

The Framing of Political Parties by the Ethiopian Print Media in 2015 Ethiopian

General Election: Addis Zemen and The Reporter in focus

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Samrawit Yoseph, entitled The Framing of Political Parties by the Ethiopian Print Media in 2015 General Election: Addis Zemen and The Reporter in focus and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

Framing of Political Parties by the Ethiopian Print Media in 2015 Ethiopia National Election:
Addis Zemen and Reporter in focus

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The main purpose of the study was to examine how the state-owned Addis Zemen and privately owned The Reporter framed the political parties of the country in the 2015 Ethiopian General Election. To conduct the study two newspapers namely, Addis Zemen and Reporter with a relatively larger circulation and high coverage of domestic politics were purposefully selected. Newspapers published within the period of February 24 to May 20, 2015 were the focus of the study in relation with the beginning of political parties electorate campaigning. Two contending parties namely EPRDF, the ruling party and Blue party from opposition parties were considered for the study. Informed by Framing theory and Political economy theory, the study set out to answer three basic research questions by employing both qualitative and quantitative methods to gather the necessary data. The study used content analysis as principal instrument of data collection and 79 stories from both newspapers were analyzed. Furthermore, in order to strengthen the study in-depth interviews have been conducted with 5 journalists and 2 editors who were purposively selected from the selected print media. The finding of the study revealed that the government owned newspaper Addis Zemen portrayed EPRDF positively but it portrayed Blue Party negatively. On contrary, Reporter was critical on covering issues about both parties and it portrayed both EPRDF and Blue Party negatively and this shows that there was bias on both government and private media on framing EPRDF and Blue. This could lead less informed and much polarized electorate. Based on the interview with the selected editors

and journalists, skill gap (lack of professionalism) media ownership, meeting deadlines (Journalist professional routines) sticking to few or redundant news sources were the underlining motive behind the framing of political parties. The result of the study revealed that both conflict frame and attribution of responsibility frame were found to be the most manipulated frame in both newspapers in contrast human interest, morality and prognostic frames was less utilized frame. Finally based on the findings of the study, a couple of recommendations for further research were forwarded.

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Acronyms

PDRE- Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

EPDRF- Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

PE- Political economy

TGE- Transitional Government of Ethiopia

NEBE- National Electoral Board of Ethiopia

TPLF- Tigray People Liberation Front

EC- Ethiopian Calendar

UNDP- United Nation Development Program

UEDF - United Ethiopian Democratic Forces

CUD -Coalition for Unity and Democracy

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the topic of this research, establishes background of the study and articulate statement of the problem. And then, state objectives, research questions, significance and limitation of the study as well.

1.1. Background of the study

A democratic election is impossible without media, as free and fair election is not only about the freedom of voters and the knowledge of how to cast voters, but also about participatory process where voters engage in public debates and have adequate information. As McConnell (2002), noted that it could commonly be agreed that for the media to pursue democratic roles, freedom of the press has to be guaranteed. The normative model of a free press is one in which is freedom from any government regulation and control that would suggest censorship or limits on the freedom to disseminate information, news and opinion (Becker, 2002). With this presumption, scholars have differently expressed, but with common foundations, the democratic functions that a free press could have in democracy.

Media have two major roles in a democratic process. First, the media provide citizens with information on matters pertaining to elections because election is key to democracy in that citizens are provided with choices to select from and this determines the kind of government they will likely have. In addition, to elect among the choices citizens need to be informed, through critical reporting by the media about which choice is best for them combined with deep analysis and interpretation about the each party future programs. The media ought to function as an investigative agent of the wrong deeds of the government.

Media have a persuasive power on their audience and the effects are illustrated at different levels. The media uses to capture the attention of the public so that the public can make informed decision.

In similar vein (McNair, 2011, p. 16) Recognize that media play crucial role particularly during election as:

'In contemporary democracy, media institutions perform not only cognitive functions of information dissemination but also interpretative functions of analysis assessment and comments are addressed for the general public. In addition, not only do the media report politics; they are a crucial part of the environment in which politics is pursued. They contribute to policy discussion and resolution, not only in so far as they set public agendas or provide platforms for politicians to make their views known to the public, but also in judging and critiquing the variety of political viewpoints (pp, 16)''

Media role during election is beyond addressing information to the electorate, but they are very important means of political analysis and interpretation about each political parties direction and program. In addition to this media's function in democratic system is not only providing information that the media is expected to provide for citizens, but they are also expected to serve as a watchdog by revealing wrong doings of the government exposure mobilize and engage the electorate in the political processes. Similarly, Hallin (2008) mentioned that media plays a decisive role during elections by providing fair, accurate and balanced picture of all the contesting political parties, candidates and coalition blocs to the general public so that the people can have an informed decision. It is the media that many people usually rely on to get themselves

informed about candidates and campaign issues. According to daily news coverage of candidates issue positions and views is arguably the most credible way that candidates can speak to voters. Media are very crucial for politicians to inform the public about their policy direction and program. In addition Lange (2009), noted that the intent of news coverage is to inform the public rather than promote a candidate. Therefore, the media has to make their fundamental mission to inform the public in the most complete, balanced and fair manner possible. In developing countries like Ethiopia, media need to play significant roles in mobilizing development increase the public awareness towards the democratization process that the country is undergoing different resources to ensure fast and sustainable economic development as well as in promoting human rights and democratization.

1.2.Statement of the problem

Election is crucial for the existence of democracy, in that citizens are provided with choices to select from and this determines the kind of government they will likely have. "To elect among the choices citizens need to be informed, through critical reporting by the media about which choice is best for them. In addition, the media create forums for policy debates. Democracy is not all about election but also about the respect of civil and political rights, the media ought to function as an investigative agent of the wrong deeds of the government, which is traditionally referred to as 'watchdog' role (Dagim, 2013).

Since 1991 in Ethiopia there have been several newspapers that supply social, political, economic and cultural information to the people. These newspapers provide different news, articles and editorial views. According to Nigussie (2014), Even if freedom of the press is constitutionalized in the country since 1991, the government in practice has not granted complete freedom to the press and has kept its eyes on the practice of media. Despite the constitutional

guarantee enshrined in the 1995 FDRE Constitution. There is great hostility and acute polarization between government and private media. In relation to this “Newspapers are able to downplay or play up a certain issue while portraying the image of politicians and their parties.”(ibid, 2014, pp.84). Furthermore, Gamison (1992), argued that media act as gatekeepers, supporters and interpreters by deciding selectively to do coverage on the side of one party or all parties on certain issues, giving them their own interpretation and greater coverage to certain issue compared to other issues. This being the case, however, very little is known about how the print media have been portraying political parties during 2015 General Elections in Ethiopia, to see the gap the researcher attempted to review related works but found only one conducted by Ashenafi Gudeta on framing of political parties during the 2010 Ethiopian National General Election.

The finding of the study revealed that the government owned newspaper Addis Zemen portrayed EPRDF positively, but it portrayed Medrek negatively. On the contrary, the privately owned newspapers, Reporter (though with some exceptions) and Awramba Times, portrayed EPRDF negatively, whereas they portrayed Medrek positively. Awramba Times appeared to favor Medrek while Addis Zemen seemed in favor of the EPRDF.

The other research was conducted by Ketema Hailue entitled with A Study on Framing of Pre-Election News Stories in the 2015 Ethiopian General elections: the case of Addis Zemen, Reporter, EBC and FBC. The finding of the research revealed the government owned media Addis Zeme and EBC were under the pressure of the government and portrayed the ruling party (EPRDF) positively whereas the privately owned media Amharic Reporter and FBC were relatively under a lesser pressure and portraying the political parties relatively neutrally in framing of the pre - Election news stories during the fifth round Ethiopian general elections.

Morality frame and conflict frame were the predominant frames employed by the selected media during the pre election period. Learning from the finding of the previous study conflict frame was the dominant frame of the study and both research finding reveled that government owned newspapers were in favor of EPRDF and private newspapers were in contrast tilted to opposition parties.

These similar result on both previous study showed that there is a biased in portraying political parties based on media ownership difference, because media owners are able to influence the content of 'their' media, and as the Ethiopian media have mostly been owned by the government it has also been the sole authority in the industry. Government owned media were propagating the successful history of the party in power and lurching violent verbal attacks on those political groups that were unfavorable by the ruling party. In contrast private media, seems to be independent from government interference and pressure as a result they played their watch dog role on the issues of maladministration, disclosing various societal problem ,covering unsuccessful pervious achievement of the party in power. This shows that, ownership influence is also considered as a pretext for the media to frame its news contents either positively, negatively or neutral in the case of both private and government owned media. In contrast state owned media was the pipe line for the government propaganda.

The framing of political parties is more influential during the election campaign periods because of its power to downplay or play up their role of bringing policy alternatives to the public. As far as the researcher's knowledge is concerned except the above mentioned research works, there was no more study done with regard to framing of political parties during 2015 Ethiopian national election. In relation to Ketema's study his focus was only on the pre -election news stories not on the framing of political parties. Thus, this attempts to examine the print media's

framing of political parties during the 2015 Ethiopian national election focusing on Addis Zemen and The Reporter newspapers.

1.3. Objective of the Study

1.3.1. General objective

The general objective of the study is to examine how the contending political parties were framed by the selected Ethiopian private and state run newspapers in the 2015 Ethiopian General Elections.

1.3.2. Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

- To assess the extent of the news coverage of political parties in terms of frequency
- To identify the major themes, tone of the stories and type of sources
- To analyze what kind of frames the selected print media used in reporting covering the parties.

1.3.3. Research questions

- What was the nature of Addis Zemen, and Reporter newspapers coverage of political parties' issues in terms of frequency?
- What were the major themes, tone of the stories and type of sources used by the selected newspapers?
- What kinds of framing were used by the selected newspapers in portraying the political parties?

1.4. Significance of the study

The researcher believes that the outcome of the study may help to illuminate on the way in which the print media cast political parties during the 2015 national election for those who are interested to understand it. The output of the study will have paramount importance for the media organizations in terms of learning their strengths and weaknesses in portraying political parties. It would also help political parties to examine and evaluate how they were being framed and use the insights in order to boost their future performance. In addition to this may help major election actors like NEBE and other civic societies in order to check and balance their role during the election time. It may also serve as a reference for other researchers who want conduct their study on similar areas.

1.6. Scope of the study

The scope of the study is limited to the print media, particularly newspaper, namely, Addis Zemen and Reporter Amharic version purposefully selected due to their relatively high domestic political coverage and circulation. The study thus examined the coverage of these selected newspapers with the time frame starting from February 23, 2015 to May 23, 2015 in relation to the beginning of the electorate campaign. It is worth mentioning that newspaper with high circulation nationwide but less domestic politics coverage was out of the study.

1.1.Limitations of the Study

The study was having its own limitations. Time was the main limitation while compiling this research. To collect the necessary inputs, to get the sampled newspapers at once, few informants were reluctant to speak overtly on the issue and some declined the request for an interview these were the major constrains of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: Review of Related Literatures

This part deals with a review of various issues related to the topic. In addition, the theoretical underpinnings of the research, particularly framing theory and political economy of mass media will be discussed serving as a basis of theoretical frameworks for this study.

2.1. Media and Democracy

The media play an indispensable role in the proper functioning of a democracy. "Discussion of the media's functions within electoral contexts often focuses on their "watchdog" role: by unfettered scrutiny and discussion of the successes and failures of candidates, governments, and electoral management bodies. The media can inform the public of how effectively they have performed and help to hold them to account, yet it has other roles in enabling full public participation in elections (McNair, 2011, p. 57).

As Curren (2005), states that in many fledgling democracies, the media have been able to assert their role in strengthening and deepening democracy. Investigative reporting, which in some cases has led to the dismissal of presidents and the fall of corrupt governments, media is effective and credible watchdog in order to boost politicians' credibility among the public. Investigative reporting has also helped accustom officials to an inquisitive press and helped build a culture of openness and disclosure that has made democratically elected governments more accountable.

Media is regarded as a nation building force in any country, similarly Mukhongo (2010), noted that the mass media act as a potent political force complementary to a body of activities entrusted to the government. In addition, press is a major instrument for circulating and exchanging information which is vital for functioning democracy and it can play a positive role in democracy only if there is an enabling environment that allows them to do so. In this, journalists need the

requisite skills for the kind of in-depth reporting that a new democracy requires and also they should also be mechanisms to ensure accountable to the public and that ethical and professional standards are upheld. Media independence is guaranteed if media organizations are financially viable, free from intervention of media owners and the state, and operate in a competitive environment. Particularly print media are important to the political process in more direct ways, it is important in the political process and its core function is creating a platform to transfer message from citizen to their political leaders (McNair, 2011) .

Media or those who work in them should be viewed as important political actors in themselves. Not only do they transmit the messages of political organizations to the public, but they transform them through various processes of news-making and interpretation. What the politician wishes to say is not necessarily what the media report him or her as having said. In addition, the media make statements about politics in their own right, in the form of commentaries, editorials and interview questions. These statements may have a significant impact on the wider political environment (ibid, 2011).

2.2. Media and Elections

As Curren (2002) writes, Free and fair elections conducted through transparent processes require a media sector which gives candidates equal access, and reports the relevant issues in a timely, objective manner. The goal of media development should be to move the media from one that is directed or even overtly controlled by government or private interests to one that is more open and has a degree of editorial independence that serves the public interest. If the media is to have any meaningful role in democracy, then the ultimate goal of media assistance should be to develop a range of diverse mediums and voices that are credible, and to create and strengthen a sector that promotes such outlets.

‘The prime concern of media coverage of elections is the right of voters to full and accurate information, and their rights to participate in debates and dialogue on policy matters with politicians. Inherent to this task is the entitlement of parties and candidates to use the media as a platform for interaction with the public’ (Belayneh 2015, p10). Elections constitute a basic challenge to the media, putting its impartiality and objectivity to the test. The task of the media, especially national media outlets, is not and should not be to function as a mouthpiece for any government body or particular candidate. Its basic role is to enlighten and educate the public and act as neutral, objective platform for the free debate of all points of view (ibid, 2015).

In similar vein (McNair, 2001, p. 20) states that “During election media have a crucial role in covering the political process in shaping and contributing to the formation of public opinion, as expressed most importantly in the time of campaigning before elections and during elections. Some media especially newspapers may have an advocacy function during elections where they actively endorse one or the other parties competing in election”.

Elections are primarily viewed as an opportunity for citizens to influence political leaders, but they also serve as a means by which parties and candidates can mobilize support for democratic processes. Elections can serve an important function in the process of building and maintaining support for the political system. Elections should make citizens feel better about the institutions and the political process. Indeed, a link can be found between electoral participation and the duration and maintenance of political efficacy and regime support (Karp, 2003).

2.2.1. Election on Global Perspective

Electorate system varied place to place depends of the country’s political system, population size demographic structure and others. For instance the constitution of India has vested, in the

Election Commission, the superintendence, direction and control of the entire process, for conduct of elections to Parliament and Legislature of every State, and to the offices of President and Vice-President of India. Village and city local elections have been left to the State Governments under local Commissioners. Similar to the Ethiopian electoral system, Free Campaign time on State owned electronic media by a recent order of the Election Commission, all recognized National and State parties have been allowed free access to the State owned electronic media (Election commission of India).

In US electorate system the basic terms of the general election are spelled out in the Constitution, and voting laws are generally determined at the state-level. Primaries, however, are not codified in law. Rather state-and-national level party committees set the terms. A year before an election, the primary process for the election is already underway. Unlike India and Ethiopian electorate system, political parties are not supported by the Electoral board or commission rather candidate begin fundraising for the electorate campaign. Since 1974, there have been limits placed on the amount of money an individual can contribute to a political campaign. In modern elections, the role of the Political Action Committees (PACs) has helped to boost the funding coffers of political candidates and allow them to continue seeking the party's nomination and/or build general election campaign funds.

Candidates will travel state-by-state across the country in an effort to gain popularity among voters within their own party. Part of this campaigning process is a series of debates among the primary candidates for a particular party. Republican candidates will debate with other Republicans and separately Democratic candidates will debate other Democrats. At this stage, the candidates do not formally debate across parties, although it is not uncommon to see political rhetoric directed to political opponent in other parties. The state-by-state campaign stops and

party-level debates are all in an effort to shape down the list of potential candidates and help each party select its nominee (Carter Center, 1992).

2.2.2 Election on Regional perspective

Elections are conventionally regarded as the institutional mechanism at the core of democracy. The discipline of acquiring power through an election is assumed to make government accountable to citizens, and thereby to confer legitimacy. The proliferation of political institutions, the liberalization of the economic and political landscapes, the regularity of elections of in certain African countries, and a decline in military coups in the 1990s, have all signaled that a momentum towards democratic consolidation on the continent is on the increase. Domestically, a combination of student activism, trade union strikes and 'watch-dog' journalism of the press were instrumental in paving the way for the new atmosphere of political pluralism. Africans are now said to enjoy unprecedented levels of political freedom, greatly improved human rights records, freedom of speech and expression, and unparalleled levels of economic growth. In other words, the evolving dynamics are now seen to have greatly enhanced political life for the average African far more than it was in the 1970s and 1980s (Ocitti, 1999).

African leaders have found it increasingly difficult to hold on power by force and begin to practice appointing leaders by election, the electorate process of the election was not fair balanced and transparent. As it has been the case there is a lack of competitive opposition parties, incompetent private media for democratic electoral debate and often lack control up on the behavior of candidates, resulting in the emergence of voter intimidation vote buying and ballot fraud were observed in many sub Saharan recent election. For instance, Nigerian 2007 election, this election was characterized by vote buying and miscounting by the party in power. Kenyan 2007 National election was characterized by ballot fraud.

The Final Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group for the 2007 General Elections in Kenya stated that, the Electoral Commission of Kenya has not succeeded in establishing the integrity of the tallying process thereby bringing the validity of the election results into question. The other example was Angola 2008 election again this election was featured by its vote –buying practices this showed that sub Saharan countries election practice lacked legitimacy, accountability and accuracy (Vicente, 2010) .

2.2.3. Democratic Election in Ethiopia

Although in the era of Axumite kingdom Ethiopia was known as the most civilized nation in the world, the rendezvous of Ethiopia and democratic system including election and others doesn't have long history. Meanwhile, the country's economic and social status became the least of all the countries in the world and known as the poorest and mentioned as the example of poverty. Even though once up on the time it was civilize, it took a lot of decades to build democracy in Ethiopia. Around half of 20th century there was a trend to elect traditional leaders which come from the Ethiopian people's cultural clan system and its intimacy (NEBE, 2015). Even if all the power was only exercised from central government there are traditional leaders Like Shengo in Amahara Region, Aba Geda in Oromia and Jondongon in Agnuak. In the era of autocratic government power was not limited, and the period of election was not bounded. The government announces that power was from heaven that the God elects the kings and can be taken back by the God only. Finally, the ideology proclaimed in the constitution which inaugurated in 1923 EC (ibid, 2015).

In the 1923E.C constitution article 32 mentioned that the people can elect their leaders but not in democratic way and the principles of democracy doesn't mention in the article. In the military regime there was no intention and wills of election in the structure of the government. In fact, in

1979 the government issued the proclamation of the election of the representatives but every activity is dominated by one political party. The electoral board, the electorate and election was done by the leading party. No competitions of ideology, no other parties but there was single party, single election process as a result of this, there was monopoly system (ibid, 2015).

The institutionalization of democratization in Ethiopia then dates back to the time that EPRDF overthrew the military Dreg and proclaimed the 1991 Transitional charter and later declared the 1995 constitution. Multi-party politics was also introduced during this period Tesfaye, 2006 cited in (Dagim, 2013). The 1995 Ethiopian General Elections mention to be the first election were 'intended to stand as the democratic culmination' of the transitional period, but finally dismissed the elections as 'neither fair, free nor impartial'. The elections were not competitive but exclusive, preventing many legal political actors from participating; violations of the electoral law occurred in all areas observed; and government structures acted in such a way as to create apprehension in the rural population.

This subdued pluralistic thinking and expression, which led to conformity in voting'. In this election, EPRDF won 90.7% of the seats in the parliament, others won 7.3%, and independents won 2.6% Tesfaye, 2006, p. 63 cited in (Dagim, 2013). However, it is important to note that though the elections took place to form the transitional government, they did not go smoothly as expected in that the pre-election environment was apprehensive, nullification of election results took place, and opposition parties in small regions were unwilling to participate in the elections for the dominance of EPRDF was observed (ibid, 2013).

The second national and regional elections were held on Five years later on May 14, 2000, in this election time opposition parties managed to thoroughly challenge the ruling party, especially in urban centers and most notably in Addis Ababa. These changes were also somehow evident in

the result of the election; Opposition parties won 2.4%, while EPRDF won 87.9% (a 2.8% reduction), others won 7.3%, and independents won 2.4% seats in the parliament. Other than these changes, the 2000 elections were similar to the 1995 elections when it comes to EPRDF's dominance, intimidation and harassment of opposition political party members and candidates, and freeness, fairness and impartiality (Tesfaye, 2006 cited by Dagim, 2013).

In 2005 the third national and regional elections, Ethiopia has experienced new phenomenon in its process of democratization. According to Smith (2007, p. 55), 'one of the most striking things about 2005 General election in Ethiopia is that both the ruling party and the main opposition parties presented voters with distinct and substantive policy platforms.' (ibid, 2007) this was not only exceptional in Ethiopia but also continent wide. It was also during this election that for the first time opposition parties were given airtime in the government media. The opposition claimed that there was an unfair distribution of airtime in which EPRDF was given much time twice the time given for the opposition which led to an unfair competition.

The major contending parties during this election were the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), and the two coalition parties; United Ethiopian Democratic Forces (UEDF), and Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD). In addition, the main issues of the campaigns were ethnic federalism, Article 39 of the Ethiopian constitution which grants the right to secession, land ownership, private sector development, liberalization of economic sectors, the case of Asseb port, nationalism—united Ethiopia, and human rights cases (Smith, 2007; Tesfaye, 2006). The results of this election were released ambiguously. A premature announcement made by EPRDF claimed to have won the election while CUD claimed it won the elections. However, when NEBE announced the final results, it appeared that EPRDF won 296 seats, CUD 109 seats, UEDF 52 seats, OFDM 11 seats, others 24 seats and independents 1 seat.

Ethiopia has also seen its fourth national and regional elections in 2010, which was not as competitive as the previous elections were in that the electorate happened to be politically apathetic and political parties did not actively campaign owing to their financial shortages, the perpetuate barriers created by the regime in power itself and other problems. Nevertheless, issues that used to be the main campaigning issues during the 2005 election still remained controversial.

The fifth nation and regional election in 2015, even though more than 70 opposing political parties were registered (NEBE, 2015). They were disorganized often out of context and adopted poor campaign strategy in addition they were not able to use their camping air time and newspaper columns to address their programs and strategies. The EPRDF did a lot to improve its pitch to voters. It had a campaign strategy centered on plenty of promising futurology and promise to accomplishing on the mega projects that was begin before. The result of the recent elections in Ethiopia might have come as a shock to many. EPRDF won all the parliament set by 99%. What lies behind the near total defeat of opposition parties in the recent elections is the combination of reduced trust in and devastates opposition political parties in the political landscape of the country.

2.3. Democratic function of media

Democratic governance works best when the four estates - parliament, the legislature the executive and the press – work independently with little interference from one another but keep a check on one another. As soon as one or more of the estates starts ordering the others what to do, both democratic governance and freedom of the press are diminished (Hallelujah, 2008). According to McNair (2011, p. 18) write, ‘there are five functions of the media in societies that he called ideal-type democratic societies. These are; (1) informing citizens of what is happening

around them ('surveillance' or 'monitoring' functions), (2) educating citizens as to the meaning and significance of the 'facts', (3) providing a platform for public political discourse and facilitating 'public opinion' formation, (4) giving publicity to governmental and political institutions, and (5) serving as a channel for the advocacy of political viewpoints. In general, media's democratic functions could be summarized under four broad roles; monitorial, facilitative, radical and collaborative.

2.3.1. Monitorial Role

"Monitorial role, referred to the surveillance function of the media in general, first, they must inform citizens of what is happening around them. What we may call the 'surveillance' or 'monitoring' functions of the media (Curran 2005, p. 129). However, separately points out the watchdog role of the media and explains it as one of the functions that democracy requires of the media. It is apparent in this definition that when one refers to the watchdog function of the media, it does not necessarily mean that the media only inspect actions of the government. Nevertheless, it also means that other institutions 'the powerful ones' actions are also under the examination of the media. The thinking that media are watchdogs of the state only seems to stem from the belief that the state is the seat of power, which is accountable for all the misgovernance (ibid, 2005).

In the same flow the press in its watchdog role should, as a matter not only of right but also of duty, expose and criticize bureaucratic incompetence, corruption, abuse of power and the violation of human rights generally. Media have always been described as the fourth estate of the political realm that monitors power (Ansah, 1988).

2.3.2. Facilitative Role

The other democratic role of the media is information and facilitative role. With the watchdog perspective, there is much to commend this approach. The media must provide a platform for public political discourse, facilitating the formation of 'public opinion', and feeding that opinion back to the public from whence it came. This must include the provision of space for the expression of dissent, without which the notion of democratic consensus would be meaningless. It assumes that democracies need informed and participant citizens to manage their common affairs. It also believes that public debate is more likely on the media provide a forum of debate in which people can identify problems, propose solutions, reach agreement and guide the public direction of society' to produce balanced and just outcomes if it takes account of different views and interests.

The media could also be an agency of information and debate which facilitate a better functioning of democracy (Curran, 2002). Since democracy assumes an active public concerned about political issues and discussions in order to best influence decision-making, it is normative that the media should serve the role of facilitating the public debate. The media should monitor the full range of state activity, and fearlessly expose abuses of official authority expose corrupt government officials (ibid, 2002).

2.3.3. Radical Role

The other dominant function of media is to give publicity to governmental and political institutions "the 'watchdog' role of journalism, exemplified by the performance of the US media during the Watergate episode. This media role have an influence on 'objective 'and political reality to the extent that 'the acts of whoever holds supreme power are made available for public scrutiny, meaning how far they are visible, ascertainable, accessible, and hence accountable' a

degree of 'openness' surrounding the activities of the political class if the 'public opinions' of the people are to have any bearing on decision-making (McNair, 2011, p. 20).

There always exist imbalances of wealth, education, and access to information and communication in societies that are based on the competitive market principle. Furthermore, McQuail (2009), assert that journalism or the media in a certain democratic society would contribute to the well-functioning of the society through discharging a radical role thereby ensuring that the society problems, which could generally be called 'injustices' are never and ever tolerated (Jems, 2005).

2.3.4. Collaborative

This role of media towards democracy begins with advocacy. In this case Parties require an outlet for the articulation of their policies and programme to a mass audience, and thus the media must be open to them or collaborate with them by creating conducive platform either for the party in power or opposing parties. Furthermore, some media, mainly in the print sector, will actively endorse one or other of the parties at sensitive times such as elections. In this latter sense, the media's advocacy function may also be viewed as one of persuasion (McNair, 2011). According to Christians, and Glasser (2009) if the media is collaborating with the government specially when such collaboration is deemed important and proved that it serves the ends of democracy, and then it would no more be a threat to the very free nature of the media. One of the areas that could be argued that it is a good area to collaborate is the national interest of a country. This collaborative role of the media is never practices in our country context after a certain party gain the electorate vote and the other loss they treat each other like enemy rather than working collaboratively for the national interest of the country.

2.4. Media and Democracy critics

Not all the democratic functions of the media are carried out successfully. "These days, the media are highly decried for the remarkably increasing commoditization of their content because of which political issues are driven out of the focuses of media practice and instead entertainment is taking a dominant coverage. Other criticisms on media performances as 'political journalism has become too elitist or insider-oriented' and political reporting has tended to be cynical could be mentioned"(McNair, 2000, p.5).

As Kasoma 2005, cited (Hallelujah,2008) the first critics was privately owned press(electronic media) as well does not produce a factual report; it rather focuses, on sensationalizing issues and producing opinion pieces ,similarly African press well known by its polarized stand. Privately owned newspapers are the propagators of opposing parties and state owned ones are in favor of the ruling one of arrogance and use of abusive language when it comes to reporting on political matters and political leaders.

The second was about the critics of the press to perform its watchdog journalism for its focus has turned into reporting based on hatred and dislike.This mix-up would cause false claims from the state and regulations made to curb this would be detrimental for the future practices of the media. The media, therefore, need to make distinction between 'hate speech' and legitimate allegation of the state. Furthermore, in democratic critics even "serious current affairs and programs such as pan aroma have been accused of simplifying and sensationalizing complex events and concentrating on overwhelmingly on the dramatic consequence of the social process investigated, rather than on their cause and possible resolution." Such media argued by critics is fundamentality apolitical. It encourages alienation silence and non- participant in the political

process and it is a part of tendency to distract the public from matters of principles by offering voyeuristic pseudo insight into individual matter (McNair, 2011, p. 46).

2.5. Media, government and political parties

Political parties in those democratic nations have the tendency of conducting rigorous debates during elections. However, all that process is guided by their constitution and laws of the land, including guidelines of their electoral board. The relationship between media, government and political parties is very important in defining a role for the media in the political process. When the government puts illegitimate sanctions, including censorship, on the media, the negative effect prevails (Lynete, 2010).

Similarly, in Africa opposing political parties have an unpleasant relationship with the ruling government likewise the state owned media tend to focused on the positive task of government as result it could be sated that this three pillars of a country have unfavorable relation or the relationship is based on ownership. Media also have a relationship with different political parties that take part in the democratic process. This relationship might not be discordant as it is the case with the relationship between media and government. Politicians that are not incumbent but work to be, also have to use the media in order to reach the public, in so doing they relate with the media.

Three areas of nexus could be manifested in the relationship between media and political parties. First, the media resort to the parties as one of their major political sources that they need. However, the parties might sometimes influence the media profoundly and the media may turn out to be serving some parties than working for the citizenry. "Elections can be free and fair when voters are being able to cast their ballots freely in this case political parties play a vital role in rallying the public to exercise its right to vote and demonstrate that it is the decisive factor in

the political process.” After all, a democratic election is unthinkable without public participation (Obang, 2015, p. 7).

2.5.1. Media and Government

The relationship between government and the press in Africa generally have been characterized by tension and conflict where there appears to be no tension. The reason for this is that, either the press has been intimidated into submission or it has become the ruling parties. As Kumar 2005, p. 226 cited in (Dagim, 2013), five aspects of the relationship between media and government focusing on the American experience (it would also apply to the African and the Ethiopian situations) to demonstrate the relationship. The major focus the relationship was on the three aspect of the relationship. Nature of the relationship impact of the press on government and influence of government on press operations.

2.5.2. Media and Political Parties

Media also have a relationship with different political parties that take part in the democratic process. This relationship might not be discordant as it is the case with the relationship between political parties and media resort to the parties as one of their major political sources that they need to perform their democratic functions. The press and broadcast media, by the nature of their functioning and role, employ different modes of intervention in politics. There have always been more overtly partisan in their approach to political affairs, perceiving their role as very much that of opinion-articulation. At election time the views expressed are in terms of party preference. Individual newspapers actively campaign on behalf of their preferred party and denigrate or criticize the others (MacNair, 2011). The popular press will do so in an openly propagandistic, ‘populist’ manner, accompanied by various levels of distortion, untruth and sensationalism, while the broadsheet newspapers will outline their views in more reasoned terms. Both will

select news stories with an eye to constructing a particular image (positive or negative) about the party.

2.6. The political dynamics of the media in the last three consecutive governments

This phase can be taken as the third stage in the overall development of the press in Ethiopia. It is relatively a modern period which lasts from 1941- to the present time, hence, the following: political period: Hailiselasie, Derg, and EPRDF discussed below.

2.6.1. Monarchy/ Emperor Haile Slassie I

According to Negussie (2014), Menelik's attempt to modernize the country was further strengthened by his successor, imperial Haileselasie I. As compared to the preceding governments, the Ethiopian Press got its real growth during this period. As part of Haileselasie endeavor, the media in this regime had grown to a better position; a number of newspapers came into existence. One contributing factor for a publication of a number of news papers is the establishment of Berhanena Selam (Light and Peace) Printing Press in 1923 by the king. This was a good leap forward in the history of press and politics in the country. The other contributing factor for the real development of the press during the regime of Haileselasie was Italians occupation of the country for five years. This period has its own contribution for the development of modern press in Ethiopia. Then, some newspapers were being published and radio programs were being broadcasted, by Italian fascists in Ethiopia, to propagate their war in Ethiopia and about the Second World War.

During the monarchical regime, information was transferred from the king or the ruling class to the people, and running the mass media in general was the responsibility and function of the government. The main purpose of most of the newspapers, radio and television was to eulogize

the monarchical rule, praise the Emperor and tell his greatness, kindness, wisdom, leadership, and his unparalleled benevolent rule (Ashenafi, 2012, p. 9).

During the post Italian occupation or WWII and after that, a number of press related developments were observed. Addis Zemen (New Era) appeared in Amharic on May 5th, 1941 and later in 1942, the Press and Information Department was established under the Ministry of Pen. In the same year, while Sendek Alamachin (Our Flag) appeared in Amharic and Arabic, the Negarit Gazeta appeared in Amharic and English.

In the following year, in 1943, The Ethiopian Herald started as a weekly English newspaper. Ye-Eritrea Dimts (The Voice of Eritrea) was being published in Amharic and Tigrinya by the Ethio-Eritrean Unionist Association. In 1946, the two monthly papers, Ethiopian Review (in English) and Berhanena Selam (in Amharic) were published in 1947, major press development took place in Ethiopia and three newspapers: ZenaBeteKristyan (News of the Churches), Nuro Bezeday(living Wisely), TekleHaimanot(Saint TekleHaimanot) and one English Newspaper–In 1950, AlemenaTebab(The World and Wisdom), in Amharic, and Progress Economique, in Amharic and French, were launched. In 1952, L’Ethiopied’ Audjourd’hui(Ethiopia Today) was started in Amharic and French. At the same time, the Amharic counterpart of the English Daily News Bulletin also came into being (Mekuria, 2005).

The Amharic Yezareyitu Etyopia (Ethiopia Today) also appeared in 1952. The Ethiopian Herald and Addis Zemen became dailies by the end of 1958, and they were being published under the Ministry of Information. Ye-Ethiopia Demits (the Voice of Ethiopia) re-emerged in 1958. The post Italian occupation was also the land mark in the flourishing of other press.

In general, as (Mekuria, 2005),asserted that the press in the imperial regime really grew, but it had less public out reaching due to poor infrastructure, very low level of literacy, and the

inadequate number of the copies of the newspapers. Most of the products of the press were accessible mainly for royal class, elites and literate city dwellers. Though the press was meant to grow at least in content it had a delimited content which focused mostly on the royal family and the king and expressed simply the whims and wishes of the king.

2.6.2. Military government Derg

After 1974, Ethiopia experienced the only major the military regime took power in 1974 under the grab of socialism nationalized private profit making organization including communication media and printing facilities that had contributed to the development of print media during the imperial era. The landscape of Ethiopian press had been changed. Political oriented mass organization started publishing newspapers and periodicals that promoted the ideals of socialism. Derg was following the Soviet Communist Media theory which was derived from the ideologies of Marx and Engels which advanced the notion that "the ideas of the ruling classes are the ruling ideas". All media were under strong control of the government, their main purpose was to mobilize the society to strength unity and stand for the development of the country under the umbrella of communism (Mekuria, 2005).

During this regime media was used mainly for propaganda as Yoseph, 2005 cited in (Nigussie, 2014 pp. 38-39) "during the early days of the revolution, even if it could not last long, the press was used as a platform for relatively open discussion however, in short period of time, the regime changed the landscape of the Ethiopian press for good, and started to use the media primarily for propaganda purposes and for the spread of socialist ideology." Derg nationalized privately owned large scale printing presses. The government made a change of policy in 1987 as it introduced (PDRE) The Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (Nigussie, 2014).

The new constitution made the provision of press law in its article 47 and 67(20) as the government gives "the necessary materials and moral support of the exercise of freedoms". In fact, the freedom of the press was not indicated clearly and it remained completely under the government control. The press was characterized as the tool of propaganda of the government with the total involvement of the government from its 'inception. During the 17 years of Mengistu's rule, the government-and party owned publications Meskerem ("September"), Serto Ader, ("Proletariat") and the pre-Derg Yezareyitu Ethiopia ("Ethiopia Today") were published in addition to the previously mentioned Addis Zemen and the Ethiopian Herald (Nigussie, 2011). This would mark how the socialist military government was tyrannical and the freedom of press and expression was highly curtailed. According to (Mekuria, 2005), the imperial government of Emperor Haile Selassie I, who ruled the country for half a century from 1923-1974, had relatively many newspapers as compared to Mengistu's regime. During the military government, the works of the newspapers had socialistic orientations and, as a result, they were the forerunners of the socialistic ideology. It was completely unthinkable to have private press in the period because everything was owned by the government. The government's major agenda was to nationalize the privately owned business and the printing press and to build socialist democratic Ethiopia after dethroning the imperial government. The prime focus of the military government was to spread socialist ideology through press products rather than encouraging the development of press. It is clear that print media was only an instrument to promote the policies and ideas of the government as flow of information was top down like that of the Imperial era, government became the sole owner of information thus exerting pressure on the development of the press (Mekuria, 2005).

2.6.3. The current state of Ethiopian Media (EPRDF)

The 1991 change of government has been given unique place in the history of Ethiopian journalism because of two main events. The first one is that pre-published censorship was outlawed, and this led to the publication of different presses. Secondly, press ownership which had been monopolized by government and the ruling party for many years, was permitted to private citizens with the exclusion of radio and television (Ashenafi, 2012).

Freedom of the press and mass media as well as freedom of artistic creation is guaranteed. Media shall be granted institutional independence and legal protection to enable it to accommodate different opinions and ensure the free flow of, information, ideas and opinions” which is believed to be the corner stone for the flourishing of democracy even though the EPRDF government heralded the coming of the private press. According to the press law in Ethiopia:

Press should work towards serving the public interest by becoming a change agent rather than being simply the mouth piece of the government as liberalists and democratic participant theoreticians probably argue. It must be impartial and critical to cover government activities (Ethiopian Constitution, 1995).

During the transitional period (1991-1993) press proclamation (No 341/1992) had been enacted granting free press and lifting censorship which enabled many publications to mushroom. Some have lost their readership and gone out of the market and some have managed to keep their readership intact for one reason or the other. But indirectly, under its sub article 6-7 it imposed legal limitations on these right and liabilities under law.

According to Skjerdal (2011), in Ethiopian media environment is characterized by polarization between private and state owned media enterprises. The present Ethiopian government promised

a free and open media climate, when it comes to power in 1991 and the markets were indeed open for the private publication. The private print media the broadcasting regularly complained about the government intrusion, especially during election. Despite the fact that the government officially supports media autonomy but the government interference and control continue on the informal level. Websites are blocked and foreign short waves radio broadcasters habitually jammed. Private media outlets experience verbal attack and warnings from official media. They fear prosecution under recently passed anti-terror legislation, self censorship, imprisonment and intimidation of journalists is common both in state –operated and privately owned outlets (ibid, 2011).

The government press is tightly controlled and mostly publishes what the government would like to hear or serve only as an instrument to promote the policies and ideals of the government. Similarly, the private press make little attempt at covering the government views fairly. As a result, government offices are often hostile to private press reporters. According to Ministry of Information (MOI) states the private press has “...no economic and development and democratization agenda. They are resorted to distort and exaggerate the existing situation and even create non-existing issues,” (MOI, 2004).

The landmark event in the history of the press in Ethiopia began after the coming of EPRDF. “Constitutionalization of the freedom of the press is a good step forward in the democratization process. The government has not granted complete freedom of press media and has kept its eyes on the practice of media” (Terje S.Serkejal, 2011, p. 66). There is great hostility and polarization between government and private media. Though the government granted license for private television and radio agencies their major focus is more on the infotainment major political and societal problems has been ignored. Further, the lack of professional knowledge about the

practice and ethics of media from both media types have affected the development of the media to a greater extent. The government media is also less critical about government policy and agenda. The lack of independent media council is still a problem to proper media management and organization (ibid, 2011).

The period from 1999-2005, the media environment started to advance and showed progress into an environment where the reporting of the private press became investigative based, sensationalism decline and areas that happened to be untouched in reports started to be utilized unlike the previous years (Skjerdal,2012).In similar vein Shemelis (2002) noted, that the beginning of the proliferation of private newspapers and magazines came into being by 'taking advantage of the government's declaration of intent'. By the same token, Skjerdal (2012), documents that the media situation during EPRDF is significantly different from that of the two previous regimes, especially with regard to formal media policy and openings for independent journalism. Moreover the government licensed few privately owned TV stations relatively higher number FM and Community Radio station, in relation to this the government tend to steer clear of politics and sensitive content and focus on issues such as sports or entertainment sensational issues. As a result of this they are not able to create a plat form for political discussion and debates in the public.

2.7.Theoretical framework of the study

Theoretical framework has inferences for every decisions made in the research process. Theoretical framework provides a well-supported foundation to the study and helps the reader to understand view point of the study, what needs to be learned from the study (Simon, 2009). Furthermore, theoretical framework can expose patterns or relations that support the researcher

in anticipating events or perceptions and opening up possibilities for modification or improvement (ibid, 2009).

This study was grounded on two theories; Framing and political Economy of the media. Framing theory is examined and criticized Reporter and Addis Zemen stories in relation with the framing of the selected political parties. This study is conducted based on Entman's theory of framing "frames in the news can be examined and identified by the presence and absence of key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts and judgments" (Entman, 1993, p, 52). On the other hand political Economy of the media used to examine the practice of the above two sample newspapers.

In this study framing is used as the dominant theoretical framework of the study. Despite its significance, the major aim of this study is to investigate how EPRDF and Blue Party were framed in 2015 Ethiopian General Elections. Although, political Economy of the media is added because it is important to identify ownership variation have an impact on portraying the respective political parties.

2.8.Framing Theory

Although framing is a useful concept, various definitions were forwarded by different scholars. Specifically for the purpose of this study, only few definitions are selected and discussed. One commonly used definition is that of (Entman, 1993) according to him framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of apperceived 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.

According to him, frames are an information-processing schema that operates by selecting and highlighting some features of reality while omitting others (Entman, 1993).

In the words Fiske & Taylor (1991), frames highlight some bits of information about an item that is the subject of a communication, thereby elevating them in salience. The word salience itself needs to be defined: It means making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences. An increase in salience enhances the probability that receivers will perceive the information, discern meaning and thus process it, and store it in memory. These scholars added that text can make bits of information more salient by placement or repetition, or by associating them with cultural familiar symbols. However, even a single un illustrated appearance of a notion in an obscure part of the text can be highly salient, if it comports with the existing schemata in a receiver's belief systems.

In similar vein Gamson, (1992), observes that a frame can exert great social power when encoded in a term like affirmative action. Once a term is widely accepted, to use another is to risk that target audiences will perceive the communicator as lacking credibility or will even fail to understand what the communicator is talking about. Thus the power of a frame can be as great as that of language itself. In line with this (Goffman 1974:10) defines frames, are basic cognitive structures which guide the perception and representation of reality. On the whole, frames are not consciously manufactured but are unconsciously adopted in the course of communicative processes on a very balance level, frames structure which parts of reality become noticed.

Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue. Entman (1993) framing select and call attention to particular aspects of the reality described, which logically means that frames simultaneously direct attention away from other aspects. Most frames are defined by what they omit as well as

include, and the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience make them salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation (ibid, 1993).

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

The other scholar Valkenburg (2010), argued that social scientist from a variety of discipline have attempted to define the concept of framing, some by focusing on how news is presented and others by focusing on how news is comprehend. Frames help audiences locate, identify, and label the flow of information around them and it make available political alternatives (Tuchman, 1978). In relation to this Scheufele (1999) identifies two concepts of framing: media frames and individual frames.

Media Frames: refers to "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (Gamson and Modiglian, 1998:143) offered a similar definition for media frames: The news frame organizes, everyday reality and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality it is an essential feature of news. Media frames also serve as working routines for journalists that allow the journalists to quickly identify and classify information and to package relay to their audiences" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7) also said that the concept of media framing can include the intent

of the sender, but the motives can also be unconscious one. Media fame is a particular way in which journalist composes a news story to optimize audience accessibility.

Individual frame: defined as mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing information (Entman, 1993). Individual frame refer to what an audience member believes to be the most salient aspect of an issue (ibid 1993). Entman 1993 cited in (Scheufele 1999) individual frames are "information processing schemata" of individuals and media frames are attributes of the news itself. Two frames of reference can be used to interpret and process information. Global and long term political views and short term issue related frames of reference are commonly known.

Where global political views are a result of certain personal characteristics of individual and have a rather limited influence on the perception and interpretation of political problem (Kinder, 1983). Moreover, short term issues related frames of reference can have a significant impact on perceiving, organizing and interpreting incoming information and on drawing inference from that information. With the existing beliefs of the audience, rendering related concepts more salient and more cognitively accessible than others. Thus, both individual and media frames must be taken into consideration in terms of clarifying the concept of framing.

2.8.1. Types of Media Framing

There are two types of framing: episodic and thematic. "Episodic framing depicts public issues in terms of concrete instances or specific events" (Iyengar & Simon, 1991, p.369). Thematic framing, on the other hand, places public issues in some general or abstract context (Iyengar & Simon, 1991). When we see crime for example, it can be framed episodically covering crime by covering criminal acts and their victims, and it can also be framed thematically discussing the causes of crime or the changes in crime rates and occurrences.

Iyengar (1991), found that subjects shown episodic reports were less likely to consider society responsible for the event, and subjects shown thematic reports were less likely to consider individuals responsible. In one of the clearest demonstrations of this phenomenon, subjects who viewed stories about poverty that featured homelessness or unemployed people (episodic framing) were much more likely to blame poverty on individual failings, such as laziness or low education, than were those who instead watched stories about high national rates of unemployment or poverty (thematic framing).

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), analyzed five news frames in order of predominance: attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic, human interest, and morality. Overall, media framing can be conceptualized as the process of selection, emphasizing and presentation of some aspects of "reality" or an issue at the expense of others so that it makes them more relevant; and thus they hold different slants and angles. In one way or the other framing theory in short, investigates how media people or journalists frame an issue, reality, or story - either what to include or what to exclude. Therefore, media framing refers to a process of selecting an issue from a given situation and furthermore provide more coverage to some aspect of it in order to realize one's aim by attracting the attention of the audience more importantly to it, whilst minimizing or, at worst, ignoring the other angles of an issue.

2.8.2. Conflict Frame

This frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). However, focusing on conflict as a major aspect of problem, issue or event may result in negative consequences. First, such a frame encourages media to exaggerate conflicts even when the issue has a limited controversy element (Gibbs, 2002). Conflict was the most common frame in US (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

For example Presidential election campaign news is framed largely in terms of conflict (Patterson, 1993). The media draws on a few central frames for reporting a range of issues and that conflict was the most common in the handful of frames in US news between political elites often reduce complex substantive political debate to overly simplistic conflict. Because of the emphasis is on conflict, the news media have been criticized for inducing public cynicism and mistrust of political leaders as Cappella & Jamison 1997 cited by (Patti M. Valkenburg, 2010).

2.8.3. Human interest frame

According to Semetko (2000), Framing news in human interest terms is away to personalize, dramatize and emotionalize the news. This frame “brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem”. Newman (1992) described this as the human impact frame next to conflict frame; this frame is common frame in the news. In crisis situations, the frame stimulates the psychological pulse of people, which ultimately leads them to a more negative attitude toward the crisis Padin, 2005 cited in (Ana and Gower, 2009).

According to Semetko and Valkenberg (2000), because of the increasing competition in the market for news, journalists and editors exert greater effort to produce stories that capture the public’s interest. Framing news in terms of human interest is one way to achieve this. Such a frame refers to an effort to personalize the news, dramatize or emotionalize the news in order to capture and retain audience interest (Patti M. Valkenburg, 2010).

2.8.4. Economic Consequence frame

This frame reports an event problem or issues in terms of the consequence it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region or country.

As Valkenburg (2010), states Economic frame also identify it as a common frame in the news. News is often framed in terms of the actual or potential economic impact or consequence on the

audience (ibid 2010).According to Graber (1993), the economic impact of an event is an important news value, and economic consequence are often considerable.

2.8.5. Morality Frame

This frame puts the event problem or issue in the context of religious tenet or moral prescription .Because of the professional norm of objectivity journalist often make reference to moral frame indirectly thorough quotation or interference ,for instance by having someone else raise the question (Semetko, 2000). A newspaper could for example ,use the views of an interest group to raise question about sexually transmitted disease ,Such a story may contain moral message or offer specific social prescription about how to behave. Found this frame to be More common in the minds of audience than in the content of the news, they nevertheless identified this frame as among the several used in reporting (ibid, 2000).

2.8.6. Attribution of responsibility frame

This frame presents an issue or problems in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual group. Although the existence of a responsibility frame in the news has not been measured explicitly.The US news media have been credited or blamed for shaping public understanding of who is responsible for causing or solving problems. The vast majority of television news stories are about specific events or particular cases. Iyengar(1991), argued that television news by covering an issue or problem in terms of an event, instance or individual (episodically) rather than in terms of the larger historical social context (thematically) encourage people to offer individual level explanations for social problems (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

2.8.7. Diagnostic Frame

This frame involves the identification of an event or aspect of social life as problematic or in need of alternation. According to Hallahan (1999), diagnostic framing process that can be at work among individuals as well as groups suggested that diagnostic framing plays a central role in investigative journalism. News workers often begin with a single incident and then work inductively to identify other cases or individual context through framing. Stories are identified as part of a particular investigative genre and typified as an example of a particular well-known problem, such as political corruption, corporate exploitation, or government waste and inefficiency. As the drama unfolds further, roles inevitably are assigned to victims and villains (ibid, 1999).

2.8.8. Prognostic Frame

This frame involves the articulation of a solution to the problem, including a plan of attack and frame consistent tactics for carrying it out (Snow and Benford, 1988). In similar vein, Hallahan (1999), define Prognostic framing proposes a solution to the diagnosed problem and outlines what needs to be done.

2.9. 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. There are 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 are the major factors which affect framing. Framing social and political issues and

events can be affected by journalist's individual values, ideological constraints, and market (ibid, 1999).

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

2.10. Political economy of media

The term political economy was first used by a French writer Monchretien de Watteville, in 1615 when he used the term "political economy" to describe the science of wealth accumulation in the state and in the family (Willams, 2003). But political economy as we know it today was formally established at the end of eighteenth century. In their effort to understand and explain the transformation that has been going on during the industrial revolution, Adam smith and David Ricardo revealed that economic organizations are determinant in shaping the activities of other sectors. Consequently, they suggested that capitalism or private ownership is the best mechanism to bring prosperity (ibid, 2003).

Political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, which mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including

communication resources. The term PE is used to describe the theoretical approach that, above all, looks at the economic and the political system of a society in an integrated manner (Krause, 2009). According to Chomsky, (1988) PE maintains a shared concern with the politics and economics of any given institution, including mass media. Herman and Chomsky's (1988, p.2) propaganda mode emphasizes on the "inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news."

In the case of critical political economists, however, their pivotal emphasis is on the economic factor other than the political one. For Laughey (2007), the theory of PE focuses on the politics and economics of media institutions and the texts they produce. In fact broadly speaking media play a crucial role within national and cross-national economic, political and social affairs.

Herman and Chomsky's (1988) propaganda model describes in terms of journalism, political economy studies the conditions and constraints under which journalism is practiced. It is interested in the structure of ownership and control over media institutions that consequently influences the content. Political economies of media take it as clear that the media must be studied in relation to their place with the broader economic and social contexts (Winseck, 2011). According McQuail (2005) the consequences of the political economy are seen in the increasing concentration of media, less investigative reporting and focused on sensational issues and in the reduction of independent news. Political economy is interested in macro level analysis of media ownership and control in contrast to cultural theorists who focus on individual level micro analysis.

For the purpose of this study, therefore, the researcher will focus on the PE of mass media in regard to its relationship with ownership and its impact on the content of the media outlets. The

propaganda model describes forces that shape what the media does; it does not imply that any propaganda emanating from the media is always effective. Propaganda model emphasizes on the “inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news” As a result, Herman and Chomsky in their propaganda model, they identified five interrelated “filters” of mass media news, which are consistently served as propagandists for the interests of US elites. These are:

1. Size and concentrated ownership

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

Only finger counted companies have controlled the media industry worldwide. As a result, joining the market and disseminating alternative view point is difficult. In a media system where huge companies have widespread coverage and big capacity, it is again difficult to join and stay in the market let alone be successful.

2. Advertising

Media companies which receive a huge amount of money from advertisers more likely reflect their advertiser's interest in their publication (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). They are also able to remove other competitors that have less revenue from advertising and run their paper through the sale of newspapers. As a result of this audiences with money are the ones who use the media

as they wish because they attract the attention of advertisers. Media do not have the ability to confirm to the ideals of free press. Moreover, the press doesn't have autonomy to fulfill the demands of free press ideals because of two reasons. On one hand, the public is less interested in political news; rather, it demand on celebrity, football and infotainment substance. On the other hand, the press is dependent on advertising revenue to increase its profit margin. Advertisers have no interest in complex political programs; rather they are interested in life style programs that enhance the sale of their commodities. In addition, the economic demands of the owners push the media to generate more profits and to minimize expenses that made them dependent on easily accessible sources such as elites, who in turn shape the news or manipulate journalists according to their interest (ibid,1988).

2.10.3. Sourcing mass media news

According to Chomsky & Herman (1988) journalist consider officials are as legitimate and credible sources who know their work. Moreover, by relying on these legitimate and credible sources, journalists claim that they are portraying the events as what the legitimate and credible sources say instead of their own interpretations. However, research has revealed that by propagating the voice of the elite, journalists are isolating alternative voices. In addition because of the same business and political interest of the media and the elites, the elites are always welcomed in the media in contrast to other voices that struggle to receive coverage and find it hardly (ibid, 1988).

3. Flak

The elites not only dominate the media landscape of the American mass media, they have also organized a system to control the media when it deviates from their interest. Severe criticism or as it is called by Chomsky and Herman (1988) flak is applied on the mass media through

institutions that are organized and funded by corporations and indeed, government, for this purpose. Fearing the flaks and the consequent legal processes and expensive damages, media remain in the circle of the elite or the status quo.

2.10.5. Anti-communism as national religion and control mechanism

Following the collapse of most Communist states and the internal transformation in the direction of capitalism of many of those that remain, alternative ideological mechanisms, such as the current 'war on terrorism' have broadly the same effect upon news output".

Their analysis is supported by ample of cases especially in their review of the fate of 'worthy and unworthy victims' and treatment of elections in 'client/friendly' and 'errant/unfriendly' states (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). For instance, the finding of their extensive analysis concerning the former case, which is contrary to their original hypothesis, revealed that "worthy victims" were obviously and greatly neglected, received minimal humanization and coverage, while "The propaganda model consistently portrays people abused in enemy states as worthy victims, whereas those treated with equal or greater severity by its own government or clients as unworthy. Consequently, the media serve this purpose in many ways like through selection of topics, distribution of concerns, framing of issues, filtering of information, emphasis and tone, and by keeping debate within the bounds of acceptable premises (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). In the words of Scagliusi(2010), media are mere "megaphone" of the politicians. In short, they labeled the media as tools of the nation or of those dominant elites.

Taking this into consideration all the above conflicting arguments, Wolfsfeld (1997, as cited in Herring & Robinson, 2003) conducted a study that compares media power and the power of political elites (implicitly the state), and he concluded that the latter supersedes that the former because, The political process is more likely to have an influence on the news media than the

news media are on the political process. The political process has a major impact on the press because political power can usually be translated into power over the news media because the news media are much more likely to react to political events than to initiate them and because political decisions have a major influence on who owns the media and how they operate (ibid,2003).

Elites considered by and serve as reliable sources of news gathering for reporters as well as the general public (Davis, 2003). On the other hand, though concomitant with, the mass media are fit themselves into 'a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest', such as consistent flow of news availability to satisfy their daily news demands (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). Consequently, the media can be heavily influenced by the state and corporate elites.

Chomsky used a case study of how American media covered two foreign atrocities, Cambodia and East Timor, to illustrate the propaganda model at work - mainstream media (New York Times was the example used) showed bias in favor of the status quo and power elites and did not covered both atrocities in the same manner, by paying extensive attention to the one (Cambodia) and ignoring the other (East Timor 1975-79). If media were not an instrument of propaganda, they would have covered each equally." (Chomsky, 1988) .

Political economy theorists study elite control of economic institutions, such as banks and stock markets, and then try to show how this control affects many other social institutions, including the mass media as Davis (2010), cite (Murdock, 1989), Political economists have examined how economic constraints limit or bias the forms of mass culture produced and distributed through the media. Political economists are not interested in investigating how mass culture influences specific groups or subcultures. They focus on how the processes of content production and

distribution are constrained, why do some forms of culture dominate primetime television schedules whereas other forms are absent Political economy theorists have remained centrally concerned with the larger social order and elites' ownership of media (K.Davis, 2010).

Generally, media plays an important role in informing and misinforming the public about their environment, country and other friendly or unfriendly countries at large. As a matter of fact, media coverage of political, economic, and developmental issues can differ from country to country and from political system to political system. Despite this judgment, however, it is difficult to give a clear generalization that accommodates the above mentioned conflicting views about the political economy of mass media, because "on the part of either those who would say that the media are always mere servants of big business or the state, or of those who would say that producers operate independently of powerful interests (Hesmondhalgh, 2006) Thus, it would not be wrong to say that the fact may not only lie in either of the polarized positions, but also in a mix of them.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with methodology of the study and discusses related topics including research design, research methods, data sources, sampling technique and procedure, data collection tools, method of data organization and analysis; validity and reliability.

3.1. Research Design

Since this study analyzes how Ethiopian state and private media framed political Parties during 2015 General Election. Thus, the researcher employed a mixed method design where by both qualitative and quantitative methods are employed to get the necessary data for the study.

3.2. Method of the Study

This study employed descriptive design whereby both qualitative and quantitative research method, are used to gather the necessary data, Using such pair of methods is commonly known as 'triangulation' or "mixed methods" approach, which is helpful in mitigating and/or compensating one method's weaknesses/disadvantages by the strengths/advantages of the other (Wimmer& Dominick, 2006). And the key benefit of using such a combination of research methods, as Graber (2004), asserts is to make sure that the findings are not artifacts of one particular method of analysis.

3.2.1. Quantitative method

Quantitative research is based on the measurement of quantity or amount. It is applicable to phenomena that can be expressed in terms of quantity (Kothari, 2004). Similarly, Wimmer and Dominic (2006), states that Quantitative research uses a static or standardized set of questions. Different researchers use different types of research methods depending on their peculiar area of

research. Content analysis, surveys, and experiments are some of the methods that fall under the quantitative research methods. Since this research focuses how political parties were framed by the selected newspapers, quantitative content analysis lends itself well for the purpose. In this regard quantitative approach was used to quantify frequency of coverage, tone, themes, and the type of frames and sources of information used by the newspapers issues related to political parties.

3.2.2. Qualitative method

According to Yin (2011) a qualitative method represents the views and perspectives of the participants in a study, getting the perspectives of the research participants could be a major purpose of a qualitative research. Thus, the events and ideas emerging from qualitative research can represent the meanings given to real-life events by the people who live them, not the values, preconceptions, or meanings held by researchers. Qualitative research is concerned with qualitative phenomenon, phenomena relating to or involving quality or kind (Kothari, 2004).

For this specific study a qualitative method (in-depth interview) was employed to gather information in a deeper manner. This in-depth interview provides a massive awareness on how political parties were framed on newspapers. (Berger, 1998, p. 55), Notes that by using an “in-depth interview, the researcher obtain unexpected information that forms research might not discover.”As the researcher clearly mentioned this study utilized a quantitative technique of research combined with a qualitative one. The quantitative approach was selected as a major method for its worthwhile in the area of media framing.

3.3. Data sources

Data sources are sources which include primary and secondary data. Primary data are data which are found or gathered for the first time by the researcher him/herself. Primary data include interview, content analysis method, observation, depth interview, and other different first hand methods. Whereas secondary data are data which are existed before the researchers are found it. These data's are created, collected or gathered by some other person. Secondary data include various documents, government publications, technical and trade journals, books, magazines, newspapers, publications of various associations. (C.R.Kothari, 2004). In this research in-depth interview, and sampled newspapers, were used as data, because of this particular reason both primary and secondary data's are used as data sources.

3.1.Sampling techniques and procedures

Samples are very important in research because it is not possible for a researcher to study the whole population. There are two types of sampling strategies. One is random or probability sampling where each unit or subject has equal chance of being selected as a sample for the study. The second type is called non random or non probability sampling which means the researcher does not follow mathematical guidelines like the first but other methods (Berg, 2011). While probabilistic sampling includes simple random sampling, stratified random sampling and, cluster sampling but the most widely used method of non-probabilistic sampling is quota sampling and purposive sampling (ibid 2011).

In purposive sampling, researchers intentionally select individuals and sites to learn or understand the central phenomenon. With a purposive sampling method, the researcher selects a sample from a population that contains different people with certain characteristics, in which the

researcher is interested, or media or other sources of data or content of interest to the researcher Rubin, 2010, cited in (Creswell, 2012).”The purposive sampling is selected by some arbitrary method because it is known to be representative of the total population, or it is known that it will produce well matched groups. The idea is to pick out the sample in relation to some criterion, which is considered important for the particular study.” This method is appropriate when the study places special emphasis upon the control of certain specific variables (Kumar,2006,p.91) Mass media researchers prefer to use probability sampling in the form of purposive sampling (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). The researcher chooses purposive sampling for this study because it gives a chance for the researcher to apply his/her expertise knowledge to select samples which he/she thinks represent the population. Moreover, the journalists selected for interview based on their experience and expertise knowledge specifically those who frequently write articles on politics and election issues in the newspapers and using a bi-line section base.

Media Selection

Purposive sampling used to select a representative sample; the researcher chooses Addis Zemen and Reporter based on high coverage on domestic political issue and high circulation in the country. Whose selections were believed to provide diverse views entertained by the Ethiopian print media with respect to the Framing of Political Parties during 2015 Ethiopian National Election.

The selection of the newspapers was made based on two important criteria: circulation and coverage of domestic politics. Furthermore, print media particularly newspapers supply the largest quantities of factual political information and analysis. Addis Zemen and reporter have an average circulation of 15,500, and 22,000 respectively. Newspapers with higher circulation but low coverage of domestic politics or vice versa were left out from the study. The study used 24

publications of Reporter, and 88 publications of Addis Zemen (a total of 102 publications) which were selected based time frame boldly from February23-May23, 2015this time frame was selected based on the schedule of NBE political parties election campaign. In addition all articles, features and news which have issues related to political parties were analyzed.

Addis Zemen newspaper: was established in 1941 by emperor Hailesilassie I. It is a government owned newspaper which focuses on social, political, economic and entertainment issues. It is one of the oldest newspapers in the country. Since its beginning, it is the loyal servant of the last three governments of Ethiopia and it has 15,000 circulations daily(See apendex.A). Since the newspapers can address different parts of the society, it is believed it will cover different political issues particularly political party issues. That was the main reason why the newspapers were chosen for the research.

The Reporter: is a privately owned newspaper that focuses on social, political, economic and Entertainment issues. It is one of the most read newspapers in the country. It was established in 1995 this newspaper printed in Amharic and English languages. In this study, only the Amharic version is treated. The newspaper is published twice a week and it has 20,000 circulation bi-weekly.

Time Frame

The study intended to find out how political parties were framed by the Ethiopian state run and private print media within the period of February 23 to May 23, 2015. This time frame was chosen based on the schedule of The NEBE (National Electoral Board of Ethiopia) election camping schedule for political parties. February to May, 2015, was from the beginning election campaign up to the voting day the researcher believed that this period was conducive enough for the newspapers to cover issues about political parties.

Story Selection

The newspapers that were selected for the study was daily news paper Addis Zemen and bi-weekly newspaper Reporter. The researcher selected all News, articles, and feature story where the political parties issues were covered. In addition the study includes all publication of Addis Zemen and as reporter is biweekly it takes Sunday and Wednesday publication.

Political Parties

According to the 2015 National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) report, seventy five National and Regional Political Parties have been registered by the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia. These political parties are participating as individual parties or as part of a Front, a Coalition or a Union. Most of the parties were ethnic-based which were registered to compete in a single ethnic constituency, and some political parties also come together and formed a coalition. From these, the two largest contending parties, The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and Blue party were included in the study. They were the most dominant opposition political parties in the 2015 National Election of Ethiopia.

3.2.Method of data collection organization and analysis

Data is the number one priority for any research. Hence, in order to get the relevant data for the study there must be tools. This study used content analysis and in-depth interview as its data collection tools.

A content analysis and in-depth interview were used to collect and analyze relevant data for the study. Content analysis is believed to be the suitable analysis method for studies on framing. Ann (1992) also explained that content analysis is a technique to collect and analyze text content where the content mentioned consists of words, meaning, picture, symbol, idea, theme or any message that could be used in communication. Shoemaker and Reese (1996), which suggests that

media contents should be analyzed from the aspect of medium, publication technique, message, source, reference, and the context to find the meaning of a certain message.

In order to analyze the contents of the newspapers, coding sheet was developed from former researches and from the review of literature in order to look into the frequency of coverage, tone, themes, sources of information, and frames of articles used to discuss about the political parties. The data was gathered by thoroughly reading the news, articles and features of the sample newspapers. Two trained coders, who had a better understanding of the issue, took care of the coding.

Interview

In-depth interview alone, as a qualitative research method provides a massive awareness on how the political parties were framed on the selected newspapers. Interviewing is one of the most widely used data collection methods in media and communication research (Gunter, 2000, p. 252) and it is mainly applied in the qualitative research method. Furthermore Qualitative research, on the other hand, is concerned with qualitative phenomenon, i.e. phenomena relating to or involving quality or kind. According to (Kothari, 2004, p. 3) this type of research aims at discovering the underlying motives and desires. Qualitative research is especially important in the behavioral sciences where the aim is to discover the underlying motives of human behavior. For this particular study Framing of political parties by privately state owned media, it would be appropriate to employ both qualitative and quantitative methods and the methodological tool that used to collect the qualitative data is in-depth interview.

Coding

The coding process was done by the researcher and a graduate student who has prior knowledge and experience; moreover the necessary explanation was given by the researcher. The coders

were given the coding sheet and a coding book with list of questions and guides. Then, they filled out the coding sheet in close ended ways – ,yes“ or ,no“. The questions were developed from the literature. The coding sheet presented in five sections. The first part was frequency of coverage, and this helped the researcher to examine how frequently the issues of the two political parties were covered. The second category was tone, which refers to whether the coverage was positive, neutral, or negative. The third category was source, and this dealt with individuals or organizations that were directly or indirectly quoted as source of the information. The other category was about the theme of the articles. This analyzed whether the main idea of the article was corruption, human/ democratic rights, government/party promises, economy, national interest, crime and other political issues. The last category was about the different types of frames used in the media, and this included attribution of responsibility, human interest frame, conflict frame, morality frame, economic consequences frame and other types of frames.

3.3.Validity and Inter-coder Reliability

Reliability is concerned with the question of whether the result of the finding of the study are repeatable or not .To assess the reliability of a measure of a concept, the procedure that constitute that measure must be replicable by someone else. Therefore reliability can be successful if the finding of one researcher can be repeated by another researcher following same method of procedure over a period of time. Inter- coder Reliability is concerned with the question of whether the results or findings of a study were repeatable or not. To assess the reliability of a measure of a concept, the procedures that constitute that measure must be replicable by someone else. Therefore, reliability can be met if the findings of one researcher can be repeated by another researcher following the same method of procedures over a period of time. (Gray, 2004)

$$\text{Reliability} = 2M / (N1 + N2)$$

Where, M represents the aggregate number of coding decisions with which the two coders agreed upon, while N1 and N2 represent the total number of coding decisions made by coder one and coder two, respectively. Hence, the overall inter-coder reliability for this study ranged from 97 percent to 99 percent. Note:

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study along with their analysis and discussion. Since the essence of the research focused on how political parties were framed by state run and privately owned newspapers on 2015 Ethiopian national election (Addis zemen and Reporter newspapers) were selected and coded with their respective contents concerning the issue spanning from February 2015 to May 2015. This chapter incorporate two parts , the first part was on the finding of the result based on the coverage of frequency about the respective political parties issues, major theme of the story, dominant source of information used in the both newspapers and major framing types used by the newspapers presented. The remaining part of this chapter deals with discussion of the finding entwined with the conceptual and theoretical frameworks which were mentioned by the reviewed literature part of the study.

4.1Data presentation and Analysis

4.1. Newspapers Coverage of the Parties in Terms of Frequency

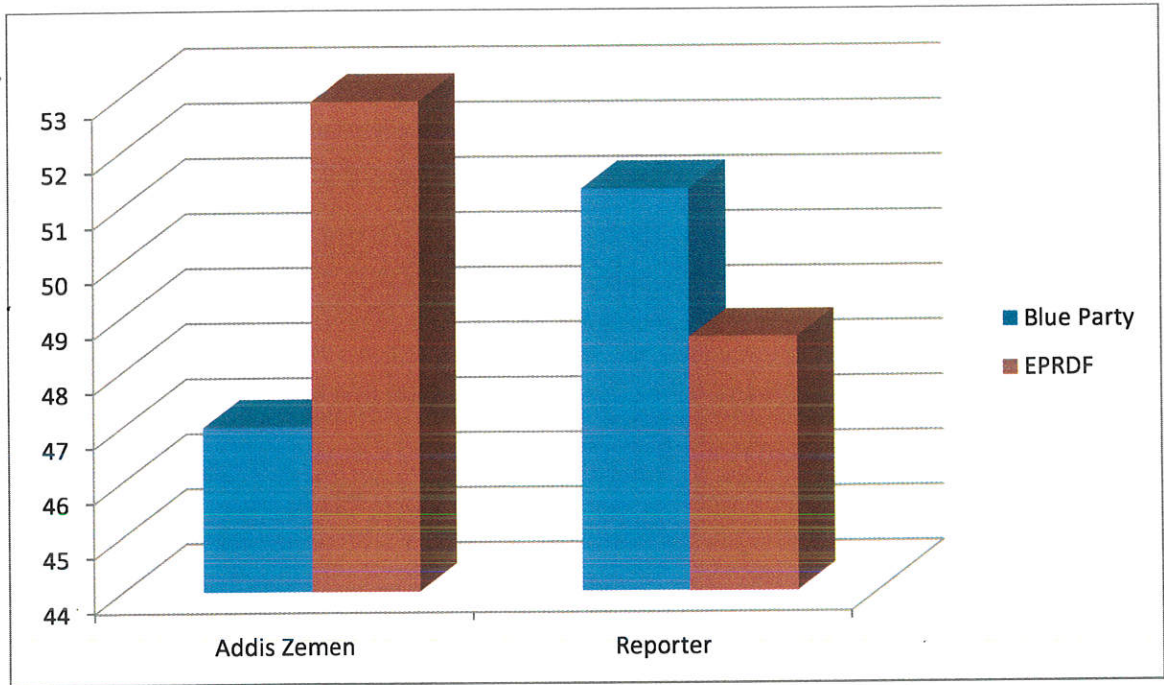


Fig 4.1. Coverage of frequency

Out of the 50 coded articles, features and news of Addis Zemen 68 issues found which had political party related stories of its coverage. Addis Zemen was dedicated 52.9 percent of it coverage to EPRDF and the remaining 48.6 percent was given to Blue party. In contrast Reporter provides 48.2 per cent of its coverage to EPRDF and the rest 51,7 per cent dedicated to Blue party .From the above data it can be conclude that, the government owned Addis Zemen provide more coverage to ERPDF, in contrast Reporter gave more coverage to Blue party than EPRDF in minor difference .

4.2. Tone of stories

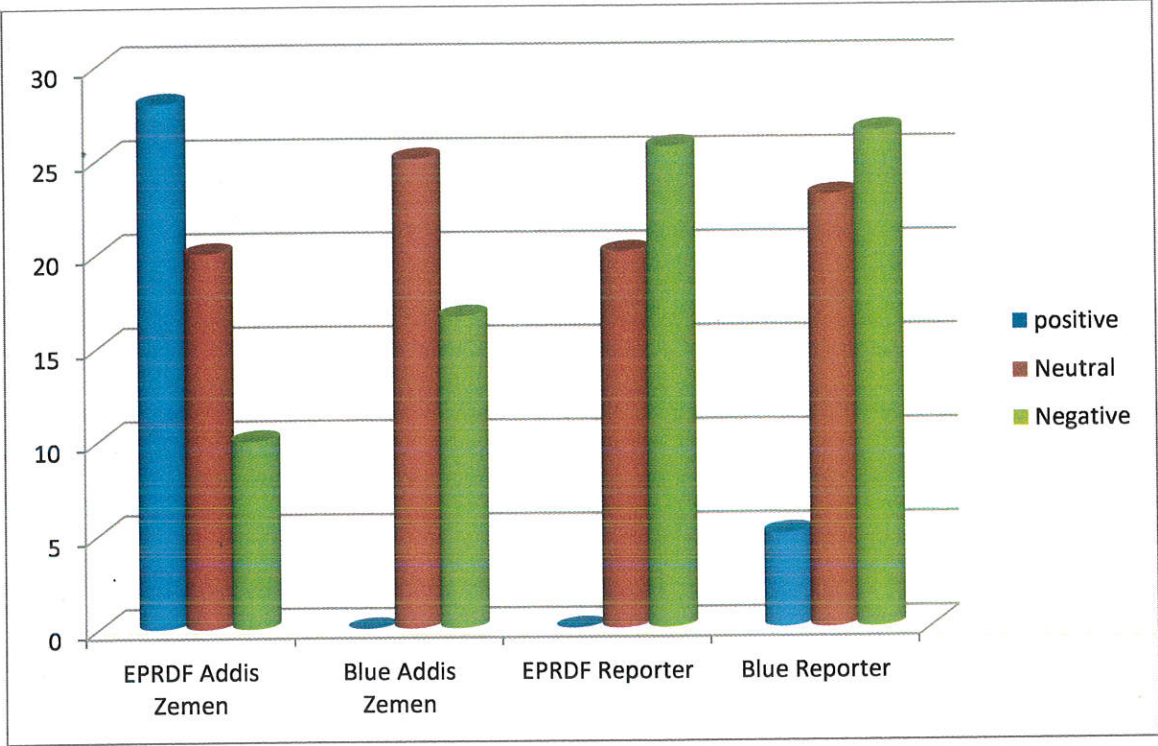


Fig 4.2. Tone of Stories of the newspaper dedicated to the political parties

Regarding the tone of stories, clear differences were revealed between the two newspapers namely Addis Zemen and Reporter. As it is described in the above fig.2 out of the coverage offered to EPRDF, Addis Zemen published 28 percent of the story was positive and 20 percent of the story was neutral and the remaining 10 percent of story was reported negatively about EPRDF. From the total coverage given to Blue party, the state owned newspaper, Addis Zemen did not publish any positive stories about the party and 25 percent of its coverage about Blue party was negative and 16 percent was neutral. While Reporter out of its coverage about Blue party 5 percent of the story was positive, 23 per cent of the story was neutral and 25.6 per cent of the story was portrayed negatively. Reporter did not publish any positive story about EPRDF and 20 percent of the story was neutral and 25 percent stories of Reporter towards EPRDF was

negative. Generally, as it is shown from the above finding Addis Zemen is in favor of EPRDF and Reporter appeared to be neutral by entertaining both side issues.

4.3. Types of sources

All across the two newspapers, government officials have been used as major sources of information to those stories that were related to framing of political parties. Specifically government official were quoted 42 per cent followed by opposing parties which accounts 25.6 percent and other sources contributed 16.1 per cent of the story. Meanwhile community members, police and international organizations were the least quoted sources each accounted for 8.6, 4 and 5.3 percent respectively.

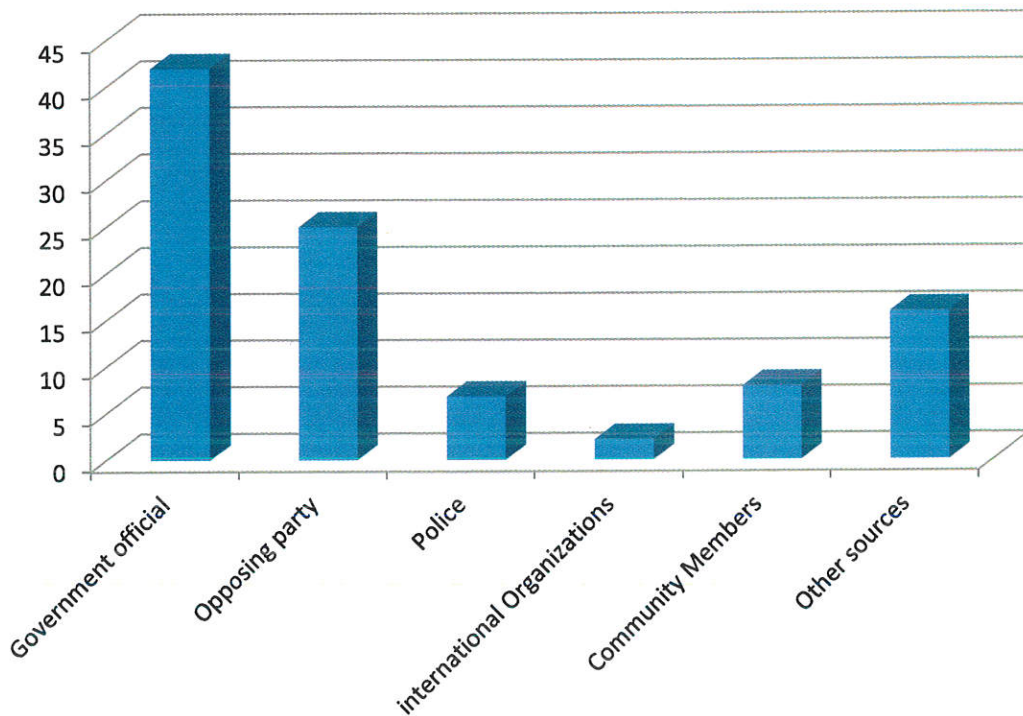
Type of Source the Story used for the Target Newspapers

Table 4.1

Source type	Addis Zemen		Reporter	
	Number	Percent (%)	Number	Percent (%)
Government official	23	42	14	37.8
Opposing party	12	25	10	27
Community member	7	13.7	0	0
Police sources	4	7.8	2	5.4
International organizations	0	0	2	5.4
Other sources	5	9.8	9	24.3

The table above shows that 42 per cent of the source of Addis Zemen was government source whereas 25 per cent of the source was opposition parties. Community members and other sources contribute 13.7 and 9.8 percent respectively. Police sources were least used sources on issues related to political parties .The remaining source international organization were not used as sources of the stories in Addis Zemen newspaper. In case of Reporter similar to Addis Zemen 37.8 per cent of the sources were government sources followed by opposition parties sources which accounted 27 percent in this case this source is the second dominant source for the privately owned newspaper Reporter. The newspaper also uses police source and international organization as the source of information which accounted equal share of 5.4 percent. Community members were not quoted as the source of the story in Reporter newspaper.

Figure 4.3 Percentage of Sources Quoted in the Newspapers



In general, regarding sources used in the stories it can be said that, more or less varied kinds of sources were used, on average. Irrespective of this fact government officials were widely quoted, 42.0 percent, and thus outstripped the other sources with a significant degree. This may suggest that all the selected newspapers' sources of stories were highly dependent on government officials. Opposition party and other sources were employed as the second and third dominant types of sources 25.6 percent and 17 percent, respectively.

4.4 Theme of Story for the Target Newspapers

Based on the research question number two which asked, "What were the major themes of the stories?" Government /party promises have been ranked as one of the most common themes on both news papers. In case of Addis Zemen both government/ political party promise and human

and democratic right related issue accounted 42 per cent equally. Other categories like Economy and development themes accounted equal share of 16 per cent. National interest, crime and corruption don't attract any stories from Addis Zemen. Similarly for Reporter government/ party promises was the predominant theme which accounted 41 percent cent followed by human and democratic right which contributed 37 per cent, crime accounting for 13.7 percent. The remaining two theme corruption and national interest received no treatment in both Addis Zemen and Reporter newspapers.

Table 4.2. Theme distribution across the newspapers

Themes	Addis Zemen		Reporter	
	Number	Percent (%)	Number	Percent (%)
Government/ party promise	21	42	12	41
Human and democratic right	21	42	11	37.9
Economy and development	8	16	2	6.8
crime	0	0	4	13.7
National interest	0	0	0	0
Corruption	0	0	0	0

On average,as it can be easily discerned from the above table. Government/party promise was the recurring theme in both newspapers. Addis Zemen and reporter committed a total of 41 percent of its coverage towards Government /party promises. Addis Zemen and Reporter use

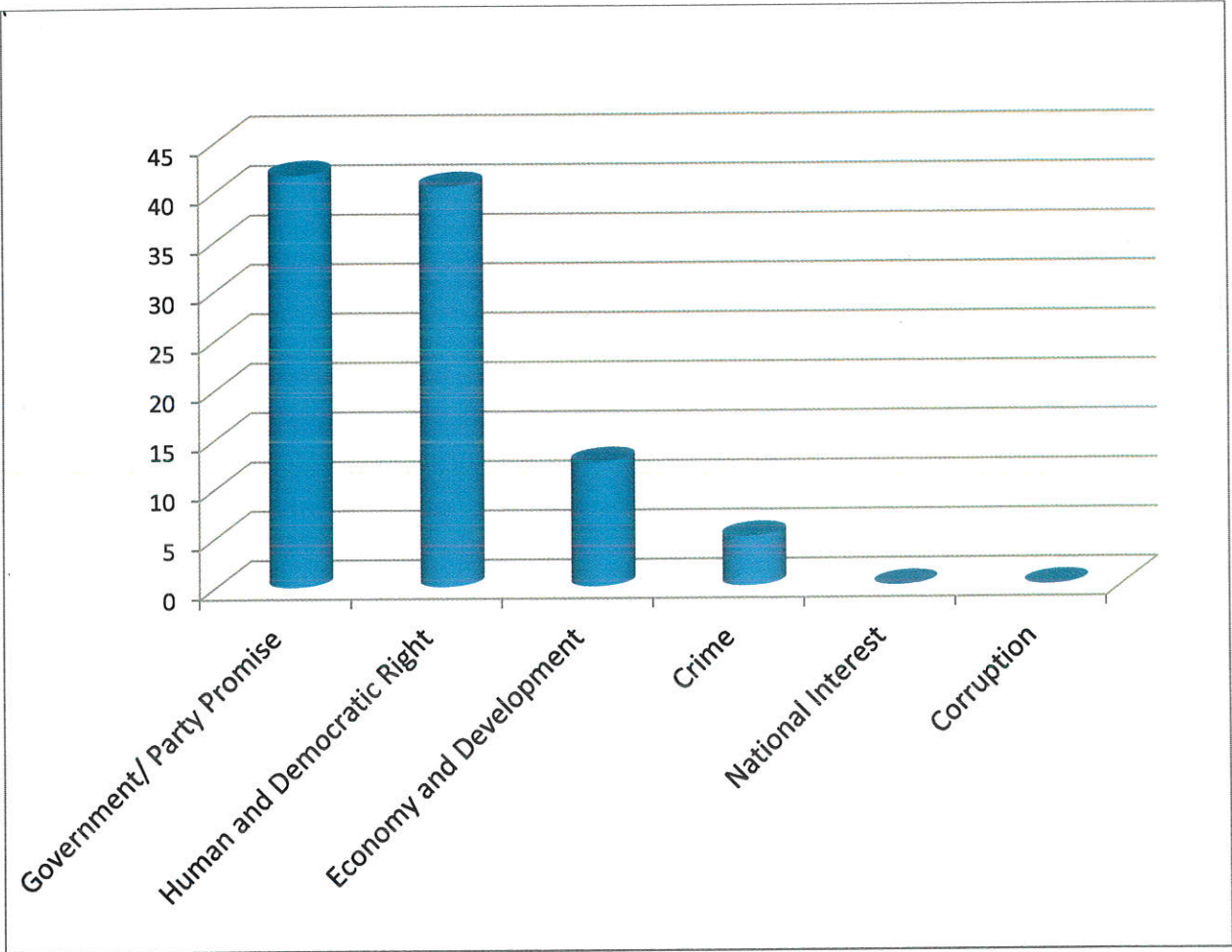
human democratic as the second dominate theme of their story which accounted 21 from Addis Zemen and 11 from reporter and it accounted for 41 percent on average. These themes in both newspapers were about the government's former achievement on different development sectors for instance infrastructures, the promising future of under construction of mega projects and also the future programs of opposing party were the major theme of both newspapers. As it was mentioned earlier the second dominant theme was human and democratic right. This theme was mentioned that violation of democratic right and human right which was committed and reported by the opposing parties. Specifically Reporter cover stories that talks about violation of human and democratic rights by referring to opposition parties whereas the government owned newspaper published news and articles that countered the claims.

The third dominant theme in both newspapers was economy and development which accounted 12.6 if it's total coverage. The least utilized theme in Reporter was crime which accounted 13.7 per cent. Addis Zemen did not pay any attention to the remaining three themes namely crime, national interest and corruption, similarly Reporter did not attribute any story that focus on corruption and national interest.

Informants from Addis Zemen noted that government /party promise was major theme in their respective newspapers he replied that as we belong to the public we have responsibility to educate the public about each parties programs and strategies in every sector that make the voter to make an informed decision. Similarly, in the case of Reporter the informant states that the government /party promise was the dominant theme in most stories that related to political parties during the election campaign because it could grab the attention of the public and this is what the voters wanted to know during election time, moreover this theme is dominant because

we need to show the public similarity and differences between parties programs in different sectors.

Fig 4.4. Percentage of Theme discussed by the Newspapers



4.5 Framing distribution among the selected sample newspapers

Frame of a certain story can play an important role in portraying the political parties. The finding from the below fig. reveal that four type of frames were employed by both newspapers. With regard to Addis Zemen conflict frame was the dominant frame type that has been repeatedly used and accounted 34.5 percent followed by attribution of responsibility frame which accounted 23 percent. The contribution of Human interest, morality, prognostic and motivational frames were

limited, those frames accounted for 4,3percent, 5 percent, 8.3 percent respectively. Similarly, Reporter dominant frame was conflict frame which accounting of 33.8 followed by attribution of responsibility frame accounted 23.7 percent. The remaining frames, prognostic, morality and prognostic frames were the least manipulated frames which accounted 6 per cent, 8.4 and 8.4 percent respectively.

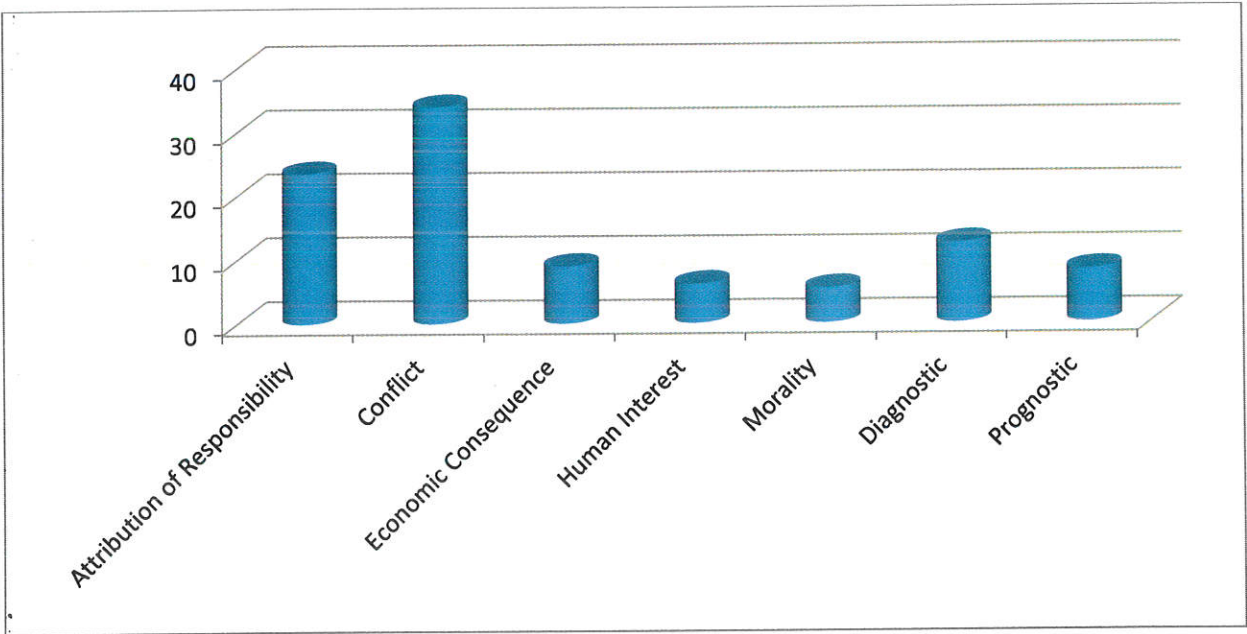
Table 4.3 Frames Distribution of the two Newspapers

Frames	Addis Zemen		Reporter	
	Number	Percent (%)	Number	Percent (%)
Attribution of responsibility	20	23.8	14	23.7
Conflict	29	34.9	20	33.8
Economic consequence	8	9.5	5	8.4
Human interest	4	4	5	8.4
Morality	3	3.5	5	8.4
Diagnostic	12	14.2	6	10.1
Prognostic	8	8.3	4	6

During the interview with the ,for the question forwarded why conflict frame was dominant informant 6 and 3 replied that political party related issue focuses on conflicting ideas between two party in addition it grab the attention of the public. Attribution of responsibility frame was found to be the second major framing commonly shared frame (23 per cent) on average among the two sample newspapers. Informant 3 elaborated that “when we develop stories related to

political parties we framed them by taking both side complains and grievances this kind of stories lead us to use conflict frames one way or the other. To be specific Reporter ,on February 25,2016 edition cover stories which cover issues on the unfair time allocation for the opposing party.

Fig 4.5percentage of frames employed by the selected newspapers



As can be seen from the figure 4.5 the sample newspapers used conflict frame dominantly utilized frame followed by the attribution of responsibility frame, which accounting for 23.6per cent. Diagnostic frame and economic frame accounted for 12.5 per cent and 9.0 percent, respectively, whereas prognostic, human interest and morality which was the least used frame, contributed for 8.3, 6.2 and 5.5 percent respectively.

4.6. Factor that Affect the Frames

Among many more factors that affect framing of story, news sources take the lion share because information source that relay on government officials tend to focused on one sided stories. As a result of this certain political parties may be portrayed positively and the other may be framed negatively.”

In relation to the above statement Shmykova (2007), states that news reporting patterns were found to be connected to the type of ownership. Likewise in Ethiopia media are polarized in to two directions some of the Private owned presses were serving as a mouthpiece for certain opposition political parties while the government press was also serving as a conduit to the government propaganda. Media Ownership difference in media makes the media to frame state Medias as pro government and private media opponent of the opposition party.

The other dominant factor that affects framing is the knowledge gaps that journalist face. The informant mentioned that they are not aware of the issues of framing, moreover lack of skill to interpret and analyze issues were the major factor that influence framing of political parties. In addition to this time constraints, lack of well trained human power and limited financial allocation were the other dominant problem that would affect the framing of political parties.

According to Chomsky and Herman (1988) propaganda model shows that among other function of the media. Medias serve and propagandize on behalf of powerful societal interest and propagandize on behalf of the powerful societal interest that control and finance them. The state has at its disposal a wide range of coercive, regulatory and patronage powers that potentially enable it to suppress and control the media. These include repressive legal limitations on freedom of media expression, backed by tough punishments; the licensing of newspapers; control over entry into the journalism profession; partisan allocation of commercial television

and radio franchises; packing public broadcasting and media regulatory authorities with government supporters; the lifting of monopoly restraints and provision of financial aid to assist *only* pro-government media. All these measures have been deployed in actual practice to encourage the media to support dominant government and private interests (ibid,1988).

Accordingly in Ethiopia media history state owned media it could be print or electronics media they were a conduit of the government propaganda because they were finance and owned them by the government due to this they frame stories accordingly.

As the finding of the study revealed that the state owned Addis Zemen was in favor of EPRDF policy, program and overall the system. In contrast this Addis Zemen demonized the opposing parties as a collection of propagator of terror and arrogant who stand for its own benefit not for the public. Unlike other private owned newspaper Reporter, covers stories in neutral mood. According to Baron, 2004 cited in (Krasa and polborn 2006) biased and unbalanced stories will appear because of political preference of journalists and media owners. Generally media ownership has an effect on portraying parties. The government owned Addis Zemen portrayed EPRDF positively while Reporter portrays both party negative⁹some how neutral to EPRDF, by addressing both side stories in balanced and unbiased way. This implication shows that media ownership has influence directly or in directly on framing of issues.

In this case informants from both newspaper agreed that they were not aware of the frames they used in reporting issues related to political parties, informants from Addis Zemen states that addressing reliable information and meeting deadline was our priority number one rather than focusing on the frames of the story”.

Concerning political party’s informant 3 (reporter) from Addis Zemen told that even if “we tried to balance the story from different angles, some opposition political parties were not

cooperative to give information as a result we will ended up one sided stories. Similarly informant 3 (Addis Zemen) stated that issues related to political parties are not treated on the way it should be because, according to the informant shortage of finance, well trained human power and as it is a daily base newspaper meeting deadlines had been major constraints for not compile stories based on research and also it has an impact on framing of political parties relate issues.

4.2. Discussion of Findings

The aim of this study is to investigate how Ethiopian print media framed political parties. State owned Addis Zemen and privately owned Reporter circulated from February 14, 2015 –May 13, 2015 EC. were selected for the study. Coverage of frequency, themes, Sources and Frames of stories were examined. This section interprets and discusses the results presented in the finding section. The analysis was prepared based on the stories of the sampled newspapers more over information was collected through interview with reporters and editors of both newspapers.

4.2.1. Extent of Coverage

About The extent of coverage on similar study by Ashenafi,(2010) and Ketema (2015) showed that Addis Zemen gave more coverage to the ruling party than the opposing parties. In contrast Reporter offered more coverage to the opposing party Medek. In this regard the research showed similar results; In this specific research Addis Zemen gave more coverage to the EPRDF whereas Reporter gave more coverage to Blue party though the difference was minor. In this regard informant 2 (Addis Zemen) mentions why they gave more coverage to the ruling party (EPRDF) than they did to the Blue party. She replied, “Because the ruling party concerned bodies are available at any time to give us information than Blue party and as the newspaper is publish

daily we are in rush to meet our deadline.” Informant added, “That is why coverage for EPRDF is higher than the opponent parties”.

In line with this Chomsky (1988) propaganda model mention that news ownership could affect on the covering of certain issues .Media that was funded owned by government they more tent to be more affiliated to the government. Informant 1 state that in contrast “opposition parties particularly ,Blue party are not willing to give us enough information this is why there was a difference on covering stories about both parties.” According to Tunning and Hashim, (2003) whenever the media give more emphasis for certain issue that issue become an agenda and could grab the attention.

In contrast to informant 5 informant 7 replied that for the question forwarded why your stories focus more on Blue party related issues he states that .’The reason for this is that the political parties do not have their own outlets or the time they provide by NEBE were relatively very less through which they can advertise their political programs that most of opposition political parties came to us with that was the reason we gave more coverage to the opposing parties than we did to EPRDF.” Similarly McQuil,1961 cited in (Franklin, 2004) the more political news cover on the stories of the newspapers or on the other means of mass media ,voter will have better understanding of the policies and strategies of the political parties.

Addis Zemen criticized for being full of government’s news and it propagates the voice of the ruling party. Rather this newspaper should work towards serving the public than being the governments’ propaganda pipe of the ruling party. Similarly Mairegu 2000 cited (Nigussie, 2014) criticizes the function of the media saying: the state-owned media became simply the propaganda machinery of the new government, launching violent verbal attacks on those political or ethnic groups that are ill favored by the ruling circle.

4.2.2. Tone of stories

Regarding tone of stories on the selected newspapers, difference has been observed between the government owned and privately owned newspapers. Similar study by Ashenafi (2012) revealed that Addis Zemen portrayed EPRDF positively, but it portrayed opposition parties negatively. In this specific study, on contrary, the privately owned newspapers, Reporter portrayed both EPRDF and EPRDF negatively but Addis Zemen portrayed EPRDF positively in contrast it portrayed the opposing Blue party negatively. Reporter were critical for both EPRDF and Blue party and it portrayed negatively both parties.

The extent of things portrayed positively or negatively is believed to affect their credibility of the story on the audience. Similarly, McCombs 2000 cited in (Ashenafi, 2010) states that the content of mass media messages including the tone of the messages influence the pictures of the world in our minds. Further they also influence attitudes and opinions grounded on those pictures. Regarding tone of sampled newspapers, from the total coded stories of Addis Zemen stories related to the EPRDF, the majority, 28 percent was positive. 20 percent stories related to EPRDF was neutral and the remaining 10 percent of the stories were negative. On the contrary, the same newspaper published more negative news about Blue party which accounted 25 per cent was negative and no positive stories about Blue party, the remaining 16.6 percent of stories related to Blue party were neutral. On contrary to Addis Zemen, Reporter, published more negative stories which accounted 25.6 percent and no positive stories about the EPRDF, the remaining 20 percent of stories related to EPRDF was neutral. Similarly 25.6 per cent of Blue party related stories are negative very few positive stories which are 2 percent and the remaining 25 about Blue party was neutral.

Generally, from the above summary as it can be clearly seen from the finding Addis Zemen was in favor of the EPRDF but critical of Blue party. Whereas Reporter was not in favor neither EPRDF nor Blue party. Unlike other privately owned newspaper which was on the market before some years back, Reporter was not polarized by portray opposing parties like angels without wings and demonize EPRDF. Based on this finding Reporter was critical for both parties.

4.2.3. Sources of Information Used by the Newspapers

Both the selected sample newspapers have employed different kind of sources in their respective stories. Generally 7 major types of sources were identified for the purpose of this study, and each newspaper sources coded under their relevant category, and the result of the study showed that government officials were quoted overwhelmingly accounted 42 per cent on average while the category of international organization and police sources were applied very less.

In case of Addis Zemen from the analyzed data, 45 per cent, of sources used by Addis Zemen was government officials. The newspaper referred the opposition parties, the second dominate news source which accounted 23 percent and it didn't use international organizations as source of information. On previous study by Ashenafi (2015) and Ketema (2015) showed that government officials were dominant news sources. Similarly with the previous study government official were the dominant sources of news on average. From this, it can be said that both Addis Zemen and Reporter simply relied on official sources. All across the three researches government officials were dominant sources. According to Tom Wicker (1993), relaying on government sources is the biggest weakness of state and privately owned media.

On the other hand similar to Addiss Zemen 37.8 per cent source of Reporter's news sources were government officials and 27 per cent of the source were opposition parties. Reporter Amharic

didn't use any news sources from community members as source of information on the other hand Addis Zemen didn't use international organization as a source of information. According to Graber (2003), such an excessive dependence of media on government officials can expose their independence and in effect they would serve as instruments of manipulation or propaganda by those authoritative sources. Media can easily manipulate their news framing by only referring to sources that held out the same thought with their agenda. From the interview conducted with editor and reporter of the newspapers. All Informants explains that, it was found that their using of source was highly dependent on the nature of the report on the focusing area. According to Herman and Chomsky (1988) propaganda model argued that government sources propagating the voice of the elite or officials while journalists are isolating alternative voices.

The respondent from both newspapers added that, "since we focused on events, and the concerned individuals were government officials, as a result of this we were forced to use them as first hand sources of information." Informant 7 from Reporter mentioned that as a trend and based on the journalistic literature mentioned that using government sources make the sorties more reliable than other sources." As Graber (2003), argued that such an excessive dependence of media on government officials can expose their independence and in effect they would serve as instruments of manipulation or propaganda by those authoritative sources. informant 5 from Reporter stated out the reason why community member were not quoted in the stories he said that "as the time was election campaign we usually focuses on government officials opinions opposition party commentary and other sources in order to give clear views about the upcoming election and parties status. Similarly, Curren (2005) states that media could also be an agency of information and debate which facilitate a better functioning of democracy specially during general election.

Verification of news from different source should be the primary concern of journalist. Usually journalists depend on sources for news or articles but these sources can have their own personal or organizational interest, which they will protect for their vested interest while giving the information for the reporter. (Riaz, 2008). Generally both Addis Zemen and Reporter use government official sources dominantly followed by political party sources, according to Tom wicker (1993), newspapers shouldn't rely on one source. Making government sources the sole provider of information is the biggest limitation of Media. Using various sources had great importance for the credibility of stories in this aspect both news newspapers have weakness.

4.2.4 Themes Discussed by the Newspapers

Theme of Story refers to the central idea, subject, message or focus of the story. The main themes of the stories on the framing of political parties by the 2015 Ethiopian General Election, Government/party promise, human and democratic right, economy and development theme were the dominant theme. In this regard government/party promises was the dominant theme in both sampled newspapers followed by human democratic right and economy and development themes. Other themes categories such as corruption and, national interest were not given any attention by both newspapers. The government /party promise and human and democratic right were the dominant theme on the government owned Addis Zemen which equally accounted 41percent. Similarly the privately owned newspaper Reporter dominant theme was government/party promises in the same newspaper human democratic right ranked on the second place.

Most of the analyzed themes of Addis Zemen favored the EPRDF and its former achievement in different development sector. Moreover the newspaper present stories by Magnifying and exaggerating the importance of the undergoing mega project to the public and portraits the party

like an agent of change and development for the country. Based on the interview with informant 4 concerning on why Adiss Zemen focuses on government /party promises the informants replied that, “as far as the media’s function during election time is informative the newspaper were focused on the ruling parties former achievement and the contending parties future programs, he added that medias are the only option for the public to know about the parties polices, programs and agenda that is why we give emphasis on this theme“. Though Reporter thematic area was on government /party promises it focused on gaps on the ruling party programs which were not filled by the government. In addition it mentioned maladministration that the unsuccessful programs of the ruling party and also it gives huge coverage to the maladministration problems behind the huge undergoing development project of the ruling party. According to (Kovach, 2006) the end result of bias could be a less informed and a more polarized electorate. In this case, it can be said that the media are not playing their role, for the primary purpose of the media is to provide citizens with the information they need to be free and self governing. According to informant 7 from Reporter “even if we dominantly use government/party promise, as our major thematic area , party members specifically opposing parties were unable to give deep analysis and expertise discussion on their future programs.” Similarly to the above finding the theory of media politics states that, voters are mostly dependent on the media for information about the former achievements of the candidates, their future program, and the current debating themes (Lange, 2004).

The informant from zemen states that the reason why other theme of stories were given less attention, the informant said that “above all reasons the agency’s election coverage manual lead us to focus on government /party promises and we treat other theme categories depend on their relevance to election.”

In general Most of the analyzed themes of Addis Zemen favored the EPRDF government and critical to the opposing party Blue. On the contrary, most themes of Reporter, though there is a difference, it was critical for both the party in power and the opposition Blue Party. The government owned newspaper, Addis Zemen, mainly focused on the changes brought by the EPRDF, whereas Reporter focused on the former unsuccessful attainment of the ruling party in different undergoing mega projects and gaps they thought were not filled by it.

4.2.5 Type of Frame the Story used

Media framing shows how issues related to political parties framed .In this case it is anticipated that their presentation of facts and information regarding the issue potentially encompassed with emphasis and exclusion to some aspect of it at the expense of others. According to (Kendall D. , 2005) the process of selecting some topics as important as the other issues are discarded. Once a topic has been selected, which aspects of that topic are to be emphasized and which minimized or excluded is largely left up to the journalist. This is all about the framing nature of media and at this juncture, this study tried to look at how the selected media framed the respective political parties.

The finding of the study showed that various frames were employed by the selected print media in their coverage of issues related to political parties. Conflict frame was the dominantly used frame followed by attribution of responsibility frames in both the newspapers, as it was mentioned before, Conflict frame was the dominantly manipulated frame on both private and state owned newspapers which accounts 34.0 percent on average, but frame like human interest, morality and prognostic frames was less utilized frame. To elaborate more, it is better to treat them separately.

On Addis Zemen conflict frame accounts 34 percent .Similarly Reporter use dominantly conflict frame and it accounts 33.8 percent. In previous study by Ashenafi (2010) and Ketema (2015) Morality, attribution of responsibility frame and conflict frame were the predominant frames. In line with this according to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), Conflict frame was used as major framing type used by USA national print and Television news because politics issues are usually full of conflicting ideas between various political parties. Similarly based on the interview conducted with informants from Reporter newspaper, they replied that usually on election time political parties tells their grievance and complains to about ruling party or other concerned body, as a result of this newspapers try to cover their controversy this ends with conflicting stories. Informant 6 stated that whenever we try to balance and fair the stories conflict frame dominates from the other type of framings.

Attribution of Responsibility Frame is the other commonly manipulated frame it is the second and major frame on both newspapers. This accounts 23.6 percent on average among the two sampled newspapers .Despite the fact that, Addis Zemen supplied the dominant portion which is 23.8 percent. The bi-weekly Reporter similarly uses attribution of responsibility frame as the second dominant frame which accounts 23.7 percent. According to Semetko and Valkinburg (2000), this frame was the most commonly utilized frame in USA national print and Television followed by conflict frame.

The other commonly utilized frame was diagnostic frame .This frame was found to be the third commonly shared frame by both newspapers which accounts 12.5 percent on average .Despite the fact that Addis Zemen contributed 14 percent for this frame .The bi-weekly Reporter contribute 10.1percent for this reason ,the diagnostic frame distribution between newspapers displayed a minor disparity.

As diagnostic and prognostic frame explains the cause of the problem, provide conceivable solution to the problem and provides a call to alarm to engage action respectively. In this case as far as Addis Zemen is concerned the news paper cover issues related to complaints about unbalanced air time allocation by NEBE unbalanced budget allocation for political parties during the electorate campaign time were mentioned by the newspaper. Similarly Reporter covers stories based on the complaints of the Blue Party and EPRDF. According to the informant's response few of the problems revolve on defamation between parties, censorship of election campaign stories was the major mentioned problem by Reporter.

Prognostic frame has emphasized on a possible solution or remedy frame for the issue of concern. In this regard both newspapers shows negligence on focusing on the remedy solution for the identified problems as the finding shows that this frame was least manipulated frames in Addis Zemen which accounted 8.3 per cent ,meanwhile Reporter attributed 4 percent. In this case, both newspapers focused on in the problem not on the solution. Based on the interview conducted with the editor in chief of Reporter he states that "We suggest solution whenever it is needed and relevant with the discussed issue" even if the informant claim this way the finding reveals that they entertains this frame very less .

In the same flow Addis Zemen Manipulate prognostic frame. The finding of the research revealed that prognostic frame received relatively a medium coverage, The informant explain the reason why they prognostic frame used in very limited extent, informant 4 forwarded his idea that " as the newspaper is daily we have time constraints to go through the solution for the stated problem and the major one skill constraints also one of the hindering factor for this problem." In line with prognostic frame the newspaper has emphasize a possible solution for the issue of concern. On both newspapers few stories come up with solution for stated problems but, there

was a lack of in-depth interpretation of experts and government officials' explanation. Moreover the finding of the study indicates that the reporters have the limitation of skills on the story frames and the frames they use when the stories were covered. In this regard the pervious study which was conduct with the same area doesn't mention about the above stated frames in their finding and analysis part.

From the analyzed stories, Human interest and Morality frames were the least applied frames on both newspapers, which accounted 6.2 and 5.5 percent respectively on average. Addiss Zemen has provide 4.7 percent for human interest frame and 3.5 percent .One way of capturing or retaining the audiences interest is by framing in human interest frames ,in this regard both newspapers have limitations on focusing one dominant frame. Morality frame also applied less in both newspapers which accounted 3.5 on Addis Zemen and 8.4 in Reporter. In this regard all respondent replied that there is a knowledge gap that entertain stories in human interest or other frames.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter provides a brief summary of the research process conclusion of findings more over recommendation for further studies are forwarded. These recommendations are relived to be broadening understanding of Ethiopian print media framing of political parties.

5.1. Summary

Media have a very crucial role during election time that covers the whole election process, since media and politics is inseparable electorate relayed on media about the political parties former success ,current debating theme and future programs. Framing of political parties in a certain way have an impact on public opinion and the voters decision making. This study set out to examine how the Ethiopian print media framed the political parties of the country during the 2015 Ethiopian General Election. Two newspapers Addis Zemen and the private owned Reporter have been purposely chosen for the study on the base of high domestic politics coverage and high circulation nationwide. The time frame for the analysis the selected ranging from the day that election campaign officially announced to the final day of the election campaign, which is from February 23, 2015-May 24, 2015 Based on these 79 articles from both newspapers were selected and analyzed. So as to assess the framing of political parties qualitative and quantitative methods were utilized.

The research was carried out using mixed approach so as to develop the output. Content analysis and in-depth interview were employed to gather information. The content analysis was used to analyze information concerning number of coverage, source which was used by the story, themes of the story, and major frames utilized by the newspaper. Whereas, in-depth interview was conducted with 2 editors and 5 journalists in order to fill the information gap which couldn't be

obtained through the content analysis. Attempts were made to relate the findings in the discussion with literature and theoretical framework. This study was based on framing theory as its theoretical framework. The study focused on Entman's definition of framing in which he defined, "framing is selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution"(Entman,1993). Hence, this study was set out to analyze how the Ethiopian print media framed the political parties in 2015 Ethiopian general elections. Attempts were made to relate the discussion with literature documented so far. Conclusion of the study is presented below.

5.2. Conclusion

In terms frequency of articles published during the selected time frame. The finding of the study indicated that the government owned Addis Zemen covers more stories about EPRDF than Blue Party. Most of the stories about EPRDF by Addiss Zemen were framed positively and cover the ruling party success stories. In contrast, majority of the stories on Blue party by Addis Zemen were framed negatively. The Reporter Amharic covered issues of the oppositions predominantly than it did to EPRDF. It covers both party stories although it portrayed the government and opposition parties negatively. The analysis of this study also revealed that the privately owned media were more independent and investigative than the state owned media in framing of the contending political parties and the entire election process.

Regarding tone of stories on the selected newspapers, difference has been observed between the government owned and privately owned newspapers. The result revealed that Addis Zemen portrayed EPRDF positively, but it portrayed Blue (opposition parties) negatively. On contrary, the privately owned newspapers, Reporter portrayed both EPRDF and EPRDF negatively. Reporters were critical for both EPRDF and Blue party and it portrayed negatively both parties.

In terms of sources used in the stories, Government officials have been used as major sources of information followed by opposition party in both newspapers for those stories that were related to framing of political parties. Meanwhile community members, police and international organizations were the least quoted sources in the analyzed stories moreover, ownership variation, the institutional culture and lack of commitment make government officials become the main source of information.

The government /party promise was the dominant theme on both newspapers. Human and democratic right was the second leading theme in the selected newspapers whereas economy and development theme and given less emphasis while, other themes categories such as corruption and national interest were not given any attention by both newspapers.

The finding of the study discovered, there was diversified types of frames were used among all the sample media to frame election related news stories even though some types of frames were employed predominantly. Conflict and attribution of responsibility frame was the leading frame utilized by Addis Zemen as well as in Reporter newspapers. Economic consequence frame given limited coverage. Besides, human interest and morality frame also given a slight focuses on the sampled newspapers. Both Addis Zemen and Reporter provided least focus for prognostic frame (which provide conceivable solution for the problem) and frame. Therefore to conclude, the findings of the study indicate that the coverage of the election in Addis Zemen slanted towards the state interest while Amharic Reporter relatively remain independent in framing of political parties during 2015 Ethiopian General Election. This indicates that media ownership influence the framing of political parties during elections.

5.3. Recommendations

This study has addressed the framing of political party on 2015 General Election by state and privately owned newspapers which are Addis Zemen and Reporter Amharic. During election campaign period which was from February 2015-May 2015 until the end of the election campaign. The following recommendations is forwarded to the media practitioners, media owners and political parties that are the main actors during elections

The research would like to recommend that both opposing and ruling parties they should provide information for state owned and privately owned newspapers without bias. That can help electorate to make an informed decision during the election process.

NEBE (National Electorate Board of Ethiopia) civic societies and other concerned bodies should facilitate platforms that can provide training for media practitioners about framing certain issues during election time and election coverage in order to make the election process fair and accountable.

It is recommended that NEBE try to reconsider its budget allocation for opposition political parties in order to create effective competitive environment election camping.

The researcher also recommends further researches needed to be conducted to investigate;

This study focuses only the above sampled newspapers. In order to fill this gap it would be advisable if further researches focus electronics stream of Ethiopian media in relation to framing of political parties during election time.

The researcher recommended other researcher to engage on the effectiveness of electorate debate between political parties on the broadcast media, because this platform is very important to for the public to know more about the contending political parties.

The way political parties are portrayed in media is assumed to have positive or negative impact on the image of the political parties, and can affect the outcome of the election. In this regard I would like to invite other researcher on the role of social media on framing (portraying) political parties.

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Appendix A

Informant's Name	Position	Organization
1-Almaz Ayalew	Editor in -Chief	Addis Zemen
2-Mahelet Abdul	Journalist	Addis Zemen
3-Wendeson Shemeles	senior editor	Addis Zemen
4-Getnet Mehirete	Journalist	Addis Zemen
5-Melaku Demisse	Editor- in - Chief	Reporter
6-Tamiru Tsige	Assit.editor	Reporter
7-Wedeneh Zenenbe	Assit.editor	Reporter

Appendix B

Coding Guide

Only items written by staffs or official columnists will be coded

1. Coverage Frequency- refers to what the story talks about.

2. Tone- refers to whether the story is positive, neutral or negative.

Positive- a story that shows agreement, support, or affirmation to policies, events or actions taken by either EPRDF or Blue

Neutral- a story that favors or assists neither to EPRDF nor Blue it entertains Different views and opinions of an issue or event.

Negative- a story that shows disagreement, opposition or denial of policies, events or actions taken by either EPRDF or Blue

3. Sources – refers to name(s) of a person, group or organization that are quoted directly or indirectly in the story as source of the information.

4. Theme

Corruption- Does the main idea of the story discuss dishonest exploitation of power for personal gain?

Human/ Democratic Rights- Does the main idea of the story discuss any violence or protection of either human or democratic right or both?

Government/party Promises- Does the main idea of the story was about party Former achievement and future program for the next term of power. Does it imply that promises were not met, or that they were met?

Economy and development- Does the story talk about economic gains and losses, including employment, that occurred due to policy or strategy, and suggestions or alternative policy Suggested by the opposition party?

National interest- Does the story discuss actions, circumstances and decisions that facilitate the gain and the loss of benefits of the country due to international relations and treaties.

Crime- Does the story suggest any criminal acts by anyone? Does the story discuss any levels of Government attempts to fight violent or criminal acts by political parties.

Social issues- Does the story discuss issues related to education, health and infrastructure?

5. Frames

Conflict frame – when the story provides two or more opposing views or statements, or reflects Conflict and disagreement among individuals, groups, or organizations.

Human interest frame- when the story involves people and their testimonies, or brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem

Attribution of responsibility frame – when the story suggests individuals or an organization should take actions on the issue, and point responsibility for a cause or solution to either the government, to an individual or opposition parties.

Morality frame - When the story puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of morals, Social prescriptions and religious views. When the story tells the readers to do or not to do something; or when the story involves religious or human right perspectives.

Economic frame – when the story mentions an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, groups, organizations, or countries

Appendix C

Coding Sheet

Name of the coder-----

Newspaper.....) AddisZemen 2)Reporter

Date of publication-----

Headline of the story-----

Mark each question as yes (1) or no (0)

5. Coverage Frequency (inter coder reliability (93 percent)

_____EPRDF

_____Blue

6. Tone 1) Positive 2) Neutral 3) Negative

EPRDF

_____ 1) Positive _____ 2) neutral _____ 3) negative

Blue

_____ 1) Positive _____ 2) neutral _____ 3) negative

7. Sources (inter coder reliability (90 percent)

_____Government officials

_____Opposing parties

_____Community members

_____Researches and researchers

_____International organizations

_____No specified source if other,

Themes of story (inter coder reliability 98)

Corruption

Does the story provide an example of corruption trials?	Yes/no
Does the story suggest the need for the strong anticorruption movement?	Yes/no
Does the story mention anti corruption attempts or failures?	Yes/no
Does the story mention that anticorruption movements are going well, or does it?	Yes/no
Highlight a positive anticorruption movement story ?	Yes/no
If other, please specify _____	

Human/ Democratic Rights

Does the story mention any violence of human/ democratic rights?	Yes/no
Does the story mention practices made by government or public officials?	Yes/no
Protect Human/ Democratic Rights?	Yes/no
Does the story suggest responsible body?	Yes/no
If other, please specify _____	

Government/party Promises

Does the story mention any level of government/party making promises?	Yes/no
Does the story mention a positive and optimistic future?	Yes/no
Does the story suggest broken promises?	Yes/no
If other, please specify _____	

Economy and Development

Does the story mention loss of property?	Yes/no
Does the story mention any economic policy helpful for the development of the country?	
Does the story mention any economic policy hampering the development of the country?	Yes/no

Does the story mention loss of jobs or unemployment problems of these days?	Yes/no
Does the story mention stasis (immobility) of private business/ investment?	Yes/no
Does the story mention development of private business/ investment?	Yes/no
Does the story mention the stand of other political parties?	Yes/no
If other, please specify _____	

National interest

Does the story mention loss of national interest?	Yes/no
Does the story mention any international relations policy useful for the country?	Yes/no
Does the story mention any international relations policy hampering the country?	Yes/no
Does story the mention examples in which the country lost/ may lose its national interest?	Yes/no

Crime

Does the coverage mention acts of violence/crime?	Yes/no
Does the coverage mention police/government efforts to resolve?	Yes/no
Crime issues/problems?	Yes/no
Does the coverage mention causes of crime?	Yes/no
If other, please specify _____	

Social issues (health, education and housing)

Does the coverage mention development of education sector?	Yes/no
Does the coverage mention development of health sector ?	Yes/no
Does the coverage mention development of housing sector or is housing?	Yes/no

Conflict Frame

Does the story reflect disagreement between parties, individuals or groups?	Yes/no
Does one party, individual or group criticize another?	Yes/no
Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?	Yes/no
Does the story refer to winners and losers?	Yes/no
If other, please specify _____	

Attribution of Responsibility

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 the government is responsible for	
the issue/problem?	Yes/no
Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?	Yes/no
Does the story suggest that an individual or group is responsible for the issue/ problem?	Yes/no
Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action ?	Yes/no
If other, please specify _____	

Human Interest frame

Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?	Yes/no
Does the story employ adjectives or personal explanation that generate	
Feelings of outrage, empathy caring, sympathy or compassion?	Yes/no
individuals and groups are affected by the issue/ problem?	Yes/no
Does the story go into the personal or private lives of the actors?	Yes/no
Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of	
Outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?	Yes/no

Other, please specify _____

Morality frame

Does the story contain any moral message ? Yes/no

Does the story make reference to morality, God and other religious tenets? Yes/no

Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave? Yes/no

If other, please specify _____

Economic consequences frame

Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future? Yes/no

Is there a mention of the cost/degree of expense involved? Yes/no

Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing
a course of action? Yes/no

If other, please specify _____

Appendix D

Interview guide

1-Background

- How does your media institution cover the issues related to political parties and election?
- What is the difference between covering election stories and issues related to political parties in your media?
- What relationship do you have with political parties in Ethiopia?
- What are the challenges you face while on covering political party issues?
- Do you think that your reports about political parties have an influence on voter's decision?

2- Sources

- Who were the sources you quoted, when you write articles on child right issue?
- Were political used as sources in your stories?
- How did you approach these sources?
- Was there any pressure from these interest groups to write your story in certain ways?

3- Themes

- What were the central points or issues in your stories?
- What was your argument for focusing on these themes?
- Which kind of framing has your media institution used frequently in your stories related political parties?
- What factors, if any, affect how your media institution's framing of the stories pertinent to political parties?

4. - Frames

- Were you aware of how the stories were framed?
- What were your routines when writing such stories?
- What factors affect how you frame the stories, like sources, cultural attitudes?

5. Conflict frame

- How do you entertain conflicted ideas and opinions about contending political parties ?
- What is your reflection on the disagreement of the magnitude of political parties?
- Attribution of Responsibility frame
- Who do you think is responsible for solving or addressing the problem issues related to political parties?
- Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?

6. Human interest frame

- Do you think using human face in the stories is important? Why?
- Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the
- Issue problem?
- Does the story go into the personal or private lives of the actors?

7. Prognostic frame

- What do you think the problem of political parties during election?
- How do you present the cause of the problem?

8. Economic Frame

Does the story mentions the impact of political party issue on an individual’s as well as country’s economy?

9. Morality frame

Do you relate the stories with religious beliefs?

Declaration

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

Name: Samrawit Yoseph

Signature: _____

Date of Submission: July,2016

Place of submission: Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia