy function.

The worry of the critics was indeed reflected in the work of Karl Marx (cited in Williams, 2003) who fiercely criticized capitalism for its alleged creation of unequal distribution of wealth that in turn affects all aspects of life (ibid, 2003). According to Marx (cited in Williams, 2003) the fact that media is controlled by capitalists means that alternative voices will remain isolated and the opinion or stand of the capitalist class will dominate the society. It looks as if the capitalist's opinion is the opinion of the people because there is no alternative media that disseminates dissents. In his article entitled *Opinion of the Press and Opinion of the People*, Marx revealed that the opinion of the British newspapers and the opinion of the people have contradicted during the period of the American civil war (Murdoch, 1982 as cited in Williams, 2003). According to Marx, while many of the British press demanded for British intervention in support of the south, popular opinion showed that the support tilted towards the north. He explained the cause as the involvement of the ruling class in the press industry that led the press to reflect the ruling or the owner's opinion.

Cases of this kind are actually well documented by Golding and Murdoch and Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman later. Golding and Murdoch (1982 as cited in Williams, 2003) argued that five top companies have controlled the whole media industry in the United Kingdom. In the same way, Chomsky and Herman (1988) revealed that the American media system is controlled by a handful of transnational corporations that determine or filter what is to be published, in their path breaking book: *Manufacturing consent: the political economy of mass media*. They pointed out that the American mainstream media, which are controlled by

the elite supports and of course, are the propagandists of elite interests. They have applied the propaganda model which deals with how the media is used to mobilize support for America's foreign policy and elite interests. They argued that there are five filters used by the mainstream media before a story appear in the newspapers. The five filters are the following.

1. Size and concentrated ownership, owner wealth and the profit orientation of the dominant mass media firms.

Many of the media firms during the early days of journalism were established with little amount of money and they were owned by working class groups. Because the papers were radical, they were highly criticised by the elite groups. The elites blamed the newspapers for bad social behaviours. Consequently, they put various controlling mechanisms in place. But still governments were unable to control them until the market by itself controlled the papers. Because of the gradual increment of press entry costs, those media firms that once enjoyed the prestige of owning media were ousted by big firms.

Chomsky and Herman pointed out the "start up cost of a newspaper in New York city in 1851 was \$ 69,000: the public sale of the St. Louis democrat at 1872 yielded \$ 456,000, and city newspapers were selling at from \$ 670 \$ 18 million in the 1920's (Chomsky & Herman, 1988 p. 4). This process has continued for long and now the media system has reached to the stage of media conglomeration. Only a handful of companies have controlled the media industry worldwide. As a result, joining the market and disseminating alternative view point is difficult. In a media system where big companies have widespread coverage and massive capacity, it is again difficult to join and stay in the market let alone be successful. That is the first filter.

2. Advertising license to do business

Media companies which receive a huge amount of money from advertisers more likely reflect their advertiser's interest in their publication (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). They are also able to remove other competitors that have less revenue from advertising and run their paper through the sale of newspapers. While the latter tries to cover its costs from newspaper sales, the former relies on advertisers. Because of the large revenue of the latter, it is difficult for the former to survive the competition that makes closure inevitable. Consequently audiences with money are the ones who use the media as they wish because they attract the attention of advertisers.

Corporate media ownership that favours the affluent and forgets the ordinary citizen is criticised for its role in weakening democracy. Chomsky and Herman (1988,p.16) wrote "the idea that the drive for large audiences makes the mass media "democratic" thus suffers from the initial weakness that its political analogue is voting system weighted by income".

Their concern is shared by many scholars including McChesney and Entman who wrote "*Rich media Poor democracy and Democracy without citizens*," respectively. McChesney, who demands new form of structuring for the media argues that corporate media have become antidemocratic in United States of America (McChesney, 1999) where the media environment is dominated by only a handful of capitalists, the owners primary concern is not public service rather it is the accumulation of wealth by using the free press or the first amendment of the American constitution as a pretext. Contrary to those "internet utopians" who hold the view that internet will diminish corporate or big media firms' control and increase individual power, McChesney (1999) believed that the coming of the internet has increased the revenue of the corporate. He states "in the United States , the media industry (and the largest media firms) is growing much faster than the overall economy, experiencing

double digit growth in consecutive years in 1997 and 1998 for the first time since the 1980's” (McChesney, 1999, p.140).

In the same way, Entman (1989) claims that the press in America is very far from the press freedom ideals. He adds the media do not have the ability to hew to the ideals of free press and they should not be criticised for it. He goes on to note that the press doesn't have autonomy to fulfil the demands of free press ideals because of two reasons (ibid, 1989). On one hand, the public is less interested in political news; rather, it wants entertainment and life style stuff. On the other hand, the press is dependent on advertising revenue to increase its profit margin. Advertisers have no interest in complex political programs; rather they are interested in life style programs that enhance the sale of their commodities. In addition, the economic demands of the owners push the media to generate more profits and to minimize expenses that made them dependent on easily accessible sources such as elites, who in turn shape the news or manipulate journalists according to their interest. Caught up in the two paradoxes, the free press in the United States is unable to stick to the same principles that it claims to hold dear.

3. Sourcing mass media news

Because of the heavy reliance of the news media on the elites, finding an alternative source in reports is often tiresome. This heavy reliance is defined as symbiotic relationship between the elites and the media. While the first provides well-furnished raw materials that fulfil the demand of the media to fill the air time, the latter gives a wide coverage and promotes the works of the elites. Otherwise, media could not afford or they do not have the willingness to incur costs to cover many other events.

Whilst the need for raw material is the basic need for the media, it is not the only reason that the media choose to rely on elite sources (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). Journalists consider officials as legitimate and credible sources who know their work. Moreover, by relying on these legitimate and credible sources, journalists claim that they are portraying the events as what the legitimate and credible sources say instead of their own interpretations. However, research has revealed that by propagating the voice of the elite, journalists are isolating alternative voices. In addition, because of the same business and political interest of the media and the elites, the elites are always welcomed in the media in contrast to other voices that struggle to receive coverage and find it hardly (ibid, 1988).

4. Flak and the enforcers

The elites not only dominate the media landscape of the American mass media, they have also organized a system to control the media when it deviates from their interest. Severe criticism or as it is called by Chomsky and Herman (1988) flak is applied on the mass media through institutions that are organized and funded by corporations and indeed, government, for this purpose. Fearing the flaks and the consequent legal processes and expensive damages, media remain in the circle of the elite or the status quo.

5. Anti communism as national religion and control mechanism

The memories of communism are fading away but still it has been broadened and modified to refer to dominant ideologies. Herring and Robinson (2003, p.556) contend that “Whilst there may be grounds for questioning the specific content of this filter following the collapse of most Communist states and the internal transformation in the direction of capitalism of many of those that remain, alternative ideological mechanisms, such as the current ‘war on terrorism’ have broadly the same effect upon news output”.

According to Chomsky and Herman (1988) news stories that pass through the five filters succeed to be told while those that fail remain silenced. Consequently, the passers are news stories from the elites that satisfy the owner's interest; support their cause and their pocket plus the status quo. In contrast, alternative voices that deviate from the status quo built by the elites are unable to transcend even one of the five filters.

While the focus of Western scholars have been big media firms and corporations and their consequent influence on media products, it is safe to say that the state has more or less the same influence in countries where state influence is huge. According to Chomsky and Herman (1988, p.61), "in countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media makes it clear that the media serve the ends of dominant elite".

State is one factor that influence or shape how events are portrayed in the media by constraining media content production and distribution. Though there are many who claim the state doesn't have big role in capitalist societies, the argument has been challenged by the renowned media scholar McChesney (1999) who noted that the state role is larger than ever. He explains that important decisions about digital communication and internet are being decided by the government and those decisions will affect which company will succeed in the internet sphere and which will not.

According to Street (2001), state influence on media institutions can be seen through censorship, secrecy, regulation and propaganda.

Censorship

Censorship can be direct or indirect. When it is direct, governments take various measures to suppress the media. Self-censorship is an indirect form of censorship where journalists censor themselves fearing the consequences should their stories be published. Perhaps there are evidences all over the world that self-censorship is the most frequent censorship experienced by journalists (Street, 2001). According to Herman & Chomsky (1988),

Censorship is largely self-censorship, by reporters and commentators who adjust to the realities of source and media organizational requirements, and by people at higher levels within media organizations who are chosen to implement, and have usually internalized, the constraints imposed by proprietary and other market and governmental centres of power (p.lx).

Street (2001) also agrees with the above claim and further mentions examples of self-censorship in various countries. He wrote how Chinese government led media outlets to censorship without direct influence but by providing incentive for those media outlets that support it and by ignoring the others. As a result, those media outlets which are unable to get the incentives end up in self-censorship (Street, 2001).

While Ethiopia formally declares in its constitution that censorship is prohibited, researches indicate that self-censorship is prevalent especially in the government owned media outlets. While the government owned media have been a mouthpiece from the start, self-censorship in the private media is even more prevalent after the 2005 election that led to the imprisonment of journalists (Ross, 2010).

Secrecy

Instead of censoring journalists, which is very vulnerable to condemnation, governments practice other form of control over journalists, i.e., secrecy. In the United States and in many other countries, it has been declared that journalists have access to official information. The Ethiopian constitution, Article 29 (3) (b) declared that freedom of the press should include “access to information of public interest” (Ethiopian constitution, 1995 p.89). However, there are many cases that showed that the constitutional provision has often not matched with the practice. The recent secrecy over the illness of the former Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi can be a good example to demonstrate how secrecy pervades the function the Ethiopian government. However, telling nothing to journalists has led to speculations not silence. Abdissa Zerai (PhD), head of Addis Ababa University, school of Journalism and Communication, in his recent interview with Addis Zemen newspaper said one reason that leads a journalist to speculation is the unwillingness of government officials to make information accessible. According to Abdissa, it is questionable or open to dispute that officials in Ethiopia are addressing the information need of journalists adequately (Addis Zemen, 2012).

Propaganda

Governments can use the media to promote their own interest by delivering information selectively. Perhaps in the early days of journalism, media were explicitly the tools of propaganda. Propaganda, however, is not always negative. It can also be used to good ends like to warn people about disaster and to let them take necessary measures. While states in countries like Ethiopia own media outlets and use it to promote government interests, liberal countries do that by persuading and pressuring journalists. Government media outlets in Ethiopia were criticised for being used as tools of propaganda for the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front, the dominant party that has been ruling the country after

toppling the Derg, Marxist regime in 1991 (Ross, 2010). In the same way, media outlets in the United States have been blamed for airing the propaganda of President Bush's administration during the Iraq war. Chomsky and Herman (1988, as cited in Street, 2001) have concluded that news is primarily propaganda.

Regulation

According to Street (2001), the last, but not the least, options that governments use to influence the media is regulation. Governments all over the world have drafted laws which control the daily practices of journalism. Though the degree might vary, every state, starting from liberal states to those that are ruled by authoritarians, there is a regulation that defines the activity of all forms of mass communication. It is, in fact, the responsibility of a state to put in place various laws and regulation that in turn is assumed to create a favourable environment for actors. The rules and regulations which states apply not only differ among countries; they also differ according to the medium. Whilst many states have less regulation over print medium, broadcasting is more regulated. Since broadcast air waves are scarce public goods, they are subject to regulation in any state with a degree of variation. Not all regulations are, however, acceptable by all journalists alike. For example, the law of privacy has created division between those who support and those who do not. While the former group believes that individuals should be protected from invasion of privacy, the latter group argues that it restricts investigative journalism (ibid, 2001). This kind of disagreement is also one of the problems that pervade the Ethiopian media regulations. For instance, the recent anti-terrorism proclamation has caused fierce debate between government and members of the private media. On the one hand, Journalists blame the regulation saying it is against freedom of the press which the constitution guarantees. On the other hand, the government claims that the law was drafted to protect the country from those who try to overthrow the constitutional order. This controversy was recently seen when Eskinder Nega, a fierce critic

of government, was accused of instigating Arab spring like revolt through his online articles. His supporters, however, argued that his articles voice only democratic means and the possibility of peaceful protests in Ethiopia (CPJ, 2012).

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.1 Research Method

This study has employed a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods or what is called multiple methods. While the quantitative method employed here is content analysis, the qualitative methods include textual analysis and in-depth interview. The use of both qualitative and quantitative methods is referred to as triangulation. According to McNeill & Steve (2005, p.23) “triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods to cross-check and verify the reliability of a particular research and the validity of the data collected”. For many, the gulf between qualitative and quantitative research methods might be wide and very deep. However, using both of them is very important to check the accuracy of the data gathered by each method.

The content analysis is used to identify the frames used in the coverage the Arab uprising by the selected newspapers. An emphasis is given for the textual analysis since it is very helpful to show coverage beyond the numbers or to look into the texts closely. According to Yin (2011), qualitative method is used to discover the meaning of people’s lives that is expressed in their writings. It is very suitable for studying the views and perspectives of people in detail (ibid, 2011). It involves word for word quotation from the text or the subjects. The other method deployed was an in-depth interview as it relevant in supporting the results gathered from the methods noted above. In addition, an in-depth interview is used to uncover how the coverage of the Arab uprising is related with the ideological orientation of the media institutions under investigation. By using these three methods, an attempt was made to have a comprehensive view of the coverage of the Arab uprising by the Ethiopian print media. The following sub-section below discusses in detail the techniques of research used in this study and their relevance in answering the research questions.

3.1.1 Quantitative Content Analysis

This method is adopted by many researchers to study media content or the outputs of media. The history of content analysis, according to Wimmer & Dominick (2003) can be traced back to the Second World War when allied intelligence units monitored the number and the types of popular songs played on European radio stations. They wrote “by comparing the music played on German stations with that on other stations in occupied Europe, the allies were able to measure with some degree of success, the changes in troop concentration on the continent” (ibid, 2003, p.140). In addition to that, content analysis was used in the pacific theatre by the American intelligence to monitor communications between Japan and its various islands. However, the application of content analysis was not only limited to the military. Content analysis was used during the first half of the 20th century to monitor social and economic trends (Beniger, 1978, as cited in Gunter, 2000). Again, even though it was not materialized, Max Weber called for the launching of an exercise to monitor the coverage of social and political issues (Gunter, 2000).

But it was after the 1940s that academic researchers started to use content analysis as a stand-alone research methodology (ibid, 2000). In addition to serving as a method by itself, it was also used in combination with other methods like surveys, experiments, observational research and the analysis of focus group transcripts.

The early definition of content analysis came from Berelson who defined content analysis as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson, 1952, p.18 as cited in Gunter, 2002). Content analysis can be again defined as “the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods”(Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005, p.3). For Krippendorff (1980 as cited in

Wimmer and Dominick, 2003,) content analysis is a research technique for making replicable valid references from data to their context. The typical definition of content analysis, however, came from Kerlinger who defined content analysis as a “method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables” (Kerlinger, 1980, as cited in Wimmer and Dominick, 2003, p.141). The definition has carried three important concepts about content analysis. The first says content analysis is systematic which means only one or uniform set of guidelines must be used throughout the coding and the analysis of the study (ibid, 2003). Second, content analysis is objective or it should be free from the researcher bias and personal idiosyncrasies. It means if the research is replicated by another researcher, the analysis should yield the same with the first. The third is content analysis is quantifiable, which allows researchers to summarize results and to report about them. This reliance on quantification, however, is challenged by interpretive and critical scholars who doubt the importance of quantification in understanding media content (Gunter, 2000). This point is usually raised as the limitation of quantitative content analysis because by focusing on numbers or quantity, content analysis might lead researchers to evade meaning. The inherent weakness of content analysis calls for using other research methods that can compensate its weakness. In this study, the quantitative content analysis has helped the researcher in identifying the frames used in the Arab uprising coverage by the selected newspapers.

3.1.2 Qualitative content analysis (Textual analysis)

Textual analysis is a qualitative method that involves a careful reading of documents of various kinds including media texts. For Frey, Botan, Friedman & kreps (1991 as cited in Morris, p.163), textual analysis is a method used in communication studies “to describe, interpret, and evaluate the characteristics of a recorded message”. It is again a useful method to examine and interpret interviews, observation protocols, and other empirical data. In

connection with this (Larsen, 1991 p.133) wrote “The insights of textual studies may help to remind other qualitative researchers that while data sets hold information, they are, first and foremost, texts which must be analysed and interpreted to yield that information. Using a blend of content analysis and textual analysis is very important for this research. While content analysis helps the researchers to show the frequencies of relevant categories, the references to qualitative part shows how the researcher examines ideological mind-sets, themes, topics, symbols and similar phenomena while grounding such examination to the data (Berg, 2011). To do this, the researcher has offered detailed excerpts from relevant statements that serve to document the researchers' interpretations. According to Berg (2011), a safe rule here is to include at least three independent examples for each interpretation. He wrote “By reporting the frequency with which a given concept appears in text, researchers suggest the magnitude of this observation. It is more convincing for their arguments when researchers demonstrate the appearance of a claimed observation in some large proportion of the material under study (e.g., 20 percent, 30 percent, 40 percent and so on)” (ibid, 2011, p.243). The important reason for including this method in this study is its relevance in providing quotes that document or support the frames.

3.1.3 In-depth interview

In-depth or intensive interview is one of the most widely used data collection methods in qualitative researches which includes media and communication research (Gunter, 2000). According to Bower (1973 as cited in Jensen, 2002, p. 240) the justification behind is the thinking that “the best way to find out what the people think about something is to ask them”. Among the many types of interview, in-depth interview is the focus of this study and it is unique for the following reasons;

It generally use smaller samples

It provides detailed background about the reasons why respondents give specific answers

Intensive interviews allow for lengthy observation of respondents' nonverbal responses

It is usually very long. It may last for several hours

It is customized to individual respondents

It can be influenced by the interview climate. Its success depends on the rapport established between the interviewer and the respondent

(Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p.127).

It is because of the above characteristics that in-depth interview was employed in this study. It has helped the researcher to provide more evidence to the results obtained from the content analysis and textual analysis. Moreover, it is a preferable method when one is interested to get a deeper understanding about the issue at hand. In light of this, it is indicated that using only content analysis may lead to the neglect of other factors that shape the media coverage of an event. Studies suggest that recent studies of media frames have neglected the broader relationship between media frames and the political economy of the mass media (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). They claim that many studies neglect "the degree to which journalistic discourse is shaped by external sources, including elites, advocates and movements" (ibid, 2004, 219). Content analysis in framing research tells which issue is given importance over others but it fails to tell why some aspects of a text are more salient while others are ignored. Even though journalists might be unintentional or deliberate when framing, different researches have explained the ideological bias of media institutions (Herman & Chomsky, 1989, Gans, 1979, Street, 2001).

Taking these shortcomings into account, interviews were conducted with three people from each of the newspapers. The researcher selected those informants after watching their

contribution during the period of the Arab uprising. All of them have written many of the articles on the issue in their respective papers. Moreover, they have held important positions that make them able to provide the position of their papers clearly.

3.2 Sampling strategy

Samples are very important in research because it is not feasible for a researcher to study the whole population. In other words, samples are preferable because they are cheap and quicker. Generally, there are two types of sampling strategies. One is random or probability sampling where each unit or subject has equal chance of being selected as a sample for the study. The second type is called non random or non probability sampling which means the researcher does not follow mathematical guidelines like the first but other methods. While Probabilistic sampling includes simple random sampling, stratified random sampling and, cluster sampling but the most widely used method of non-probabilistic sampling are quota sampling and purposive sampling (Berg, 2011). Mass media researchers prefer to use probability sampling in the form of purposive sampling (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). This study also applied purposive or judgmental sampling because it gives a chance for the researcher to apply his/her expertise knowledge to select samples which he/she thinks represent the population (Berg, 2011).

Selection of Media Outlets: based on the purposive sampling used to select a representative sample, the researcher chose *Addis Zemen*, *The Reporter (Amharic version)* and *Fetehe* newspapers whose selections was believed to provide diverse views entertained by the Ethiopian print media with respect to the Arab uprising. The three newspapers were selected because they represent the newspapers that are currently working in Ethiopia. *Addis Zemen* represents pro government papers, the *Amharic Reporter* represents moderate papers while

Fetehe which was known for its critique of the government, as a result of which it was forced out of circulation, symbolizes critical papers (Skjerdal, 2012). Moreover, the papers represent a broader picture of the Ethiopian media since they are privately and government owned media.

Addis Zemen was established in 1941 by emperor Hailesilassie I. Since then it has been working as a mouth piece for the successive regimes. The paper focuses on social, political, economic and entertainment issues. Since its inception, *Addis Zemen* has served three regimes with loyalty (ibid, 2012). It also covers both national and international issues.

The *Amharic Reporter* is a privately owned paper which was established in 1995. It has both English and Amharic versions. This study is interested in the Amharic version. Like *Addis Zemen*, the *Amharic Reporter* also focuses on political, economic, social and entertainment issues. Reporter has a wide appeal and readership in the country (ibid, 2012).

Fetehe was founded on 2008 by Temesgen Desalegn. It was known for its critical coverage of government and the ruling party, EPRDF. Though was established on 2008, it stayed for only four years. It was closed on July 2012 by government order. After *Fetehe* was closed, its owner came up with a magazine called *Addis Times* first and then with a newspaper named *Lee'lena* later but both of them did not stay for long. While *Addis Zemen* and *Amharic Reporter* focus on both national and international issues, *Fetehe* largely focuses on domestic politics.

Time frame: This study includes the period from January 16, 2011, the day the *Amharic Reporter* for the first time covered the Arab uprising to April 10, 2011. This time was selected because it was in this period of time that people of Arab countries protested against

their governments leading to the change of regimes in some of them. The media institutions under investigation hardly covered the Arab uprising after April 10, 2011.

Story selection: While the researcher used purposive sampling to select the newspapers, it chose to include all articles written during the mentioned period without sampling. In other words, all articles that explicitly entertain the Arab uprising in the given time frame were taken for the study. Samples are usually preferable when there are time and resource constraints. However, the researcher of this study did not have limitation of resources to include all the articles found in the time frame. Thus, 83 articles from *Addis Zemen*, 32 articles from *Amharic Reporter* and 23 articles from *Fetehe* were included in the study.

3.3 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis for this study were newspaper articles (hard news, features and editorials). The articles were taken as a unit of analysis if they explicitly covered the Arab uprising. The study focused on written texts. Since the theoretical framework of this research is the framing paradigm, coding sheet was prepared by the researcher to identify different frames in the view to answering the research questions.

3.4 Data analysis procedure

This study examined the coverage of the Arab uprising by the Ethiopian print media. Guided by framing paradigm, the researcher has conducted content analysis on the products of the selected media outlets. In addition to the content analysis, the study employed textual analysis with the aim of providing supportive argument for the frames. Moreover, an in-depth interview was conducted with three informants to strengthen the results found from the two methods.

The data analysis process of this study began by presenting the findings obtained from the content analysis and textual analysis. The frames found from the articles were presented with the support of compelling excerpts or quotes that support or show the magnitude of the frame. Next, the findings were discussed with the results of the in-depth interview to enrich the results of the quantitative and qualitative content analyses. What is more, the researcher has tried to link the results of the study with theoretical frameworks used in the study.

Chapter Four: Data presentation, Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Data presentation and analysis

This study set out to examine how *Addis Zemen*, the *Amharic Reporter* and *Fetehe* newspapers framed the Arab uprising of 2010/11 in the period that spans between January 16, 2011 and April 10, 2011. As a whole, 84 publications and 138 articles were identified from the three newspapers. Accordingly, *Addis Zemen* released 55 publications and 83 articles, the *Amharic Reporter* published 20 publications and 32 articles and 9 publications and 23 articles were found from *Fetehe*. All articles that focused on Arab uprising in the mentioned period were taken as a sample for the study. First, a content analysis of the selected articles was carried out, and, then an analysis the frames found from the content analysis was conducted qualitatively. Again, to support the results found from the quantitative content analysis and qualitative textual analysis, interview was conducted with three editors from each newspaper. These were Yemane Nagish, editor of political page in *Amharic Reporter*, Seife Deribe, deputy editor in chief of *Addis Zemen* and Temesgen Desalenge, the then editor in chief of *Fetehe* newspaper. The findings of the study are presented as follows:

4.1.2 Framing of the Arab uprising by the selected newspapers

ADDIS ZEMEN

The analysis of *Addis Zemen* newspaper's coverage of the Arab uprising reveals that it has framed the uprising by employing conflict frame. Out of 83 or 100% of the stories, 60 (72.28%) of them used the conflict frame. *Addis Zemen* represented the Arab uprising as a conflict between protesters in various countries and their respective governments. The conflict frame is used by the media predominantly when the issue involves disagreement between various bodies involved in the issue.

Table 4.1 Dominant frames in each newspaper

Types of frames	Newspapers					
	<u>Addis Zemen</u>		<u>Fetehe</u>		<u>Amharic Reporter</u>	
	No. of stories	%	No. of stories	%	No. of stories	%
conflict	60	72.28%	3	13%	16	50%
contingency	11	13.25%	8	34.78%	5	15.62%
Human interest	5	6%	4	17.39%	5	15.62%
prognostic	6	7.23%	3	13%	3	9.3%
diagnostic	1	1.2%	2	8.69%	1	3%
Attribution of responsibility	0	0	3	13%	2	6.25%
total	83	100	23	100	32	100

Many of the articles written under the conflict frame in *Addis Zemen* newspaper were news articles which appeared in the international news page. Stories that used the conflict frame were headlined “worst protests going in Tunisia”, “violence is growing in Libya”, “Gaddafi loyalists opens a new assault on rebels” and so on. For instance, on February 8, *Addis Zemen* international story headline was “the protest in Egypt is continuing” and a quote from the article states:

The protest in Egypt is continuing without interruption while President Hosni Mubarak is still determined not to leave power (*Addis Zemen*, Feb. 8, 2010, p.7).¹

Another conflicting statement that showed the existence of the conflict frame was the report about the then Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi. An excerpt from the article says:

Even though the mass protest in Libya is destroying property and killing people, Muammar Gaddafi announced he is not ready to leave power claiming he is the only leader of the Libyan revolution (*Addis Zemen*, Feb. 25, 2011, p.7).²

Addis Zemen continues to use the conflict frame even after the leaders of some countries were overthrown. For instance, the following Tunisian story concurs this:

Hundreds of Tunisians are still protesting in front of the office of the new Prime Minister, Mohamed Ghannouchi by disregarding the curfew to remove the transitional government that has been established following the removal of Ben Ali (*Addis Zemen*, Jan. 26, 2011, p.7).³

As the uprisings were in almost every Arab country, *Addis Zemen* also reported the protests in different Arab countries like Morocco, Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Bahrain, Yemen and Kuwait. For example, on February 27 *Addis Zemen* reported:

In Algeria, protest movements were made and are going on to urge the government of to abolish the emergency law that stayed in the country for the past 19 years (*Addis Zemen*, Feb.27, 2011, p.7).⁴

The next frame used in *Addis Zemen* newspaper is the contingency frame which helped the paper to explain whether Arab like protest is possible in Ethiopia. 11 or 13.25% of articles were produced by using the contingency frame. Out of 11 articles, two appeared in the editorial page of the paper while the remaining 9 were found from Agenda/letters page. All the articles put various reasons on why Arab like revolution could not happen in Ethiopia. In addition to stating the reasons why Ethiopia could not be hit by Arab like uprising, the

articles also ridiculed the opinion of opposition party leaders who were giving various comments on the possibility of the same uprising in Ethiopia. The following quote from one article tries to show why Arab like uprising could not happen in Ethiopia by stating the difference between Egypt and Ethiopia.

Egypt and Ethiopia are very different; while the ruling party in Ethiopia, Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) believes in the power of change and is prepared to change as it can be understood from its name, the Egyptian ruling party under the Mubarak regime ruled Egypt stagnantly. Because it believes on change, EPRDF has improved the country and its people in the past few years (*Addis Zemen*, 2011, Feb. 21, p. 3).⁵

Another one continues:

There is no even one reason that makes Egypt's revolt to be repeated in Ethiopia and revolt seekers have to understand that. The fast growing economy and the consequent benefit the society has gained from the growth shows the happiness of the people, not their sadness. There cannot be any chance for social revolution in the new Ethiopia (*Addis Zemen*, 2011, Feb.6, p.3).⁶

What is more, another statement reads:

The Public does not have an ear to listen to what anti democratic groups say because its human and democratic rights are respected under the EPRDF (*Addis Zemen*, March 15, 2011, p.3).⁷

Generally, these articles presented Ethiopia as free from most of the problems that caused the uprising in the Arab countries. Comparing the unemployment in Egypt and Ethiopia, one article stated:

If we compare the growing unemployment in Egypt with our country, the plan (the growth and transformation plan) aims to increase the 176 thousand job opportunities created in the past five years to 400 thousand at the end of 2015 (*Addis Zemen*, Feb. 21, 2011, p.3).⁸

The paper also stated that the major beneficiaries from the jobs created are the youth.

Construction has expanded in the past few years and the jobs created in the infrastructure sector and small enterprise made the youth beneficiary. During the 2005 election, the youth had found no work opportunities. Because the youth had been in despair, it was easy for revolt seekers to drag the youth to conflict. That time had passed now; the youth now thinks about work and wealth creation (*Addis Zemen*, March, 7, 2011, p.3).⁹

The two editorial reports that clearly show the stand of the paper concerning the issue also concurs with the above examples. The first one was titled “revolt cannot be created through wish” while the second says “the public spends its time on development works”. The introduction of the first editorial article reads:

Prime Minister Meles Zenawi announced a day before yesterday that he has no anxiety that the Arab like revolt could happen in Ethiopia, indeed that kind of revolt is unthinkable in Ethiopia (*Addis Zemen*, March, 12, 2011, p.3).¹⁰

It explains that in Ethiopia, political and human rights have got constitutional recognition and the political system of the country is one where a party comes to power only with the consent of the people. It goes on to explain how the rights are given constitutional guarantee.

For *Addis Zemen*, groups who demand the Arab like uprising in Ethiopia are those who want to step into power through a shortcut and insurrection. *Addis Zemen* at the end of its second editorial article recommends:

The public spend all of its time on development and one has to recognise that and stand beside it (*Addis Zemen*, March 13, 2011, p.3).¹¹

But groups who deviate from the claimed development goal of the public are labelled as enemies:

Those who wish Ethiopia to be a sign of poverty, backwardness and insurrection and they are the Eritrean government and those who share its behaviour: hatred and terror (*Addis Zemen*, March 13, 2011, p.3).¹²

Next to the contingency frame, *Addis Zemen* used prognostic frame to tell the consequence the Arab uprising might bring to the countries and the surrounding world. The newspaper produced 6 or 7.23% of its stories using the prognostic frame. These stories discuss the fate of the countries hit by protests. *Addis Zemen* especially focuses on Egypt and the consequence of the protest there. One article discusses the issue under the headline “what will be the fate of Egypt?” It explains the fate Egypt would have if the Mubarak regime is overthrown.

If the Mubarak regime happens to be overthrown, the party that has the capacity and opportunity to hold power will be the terrifying Muslim brotherhood which has been suspended from functioning as a party (*Addis Zemen*, Feb.11, 2011, p. 11).¹³

It also states the anxiety of America and Israeli over the gaining of power by the Muslim brotherhood, which was considered as a fundamentalist group. *Addis Zemen* also used the prognostic frame to draw attention to vacuum created after Mubarak was ousted from power.

Following the resignation of Hosni Mubarak, many international organizations and the leaders of countries are giving different comments but nothing was said on the next authority (*Addis Zemen*, Feb.12, 2011, p.11).¹⁴

Addis Zemen has been sceptical about the changes that the revolution might bring to the Arab states. It reported:

Whether we like it or not, the recent mass movement in North African and Middle East countries does not have the character that will bring significant social change. It will bring a new oppressive regime after throwing one oppressive regime. Since another oppressive regime continues in power, it will never satisfy the question of the people (*Addis Zemen*, Feb. 27, 2011, p.3).¹⁵

Human interest stories were also found in 5 or 6% of *Addis Zemen* stories. The human interest stories focused more on issues related to Muammar Gaddafi, the then Libyan leader. An international story that appeared in *Addis Zemen* on March 7, 2011 was headlined “growing rumour over the concerts that were presented to Gaddafi”. According to the story the artists who presented concerts for Gaddafi and his children were trying to give the money to charity organizations. Similarly, another story featured Nelly Furtado, an American artist who promised to give the money she received from Gaddafi for her 45 minutes concert to a charity organization. *Addis Zemen* also featured a story about a 40 year old man called Gaddafi who appealed to the municipality in Dubai to change his name. He was quoted as saying:

When I heard that Gaddafi called his own people rats and bombarded them, I understood that the name is a sin that should be cleansed” (*Addis Zemen*, March 7, 2011, p.5).¹⁶

Finally, one article (1.2%) in *Addis Zemen* newspaper has used the diagnostic frame. This article was titled “the crisis of North African and Arab countries: a crisis where subsidy and fuel could not stop”. This article presented the cause of the Arab uprising as the dependence of the Arab countries on fuel and natural resources and the subsequent subsidy they give to their citizens. What is more, the article claimed that the impractical education policy that depended on rote learning led the Arabs to be dependent. According to the article, this dependence gradually led the society to expect everything from the government rather than generate wealth through endeavours. It states:

These countries rely too much on their natural resources that make them not to create educational and employment opportunity for the new generation (*Addis Zemen*, March 27, 2011, p.3).¹⁷

Another reason given by this paper for the eruption of the Arab uprising is the inability of the political economy to shoulder democracy. It explains:

From the start, an economy that highly depends on natural resources does not have the character to shoulder democracy (*Addis Zemen*, March 27, p.3).¹⁸

Thus, the mother of all problems and the cause of the uprising is too much dependence on subsidy and natural resources. Many of the reasons given for the uprising emanate from the heavy reliance of the Arab and North African countries on natural resources.

Addis Zemen produced no article in the attribution of responsibility frame which means the paper does not demand or urge anybody to take responsibility for some problems.

FETEHE

The dominant frame for *Fetehe* was the contingency frame. 8 articles or 34.78% were accounted for the contingency frame. This frame presents the Arab uprising by discussing its

possibility of happening in Ethiopia. While *Addis Zemen* used the contingency frame to argue that there is no any possibility for the Arab like uprising in Ethiopia, *Fetehe* gave major concern for explaining causes that may lead to the same uprising in Ethiopia. A news article on February 5, 2011 headlined “there is no reason why the Arab revolt cannot happen in Ethiopia” indicated that the causes that led to revolution in Arab countries can be found Ethiopia in their worst form. Quoting Andualem Arage, the then first secretary of Unity for Justice and Democracy Party, the newspaper reported:

The people of Ethiopia live under worst conditions of life and human rights violations and it is a matter of time before they attempt the same revolt (*Fetehe*, Feb.5, 2011, p.13).¹⁹

Similarly, Ledtu Ayalew, the then Chairman of the Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) also explained to the paper that there are more problems in Ethiopia than in Egypt or Tunisia. Ledtu continued that if the government of Ethiopia does not give answers to the questions of the people in time, it is likely that revolution will happen here, too. Unlike *Addis Zemen* which labelled those who talk about the possibility of contingency as opposition party leaders, *Fetehe* resorted to presenting the opinion of experts and ordinary people. A psychologist, for example, was quoted as saying:

It is not that the Ethiopian people do not have problems like North African people but they are in silence because they are caught by the fears instilled in the 2005 election violence, even though it is difficult to predict the exact time when people might start revolting, it is inevitable (*Fetehe*, Feb 5, 2011, p.13).²⁰

What is more, the opinion of the ordinary people interviewed by *Fetehe* was toned like the opposition party leaders’ and that of the expert. Not only did *Fetehe* reported about the causes that might lead to Arab like uprising in Ethiopia, it also reported the anxiety of government

about the possibility of the same revolution happening in Ethiopia. Quoting Kuma Demeksa, mayor of Addis Ababa, *Fetehe* reported that if the current inflation continues to exist, it is likely that people will start to revolt. In addition the newspaper claimed or presented the sudden meeting between the Addis Ababa city administration and the unemployed youth and women as evidence of the anxiety in the city administration. According to the newspaper the city administration called the unemployed citizens to a sudden meeting concerned about what happened in Egypt. This view was also echoed by a lecturer from Addis Ababa University. The anonymous lecturer *Fetehe* presented explained to the paper that even though no one can be sure why the administration organized the meeting with the unemployed, it is clear that unemployment is one of the main reasons for the revolt.

While *Amharic Reporter* and *Addis Zemen* skipped the report released by the dominant opposition party-commonly known as forum (Medrek) in their news article, *Fetehe* gave it front page coverage. The news article accused the ruling party of putting people behind bars fearing the Arab like protests in Ethiopia. It states:

EPRDF is putting students and teachers into prison fearing Arab like revolt in Ethiopia. In addition, when problems and crisis happen, instead of examining them for what they are, the party often puts the blame on others. It is an old fashion to put blames on others (*Fetehe*, April 1, 2011, p. 13).²¹

The newspaper also discussed in detail about the fear of the ruling party in an article entitled “can Caesar be frightened”? Supporting the view of Medrek, the paper gave various indications to show how EPRDF was frightened. According to the newspaper, the first indication of the fear is the festivity organized and the consequent promotion or recognition bestowed upon the military. The regime is worried about the stand of the military in Tunisia and Egypt in terms of siding with the people rather than the regime; Meles was appeasing the

military to stand beside him if the revolt happens here too. The introduction of the renaissance dam was also seen as the result of the fear of the government and a move to divert the attention of the people from a potential Arab like crisis. In full support of the same happening here, the then editor in chief of *Fetehe* newspaper wrote:

Who knows what god is going to show me, no one knows what people do, they do not give an appointment if they want to make history, they will make history now, if they want (*Fetehe*, March 24, 2011, p.5).²²

The next frame used in *Fetehe* newspaper was the human interest frame. Out of 23 articles (100%) 4 (17.39%) focused on the human interest frame. These articles entertain various personalities involved in the Arab uprising. Among the four articles framed under the human interest frame, two entertained the then Libyan leader, Muammer Gaddafi. The remaining two entertains Sharia Amin, a journalist who used to work for government owned media in Egypt and who later left her job to support the revolution and the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and the press conference given by him. The first two stories about Gaddafi represented him as tyrant, mad and self-absorbed leader. The writer of one of the articles mentioned that the Ethiopian Emperor Hailesilassie I once said “we will not attend a meeting with a child” (*Fetehe*, Feb.25 2011, p.3)²³ after observing the childish behaviour of the young Gaddafi. The article also called Gaddafi the mad leader because even after the protests and violence that was going on in his country; he claimed that the people of Libya loved him. In the same way, another article explained how Gaddafi was mad and out of the reality by mentioning the response Gaddafi gave to foreign journalists when asked whether he would give up. According to the article, the fact that Gaddafi said he had no power to leave and power was in the hands of the Libyan people showed how he was narcissistic.

One of the human interest framed stories written by Eskinder Nega structured its narratives by likening Gaddafi's interview with the interview given by the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi. The writer claimed while Gaddafi called the violence in his country the work of al-Qaeda, Meles pronounced that if protest was to happen in Ethiopia, the Eritrean government would be behind it. According to Eskinder, Meles was worried about the Arab like happening hitting Ethiopia. He claimed that the orator Meles was cool during the press conference as a result of feeling anxious about the recurrent protests in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. Eskinder wrote "Meles is highly anxious" (*Fetehe*, March, 17, 2011, p.3).²⁴ In order to be out of his anxiety, recommended Eskinder, the only solution for Meles is to leave power. He concluded his article by urging Meles to resign. The last sentence of his article reads: "resign now, what are you waiting for"? (*Fetehe*, March, 17, 2011, p.3).²⁵

Another personality for *Fetehe* was Shahira Amin, a journalist who used to work for government owned media in Egypt but later left it claiming that she was unable to present a balanced coverage of the protest but the good story about President Mubarak. She was quoted as saying "I do not want to be a propaganda machine" (*Fetehe*, Feb. 12, 2011, p. 5). The aim of the story was to tell journalists who are working as propaganda mouthpieces for governments all over the world to learn from Shahira Amin. The article concluded "what can journalists learn from Shahira Amin"? (*Fetehe*, Feb. 12, 2011, p.5).²⁶

The next frames used by *Fetehe* newspaper were the attribution of responsibility frame, the conflict frame and the prognostic frame. Each of them was used three times. Attribution of responsibility is a frame used by journalists to claim certain organization or person has a responsibility for certain action. While two of the three articles claimed that the ruling party has the responsibility to improve the life of its citizens before they opt to revolt, the other one blamed the African union for not taking a strong stand against Gaddafi's tyrannical action. It states "The African union has to take a final decision on Gaddafi" (*Fetehe*, Feb. 25, 2011,

p.4).²⁷. The editorial article also states that it is embarrassing for the African union to release statements after the crime is done. It says it is the responsibility of the Africa union to take action now. It also claimed the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi has to repeat his active involvement in African issues to influence the African union to take a strong stand against Gaddafi. Out of the three articles written using the attribution of responsibility frame, two were featured under editorial. The two articles that stressed the governments' responsibility in improving the lives of its citizens also claimed that governments should not only give concern for economical improvement but also for democratic rights. They claimed that the protests in the Arab countries were not only economic; there was also a call for democracy.

When it comes to the conflict frame, there were three (13%) articles all of which were news articles. For example a news story on March 15, 2011, was headlined "Libyan revolutionists have bombarded Gaddafi administration by using helicopter and tank". The article mentioned that the crisis in Libya is moving to its worst state. In another article, the newspaper quoted Libyan rebels representative as saying:

It was expected that Gaddafi would bombard the fuel sites because he is mad and he does not know what he does (*Fetehe*, March, 10, 2011, p. 13).²⁸

Fetehe also discussed the consequences of the Arab uprising. The prognostic frame was used in three articles (13%). The first one discussed how the world is no more comfortable for dictatorship by mentioning the Arab revolution as an appropriate example. It states:

We do not have to go far to prove that the world of dictators is ending, we only need to see the protest that emanates in Tunisia first and crosses the Mediterranean to disturb Jordan and Sinai, Egypt and the other Arab countries (*Fetehe*, Feb.25, 2011,p.5).²⁹

Another article discusses the fate of Egypt after Mubarak's fall and the coming of the Egyptian military council by discussing its similarity with the Ethiopian 1974 revolution and the coming of the Derg (military council). While the article asserts that there are indications that the revolution of Egypt would not be destroyed by the Egyptian military council, what happened in Ethiopia after the 1974 revolution and the takeover of Derg was the reverse. It argues that the Derg declared demonstrations are not allowed right after taking control over the country. The article contends that there is no way that what happened in Ethiopia would be repeated in Egypt. It further asserts that the actions taken by the Egyptian military council does not support that. It says the council has abolished the parliament, banned the constitution and allowed the political parties to work freely, which indicates the military is not willing to stop the change. In addition to that, the military council would not destroy the revolution since it was under the scrutiny of the Egyptian youth and the international community.

Fetehe has also produced two articles (8.69%) by using the diagnostic frame in order to explain why the Arab countries were hit by mass protests. The first article entitled "Ethiopianism to Tunisiasm" explained how Africans first got freedom from colonialism but not from oppression. It stipulates that even though Africans got their physical freedom through the psychological help of the Ethiopianism concept, the first independence did not bring them good governance and democracy. According to the writer, the first revolution carried out for freedom brought only freedom and the second revolution or the Arab revolution is a move to end the unfinished revolution. In this article, the cause of the revolution was African dictators who came to power through guerrilla struggles, coup d'état or inheritance. The article blames not only the present leaders of Africa but also leaders in the early days of African independence.

The second article mainly aims to reveal the difference between the Ethiopian television and radio agency versus *Fetehe's* take on the Arab uprising. On February 30, the Ethiopian

television in its press digest program discussed for the first time the Arab uprising after a long silence which subjected it to sharp criticism. In its first discussion of the Arab uprising, the press digest program presented the opinion of two analysts. One from *Addis Zemen*, and the other from *Time Magazine*. While *Fetehe* was fine with Farid Zekaria, the columnist of *Time Magazine*, it scrutinized the arguments of the analyst from *Addis Zemen*. While *Addis Zemen* claimed that the cause of the protest is the dependence of those countries on fuel and natural resources, subsidy, the impractical education policy that depended on rote learning, *Fetehe* contended that the cause of the Arab revolution are dictatorship, tribalism, corruption, inflation, unemployment, lack of freedom speech, poverty, the invasion of the rule of law and the increasing consciousness of the Arab youth. Quoting an anonymous political analyst, *Fetehe* reported that:

The main cause of the Arab revolution is the increasing consciousness of the youth. The Arabs have reached to a knowledge level of developmental states like India. We can divide knowledge into technology creation and technology utilization. The Arabs have gone a lot in utilizing technology (*Fetehe*, March 2, 2011, p.2).³⁰

By basing its argument on the above quote of the political analyst, *Fetehe* wrote: “This shows the level of their quality of education, not its deterioration as *Addis Zemen* claims” (*Fetehe*, 2011, March 2, 2011, p.2).³¹

THE AMHARIC REPORTER

As it was the case in *Addis Zemen*, the most dominant frame in *Amharic Reporter* was the conflict frame. Out of 33 articles, 16 or 50% of them catered for conflict frame. Stories entitled “high protest is going on against the Tunisian president, Egypt is in disturbance, the protest of Egyptians is continuing, the quarrel between Egyptian and Hosni Mubarak is not

finished, Gaddafi ordered their supporters to kill protesters” can easily show that the newspaper has predominantly used the conflict frame. An excerpt from an article reads:

It has been four days since protesters gathered in the square. The protesters also expressed their anger after the Friday prayer and the police used tear gas to disperse them protesters (*Amharic Reporter*, Jan. 29, 2011, p.53).³²

Another one reads:

Even though president Ben Ali pledges to decrease the price of food items, even though he pledges to ensure the functioning of political parties and media freedom, Tunisians are saying enough, we thank you for the past, but it is enough now (*Amharic Reporter*, Jan.16, 2011, p.63).³³

Next to the conflict frame *Amharic Reporter* used contingency and human interest frames. Human interest and contingency frames were found in five or 15.62% of the articles each. The human interest stories predominantly featured leaders who were toppled after continuous protests. Out of the five articles, three discussed the personal behaviour of the then Libyan leader, Muammer Gaddafi who was also under the scrutiny of media outlets all over the world. Like *Fetehe*, *Amharic Reporter* also presented Gaddafi as confused and selfish leader. A story entitled “is the reign of Gaddafi ending?” wrote that:

Even though Gaddafi attempted to make himself the king of Africa by gathering tribal and traditional leaders, the affirmative response he got from African leaders was very minimal. In 2009, Gaddafi gathered more than 100 tribal leaders of Africa in Addis Ababa and declared that he is the king of kings which has led many to conclude that Gaddafi is completely mad (*Amharic Reporter*, Feb.28, 2011, p.6).³⁴

The contingency frame discussed the probability that the Arab uprising might happen in Ethiopia or in other Arab or African countries. *Amharic Reporter* has produced five or 15.62% of all articles by using the contingency frame. It quoted the then Minister of Trade, Ahmed Tusa as saying “what happened in Tunisia should not be repeated here”, (*Amharic Reporter*, Jan.18, 2011, p.1)³⁵ and the newspaper reported that the Tunisian president left his country because people were unable to cope up with the increasing inflation igniting the revolt. The Minister stressed the importance of controlling the inflation before people revolt in Ethiopia too. The price control made by the government to curb inflation was seen as anxiety or fear induced measure. The *Amharic Reporter* argued that during the protest in Tunisia, government has taken various majors saying it is going to curb inflation because of its fear that the Arab like revolt might happen in Ethiopia too. Quoting Negasso Gidada (PhD), first vice chair of Unity for Democratic and Justice Party, the *Amharic Reporter* writes:

Ethiopia and Tunisia have various similarities like the fact that their leaders stayed in power for more than 20 years, the bad influence on political parties, and the limited activity of the civil society (*Amharic Reporter*, Jan. 23, 2003, p.7).³⁶

The newspaper also used prognostic frame to discuss the consequence of the Arab uprising in particular countries. 3 articles (9.3%) dwelt on the prognostic frame. One especially discusses the fate of some countries after a regime change. In an editorial article headlined “who should go is an easy question while who should come is not” *Amharic Reporter* expresses concern that anxiety that the revolution would mean nothing if it does not give rise to a democratic regime. It states:

If the anti-democratic Mubarak is to be replaced by a terrorist and fundamentalist group, it means that the desire of the people is destroyed. It will lead to worst situation (*Amharic Reporter*, Feb, 14, 2011, p.2).³⁷

2 (6.25%) of the articles of *Amharic Reporter* were aimed at bringing to light the responsibility of actors for some events, hence, the use of attribution of responsibility frame. Both articles appeared in the editorial page of the paper. While the first article claims that African governments as well as the Ethiopian government have to improve the life of their people before people resort to revolt, the other urges the African Union to take a strong stand against the Libyan regime of Muammer Gaddafi which was bombarding its citizens after failed attempts to stop the protest. Concerning the first article, the newspaper called upon the Ethiopian government to examine whether the causes that led to revolt in the Arab countries are found here, too. It states:

Before these questions (Arab uprising questions) spring up, the government and the ruling party have to examine and provide a solution for the Arab like problems here (*Amharic Reporter*, Feb.11, 2011,p.2).³⁸

The *Amharic Reporter* also strongly criticized the African Union for its soft stand against the Libyan regime. The *Amharic Reporter* urges the African union to “categorically denounce the genocide in Libya and to suspend Libya from its membership in the African union temporarily” (*Amharic Reporter*, Feb. 28, 2011, p.2).³⁹

Finally, one article (3%) has used diagnostic frame to analyze the causes behind the Arab uprising. The *Amharic Reporter* presented the causes of the Arab uprising in the same manner as *Fetehe*. According to the *Amharic Reporter*, the causes of the Arab uprising are dictatorship, unemployment, inflation, corruption, lack of freedom of speech and political freedom. It also added the rising consciousness of the Arab youth as a cause for the uprising. Quoting Gebru Tareke, professor of emeritus history, the *Amharic Reporter* claimed that “poverty and oppression do not lead to revolt, there has to be also the rising of consciousness” (*Amharic Reporter*, Feb. 28, 2011, p.20).⁴⁰

4.2 Discussion of the findings

Media can frame an event by choosing what to present and what not to present. What is more, framing can be achieved through elaboration and emphasis. According to Entman (1993) to frame means “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text in such way as to promote particular definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993, p.52). In order to frame an event in the direction they want, journalists have to select some facts at the expense of others and make those facts salient in their text. It is when they include and exclude facts that they are able to promote particular definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation and recommendation. In their coverage of the Arab uprising, the media outlets under discussion have framed the issue by presenting some facts and by evading others. They also gave emphasis and elaboration to some concepts so that they will to promote them a particular definition.

The presentation of the data previously showed that different frames were used by the selected newspapers in their coverage of the Arab uprising. While the *Amharic Reporter* and *Fetehe* used all the six frames used in this study, *Addis Zemen* used five out of the six frames. The types of frames used by the newspapers can also be classified as episodic and thematic frames. While conflict, human interest, contingency and attribution of responsibility are episodic frames, prognostic and diagnostic frames are thematic frames (Iyengar, 1990).

Conflict frame

It was found out that the newspapers used the conflict frame predominantly. The conflict frame accounted for 72.28 %, 50%, and 13% of *Addis Zemen*, *Amharic Reporter* and *Fetehe*'s coverage, respectively. As far as *Addis Zemen* (72.28%) and *Amharic Reporter* (50%) are concerned, conflict frame was their dominant frame. Since both of them have a

page dedicated to entertain international issues, they were able to report facts about the protests. In fact, in *Addis Zemen* and *Amharic Reporter*, the majority of stories done on the Arab uprising were fact based than opinion and commentaries. As for *Addis Zemen*, it has published at least two stories per day on average during the sample period about the Arab uprising. In the same way, the *Amharic Reporter's* international page has carried consecutive stories that entertain the protests in Arab countries. Perhaps what boosted the number of Arab related stories in *Addis Zemen* and *Amharic Reporter* newspapers are the stories presented in their international news page. The conflict frame is a common frame used when there is disagreement between groups or individuals who take part in the issue. In light of this, Dimitrova (2006) wrote the conflict frame is especially a typical media frame in the coverage of military conflicts. Since the Arab uprising was conflict laden and involved military confrontation as in the case of Libya, it is not uncommon if *Addis Zemen* and *Amharic Reporter's* fact based reports concentrated on the conflict frame. When it comes to *Fetehe*, the fact that the paper largely focuses on domestic politics makes the number of conflict laden stories minimal. But even for *Fetehe* (13%), its fact based reports or news reports about the Arab uprising have used the conflict frame.

Contingency frame

Contingency frame happened to be the second major frame to be used by the papers. It was found on 62 % of the stories of the three papers. Here, the leading paper was *Fetehe*, which has made the contingency frame its dominant frame- 34.78 %. Next to *Fetehe*, *the Amharic Reporter* and *Addis Zemen* stood second portion, 15.62 % and third portion, 13.25, % respectively in deploying contingency frame. In contrast to *Addis Zemen* and *Amharic Reporter* where most of the stories about Arab uprising were fact based, the concern of *Fetehe's* coverage was largely opinion and commentary. Even though the contingency frame was found to be the second frame used for the Arab uprising coverage, its usage showed

variation among the papers. While *Fetehe* and the *Amharic Reporter* used the contingency frame to discuss or explain the possibility of Arab like happening in Ethiopia, *Addis Zemen* used the same frame to show why Arab like happening is impossible in Ethiopia. While *Fetehe* claimed that there are enough reasons for the Arab like uprising to be a reality Ethiopia, *Addis Zemen* asserted that there is no one reason that would make the Arab uprising relevant in the Ethiopia context. Seife Deribe, deputy editor in chief of *Addis Zemen* claims:

The Ethiopian government has identified the problems of the country and it is working diligently to curb them and it has recorded successful results (personal interview, 2013, May 10).

In addition, Seife claims that the Ethiopian government is elected by the people and it can be ousted by peaceful method, not through protest and conflict. By showing a complete support for the government, the paper expressed its inclination or support for its owner- government. For example, on March 12, 2011, *Addis Zemen* in its editorial wrote:

Prime Minister Meles Zenawi announced a day before yesterday that he has no anxiety that the Arab like revolt could happen in Ethiopia; indeed that kind of revolt is unthinkable in Ethiopia (*Addis Zemen*, March, 12, 2011, p.3).

Here the paper showed complete loyalty to the argument of Meles and, of course, to the government. This might be because the paper is owned by the government. In connection with this Chomsky and Herman (1988, p.61) pointed out that “in countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media makes it clear that the media serve the ends of the dominant elite. One of the ways the media serve the interest of the elite is through propaganda. In fact, Street (2000) maintained Governments can use the media for propaganda either by owning it or by pressuring and

persuading journalists. It is safe to say here that during the sample period *Addis Zemen's* were in sync with the government's positions.

Addis Zemen was also selecting in its presentation or acknowledgement of the opinion of higher officials of the Ethiopian government. For example, Kuma Demeksa, the mayor of Addis Ababa had said that the question of the Arab uprising was a question of good governance and inflation. Kuma had expressed his anxiety that people would do the same if the inflation problem in Ethiopia is not tackled. In the same way, Ahmed Tusa, the then Minister of Trade also said if the inflation were to continue to exist there would be revolt like Tunisia. But the paper chose to ignore such arguments when it was inconsistent with the government's established talking points. Instead of that the paper gave emphasis and elaboration to the successful results achieved.

One of the many ways that media use to make their frame dominant is through exclusion of facts or ideas. In fact, to make their frame salient media have either to exclude or include facts. Frames "shape people's interpretations by making some elements salient while ignoring others" (*Baresch, Hsu & D. Reese n.d, p.638*). Here, by omitting the views of some higher government officials and views like them, *Addis Zemen* framed the issue in a way that is only favourable to the mainstream narratives of the government.

While Seife Deribe claimed that the government of Ethiopia was successful in solving the problems of the country, Temesgen Desalegn, editor in chief of *Fetehe* says:

The causes that led to the Arab uprising can be found abundantly in Ethiopia. For example, poverty and unemployment are the major problems. If Mohammed Bouaziz was unable to work, he would not be hungry but in Ethiopia if a person cannot work, he can be hungry, displaced and eventually die (personal interview, 2013, May 15).

Temesgen continued that because problems in Ethiopia are more serious than the problems of the Arab countries, Ethiopia needs a revolution, too. Claiming that the revolution in Tunisia and Egypt was peaceful protest, Temesgen demands that the same peaceful revolution should be made in Ethiopia if change is needed. He claims:

As a paper, we have a stand that the uprising in Tunisia and Egypt should be repeated here because we need a regime change. The party that ruled the country for the past 21 years will not bring any economic change if it is given another chance. It has to be dealt with through the same revolution (personal interview, 2013, May, 15).

Here, it can be understood how the stand of the paper or the stand of the editor in chief affects the coverage of the paper concerning the Arab uprising. It is indicated that ownership has a determinant influence on how the media portray an issue. Most of the stories written for *Fetehe* have inclination towards the view of the editor in chief. This means they focused on explaining the causes that might lead to Arab like uprising in Ethiopia. While *Addis Zemen's* loyalty was to government and *Fetehe* reflected the view of its editor in chief. This means, according to Herman and Chomsky (1988) the papers were serving the interests of the elites rather than being loyal to the facts and presenting a balanced coverage. The case of the two papers clearly shows how their political economy affected their coverage of the Arab uprising.

As for the *Amharic Reporter*, it used the contingency frame like *Fetehe* did even though it was not severely critical about the ruling regime like *Fetehe*. It means the articles produced under the contingency frame claimed that the causes that led to the Arab uprising were seen in Ethiopia too. Editor of the political page in the *Amharic Reporter*, Yemane Nagish explains:

There was less freedom of expression, freedom of speech and freedom of organization. There was again economic inequality and complain over the legitimacy of the government. In addition to that, there was no favourable environment for opposition parties (personal interview, 2013, May 12).

In addition to mentioning causes that might lead to Arab like revolution in Ethiopia, *Fetehe* and the *Amharic Reporter* also noted that the government was nervous about the possibility of the Arab like uprising happening in Ethiopia, too. Yemane Nagish said:

Indeed the Ethiopian government was worried; it was occupied with making the public busy to divert its attention from the issues of the Arab uprising (personal interview, May 15, 2013).

After seeing how those media used the contingency frame, it is not difficult to understand how their ideological and political orientation influences their frame. According to Scheufele (1999), political orientation of the journalists is one of the factors that influence news framing. He wrote “social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines and ideological or political orientation of journalists” as factors that influence journalists to frame a given story in a certain way (Scheufele, 1999, p.109).

Human interest frame

Human interest frame accounted for 38 percent of the coverage of the three papers and it was the third largest frame used next to the conflict and the contingency frame. *Fetehe* contributed the largest number of human interest framed stories (17.39%) followed by the *Amharic Reporter* (15.62%) and *Addis Zemen* (6%). In their human interest story, the main focus of the paper was the then Libyan leader Muammer Gaddafi. In a move that seems a

complete agreement, the newspapers condemned Gaddafi and his action. Of course, this was not peculiar to the newspapers under discussion; Gaddafi was also under a constant attention from international media outlets all over the world.

Prognostic frame

Next to the human interest frame, the prognostic frame came fourth in of the frame list. The prognostic frame is a broad frame where the consequences of an event are discussed. It was found out that prognostic frame was used in 29% of the stories. *Fetehe* contributed the largest number, (13%) followed by the *Amharic Reporter*, (9.3%) and *Addis Zemen*, (7.23 %). Even though three of them discussed the consequences of the Arab uprising, they showed variation in doing so. *Addis Zemen* showed little hope over the changes the Arab spring might bring to the people, while *Fetehe* saw the Arab uprising as an indication that the world of dictators is ending. For *Addis Zemen* the Arab spring would not have any effect except replacing one oppressor with another. On the other hand, *Fetehe* was hopeful after the Arab spring, no dictator would play on his/her own people. In contrast to *Addis Zemen* and *Fetehe* that took two extremes in explaining the consequence of the Arab uprising, the *Amharic Reporter* stood in the middle. It means that the *Amharic Reporter* showed concern plus appreciation for the uprising. On one hand, it appreciates the call for democracy and the favourable changes the uprising has brought like election; on the other hand, it raised concerns on how the aftermath of the Arab spring could be protected from falling in the hands of fundamentalist groups.

Attribution of responsibility frame

While for *Fetehe* and the *Amharic Reporter* the condemnation moved beyond Gaddafi and went to include calling upon the African Union to take a strong action against Gaddafi, *Addis Zemen* did not go beyond criticizing the Gaddafi regime. Attribution of responsibility frame

was used by the *Amharic Reporter* and *Fetehe* alike to call for a strong action against the Gaddafi regime by the African Union. This was found in 13 percent of the stories in *Fetehe* and 6.25 percent of the stories in *Amharic Reporter*. Yemane Nagish from the *Amharic Reporter* explains why his paper condemns the African Union.

African Union could have made intervention in Libya in collaboration with the UN Security Council. The problem is the African Union by itself is a collection of people like Gaddafi (personal interview, 2013, May, 12).

In the same way, backing Yemane's idea, Temesgen Desalegn of *Fetehe* says:

The African Union is not the union of the African people rather it is the union of leaders. The African union is unable to unite Africans, it does not represent Africans, and it is just the union of governments where leaders work to elongate their office life (personal interview, 2013, May, 15).

In addition to that, the two papers have used the same frame in arguing about the responsibility of the Ethiopian government to prevent Arab like happenings in Ethiopia. While the two papers have applied the attribution of responsibility frame with respect to the African Union and the Ethiopian government alike, and in the case of *Fetehe* to the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi also, *Addis Zemen* has used no attribution of responsibility frame. When asked about why *Addis Zemen* newspaper did not use the attribution of the responsibility with respect to the Ethiopian government and the African Union, Seife Deribe, deputy editor in chief of *Addis Zemen* noted that his paper believes that there was no reason to make the Ethiopian government responsible because the "case of Ethiopia was not desperate" like that of the Arab countries (personal interview, 2013, May, 10). He added the policy of Ethiopia is not to interfere in the affairs of other countries; hence the paper adheres to the policy of the government. Here, it can be seen that *Addis Zemen* fails to achieve one of

the roles of a media institution. Attribution of responsibility is a frame that is used by the media to attribute responsibility to government, institutions or individuals for causing or solving some problems and it is widely used in many researches (Semekto and Valkunburg, 2000). While this function is considered to be one of the functions of the media and it has been proven to take the first place in the framing list of many researches, there was no such frame in *Addis Zemen*.

Diagnostic frame

Diagnostic frame was the least frame to be used in the coverage of the Arab spring by the sampled newspapers. It was found in 13% of the stories, of which *Fetehe* contributed 8.69% while the *Amharic Reporter* and *Addis Zemen* produced 3% and 1.2%, respectively. By using this frame, the newspapers explained the causes of the Arab spring. For *Fetehe* and the *Amharic Reporter*, the causes of the Arab spring were increasing consciousness of the youth corruption, lack of democracy and freedom of speech, inflation, unemployment and dictatorship. On the other hand, the causes of the Arab spring for *Addis Zemen* were the dependence of the Arab countries on fuel and natural resources and the subsidy they give to their citizens.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter provides the conclusion of the study followed by some possible recommendations.

5.1 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate the coverage of the Arab uprising in the Ethiopian media. To this end, *Addis Zemen*, *Amharic Reporter* and *Fetehe* newspapers were selected from the Ethiopian print media and their contents were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitative content analysis was conducted to identify the frames used by each media outlets while the qualitative content analysis (textual analysis) was employed to provide supportive arguments for the frames. In addition to that, an in-depth interview was made with three informants from each newspaper with the aim supporting the results obtained from the quantitative and qualitative content analysis.

Based on the analysis, it was found out that conflict frame was the most predominant frame used by *Addis Zemen* and *Amharic Reporter* newspapers. The coverage of the two papers largely focused on providing factual information than opinion and commentary. The fact that the two papers have an international page has contributed to the increment of their factual coverage in contrast with *Fetehe* which largely covers domestic politics. The use of conflict frame during protests or crisis is common to media all over the world.

For *Fetehe* the dominant frame was the contingency frame which helped the paper to show the reasons that would make the Arab spring contagious to Ethiopia. Most of the stories in *Fetehe* were localized in contrast to the two papers where the focus was on fact based coverage. The aim of *Fetehe*, while covering the Arab uprising was to provoke people to replicate the peaceful revolution of Egypt and Tunisia in Ethiopia. In contrast, *Addis Zemen* was against any idea of conflict or protest in Ethiopia claiming that the government is elected

by the will of the people and should be ousted by peaceful means only. *Addis Zemen* used the contingency frame next to the conflict frame to tell the impossibility of the Arab like protest in Ethiopia. Even though the *Amharic Reporter* neither supported nor opposed a similar incidence in Ethiopia, it argued that the causes that led to the Arab uprising are prevalent in Ethiopia. The use of the contingency frame both showed similarity between *Fetehe* and *Amharic Reporter* and difference between *Addis Zemen* and *Fetehe* and *Amharic Reporter*. While *Fetehe* and *Amharic Reporter* claimed that there were reasons that could have made the Arab spring contagious to Ethiopia, and *Fetehe* went as far as demanding a similar revolution in Ethiopia, *Addis Zemen* firmly argued that the Ethiopian government was successful in minimizing those causes to a large extent.

The three newspapers showed similarity in their use of the human interest frame, which largely revolved around the then Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi. He was portrayed as a mad and selfish leader by all of them. Again, the newspapers condemn the Libyan regime and its leader alike.

The consequence of the Arab spring was also entertained under the prognostic frame. While *Addis Zemen* and *Fetehe* showed two extreme lines in discussing the consequence of the Arab uprising, *Amharic Reporter* took a middle ground. *Addis Zemen* argued that the uprising would not bring any important change for the people rather it would replace one oppressor with another. On the contrary, *Fetehe* claimed that the Arab spring was a triumph over dictators and an indication that the world is uncomfortable for them anymore. *Amharic Reporter*, however, tried to show both the negative and positive consequences of the Arab spring. While the demise of dictators and the coming of election were mentioned as positive consequences, worry was raised over the next leadership that would take over power in the Arab countries.

Addis Zemen failed to use attribution of responsibility in any of its articles while *Fetehe* and *Amharic Reporter* used the same frame to attribute responsibility to the Ethiopian government and the African Union. While the Ethiopian government was urged by the two papers to improve the life of Ethiopians before they attempted revolution, the African Union was made responsible for not taking a strong action against Libya.

In their use of the diagnostic frame, the newspapers gave their version of the causes of the Arab spring. *Amharic Reporter* and *Fetehe* presented the causes of the Arab spring as corruption, dictatorship, unemployment, consciousness of the youth. On the other hand, *Addis Zemen* argued that the cause of the Arab spring was the dependence of the Arab countries on fuel and natural resources and the subsequent subsidy they provided to their people. While *Amharic Reporter* and *Fetehe* saw the consciousness of the Arab youth rising, *Addis Zemen* argued they are dependent or lack entrepreneurial ability. *Addis Zemen* highlighted the same causes mentioned by the other two papers but blamed the economy for their cause. On the other hand the two papers largely blamed the ruling regime or dictator who the papers claimed accumulate large sum of money from the revenue of the natural resources.

Generally, *Addis Zemen* and *Fetehe* reflected the view of their owners in their coverage of the Arab uprising. Whilst the view of government and its elites was echoed in *Addis Zemen*, *Fetehe* advocated the stand of its editor in chief. Compared with the two papers, which took two extreme sides, *Amharic Reporter* tried to give a comprehensive coverage.

5.2 Recommendations

The finding of the study clearly showed that the coverage of the Arab uprising in *Addis Zemen* and *Fetehe* newspapers was largely tilted towards their owner interest while *Amharic Reporter* tried to give a fair coverage of the Arab uprising. Instead of being loyal to the facts on the ground, *Fetehe* and *Addis Zemen* chose to follow the interpretation built by the

owners. In other words, while *Addis Zemen* strictly adhered to the frames constructed by government elites, *Fetehe* advocated the interest or the interpretation of its editor in chief.

The reliance on the interpretation of elites or their frames led the papers to provide a biased coverage of the Arab uprising. Their coverage clearly showed its contradiction with the profession of journalism where journalists are expected to present a complete truth and comprehensive look at the issue. Thus, this study recommends that the two papers surrender themselves to the professional values of journalism instead of owner's interest. This however, cannot be achieved by the wish of journalists but by the support of owners. Hence, owners have to give their media institutions independence so that they can evaluate facts by their importance rather than by their allegiance.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Coding Sheet

Name of the newspaper _____

Date of publication (date/month/year) _____

Title of the story _____

Analytical category

Type of frame the story used

● Conflict frame _____

● Attribution of responsibility _____

● Contingency frame _____

● Diagnostic frame _____

● Human interest frame _____

● Prognostic frame _____

Appendix B

Coding Guide

Operational definition for the sub-categories of the type frame used in the story

Conflict frame: if the story concentrates on the growing disagreement between various groups like government and protesters and among groups in the international community.

Attribution of responsibility: if the story predominantly blames a certain body for certain actions and attribute respective responsibility.

Contingency frame: if the story propagates the probability that other countries including Ethiopia have for the Arab like uprisings

Diagnostic frame: if the story discusses cause and problems of the Arab uprising

Human interest frame: if the story brings an emotional element and tells the personal stories of individuals involved in the issue

Prognostic frame: if the story predominantly entertains the consequences of Arab uprising.

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

Appendix C

The Amharic version of the extracts used in the text.

አዲስ ዘመን

በግብፅ የተቀሰቀሰው የተቃውሞ እንቅስቃሴ ሳያባራ የቀጠለ ሲሆን ፕሬዝዳንት ሆስኒ ሙባረክም በስልጣን ለመቆየት ከያዙት አቁም አለማፈግፈጋቸውን ከየአቅጣጫው የሚደርሡት ዘገባዎች እያመለከቱ ነው። (አዲስ ዘመን፣ጥር 30፣ 2003 ገፅ 7)¹

የሊቢያው መሪ ሙአመር ጋዳፊ በአገሪቱ ውስጥ የሀይወትና ንብረት ጥፋት እያስከተለ በመራመድ ላይ እንደሚገኝ የሚነገርለት ህዝባዊ የተቃውሞ እንቅስቃሴ ቢቀጥልም የአብዮት መሪ ከመሆናቸው አንፃር ለመልቀቅ ዝግጅ እንዳልሆኑ አስታወቁ። (አዲስ ዘመን፣የካቲት 18፣ 2003 ገፅ 7)²

በመቶዎች የሚቆጠሩ ቱኒዥያውን ተቃዋሚዎች የፕሬዝዳንት ቤን አሊን ከስልጣን መወገድ ተከትሎ የተቋቋመው ጊዜያው መንግስት እንዲወገድ ለማስገደድ የምሽት

ሠአት እላፊ ገደብን በመጣስ ባለፈው እሁድ በጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ሞሐመድ ጉነቺ ጽህፈት ቤት ፊት ለፊት ድምፃቸውን አሠሙ።(አዲስ ዘመን፣ ጥር 18፣ 2003 ገፅ 7)³

በአልጄሪያም የፕሬዝዳንት አብዱል አዚዝ ቡተፋሊካ መንግስት ለበርካታ አመታት ፀንቶ የቆየውን የአስቸኳይ ጊዜ አዋጅ እንዲያነሳና የማሻሻያ እርምጃ እንዲወስድ በማድረግ ላይ ያነጣጠረ ህዝባዊ ተቃውሞ እንቅስቃሴ ተካሂዳል፤ በመካሄድ ላይ እንደሆነም እየተነገረ ነው። (አዲስ ዘመን፣የካቲት 19፣ 2003 ገፅ 7)⁴

ግብፅና ኢትዮጵያ ዱባና ቅል ለየቅል የሚሉት ዓይነት ናቸውና። ነገሩም ወዲህ ነው። ሀገራችን የሚመራው ገዢው ፖርቲ ኢህአዲግ ከስያሜው እንደምንረዳው አብዮታዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ፖርቲ ነው። ይህም ፖርቲው በለውጥ ሂደት የሚያምንና ለለውጥ የተዘጋጀ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሀያል መሆኑን የሚያመላክት ከመሆኑም በላይ እንደ ግብፅ ገዢ ፖርቲ በነበረው ሁኔታ የማስተዳደር ተፈጥሮ እንደሌለው የሚያስረዳን ነው። ከነዚህ ነባራዊ ሁኔታዊ በመነጨም ባለፉት ጥቂት አመታት ውስጥ ብቻ ህዝቡን በስራ ለመቀየር የቻለ ፖርቲ መሆኑን ካረጋገጠ ሰነባብቷል።(አዲስ ዘመን፣የካቲት 13፣ 2003 ገፅ 3)⁵

ይህ ታዲያ የግብፅ አመፅ ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የሚከሠትበት አንዳችም ምክንያት የሌለ መሆኑን አመፅ ናፋቂዎች መረዳት ይኖርባቸዋል። ይህ ሁኔታ ከኢዲሲቲ ኢትዮጵያ ተጨባጭ እውነታ አንፃር ስንመለከተው፣ በአገራችን ፈጣንና ተከታታይ በሆነ መንገድ እየተመዘገበ ያለው ዕድገት እንዲሁም ህዝቡ በየደረጃው ከልማቱ ተጠቃሚ እየሆነ መምጣቱ የህብረተሰቡን ደስታ እንጂ መከፋትን አያመለክትም እናም በዚህ የለውጥ ሂደት ባለችው ሀገራችን ውስጥ ማህበራዊ አብዮት ሊፈጠር የሚችልበት ቦታ የለም። (አዲስ ዘመን፣ጥር 18፣ 2003 ገፅ 3)⁶

ሰብአዊና ዲሞክራሲያዊ መብቶቹ ሳየሸራረፉ በኢህአዲግ ተጠቃሚ በመሆኑም የፀረ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሀይሎችን የማደናገሪያ ቅንጭብጫቢ ወሬዎችን የሚሰማበት ጆሮ የለውም።(አዲስ ዘመን፣ መጋቢት 7 ፣ 2003 ገፅ 3)⁷

በግብፅ እየተንሰራፋ የመጣውን የስራ አጥነት ሁኔታ ከአገራችን አንጻር እንኳን ስንመለከተው ዕቅዱ ስራ አጥነትን ለመቀነስ ባለፉት አምስት አመታት የተፈጠሩትን 176 የተለያዩ የስራ መስኮችን በ 2007 ዓ.ም ወደ 400 ሺ እንዲያድጉ ተልማል።(አዲስ ዘመን፣የካቲት 13፣ 2003 ገፅ 3)⁸

ባለፉት አመታት በከተሞች ኮንስትራክሽን በመስፋፋቱ፣ የመሰረተ ልማት አውታር ግንባታና በአነስተኛና ጥቃቅን ተቋማት የስራ ዕድል በመከፋቱ ወጣቱ ተጠቃሚ መሆን ጀምሯል። በ 1997 ዓ.ም በቂ የስራ ዕድል ባለማግኘታቸው ለተስፋ መቁረጥና ለነውጥ መሳሪያነት ተመቻችተው የነበሩት ወጣቶች በአሁኑ ጊዜ ስራና ሀብት ፈጠራ እንጂ ሌላ ነገር የማይታሰባቸው ሆኗል።(አዲስ ዘመን፣የካቲት 29፣ 2003 ገፅ 3)⁹

ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር መለስ ዜናዊ ከትላንትና በስቲያ የአረብ አመፅ ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ያካሂዳል የሚል ስጋት እንደሌላቸው አስታወቀዋል በርግጥም ተመሳሳይ አመፅ የማይታሰብ ነው። (አዲስ ዘመን፣መጋቢት 4፣ 2003 ገፅ 3)¹⁰

ህዝቡ ያለውን ጊዜ የሚያውለው ለልማት ብቻ መሆኑን ተገንዝቦ ለልማቱ መፋጠን ከጎኑ መቆም የበለጠ ትርጉም ያለው ተግባር ይሆናል።(አዲስ ዘመን፣መጋቢት 5 ፣ 2003 ገፅ 7)¹¹

ኢትዮጵያ የግጭትና ያለመረጋጋት ፣ የድህነትና የኃላቀር ማሳያ እንድትሆን የአለት ተአለት ምኞታቸው የሆኑ ለዚህም የማያፈነቅሉት ድንጋይ የሌለ እንደ ሻዕቢያ ያሉ መሰረታዊ ባህሪያቸው ሽብርና ጥፋት የሆነ መንግስታት ናቸው።(አዲስ ዘመን፣መጋቢት 5 ፣ 2003 ገፅ 3)¹²

አሁን በግብፅ የተከሰተውን ህዝባዊ አመፅ ተከትሎ የሙባረክ መንግስት መውደቅ ቢደርስባት ስልጣን የመያዝ አቅምና ዕድል አለው ተብሎ የሚነገረው የአካባቢው አስፈሪ ፖርቲ ሙስሊም ብራዘር ሁድ የሚባለውና እንደ ፖርቲ እንዳይንቀሳቀስ የታገደው ቡድን ነው።(አዲስ ዘመን፣የካቲት 8፣ 2003 ገፅ 11)¹³

የሆስኒ ሙባረክን ከስልጣን መውረድ ተከትሎ የበርካታ አገሮች መሪዎችና አለም አቀፍ ድርጅቶች አስተያየቶችን እየሠጡ ይገኛሉ። ሆኖም ግን የስልጣን ባለቤትን አስመልክቶ እስከ ትላንትናው ምሽት ድረስ የተቆጩ ነገር አልነበረም። (አዲስ ዘመን፣ የካቲት 9፣ 2003 ገፅ 11)¹⁴

በቅርቡ በሰሜን አፍሪካና በመካከለኛው ምስራቅ የተቀሠቀሠው ህዝባዊ ቁጣ ተወደደም ተጠላም መሰረታዊ ህብረተሰባዊ ለውጥ ለማምጣት የሚያስችል ባህሪ የለውም። አንድ ጨቋኝ መንግስት ባስወገደ ማግስት ሌላ ጨቋኝ ሀይል ስልጣኑን ይዞ የሚቀጥልበት ስለሆነም መቼም ቢሆን ህዝባዊ ጥያቄዎችን ለማርካት የማይችል ሁኔታ ነው ማፈጠረው። (አዲስ ዘመን፣ የካቲት 19፣ 2003 ገፅ 3)¹⁵

ቀድሞ አደንቃቸው የነበሩት ግለሰብ ዜጎቻቸውን አይጠኝ ብለው በመጥራታቸውና በሰላማዊ የተቃዋሚ ሠልፈኞች ላይ የጦር አውሮፕላኖች ማዝመታቸውን ስመለከት ስሙ መንግስት ያለበት ሐጢያት መስሎ ተሠማኝ። (አዲስ ዘመን፣ የካቲት 29፣ 2003 ገፅ 5)¹⁶

በተፈጥሮ ሀብት ላይ በእጅጉ የሚተማመኑት እነዚህ አገሮች በአገራቸው ውስጥ የትምህርትና የስራ ዕድል በየጊዜው እየጨመረ ለመጣው ትውልድ በበቂ ሁኔታ አልፈጠሩለትም። (አዲስ ዘመን፣ የካቲት 18፣ 2003 ገፅ 7)¹⁷

ከሁሉ በፊት ኢኮኖሚው በተፈጥሮ ሀብት ላይ የተመሠረተ በመሆኑ ዲሞክራሲን ለመሸከም የሚያስችል ባህሪ የለውም። (አዲስ ዘመን፣ የካቲት 18፣ 2003 ገፅ 3)¹⁸

ፍትህ

የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ሠሞኑን በአመፅ ላይ ከሚገኙት የሰሜን አፍሪካ ህዝቦች በከፋ የኑሮና የሰብአዊ መብት አያያዝ ላይ የሚገኝ እንደመሆኑ የጊዜ ጉዳይ ነው እንጂ ተመሳሳይ አመፅ ማድረግ እንደማያቀር አስታወቀዋል። (ፍትህ፣ ጥር 27፣ 2003 ገፅ 13)¹⁹

እስካሁንም ህዝቡ የ979.ት ምርጫ የፈጠረበት ፍርሀት ይዞት አንድ የቱኒዚያና የሌሎች የሰሜን አፍሪካ ሀገሮች ህዝቦች ያለባቸው ችግር ሳይኖርበት ቀርቶ አይደለም። በመሆኑም በእርግጠኝነት ህዝቡ ሆ ብሎ መቼ እንደሚነሣ መተንበይ ባይቻልም መነሳቱ ግን አይቀርም። (ፍትህ፣ ጥር 27፣2003 ገፅ 13)²⁰

በሰሜን አፍሪካና በመካከለኛው ምስራቅ ጨቋኝ ስርአቶች ላይ የነደደው የህዝብ ቁጣ ያስደነገጠው ይህ መንግስት በርካታ መምህራኖችንና ተማሪዎችን በገፋ እያሠረ ከመሆኑም ሌላ ችግሮች ሲፈጠሩና ቀውሶች ሲያጋጥሙ ራሱን ማየቱን ትቶ እንደ ሁልጊዜው ለችግሩ ተጠያቂዎችንና ተከላኞችን ፍለጋ ይሄዳል። ይህ መንገድ ጊዜው ያለፈበት ነው። (ፍትህ፣ መጋቢት 22፣ 2003 ገፅ 13)²¹

ፈጣሪዬ እዚህ የጎለተኝ ምን ሊያሠማኝ ይሆን? ይህ ህዝብ እኮ የሚታመን አይደለም፤ ታሪክ ሲሰራም ቀጠሮ ሰጥቶ አይደለም ከፈለገ ፈለገ ነው። (ፍትህ፣ መጋቢት16፣ 2003 ገፅ 5)²²

ከልጅ ጋር አንሰበሰብም (ፍትህ፣ የካቲት18፣ 2003 ገፅ 3)²³

መለስ ከፍተኛ ስጋት ላይ ወድቀዋል (ፍትህ፣ መጋቢት8፣ 2003 ገፅ 3)²⁴

አሁኑኑ ስልጣን ይልቀቁ ምን እየጠበቁ ነው (ፍትህ፣ መጋቢት8፣2003 ገፅ 3)²⁵

ጋዜጠኞች ከሸሀራ አሚን ምን ያማራሉ (ፍትህ፣ የካቲት 4፣ 2003 ገፅ 5)²⁶

የአፍሪካ ህብረት በጋዳፊ ላይ የመጨረሻ ውሳኔ መውሰድ አለበት። (ፍትህ፣ የካቲት 18፣ 2003 ገፅ 4)²⁷

ጋዳፊ የነዳጅ ቦታዎችን እንደሚደበድቡ የታወቀ ነበር። ምክንያቱም ሠውየው እብድና ሚሠራውን የማያውቅ ነው።(ፍትህ፣ መጋቢት 2፣ 2003 ገፅ 13)²⁸

የአምባገነኖች አለም እያከተመ ነው ሲባል ለማስረዳተ እሩቅ እንሄድም። ሁለት ሳምንት ወደኋላ ተመልሠን ከቱኒዚያ ተነስቶ ሜዴትሪያን አቋርጦ ጀርዳን አምሶ

ስንግን ደርሶ ግብፅን አቃውሶ እያላጋ ያለውን የህዝብ ቁጣና አመፅ መጥቀስ ይበቃል።
(ፍትህ፣ የካቲት 18፣ 2003 ገፅ 5)²⁹

የአረብ አብዮት ዋናው መንስኤ የአረብ ወጣቶች ንቃተ ህሊና መጨመር ነው። አረቦቹ እንደ ህንድ ያሉ ልማታዊ መንግስታት ከደረሱበት የእውቀት ደረጃ ላይ ደርሰዋል። እውቀትን በሁለት መክፈል እንችላለን። ቴክኖሎጂን በመፍጠርና ስራ ላይ በማዋል። አረቦቹ ቴክኖሎጂን በማዋል ረገድ ተራቀዋል። (ፍትህ፣ የካቲት 24፣ 2003 ገፅ 2)³⁰

ይሄ የሚያሳየው የትምህርት ጥራታቸውን እንጂ ፣ አዲስ ዘመን እንደሚለው መሸርሸሩን አይደለም።(ፍትህ፣ የካቲት 24፣ 2003 ገፅ 2)³¹

ሪፖርተር

ተቃዋሚ ሠልፈኞች አደባባይ ከወጡ አራተኛ ቀናቸውን ይዘዋል። አርብ ሠላማዊ ሠልፈኞቹ ከፀሎት በኋላ አደባባይ ወጥተው በተመሳሳይ መልኩ ተቃውሞቸውን ገልፀዋል። ፖሊሲም ሠላማዊ ሰልፈኞችን ለመበተን አስለቃሽ ጭስ ተጠቅሟል። (ሪፖርተር፣ ጥር 21፣ 2003 ገፅ 53)³²

ፕሬዚዳንት ቢን አሊ በምግብ ሸቀጦች ዋጋ ላይ በአስቸኳይ ቅናሽ እንዲደረግ ቢያዙም፣ ለፖለቲካ ፖርቲዎች ለሚዲያ ነፃነት ማበብ እንደሚሠሩ ቢናገሩም ቱኒዚያዎችን ግን ቢን አሊ በቃዎት ለእስካሁኑ እናመሰግናለን፣ ካሁን በኋላ ግን በቃ እያሏቸው ነው። (ሪፖርተር፣ ጥር 8፣ 2003 ገፅ 63)³³

በአፍሪካ ውስጥ የሚገኙ የተለያዩ አገሮች የጎሣ መሪዎችንና ባህላዊ መሪዎችን በማደራጀት ራሳቸውን ንጉሠ ነገስት ለማድረግ ሲቋምጡ የነበሩት አወዛጋቢው መሪ ከተለያዩ የአፍሪካ ሀገር መሪዎች የቀረበላቸው ምላሽ ቀዝቃዛ ነበር። ከመቶ በላይ ባህላዊ መሪዎችን በመሰብሰብ እ.ኤ.አ በ 2009 ራሳቸውን ንጉሠ ነገስት በማለት አዲስ አበባ ውስጥ ስርዐተ ንግስ መፈፀማቸው በብዙዎች ዘንድ መሳለቂያ አድርጓቸዋል። ብዙዎችም የለዩላቸው እስከማለት ደርሰዋል። (ሪፖርተር፣ የካቲት 20፣ 2003 ገፅ 6)³⁴

በቱኒዚያ የተፈጠረው እዚህ መደገም የለበትም። (ሪፖርተር፣ ጥር 10፣ 2003 ገፅ 1)³⁵

በቱኒዚያና በኢትዮጵያ መካከል ብዙ መመሳሰሎች አሉ። ለምሳሌ የመሪዎቻቸው ከ20 አመት በላይ በስልጣን መቆየት፣ በፖለቲካ ፖርቲዎች ላይ ያለው ተፅእኖ እና የሲቪል ማህበረሰብ የተገደበ እንቅስቃሴ (ሪፖርተር፣ ጥር15፣ 2003 ገፅ 7)³⁶

ኢ-ዲሞክራሲያዊውና ኢፋትህዊው የሙባረክ መንግስት ወድቆ በሽብርተኛ እና በአክራሪ መንግስት የሚተካ ከሆነ የህዝብ ፍላጎት ተጋለጦ ማለት ነው። የከፋ ሁኔታ ያስከትላል። (ሪፖርተር፣ የካቲት 6፣ 2003 ገፅ 2)³⁷

እነዚህን ጥያቄዎች ችግሩ ከመነሳቱ በፊት መመርመርና መፍትሄ ማስቀመጥ ከመንግስትና ከገዢው ፖርቲ ይጠበቃል። (ሪፖርተር፣ የካቲት 3፣ 2003 ገፅ 2)³⁸

የአፍሪካ ህብረት በሊቢያ እየተካሄደ ያለውን የዘር ማጥፋት ወንጀል በአንድነት ሊያወግዝና ሊቢያንም ከአፍሪካ ህብረት አባልነት ለጊዜውም ቢሆን ሊያግዳት ይገባል። (ሪፖርተር፣ የካቲት 20፣ 2003 ገፅ 2)³⁹

ድህነትና ጭቆና ብቻ ወደ አመፅ አይመራም። ንቃተ ህሊናም ይጠይቃል። (ሪፖርተር፣ የካቲት 20፣ 2003 ገፅ 20)⁴⁰

Appendix D

Interview guide

Interview guide (with Seife Deribe, Deputy-editor-in-chief of *Addis Zemen*)

1. The reasons that led to what is popularly called the Arab uprisings in Arab states were seen in Ethiopia. For example, inflation, corruption, unemployment was prevalent. Even some higher government officials expressed their anxiety that the problems might led to revolt. But your paper firmly argued there is favourable condition in Ethiopia. Why?
2. Unlike the other two papers I have analyzed for this research, your paper did not urge the Ethiopian government to improve the life of Ethiopians before they revolt. Your

coverage mainly praises the government and the ruling party for all the works done in the country. Do you think you have achieved your role as a media by doing that?

3. Most of the media institutions all over the world have condemn the African Union for not taking strong stand against the Libyan regime under Muhammer Gaddafi. Why does your paper remain silent?
4. Generally what influences you to cover the Arab uprising in the way you covered?

Interview guide (with Yemane Nagish, editor of political page in the *Amharic Reporter*)

1. Your paper reported that if the Ethiopian government does not improve the life of Ethiopians, it is likely that people in Ethiopia would revolt. On the other hand, government was claiming that it was successful in reducing the problems of the country to a large extent. What influences you to argue that the Arab spring would be possible in Ethiopia?
2. Were you anxious that the Arab spring might be repeated in Ethiopia too?
3. Your paper condemned the stand of the African Union with respect to Libya. Why did your paper choose to take that kind of stand against the African Union?

Interview guide (with Temsegen Desalegne, the then editor in chief of *Fetehe*)

1. Most of the stories presented in your paper advocate that the Arab uprising might happen in Ethiopia. Again, your coverage was focused on providing only one alternative explanation on why the Arab uprising might be possible. Why did your paper chose to present only one explanation?
2. What was your stand concerning the possibility of the Arab like uprising in Ethiopia? Are you pro revolution?
3. Why did you condemn the African Union for its stand against the Libyan regime? Did you support foreign intervention in Africa?

4. You depicted the Arab uprising as if it is an indication for the end of dictatorship. You even claimed that the Arab uprising would complete the unfinished African revolution. Was not that an exaggeration?

Appendix E

List of informants

No	Name of the informant	Position	Nationality
Informant 1	Seife Deribe,	Deputy editor in chief of <i>Addis Zemen</i>	Ethiopian
Informant 2	Yemane Negash	Editor of political page the <i>Amharic Reporter</i>	Ethiopian
Informant 3	Temesgen Desalenge	the then editor-in-chief of <i>Fetehe</i> newspaper	Ethiopian

Declaration

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

Asmeret Hailesilasse _____

School of Journalism and Communication

June, 2013

