

**A Comparative Study of the Coverage of Development Issues in the  
Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter**

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Geremew Chala, entitled: *A Comparative Study of the Coverage of Development Issues in the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepts standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator

## **ABSTRACT**

A Comparative Study of the Coverage of Development Issues in the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter

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**Addis Ababa University, 2012**

This research attempted to study the coverage of development issues in government and private newspapers in Ethiopia. It was informed by modernization, dependency and participatory theoretical frameworks. Its focus was on a comparative analysis of development issues coverage in the Ethiopian Herald (the government newspaper) and the Reporter (the privately owned newspaper). The emphasis was on the coverage of economic, social and political developments. To this end, it evaluated the extent of the coverage of development issues, the aspects of the development issues in focus, the sources of the development issues, and the prominent pages of the issues of development in the newspapers. A Content analysis was conducted on the stories carried by the two selected newspapers to provide a description of the coverage of development issues. The analysis shows that the private media covered less development issues than the government media. The economic development was considered the most important aspect of development coverage in both newspapers. In general, the Ethiopian press, particularly the government owned one gave little or no shortcomings on its coverage of social, economic and political issues in the country. This implies that the government press advances the government's point of view. Based on the findings, pertinent recommendations were forwarded.

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# **Declaration**

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and all the sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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## **Acronyms /Abbreviations**

DJ:	Development Journalism
ENA:	Ethiopian News Agency
EPA:	Ethiopian Press Agency
GDI:	Gender Development Index
GNI:	Gross National Income
GTP:	Growth and Transformation Plan
MDGs:	Millennium Development Goals
HDI:	Human Development Index
HPI:	Human Poverty Index
LDC:	Less Developed Countries
MoFED:	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
Nd:	no date
PASDEP:	A Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
SDPRP:	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Programme
UN:	United Nations
UNCT:	United Nation Country Team
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
WIC:	Walta Information Centre

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **Introduction**

This chapter attempts to explain the topic and the aim of the research. It also gives explanation of the background and the rationale for the study with some theoretical frameworks. In addition, it specifies the questions to be answered.

### **1.1. Background of the Study**

The word ‘development’ is a broad term that includes ideas such as economic, political, social, and cultural concerns (Haynes, 2008). Economically, the key matter is the capacity of national economy, with an initial economic condition more or less static for a long time to generate and sustain annual increase in its Gross National Income (GNI) rates. This GNI is measured by the rate of income per capita take in to account the ability of a nation to expand its output at a rate faster than the growth rate of its population. Politically, the focus is on comparative political cultures, problems of nation building, construction of stable and workable political and public institution and administration. Political development also assumes the fulfillment of the rights of freedom of speech and expression, and the freedom of information of the social reality. Socially, development is concerned with the issues which constitute the ‘quality of life’ such as education, health, literacy, and social relationships (Haynes, 2008: Todaro and Smith, 2009).

Each categories of development has also a broad concept by itself. They can constitute multi-dimensional process such as the notion of infrastructures, basic needs, equality and equity. Over time, development has carried different meanings and development thinkers

have defined and explained the term in different ways at different times. Todaro & Smith (2009) explains,

Development is a multi-dimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the eradication of poverty. Development, in its essence, must represent the whole gamut of change by which an entire social system, turned to diverse basic needs and desires of individuals and social groups within that system, moves away from a condition of life widening perceived as unsatisfactory toward a situation or a condition of life regarded as materially and spiritually better. (p. 16).

The emphases here are the social conscience, moral awareness; the will to act according to the societal and cultural knowledge of the norm in spiritual dimension. As noted by Todaro and Smith (2009) there are at least three basic criteria against which a country's development is measured. These include extreme poverty eradication, inclusive reduction of unemployment rate of the nations and ensuring equality among the citizens. In a situation where one or two of these central problems have persisted and even have become worse, it would be difficult to call the result "development" even if per capita income might have doubled.

In essence, different people have different visions of what human betterment and national development is, and how to work towards it. Development planners, for instance, have learned that the choice of development strategy must recognize differences in access for improvement within a nation, and between nations. It would have to include mobilization and reorganization of the marginalized majority to counteract the continued

monopolization of all opportunities for growth by a strong minority (Mody, 1991). Development in this context can possibly be achieved through social mobilization, reorganization, and achievement orientation. Hence, participation of the majority is more powerful than the domination of minority for a required success of development.

According to Todaro and Smith (2009), development in any society must have at least three objectives:

increase the availability and widen the distribution of basic life-sustaining goods such as food, shelter, health, and protection; raise levels of living, including, in addition to higher income, the provision of more jobs, better education, and greater attention to cultural and human values, all of which will serve not only to enhance material well-being but also to generate greater individual and national self-esteem; expand the range of economic and social choices available to individual nations by freeing them from servitude and dependence not only in relation to other people and nation-state but also to the forces of ignorance and human misery. (p. 22).

On the other hand, development can have a political perspective that it should encompass freedom of expression, enabling people to have wider choices. It is an element of three major objectives of development that Tadaro and Smith (2009) stated as sustenance, self-esteem, and the ability to choose. Thus, the mass media facilitate information dissemination on the social reality and play a role as a mirror of social events that are of important to the common people. The freedom of the mass media is closely guarded by the civil society and the media have a social responsibility to act as a catalyst for socio-economic and cultural development in the society of which it is a part.

In fact, failure and success of most development projects are often determined by two crucial factors, that is, communication and people's involvement (Servaes, 2008). A great deal of scholarly inquiry has addressed the way in which development would enable worldwide democratic communication. Conversely, many modern communication media were, in themselves, considered to be indicators of development communication, and development have been viewed as closely intertwined phenomenon where one is believed to guarantee the other (Servaes, 2008). This idea clearly highlights the role of development communication and media in achieving intended development goals. The media in general help create the awareness for development and its possible approach by disseminating information to the society down to root level.

The notion of development in Ethiopia has been omnipresent since the late 1990s and early 2000s. The term has become ubiquitous over the last five years in Ethiopian Television and Oromiya Television, which has recently been established. The same can be said of the government newspapers, such as "Addis Zemen" and "The Ethiopian Herald", which often carry development related issues across their front pages. Their roles are mainly to advocate the concept of "Developmental Journalism" and "Development communication" (Dejene, 2010).

Development journalism is the profession of gathering, writing, editing, publishing, telecasting, or broadcasting information, facts and ideas about development activities, while development communication is a deliberate, systematic and continuous effort to organize human activity for the efficient use of communication resources and for the realization of communication policies, in the context of a particular societies

development goals, means, practices and subjects to its prevailing forms of economic, social and political organization (Amanuel, 2004).

Thus, it is obvious that media have significant impact on a country's development. This impact of media depends on the relevance of the content to be delivered. These contents are expected to comprise education, information, entertainment and edutainment that are vital for development. The most important reason to study development coverage in a newspaper is that they sheer ubiquity. In addition to these, Ott and Mark (2010) stated the role of mass media as institutional and social purpose.

More than ever before, the mass media have replaced families as caretakers, churches as arbiters of cultural values, schools as sites of education, and the state as a public agenda-setter. The mass media remain a significant socialization force in contemporary society. Socialization describes the process by which persons both individually and collectively learn, adopt, and internalize the prevailing cultural beliefs, values and norms of a society. (p. 11).

In addition, media have many contributions to development along several storylines. It could be political, economical, social and infrastructural contribution. Politically, media constitute the backbone of democracy. Because they supply political information that voters base their decision on. On political context, media also ensure plurality and transparency in which a plural media environment makes to good governance, and the functioning of markets. Socially, media are important on behavioral changes of individuals, groups, and organization. They also drive investment in convergent broadband infrastructure and platforms which hold the potential for transformational

development. Economically, the media provide various jobs through announcing vacancies and job opportunities (Locksley, 2009).

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

Different countries have different priorities in their development policies. Ethiopia, for example, has adopted the Millennium Declaration in 2000 so as to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs encapsulate development aspirations of the world as a whole. The main development objective of the Ethiopian government is poverty eradication. In order to achieve MDGs, the government has been practicing the five-year middle term strategic plan since the declaration was adopted. In 2005/006, the government adopted ‘A Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP)’ that exploited the progress made during the implementation of SDPRP (Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Programme) (MoFD, 2007). The broad thrust of the government’s strategy within the PASDEP remains rural growth, accelerating private sector growth in the modern economy to create employment and income, and strengthening of public institutions to deliver services. In 2010/2011, another strategic plan, which is undergoing, was adopted. This is dubbed as changes through Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) (Tsegaye, 2010).

This plan aims to ensure the food security at the family, regional and national levels and it is done by doubling the domestic agricultural production. To speed up this GTP, the Ethiopian government is attempting to create an understanding of development through social mobilization, fostering entrepreneurship and ‘achievement orientation’. The media, therefore, are expected to be a significant driver of growth and development in many aspects. As Locksley (2009) notes,

The creation and dissemination of knowledge are key factors in the development process where the media have been instrumental as a means of storing and sharing knowledge. The well-recognized functions of the media are to educate, inform, and entertain where the social and economic contributions of the media to development depend on the nature of the content delivered. (p. 2).

The press thus, plays significant role in addressing the detailed news or stories of broadcast media. It can also have attributes that include so many issues, including a variety of different stories such as political, economical and social issues of a country. Basically, the main function of a newspaper is to report news objectively. But, most of the newspapers, including both the government and private newspapers, seem to give priority to the interest of their sources. As Hodgson (1996) notes, no newspaper can be free of unbiased selection of word. This shows that newspaper can reflect the interests of their owners and their organization. But, “to some extent newspapers have themselves to blame for the suspicion of bias that can exist in the public’s mind” (Hodgson, 1996:32).

It is important to give due attention on the contents of newspapers, because they play a major role in setting agenda for other media, and provide a tangible record to which other journalists, educators, researchers and activists can refer.

Many newspapers also deliver special information to readers, such as television schedules and listings of stock prices. They provide commentary on politics, economics, and arts and culture, and sometimes include entertainment features, such as comics and crossword puzzles. In nearly all cases and in varying degrees, newspapers depend on commercial advertising for their income. The researcher of this study wants to investigate critically

the contents of newspapers with reference to their coverage of development issues in Ethiopia. As a result, the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter newspapers were incorporated to make a comparison of the extent of the coverage of development issues.

General reading and observation also indicate that there are gaps between the governments owned and privately owned newspapers in news coverage. As Amanuel (2004) asserts, there is a clear cut demarcation between the government owned and private press: most of the time the government press presented a picture of homogeneity with very little evidence of investigative, critical, or even middle original journalistic activity, while the private press acted as a host of highly variable quality.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The objective of this study is to examine both government and private newspapers' coverage of development issues by using mixed method: both quantitative and qualitative research methods with the aim of identifying the extent and quality of their coverage of development issues through a critical lens.

#### **1.3.1 General Objective**

The general objective of this study is to understand how the government and private newspapers have covered development issues in Ethiopia and to compare the extent of their coverage.

#### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives of this study are to:

- assess the extent of the coverage of development issues in the selected newspapers;

- identify the aspects of development issues more focused in the two categories of the newspapers;
- describe how the newspapers pay attention to the stories of development issues;
- explain the most common sources of the two categories of newspapers use in covering the development issues;
- explain the extent of the newsworthiness of development issues within the newspapers.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

The purpose of this study was to investigate the coverage of development news in government and private newspapers in Ethiopia. Thus, it aims to answer the following research questions:

1. To what extent did the selected newspapers cover the issue of development?
2. What aspect(s) of development did the two categories of newspapers give more emphasis?
3. How did the newspapers pay attention to the stories of development issues?
4. What sources did the newspapers use in covering development issues?
5. In which of the two categories of newspapers (state or private) were development issues covered more?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The main importance of this study is that it will help create awareness as to the extent to which the press gives for issues related to development. It can also benefit researchers who wish to study the Ethiopian government and private media in terms of the coverage

of development issues. It can also help understand the relationships among media ownerships and evaluate their strategies in covering development related issues.

### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The focus of the study was on only the "Ethiopian Herald" and "the Reporter", (the English version newspaper). The selection of these newspapers is based on the ownership and control of the papers. They were purposively selected as the researcher is interested in personally deciding the newspapers that are more acceptable for the coverage of development issues in Ethiopia. The researcher's familiarity with the newspapers and the audience of the publications has also factored in the selection process.

The central attention of this study is the coverage of development issues in Ethiopia particularly economic, social and political development. Due to time constraints, other aspects of developments were not considered. Stories with two, and less than two paragraphs, promotion references that lead to stories elsewhere, were also not considered. The contents of the newspapers studied were those published within six months. That is, from the beginning of January 2011 to the end of June 2011. November 2010 was the actual month in which the GTP endorsed by the Ethiopian Councils of Ministers. Assuming its implementation from December 2010, the researcher decided to study the coverage of development issues in this time period.

### **1.7 Limitation of the Study**

In the attempt to study the coverage of development issues in the government and private newspapers in Ethiopia, there were some limitations which encountered during the study. These limitations were mainly during the coding procedures. As the researcher was interested to include larger amounts of texts in the study, the unit of analysis did not

consider the analysis at the word level instead, at the articles and text level. It would have been better if the unit of analysis have been in the word level in order to clearly identify some of the variables to be measured. The tone variables of the stories were very much difficult for the coders to assign the stories. But to reduce the difficulties, the coders used the basic coding criteria set before and coded accordingly.

In addition, subject interpretations were given in some aspects of the analysis. Specially, to measure the newsworthiness of the issues covered, the researcher concluded the result based on only the rest validated variables. This is because newsworthiness of stories needs further assessment in addition to the content analysis used in this research.

## **1.8 Organization of the Study**

The thesis follows the standard outlines of master's thesis papers at Addis Ababa University and consists of five chapters. Chapter one presents a general background of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, and research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study and limitation of the study. Chapter two focuses the essence and concept of development with theoretical frame works. It also deals with the challenges to development. Chapter three is about methods, procedures and sampling techniques employed in the research. The fourth chapter entirely discusses the data obtained through quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the study in light of the introductory chapters and the theoretical perspectives in chapter two. The chapter also forwards the results of the data. The last chapter focuses on the conclusion and suggested recommendations based on the outcome of the research.

## 1.9 Operational Definitions

The definition of development used by Haynes (2008), Todaro and Smith (2009) were adopted as an operational definition for this study. Hence, development is an economic, social and political process which results in the reduction of inequality, the eradication of poverty and ensuring basic need for a citizen. Development news used in the study refers to all aspects of economic growth, social change and political ideologies in the target newspaper.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **Review of Related Literature**

This chapter is devoted to presenting the highlights of some scholarly perspectives to build the study on well recognized theoretical basis on development. It also touches development practices in Africa and the role of media in development as a whole. It starts with the concept of development and extends the discussion to the theoretical perspectives of development and other essential arguments related to development.

### **2.1 Conceptualizations of Development**

The term ‘development’ is very broad, complex and multidimensional that scholars have defined based on three core concepts. The first concept of development is ideology of Industrial Revolution in developed world and the colonial experience in developing world of the quantitative empiricism of American social science, and capitalistic economic and political philosophy. This concept of development was centered on the criterion of the rate of economic growth. It was about the level of national development at any given point in time was the Gross National Product (GNP) which was widely accepted until about the 1970s (Rogers, 1976).

This perspective definitional concept of development is the ideology of dominant discourse of western modernity that actually shapes and frames ‘reality’ and power relations. It does this because the ‘discourse’ values of certain things over others (Servaes, 1999). This concept is based on the outlook that development has consisted of ‘bad’ change and ‘bad’ outcomes through the imposition of Western ethnocentric notions of development upon the Third World. The key element of this approach is that,

development is an economic growth combined with political modernization that is nation building and social construction (Pieterse, 2010).

The second conceptualization is that, 'development' is a process of structural societal change. This means that development involves changes to socio-economic structures – including ownership, the organization of production, technology, the institutional structure and laws. This perception has tended to 'slip from view' for many contributors to the development literature (Servaes 1999).

In this conceptualization, development relates to a wide view of diverse socioeconomic changes. The process does not relate to any particular set of objectives and so is not necessarily prescriptive. Equally, it does not base its analysis on any expectations that all societies will follow approximately the same development process. All countries change over time, and generally experience economic growth and societal change. This process has occurred over the centuries, and might be generally accepted as 'development' in the context of this discussion. This perspective on development is not necessarily related to intentional or 'good' change. Indeed, in some cases development involves decline, crisis and other problematical situations – but all of this can be accommodated within this wide perspective of socio-economic change (Seers, 1979).

The third perspective is the concept embraced by international development donor agencies. This is a definition of development which is directly related to the achievement of poverty reduction of the MDGs (UN, 2008). At its most basic level, it is simply concerned with development occurring in terms of a set of short- to medium-term 'performance indicators' of goals or outcomes which can be measured and compared

with targets (for example, changes in poverty or income levels). It, therefore, has a much more instrumental element which is likely to be favored by practitioners within the development community notably in international development agencies. Poverty reduction objectives in general and the MDGs in particular, now play a major role in the thinking of the international agencies (Todaro and Smith, 2009).

The key feature of this perspective is that it is focused on the outcomes of change so that it has a relatively short-term outlook, leading some commentators, such as Gore (2007), labeled it as 'a historical'. This is somewhat problematic to many of the more academic members of the development community because it presupposes a set of (essentially bureaucratic or government) goals or objectives which may not be shared by many of the people who are supposedly benefiting from development. This means that there is a paternalistic assumption as to what is good for people's wellbeing based on a set of universal values and characteristics. This raises the question of 'ownership' not so much in the context of governments or of countries but more in the context of peoples, and the poor in particular. There is a concern that this short-term and instrumental view of development loses the (grand) vision of societal transformation that Gore, (2000) highlighted, and separates the conception of development from socio-economic structures, social relations and politics.

These overall multiplicities of definitional debates include a general agreement on the view that 'development' encompasses continuous 'change' in a variety of aspects of human condition. The dimensions of development are extremely diverse, including economic, social, political, legal and institutional structures, technology in various forms

(including the physical or natural sciences, engineering and communications), the environment, religion, the arts and culture (Servaes, 1999).

Other scholars such as, Hodder (2000) defines development as an economic, social and political process which results in a cumulative rise in the perceived standard of living for increasing proportion of a population. Such a definition suggests that an increased standard of living involves a social and political process as well as an economic one; that a rise in the standard of living must be cumulative rather than just temporary; and that it has to be significant enough to be perceived by an increasing numbers in population. Clearly, this kind of definition holds the concepts of equality and equity as a crucial aims in any development process.

Thus, it is difficult to state development within a single definition. The difficulties of trying to embody all possible criteria in a simple definition of development are immense, and one way of avoiding this problem is simply to describe the characteristics of less developed (LDC) economies that Todaro and Smith (2009) note,

LDC economies are characterized by low levels of living, reflected in such indices as low income, high inequalities, poor health and inadequate education, low levels of productivity, high rate of population growth and dependency burdens, high and rising levels of unemployment, substantial dependence on agricultural production and primary export products, the prevalence of imperfect markets and limited information, dominance, dependence and vulnerability, in international relations. (p. 40).

According to Seers (1979), the purpose of development is to reduce poverty, inequality, and unemployment. For Sen (1987), development involves reducing deprivation or broadening choice that represents a multidimensional view of poverty which includes

hunger, illiteracy, illness and poor health, powerlessness, voicelessness, insecurity, humiliation, and a lack of access to basic infrastructure (Narayan et al. 2007).

Generally speaking, as Todaro and Smith (2009) contend, development is the process of improving the quality of all human issues. Three equally important aspects of development are: (1) raising people's levels of living—their incomes and consumption levels for food, medical services, education, etc., through relevant economic growth process; (2) creating conditions conducive to the growth of people's self-esteem through the establishments of social, political, and economic systems and institutions that promote human dignity and respect; and (3) increasing people's freedom by enlarging the range of their choices, variables as by increasing varieties of consumer goods and services.

## 2.2 Theoretical Paradigms of Development

The study used three paradigms of development: the modernization theory, the dependency paradigm and the multiplicity paradigms as many governments of developing countries seem to still share the ideas of each paradigm.

### 2.2.1 The Modernization Paradigm

The modernization paradigm was originated from Western countries. This paradigm stressed economic growth through industrialization as the key to development. “During the late 1940s and 1950s most development thinkers stated that the problem of underdevelopment or “backwardness” could be solved by a more or less mechanical application of the economic and political system in the West to countries in the Third World” (Servaes and Malikhao, 2008:5). It imagined development as a challenge to bring

the “underdeveloped countries” out of their conditions of poverty by modernizing them and by promoting economic growth spurred by free-market approaches.

Modernization theorist, Servaes (1999), explained the modernization theory by categorizing in to the ‘modernized’ and the ‘traditional’. Servaes (1999), therefore, defines development as the bridging of the gaps by pouring modernity down to the underdeveloped nations.

Thus to Servaes (1999/p.20), “development implies structural differentiation and functional specialization that stipulated primarily by endogenous factors”. Accordingly, development is considered to come about by devaluing the traditional culture of developing countries through imposition of those modern values from developed countries. Hence, of development was conceived as a spontaneous, irreversible process that every society should pass through.

The modernization paradigm stressed economic growth indexes such as income, volume of savings, and levels of investment, and industrialization as the key to development as criteria. At the heart of industrialization, there were technology and capital, which substituted for labor (Rogers, 1976). It also advocated changes at cultural, technocratic, political and economical levels.

Modernization at the cultural level, advocated for a change in the attitude of individuals in poor countries who had to abandon traditional beliefs, considered an obstruction toward modernization, and embrace attitudes and behaviors favorable to innovation and modernity (Lerner, 1958). At the technocratic level, modernization required people with

curious minds who were guided by faith in the scientific method and rooted in the principles of illumination. At the political level, it required staunch advocates of the doctrine of liberalism based on political freedom and the adoption of democratic systems (Lehmann, 1997). Finally, at the economic level, it required blind faith in the virtues and power of the free market, with no or minimal government intervention (Mefalopulos, 2008).

Within this paradigm, the conception of development is a linear one based on trust in science, reason, technology, and the free market. Among the merits of this paradigm, in addition to a certain number of successes in specific instances and projects, there was the establishment of a more systematic and rigorous approach to development initiatives. Overall, however, this theoretical approach to development, with its related bag of practical tools, did not deliver the expected results (Servaes, 1999). By the end of the 1980s, it became evident that the promises of the modernization paradigm had not appeared success and that poor peoples' situation everywhere in the world had failed to improve significantly (Mefalopulos, 2008).

The critics of this paradigm attacked its predominant by only its economic focus. In its long search to develop, modernization neglected to consider the relevance of other social dimensions and failed to take into account a number of historical and broader sociopolitical factors that impeded the autonomous development of many developing countries; rather it sought westernization assistance technique (Rogers, 1976). The proponents of the modernization paradigm overemphasized the power of individual countries and ignored elements, such as colonization, past exploitation of resources, and,

more recently, globalization, all of which greatly affect and limit the individual capacities of countries in the political and economic arena rather it seems to provide handy recipes that emphasize what a country should do to develop itself.

Gradually, the criticisms of this paradigm became so intense that even some of its stronger supporters began revisiting some of its theoretical assumptions and practical underpinnings. For instance, in the mid-1970s, Rogers (1976), a renowned scholar associated with modernization, was already announcing “the passing of the dominant paradigm.” In reality, this passing never materialized completely, because the principles of this paradigm still permeate many of the theories and concepts of current development practices.

### **2.2.2 Dependency Paradigm**

The dependency paradigm emerged from the convergence of neo-Marxism and the extensive Latin American debate on development. Therefore, in contrast to the modernization paradigm, the dependency paradigm was born in Latin America (Haynes, 2008; Sevaes and Malikhao, 2008). The implicit assumption of the dependency paradigm was the idea that development and underdevelopment must be understood in the context of the world system (Pieterse, 2010). The core meaning of development in the dependency paradigm is dependent economic accumulation. Dos Sannos defines, dependence as

a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of interdependence between two or more economies or between such economies and the world trading system becomes a dependent relationship when some

countries can expand through self impulsion while others, being in a dependent position, can only expand as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries, which may have positive or negative effects on their immediate development (quoted in Servae 1999:34).

According Kumar (cited in Berhanu, 2009), dependency theory advocated the 'dissociation' strategy for developing nations from world market and information system. It emphasizes to political struggle rather than economic struggle. As Kumar ( in Berhanu, 2009)observes, "the determinant factors for development activities include the socio-economic structures, material resources, and inadequate infrastructures, over centralized bureaucracies, lack of political will, the transitional invasion, arm twisting by financial and aid organization" (p.136).

This paradigm is rooted in a socio-economy and political perspective (Servaes and Malikhao, 2008). On the basis of a structural analysis of the international capitalist system, Servaes (1999) considered development and underdevelopment as two faces of the same coin, shaped by specific historical, economic, and political factors. Hence, neither the causes nor the solutions of underdevelopment should be sought exclusively, or even mostly, within the poorest countries, but within the broader international scenario and forms of exploitation such as the richest countries' colonial past, (Mefalopulos, 2008).

Within the dependency paradigm, the world was separated into two blocs: the core composed of a few rich countries, and the periphery, composed of many poor countries. According to this perspective, core countries took advantage of their technological competence, superior infrastructure, and economic power to strengthen their lead. The

main role of the peripheral countries was restricted to that of supplying raw materials and cheap labor to the richer ones, making it impossible for them to ever catch up (Haynes,2008;Mefalopulos, 2008).

To address this problem, dependency advocates proposed a plan that works on two levels: national and international. Nationally, developing countries on the periphery were to become economically self-reliant and less dependent on foreign imports. Internationally, they would form alliances among themselves to create a stronger political presence. The ultimate goal would be to change the overall international set of relationships by forming a bloc of many countries with similar aspirations (ibid).

Dependency paradigm had a considerable impact in the economic and development policies of a number of Third World countries, especially in the 1970s and early 1980s, resulting in the implementation of import-substitution policies by many of those countries (Escobar, 1995). This strategy aimed to protect national industries from outside competition by subsidizing them and putting high tariffs on imported products. The main idea was to stimulate growth of domestic industrialization and to reduce or sever dependent ties with richer countries. However, the overall results of import-substitution policies have been rather unsatisfactory (Haynes, 2008). Even though this strategy appeared to be partially successful in a few countries (for example, Brazil), it failed to achieve its goals in most countries. Protecting and supporting local industries did not produce the expected objectives, and it often resulted in poor-quality products and inefficient processes. Many poorer countries were forced to borrow more, a situation that led to a refined version of financial and political dependency (Ibid).

This paradigm is blamed of its oversimplified division of the world into core and periphery levels for its inadequacy to fully explain the causes of underdevelopment and for its limited effectiveness in proposing successful alternative models of development. By attributing causes of underdevelopment exclusively to the centers of international capitalism, dependency theorists failed to consider relevant internal causes contributing to the problem, such as the role played by national elites who often form strategic coalitions with those of developed World (Mefalopulos, 2008; Haynes, 2008; Pieterse, 2010).

This intermediate layer, the semi-periphery, addresses the criticisms received by dependency theorists for the oversimplified division into two spheres of rich and poor countries. The three levels that is, core, periphery, and semi-periphery (Haynes, 2008) are contained in a unified world system, the mechanisms of which are those of capitalism operating at national and international levels. Haynes (2008) states that, the system can take various forms in different places and settings; he states, however, that once deprived of its different attributes, the essence of that system remains the capitalist one. In other words, he claims that because of the overwhelming power of capitalism at the global level, each relationship social, political or economic systems are interrelated, unevenly structured in a chain of the global capitalist system. Hence, all the causes for development and underdevelopment can be considered internal to the capitalist system, on the basis of the international division of labor and the control of raw resources (ibid).

### **2.2.3 Multiplicity (Participatory) Paradigm**

Multiplicity is another paradigm of development that emphasizes cultural identity, empowerment and multidimensionality. Servaes (1999) notes that, it is a common starting point of an examination of change from the bottom-up, and from the self-development of the local community. The notion of this paradigm is that every society must delineate its own strategy to development. The implication is that the problem of development is a relative one that no one can claim development in all respects. Servaes and Malikhao, (2008) explained the view as “another” development that could be defined as need-oriented, endogenous, self-reliant, ecologically sound, and based on participatory democracy and structural transformations.

According to Servaes, (1999), the different communication for development approaches that build on the multiplicity paradigm can be grouped under the participatory model.

The participatory model views ordinary people as the key agents of change or participants for development, and for this reason it focuses on their aspirations and strengths. Development is meant to liberate and emancipate people and, in doing so, enable them to meet their basic needs. Local cultures are respected. This model also emphasizes the local community rather than the nation state, monistic universalism rather than nationalism, spiritualism rather than secular humanism, dialogue rather than monologue, and emancipation rather than alienation. (p. 93).

This multiplicity paradigm which was articulated in the industrialized nations of northern Europe has a central idea that there is no universal path to development, that development

must be conceived as an integral, multidimensional, and dialectic process that can differ from one country to another (Servaes and Malikhao, 2008).

The search for a different and better vision in development practices as Triol (1993) noted, is currently linked to people's participation and empowerment. Participation is a concept that has been gaining increasing recognition and regard in the development discourse and its practices. Participatory approaches require a shift in the way individuals are considered, from passive recipients to active agents of development efforts.

Most development programs nowadays including in Ethiopia seem to carry the participatory approach as a sign of refinement from the mistakes of the past. The wide convergence in participatory approaches, nonetheless, has not resulted in a unified paradigm. Rather, it has generated a number of theoretical approaches still seeking a unified and consistent common framework. The following are some of the most renowned: the multiplicity paradigm (Servaes, 1999); the empowerment approach (Triol, 1993); another development (Servaes, 1999); alternative development (Pieterse, 2010).

Unlike to the proponents of modernization and dependency paradigms, most of the advocates of the participatory theoretical perspective do not seem particularly interested in defining development theory to provide a universal analysis and interpretation of the world. They seem more interested in identifying and analyzing drawbacks and limitations of current development practices, especially at project and community level, and in attempting to identify normative approaches that could provide operational guidelines in the field. Common features of this perspective are the emphasis on people, the

endogenous vision of development, and the attention to power and rights issues (Triol, 1993).

In the multiplicity paradigm, development efforts have been refocused to increasingly engage stakeholders and pay attention to aspects of social life (culture, intellect and environment) that were previously neglected (Servaes, 1999). The new priorities, well beyond the economic dimension, are reflected in the MDGs (Haynes, 2010), which were adopted in the 1990s by the United Nations and other development organizations as key challenges to be addressed successfully. In addition to poverty reduction, they include objectives in education, gender equality, and health issues. Most development priorities are outlined within political frameworks based on the adherence to good governance and democratic principles (for example, freedom and human rights), and people's participation is also key in this context (UN report, 2008).

According to McKee (1994) (cited in Mefalopulos, 2008), there are many reasons for the adoption of participation in development, some of which relate directly to the enhancement of project results. These major reasons for the adoption of this approach in development initiatives are,

maintaining that (1) services can be provided at a lower cost; (2) participation has intrinsic values for participants, alleviating feelings of alienation and powerlessness; (3) participation is a catalyst for further development efforts; (4) participation leads to a sense of responsibility for the project; and (5) participation ensures the use of indigenous knowledge and expertise. (p. 51).

Regardless of these and other benefits, participation has remained a highly praised term, but a poorly adopted one. This is probably owing to the concerns that managers may experience when not in total control of a project, as well as participation's multifaceted conception and the many sensitive issues involved in its application.

The participatory paradigm is not an absolute concept, and that it can be conceived and applied in different degrees. In contrast to modernization paradigm, it does not give considerable attention for the exogenous technology and knowledge transfer (Berhanu, 2009), but it promoted 'self reliance' in terms of 'local knowledge' and 'local capability'. This creates a room to participation that ranges from passive participation, where people are simply told what is happening and their participation is conceived as a mere head-counting, to self-mobilization, where people not only have the power to make decisions but can also initiate the process. In between these two extremes, there are other kinds of participation with varying degrees of people's involvement. The full categorization, starting from the least participatory, includes passive participation, participation in information giving, participation by consultation, participation for material incentives, functional participation, interactive participation, and self-mobilization.

The World Bank (2008) identified participation into two different levels of forms: (1) low-level forms of participation, (2) high-level forms. The low-level of participation includes information sharing and consultation. When the stakeholders are informed to attend meeting, it is considered as passive participation or information sharing, and when the stakeholders are consulted but the decision making rests in the hands of experts, the participation is considered as consultation. The high-level of participation includes

collaboration and empowerment. When stakeholders are allowed to have some input, although not necessarily from the beginning of the process and not in equal partnership it is considered as functional participation or collaboration, and empowered participation, when relevant stakeholders take part throughout the whole cycle of the development initiative and have an equal influence on the decision-making process. As noted by Chambers (1983), there could be a number of participatory techniques and tools that require individuals with no literacy skills. So, he encourages all individuals to express their knowledge and ideas openly.

### **2.3 African Development**

African crisis is in fact, primarily a combination of economic, ecological, political and socio-cultural upheavals. The crisis is, therefore, multidimensional in origin as it is in the way it is expressed. According to Triol (1993), five features of its mode of expressions are most prominent.

The first is the extent to which Africa is conflict ridden. More than any other continent, Africa happens to experience extensive divisions, and ongoing civil wars and conflicts. The African continent experience strong divisive tendencies and actual divisions as a result of its colonial past which created artificial boundaries, language and consciousness. All these create not only direct cultural problems but have contributed to making armed conflicts and wars as the main medium of political interaction and negotiation. Undoubtedly, “the consequences of these conflicts on the generally well-being in the affected areas, and for economic production, political order, health, etc have been negative” (Troil, 1993:14).

Africa's domestic policies are a second feature of these crises. Africa's politics are characterized by fragile but authoritarian and over extended state formations with weak roots in civil society. These are controlled by an insecure, non hegemonic, political elite who are dependent on the state for accumulation and who utilize both corruption and patronage as media of bargaining, negotiation and legitimating. They often adopt a political style that divides their citizens, along ethnic, economic, religions, and even racial lines, fueling the costly diversions which keep their nations off the track of development (Troil, 1993; World Bank, 2005).

Another feature of the crisis is the combination of the rapid population growth and increasing environmental degradation that characterizes contemporary African development (Hodder, 2000).

A fourth feature is the socio-cultural malaise of the continent, particularly in terms of the crisis of culture as expressed in the reproduction of meaning and authentic and indigenous social values (Peterse, 2010; Aina (1998) cited in Triol, 1993).

The last is, perhaps at the very core of the crisis, feeding on it, reproducing and complicating all other dimensions, are the factors of African poverty and its economic dilemma (Troil, 1993).

As a result of such a common realization in most African countries, it was highly problematic contentions and complex to achieve comprehensive development goals. According to Payne (2005) in (Haynes, 2008), "Early theories of development especially

modernization theory and dependency theory had diametrically opposed explanation for developmental success and failures” (p., 9).

The context and process of development in the developing world is both complex and multi-faceted, involving a variety of both internal and external factors because it lacks analytically appropriate outcomes to develop necessary insight. Both the modernization and the dependency theories, with their primary concern on the domestic factors and the external arena, respectively failed to explain development routes and outcomes in the developing world (Haynes, 2008). As noted by Martin and Mathema (2010), Ethiopia, which is one of the developing countries, is currently making various efforts to achieve development.

The government of Ethiopia is among the few countries in the world with self-funded upgrading programs and initiatives, even if the success of these programs leaves much to be debated. In the decentralized system the lowest level of government is required to develop what are known as eco-city plans for development at the word level. (p. 97).

The involvement of the community in finding solution to problems enhances their feelings of self –worth, and demonstrates that even if they are poor, they have the freedom to choose which solution to adopt, and how much they want to pay for it. To this end, it is appropriate to give an example which may demonstrate better than any other true meaning and value of bottom-up development. It is paradoxical that while professional people write as if development is a technical process, it takes a journalist to bring out the fact that human dimension is far more important (Martin and Mathema, 2010).

Community decision making follows a pattern, and in the world of real development, it is essential to allow the time for decision to be made, and that time spent at this stage can save for more time which might be required to resolve conflict at later stage (ibid).

## **2.4 Indicators of Development**

The conceptualizations of development are centered on the criterion of the rate of economic growth. The level of national development at any given point in time is the gross national product (GNP) or, when divided by the total population in a nation, per capita income. The old paradigm stressed economic growth through industrialization as the key to development (Todaro and Smith, 2009).

Development indicators have evolved considerably since the 1960s. This evolution has been inter-woven with disputes on the meaning of development. A major feature of this has been the contrast between economic indicators (Lehmann, 1979) such as per capita income on one hand and broader views of development and wellbeing which include social and psychological dimensions at their centre on the other hand. Most recently, a newly emerging focus is on the distinction between universal or objective wellbeing and subjective or context-specific wellbeing.

Development indicators were needed for elements of basic needs – physical necessities such as food, shelter and public services, as well as the means to acquire these through employment and income. Progress with these broader measures was reflected in the greater availability of data on health and education, for example, for many developing countries during the 1970s (Todaro and Smith, 2009).

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) indices are amongst the most commonly cited development indicators. The most widely used are the Human Development Index (HDI), the Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Human Poverty Index (HPI). The “HDI is an attempt to arrive at an objective conception of development, by combining indicators of economic and social welfare” (Haynes 2008:11). In the case of the HPI, it is a measuring of deprivation in basic human development that could be absolute or relative deprivation in a country. HPI takes account of wellbeing, which is related to life expectancy, health, knowledge and education, and most of these indices include some form of purchasing-power-adjusted per capita income as an indicator of the standard of living (Todaro and Smith, 2009). The UNDP also publishes a gender empowerment measure which is a measure of gender equality in politics, business and wages (UN, 2008).

Since the late 1990s, there has been an internationally agreed set of development indicators in the form of the United Nations MDGs. The MDGs are the product of agreements at international conferences led by UN agencies, giving them some legitimacy as desirable development outcomes or targets (Haynes, 2008).

As a set of indicators, the MDGs in themselves do not constitute a policy paradigm. These indicators could be embedded within a variety of national development strategies and also within different forms of international development cooperation. However, it is possible to speak of the current MDG paradigm because the MDGs have become the cornerstone of a particular approach to development and poverty reduction during the current decade. This includes a particular approach to international development

cooperation as well as an analytical and policy narrative about how to promote development and poverty reduction at the national level (MoFED, 2010). These two elements are in fact the institutional realization of the new international development consensus. The approach to international development cooperation within which the MDGs are embedded is the partnership approach which was first introduced by the donor community at the end of the 1990s (Gore, nd).

A number of context-specific or 'specialist' development indicators have also been created in response to the realization that universal development indicators may contradict subjective perceptions of wellbeing and development. This approach is particularly associated with Chambers (1983,) who argues that the perceptions of poor people rather than of rich people, of aid agency officials, or members of the development community should be the point of departure because top-down development indicators may not correspond with how poor people themselves conceptualize changes in their wellbeing. Security, dignity, voice, and vulnerability may be more important than consumption in some circumstances.

In general, there are several tests for success in development practice. These tests have in some cases, driven the modes of development indicators. The trends for objectively variable results demonstrated and quantified outputs are some of these indicators. The consumers' success and satisfactions with indices of the management system could be other remarkable points of indications. A system which is designed as an auditing tool to limit or prevent corruption may generate development system very differently from that is designed to improve the welfare of beneficiaries (Martin and Mathema, 2010).

## **2.5 Millennium Development Goals in Ethiopia**

Ethiopia was one of the 189 member states that adopted the Millennium Declaration in 2000 and in doing so committed itself to the achievement of the Millennium Development (MDGs). The main development objective of the Ethiopian Government is poverty eradication. Hence, the country's development policies and strategies are geared towards this end. ([http://www.undp.org.pg/documents/mdgs/ UN\\_millennium\\_declaration.pdf](http://www.undp.org.pg/documents/mdgs/UN_millennium_declaration.pdf)).

Since the 1990s, reducing pervasive poverty and ensuring human development in Ethiopia have been the objectives of the Ethiopian government. This vision is explicitly incorporated in various government development policy documents (MoFED, 2010).

The country's medium term development plans such as the PASDEP - 2005/06-2009/10 and its successor GTP (2010/11-2014/15) are MDGs based development plans that were conceived to be implemented in the medium term. The integration of the MDGs in the national development policy context reached its height following the 'MDGs Needs Assessment' exercise conducted by the government, United Nation Country Team (UNCT) and other development partners in 2005. This allowed the explicit incorporation of the MDGs and their explicit cost in important policy documents for the country (MoFED, 2010).

MDGs are, therefore, well placed in the national development context of the country. In line with the objective of poverty eradication and bringing about social development, the government of Ethiopia has invested in both physical and human capital formation which

could be considered as best practice to address the challenges of achieving the MDGs (MoFED, 2010).

## **2.6 The Role of Mass Media in Development**

The use of media in development can be treated at two levels: mass media, often using television, radio, and print media in campaigns aimed at inducing the adoption of innovations or other changes in behaviors; and community media, mainly using radio and other folk expressions such as theater, concerned with giving voice and representation to the various segments of local communities. An increasing number of scholars focus their attention on the ownership patterns of media. Media in general can be classified into three groups: private, public/government, and community. Such a classification seems to better reflect the different nature, scope, and range of functions included within the broader media system.

In the past, media systems were considered key elements in supporting the national development of poorer countries. During the 1980s, the role of communication and, especially, media was at the center of a heated debate that reached its highest level of visibility and controversy at UNESCO. The impact of this debate, while having a number of implications for media policies and international relations, affected the field of development communication and its on-site applications only in a limited way (Mefalopulos, 2008). Thus the mass media can create a climate for development through effective communication. As Schramm (1964) noted, “the mass media can contribute substantially to the amount and kinds of information available to the people of a developing country by disseminating development news from far away, by carrying

political, economic, social, and cultural reports from elsewhere in a country in the world” (p.131).

There can be little doubt that media are instrumental in increasing knowledge and influencing attitudes and behaviors, but this influence is not as strong as originally believed, especially if it does not take the local context into account (Schramm, 1964) because localness is an important aspect in the community change in decision process.

The media are significant driver of growth in many economies. The business of producing content generates substantial income flows and jobs that contribute directly to the economy. Increased access to knowledge spurs higher levels of literacy, which strengthens human capital for higher productivity. The media are also important contributors to social and cultural life and key components of democratic structures. These contributions to development are often deliberately embodied in the media system (Locksley, 2009). For example, Article 7/1 of the Ethiopian Broadcasting Service Proclamation No. 533/2007 authorized the power of media; ensure the media to contribute to the proper social, economic, political and cultural development of the country.

In countries where people have had the most experience in using the media for economic, political and social development, media roles are very important. This is because it is understood “that the great battles of development are continuing ones, and the results come less from the impact of a single messages or a single media than from a succession of impacts of related messages and reinforcing channels” (Schramm, 1964:145).

Most debates over the role of media in development focus on strategies to secure media coverage of poverty related issues. This is critical, but the extent of coverage is not the only factor. The extent to which the perspectives of those living in poverty are reflected in the public domain including through the media is becoming increasingly important. It is because development economists and analysts have increasingly focused on the critical importance of the role of media in providing a voice for people living in poverty (Harvey, nd).

The political role of media is also another aspect of development. The 1995 Ethiopian constitution, for example, guarantees freedom of the mass media. This is essential to the health of democracy for at least two reasons. First, it ensures that citizens make responsible, informed choices rather than acting out of ignorance or misinformation. Second, information serves a “checking function” by ensuring that elected representatives uphold their oaths of office and carry out the wishes of those who elected them. In some societies, an antagonistic relationship between media and government represents a vital and healthy element of fully functioning democracies. In post-conflict or ethnically homogenous societies such a conflict, tension ridden relationship may not be appropriate, but the role of the press to disseminate information as a way of mediating between the state and all facets of civil society remains critical. ([http://www.usip.org/pubs/usipeace\\_briefings/2007/0705\\_media\\_conflict.html](http://www.usip.org/pubs/usipeace_briefings/2007/0705_media_conflict.html)). Coyne and Leeson, 2004) explains that,

The media is a key institutional mechanism for achieving a successful policy mix that promotes economic development. This development process and specifically the adoption of ‘good’ policies are characterized by a situation of conflict between political agents. Economic development is achieved

when potential games of conflict are turned in to games of coordination, and a free media is one such means for achieving this. (p. 23).

A free media is necessary, but not sufficient, condition for economic development. Political stability, a stable economic environment outside of the media industry, quality of the media, education, ideology, interest in politics, willingness to punish ineffective politicians, in addition to free media, also play a role in creating economic progress (Coyne and Leeson,2004). Stated differently, certain institutions help to facilitate the role of media in achieving positive results.

As noted by Coyne and Leeson (2004:28), there are “four factors that influence the effectiveness of media as mechanism for transforming situation of conflict into coordination scenarios. These factors are: media autonomy, the legal structure, the quality of the media, and consumer demand.”

### **2.6.1 The Role of Independent Media in Development**

Independent media play a critical role in building and sustaining democracies, societies, and economies around the world. They provide citizens with the information necessary to make informed political and economic choices. Independent media give voice to women, youth, and minorities, along with dissident political opinions. They also improve communities by providing citizens with important information on health, environment, and rural development, and help people prevent and respond to disasters (Graves, 2007).

Advances in technology have allowed media to deliver news and information to growing numbers of people and to share stories as they occur across the street and around the world. The ability to share information occurred with the introduction of the personal

computer in the late 1970s, and the Internet, popularized in the 1990s. Both have transformed how companies deliver news and information and how people receive it. At no time in history has the world been so closely connected, with so many people having so much access to information using the new media about themselves, their neighbors, their countrymen and women, and the world as they do today. Media has also significant implications for all policy-makers concerned to see no country is excluded from the political, social and economic benefits that free and independent media bring (Harvey, 2008).

The introduction of these new technologies has made control of information. With the control of information comes control over people's political, economic, and social lives, including the value of their education, health, and jobs. There are a number of people living below poverty line, many of them in Africa and parts of Asia, where communications and media infrastructure are in great need of development. Independent media are crucial in providing opportunities for people to access critical information to their lives. It is expected to be one of the major development objectives of current time (Grave, 2007).

Free media can strengthen the public interest to improve socio-political conditions, enable citizens to participate actively in public discussions and deliberations to affect change, and empower citizens to fulfill their rights and obligations. It also contributes to the governance reform agenda by identifying corruption and demanding transparency and accountability (Martinsson, 2009). These illustrate how critical independent media are important to democratic, transparent societies and how pervasive and influential media are significant in today's world. Citizens around the world are seeking trustworthy in-

formation about issues that affect their daily lives, health, environment, economy, community, and politics and it is imperative that they have reliable sources that they can trust.

The potential of media to encourage democratic development cannot be denied. Media give people a voice, acting as a balance and watchdog to potential government misconduct. Without a voice, citizens cannot be heard; with a voice, they cannot be ignored. Media provide a window into the inner workings of the government, thereby increasing transparency and reducing corruption. Not only are countries more democratic with free and independent media, but their governments are also more accountable (Graves, 2007).

Media impacts are not limited to the political realm. A country's economy benefits by being more open. By having access to economic information, citizens are better informed about what is happening in their communities and in commercial and financial markets, allowing them to make better informed choices. Overall society benefits, too. In addition to current events, media educate the public on issues related to health, the environment, women, children, and minorities. Thus, independent media give voice to those whose voices often are not heard and engage marginalized groups in a more participatory discussion of programs that impact their lives.

Democratic, social, political, and economic development goes hand-in-hand with media development. While short-term projects that utilize media for specific goals- health information campaigns, for example, have an impact on their intended sector, a more

comprehensive media development strategy holds the potential to create the conditions for sustainable democratic and economic development. The establishment and nurturing of free and independent media is crucial across all sectors to achieve real and sustained overall development of society (Graves, 2007).

### **2.6.2 Development Journalism (DJ)**

Development journalism could have various definitions in different contexts. In some places it means the communication process being used as a tool to serve development plans and goals of government. According to Aggrawala (1978a) (cited in Dejene, 2010), development journalism is expected to cover the entire gamut of socio-economic and cultural development and does not differ dramatically from regular news coverage. Rather its emphasis is more on development aspects keeping in view the context of development; and it critically examines and reports the relevance, enactment and impact of development programs. According to Kamath (1983),

The purpose of development reporting is to create a sense of involvement, to spread the realization that the future comes out of present efforts, that development can be nobody's gift, least of all of the aid given by affluent countries, but is the result of one's own labor. Destiny does not descend from above; it grows out of one's hand. Development reporting must concern itself with the people. It must show them how to improve their bargaining power with society. It must make them realize that their future is in their hands. It must describe the process of backbone building. Development reporting must describe the people actually at work in new projects and process. It must describe the process of change and modification, the new discoveries and products. It must describe terms and concepts of development. An important aspect of development reporting is success stories of people who have adopted new technologies, tried new methods, and benefited themselves and helped

society. Development reporting, by its very nature, is devoid of the kind of sensational interest that an eruption or a calamity or political confrontation produces. (p. 106).

DJ has various roles and missions in development: it promotes the development efforts, reports about the needs of the public and exposes all types of problems, and plays a role as a feedback mechanism, support development projects through serving as a bridge between people and policy makers or government. It also advances the purposes, plans and problems of development activities through communicating to the people for positive achievements and trends by making media to support all the endeavors taking place in development process. DJ is expected equally to report the wrong doings that hinder or debar the proper functioning of development (Amanuel, 2004).

Since development is measured in the improvement of the lives of the people and the strengthening of the family's or the individual's capacity to deal with the rest of the society and of the nation's capacity to deal with world, DJ is important to improve the quality of life both of the individual and society (Kamath, 1983).

Development journalism follows the former discussion about development politics that fundamentally presumes development as a central social objective, and the mass media play a decisive role in the process. Development journalism comprises the reporting on ideas, programs, activities and events, which are related to an improvement of the living standard, mainly in the rural regions. Basically, it is assumed that journalism is able to influence the development process by reporting on development programs and activities. Accordingly, it is the journalists' duty to "critically examine and evaluate the relevance of a development project to national and local needs, the difference between a planned

scheme and its actual implementation, and the difference between its impact on people as claimed by government officials and as it actually is” (Aggarwala 1979: 181). The reporting on national and international events is only desirable if they constructively contribute to the development and improvement of the living standard (Wimmer and Wolf, 2005).

According to Kunczik (1995) (cited in Wimmer and Wolf, 2005:2), two forms of development journalism can be identified. The first form is comparable to a Western style investigative journalism. It comprises reporting which critically examines development projects on the one hand and controls government activities on the other hand. However, freedom of the press would be a basic requirement for it. The other form of development journalism can be defined as benevolent-authoritarian. It allows systematic manipulation of information in favor of a subtle development serving the common welfare.

In authoritarian type of development journalism, the opinion and involvement of the government are more important criteria for reporting than the development projects themselves. Ultimately, this journalism can make a contribution to the stabilization of unfair power structures and become a servant of governments (ibid).

Development journalism has attracted considerable antagonism over the years. This is because the practice has been blamed for promoting political agendas instead of people’s interests. The strong dependency on the state, especially the African version of development journalism, has roused worries from press freedom organizations. Redefined versions of development journalism, however, claim to promote national interests while at the same time safeguarding independent reporting (Skjerdal, 2011).

The concept of DJ in Ethiopia is a recent phenomenon. Even there were no clear guidelines for journalism in the previous monarchical and communist systems in Ethiopia. According to (EPA 2008) (cited Skjerdal, 2011), it is only since 2007 that the Ethiopian government defined the journalistic principles of the Ethiopian state media which was named as a development journalism policy document.

As Skejrdal (2011) noted, the Ethiopian “development journalism policy document has not yet been formally ratified, but is still regarded as an official document. The concerned policy document is very extensive and interrogates fundamental questions of development journalism, including philosophical and operational issues” (p., 6). It is mainly concerned with economic poverty and states that the goal of the government is to level Ethiopia among middle-income countries within 20-30 years, and all societal forces, including the media, are expected to take part in the process (ibid).

### **2.6.3 Media in Sustainable Development**

Sustainable development is development which considers the long term perspectives of the socio-economic system, to ensure that improvements occurring in the short term will not be detrimental to the future status or development potential of the system, i.e., development will be “sustainable” on environmental, social, financial and other grounds (Bellù, 2011).

It is a term widely used by politicians all over the world, even though the notion is still rather new and lacks a uniform interpretation. Important as it is, the concept of sustainable development is still being developed and the definition of the term is constantly being revised, extended, and refined (Elliot, 2006). According to Bird and et

al (2008), development evades to simple defining, because it can mean many different things. It can be about water, food, shelter and energy. It is about how people hope to become rich and secure prospects for good health. It is also about the decisions of world leaders and their agreement and actions on what needs to be done.

According to the classical definition given by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987 (cited in Bellù, 2011), development is sustainable if it “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” It is usually understood that this “intergenerational” equity would be impossible to achieve in the absence of present-day social equity, if the economic activities of some groups of people continue to jeopardize the well-being of people belonging to other groups or living in other parts of the world.

“Sustainable” development could probably be otherwise called “equitable and balanced,” meaning that, in order for development to continue indefinitely, it should balance the interests of different groups of people, within the same generation and among generations, and do so simultaneously in three major interrelated areas—economic, social, and environmental. So, sustainable development is about equity, defined as equality of opportunities for well-being, as well as about comprehensiveness of objectives.

Obviously, balancing so many diverse objectives of development is an enormous challenge for any country. There is no strictly scientific method of performing such valuations and comparisons. However, governments have to make these kinds of decisions on a regular basis. If such decisions are to reflect the interests of the majority, they must be taken in the most democratic and participatory way possible. But even in

this case, there is a high risk that long-term interests of children and grandchildren end up unaccounted for, because future generations cannot vote for themselves. Thus, to ensure that future generations inherit the necessary conditions to provide for their own welfare, the present day values must be educated enough to reflect their interests as well.

The challenge is further complicated by the fact that in today's interdependent world many aspects of sustainable development are in fact international or even global. On the one hand, many decisions taken at the national or even local level actually have international consequences— economic, social, and environmental. When these consequences are negative, the situation is sometimes referred to as “exporting un sustainability.” On the other hand, national policies are often inadequate to effectively deal with many challenges of sustainability.

Thus, international cooperation on the wide range of so-called transboundary and global problems of sustainable development becomes indispensable. Arguably, the most critical problem of sustainable development in each country as well as globally is eradicating extreme poverty. That is because poverty is not only an evil in itself. It also stands in the way of achieving most other goals of development, from clean environment to personal freedom.

Another, closely related, global problem is establishing and preserving peace in all regions and all countries. War, as well as poverty, is inherently destructive of all economic as well as social and environmental goals of development. In the final analysis sustainable development is about long-term conditions for humanity's multidimensional well-being.

Sustainable development can also be a term that refers to maintaining development over time (Elliot, 2006). Most concepts of sustainable development encompass the idea that there are three interdependent pillars of sustainable development: environmental, economic and social. It is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Elliot, 2006:7).

For Elliot (2006) sustainable development:

is a political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision making, an economic system that provides for solutions for the tensions arising from disharmonious development, a production system that respects the obligation to preserve the ecological base for development, a technological system that fosters sustainable patterns of trade and finance, an international system that fosters sustainable patterns of trade and finance, and in administrative system that is flexible and has the capacity for self-correction. (p. 13).

## **2.7 Media ownership system**

According to Boyd (1977, as cited in Servaes, 1995, p.35) “the process whereby the ownership, structure, distribution or content of the media in any one country are singly or together subject to substantial external pressures from the media interests of any other country or countries without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected”.

Ownership structure is one of the factors on the organizational level that affects the content of mass media messages. According to Schramm (1964), there are three basic types of mass media ownership: government owned (or government party owned), privately owned, and owned both by government and private organizations or

individuals. Government-owned media outlets are usually seen by social scientists as pursuing goal of social welfare and harmony, while privately owned media are seen as pursuing interests that are determined by desire to make profit, although it is not always the case. The fact that media are (partly) owned by government does not mean that channels and content are totally controlled by government. Usually, if not subsidized, these channels have to make profit, which means independence to certain extent from government ideological interests (Shmykova, nd).

Media ownership structure on serving the public interest is another part of a bigger theme of effects of mass media ownership on content. There are number of studies that were able to determine effects of ownership on content, although there are some that present the opposite view. For example, as a source of political information, mass media may affect public behavior on elections. Scholars examined the effects of newspaper's consolidation on endorsement of political candidates (ibid).

In modern economies and societies, the availability of information is central to better decision making by voters, consumers, and investors. Much of that information is provided by the media, including newspapers, television, and radio, which collect information and make it available to the public. A crucial question, then, is how the media should be optimally organized. (WHO OWNS MEDIA)? Government ownership of the media, perhaps even as a monopoly, is then desirable for three reasons. First, information is a public good once it is supplied to some consumers; it is costly to keep it away from others, even if they have not paid for it. Second, the provision, as well as dissemination, of information is subject to strong increasing returns: there are significant fixed costs of organizing information

gathering and distribution facilities, but once these costs are incurred, the marginal costs of making the information available are relatively low. Third, if consumers are ignorant, and especially if private media outlets serve the governing classes, then state media ownership can expose the public to less biased, more complete, and more accurate information than it could obtain with private ownership (Djankov and et al, 2003).

## **2.8 Ethiopian Media: an over view**

### **2.8.1 Print Media**

Newspaper publications started in Ethiopia under Emperor Haile Selassie I with a few other publications. However, modern mass media was introduced in Ethiopia a century ago, during the reign of Menelik II. The first medium to be introduced was a weekly newspaper (*La Se-maine d'Ethiopie*, 1890), published in French by a Franciscan missionary living in Harar (Nigussie, 2006). In 1905 the name of the publication changed to *Le Semeur* page weekly newspaper named *Aemero*. Between 1912 and 1915 weekly newspapers like *Melekete Selam*, *Yetor Wore*, and many others emerged (Nigussie, 2006; Sophia, 2006).

The most part of these print media were controlled by the country's government, subject to official censorship and string-pulling. In 1965 Berhanena Selam Printing Press, a modern, almost monopoly institutions run by the government, was established. The Printing Press played a role in the publication of two Amharic national weekly newspapers, *Addis Zemen* and *Sendek Alemachen*, which were launched 1941 to celebrate the 1941 victory over the Italians. A year after, in 1942 an official *Negarit Gazeta* was

founded. Publication of other popular newspaper English counterpart (the Ethiopian Herald) was launched, in 194 (Mekuria, 2006).

During the *Derg* regime, the government-and party-owned publications *Meskerem*, *Serto Ader*, and the pre-Derg *Yezareyitu Ethiopia* were published in addition to the previously mentioned *Addis Zemen* and the Ethiopian Herald (Mekuria, 2006). Until the 1990's, the socialist government, controlled the publication of newspapers and used the press for propaganda purposes (Shimels, 2000).

It is after the Press Bill of 1992 that the Ethiopian publishing industry flourished. Since then there are quite a number of government and privately owned newspapers in the country varying in frequency and time of publication as well as circulation rate, target audience and achievements (Skejerdal, 2011). The "independent papers" are owned by private share companies (business, communities, political parties or just individual business entrepreneurs). Because of a very limited middle-class, the income on advertising is also very limited. The government papers are subsidized by government funds, and partly financed by advertisements and subscribers.

Following the proclamation of the Press Bill, many private and party newspapers began to appear. In addition, the Ethiopian Press agency now publishes four newspapers, one each in Amharic, English, Afaan Oromoo and Arabic in the following order, *Addis Zemen* and Ethiopian Herald, (both dailies), and *Berissa* and *Al-alem*, both weeklies. Currently many private newspapers have been on publishing (Nigussie, 2006).

### **2.8.2 Broadcast Media**

The Ethiopian media environment is characterized by polarization between private and state owned media enterprises (Skjerdal, 2011). Although the present Ethiopian government promised a free and open media climate when it came to power in 1991, there was no private broadcast media until 2006. In contrast to freedom of mass media and freedom of expressions guaranteed by the 1995 Ethiopian constitution, the Ethiopian media law has kind of systematic restrictions (Press proclamation Nor.590/2008; Broadcasting proclamation No.533/2007 of rights to establish private media outlets especially on broadcasting sector. Today, there are five private radio stations in Ethiopia, but there is still no independent television broadcaster (Skejerdal, 2011).

The freedom of the press is a paramount importance to the society. It can enrich human lives; enhance public justice, and even help to promote economic and social development.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **Methodology**

Under this section, the methodology that was undertaken in the study is briefly discussed. The focal points include the samples, the sampling procedures and the techniques, the unit of analysis, and the rationale of the samples.

### **3.1 Research Design**

The study employed mixed method: both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The quantitative method is aimed at identifying the general trends in the nature of the newspapers' contents and established the extent of the newspaper coverage on the issues of development in Ethiopia. In this regard, a firsthand quantitative content analysis of the selected newspapers was found to be pragmatic. Quantitatively, the analysis dealt with the frequency of the prominent pages, the sources, the amounts of pictorial presentation of the issues and the tone of the coverage.

The qualitative method was focused on how the newspapers covered issues related to development in a subjective interpretation and a critical observation of the stories. It dealt with the latent forms and antecedent-consequent patterns of the stories. While the quantitative method transforms observations of found categories into quantitative statistical data, the qualitative method is focused more on the intentionality and its implications (Budd, et al, 1967). The stories categorized through content analysis as the different aspects of development were analyzed using Excel computer software.

As the analyst is interested to measure mainly the manifest and partly the latent content of the newspapers related to the coverage of development issues, the concurrent

embedded strategy of mixed methods of both quantitative and qualitative content analysis were employed. Therefore, this study gave less priority for the qualitative method which was nested predominantly within quantitative method. According to (Creswell, 2009), a concurrent embedded strategy of mixed method of data collection is the use of one data collection phase in which the two methods integrate information and compare the data source with the other, typically accomplished in a discussion section. Thus, the researcher examined the specific frequencies of the categories of development issue in the newspapers quantitatively. This information was presented and interpreted using charts and graphs for the content analysis of both categories of the newspapers. The quantitative method helped the researcher to point out the recurring occurrences of development issues as appeared in the newspapers and the type of sources used in the selected newspapers.

Qualitatively, the researcher extended the analysis of some of those elements that are physically presented and counted into a more latent analysis. In the latent case, the analysis extended to an interpretive reading of the issues underlying the physical data to describe the deep structural meanings conveyed by the message. Thus, the prominence, newsworthiness and the tone of the stories were dealt into the more extended latent form of the analysis.

### **3.1.1 Research Instruments**

#### **3.1.1.1 Content Analysis**

Content analysis is a systematic technique for analyzing message content and message handling, and it is a tool for observing and analyzing the overt communication behavior of selected communication events (Budd, 1967:2). Berelson (in Deacon et al.,

(1999:115), also defined this technique as: “content analysis is a research technique for objective, systematic and quantitative description of manifest content of communication”. In similar manner, Krippendorff (1980) also defines content analysis as giving emphasis to a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context. That means, it is a systematic technique for categorizing data into themes and then counting how often each category or theme occurs in order to identify dominant findings and, thereby, make some generalizations. Thus, it enabled the researcher to include large amounts of textual information and systematically identify its properties.

The approach to content analysis was selected and employed in this study, because it is a pertinent tool to extract the data from the manifest and latent content of the selected newspapers. It is also an important tool to make inferences about the antecedents, describe the characteristics and the effects of the newspapers on the coverage of development issues in Ethiopia. The basic assumption implicit in the content analysis is that an investigation of message and communication will allow some insight in to some aspects of beliefs, or values of the people who receive these message (Berger, 2005). Hence, in this study a content analysis of the two newspapers was conducted for the selected period and an analysis was worked out to an acceptable coding schedule on the content of selected newspapers. During the study, aspects of the research themes like the analysis of story sourcing, the amount of coverage, quality of the coverage, comparisons between the two categories of the newspapers, the tone of the stories, and the prominence of the page in which the issues were deployed were tried to touch up on. An attempt has also been made to examine the genre of news, feature; opinion etc. and their potentialities in reporting on issues about development. The quality of coverage was measured on the

basis of the context of the stories source usage, balance, interest arousing approach and style to enrich the quantitative description of the data.

### **3.1.2 Sampling Technique**

In order to select the samples, the researcher first prepared the total number of publications of each newspaper in the decided time period. Accordingly, 26 Saturdays of Reporter's publications and 155 publications of Ethiopian Herald are identified. Taking into account all publications of the reporters' newspaper within specified time period, the researcher had randomly chosen 26 publications of the Ethiopian Herald in order to make equal number of copies with the reporter newspaper. To draw 26 copies out of 155 publications, the researcher used a random sample by numbering each publication from 1 to 155 and then selected 26 numbers from a table of random number. This was accomplished using a complete list of all the publication calendar days of the Ethiopian Herald encompassed in the time period. Therefore, a total 52 days' publications were selected for analysis. All news stories related to economic, social and political development (except stories with two or less than two paragraphs) in each newspaper were coded and analyzed.

After having the complete copies of the two samples of the newspapers, the researcher decided to identify the different dimensions of the development categories in the newspapers. The significant dimensions for the analysis of the issues included placements of the issues, sources of the issues, tone of the issues, and pictorial presentation of the issues.

### **3.1.3 Sample Selection and Rationale**

The two newspapers: the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter were selected purposefully based on the ownership and control of the newspaper, i.e., government owned and privately owned. The selection also considered the existence of the newspapers for a longer period of times. The Ethiopian Herald has been on market since 1943 and the Reporter is also a popular newspaper which has long epoch from among the private newspapers in Ethiopia. The researcher's familiarity with reading these selected news papers was the source of initiation for the upcoming full-fledged research work on the analysis of the newspapers' coverage focusing on development issues and a bearing on its selection as well. This means, the issue studied was decided based on the experience and the general reading interest of the researcher. On the other hand, as Ethiopia is one of the developing countries which have been adopting different strategic plan for various development schemes, it is imperative to examine the current status, whether the Ethiopian media has given due attention to the development issues.

The study period included the time between the beginnings of January 2011 to the end of June 2011. The rationale behind the decision of this time period is that it was during this time period the GTP was adopted. The GTP document was formally endorsed by the Council of Ministers of Ethiopia in November 2010 (MoED, 2010). Assuming its implementation and more media coverage of development, soon after the endorsement, the researcher decided the study period to encompass the time line from the beginning of January 2011 to the end of June 2011.

### **3.1.4 Unit of Analysis**

The bound for this study unit of analysis is a combination of items and their themes in advance which represent the whole units of development related news stories in the newspapers. Thus, the study unit of this analysis in collecting data included news, stories, features, articles and editorials. In addition, in terms of contents of the units of analysis, frequency of the page prominence, sources of stories, tone of stories, and pictorial presentation of the stories covered were tested. In the case of frequency, it was determined or tested based on the counting of each main categories of development issues in the newspaper. Most of these units of analysis were physically presented and counted during the coding process. But some of them such as tone of the issues could not only be identified by their physical presentation. Therefore, stories were read profoundly to determine their tone and their implications in order to extend to a more latent interpretation.

The prominence was determined by the specific position or placement (front pages, Editorial pages and Inside page) of each item of the development issues are essentially on pages of the newspaper. In other words, those which appeared on the front pages , for instance, was regarded as more important while those development issues which appeared on the editorial pages were regarded as secondary in their importance, and stories on the inside pages were viewed as less importance when compared to the front pages and editorial page stories.

The tone of stories was determined as positive, negative or neutral depending on stories' line. In order for a story to be coded as either 'positive' or 'negative,' it must have either

more amount of positive comments to negative comments, or more amount of negative comments to positive comments. Those stories in the newspapers that inform the public the success and the good will of development plans and projects are coded as positive stories, while stories that criticize development experience, failure of development project, inability to afford some kind of development issues and the like are coded as negative stories. Stories consisting of comments that were difficult to decide either positive or negative or reports with no clear noticeable attitude in the eyes of the coders were coded as 'neutral'.

### **3.2 Coding Procedure**

The coding unit was employed in the entire articles, stories, news and items in the selected newspapers because the goal of the study and the category of the study are of general nature. The researcher seeks to compare two newspapers for the general content categorized by ownership as government and private. In doing so, the researcher set a coding schedule by qualifying basic lists of standard criteria of development issues in Ethiopia. Accordingly, the study adopted standard criteria of development categories such as economic, social, and political which were clearly contained in the GTP so as to identify stories that are specifically related to the development issues. For these reason, a coding sheet was developed that include placement of the story, pictorial presentation, tone of the issues, sources of the issues and page prominence of the stories.

### **3.3 Rationalizing of the Selection**

The Ethiopian Press Agency (EPA) owns four newspaper publications of which two (The Ethiopian Herald and Addis Zemen) are dailies, and the other two (Bariisaa and Al-alem) are weeklies. In addition, there is Zemen, a bimonthly magazine. Since privately owned

newspapers are many in numbers, it is not necessary to list them down here. At the beginning of this study, the researcher proposed to conduct a comparative analysis of the Ethiopian Herald and *Bariisaa* from the government owned newspapers versus the Reporter, the English version and Fortune from the privately owned newspapers with reference to their coverage of development issues in Ethiopia. However, the researcher has come to the decision of analyzing only two newspapers, the Ethiopian Herald from the government, and the Reporter from the privately owned newspapers. The rationale behind this decision is that *Bariisaa*, the Afaan Oromo weekly is not as dominant as the Ethiopian Herald in the amount of content it carries. Its distribution and its target audiences have also had a bearing on the decision. On the other hand, Fortune from the privately owned newspaper could not attract the analyst because it mainly focuses on business and economic issues and does not pay attention to social and political developments. According to its editorial policy, it is created with a view that it can contribute to general economic prosperity of not only in Ethiopia, but also in other countries and in the region as a whole. It believes that the creation and growth of vibrant private sector helps to bring about such prosperity.

Therefore, the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter newspaper were prioritized for this study. This is because the Ethiopian Herald is the oldest English newspaper which was launched in 1943 aiming at image builder and is also the second largest government owned newspaper in circulation next *Addis Zemen* (Sahilu, 2008). The Reporter newspaper which is owned by Media and Communication Centre on the other hand, is also one of the top largest private newspapers in Ethiopian press and backed strong investment (Gebremedhin, 2006). It has also appeared for a long time from the private newspaper.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

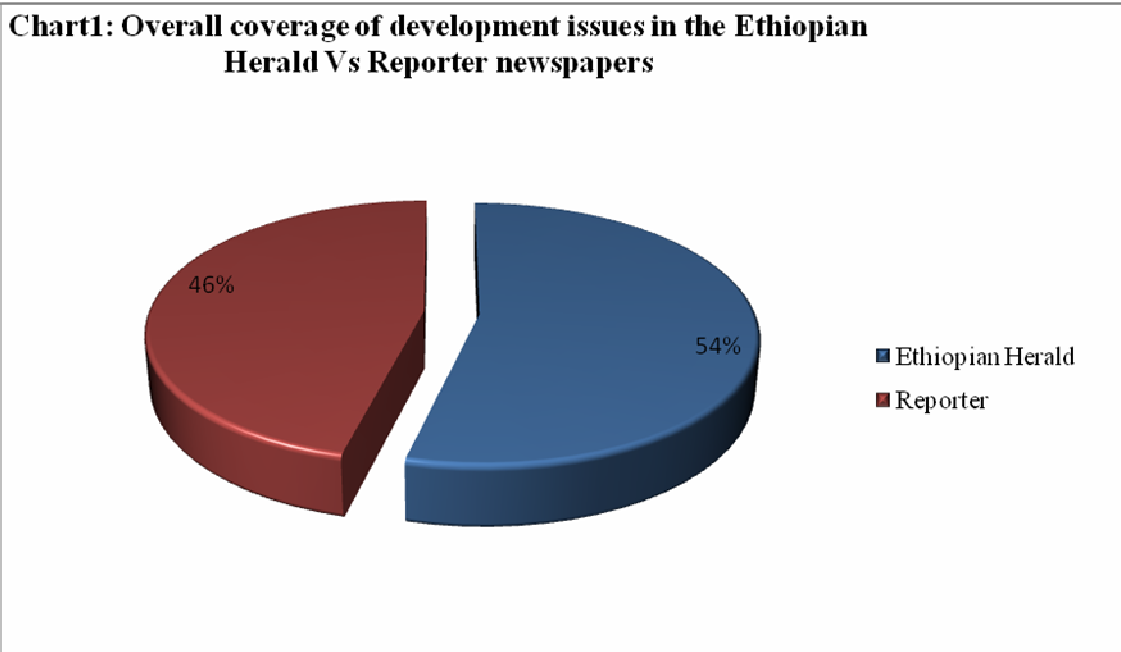
### **Data Presentation and Discussion**

To describe the relationship between the government (Ethiopian Herald) and private (the Reporter) newspapers' coverage of development issues from the beginning of January 2011 to the end of June 2011, newspapers of 52 days' publication, totaling 372 stories were identified for analysis. The development issues focused in the analysis were divided into three main categories (economic, social and political). As a result, content analysis was carried out for all the 372 stories in the selected newspapers. The analysis paid attention to placement, tone, sources and pictorial presentation of the stories. All data were entered into Excel computer software as per the coding done before.

The main purpose of this study was to examine the extent of the coverage of development issues in government versus private newspapers. In order to do the comparison, the researcher used the Ethiopian Herald (government-owned newspaper) and the Reporter (private-owned newspaper). The data were critically analyzed by both quantitative and qualitative methods, and the analysis and findings are presented here under.

#### **4.1 The Overall Coverage of Development Issues**

The study covered a total of 52 days' newspaper publication of which 26 each were randomly selected from the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter (English version). Thus, a total of 372 story items were identified. Development issues covered over a period of six months' (from January 2011 to the end June 2011) were collected and analyzed. The analysis of the data is presented below.



The above chart clearly indicates the overall coverage of issues related to development in the sample newspapers. There were a total of 372 stories published related to development issues. Out of these, development news stories published in the Ethiopian Herald were 54%, while those covered in the Reporter were 46%. The government owned (the Ethiopian Herald) newspaper tended to cover more development issues than the privately owned (the Reporter) newspaper. The Ethiopian Herald, which is a daily newspaper, was in a better position to cover a wide range of development issues of importance to audiences in the country, whereas the Reporter newspaper (the English version) is a weekly newspaper which featured fewer number of development stories compared to the Ethiopian Herald. But it provided more detailed analysis and in-depth commentary of the stories, especially those focused on political development.

While the government-owned media outlets would distort and manipulate information to establish the incumbent politicians, prevents voters and consumers from making

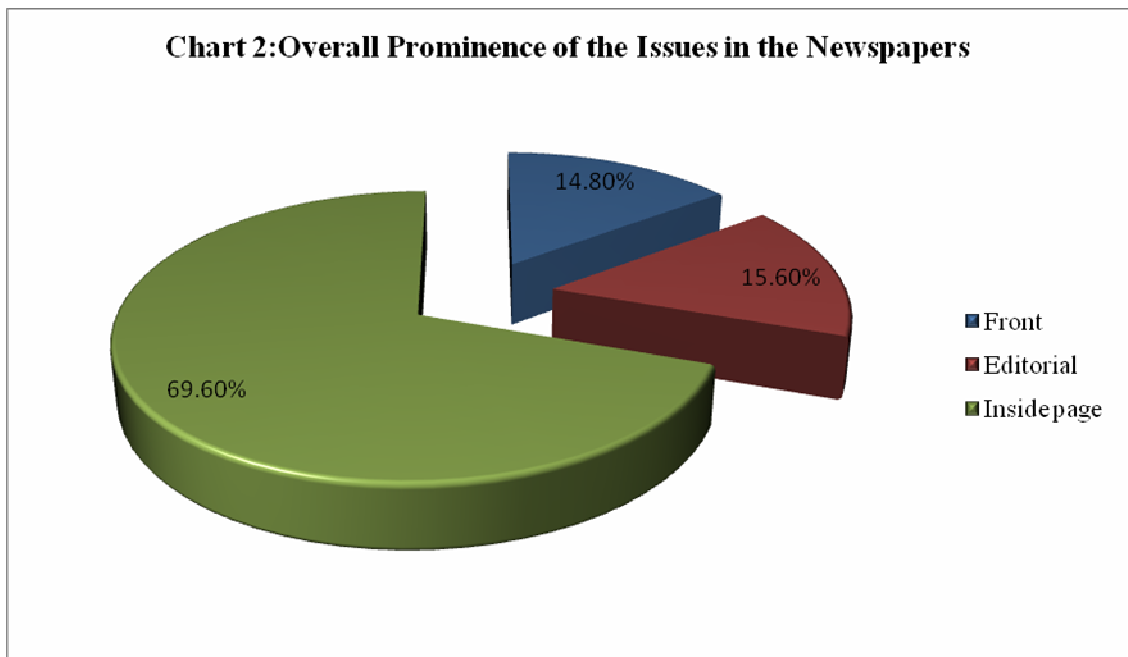
informed decisions, private media supply alternative views to the public; they enable individuals to choose among political candidates, goods, and securities with less fear of abuse. They provide relatively unbiased and accurate information (Djankov and et al, 2003: 342).

		The Ethiopian Herald			The Reporter			
		Economic	Social	Political	Economic	Social	Political	Total
<b>Prominence</b>	F	34	8	7	4	0	2	55
	E	14	1	17	17	0	9	58
	I	75	36	9	89	15	35	259
	<b>T</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>372</b>
<b>Tone</b>	P	114	32	15	72	6	14	253
	N	5	8	7	31	8	22	81
	Nu	4	5	11	7	1	10	38
	<b>T</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>372</b>
<b>Source</b>	W	65	21	8	2	6	1	103
	S	44	20	18	95	9	36	222
	O	14	4	7	13	0	9	47
	<b>T</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>372</b>
<b>Pictorial presentation</b>	Yes	64	32	7	29	11	8	153
	No	59	13	26	81	4	38	219
	<b>T</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>372</b>

Table 1: Development issues and their placements, tones, purposes, sources and pictorial presentation

Note: F= front page, E= editorial page, I= inside page, P= positive, N= negative, Nu= neutral W= wire, S= staff, O= others, T= total

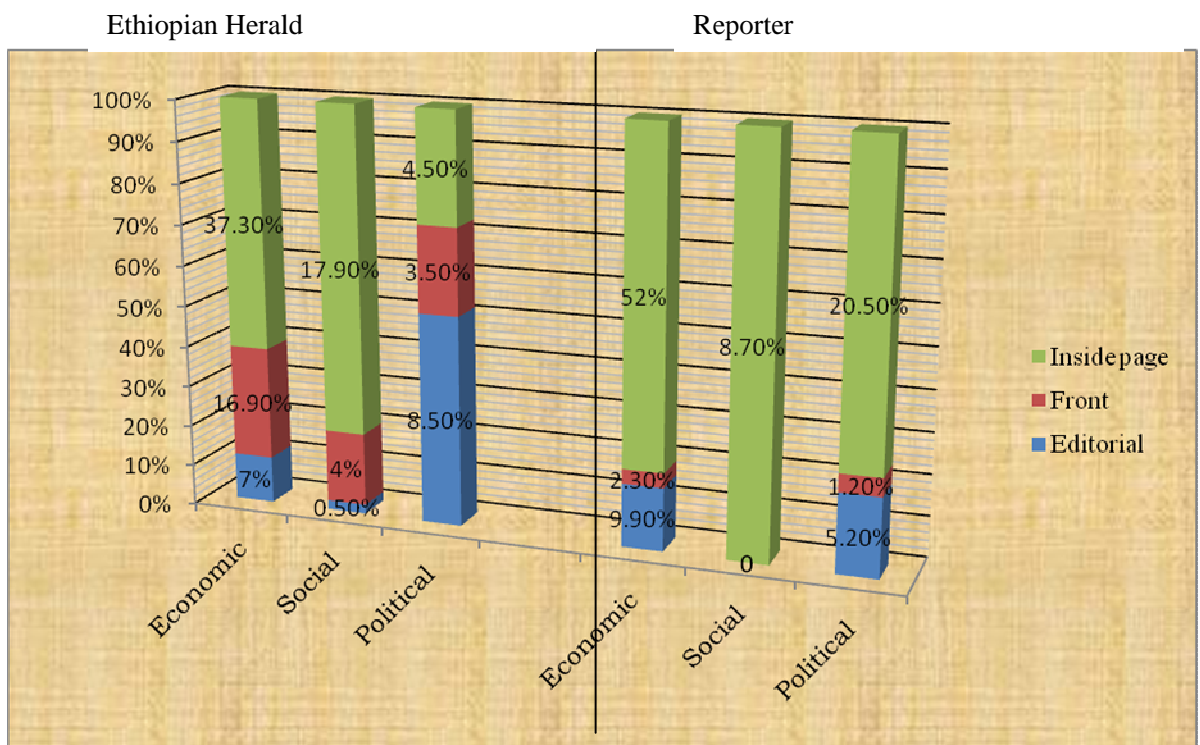
According to Campbell (2004), government newspapers are able to access the news items more frequently and more effectively than other groups and the public at large, because they have an authority within the hierarchies of society and also have the resources to regularly produce information in a form suitable for the news media. This data clearly shows that the Ethiopian Herald newspaper gave more coverage of development issues as compared to the Reporter newspaper. In the analysis, attention was paid to factors, such as placement of issues, story tones, sources and pictorial presentations in the selected newspapers. These factors were analyzed and presented through charts and graphs as follows:



#### **4.2 Prominence of the Issues in Both Newspapers**

The above chart demonstrates the total number of stories in both newspapers and their placement in three different page categories: the front page, the editorial comment and the inside page. The classification of page categories into three different types of pages

was used to indicate the significance of attention given by the newspapers to issues related to development. Accordingly, 14.8% of the stories were devoted in the front page; 15.6% of the stories were in the editorial page and 69.6% of the stories were published on the inside page. Most of the stories in the newspapers were carried in the inside page. This shows that the attention given to development issue was substantially less. Nearly 30% of the stories were given due attention; these were the ones that appeared in the front and in the editorial pages.



Graph 1: Prominence of the issues in The Ethiopian Herald Vs in the Reporter newspapers

The juxtaposed graphs above show the number of stories published in the Ethiopian Herald and in the Reporter newspapers, respectively, on the front page, editorial page and on the inside page. And the Ethiopian Herald newspaper, out of a total of 201 stories it

published, about 24.3%, articles related to development issues appeared on the front page, 16% appeared on the editorial page, and 59.7% stories appeared on the inside page. On the other hand, the Reporter newspaper, out of a total of 171 stories it published on development issues, it published 3.5%, 15.2% and 81.3% of the issues on the front, editorial and inside pages, respectively. The Reporter's newspaper had fewer development issues on the front page compared to the Ethiopian Herald.

Usually stories that appear on the front page, highlight issues given emphasis in the news. Moreover, front page news stories are also believed to have a considerably higher effect in attracting audiences' attention than those on the inside page. The front page news stories also show more emphatic news of the total issues covered in that day's publication. The newspapers' front page features eye-catching headlines and photographs that pique readers' interest and direct them to stories featured in the inner sections.

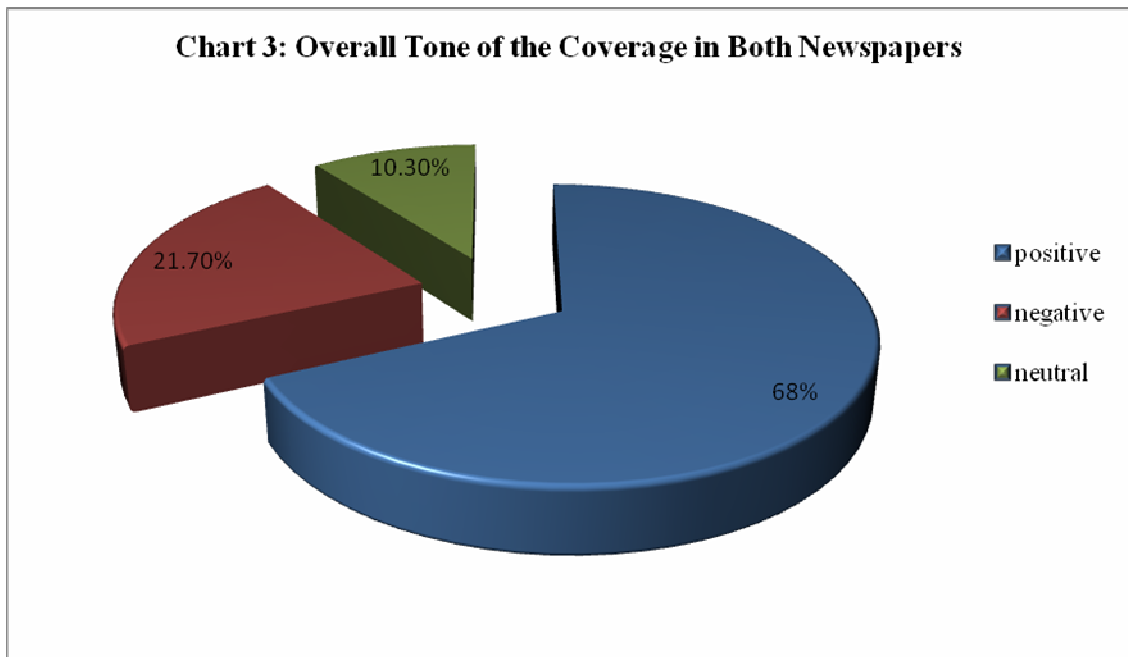
The editorial section of the newspaper is important in signifying the stand of the newspaper about the issue at hand. It is also used to represent the views of newspaper's editors, teams, publishers, or owners and to illustrate those of their readers. It is a means of exploring what issues were important during the time of the newspaper's publication.

Stories on the inside page are often regarded as having less significance when compared to those that appear on the front and editorial pages. Page editors of a newspaper usually place stories covering particularly important or interesting events on the front page, and usually relegate stories of interest to fewer people to paper's inner page.

According to Hodgson (1996), the actual front page of a newspaper confronts a potential buyer on the news-stands and attracts readers. Most of the time, they have headlines of different sizes and widths, most of them in a matching type, but with the odd one or two in different type to give variety. The biggest headline on a page is usually at the top of the front page and it is mostly on the longest story of the day; it tells the readers that the story is the most important one worthy of reading.

The front page of a newspaper is also what attracts casual readers to buy it; and editors choose stories they feel people will want to read. Editors also use their judgment to select the most important stories on the basis of the perceived impact the story might have on the readers.

### 4.3 Tone of the Total Coverage of Development Issues in the Newspaper

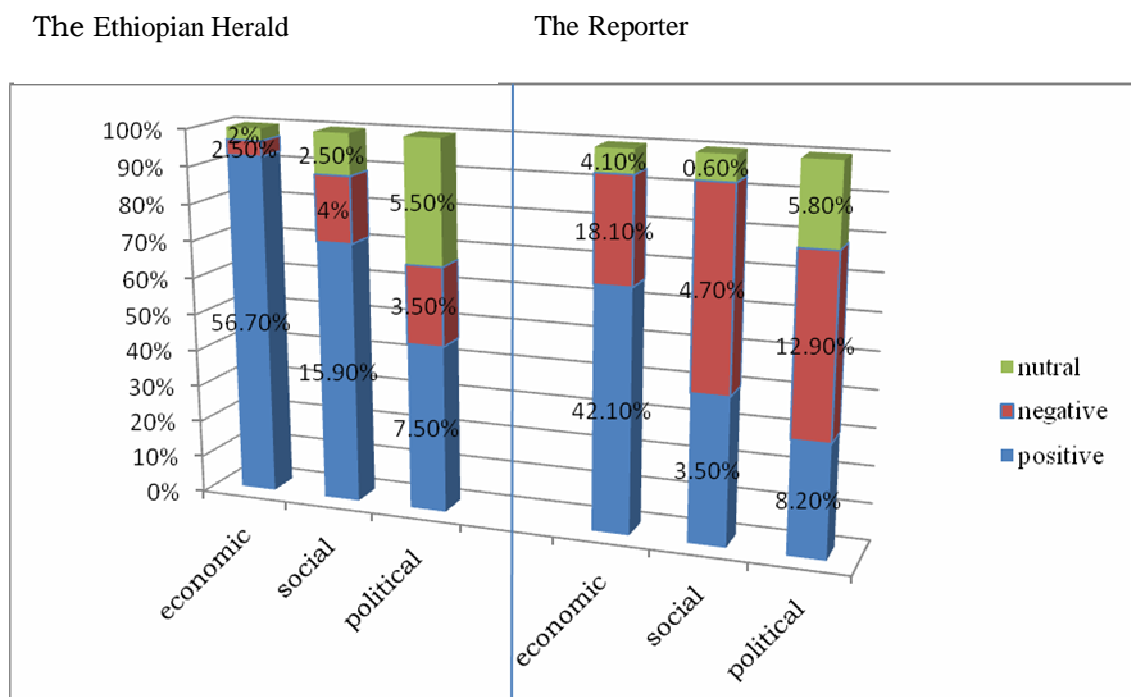


The above chart depicts that the highest proportion of the tone of the total coverage in the newspapers are positive constituting 68% of the overall development issue coverage. Such media coverage of certain issues in significantly positive light has an implication with respect to public opinion formation regarding the issue. The remaining 21.7% of development stories were negative and 10.3% of the stories were neutral.

The tone of the issues measures whether a story's tone is constructed in a way via use of quotes, allegations, or implication which results in positive, neutral, or negative coverage for the primary figure as it relates to the topic of the story. While reading a

story, coders added up all the comments that might have either a negative, positive or neutral tone to the reporting.

The implication of positive tone of stories in a newspaper is that there is right track to development projects. But all positive stories may not describe the right track to development. Negative stories with comprehensive critical examination may also show the right track to development.



Graph 2: Tone of the coverage of the issues in Ethiopian Herald Vs Reporter

The two sets of graphs above show the tone of the total coverage of the two categories given to development linked issues in terms of positive, negative and neutral description noted in the contents of the stories reported.

Accordingly, in the government owned newspaper (Ethiopian Herald), out of the total of 201 stories, 80% were reported positively. Of these, 56.7%, 15.9%, and 7.5% were

economic, social and political stories, respectively. About 10% of the stories carried negative tone. Of these, 2.5% were economic, 4% were social, and 3.5% were political stories. A similar 10% of the stories were covered neutrally. Of these, 2%, 2.5% and 5.5% were economic, social, and political stories, respectively.

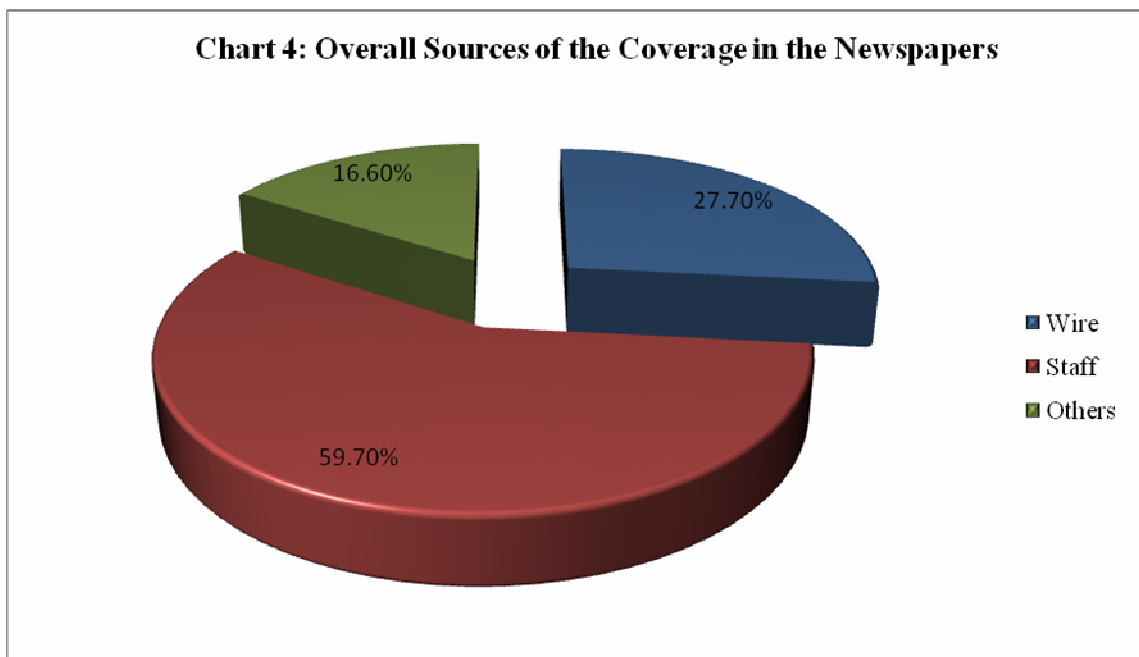
On the other hand, the Reporter's (the privately owned newspaper) positive coverage, accounted for 42.1% of economic, 3.5% of social and 7% of political out of a total of 171 stories. A significant number of negative coverage of development issues were identified in the Reporter newspaper. These include 18.1%, 4.7% and 12.9% economic, social and political issues, respectively. Neutral stories in the Reporter newspaper constituted 3.5% of economic, 0.6% of social and 5.8% of political.

Indeed, of the two newspapers studied, the Ethiopian Herald carried many more positive stories than the Reporter. The total positive coverage of development issues in the Ethiopian Herald was about 80%. Only 10% negative and 10% neutral coverage were identified. In contrast, there were more negative stories in the Reporter newspaper than in the Ethiopian Herald. To be precise, 36% of the Reporter stories coded about development issues were clearly negative, where as 54% were positive. However, there were almost equal percentages covered neutrally. The figure stood at 10%.

In both newspapers, positive stories outweighed negative stories. The major difference observed in the tone of coverage in the target newspapers could have been due to the nature of the newspapers' ownership and control patterns. Schramm (1964) contends that media ownership structure is one of the factors that affect the content of media

messages. The government-owned media outlets are usually seen as pursuing social welfare and harmony, while privately owned media are seen as pursuing interests that are determined by desire to make profit. The analysis shows that the government press did not often publish critical reports about development projects carried out in Ethiopia in comparison to the private press. The private press was found to be more critical of issues and even of the government. It should be recognized that development is a complex process and it needs critical scrutiny so as to ensure its success. Praising media stories, which filter out critical reports, could distort the existing picture of development and impede the process of taking corrective measures against factors that might militate against development.

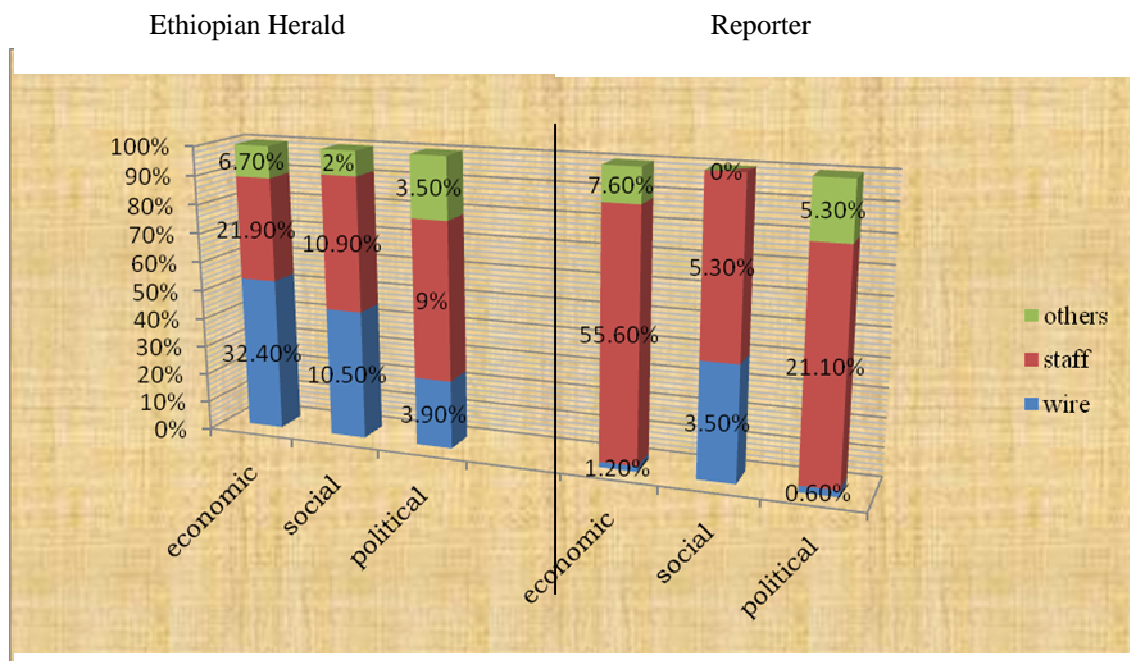
#### 4.4 Sources of Development Stories in the Newspapers



The above chart shows that about 59.7% of the overall coverage was sourced from staff members, stories from wire services constituted 27.7% of the total, while 16.6% of the

stories were from other sources. The sources of stories related to development issues in the target newspapers mainly came from staff members. Stories emanating from staff members were more than twice the stories from wire services, which were the second largest story sources for the target newspapers. Staff members were often assigned to as beat reporters, where he/she might develop personal relationships with the news sources and thereby affect objectivity.

News sources are important actors who can shape the story line and the nature of the message conveyed. Bias through source control is a major factor in development issue reporting.



Graph 3: Sources of Issues in the Ethiopian Herald Vs the Reporter

In terms of sources cited about development related stories in each newspaper, there were some major differences. In the Ethiopian Herald, most of the sources mentioned were

wire services, such as ENA (Ethiopian News Agency) and WIC (Walta Information Centre). Out of a total of 201 stories, sources from the wire services accounted for 46.8%. Of these, 32.3% were economic, 10.4% were social and, the rest, 4% were political stories. The sources of stories from staff in the Ethiopian Herald were 21.9%, 9.9% and 8.96% for economic, social and political issues, respectively. Stories attributed to other sources in the Ethiopian Herald accounted for a total of 12.4%, of which 7% were economic, 2% were social and 3.5% were political.

In contrast, 81.8% of sources in the Reporter were staff, of these, 55.6% were economic, 5.3% were social and 21.1% were political. The Reporter newspaper used 10.9% of sources for issues related to development from other source; and it also used 5.3% of the sources from wire services. The sources of most of development issues in the Reporter newspaper were the staff members. The implication is that staff members are often responsible to supply news stories, articles, features and information about newsworthy events and write stories that describe their objectives. Thus, the role of staff members or journalists to provide relevant information about development issues is one factor in focusing on the coverage of development related issues.

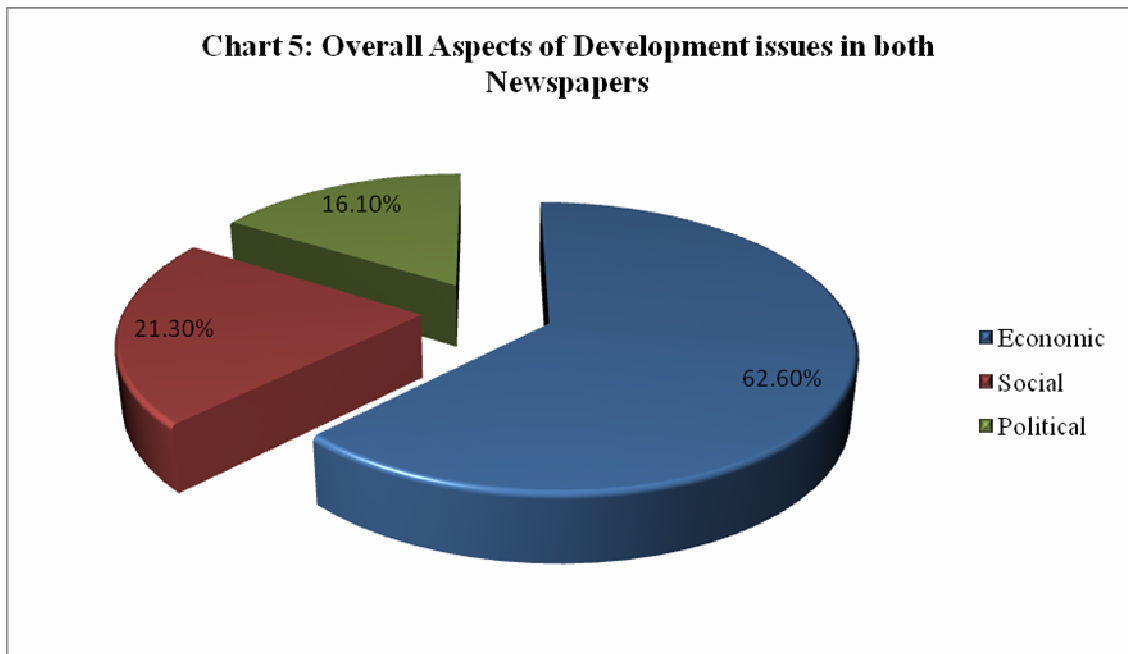
Campbell (2004) argues that the differences between journalists and sources in their perception of journalists' role in the dissemination and interpretation of information are other factors in the coverage of development issues. Journalists, even those on beats, operate in different professional environments to the sources they report on. Thus, their response to information gleaned from sources, whether politicians, public relations officers, or other source groups, are shaped by professional values and practices that may conflict with the values and practices of the sources. The sources of news stories in

media could have many contributions to the quality of stories. News stories have to be accurate, balanced and comprehensive. In order to produce stories fulfill these criteria, the choice of source usage is very important. According to Campbell (2004),

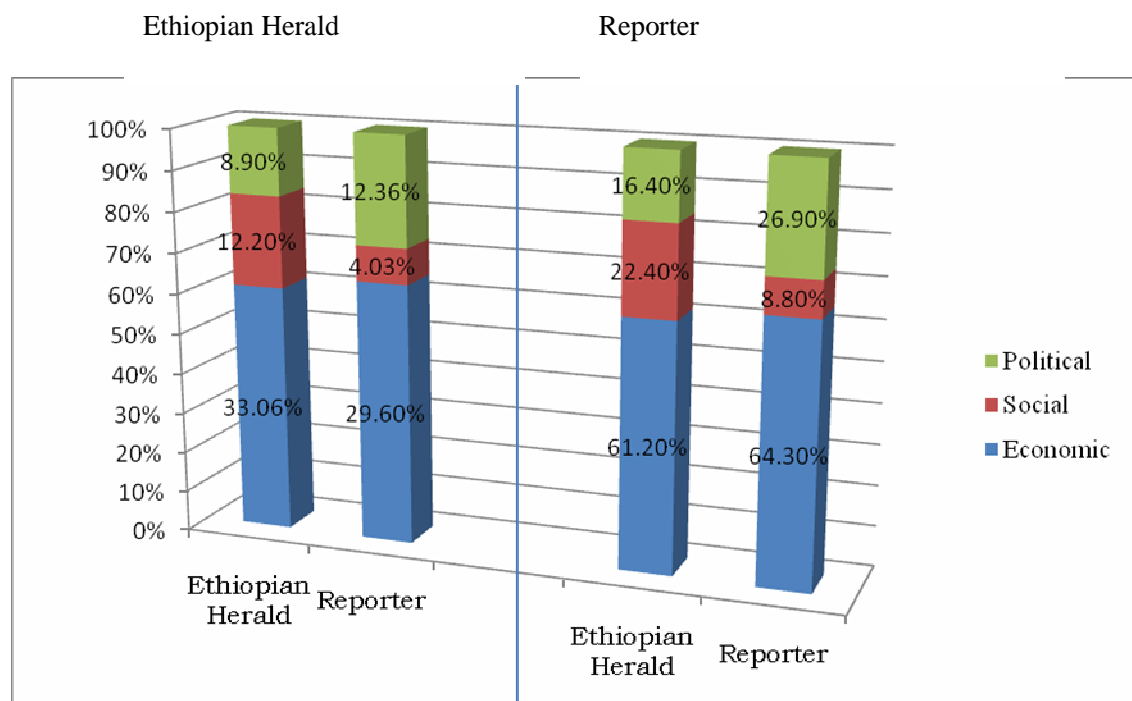
Understanding success and failure in source access require not only an understanding of the external strategies, organization, and resources of potential sources, but also of the internal procedures of a news organization- the how and why behind news selection decisions and news production processes. (p. 103).

We can understand from this that the quality of a newspaper's source for development projects, plans and implementation has a great role. How the owner of the newspapers (government owned or privately owned) select news stories is also vital for the comprehensiveness and newsworthiness of the issues to be covered.

#### 4.5 Aspects of Development Issues



In the chart shown above, out of a total of 372 stories on development issues, 62.6% were on economic development, 16.1% were on social development and 21.3% were on political development. Over all, only 16.1% of the stories coded on development issues dealt with social aspects. On the other hand, stories on economic development were given the highest coverage by the target newspapers. This might be attributable to the fact that the economic development category included more subcategories compared to the social and political categories. This being the case, however, political development was paid more attention to social development, and yet it received substantially less attention than economic development in the amount of coverage in the newspapers.



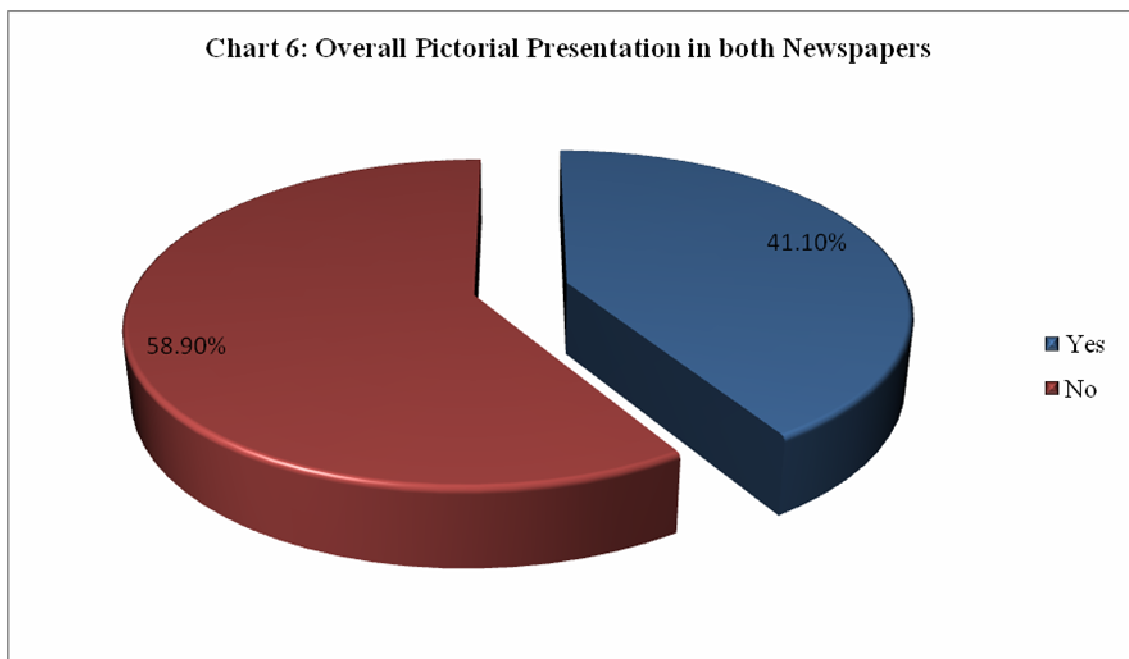
Graph 4: Aspect of Development Issues Coverage in Ethiopian Herald Vs Reporter

When observed separately, the Ethiopian Herald gave much more coverage to economic development, accounting for 61.2%; social development claimed coverage of 22.4%

while the political development related issues received a share of 16.4%. On the other hand, the Reporter covered 64.3% of economic 26.9% of political and only 8.8% covered social aspect issues.

In both newspapers, economic development issues had a much more leading attention than other aspects of development issues. Social related development issues were better focused in the Ethiopian Herald, whereas Political development issues had a better focus in the Reporter newspaper.

#### 4.6 Pictorial Presentation of the Issues in the Newspapers

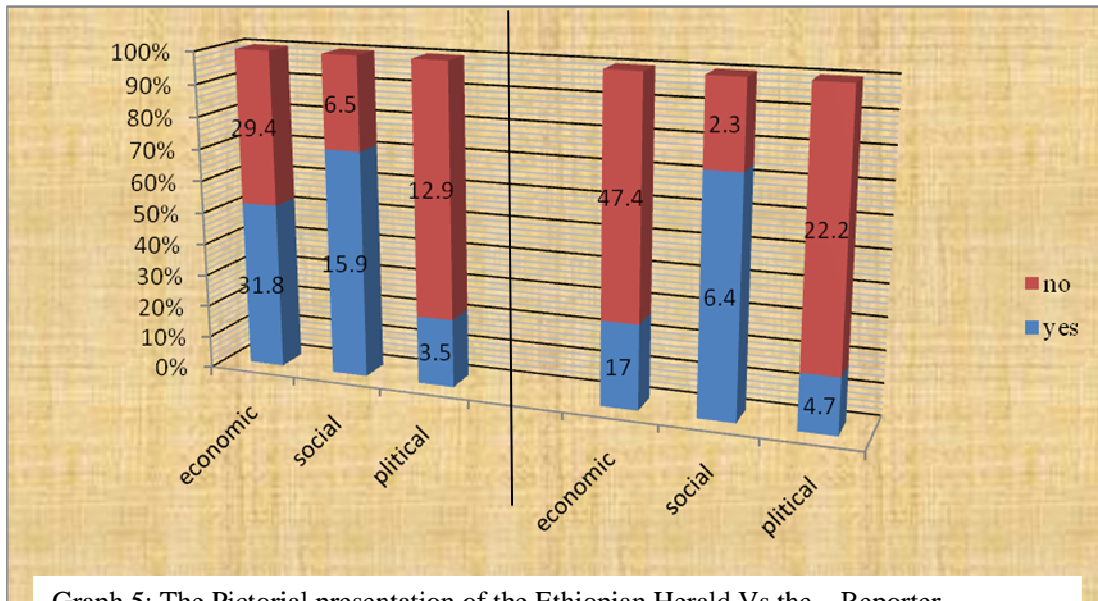


The above chart demonstrates the pictorial presentations of the issues covered in the newspapers between January 2011 and June 2011. Of a total of 372 issues identified, about 58.9% were not supported by images. The rest, 41.1%, were supported by images.

Stories with photos often contain potential news elements, which are emphasized by the editor via a description, and link to an article. This linkage can turn a non-news photo into a news photo. Pictures with headlines have functions of selective elucidation of texts in a newspaper. They have also a power to attract the reader's attention. According to Hodgson (1996:26), "Pictures give important information such as how a person or a place in a news story look, what actually happened, more effectively than words in some cases and they thus supplement and extend the text. They can also be news in their own right." We can, thus, understand that photographs represent a narrated world, a world of cause and effect, activities and consequences. They are also elements which contribute to the theme of issues and their emphasis. As Hodgson (1996) noted, "many pictures which are good simply because of the combination of coincidence and skill on the part of the photographer, rather than because of their news value, equally earn their place in a newspaper" (p., 26). They are the final ingredient in the page; they help not only to illustrate the stories, but also to help in the design by giving visual balance (ibid).

The Ethiopian Herald

The Reporter



Graph 5: The Pictorial presentation of the Ethiopian Herald Vs the Reporter newspapers

The above graphs clearly demonstrate the pictorial presentation of development issues covered in the newspapers in terms of the main categories of developments, such as economic, social and political in both the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter newspapers. The Ethiopian Herald, out of a total of 201 issues, 31.8%, 15.9% and 3.5% were economic, social and political development stories, respectively, which were supported by pictures. The rest, 29.4%, 6.5% and 12.9% stories were related to economic, social and political issues; they were not supported by pictures.

Pictorial presentations of the issues indicate how much the issues are given due attention to and more significance than those without pictorial presentations. Out of a total of 201 stories in the Ethiopian Herald, 51.2% were with pictures and 47.8% were without pictures. From this, we can understand that the Ethiopian Herald newspaper gave considerable attention to its stories supported with pictures.

On the other hand, the Reporter newspaper carried 17%, 6.4%, and 4.7% pictures supported stories related to economic, social and political development issues, respectively. And 47.4%, 2.3% and 22.2% stories related to economic, social and political issues, respectively, were not presented with pictures. Out of a total of 171 stories published in the Reporter newspaper, only 28% stories were presented with pictures, where as 73% stories were published without pictures.

Stories in a newspaper with pictures could generally have many functions. For example, newspapers use pictures and captivating headlines to draw in readers and hold their attention. It is generally believed that the purpose of pictures within a newspaper is to state the facts about what is going on in the world around us. They also help manipulate the minds of the greater population into holding certain values and opinions.

#### **4.7 Newsworthiness**

The newsworthiness of the issues about development stories in the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter newspapers were deduced based on the prominence, purpose and sources of the issues. Hence, only fewer stories were on front page; fewer stories were constructive; and only few stories considered the involvement of the public in both newspapers. In addition, the redundancy of stories with similar themes has its own contribution for the stories to be less human interest, and the news to have less impacting on readers. The elements of newsworthiness of stories, which include prominence, timeliness, proximity,

novelty, impact and human interest, were not clearly focused in the stories covered in the newspapers. As a result, most of the stories could be judged as less newsworthy.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

This section attempts to summarize the main findings of the research. It provides the conclusion and possible recommendations forwarded for the study.

#### **5.1 Conclusion**

The spirit of the current Ethiopian press about development issues in the country is generally optimistic. Although there were some differences in the extent of the coverage of development issues, both the government and the private owned newspapers targeted for the study gave significant coverage of development issues. As can be understood from the reports about development in both newspapers, the Ethiopia press has been in a better position in the coverage of development aspect stories.

In Ethiopia, the commitments of newspapers are usually conditioned by their ownership status. The privately owned newspapers coverage is relatively more direct in their reports. They usually give coverage to issues which they think might make them acceptable and help them to be profitable. Thus, they relatively report true stories; they usually tell the story as it is without fear or favor. Perhaps, that is why some of them are more enthusiastic in criticizing the government policies, and report some possible drawbacks of development projects, making their relationship with the government challenging. As a result, some of them are pursued and neglected by of the government. In contrast, in the government newspaper, the opinion and involvement of the government are more important than the development projects themselves. The government media in Ethiopia are blamed to be as servants of the government.

This study has highlighted that the selected private newspaper covered less development news than the selected government new. That is to say, the Ethiopian Herald newspaper devoted more development stories than the Reporter newspaper. One important point we should recognize, however, is that except their differences in terms of degree, both government and private owned newspapers presented higher proportion of development news. The point is that, the newspapers had different degrees of coverage about the aspects of development that deserved a primary attention in their news presentation.

Accordingly, economic development and social welfare were most emphasized development stories and wire services the Ethiopian Herald. In contrast, the Reporter newspaper devoted less space to social development news and gave more emphasis for political development. While wire services were the main sources in the Ethiopian Herald, staff members were major source for the Reporter.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are forwarded:

- The Ethiopian press should provide contextual and background information about the development process, discuss the impact of plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues with the people so as to ensure participatory development approach to the community level.
- The contents to be delivered in both the government and private newspapers should be relevant, balanced and interest arousing in covering development stories without the influence of their ownership. This helps the audience of the newspapers to believe in what the press covers.
- The press in Ethiopia should also pay attention to the political and social aspects of development, not only just economic development. Because every aspects of development are very important in order to create awareness of development process in the country public.
- The press in Ethiopia, including both the government and the private should also cover drawbacks or problems of development issues, projects, or plans. Because development is complex and it needs critical elucidation which might for its success.
- Further research and assessment is recommended to explain the newsworthiness and the quality of the coverage of development issues in the newspapers.

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## **Appendix A**

### **Coding Sheet**

For the purpose of this study only development stories of economic, social and political aspects on the front page, editorial comment and inside pages of the newspapers are considered in the coding process. All development story items containing two or less than two paragraphs are excluded from the coding process. Development stories such as cultural development, art, sport etc are also excluded.

Once you have decided that an article fits for coding, you should read the entire story from start to finish, taking careful note of the story's subject matter. Then indicate the story's theme in the category list. To make sure, refer to the following list of definitions for guidance:

### **Basic Reference Code List**

1. Economic development (100)
  - 1.1 Agriculture (101)
  - 1.2 Industry (102)
  - 1.3 Trade (103)
  - 1.4 Mining (104)
  - 1.5 Infrastructure (105)
    - 1.5.1 Road (1051)
    - 1.5.2 Rail ways (1052)
    - 1.5.3 Telecom (1053)
    - 1.5.4 Energy (1054)
    - 1.5.5 Water supply (1055)
    - 1.5.6 Transport (1056)
    - 1.5.7 Urban construction (1057)
    - 1.5.8 Rural construction (1058)
2. Social development (200)
  - 2.1 Education (201)
  - 2.2 Health (202)

- 3. Political development (300)
  - 3.1 Democracy (301)
  - 3.2 Good governance (302)
  - 3.3 Capacity building (303)
  - 3.4 Others (304)

## **Appendix B**

### **Story Coding Definitions**

To allow extensive quantitative examination of the of the newspapers' coverage, stories will be rendered into a form that enables statistical comparison. This will be achieved through the establishment of a coding scheme, which will be finalized before embarking on the analysis proper but after field-testing, and which will be drawn from the material itself. The coding scheme for this analysis consists of five parts; these include **prominent page, sources, tone, purpose** and **pictorial presentation** of the stories. It focuses on counting the occurrences of the stories. Following each form you will find instructions and definitions on how to use the form.

Be sure to read through all instructions before beginning. The instructions explain, what should be measured and how.

**1. Prominent page:** count the frequencies of stories on their placement.

- a. Front page :** stories on the front page
- b. Editorial Page:** editorial comment and stories on the editorial page
- c. Inside page:** stories found on inside page

**2. Sources of the stories**

- a. wire/news service:** stories from ENA, WIC, Reuters, internet, and any other news services
- b. Staff:** stories with or without byline that are identified as coming from the newspaper
- c. Others:** stories from government officials, readers and stories that their sources are not mentioned.

**3. Tone of stories**

- a. Positive:** Reports that cover news with a clearly positive attitude towards

the issues (success stories or projects).

- b. Negative:** Reports that cover news with a clearly negative attitude towards (failure of stories, criticism about development issues)
- c. Neutral:** Reports with no clearly discernible attitude.

#### **4. Pictorial presentation**

- a. Yes:** development stories presented picture supported
- b. No:** development stories in the newspaper presented without picture

### **Appendix C**

#### **Coding Sheet and Instruction**

Fill out one form per the newspaper's publication day. Follow this instruction carefully.

1. Write the codes of each of the development issue listed under the in front of "Basic reference coding list" in the spaces provided in the table below.
2. Write 1 for front page, 2 for editorial page and 3 for inside page under the "prominence" in the table.
3. Write 01 for positive, 02 for negative and 00 for neutral reports covered in the newspaper under "tone" in the table.
4. Code 10 for wire, 20 for staff and 30 for others under "sources" in the table.
5. Write "yes" for the presence of stories with picture and "no" for the absence picture identified under "pictorial presentation".
6. Write the number of occurrences under "f" for each variable identified in the table.
7. Please, code stories with their major categories if difficult to assign under their sub categories (100 for economic development, 200 for social development and 300 for political development).
8. Look at the first row as an example, 1054(energy), 1(on front page), 01(positive story), 10(wire), yes (with picture), 1(only story).

## Appendix D

### Story Assignment Sheet

Date of the newspaper published \_\_\_\_\_

Newspaper

1. **The Ethiopian Herald**  put a tick (“√”) for the newspaper you are coding

2. **Reporter**  put a tick (“√”) for the newspaper you are coding

Coder \_\_\_\_\_

No.	Issue	prominence	Tone	Source	Pictorial presentation	Purpose	Frequency
1.	1054	1	01	10	Yes		1
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							
12							
13							
14							

## Appendix E

### Evaluating Consistency & Reliability

Defining categories and preparing coding schedule for the analysis of this study and coding of content accomplished simultaneously. Before launching the full-scale content analysis, the coders piloted sub-samples of stories in the newspapers. This pilot test helped the researcher to reveal inconsistencies and inadequacies in the category construction. One the coder was the investigator himself and the other was employed by the researcher.

The two coders first discussed on the coding instruction carefully and coded 4 publications of each newspaper which contained 48 stories related to development issues to check inter coder reliabilities. The agreements of the two coders were 39 on sub categories of the issues and 42 on the major categories of the development issues.

Applying the inter coder reliability formula suggested by Holsti (1969) cited in Wimmer and Dominick (2006), which suggested a method of computing inter coder reliability by calculating a coefficient of reliability. It is calculated by dividing the number of stories placed in the same category by dividing the number of units coded.

Accordingly,

$$\text{Coefficient of reliability} = \frac{\text{Number of units in the same category}}{\text{Total number of units coded}}$$

$$R = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

Where M is the number of coding decisions, on which the two coders agree, and N<sub>1</sub> and N<sub>2</sub> are the total number of coding decisions made by the first and the second coder

respectively. Thus, the two coders judged a sample of 48 stories about development issues and agreed on 39 of the sub categories, the calculation is,

$$R = \frac{2(39)}{48+48} = \frac{78}{96} = 0.81$$

For the major category of development issues to coded as either economic, social or political development of a sample of 48 stories, the coders agreed on 42 of them, and the calculation is,

$$R = \frac{2M}{N_1+N_2}$$

$$R = \frac{2(42)}{48+48} = \frac{84}{96} = 0.88$$

## Appendix F

### Calendar of the Months of the Study Period

#### January 2011

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

**February 2011**

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28						

**March 2011**

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	28	30	31			

**April 2011**

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	

### May 2011

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

### June 2011

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

### Appendix G

**Table 3: Random Numbers that the Samples of the Ethiopian Herald was Drawn From**

1	90	47	60	87	75	131	70	3	106	124	80	103
5	17	98	140	45	33	68	82	56	128	56	44	130
89	34	127	28	148	83	102	9	48	74	22	105	111
64	116	150	132	23	7	120	41	134	26	107	77	37
147	136	110	88	92	109	66	11	138	6	135	32	99
31	91	73	47	85	58	15	39	52	100	42	152	8
126	122	29	101	50	40	79	146	19	46	72	57	95
2	133	145	35	69	25	144	49	67	13	61	119	86
36	24	18	153	141	84	154	14	27	78	151	30	39
137	114	51	16	96	65	113	125	62	20	143	76	81
63	112	43	54	149	123	71	93	121	4	31	138	129
118	21	53	104	12	38	115	59	142	10	94	55	