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THE FRAMING OF FEDERALISM: THE CASE STUDY OF

ETHIOPIAN TELEVISION

BY:

SENAIT HAILE

A thesis submitted to the School of Journalism   and Communication in partial fulfillment of the requirement for Master of Arts in Journalism and   Communication

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Abstract

The federal system has a long history with different arrangements in Ethiopia and issue is the issue of every citizen in the country. development, social achievement, economic achievement , political right, nation and nationalities, resource, power division , conflict, constitutions, are some of the major federalism issues in Ethiopia that make the headlines of most Ethiopian media.

The media can play a pivotal role by including federalism issues in their coverage. How the media entertain and frame the federalism issues may be related to the public perception on the issue. It is essential to find out how the issues are framed in the various program of the Ethiopian Television. The Episodes, 20 minutes each, were aired in January 1, 2010 to Dec 31, 2010 were covered in this study. Two reporters, the deputy editor in chief of the program and the official from the Ministry of Federal Affair were also interviewed. The data collected through content analysis.

The findings indicate that half of the stories were event-oriented and the other half were educational .The stories mostly focused on development issues. Government officials were found to be the most frequently reported sources. Social achievement issue was also the second main federalism content covered in the program. The analyzed stories frequently framed federalism issues using educative/advocacy frame. Furthermore, other frames were also used with some diversity. However, attributions of responsibility were totally ignored. Yet, the program focused on suggesting remedies by giving good emphasis to defining and stating the federalism issue. The federalism journalists handling such program were also observed to have less skill and insufficient knowledge in the field.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Television, one of the new innovations in mass communications, was initially introduced into Ethiopia in 1963 on the occasion of the founding of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The Ethiopian Television, the first state-owned television in Ethiopia, came to existence on Nov. 2, 1964. The establishment of the Ethiopian television has had strong influence on political, economic and social life of Ethiopian societies over the past years. It began its service with the support of Thomson Television International, a British firm.

Over the past years, ETV is believed to have contributed a lot as government and public service in covering various national and international issues. Though it began its service in two languages (English and Amharic), currently ETV broadcasts in many local and foreign languages namely, Amharic, Tigrinya, Afan Oromo, Somaliya, Afar, English, French and Arabic languages. Most of its services are also being aired through Arab sat to its audiences outside the country.

Federalism is the theory or advocacy of federal principle for sharing powers between member units and common institutions. Unlike in a unitary state sovereignty in federal political orders is non-centralized often constitutionally, between at least two levels so that units at each level have final authority and can be self governing in some issue areas.

Federalism is a political concept in system of the government in which sovereignty is constitutionally divided between a central governing authority and constituent political units (like states or provinces).

Federalism is a system in which the power to govern is shared between national and providential state governments creating what is often called federalism.

In western thought federalism has a long history but philosophical flections in federalism were inaugurated during and after the Second World War for several reason. since the devastating war was largely caused by rampart nationalism alternatives to sovereign centralism states were sought out and exist of collegial power self multiethnic states that required creative solution to combine self-rule and shared rule (kermis and norman2005) in addition globalization has prompted not only integration and harmonization, but also party in response – explorations of ways to still maintain some local self rule (watts 1998)

Resent philosophical discussions concerning federalism have addressed several issues including centrally the reasonably for federalism and attention to source of stability and instability; the legitimate division of power between member unite and centre; distributive justice Challenges to receive democratic theory and concerns about the politic of recognition.

Many argument for federalism have traditionally been put terms of promoting various forms of liberate in the form of non-domination, immunity or enhanced opportunity sets (Elazer1987). There are so many reasons countries preferring federal orders over a unitary state.

More specifically federal arrangements can accommodates minority nation who aspire to self determination and the preservation of their culture language or religion autonomy and immunity arrangements are clearly preferable to the political conflicts that might result from such group's attempts at secession.

Federal orders may increase the opportunities for citizen participation in public decision making. Through deliberation and offices in both members unite and central bodies that ensures character formation trough political participation among more citizens (Mill1861)

Federalism in one of the programs aired in Amharic language every Tuesday night for 20 min on ETV. The program produced by collaboration of ETV and ministry of federal affair.

Ethiopia is constitutionally a multiethnic federation. Ethiopia introduced the federal system against a widely and sceptical view about federalism at home and in the continent is associated with in efficiency is considered by many as soft and corrupt and despite the continent is pluralism nature and federalism is promise to accommodate diversity the overriding aim almost everywhere in Africa.(Assefa, 2005).

Among other factors the way media frame these federalism issue contribute the awareness of the public. Thus media studies should also pay attention to the way the media frame a given issue (Bullock et.al 2001). Media framing explains the media's treatment of an issue specifically media frames "are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists what happen and what matters"(schudson,1998:35)

This concept explains whether the media Stats, cause the broader context nature and magnitude of an issue.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Media has a crucial role in raising public awareness about social and other political issues with respect to federalism. The media coverage has been used as means of awareness creation. As far as my knowledge is concerned there is shortage of research on the area in connection to our country. So that it is worth while conducting a research which could fill the gap on the area.

The media are often the sole source were the public receives information from concerning federalism issues and other federal system topics.

Federalism reporters have a challenging task before them. What they bring to the public have to promote the new arrangement of Ethiopian federalism. The presentation of information, ideas, and outcomes is a significant assignment. Federalism journalists can have an influence on society, and consequently make significant impacts on the future. As Chapman et al (1997) stated, "The media have a responsibility to inform and educate, to tell us not only what is happening today but why it is happening and what it will mean to us today and tomorrow."

ETV Journalists handling federalism issues should have to have training in the field and related educational background. They don't have to be assigned randomly out of their interest. Their quality of reporting as the result is claimed to be unsatisfactory.

Hence, all the information aired on media intended to influence people need to be framed in a desired way to achieve the targeted goal.

Griffin defines a media frame as "the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration."

1.3 Objective of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The objective of this research is to examine the framing of Ethiopian television federalism programme issue to assure reporting quality.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

To collect and analyze the concept of federalism issues presented on federalism program aired on ETV during the period of from January 1, 2010 to December 31, 2010 With reference to principle of media framing.

To examine how the program set the agenda of federalism issues.

1.4 Method

In conducting this research the researcher will employ content analysis as a major research method adding a qualitative approach (In –depth interview) to it. Quantities approach is selected as a major research method because it is frequently used and appropriate approach for the research.

The qualitative approach (In-depth interview) will conduct with the journalists who are producing federalism program and the editor in- chief of the educational program of ETV and the stake holder's experts from the

ministry of federal affairs. The experts included because the program producing with the collaboration of federal affairs.

1.4.1 Method of Data Collection

In this research the researcher will collect the necessary data from recorded one year federalism program from Ethiopian television and by doing in-depth interview with the journalist that produce the program the editor in-chief of educational program and federal affairs experts .

1.5 Significance of the Study

The result of this study will be significant in examining how ETV frames the issue regarding federalism. The study was conducted in a believed that it might give an idea how ETV frames federalism and other relevant issues.

The research will also benefit the stakeholders like ministry of federal affairs to know how to address federalism issues. It will also serve as a reference for other researchers who conduct their study n similar areas.

1.6 Research Questions

1. How does ETV frame federalism?

2. What are the recurrent frames in ETV?

3. To what extent the journalists familiar with the concept of federalism?

4. What is the contribution of stake holders in the program?

5. What kind of sources are used in the program?

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review Literature

2.1 Federalism

The aim of this chapter is to provide a literature review which may function as a relevant frame work for the current research project. The chapter is organized into three sections:

1) A brief discussion of selected literature on concepts of federalism;

2) Ethiopian federalisms; and 3) media framing theory. In each of these sections, the relation between the current research and the review literature is discussed.

To begin with the etymology of the concept, the term "federal" comes from the Latin foedius, meaning "covenant" by its very nature federalism is a form of government where power is divided and shared between a strong central government and strong member states. There are, nonetheless, different views on the nature of federalism and its distinguishing character from other forms of government. (Abate ; 2004)

The essential thought behind federalism can be very simply stated: The relations between states should be conducted under the rule of law. Conflict and disagreement should be determined through peaceful means rather than through coercion or war. Buchanan, James (2001). Federalism is a political theory. It is concerned with the control and proper use of power. It deals with the reality of authority in government and, by strictly

defining where, how and by whom such power shall be exercised; it protects the people from the excesses of rulers. It requires a settled constitution, the division of powers and a democratic temper in the citizens to enable it to function properly. (Golda Gapuz: 2005)

The concept referred to as federalism is concerned about the need for an orderly an arrangement of relationships among different layer of government in a nation.

Buchanan (2001) notes that federalism refers to the method of dividing powers so that, general and regional governments are each with in a sphere, coordinate and Independent. It is a principle of organization and practice whose ultimate test is how the federal system operates". Elaborating on this, Friedrich (1963) explains that federalism seems the most suitable term by which to designate the Process of federalizing a political community, that is to say, the process by which a number of separate political organizations, be they states or any kind of Association, enter into agreements for working out solutions adopting joint Policies and making decisions on problems.

Moreover, federal systems can be classified into: Cooperative federalism is where both the federal and the state governments share responsibilities in certain areas or services to ensure the operation of national programs throughout the country (Buchanan, 2001).

Examples of countries with this type of federalism are Ethiopia, Germany, South Africa, United Arabs Emirates, United States, Venezuela and the former Yugoslavia. Kymlicka, (2001) Competitive federalism is where the federal government has a reduced role in state or local government. (Ademola, 2003)

Federal arrangements may protect against central authorities by securing immunity and non- domination. Constitutional allocation of powers to a sub-unit protects individuals from the centre, while interlocking arrangements provide influence on central decisions via sub-unit bodies. (Adrian, 2005)

2. 1.1Ethiopian Federalism

Ethiopia is one of the few African states that effectively defeated European colonial forces, survived as independent state and maintained its national culture and tradition (Assefa, 2005). In the wake of the downfall of the military government in May 1991, the new rulers of Ethiopia that ousted the junta paved the way toward the establishment of a federal democratic republic after more than a century of absolutist and centralized unitary state under monarchical (1889-1974) and military rule (1974-1991). The raison d'être for adopting a multi ethnic federal institutional design and form of state was to do away with the centralist and assimilations policies of the past successive regimes and the unequal sharing of the economic and political resources of the country as well as the denial of the right of nations, nationalities and peoples to administer themselves through their own leaders and their age-old politico-legal institutions, which had been the root causes of internecine conflicts civil war for so long in the nation's history.

The federal constitution was introduced in Ethiopia in August 1995, against the background of widely held sceptical view about federalism. The pursuit of political unity and territorial integrity at the expense of ethno-linguistic and religious diversity has been a leading objective of African stat craft (Assefa, 2005).

The text of the federal constitution gives the impression that the federal state is union framed through the free consent of each of nations Atonalities and peoples of Ethiopia and that it is therefore an example of coming together rather than of holding to gather federalism .

Thus the preamble begins with the phrase 'we the nations nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia ....are strongly committed in full and free sovereign power resides in the nation and nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia and that the constitution is an "expression of their sovereignty" (Assefa, 2006)

The Ethiopian federation is a straight forward example of coming together. federalism although some parts of the country experienced a' defacto' autonomy in the pre 1991 period many of the states that now from the federation had no much previous experience (Abate, 2004)

Nation by either the states that "federal democratic republic of Ethiopia comprises of the federal government and the state members Article 50(1) it is one of the hall marks of federalism that constitutional power is divided between the centre and the state(Assefa, 2006)

The constitution guarantees that the federal government and the stat shall have legislative executive and judicial powers (sarticle50 (2)) it lists the powers given to the federal government article (51) and states that "all powers not given expressly to the federal government alone or concurrently to the federal government and the states are reserved to the states article (52(2).

If the division of powers between the federal government and the states is to remain effective, it is important that this arrangement s is contained in a

constitution that is both written and supreme. In order that its supremacy be maintained, more over it is necessary that the constitutional should not be subject to alteration by either the federal or state government s alone.

The Ethiopia constitution incorporates these principles it stipulates that the constitution is the supreme law of the land any law customary practice or supreme law of the land .any law customary practice or decision of an organ of state o r public official which controversy this constitution shall be of no effect article 9(1)

Since the constitution enshrines the basic terms of the compact governing the relationship between the federal government and the state, it follows that the procedure for amending the constitutions should involve the participation of both orders of government .accordingly the constitution states that a constitutional amendment may be initiated if it is supported by a two third majority vote in the house of the people .house of the federation or by a majority vote in one –third of the states in like the German constitution the Ethiopian constitution does not contain unalterable provisions, but the procedure for approving amendments is very rigid . article of the constitution dealing with fundamental rights and freedoms can only be amended if the proposal for amendments is approved by a majority vote in all state councils and by a two –third majority vote in each federal house conducted separately (Article 105,1). All other provisions of the constitution can be amended when both federal house in a joint session approve the proposed amendments by a two third majority vote .and when two third of councils of the members states of the federation (six stats) approve the proposal amendments by a majority vote (article 105(2).

Another feature that the Ethiopian constitution shares with other multi ethnic federation such as Indian and Switzerland is its adoption of the principle of linguistic pluralism this is one of the thorny issue in the principle of linguistic pluralism in multi ethnic federations, regional and ethno-linguistic groups usually press for the official recognition is that language is seen as highly related to the cultural self identity and survive of groups (watts 1966: 233; Fredric 1968:32)

Another is it affects access to national jobs and therefore the participation of members of ethno-languages may be a substantial burden, but it is a necessary price to pay when an imposed language is likely to disrupt the state.

The Ethiopian federal constitution attempts to balance preservation of national unity against recognition of the cultural and linguistic distinctiveness of ethno- linguistic groups, it makes Amharic the working language of federal government (article 5(2) but does not spell out the official language for communication between the federal government and the states at first sight .the constitution may not seem to be a significant departure from the 1987constitiution which also gave all Ethiopian language equal states recognition but the present constitution entitles.

Member's states to determine by law their respective working languages Article 5(3) which opens the way for the states to adopt their Owen official languages three different empirical approaches to these issues are discernible amongst the regional administrations.

One of the contested issue in the public discourse of Ethiopian politics remain the difficulty one get in interpreting state flier in the twentieth

centenary while there is a general consensus about the fact that both the imperial (1930-1997) and the military regimes (1974-1991) failed to address among other things central political and economic issue there is less consensus on the causes of state flier and in interpreting the conflict Assefa (2007:55)

2.1.2 Ethnicity

There is often a problem in defining concept like ethnic identity ethnicity nationality and nationalism like all other 'ism' they lack clarity and authors as well as practioners have used them in many different ways it is striking to observe this fact not only at global but also in the Ethiopian context.

On the whole there are two major approaches to ethnicity the primordialists and the instrumentalist in the words of (Isman cited in Merara (1994:10) who summarize the position of the two the primordial list take in ethnicity as a collective identity so deeply rooted in historical experience that should properly be treated as a given in human relations the instrumentalist on the other hand hold that ethnicity is not a historical given at all but in fact a highly adaptive and malleable phenomenon.

For instance ranges from those who inside in calling it "ethnic" or"yegosa "federalism to those who argue ethnic federalism has negative connotations and consider it as a pejorative one and have prefer to call it as a 'multicultural ' federal system (Assefa, 2007:87)

 It appears that ethnicity is different although not clearly from nationalism ethnicity is stated of mind emanating from a feeling of separate identity, which in turn is based on shared cultural markers (culture language, religion

etc) but more importantly on myth of common decent is an essential characteristic of an ethnic group but not national group that share a common language, religion custom history and tradition out necessary a common redid sent.

Nation on the other hand are more inclusive as they are supposed to be culturally or politically or defined ethnic distinction may be readily discerned by an as to say ethnicity in general, there are two approaches the primordial list and the instrumentalist.

The primordial's approach stats that ethnicity is fundamental aspect of human existence and essentially unchanging and unchangeable in the imperative demands it makeup on individuals makers between the individual and the group (Assefa, 2007:85).

Ethnicity and nationalism seems to be their Owen logic in their link with state policy. They do not often start mobilizing their follows with maximum subjective. those maximum objective become fails to address some of their minimum demands government fail to address some of their minimum demands that appears to be the trend at least in the Ethiopian situation.

2.1.3 Nationalism

Ethiopia being a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country never had a state that reflected its local context. The crisis is partly the result of the failure to accommodate the various ethno-linguistic groups that were brought together at the second half of the 19th century. It is important to note that in the Ethiopian context, none of the ethnic groups taken alone constitute even today a majority.

In other words, all the ethnic groups are minorities.3 Comparative study in other multi-ethnic societies such as India and Switzerland indicates that the leaders took a critical decision to accommodate the different groups, in the latter in the 19th century and in the former in the 1960s that was a major factor for their emergence as stable multi-ethnic federations. A different course was followed in Ethiopia. Rather than attempting to forge a state from the newly introduced diversity, the regimes imposed a notion of 'nation-state' defined mainly as Christian in terms of religion and Amharic as its language across the country. The majority of the ethnic groups were told in no ambiguous terms to assimilate into this state. The nation-state and its integration model became ill-suited for a multi-ethnic Ethiopia ethnic groups are minorities.3 Comparative study in other multi-ethnic societies such as India and Switzerland indicates that the leaders took a critical decision.

Sometimes the distinction between the nation and the nation and the ethnic group become blurred as will be noted later, the nationalist aims to set up a separate state of its Owen.

An ethnic group as well might aim at the same goal when the political leaders of an ethnic group make demands to that effect the ethnic movement by definition becomes a nationalist movement there and then ethnicity and nationalism could mean one and the something.

Federalism is commonly understood as a theory of government that was power to check power amid opposite a drivel interest. Authority is no limited and no single body exercise supreme control nor has a monopoly over the use of force in society. But the idea of federalism is rendered trivial when

applied only to the coexistence of state and national governments rather federalism offers no less than an enabling basis for the developments of self-organizing capabilities under condition of equal liberty and justice (Ostrom: 1991 xi).

2.2 Framing Theory

One of the more recent and popular definitions of framing comes from Gitlin. He defines frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion" (1980: 7). Gitlin's framing definition does not fully recognize the powerful and practical effect frames can have on issues within society. Hertog and McLeod state that, "the frame used to interpret an event determines what available information is relevant" (1995:4). This construction of power and relevance is integral in understanding the frame's significance to the assimilation of frames by the receiver. Supporting this position, Entman suggests that frames increase the salience of particular aspects of a story by promoting a specific "problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation /or treatment recommendation for the item described" (1993:52).

Media framing refers to the selection process whereby pieces of information are selected and placed together in news stories (Andsager and Powers, 1999). Two newspapers may present the same story differently by selecting and focusing on different aspects or angles of the same story (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:159). Media framing deals with how a given media outlet shapes an event. Media do not merely provide facts; they add some context and take out other in order to engage their readers, viewers and audiences. Framing theory is useful in addressing these differences. Over the last

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

Although there is no single definition of framing, the many that have been employed points up similar characteristics, frames are ' conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey interpreted and evaluate information"(Neuman et el,1992,9.60) they set the parameters 'in which citizen discuss public and exclusion'' to enhance their salience'' 'in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition causal interpretation, moral evaluation and for treatment recommendation (Etman1993.p.53) frames are to help audiences locate perceive identity and label poetical alternative (Juchman 1978:156).

Entman (1997) offered a more detailed explanation of how media provide audiences with schemas for interpreting events. For him, essential factors are selection of salience: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (p.52). First, frames define problems that are salient to the public. Then, they determine and highlight causes of the problem. Next, they encourage moral evaluations by providing the causal analysis. Finally, they promote remedies so the concerned bodies can come up with favoured policies.

Another complementary framing definition comes from Tankard et al. who define frames as " the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration" (1991:3). When reviewed aggregately, these definitions allow for media's influence on how the public thinks of an issue and presumably their behaviour toward that issue.

Zhou and Moy (2007) point out that although framing and agenda setting are two theories of media effects, they have been portrayed as one. Ghanem (1997) also asserts that framing and agenda setting are intrinsically and logically linked. Ghanem (1997) asserts that framing and agenda setting are intrinsically and logically linked. This scholar hypothesizes that the principle difference between framing studies and second level agenda setting is that the former are only concerned with the frames themselves while the later are focused on how those frames influence public opinion. How an issue is framed can influence how the issue is perceived by the public.

Compelling arguments hypothesize that there is a link between attribute salience on the media agenda and object salience on the public agenda. Therefore, when specific attributes are emphasized in the media agenda, the level of object salience on the public agenda is affected. It is at this level that emphasis on attributes or frames is fully united with second level agenda setting. The 'compelling arguments' position suggests that the frames used by media have direct influence on the level of object salience the public has for an issue.

Likewise, Ands agar and Powers, (1999:.538) explain media framing as a selection process whereby pieces of information are selected and placed

together in news stories. Thus, Frames tells more than what is significant and newsworthy, according to Pan and Kosicki (1993).The selected frames indicate which opinions, interpretations, and definitions are more valid particularly in conversational issues (Pan and Kosicki, 1993 p.68).

The frame is "the package in which the main point of the story is developed, supported, and understood" regarding Wallack and Dorfman, (1996). For these people, frames to a larger extent define the boundaries of a public discussion about an issue. Elements in the frame are perceived as credible and legitimate. Elements outside the frame, however, are marginal and have limited currency in public debate.

According to Entman's definitions, well developed frames usually have four functions: problem definition, causal analysis, moral judgment, and remedy promotion. First, frames define problems that are salient to the public. Then, they determine and highlight causes of the problem. Next, they encourage moral evaluations by providing the causal analysis. Finally, they promote remedies so the concerned bodies can come up with favoured policies. (Entman, 2007)

Frames can affect the way people understand and interpret issue or events. (Shah, 2004) In his study "Examining the effects of message frames in political advertisements", (Shah, 2004) finds out that political ads framed as either character- or issue-oriented had a profound effect on voters cognitions in political evaluations. Similarly, McManus and Durham (1998:6) asserts that:

> ...news frames are influential in making certain elements of issues and events available for mental processing while ignoring

others. We know the level of context in stories greatly influences comprehension. Terse episodic reporting, for example, throws readers and viewers back on their own pre-conceptions about why events take place. It encourages simplistic explanations such as blaming individuals and exempting the conditions shaping them some kinds of reporting appear to promote an apolitical or social reaction while others elicit only apathy.

As to Carlyle et al. (2008: 172), the effectiveness of frames is found in their "ability to make certain elements and perspectives more salient, thereby increasing the chances that certain schemas of interpretation will be evoked." Frames can be found in "the properties of news narratives, thus encouraging certain interpretations and understandings of issues."

Framing effects 'changes in judgement engendered suitable alteration in the definition of judgment or choice of problems ''(Iyengar; 1987,p.816) put on another way, a framing effect is 'one in which salient attributes of a massage (its organization selection of content or thematic structure)render particular thought applicable resulting in their activation and use in evaluations''

Frames are found in at least four elements of communication. The communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture hold frames (Entman, 1993:2). Frames guide the communicator messages while in texts frames emphasis facts or opinions. On the other hand, the receiver might have frames that are different from the communicators and the text. Finally, culture provides common frames shared among the majority in a social group. Frames in all the four parts have similar functions. They select and

emphasis elements of a problem, its cause, evaluation and solution (ibid). The current research is

Concerned mainly with frames in selected texts and how they are used by communicators. Thus, these components of the frames do deserve further discussion.

Lakoff (1996) in Dorfman et al, (2005), on the other hand, says frames are equivalent to optical illusions and are seen in terms of whether the glass is half full or whether the glass is half-empty. Thus it depends on the choice of people to see the same event or issue from the perspective of half full or half empty. Accordingly, people make different choices depending on how information is framed.

Lakoff (1996) points out some pieces about framing asserting on the idea that Communication itself comes with a frame.

• The elements of the Communication Frame include: a message, an audience, Messenger, a medium, images, a context, and especially, higher-level moral and Conceptual frames and,

• The choice of language, which is vital, but vital because language evokes frames: moral and conceptual frames.

Entman, (1993), further added a similar idea regarding the above statement made by lakoff that frames are found in at least four elements of communications. The communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture hold frames. Frames also guide the communicator messages while in the text frames emphasise facts or opinion. In contrast, the receivers might have

frames that are different from the communicators and the text. Lastly, culture provides common frames shared by the majority of the social group

A frame generally is defined by what it includes, excludes and omits while defining problems, explaining, evaluating and recommending on an event or issue, writes Entman (1993). By focusing on one aspect and omitting the other, media draws and directs readers or viewers attention away from the other side which perhaps might lead in to a different reaction, emphasizes Entman (1993).

2.2.1. Types of Media Framing

The existence of one or another frame in the media story and its consequences for the public opinion has been a focus in many studies (Firehiwot, 2008). Framing can be classified under two contrasting dimensions: episodic and thematic coverage. (Shah et al., 2004) Episodic framings are used to construct issues around specific instances and individuals. This type of framing, according to Carlyle et al. (2008), tends to rely on individual explanations. According to Carlyle et al. (2008) individual explanations are those that focus on the personality, disposition, or motivational states of the people involved.

On the other hand, thematic framing emphasizes society's role in addition to the individual. The frame relies on social explanation. These social explanations focus on "circumstances and situational forces" (Carlyle et al., 2008:172).

Similarly, Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) discuss five dominant news frames that have been identified in earlier studies: conflict frame, human

interest frame, economic frame, morality frame, and attribution of responsibility frame. In some media framing theories, empathy or sympathy frame is included. In addition, other frames like diagnostic and prognostic are commonly used frames. These frames are used in the current research.

As it was mentioned repeatedly earlier, framing plays a vital role in presenting and comprehending salient issues like federalism issues to the public. Nonetheless, little has been done on media framing of federalism issues especially in Ethiopia. The current research will study media framing of federalism issues in the 'federalism' program of the Ethiopian Television in a bid to show the kinds and processes of frames utilized in covering the issue.

- **Economic Frame**

As its name indicates, this frame focuses on financial consequences of issue, event or problem, on groups, institutions, nations or individuals (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000:96). Government programs which deal with health or other problems are particularly expressed within this frame (Neuman et al., 1992). According to Neuman et al., this frame is usually an outcome of covering issues from authorities' standpoints. This frame also indicates "the economical consequences of pursuing or not pursuing various politics objectives" (1992: 63).

- **Conflict Frame**

This frame refers to disagreement or competition among different groups or individuals (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:166). Different authors such as Neuman et al. (1992:64) and Semetko and Valkenburg, (2000:95) agree that

media use conflict as a means of capturing audiences' attention. However, focusing on conflict as a major aspect of a problem, issue or event may result in negative consequences. First, such a frame encourages media to exaggerate conflicts even when the issue has a limited controversy element (Gibbs and

Warhover, 2002:166). Second, media provide issues as having only two sides in order to emphasis conflict, (Neuman et al., 1992:64). In other words, the media will provide only extreme views. As a result, middle view, where the majority of opinions belong will be over-looked (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:167).

- **Human Interest Frame**

This frame puts a human face or an emotional perspective on the report of an issue or event. It personalizes the news, "dramatize or emotionalize" the stories as a means to capture and retain audience interest.

The frame is also referred as "human impact" frame, and is considered the second common frame in the news next to conflict frame. (Neuman et al., in Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000) As to Bennett in (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000), because of the increasing competition in the market for news, journalists and editors are exert greater effort to produce stories that captures the public's interest.

- **Morality Frame**

This frame emphasizes moral or religious contexts of an issue or event. (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000) In order to keep the professional norm of objectivity, journalists often make use of the moral frame indirectly by using

quotation and inference, for example, having others ask the question. (Neuman et al., in Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000) For

Example, a journalist can have religious leaders raise moral questions about conflict. Neuman et al., in (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000) further assert the moral frame is to be more dominant in the minds of the audiences than in the content of news.

However, the frame is among the common frames of news.

- **Attribution of Responsibility Frame**

As Semetko and Valkenburg (2000: 96) put it, this frame "presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group." Iyengar (1987) argued that when television news covers an issue or event, or individual (episodically) rather than presenting the larger historical social context (thematically), it promotes individuals' explanations for social problems. (Cited in Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000)

- **Diagnostic Frame**

This frame emphasizes identifying a problem and attributing blame and causality. (Gerhards and Rucht, 1992 in Scheufel, 1999)

- **Prognostic Frame**

This frame can also be described as a solution frame which specifies what needs to be done. (Gerhards and Rucht 1992 in Scheufel, 1999)

2.2.2 Factors Affecting Framing

Framing can be affected by various factors. According to Scheufel (1999), journalists' framing of an issue may be influenced by several social-structural or organizational reasons and by individual or ideological factors.

Based on previous research, the author further identifies five variables that may potentially affect journalists' framing of an issue or an event: social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressure of interest groups, journalistic routines, and journalists' ideological or political orientations.

Likewise, McLeod, Kosicki, and McLeod in Shen (2004: 125) point out framing social and political issues and events can be affected by "journalists' individual values, ideological constraints, and market forces." In case of journalists, their "common reliance on politicians, interest groups and other experts for quotes and analysis means that the news media may serve as conduits for individuals and interest groups eager to promote their perspectives." (Nelson et al., cited in Shen, 2004: 125).

Consequently, journalists adopt frames suggested by interest groups or political actors as sound bites and incorporate them in their report of an issue or event. Furthermore, type and political orientation of the medium can also influence news framing. (Gans 1979 in Scheufel, 1999) Despite the fact that framing theory has been used in many different researches, it has been criticized by some. As to Scheufele (1999:103), most of the limitations of theory framing are attributed to its "lack of clear conceptual definition and generally applicable operation."

2.2.3 Criticism of Framing Theory

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

Media framing theory is found within the theoretical context of media effects, more specifically within media manipulation theories.

Thus it shares the limitations which are associated with media effect theories. Framing theory is criticized for exaggerating the media texts' power.

Framing theory sees the audiences as powerless to oppose the "the persistent, pervasive, and emotions sophisticated persuasions of an interlocking media political-economic establishment" (Neuman et al., 1992:9).

Further, even when researchers undertake experimental studies, they do not exactly show how and why news frames influence audiences' or readers' behaviour, attitude and cognitive (Scheufele, 1999: 117 and 118).

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

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

The selections of different topics do not necessarily require certain frames (Neuman et al., 1992:62 and 74). In other words, the frames discussed above can be employed for issues such as federalism. Framing theory has been intensively utilized in political communication. It has also been employed in media coverage studies of federalism (Iyengar, 1989 and 1990; and Bullock et al., 2001),

Although, the use of framing theory can provide a better explanation on how the media treat federalism, researchers use elements of framing theory to a very limited degree. The current research will use this concept to study the Ethiopian television coverage and treatment of the 2010 Ethiopian federalism issues. Unlike most of the previous framing research, this study is concerned with the processes behind the production of program frames

As mentioned earlier, framing plays a prominent role in presenting and comprehending issues like federalism to the public. The current research will study media framing of federalism in Ethiopian television so as to show the kinds and processes of frames in coverage of federalism issues.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Research Design

3.1 The Research Method

In conducting this study, the researcher employs a quantitative approach (content analysis) as a main research method adding a qualitative method (in-depth interview) to it. The quantitative approach is selected as a major research method because it is a frequently used and an appropriate approach for studying media framing.

A quantitative approach was used to collect data from ETV 'federalism' program about the description of the program and its coverage, themes, sources, and frames used in stories of federalism issues and the media function employed. Content analysis was employed to gauge how the federalism issues are framed in the media.

Even though content analysis has been criticized by a number of scholars for a number of reasons Hansen and associates (1998) state that such problems do not arise from the practice of counting but such problems mainly arise from the meaning or interpretation that is reached following the quantitative indicators provided by content analysis.

The qualitative method, on the other hand, was utilized to supplement the information gathered through the content analysis. It was assumed that adding in-depth interviews will help to get better and deeper understanding of how stories of federalism are framed by the Ethiopian televisions. Berger (1998:55) notes that by using depth interview, "you often obtain unexpected information that other forms of research might not discover."

Sometimes there is the possibility that content analysis might lack depth. Therefore, as a complementary, the qualitative method was utilized to substantiate the study and obtain details that quantitative analysis alone could not provide. "By using in-depth interview you often obtain unexpected information that other forms of research might not discover." (Berger, 1998:55)

Berelson (1952) cited in Stalin (2009) defines Content analysis as the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of the manifest content of communication. These key terminologies are described well as follows.

Objective – Objectivity as stated in Amare and associates (1998) means prevention from the influence of the opinion of the researcher or coder on the collected data. It also means the result depend upon the procedure and not the researcher. Objectivity is achieved by having the categories of analysis defined so precisely, that different persons can deploy them to the same content and get the same results. If content analysis were subjective instead of objective, each person would have his own content analysis (Stempel III, 1981: 125).

Quantitative – means the recording of numerical values or the frequencies with which the various defined types of content occur. Amare and associates (1998) state that large masses of content stuff can be systematically and scientifically studied with the help of statistics. Content analysis does not exclude qualitative approaches, however. There has been the recurring suggestion that content analysis should be qualitative rather than quantitative. Deacon and associates (1999) argue that suggestion has incorrectly assumed that these were mutually exclusive.

3.1.1 Unit of Analysis

After the construction of the categorization, the other issue important to decide upon is what the sampling unit would be. Some quantitative content analysis studies have a precise focus, taking individual words as their sampling units to explore 'the lexical contents and/or syntactic structures of documents' (Beardsworth 1980). Other studies provide a more generalized analysis of themes in text. Beardsworth (1980:375) says:

> Theme analysis...does not rely on the use of specific words as basic content elements, but relies upon the coder to recognize certain themes or ideas in the text, and then to allocate these to predetermined categories. While both such approaches are applicable to the study of press out-put, in practice the latter seems to have been used more frequently.

In this study, the researcher focuses on theme analysis, because of its wider application Deacon et al, 1999). Therefore, the researcher took the entire program from the sample size as a sampling unit.

Each programs broadcasted from January 1, 2010 to December 31, 2010 of the 'federalism' program are decided to be the unit of analysis of the study. The stories of the program are all included in the analysis.

"Content analysis is not an exploratory method; it only gives answers to the questions you ask" (Deacon et al 1999: 121). Since what should be counted always be determined by the research questions designed to get the required information, the researcher has set appropriate questions in dealing with the study.

Since, the study focuses purposefully on ETV 'federalism' program, all the contents of the stories are directly related to federalism issues. As a result, the researcher was not challenged in deciding on qualifying criteria to differentiating which unit of samples fall under federalism issue. Therefore, the researcher selected all programs as sample unites. Each one of the program are considered to be a unit of analysis.

3.1.2 Catagory Construction

The researcher has set up categories so that all relevant content is analyzed. Counting and analyzing data starts with category construction, including definition and classification of items in the programs (Stempel III, 1981). Hence, the sample programs were categorized and defined accordingly to show how they (the federalism issues) are framed in the samples under study.

The system of categorization was made to be pertinent in line with the objectives of the study. Each content category was therefore tied to specific research questions. The content categories are: Program description, coverage, federalism content, sources of content, type of frames employed, and media functions (the role the media plays).

3.2. The Sample

Two types of subjects were involved in the study. The first subjects were the selected television program that report on the economic, social and political aspects of federalism. The other subjects of the study were journalists and editors of the selected television program and one expert from the stake holder government organization that is the ministry of federal affair.

As indicated above, the study focused entirely on federalism television program, and did not radio stories. Television and radio are significant media in many major events. The fact that Ethiopian television is government owned media. Therefore, the research would have, limited to look into how the private owned media frame federalism issues. In addition, in terms of topics the researcher reasoned that there would be no major difference since what the broad cast media covered can be found in the press as well.

To strengthen the information gathered from the television program through content analysis, two journalists and one editor in-chief who took part in producing the stories of federalism and one expert from ministry of federal affair were interviewed. Unfortunately all are male journalists participated in the interview because no female journalists are participating in producing federalism.

The interview was used to support the data gathered through content analysis. For this purpose, an interview guide was prepared.

The guide contains various questions background and experience in producing federalism issues during the stated time frame.

Journalists who had produce most of the analyzed production were included in the interview. In identifying journalists who produce most of the stories, the researcher counted the number of stories the journalist produce. Then, those who produce the most of the analyzed stories were contacted. The editor-in-chief of the program was also included for the interview.

3.2.1 Sampling of Content

The ETV Amharic 'federalism' program, deal about Ethiopian federalism, the program is selected because of the themes. It deals about social, political and economical issues of federalism purposefully. As mentioned in Chapter two, federalism is a concern of all these three themes

The program 'federalism' was introduced as a weekly ETV program as of the beginning of 2008. The 'federalism' program broadcasted from January 1, 20010 to December 31, 2010 (total of one years) were taken as the total population. Totally, the number of programs aired in the stated period was supposed to be 48 programs (once a week). However, only 30 of them were aired. The rest, 18, programs were not broadcasted due to the prioritization of other reportages and current affairs in the set schedule instead of the 'federalism' program. Because of this, the 30 programs were taken as total population.

3.2.2 Reliability of Coding

The fact that content analysis is defined as systematic and objective it means that the researcher must be concerned with reliability. By reliability, it means simply consistency of classification. Having this in mind, the researcher decided to do all the coding herself fearing that due to the complexity of federalism reporting, coders could perform poorly for they might have inadequate definition of categories and failure of coders to achieve a common frame of reference.

3.3 Method of Analysis

The data collection was first presented quantitatively in different charts and graphs using percentage. Each chart and graph has its own thematic focal point. Then, the results were discussed. The data that was obtained through in-depth interviews was analyzed qualitatively or thematically and incorporated into the discussion. This gave the researcher a chance to arrive at certain conclusions and forward recommendations for better framing of federalism issues in the Ethiopian television Amharic 'federalism' program for its improvement.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Presentation and Analysis of Data

This chapter deals with the results and discussions of the data collected and results of in-depth interviews. The collected data focused on how the Ethiopian Television 'federalism' program framed federalism issues within the period from January 1, 2010 up to December 31, 2010. Coverage and description of the 'federalism' program, proportion of the programs, federalism content, sources of information used, and the different framing types used were examined. The challenges journalists face in covering the issue was also discussed. Relevant issues pointed out earlier in the literature review are also incorporated as part of the theoretical framework in the discussion of the findings. Graphs and charts are used to present them clearly and to make the results of the study more comprehensive.

4.1. Description of the Program

  As stated in chapter one of this study, the Ethiopian Television, the first state-owned television in the country, came to existence on Nov.2, 1964. But the issue of federalism   start to discus on Ethiopian television after EPRDF comes to power and when Ethiopia became a federal state but the issue framed like program before three years in 2001 E.C. It can be said on a scheduled that almost no attention had been given for federalism issues in the media manner of broadcast. Through time, however, the frequency of federalism issues aired on the media increased. These federalism issues used to be covered either in the form of reportage or in the media's 'current affair' program.

The Ethiopian Television, for the first time, allocated a federalism program [federalism] In line with the political structure of the country. The Ethiopian television set up a federalism program called 'federalism' designed to promoting the achievements the people and the country gets from the federal system. The program was set up at the beginning of September 2008. It is a 20-minute-weekly program As the recent editorial policy of the Ethiopian television states, this federalism program shoulders great responsibility in promoting the federal system brings for the people of Ethiopia. It is responsible to inform and educate about the system because the Ethiopia government system was a unitary system for a long time even if it is too late to start a TV and radio program which gives information about the new system.
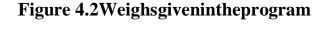
Now federalism is a weekly program which runs on Tuesdays (after 9:00 evening news) and re-runs on Wednesdays after 8:00 morning news broadcast.
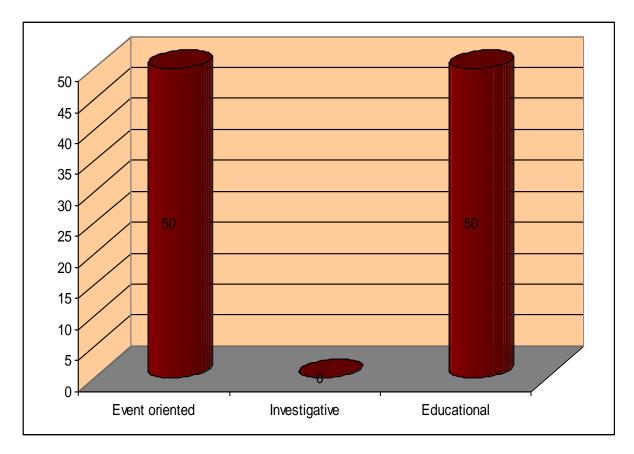
The program has three reporters and an editor. In fact, these journalists sometimes get another assignment to cover other than federalism issues.

4.2. Which Weighs: Event, Educational or Investigative Reporting?

Event reporting includes federalism reportages, reports of seminars of federalism issues the conferences and trainings. An investigative reporting, is a well researched that entertains deeply analyzed federalism contents. Educational is produced to give information for an audience about a new concept According to this definition; figure 4.2 indicates whether event or educational reporting got much weight during the coverage of the program. Accordingly, 50 percent of the stories were found to be event-oriented

stories where as the rest 50 percent of the stories were educational reporting and 0 percent of the stories were investigative.

Figure 4.2Weighsgivenintheprogram

The federalism occupies an important place in the Ethiopian Television 'federalism' federal system program, but such prominence is usually alive when activities on federalism issue are organized. In explaining the program description, the deputy editor in chief (informant 1) stated that due to the routine practice of ETV programs, most of the 'federalism' programs do focus on covering events related federalism issues. Similarly, informant 2 gave the same reason that his colleagues and he usually cover event oriented federalism issues organized   by the ministry of federal affairs.
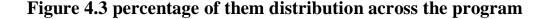
As result, as can be seen in figure 4.2, no number of stories is treated in an investigative way of reporting which is the best way as David et al. (2003)
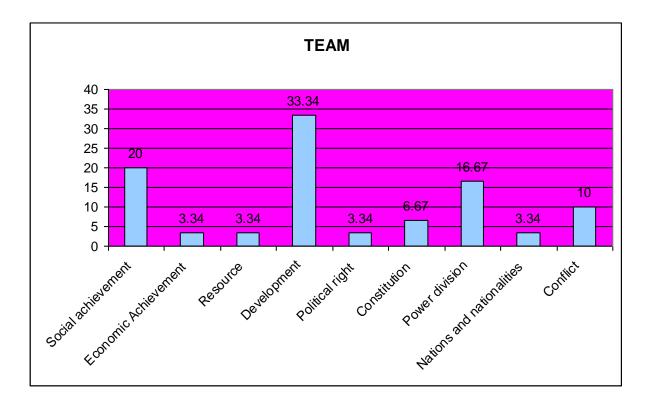
All the interviewees also stated that the discussion between the university students all over the country and different national celebration like nations and nationalities day and'' Ginbot haya'' result, half of federalism stories focused on event oriented rather than concerned with the larger and deeper federalism issues.

4.3 Themes Distribution across the Programs

As can be seen in figure 4.3, federalism contents mentioned in the 'federalism' program showed some diversity. Development matters accounted for 33.34 percent of the stories analyzed, which is the highest federalism content covered. The least aspect covered in the 'federalism' program were political right economical achievement, resource, and nation and nationality each accounted for 3.34 percent of the program.

 Social achievement was the second frequent issue that analyzed in the federalism program that account for 20 percent of the stories were analyzed.

Figure 4.3 percentage of them distribution across the program

TEAM

Bar chart showing percentage distribution across themes:
- Social achievement: 20
- Economic Achievement: 3.34
- Resource: 3.34
- Development: 33.34
- Political right: 3.34
- Constitution: 6.67
- Power division: 16.67
- Nations and nationalities: 3.34
- Conflict: 10

Constitution and conflict aspects of the federalism accounted for 6.67 percent and 10 percent respectively. Power division is covered 16.67 percent of the stories analyzed which is covered only their positive sides because the program is produced with the collaboration of Ethiopian radio and television Agency and federal affairs the interest of federal affairs on this program is according to informant 4(the official from the federal affair) to create awareness about the federal system and to promote the unique feature Ethiopian federalism and decentralization is also one of this issues. As I mentioned earlier, federalism is a new concept in Ethiopia and according to [informant 1] the deputy editor in chief of the good governance and democracy program Ethiopia radio and Television Agency is too late to start a television and radio program on the federalism issue.

4.4 Sources Identified and Quoted in the Program

Perhaps the most crucial decision made in construction of a media story is who is chosen to speak authoritatively on the subject at hand - the source. There exists a general consensus that sources need media more than media need any one news-maker. Who speaks for the federalism in the media was one of the issues analyzed in the stories.

As can be seen in figure 4.4, the sources used in the stories in a range between the least used sources experts of federalism 3.34 percent to the dominant source, government officials who accounted for 46.67 percent.

Figure 4.4 percentage of Sources identified and quoted in the program

It might seem that there are an infinite number of and variety of media sources. But in practice, media content represents a very limited diversity of sources.

The dominant sources used in the analyzed federalism were government officials. The informants stated that almost none of their federalism reports were aired without a 'direction' given by bosses how the reports should be organized. Whatsoever federalism issue it could be, no event or educational reporting was aired without 'balancing' the stories by a government official, which they said is routine practice of the agency.

The second list sources used in the analyzed federalism issues are community leaders and regional government which accounted for 6.67 that's what contradicts with the idea decentralization.

According to formant 2 (the reporter) in every production of federalism program the idea of decentralization and its positive aspects are analyzed but sources speaks about this issues are most of the time are officials that represents the federal government. He stated the events they always reports were organized by the Ministry of federal affairs and they prepare the speaker of the issue for the event.

Informant 3 how ever criticized reporters for undertaking self-censorship upon them presuming that a government official should be their main source of information. He stated that no manager in the media orders so. As stated in figure 4.2, half of the federalism are event oriented.

Community members and federal system researches or researchers were employed as 10 and16.67 percent of the analyzed stories respectively. Though community members could be the direct source of a media story, similarly, scholarly researches and federalism researchers who could

professionally address the federalism issue on the authority sources and usually are dependent on those authorities for information.
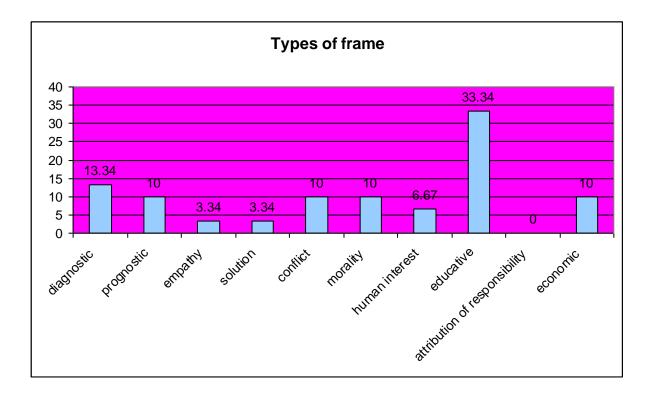
This practice contradicts with what Detjen (1997) advises using of ordinary people who are exercising the achievements of the federal system as sources.

Informant 1 (the deputy editor-in-chief) reasoned out the influences behind not using sources other than government officials. "The routine practice of ETV, the journalist's poor professional knowledge, and the dominance of officials to use the media" contributed for not using sources other than government officials.

4.5. Frames Utilized

All informants agreed that they were not conscious of the frames they used in reporting the federalism stories. However, the producer (informant 2) stated that though he was not aware of the technical federalism reporting, he believes that 'federalism' program focused on educating the society for federal system and its difference from the unitary system." The guiding principles in reporting federalism issues was, whatsoever defined or undefined the idea of federalism applied in the country and it's a new system, so 'the federal system needs awareness creation and initiatives need to be taken' .

Figure 4.5   percentage of fame used

Types of frame

As can be seen in figure 4.5, the frames employed in the stories range from the least used frame - the solution frame and empathy of responsibility- each 3.34 percent to the dominant frame, educative/advocacy frame which accounted for 33.34 percent. Diagnostic frame was the second most used frame in the analyzed stories accounting for 13.34 percent.

Frames like economic, conflict, morality, human-interest and prognostic were also used in the stories to some extent next to the educative and diagnostic frames. In fact attribution of responsibility frame was totally ignored. The frames are discussed below.

4.5.1. Educative and Solution Frame

Educative/advocacy frame is the most frequently used frame in the ETV 'federalism 'program which accounted for 33.34 percent. This indicates that

there is a real appetite in the 'federalism' program to meet the huge challenge of getting the federalism message. Diagnostic frame was used in 13.34 percent of the analyzed stories and is the second most frequently used frame.

However, as Andrew (2007) stated provision of information alone does not constitute dialogue with the public on potentially controversial issues. However, informants 2 and 3 argued that were journalists could not manage to go beyond providing simplified federalism information. The informants stated that they face challenges in reporting on the issue due to the limited knowledge they have in the field.

There is a general agreement among the informants that the information they offered the public did not properly addressed on how to deal with the existing federalism issues though most of the stories utilized educative frame.

4.5.2. Economic and Conflict Frames

Economic frame was deployed in 10 percent of the analyzed stories. It was the third most frequently used frame in the analyzed stories. The interviewees expressed belief that directly or indirectly the ultimate goal of envisaging to frames the media utilizes; its ultimate goal is to show the government's effort on equal benefit of the economy as the informants stated.

However, such efforts would come true if the public is told in black and the economic benefit of federalism the country is in, have a well established

federal system is intertwined with its economic relevance. Whatever type of its past experience, and how the future needs to be handled?

Conflict frame was also the third highest used frame in the program, accounted for 10 percent which is similar with morality and economic frame. On the contrary, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) indicated that among the few central frames of reporting various issues that the media covers, conflict was common frame in the United States. However, this did not work in the analyzed ETV federalism program. Rather, conflict frame was the third used frame in the analyzed stories.

Obviously, as a state-run television, ETV promotes development journalism and gives less attention for liberal and neo-liberal journalistic philosophy. This might have contributed for the existing of less conflict frame in the program. However, Julia (2006) argues that when stories tend to emphasize conflict, disagreement, and battle, out of a journalistic convention, it conveys that there are two sides to any story.

The reporter (informant 2) how ever indicated "conflicted ideas or opinions of individuals or groups were entertained emphasis how the indigenous conflict resolution method is effective, also to show the exercise of self administration and the ways of conflict resolution in the federal system through 'federalism' program."

4.5.3. Diagnostic and Prognostic Frames

Diagnostic and prognostic frames explain causes and effects of an issue or event respectively. These frames were used only to some extent in the ETV 'federalism' analyzed stories.

Diagnostic frame was used in 13.34 percent of the analyzed stories. Improper utilization of the power, interference and less educational awareness of citizens was the frequently stated factors for the federal system. The informant 4 (official from the federal affairs) revealed that most of the federalism contents covered in the 'federalism' program lack proper definition and in-depth interpretation of its causes. This could be the result of the multifaceted challenges that journalists encounter in reporting the issue including limited skill and training to report on federalism.

However, according to informant 4 the federal system have been so effective for the last 20 years because it address every problem used to happen during the unitary system, but the TV program was not that much effective as it expected he stated that it did not in place after defining and interpreting the problem.

In terms of the effects of federalism, the informants stated that except the simple the federal system effects, most sophisticated effects were not addressed in the program. They had some presumptions. First, they presumed that such sophisticated effects of the federalism cannot be easily understood by the public. Secondly, let alone an ordinary journalist, such issues might not be well interpreted by experts due to the existing conflict of views in the world on the issue.

4.5.4. Empathy Morality and Human Interest Frame

Solutions and empathy was the least utilized frame in the 'federalism' program which accounted 3.34 percent of the analyzed stories. The human interest frame was the second least utilized frame which accounted for 6.67percent, though not satisfactory.

Morality is also the other used fame in the federalism program which accounted for 10 percent of the analyzed program.

4.5.5. Attribution of Responsibility Frame (Totally Ignored Frame)

Attribution responsibility of frame, were among the totally ignored types of frames in the analyzed federalism stories. This frame could not be reflected in the analyzed stories at all though it the program, though not satisfactory, suggested that the general community the program also shouldered federalism experts, researchers and religious leaders to contribute their share in this regard. Informant 1 and 3, however, emphasize on shouldering the greatest responsibility to the house of federation. And community leaders can play the lion's share in conserving the federalism in a sustainable manner in a bid to achieve the set well stabilized federal system in Ethiopia.

Informant 2 reasoned that it was to avoid repetition that they did not attribute the responsibility to anyone in every story. He also said "producing the stories by itself was attributing responsibility to those who could alleviate the problem like the government, different society."

In fact, these frames are unlikely to be used in event-oriented federalism coverage which the program focused. However, it is undeniable that employing these frames would bring the desired impact not less than the other most frequently used frames in the 'federalism' program.

4.6. Media Functions

According to Scheufel (1999), in framing an issue, the media play four key functions: Defining the problem, stating the cause, providing moral judgment, and suggests the possible remedies. The function the ETV

'federalism' program played is indicated in figure 4.6. Out of the four media functions played by the program, 40 percent was held by suggesting treatment which is the most frequently utilized media role.

Figure 4.6 percentage of media function

13.34 percent of the program also mentioned the cause of federalism problem and providing moral evaluation which is the lowest percentage. The programs that defined the federalism problem accounted for 33.34 percent of the analyzed stories.

Concerning the functions played by the 'federalism' program, the findings show diversity among the two functions and similar among two functions. However, they were not utilized with equal emphasis which Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) recommend. Informant 2 stated that depending on the degree of familiarity of the federalism issue to the audience, the media function deployed varies.

The program played its greatest media role in suggesting solutions. This implied that the program mostly focused on suggesting the possible solutions but with good emphasis in defining the federalism issues and interpreting the underlying problem. The analyzed 'federalism' ETV program performed well in suggesting solutions. In fact, the suggested solutions were also deducted from a well defined problem, highlighted causes of the problem with a very strong   analysis.

The other function, stating the cause of the problem, was played by the program which was the third most frequently used in 13.34 percent of the stories.

In the case of defining the federalism problem and providing moral evaluation, the federalism program played a limited role, 13.34 and 13.34wich means equal percent respectively. Lack of a well defined problem in some of the stories could affect how the public perceived the problem as it could make the story incomplete. By properly exploiting these media functions, the program could have performed best in both the public perception and any policy making processes regarding federalism issues in the country. Generally, however, it can be said that the 'federalism' program has done well in suggesting remedies to the major practice federalism problems of Ethiopia.

4.7. Major Challenges Journalists Encounter

There is no doubt that framing of the federalism issues in the 'federalism' program is directly or indirectly intertwined with the challenges or expected challenges in reporting the issues. Thus, dealing with the challenges federalism journalists face in reporting the beat becomes vital. Challenges to

federalism journalists in the analyzed 'federalism' program of the Ethiopian Television are many, including complexity of the federalism and its uniqueness in Ethiopia, the diversity of the people and their religion, scarcity of information about the unique feature of Ethiopian federalism, poor cooperation among stakeholders working on the federal system. Concerning federalism, poor translation of technical information, lack of the necessary knowledge on the concepts of the federalism, were the major problems the journalists faced.

All the interviewees stated that the difficulty in interpretation of federalism issues is a result of the poor or even unrelated educational background they have to report on federalism. They indicated that after becoming more educated in the field, journalists can cover more, and gain a more balanced perspective on an issue. Though the Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency sometimes tries to engage journalists according to their interest and educational background, no journalists of the 'federalism' program were assigned accordingly.

Besides, the journalists of this federalism program have the responsibility to produce other ETV programs such as current affairs, politics, and other programs. This creates poor sense of responsibility upon the journalists to specialize and update themselves on the issue.

Surprisingly, informant 4 stated that "immediate bosses transfer journalists to another program like to current affairs and politics, which they believe is hard and needs better journalists."

Finance constraint was also the other problem the journalists faced. The 'federalism' program does not have special attention from the agency. Even if, there is an initiative to produce an investigative federalism reporting, it gets ignored for shortage of budget to cover the proposed amount of costs.

Furthermore, despite the existence of many governmental organizations engaged in federalism related is the issues, almost none of them provided training for the journalists

The editor (informant 2) note the big for the journalists like him is because of ministry of federal affairs is paying for ETV to produce the program they set the agenda and chose the focusing area and issue.

Furthermore, the journalists have unsatisfactory understanding of the attention given for the federalism program of Ethiopia. If the management of the media gives an attention the report of the 'federalism' program the program also gives big contribution for the federal system.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

It can be highlighted that the Ethiopian Television has set federalism issues as one of its agendas. As indicator, the media introduced a scheduled weekly. Program on federalism issues called 'federalism'. Except in some occasions, the program smoothly runs according to the schedule which runs on Tuesday after 9:00 pm night news hour and reruns on Wednesday after 7:00 am in the morning.

The program strived to promote '5th international federalism conference' by giving greater emphasis for local federalism issues with due credit for federal system concerns. For some reasons, half of the federalism issues covered in the program were event-oriented; meaning a focus on different national celebrations, like nations and nationality day ,fag day, ginbot haya, pastoralist day, international federalism conference and others conference and workshops.

The dominance of government officials was clearly manifested in the analyzed stories of the program. Lack accessibility of other sources are a pressures to use e officials as sources of information, the presumption of the reporters that these officials would be their main sources has affected the program to be so. Sources like federal system experts treated poorly.

Social achievement, power division Development issues were the focus of the program. Political right economical achievement, resource constitution, and conflict were also entertained satisfactorily in the program

Among the different types of frames employed in the program, educative/advocacy frame was the most frequently used one. The program totally ignored attribution responsibility frame. Human interest frame, prognostic frame conflict morality frame were second frequent frames in the analyzed programs. Solution and empathy frames were entertained satisfactorily in the program

In terms of the role the media played, it performed well in suggesting remedies for the federal system. Due to its ambition to bring rapid change in the public about the federal system, the program performed well in defining and stating the cause of practicing the federal system problem.

The complexity of federalism reporting, lack of appropriate skill and knowledge on reporting federalism, the less credit 'bosses' attach for federalism reporter, the poor contact stakeholders have with the reporters and with the media also and the multi-responsibility of the journalists in the media were the main challenges the journalists stated.

On top of that, the journalists do not have deep and clear understanding of the unique feature of Ethiopian federalism. This adds challenge to the journalists in their federalism reporting.

5.2 Recommendations

Issues within the period of January 1, 2010 to December 31, 2010 (one year) did not include. The findings of the study showed how the 'federalism' program of the Ethiopian television was framed federalism how other media outlets of the country entertained the issue of federalism. Therefore, further researches need to be conducted in this area in an expanded manner.

If the future of our country (Ethiopia) depends to a large extent on the national consensus that will be created through the awareness of the federal system, though there could not be a better pre-occupation for journalists now than to equip themselves adequately with the skills to bring the realities to the front. It is when journalists are aware that they can play a role in creating federal system awareness. A special seminar for federalism journalists at all levels of the institution is highly recommended at regular basis and there should be an investigative reporting in the federalism program.

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Appendix A

Coding Sheet

1. Title of the program federalism

- Date of transmission every Tuesday night after 3;20 Ethiopian time

2. Which Weighs: Event or Investigative Reporting?

- Event orientated _____
- Investigative-----------------
- educational_____

3. Types of Federalism

- Economical
- Political
- Scio-cultural

4. Federalism

- culture_____
- language_____
- conflict_____
- religion _____
- resources_____
- Economical achievements_____
- Social achievements_____
- Ethnic identity_____
- Constitution of Ethiopia about federalism _____

- Multi ethnic federation_____

- Nations and nationalities_____

- If other please specify_____

5. Who Speaks about Federalism?

- Government officials_____

- Non-government officials_____

- Ethnic leaders_____

- Researchers and researches_____

- Religious leaders_____

- Community leaders_____

- Experts_____

- Community members_____

- Other sources if there is any

1. Frames

1.1. Diagnostic Frames

- Does the story mention that every nation and nationalities is the cause of the existing issue? Yes/No
- Does the story mention that improper utilization of right as a cause of the issue? Yes/No
- Does the story state less educational awareness of citizens as the cause of issue? Yes/No
- Does the story state socio- economic factors as cause of the problem?

- Does the story state government actions, policy, and/or inefficiency as causes of the problems? Yes/No
- Does the story state division of power as the cause of the problem?

1.2 Prognostic Frames

- Does the story state that federalism issue was caused by nations and nationalities? Yes/No
- Does the story mention effects of federalism as an issue?
- Does the story state that effects of federalism like; ethnic identity, cultural identity, economic and social achievement action? Yes/No
- Does the story mention multi ethnic federation as result of federalism? Yes/No
- If other please specify_____

1.3. Economic Frames

- Does the story state that the economic benefit of nations and nationality? Yes/No
- Does the story indicate economic consequences of federalism on the country? Yes/No
- Does the story emphasize the impact of federalism on meeting the plan designed to ensure sustainable economic development in the country?
- If other please specify_____

1.4 Human Interest Frame

Does the story provide a human example or 'human face' on the issue?

Yes/No

- Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the sources used? Yes/No
- Does the story mention how individuals and groups are affected by the federalism economically, socially or politically? Yes/No
- If other please specify _____

1.5 Attribution of Responsibility Frame

- Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to   alleviate the problem? Yes/No
- Does the story suggest that some level of government is responsible for the issue ?Yes/No
- Does the story suggest that the general community is responsible for the issue? Yes/No
- Does the story suggest that federalism has the ability to alleviate the problem? Yes/No
- If other please specify_____

1.6 Solution Frame

- Does the story suggest government or other agents' intervention as solutions for the issue? Yes/No
- Does the story suggest attitudinal change towards federalism as a solution for the problem? Yes/No

1.7 Conflict Frame

- Does the story reflect disagreement between individuals, groups or interest groups on federalism? Yes/No
- Do the parties in conflict blame one another for the problem? Yes/No
- Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue? Yes/No
- If other please specify_____

1.8 Educative/Advocacy Frame

- Does the story give information about the concept of federalism ?Yes/No
- Does the story explain how to cope up with situations after the problem occurred? Yes/No
- Does the story suggest policy changes in the country regarding federalism issue? Yes/No
- If other please specify_____

1.9 Morality Frame

- Do you use moral or religious contexts in your story? Yes/No
- Empathy frame
- What ways of storytelling do you use in expressing problems regarding federalism issues?
- Do you express your feeling in your story in favor of nations and nationalities?

Appendix B

1. Media Functions

- Defines the problem………

- States the cause………..

- Provides moral evaluation…………

- Suggests treatment………….

Appendix C

Coding Guide

- Which weighs: Event, educational or investigative reporting?
- Event oriented – When the program covers meetings, celebration and related reportage programs focusing on values of federalism issues.
- Investigative – When the program is well researched and entertains deeply federalism issues with better quality.
- Educational _ when the program focuses on awareness creation about federalism for different society member
- Federalism issues- When the stories focus on all government structure.
- Global federalism issues- When the federalism stories of the program focus mainly on global level.
- Federalism in focus
- culture
- language
- Conflict
- Ethnic identity
- Economic achievements
- Social achievements
- Nations and nationalities
- Constitution about federalism
- Ethnic federation
- Resource
- Religion

- Who speaks about federalism: Refers to the origin of information mentioned in the story; name(s) of a person, group or organization which are quoted as sources.
- Types of Frames
- Diagnostic frame – When the story states the cause of the problem
- Prognostic frame – When the story states the effect of the problem
- Economic frame – When the story states the relationship between federalism and economy.
- Human interest frame – When the story goes into the private and groups of characters associated with federalism issues.
- Attribution of responsibility frame – When the story mentions that a certain body has the ability and responsibility to alleviate the problem.
- Solution frames – When the story suggests the intervention of certain body as solutions for the problems caused in the federalism?
- Conflict frame – When the story reflects disagreement between individuals, groups or interest groups on the system.
- Educative frame – When the story gives information about the concept of federalism.
- Morality frame – When the journalist bans or encourages doing of a certain issue or uses ethnic or religious contexts.
- Media functions - provides information definition of the problem and interprets, provide moral evaluation of the problem and suggest possible treatment.

Appendix D

Interview Guide

Interview with Editor and Reporters

Background

Themes

- What were the core issues or stories you raised?
- Why were such themes important?
- Do you think your reports had influence on the audience?

2. Types of Federalism issues Covered

- Which type of federalism issue is most common in your report?
- Personally, what type of federalisms issue interests you? Why?

3. Challenges

- What are the challenges you face in reporting federalism issues?
- Have you ever conducted investigative type of federalism reporting?

Appendix E

1. Sources

- Who were the dominant sources in your reports about federalism issues?
- Did you face any pressure from interest groups to report the story in a certain ways?
- Why did you approach these sources?

2. Frames

- How do you construct your reports on federalism issues?
- Were you aware of how your stories were framed?
- What factors affect how you frame the stories, like sources?
- Did you purposefully shape or organize the story in certain ways

3. Diagnostic Frame

- What do you think are the causes of federalism in Ethiopia?

4. Prognostic Frame

- What do you think are the effects of federalism in Ethiopia?

5. Economic Frame

- What do you think are the economic implications of the federalisms issues?

6. Conflict Frame

- How do you entertain conflicted ideas and opinions from different individuals/groups?

7. Attribution of Responsibility

- Who do you think is responsible for solving or addressing the problem?
- Solution frame
- What do you think are the solutions for problems in federalism?

8. Morality Frame

- Do you relate the stories with religious beliefs?

9. Educative/Advocacy Frame

- Do you think it is important to offer information on how to deal with the existing federalism issues?

10. Media Functions

- What roles do you think your media played in reporting federalism issues?

Appendix F

Informant 1(Genanaw Lesegese) the deputy editor in- chief of good governance and Democracy program

Informant 2 (Theme wolde) Reporter

Informant 3 (Merkeb Reda) Reporter

Informant 4(Ewnetu blata) official from Ministry of federal affairs

Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and that all sources acknowledged.

_____

Senait Haile Gebereyesus