

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, LANGUAGE STUDIES,
JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION, DEPARTMENT OF
FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

DISCOURSES OF 'DEVELOPMENT' IN ETHIOPIAN PRESS

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Foreign
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the Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics and
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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Berhanu Asfaw Weldemikael entitled: *Discourses of Development in Ethiopian Press*, and submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics & Communication (ALCM) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree or diploma in any other university, and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been properly indicated and acknowledged by a means of complete references.

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Abstract

The study aims at analyzing the representation of development discourse in selected Ethiopian press outlets. Using social constructionism and critical discourse analysis as major theoretical guides, the study analyzed five English-medium press outlets and their coverage of development issues during the five years of GTP I (Sept 2010 – Aug 2015). The publications were selected using purposive sampling. It focused on finding out linguistic and discursive differences among state-owned and privately-owned press outlets. 143 articles were selected using Parker's seven criteria for distinguishing discourses and Shah's ten criteria of development reporting. The articles were analyzed qualitatively using critical discourse analysis (Fairclough's three-dimensional model and discourse representation theory; van Dijk's socio-cognitive theory and ideological square were used), systematic functional linguistics (transitivity in particular), appraisal theory, and representation of social actor's theory. Social and discursive practices of the press were also analyzed. The representation of development issues in the Ethiopian press has been highly polarized and politicized. Accordingly, two major and opposite ideologies were identified: (1) revolutionary democracy and developmental state; and (2) liberal and/or neo-liberal ideology. The former is addressed as 'the optimist view', while the latter is labeled as 'the doubting view'. The state press, Ethiopian Herald, reported about Ethiopia's development in line with the revolutionary democracy and developmental state ideology. In doing so, three basic manifestations of developmental state ideology were emphasized: the government/ruling party took the central position of every development activity; economic growth was reported as a sole manifestation of development, and development activities were mostly evaluated in terms of poverty reduction. Contrary to this, the private press represented Ethiopia's development in accordance with liberal ideology. In doing so, the private sector takes the central position in the development narrative, while the government was urged to have zero or minimal involvement in the economy. Development activities were evaluated in terms of social and political variables. Both used different styles of reporting in a way that manifests discursive struggle and meaning contestations. Power abuse and enactments were mainly manifested through source selection, distribution, and representation of social actors.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

ETH	Ethiopian Herald newspaper
FOR	Fortune newspaper
EBR	Ethiopian Business Review magazine
REP	The Reporter newspaper
ADS	Addis Standard magazine
CDA	critical discourse analysis
DD	direct discourse
ID	indirect discourse
CL	critical linguistics
CDS	critical discourse studies
SFL	systematic functional linguistics
PMC	population media center
EBC	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
EPRDF	Ethiopian people revolutionary democratic front
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
UDHR	universal declaration of human rights
UN	United Nations
HRW	Human Rights Watch
HDI	Human Development Index
MS _x	Macro Structure
P _x	Proposition
[j]	Judgment
[ap]	Appreciation
[af]	Affect
-ve	Negative
+ve	Positive
Bold	Appraisal resource indicator and emphasis
<u>Underline</u>	Appraisal resource indicator

Chapter One

1. Introduction

This study is about the representation of ‘development discourse’ in the Ethiopian print media. Accordingly, this section of the paper presents a brief introduction to the issue and describes the problem in a form of research questions, and objectives together with the significance and scope of the study.

1.1. Background of the study

The 1991 political change was a remarkable moment in creating democratic political changes in Ethiopia. After taking power from *Derg*¹, the EPRDF-led government introduced a new press proclamation in 1992. Subsequently, article 29 of the new constitution guaranteed freedom of speech by confirming the basic principles of UDHR (Shimelis, 2002). Consequently, this became a vantage point for the mushrooming of mass media in general and the press in particular. Since then, a huge number of private newspapers and magazines come into existence (PMC, 2006).

Generally speaking, the post-1991 Ethiopian print media can be categorized into two broad categories; namely, governmental² and non-governmental³ media institutions. These two camps have been in continuous conflicts and negative dialogue over various issues. One among such issues is development.

In Ethiopia, development is highly correlated with conflict and the political processes that accompany it (Alemayehu, 2007). Especially, after the 1991 political change, the term ‘development’ has become more common and fashionable in the speeches of politicians and in mass media outlets. However, questions of conflict and controversy are the central problems of how to represent development issues.

¹ Derg (literally meaning ‘committee’ in Amharic language) was led by middle-ranking military officers.

² ‘Governmental media’ is also known as ‘state media’: the latter refers the formal organizing of the media, while the former denotes their political leaning (Skjerdal, 2012, p. 95-96)

³ ‘Non-governmental’ press in Ethiopia has, conventionally, been known by three different names, each having its own ‘fluid and unrefined’ connotations: private, independent and free (Shimelis, 2000, p.1).

Despite some voices doubting the validity of Ethiopia's economic growth, government reports and forecasts on the economy present a highly positive picture, showing double-digit growth in GDP over the last ten years. Independent reports also confirm that economic growth is exceptional by global standards. For instance, UNDP's annual human development index (HDI⁴) shows that Ethiopia's economy is progressing well. According to this report, Ethiopia is showing improvements in life expectancy, access to knowledge, and standards of living. Besides, periodical assessments of the economy by the IMF and World Bank shows a positive picture, though different in many ways from those of the government (Desalegn, 2014).

Currently, the Ethiopian government has finished implementing the GTP1 (growth and transformation plan), a five-year solid plan covering the period 2010/11 – 2014/15. The government claims that the GTP has registered impressive results since its launch (Meheret, 2014). However, the ruling party is criticized for ignoring numerous challenges impacting on society and political process that are becoming visible at the moment. The causes for some of these challenges are unbalanced growth, corruption, policy and institutional failures (Desalegn, 2014).

In a nutshell, there are two opposite discourses concerning Ethiopia's development. On the one hand, the EPRDF government and its allies narrate development merely as growth in material assets. For instance, public officials habitually echo the claims made by some international media sources that Ethiopia's economy has become one of the fastest growing in the world. "The achievements gained are attributed to the soundness of the development strategy charted by the leadership of the ruling party" (Desalegn, 2014, p.xi).

On the other hand, however, scholars and opposition party politicians argue that Ethiopia's development is not valid and sustainable. For them, development does not only mean growing in material assets (e.g. growth in GDP, export performance, etc.), but must, "in equal measure, bring about real improvements in people's livelihoods, promote social equity, and enable the sustainability of the natural resource base" (Desalegn, 2014, p. xiii).

⁴ 'Human Development Report 2014: reducing vulnerabilities and building resilience', United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), November 2014. Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2014_EN_Complete.pdf

Apparently, such differences lead the participants into controversies and social conversations. Here, controversy is understood as “exchange of opposing views on a problem of mutual interest to the contending parties” (Cramer, 2011, p.6). It’s a communicative event and social activity that takes place between an opponent and a self who interact in public arena. Similarly Gee (2011) refers to this concept with the name ‘Conversations’ (with capital “C”) and defined as a “debate in society or within social groups (over focused issues...) that large members of people recognize, in terms of both what ‘sides’ there are to take in such debates and what sorts of people tend to be on each side” (p.44)..

From a linguistic point of view, differences in the representation of development discourse are primarily “struggles over meanings, representations and images” (Arce, 2000, p.31). Hence, studying the discourse of development in general and the language in particular helps to define the sites of struggle and the supposed ‘stakeholders’ involved in the debates of development policies and outcomes. Indeed, the language of development is a combined set of linguistic representations and linguistic constructions that helps to relate ‘problems’ to ‘solutions’ (Arce, 2000, p. 32).

“There is no knowledge outside language representations” (Arce, 2000, p. 35). Hence, language of development is capable enough to address actors’ political, economic and social practices, and knowledge construction processes. Accordingly, this study aims at analyzing patterns of language use in the representations of development discourse in Ethiopian media. Viewing development as discourse, the language of development is considered as an important representational field.

The study follows two main paths; language use and contextual analysis. With regard to language use, due emphasis is given to how the concepts of power and ideology are symbolically negotiated through linguistic elements. The contextual aspect of the study focus on describing the discursive and societal situations under which meaning is communicated.

1.1.1. Development as Discourse

‘Development discourse’ is a relatively new field which focuses on studying development as discourse. The concept merges two broad concepts: development and discourse. ‘Development’ and ‘Discourse’ are uniquely interrelated concepts in which the latter serves as a prime manifestation of the former. In combination, ‘development discourse’ can be defined as a form of

knowledge and thought that helps to represent and construct meaning among social groups. Accordingly, Escobar (1995) understands development discourse in the following manner:

I propose to speak of development as a historically singular experience, the creation of a domain of thought and action, by analyzing the characteristics and interrelations of the three axes that define it: the forms of knowledge that refer to it and through which it comes into being and is elaborated into objects, concepts, theories, and the like; the system of power that regulates its practice; and the forms of subjectivity fostered by this discourse, those through which people come to recognize themselves as developed or underdeveloped (p. 10).

Therefore, to Escobar, development discourse is not merely about capital formation, monetary and fiscal policies, technological advancement and etc.; rather, it is the outcome of the relationship among these elements, institutions and practices and the systematization of these elements to form a whole (Naz, 2006). Within these relations, development discourse systematically form objects and arrange them in certain ways and give them unity. This goes with the definition of discourse as “a system of statements which constructs an object” (Parker, 1992, p.5). Accordingly, development discourse determines what can be said and thought, and how it can be represented.

Development discourse has been given little attention in the tradition of development studies. As a result, issues of representation, social reality and manipulation were neglected. However, Escobar (1995) argues that studying development as discourse enables to understand the social base and effects of the concept. This, in turn, helps to analyze the theoretical and practical contexts in which development is associated. Development discourse studies development based on two-layered analysis: language use and discursive constructs.

First, development discourse focuses on the actual language used (including semiosis) in talking or writing about development. This is because development language is different from other type of language uses. According to Wilson (1992, p.10 cited in Cornwall, 2010, p.5), “development language is not to lay bare or be unequivocal but to mediate in the interests of political consensus while at the same time allowing for the existence of several internal agendas”. Therefore, it is important to investigate the linguistic and semiotic elements, to pin out power relations and ideological investments in the society.

Second, development discourse focuses on analyzing the context in which the communications have emerged. Development is always defined based on underdevelopment and poverty. However, underdevelopment and poverty do not exist in a vacuum. They are discursively constructed: they are constructed through objects and ideas. These representations always establish themselves based on dominant ideologies. Accordingly, by studying specific discursive practices and contexts, development discourse identifies power relation and abuse; and evaluates dominant ideologies and world views (Naz, 2006).

The concept of 'development discourse', in a standardized form was first introduced after the end of World War II by Harry S. Truman (Escobar, 1995). In his inauguration speech, President Truman declared the southern hemisphere as 'underdeveloped areas': "the Third World (a polite word to denote 'poor' countries)" (Naz, 2006, p.64). Consequently, the 'advanced' societies of the time were initiated to 'transform' the Third World countries that pictured as economically poor. However, these practices were "amazingly ethnocentric and arrogant" (Escobar, 1995, p. 4), which focused on material prosperity and economic progress. Besides, indigenous values were degraded in favor of western values and cultural hegemony. As a result, the Third World societies were produced and reproduced through the practices of development. The prime realization and manifestation of such production and reproduction process is 'discourse'.

Since its inception 'development' is a politically invested concept in which the western world tried to dominate and hegemonize the Third World in various ways. According to Escobar (1995), "the deployment of this discourse in a world system in which the West has a certain dominance over the Third World has profound political, economic, and cultural effects" (p. 9). Thus, this is accomplished through obligatory regulations of universal institutions, such as IMF, World Bank, and other aid organizations. As a result, "the representation of the third world as a child in need of adult guidance was not an uncommon metaphor and lent itself perfectly to the development discourse" (Naz, 2006, p. 68).

From the western perspective, Development discourse is always informed by three basic factors: fear, absence, and hierarchies (Naz, 2006). Firstly, development discourse always entails 'fear' of poverty and the poor itself; the poor are always seen as threatening for the wealthy liberal world, and humanitarian actions are used to fill this gap. Secondly, development discourse is always understood in terms of 'absence'. "The third world is defined primarily by what it is not, rather

than by what it is. Its central characteristics become what it lacks, not what it possesses” (Naz, 2006, p. 75). Finally, development discourse always involves power hierarchies. For instance, notions of ‘absence’ and ‘deficiencies’ “establish a very clear hierarchy, where the first or developed world is placed above the third or underdeveloped world (Naz, 2006, p. 76).

1.1.2. Media, Development and Discursive Struggles

“In the 21st century, the role of media is omnipresent for all ‘positive and negative changes’ in the society no matter of geographical location” (Shojaei, Youssefi & Hosseini, 2013, p. 858). Consequently, media can either manipulate situations or be manipulated by various actors’ interests, leading to unintended connotations. Media outlets influence and/or manipulate the public over various issues through their discourse that includes language use and discursive practices.

Media as institutional means of framing reality, always engage in discursive struggles as they attempt to shape and manage the institutional field of which they are apart. This struggle is influenced by broader discourses at the societal level that enable and constrain discursive activity within the institutional field (Hardy and Philips, 1999). These societal and discursive variables are socially determined (Fairclough 1995), or cognitively created (van Dijk 1988), or wholly constituted by discourse (Laclau and Mouffe 2001). Taking on the first two assumptions, CDA distinguishes between discursive and non-discursive social practices. The discursive practice is dialectically interrelated to the actual discourse, and helps to fix meaning and “...narrowing of one’s field of vision, to exclude a wide range of phenomena from being considered as real or as worthy of attention,; thus delimiting a field is the first stage in establishing a set of discursive practices” (Mills 1997, p.51). As a result, the struggle over meaning always involves a struggle over social and discursive struggles.

Likewise, in Ethiopia, the media has been a site of struggle and contestation over various issues. One among such issues is development. Using the media as a prime venue of discursive struggle, various individuals, groups and the government itself communicate their world view about development with others and attempt to influence common beliefs and values in line with their underlying ideologies. As a result, the representation of development discourse always involves controversies, contestations, and dialogues (in some cases). According to Perry (2010, p.8), there are three reasons in which such contestations can happen: 1) differences in interpreting factual

evidence; 2) differences in social and cultural values; and 3) differences in the framework of concepts. However, the boundaries between these divisions are in themselves controversial.

The discursive struggle over development discourse in Ethiopian media always involves ‘them’ and ‘us’ categorization, which involves elite and counter-elite contestations, in line with otherizing and legitimization frameworks. These contestations are mainly loaded with ideological investments and power enactments that can only be understood through three-layered analysis: the actual language use; the social practice; and the discourse practice.

The social practice is mainly concerned with addressing the institutions, structures, and values that reside outside the media production room. These include legal, institutional, political, economic and socio-cultural variables that can influence the production directly or indirectly. The discourse practice, on the other hand, addresses issues involved in the production and consumption process that have direct influence in the production room. These include editorial policies, reporting styles, journalists’ ethics, job satisfaction, self-censorship and etc. These social and discursive factors shape and shaped by discourse, as they are dialectically interrelated (Fairclough 1995). Accordingly, the struggle over meaning always involves discursive struggles that aim at influencing the meaning-making and interpretation context. As a result, this study focuses on analyzing the meaning and discursive struggle over development in Ethiopian press outlets.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Nowadays, development discourse has become a major issue in Ethiopian media. However, when we look at the stories that different media present, it becomes apparent that there are several sides to every development story, to the extent that it sometimes seems different publications are reporting on wholly different events. What one reports as a positive phenomenon, another may present as a negative one. Newspapers, for example, can report one and the same development report quite differently in line with a particular ideological stance they adopt. ‘Growth’ in one newspaper might be described as ‘reduction’ in another, the dividing line between the fact and the opinion obviously becoming blurred depending on the subjective judgment of the newspaper.

Development discourse has been given little attention in the tradition of development studies. As a result, issues of representation, social reality and manipulation were neglected. However,

Escobar (1995) argues that studying development as discourse helps to understand the social base and effects of the concept. This, in turn, helps to analyze the theoretical and practical contexts in which development is associated. Development discourse studies development based on two-layered analysis: language use and discursive constructs.

However, despite its obvious importance, development discourse in mass media has been explored neither by media experts nor scholars in the humanities (especially linguists) as thoroughly as might be expected. In Ethiopia, though journalistic practices started long ago, only little has been done in the critical scholarship of media texts in general and development controversies in particular. The most commonly available studies about development are theses written by graduating students of various universities and articles published in various journals. Most of them, however, are case studies which focus on selected aspects of certain newspapers, magazines or broadcasts in light of journalistic theories.

Of these, Negeri (2010); Mulatu (2007); Geremew (2012); Enkutatash (2014) and Abayneh (2017) are worth noting. Negeri's work is a PhD dissertation which focused on the role of mass media for development and democratization, whereas the remaining four works are M.A theses that focused on examining the coverage of development news and/or issues in various print and broadcast outlets in line with development journalism principles. By only focusing on the coverage and other variables of development, all the aforementioned studies did not focus on the language use and discourse strategies used by the media in reporting about development. More specifically, they did not see development as discourse and how it is regenerated linguistically in the media (press in particular). As a result, the current study aims to fill this gap. Using textual-oriented approach, the study aims to examine language use and discourse strategies used by the press in reporting development issues and events.

Nevertheless, investigating the discourse and language of development in mass media is not an easy task. Although they did not focus on development, previous studies (van Dijk, 1988; Richardson, 2007; Min, 1997; Chouliaraki, 1999; Cramer, 2011; Negussie, 2008, etc.) concluded that media texts cannot be a totally value-free reflection of facts. Besides, media texts cannot be studied without understanding the discursive structures and communicative events they emerge from.

Accordingly, this study analyzed the representation of development discourse in selected press outlets using critical discourse analysis as a tool. In doing so the study attempted to answer the following questions;

1. How is development discourse represented by the press?
2. How development is linguistically constructed and what kind of linguistic differences can be found in different press outlets in the reporting of development issues?
3. How do these linguistic differences demonstrate the ideological and hegemonic schemes that underlie the press reports on development?
4. In what kind of discursive structures and communicative events is meaning communicated?

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to analyze the representation of development discourse in Ethiopian print media. Accordingly, the study has the following specific objectives;

- Analyzing the language use of the press in their development narratives;
- Describing the linguistic differences among press outlets in reporting development issues;
- Critically analyzing the linguistic process to unpack hidden agendas: power enactments, ideological and political investments;
- Analyzing the social and discursive structures in which meaning is communicated.

1.4. Significance of the Study

This is a study of development in the press that aims to arrive at a critical understanding of development in newspaper and magazine discourse. Hence, the study analyses newspaper and magazine contents with the guidance of social constructionism and critical discourse analysis. Accordingly, this study will add the following justifications on the existing knowledge of media linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis in general and development discourse in particular:

- **Critical language awareness:** the study helps to understand the inter-connection between language, power and ideology: how ideology and power are embedded in language and how it operates our perception of the world.

- **Emancipation:** the study helps to emancipate power abuse, domination and manipulation that are mainly invested through the use of linguistic and semiotic elements.
- **Exposing and explaining inequality:** the study helps to expose exploitation enacted through unequal social representations that are mainly constructed through language use.
- It helps to comprehend how development discourse is represented, framed and narrated both in government owned and private press in Ethiopia.
- The findings of the study can serve as a guideline of evaluation for media companies and regulatory bodies.
- The findings can also serve as a reference for policy makers and future researchers

1.5. Scope of the Study

The scope of the study is limited to analyzing the representation of development discourse in Ethiopian press. The study only assessed 5 publications (3 newspapers and 2 magazines) and their coverage of development issues for five years (during September 2010 to August 2015). This time frame was selected based on the five-year GTP1 (growth and transformation plan), a five year solid plan covering the period 2010/11 – 2015/16. Thus, during these years development has become a common wheel that drives the political, economic and social issues across the nation. Hence, it should be noted that the study did not examine coverage of development issues in other media genres like radio, TV, internet, or pamphlets. In addition, the study will not focus on the financial or political events that have occurred, but rather on the language used by the media reporting on development issues.

1.6.Thesis Layout

The study is organized into six chapters as in the following outline:

Chapter one provides the background and rationale of the study. It highlights the problem under investigation, research questions, significance and scope of the study, and layout of the theses.

Chapters Two provides review of related literature together with the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the study. Here, a brief outline of the selected theoretical and conceptual framework

alongside with their conceptual constructs is presented. Besides, social and discursive practices that affect the meaning making process in Ethiopian press were also included.

Chapter three deals with methodological and analytical issues of the study, while chapter four presents the empirical analysis together with selected texts, excerpts and examples selected out of the data set. Finally, chapter six deals with discussions and conclusions based on the analysis.

Chapter Two

2. Review of Related literature

As a central pillar theoretical framework determines the research approach and methodology. Accordingly, this section of the paper deals with the basic theory of the study and its conceptual constructs. In doing so, the theory is defined and elaborated in terms of conceptual framework and basic conceptual constructs of the study together with descriptions about the main issue under investigation.

2.1. Previous Studies and Approaches

In this section of the study, an attempt is made to review some previous studies and their approaches on Ethiopian media. Though studies focusing specifically on the representation of development discourse in Ethiopian media remain few in number, there are some studies that are worth reviewing here. The first is Mulatu's (2007) M.A thesis entitled 'exploratory study on the coverage of development news on Ethiopian radio.' The study examined Ethiopian radio's evening news and news magazine with the aim of exploring how rural development issues are framed. The study reported that Ethiopian radio gives relatively small coverage for rural development issues in its prime time news. Thus, there is a gap between the editorial policy and the actual practice.

The second noteworthy study is Enkutatsh's (2014) M.A thesis which focused on the reporting of development issues in Ethiopian broadcasting corporation Amharic primetime news. The study aimed to examine the content of news in view of development journalism principles. Using a mixed method content analysis, the study examined 120 news stories. The study reported that, EBC's prime time news gives high emphasis to development issues. However, the stories are limited to economic developments. Besides, investigation and depth reporting have been neglected; the news doesn't have balanced source selection and it's not public centered. Moreover, the news has a very high chance to be used as certain group's propaganda tool.

The other significant study is Negeri's (2010) PhD dissertation entitled 'Media and Communication for Development and Democratization in Ethiopia: Journalistic Practices and Challenges.' The study employed mixed method approach combining both quantitative techniques

and qualitative interviews. In its findings the study concluded that, both journalists and media managers did not have sufficient awareness about the role of media in promoting development and democratization. Accordingly, issues of development and democracy were not correctly and accurately represented. Besides, the privately owned media outlets only focus on political and entertainment issues in order to grasp the market.

The next important study is Geremew's (2012) M.A thesis which focused on comparing the coverage of development issues in 'The Ethiopian herald' and 'The reporter' newspapers. Using content analysis, the study compared the coverage of development issues and the study concluded that the private newspaper (the reporter) covered less development issues than the Ethiopian herald.

The last study for this review is Abayneh's (2017) M.A thesis entitled 'the practice of development journalism in the Ethiopian media landscape'. The study used developmental journalism and social responsibility theory together with content analysis and in-depth interviews. In its findings the study reported that, both government and privately owned media outlets have their own limitations in practicing development journalism. The government media only focuses on success accomplished by the government, whereas the private media gives less attention to development activities or issues. In both cases critical and investigative reports of development are unusual.

The current study is similar with the aforementioned studies for two reasons: first, all the studies focus on development in relation to media, and second, all the studies focus on similar media landscape and outlets. However, these previous studies focused on viewing development in the perspectives of economic growth and development journalism. In doing so the representational and discursive aspects of development is neglected. Taking this as a point of departure, the current study aims at filling this gap using different and comprehensive paradigm of research.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded on social constructionism theory. Social constructionism views knowledge as constructed as opposed to created. In view of that, constructivists "in general focus on the process by which meanings are created, negotiated, sustained and modified" (Andrews, 2012, p.40). Besides, social constructionism primarily focuses on the artifacts that are created through

the social interactions of a group. That is, knowledge is a product of the interactions of individuals within society (Galbin, 2014).

In social constructionism, knowledge and meaning are socially constructed, and this construction process is rooted in language (Burr, 1995). Knowledge is all about structuring peoples' experience of the world and filling this experience into various categories. Thus, language is the prime means of maintaining, modifying and structuring peoples' experiences. In other words, language makes thoughts and concepts possible, and provides a means of structuring the way the world is experienced (Andrews, 2012).

Social constructionism has roots in Kant's idealism which claims that "we cannot know things in themselves and that knowledge of the world is possible only by imposing pre-given categories of thought" (Audi, 1999, p.855). As such social constructionism draws its influence from a number of disciplines, including philosophy, sociology and linguistics, making it multi-disciplinary in nature (Burr, 1995, p. 1). As a result, there are several versions of social constructionism with different writers making different emphasis. Although different writers share some characteristics with others, there is no a unified definition of social constructionism. However, most if not all social constructionist approaches share the following key assumptions:

- 1) A critical approach to taken-for-granted knowledge: " Our knowledge of the world should not be treated as objective truth. Reality is only accessible to us through categories, so our knowledge and representations of the world are not reflections of the reality 'out there', but rather are products of our ways of categorizing the world, or, in discursive analytical terms, products of discourse"(Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.5).
- 2) Historical and cultural specificity: The way we understand the world depends on historical and cultural contexts. Our understanding of a particular thing or concept changes over time; i.e. nothing is permanent and eternal (Burr, 1995, p. 3).
- 3) Knowledge is sustained by social process: "our ways of understanding the world are created and maintained by social process" (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.5). In other words, knowledge is created through social interaction in which we construct common truths; i.e. "our current accepted ways of understanding the world, is a product not of objective observation of the world, but of the social processes and interactions in which people are constantly engaged with each other" (Burr, 1995, p. 3).

- 4) Link between knowledge and social action: our social actions are determined and judged by our world view. Accordingly, different world views lead to different social actions, and therefore the social construction of knowledge has social consequences ((Burr, 1995; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

In a nutshell, the social constructionism paradigm asserts that knowledge and meaning are constructed through social interaction. “Knowledge in some area is a product of our social practices and institutions, or of the interaction and negotiations between relevant social groups” (Audi, 1999, p. 855). These social practices, interactions and negotiations has historical and contextual specificity that can transform and change continuously. This is because, relevant concepts and associated practices vary from one group or historical period to another. However, there are no independent standards for evaluating such conceptual schemes and their transformations and change. As a result in some cases, social constructionism leads naturally to relativism, a position that denies the existence of universal truth (Audi, 1999).

Accordingly, this study uses social constructionism theory to understand the representation of development discourse at societal level as it is communicated by the mass media. In doing so a due emphasis is given to the discourse practices under which the actual discourse (=text) is created and communicated.

2.3. Conceptual Framework

Conceptual framework is the operational tool of the general theory that guides the research and the analytical framework employed in a given research (Kassaye, 2013, p. 14). In other words, theoretical framework by itself has little value unless it is translated into conceptual frameworks. Thus, the choice of conceptual constructs and methodological approaches in a given research goes together with the very research questions and objectives at hand.

In the process of translating and conceptualizing the selected theory in this study, an attempt is made to synthesize approaches that appear to be productive, combining them in harmonized fashion. In doing so, the “integrationist model” (van Leeuwen, 2005, p.8) of interdisciplinarity is employed. This interdisciplinary model of research believes that, no single discipline can

satisfactorily address any given problem on its own. Thus, disciplines are seen as interdependent and focus on problems, rather than methods (van Leeuwen, 2005).

Based on the above notion, this study combined social constructionism with critical discourse analysis (CDA), systematic functional linguistic (SFL), appraisal theory and representation of social actors' theory in a kind of inclusion relationship (see figure, 1). Accordingly, social constructionism (the theoretical framework of this study) highlights on how the meaning of 'development' is constructed, understood and transferred at societal level. CDA as a method of analysis helps to identify the ideology coded behind the overt linguistic propositions in line with exposing power abuse and ideological manipulation. SFL, appraisal theory and representation of social actor's theory on the other hand provides specific linguistic methods and tools to analyze the texts at micro level.

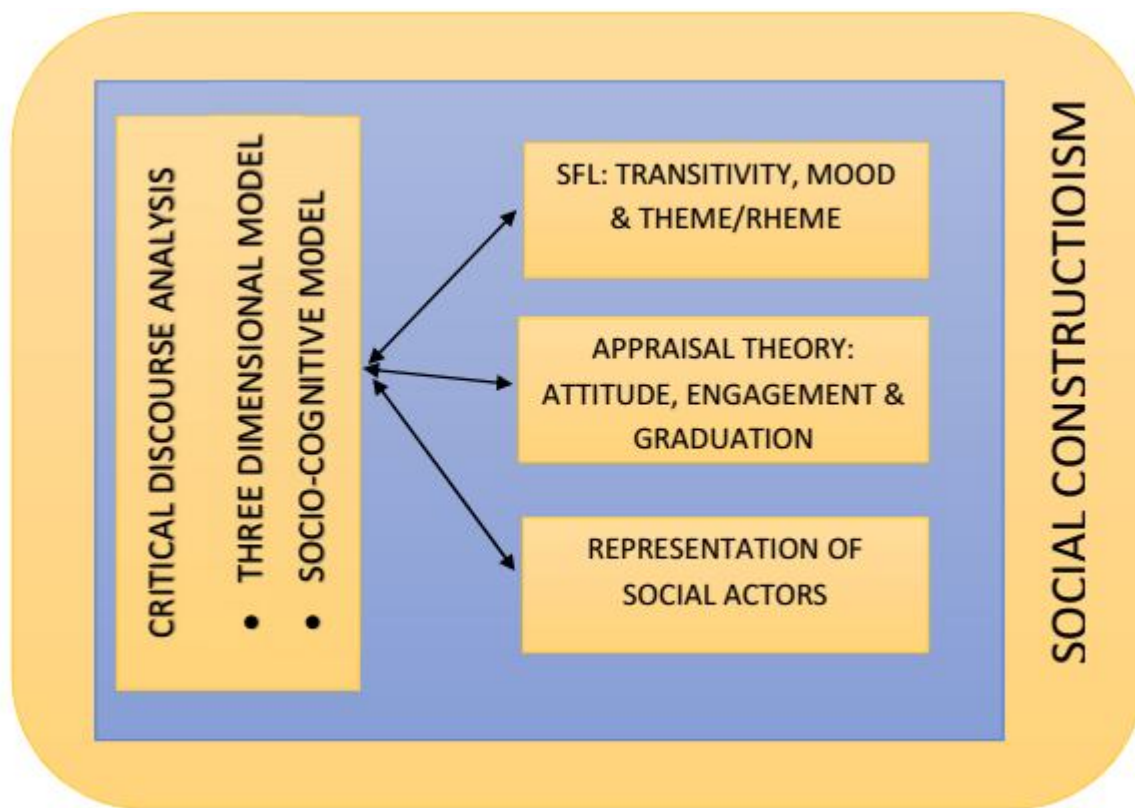


Figure 1: conceptual framework of the study

2.4. Why Social Constructionism and CDA: Justification

Social constructionists believe that social factors shape interpretations of the world. The world is accessible to us through interpretations which is rooted in language. These interpretations vary due to time and space factors. Likewise CDA scholars assert that, “discourses constructs the social world in meaning, and that owing to the fundamental instability of language, meaning cannot be permanently fixed” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 6). Discourse is not a closed entity, rather continuously transformed and changed through contact with other discourses.

A central area of interest in both Social constructionism and CDA is the investigation of change. They both focus on investigating social practices and language use, in a form of discursive struggles and meaning construction. Drawing on post-structuralist linguistic philosophy, CDA claims that, “our access to reality is always through language” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.12). Similarly, social constructionism the construction and representation of the world is mediated by language (Burr, 1995). Both these theories draw their emergence from similar epistemological background, social constructionism being a father and CDA being a daughter. As a result social constructionism and CDA can be regarded as two sides of a coin that can be integrated in mutually intelligible way.

The main objective of this study is to analyze the representation of discourses of development in media texts. Nevertheless, texts can never be understood or analyzed in isolation. In other words, they can only be understood in relation to the social context (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002:70). Since media text (discourse) is not a value-free reflection of facts, its intentions can only be understood through its discursive practices. Richardson (2007) elaborates this assumption:

Journalistic discourse has some very specific textual, some very specific methods of text production and consumption, and is defined by a particular set of relationships between itself and other agencies of symbolic and material power. These three sets of characteristics - that is, the language of journalism, its production and consumption and the relations of journalism to social ideas and institutions – are clearly inter-related and sometimes difficult to disentangle (p.1).

Therefore, studying media discourse must give due attention to the particular social arrangements under which it has developed. In other words discursive constructions and social practices are crucial elements in analyzing and understanding media discourse. To do so there are no other best approaches than social constructionism and CDA; the former provides theoretical understandings about the social practices, while the later helps to explain the discourse (= text) in relation to its production and consumption processes. Thus, the notion behind using these theories is that, they provide excellent tools to analyze media texts both linguistically and socially.

2.5. Conceptual Constructs

2.5.1. Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis

2.5.1.1. The view of ‘language’

There are various views and approaches to the study of language use. As a result it is important to define the way language is viewed and approached in a study like this. Accordingly, in this study language is approached based on poststructuralist and functionalist linguistic philosophies. The poststructuralist view claims that, “our access to reality is always through language” (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002, p.8). On the other hand, the Functionalist philosophy asserts that “language is functional in the sense that it has evolved together with its ‘eco-social’ environment (and develops in the individual together with its environment)” (Mathiessen, Teruya & Lam, 2010, p. 101). Using these two views as a foundation, the study follows five fundamental assumptions about language in examining language use and discourses of newspapers and magazines.

First, “language is social. Language is central to human activity” (Richardson, 2007, p. 10). Because it is a unique human property, language helps people to realize the world and to fix meaning in various ways. In doing so, language doesn’t just reflect the way things are done; rather, it can recreate social and institutional happenings. According to Jorgensen & Philips (2002), “language is a ‘machine’ that generates, and as a result constitutes the social world. This also extends to the constitution of social identities and social relations” (p.9). Thus, language represents social realities and contributes to the production and reproduction of social orders and happenings.

Second, “language use enacts identity” (Richardson, 2007, p.11). Any proposition or utterance in one way or another gives a clue about its writer or utterer in accordance with the purpose. “The

meanings of an utterance, an argument, a newspaper text or whatever are intimately related to the identity of the producer responsible for its content and context of its articulation” (Richardson, 2007, p.11). Therefore, in order to get a full understanding of a particular text or utterance, one must know the identities of the producers and the context of the production.

Third, “language use is always active; it is always directed at doing something” (Richardson, 2007, p.12). Indeed, language is always active and volatile depending on the context being used. As a result, meaning and patterns are always vulnerable to change and transformations in line with the context of the communication. Therefore, “transformation of the patterns should therefore be explored through analysis of the specific contexts in which language is in action” (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002, p.12).

Fourth, “language use has power” (Richardson, 2007, p.12). Language use reflects power relation and enactment in various ways. People use different kinds of language use strategies to influence the thought and world view of others. In doing so, language serves as a medium of power and can be used as a tool to legitimize social inequalities. Especially, journalism is a powerful genre in which power inequalities via language use are manifested. Thus, “journalism has social effect: through its power to shape issues, agendas and public discourse, it can reinforce beliefs; it can shape people’s opinions ...” (Richardson, 2007, p.13). All these purposes are served using various ways of language use. As a result, it is important to understand the social power indexed by the language used.

Finally, language use is (with some exceptions) ideological. According to Fairclough (1995), “ideology invests language in various ways at various levels” (p.71). Thus, ideology can be manifest itself at macro level via discursive practices and at micro level through the actual semiotic and linguistic codes.

In nutshell, in this study language is approached in terms of the aforementioned five assumptions that are formulated based on poststructuralist and functionalist theories.

2.5.1.2. The notion of ‘discourse’

Discourse is a tricky word. It is used in a variety of linguistic, social and political studies, with a variety of distinct or overlapping meanings and theoretical approaches. Thus, the term ‘discourse’ has become a common currency in a variety of disciplines, without having a unified definition. Scholars make a distinction between ‘discourse’ and ‘text’ based on the traditional text linguistics. According to Wodak & Meyer (2001) in English speaking world ‘discourse’ is often used both for written and oral texts. Others distinguish between ‘discourse’ and ‘text’ based on their level of abstractness. Here, ‘text’ is taken as a concrete realization of abstract forms of knowledge (discourse). Besides, Van Dijk (1999 as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 6) views “discourse as a structured forms of knowledge and memory of social practices, whereas ‘text’ refers to concrete oral utterances or written documents.”

Gee (2011), conceptualizes ‘discourse’ as a social practice. He makes a distinction between ‘Discourse’ with capital “D” and ‘discourses’ with small “d”. The former refers to the process of social interaction and discursive formation, whereas the latter denotes the final product, ‘text’. Similarly, Fairclough (1995b, p. 95), identifies three separate, but not discrete ways in which the term ‘discourse’ can be used. Thus, any instance of discourse is seen as 1) a piece of text; 2) an instance of discursive practice; and, 3) an instance of social practice.

The general notion underlying the concept of ‘discourse’ is that “language is structured according to different patterns that people’s utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life” (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002, p. 1). Familiar examples among such domains are political discourse, medical discourse and media discourse.

In this study discourse is understood from social constructionist and functionalist approach to language use. Accordingly, using CDA as analytical framework discourse is conceptualized as “a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events” (Burr, 1995, p.32). Though the notion of ‘discourse’ in CDA differs across various approaches and theoretical basements, the most popular consumption of the concept of ‘discourse’ in CDA can be summarized in the following quotation:

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of ‘social practice’. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p.258 as cited in Wodak & Meyer 2001; 6)

Here, discourse is understood as language use, but not language in its purity as in the structuralism view of language. As a result, ‘discourse’ and ‘language’ use are used interchangeably throughout the study, unless some other explanation are attached with.

2.5.1.3. Ideology

Mautner (2005) defines ideology in two distinct dimensions. On the one side ideology is “a kind of obstacle to rational thought and clear perception that is supposed to affect the thinking of others.” On the other hand it is “a set of ideas associated with distinct political stand points... in this usage ideologies are sometimes said to represent the interests of classes or other collectives.” Ideology is something we cannot escape, but a system of meaning or instrument that we perceive and represent the world (Svoojag, 2003; Kousmanen, 2011). Ideology is thus the prime means of ‘manufacturing consent’⁵.

Though it occupies the central stage in CDA scholarship, the concept of ‘ideology’ has been merely attached with negative connotations. Wodak and Meyer (2001; 8) quoting Mullins (1972) stated

⁵ Herman & Chomsky (2002) argues that media is the prime venue of propaganda and manufacturing consent.

four central characteristics of ideologies: 1) power is important than cognition; 2) they are capable of guiding individuals' evaluations; 3) they provide guidance through action; and 4) they must be logically coherent. As a result, ideology "is not just any system of ideas of beliefs but ways of thinking in which historically transient exploitative forms of social organization are represented as eternal, natural, inevitable or 'rational'" (Jones, 2001, p. 227 as cited in Richardson, 2007, p. 34).

a) Interpretations of ideology

Ideology is a term which has a variety of meanings and implications. Accordingly, there are various perceptions of ideology among scholars in line with different school of thoughts. Here ideology is conceptualized and defined in a multidisciplinary frame work that combines three perspectives: Marxist, social constructionist and socio-cognitive. First, classical Marxists view ideology as a 'false consciousness'. According to Burr (1995),

the basic assumption underlying this view is that there is a real, material state of affairs (e.g. that employers pay their employees less than the full value of the work they do, and are thereby able to extract a profit: the real state of affairs is therefore that the workers are exploited), but that people do not recognize. (p. 56).

This reality is either shaded by widely accepted ideas or it's viewed as natural and rational belief. As a result, people are said to be living in 'false consciousness' because their understanding of their position is distorted. Here, "ideology serves to mask the contradiction in society between the exploitative economic relationships that it involves and the need for some kind of minimum consent from those who are disadvantaged" (Burr, 1995, p.55). This version of ideology helps to take a critical stance on the discourses and narratives prevalent in society and question their effects.

Second, social constructionists view ideology as 'knowledge in service of power.' According to this view ideas and events are not ideological by themselves, unless they are used by powerful groups in a society to substation their power (Burr, 1995). Thus, this view detaches ideology from questions of truth and falsity. Constructionists believe that there is no 'truth', but different constructions of the world that depend on culturally and historically specific factors. "The study of ideology is therefore, the study of ways in which meaning is mobilized in the social world in the interests of powerful groups" (Thompson, 1990 as cited in Burr, 1995, p. 56).

Third, socio-cognitively ideology is viewed as ‘a system of ideas’ which connotes “shared representation of social groups, and more specifically as the ‘axiomatic’ principles of such representations” (van Dijk, 2006, p.115). This view of ideology operates based on four assumptions and/or characteristics ideology. Firstly, ideology is some kind of ‘idea’ or ‘belief system’ (i.e. ideology do not contain social structures and material signatures) (van Dijk, 2006). Secondly, ideology is not individual, rather socially shared by the members of the collectivity of social actors. However, all social collectives are not ideological groups. Thirdly, “ideologies are not any kind of socially shared beliefs, such as sociocultural knowledge or social attitudes, but more fundamental or axiomatic” (van Dijk, 2006, p.116). In other words, ideology controls and organizes socially shared beliefs. Finally, as a foundation of social groups ideologies are gradually acquired and can be changed through life or a life period (van Dijk, 2006).

Ideologies may become dissociated from the particular social base which generated them: they may become ‘naturalized’ and seen to be commonsensical and based in the nature of things or people, rather than in the interests of classes (Fairclough, 1995; 35). Besides “naturalization gives to a particular ideological representations the status of common sense, and thereby makes them opaque; i.e. no longer visible as ideologies.”

b) Language and ideology

The nexus between language and ideology is a boldly visible one. Ideology as a representation of social groups, does not appear in a vacuum; rather it exists in some kind of usage and can only be studied in relation to that use. The prime (if not the only) manifestation of ideology is language use or discourse. According to Versechueren (2012), “(one of) the most visible manifestation (s) of ideology is LANGUAGE USE or DISCOURSE, which reflect, construct, and/or maintain ideological patterns” (p.17). Thus, “language is central to human activity; indeed it is one of the things that make us human. It is through the use of language that we grant meaning to our actions; equally, it is through our use of language that we can attempt to remove meaning from our actions” (Richardson, 2007, p. 10).

According to social constructionist perspective language is a precondition for thought and world view construction. People understand the world and construct some kind of meaning and

representation through language (Burr, 1995). Likewise, “language use or discourse is also privileged as a manifestation of ideology because it is no doubt the main instrument for spreading complex patterns of meaning” (Versechueren, 2012, p. 18). As a result ideology can shape and determine language use. Similarly, language use or discourse not only reflects frames of interpretation, rather it constructs, shapes and reshapes them.

Ideology as a tool of conception of the world manifests itself in various aspects of social and individual life through language. Thus, ideology can be manifested in media discourse in various ways. Linguistically, the language used in the media represents ideology in many implicit ways. For instance choices of lexicalization are an explicit way to reveal what the author thinks about a specific person, group, or their actions. Moreover, the use of in-group and out-group designators such as personal pronouns ‘we’ and ‘they’ or possessive pronouns of ‘our’ and ‘their’ are an explicit way of establishing a contrast between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Likewise, choices can also be made at clause or sentence level to reveal which roles participants are represented in, whether it is as agents, targets, or victims (Van Leeuwen, 1996). The choice between passive and active voice is also relevant to show back grounding and suppression.

c) Media discourse and ideology

“In the 21st century the role of media is omnipresent for all ‘positive and negative changes’ in the society no matter of geographical location” (Shojaei, Youssefi & Hosseini, 2013, p. 858). Consequently, media can either manipulate situations or be manipulated by various actors’ interests, leading to unintended connotations. Media outlets influence and/or manipulate the public primarily through their language use.

Media uses language as an institutional means of framing reality. As a result, the representation of social, political, cultural, economic, and ideological realities highly depends on the language use of the mass media. By doing so, the media is becoming the dominant source of hegemony. Nowadays, the study of language use in media, conventionally known as ‘media discourse’ is becoming highly influential and central to understand latent ideologies and worldviews.

Media discourse, in one hand refers to the actual language (linguistic and semiotic codes) used by the media in reporting various events, and on the other hand it denotes the social and discursive

practices under which the message has emerged. These elements are discursively interrelated. The social and discursive practices determine what linguistic codes and structures to be used. The linguistic factor in turn shapes and re-shapes the social and discursive practices (Fairclough, 1995). The dialectical relationships between discourse (including language and other forms of semiosis) and other elements of social practices are subjected to various changes (Fairclough, 1995). Thus, these changes are formed and negotiated by ideological positions.

Institutional forms of communication such as the mass media do not simply rely or “talk about” a reality that occurs “out there” but they regulate it within their parameters (Chouliaraki, 1999, p. 38). Besides, media constructs reality in a manner corresponding to the underlying ideology of the presenters and intended audience. In other words anything that is said or written is articulated from a particular ideological position. Here, ideology can be generally understood as a set of beliefs shared by members of a particular social group.

The best known conception of ideology in media discourse is Van Dijk’s theory of ‘ideological square’ (Laitinen, 2012, p.17). The theory is based on the notion of polarization, which emphasizes positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. ‘Ideological square’ employs the following principles:

1. Emphasize our good properties/actions
2. Emphasize their bad properties/actions
3. Mitigate our bad properties/actions
4. Mitigate their good properties/actions (van Dijk 1998 in Laitinen, 2012, p.17).

Ideologies are only rarely explicitly stated in a text. Indeed, “ideologies are primarily located in the ‘unsaid’ (implicit propositions)” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 24). So, one should examine the implicit in the text. This can be done by observing at recurring themes and topics, and by thoroughly analyzing the story frames.

2.5.1.4. Power/ Hegemony

a) Definition and interpretations

One of the crucial tasks of CDA is to account for the relationship between discourse and social power. The analysis focuses on describing and explaining how power abuse is enacted, reproduced

or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups and institutions. However the concept 'power' itself has various meanings and interpretations manifested with various names: hegemony, domination, manipulation and etc. As a result, in this paper power is mainly understood in the accounts of hegemony, but also encompasses some characteristics of domination.

Hegemony as synonym of power in modern capitalist society, is "the organization of consent- the process through which subordinated forms of consciousness is constructed without recourse to violence or coercion" (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002; 32). In other words 'hegemony' refers to the way the dominant class manufactures consent by persuasively defining for the whole society what is to be regarded as natural and normal. Consistently, Fairclough (1995), explains hegemony as "leadership as well as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domain of the society" (p. 76). Hegemony always involves a contestation between 'elites' and 'counter-elites', where the former refers to the 'dominant elite' and the later denote their aspiring counterparts (Gramsci, 1971 cited in Kassahun, 2000).

Some scholars differentiate between 'hegemony' and 'domination'. According to Kassahun (2000), "domination presupposes the use of pressure or force by section of society, including minority groups, in the drive towards its attainment. On the other hand, hegemony arises from a balanced combination of force and consent" (p.26). Kassahun adds, force might be used in attaining hegemony, but it should be backed by the consent of the majority expressed through public opinions in the form of the media and associations (Kassahun, 2000). Therefore the force component should not override consent.

Likewise, scholars differentiate between 'hegemony' and 'manipulation'. As to van Djik (2006), "manipulation implies the exercise of a form of illegitimate influence by means of discourse: manipulators make others believe or do things that are in the interest of the manipulator, and against the best interests of the manipulated (p. 360). Manipulation involves power abuse and domination that can be manifested in multiple ways. A manipulator always exercises against the will and best interest of the public through pictures, photos, movies or other media (van Djik, 2006).

Operationally, in this study hegemony is understood as the act of soliciting the consent of the majority in society, which can be expressed by conforming to the values and goals advanced by

hegemonic actors. This conception of hegemony and/or power as explained below, encompasses some elements of domination as well. According to Van Dijk (1996, p. 84-85) hegemony and/or power can be understood in the following way:

- Power is a property of relations between social groups, institutions or organizations. Hence, only social power, and not individual power, is considered here.
- Social power is defined in terms of the control exercised by one group or organization (or its members) over the actions and/or the minds of (the members of) another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies.
- Dominance is here understood as a form of social power abuse that is, as a legally or morally illegitimate exercise of control over others in one's own interests, often resulting in social inequality.
- Power is based on privileged access to valued social resources, such as wealth, jobs, status, or indeed, a preferential access to public discourse and communication.
- Social power and dominance are often organized and institutionalized, so as to allow more effective control, and to enable routine forms of power reproduction.
- Dominance is seldom absolute; it is often gradual, and may be met by more or less resistance or counter-power by dominated groups.

b) Language and power/hegemony

All human interactions involve a certain elements of power relations manifested in various ways. Kassahun (2000) quoting Lonsdale (1986, p.128) stated that, power is a relationship between social actors which can be concretely manifested in its public exercise, and it becomes effective only when it manages to make inequality real. In such process the prime manifestation of power is language use or discourse. According to Burr (1995), “we can exercise power by drawing upon discourses which allow our actions to be presented in an acceptable light” (p. 43). Therefore, power is not a form of possession which some people have and others don't, rather it is the effect of discourse.

Power/hegemony always involves contestations that can be manifested in discourse. In fact, these contestations are primarily contestations of discourse (Burr, 1995). For instance, there are a number of discourses surrounding a single event. These discourses are always in contestation to construct hegemony. Therefore, power is something one can exercise drawing upon discourses, rather than using force or coercion. Thus, in social constructionist view, “repression and the need to resort to force is rather to be taken as evidence of a lack of power; repression is used when the limits of power have been reached” (Sawicki, 1991 cited in Burr, 1995, p.44). As a result language use or discourse as a prime manifestation of power/hegemony helps to create, sustain and contest power, and power also determines language use and discourse practices.

People are ‘masters and slaves of language.’ On one hand they become powerful and exercise their power through language; and on the other hand they become slaves to the language of those groups with better ideas. CDA scholars believe that language is the sole gateway to investigate and understand such power abuse and hegemonic practices. As such, by studying verbal interactions and texts one can clearly identify power abuse and societal inequalities.

2.5.1.5. Language, Ideology and Hegemony: The Nexus

Social constructionism believes that, language is a pre-condition for thought and representation of the world into some kind of categories (Burr, 1995). Such kind of representations, in one way or another are subjects to ideological investments that contain power relations and enactments (Versechueren, 2012). Thus, “ideology can support the perpetuation of existing relations of power and dominance” (Versechueren, 2012, p.19). Therefore, language as pre-condition for thought; ideology as a conception of the world and way thinking, and power as a salient feature of societal interaction, are considered as intertwined elements of communication.

In other words, the relationship between society and discourse (= language use) is dialectic: one shapes the other and vice versa (Fairclough, 1995). This dialectical relationship is transacted symbolically, and this symbolic activity is mediated primarily by the use of language. Such kind of language use always represents an event in some way, and that way of representation always invests ideology into language. Because contestation and change are realities for every society, ideology negotiates power relations primarily through language. Accordingly, language helps to

realize the world and to represent it in some way and that some way is a result of some kind of ideology which definitely involves power relations.

From functional linguistics perspective, “language use has power” (Richardson, 2007, p.12). Language reflects the social structure of the community in accordance with the power relations among the actors. These power relations are determined by ideological factors. Accordingly, language use determines and shapes ideologies and power relations and vice versa. From this, one can conclude that, they are dialectically interrelated.

2.5.1.6. Language use, patterns and discourse strategy

Language use is a widely used concept in sociolinguistics and other linguistics subfields that focus on the functional view of language. It is a broad concept that cannot be defined in a single definition. For that reason, scholars came up with various operational definitions in accordance with their theoretical and methodological orientations. Though most definitions equate language use with discourses, there is a considerable difference between the two concepts. For instance, Gee (2011) defines language use as a social language in which “people use different styles or varieties of language for different purposes. They use different varieties of language to enact and recognize different identities in different settings; they also use different varieties of language to engage in...” (p. 28).

According to Gee (2011), any language is composed of a great many different varieties that are connected to meanings and social activities associated with particular social and cultural groups. Accordingly, language use refers to linguistic codes, styles or varieties that are associated with a particular social and institutional identity. In most cases, these varieties are defined and determined by the genre of the communicative context. For instance, scholars distinguish between ordinary and specialized language use forms. These categorizations are primarily results of communicative events that are manifested through the actual language use.

Traditionally, the study of language use has been limited to analyzing the linguistic codes used in a particular communicative event and genre. Especially, sociolinguists approached language use based on the immediate contextual variables, such as age, gender, social class, religion, etc. However, CDA scholars argue that language use has to be studied as a social and cognitive practice beyond the sociolinguistics arena (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1988). Here, the meaning of any

utterance/statement is understood as discourses based on the broader social and discursive practices. According to Gee (2011), discourses are different from language use or social language due to the reasons mentioned in the following quotation:

People build identities and activities not just through language, but by using language together with other “stuff” that isn’t language. If you want to get recognized as a street-gang member of a certain sort you have to speak in the “right” way, but you also have to act and dress in the “right” way, as well. You also have to engage (or, at least, behave as if you are engaging) in characteristic ways of thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, and believing. You also have to use or be able to use various sorts of symbols (e.g., graffiti), tools (e.g., a weapon), and objects (e.g., street corners) in the “right” places and at the “right” times. You can’t just “talk the talk,” you have to “walk the walk” as well (p. 28).

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Understanding language use as discourse involves both the linguistic codes and discursive practices in a dialectical manner. Accordingly, in this study, language use refers to the language used for communication in the press outlets and the communicative practice in which meaning is communicated.

Language use is always determines/determined by genres and communicative events that occur in certain kinds of patterns. Here, a **pattern** is understood as a particular way of language use that has a repetitive occurrence in a certain context. In professional genres like the media, language use patterns happen due to two reasons. First, patterns happen due to the genre of communication. For instance, news has its own format of writing that happens repetitively forming a vividly observable

pattern. Second, patterns happen due to personal and institutional influences. Journalists use certain kinds of linguistic styles repeatedly to draw their personal signature or due to ideological influences from various institutions.

Patterns of language use mainly exist through repetitions that occur regularly. Regularity is determined by **discourse strategies** that directly emanate from the discursive practices. Discourse strategy refers to “a strategy for communication between or among people” (Shartiely 2013, p. 36). The study of discourse strategy has two levels: macro and micro. At both levels, the study of discourse strategy focuses on analyzing patterns of language use in a given context. Discourse strategy as a communicative strategy always determines/determined by the discursive structures under which the message is produced and consumed.

To sum up, language use in the media is always guided by certain discourse strategies that occur on a regular basis forming a parallel pattern. These patterns are final outputs of the societal and discursive practices of the meaning communicated.

2.5.1.7. Discursive Struggles and Discourse Contestation

According to the social constructionist view, access to reality is only fixed through language. Accordingly, “... our access to them is always mediated by systems of meaning in the form of discourses. Physical objects do not possess meaning in themselves; meaning is something we ascribe to them through discourse” (Jorgensen & Philips 2002, p. 35). However, such representations of the world are always subjected to change. In other words, discourses are not stable, rather, vulnerable to modification and change. Discourses change through time and context mainly due to discursive struggles and contestations.

According to Foucault (1972), statements only understood through their discursive practices. Statements different in form, and dispersed in time, form a group if they refer to one and the same object. However, “this group of statements is far from referring to a single object, formed once and for all, and to preserving it indefinitely as its horizon of inexhaustible ideality”(Foucault 1972, p. 32). For instance, in his study ‘the history of madness’, Foucault himself found out how discourses of madness had been modified and changed in ages. This is because finding consistent and unified discourses referring to a single object is difficult. Hence, discourses are historically restricted depending on their discursive structures.

The major (if not the only) reason for a change in discourses is a discursive struggle which can be manifested through meaning contestations. Every natural and human activity involves contestation of meaning that result power struggle. For instance, the following quote shows how contestations happen through discourse:

Let us take as an example a flood associated with a river overflowing its banks. The rise in the water level that leads to the flood is an event that takes place independently of people's thoughts and talk...The rise in the water level is a material fact. But as soon as people try to ascribe meaning to it, it is no longer outside discourse. Most would place it in the category of 'natural phenomena', but they would not necessarily describe it in the same way. Some would draw on a meteorological discourse, attributing the rise in the water level to an unusually heavy downpour. Others might account for it in terms of the El Niño phenomenon, or see it as one of the many global consequences of the 'greenhouse effect'. Still others would see it as the result of 'political mismanagement', such as the national government's failure to commission and fund the building of dykes. Finally, some might see it as a manifestation of God's will, attributing it to God's anger over a people's sinful way of life or seeing it as a sign of the arrival of Armageddon. ...Thus the ascription of meaning in discourses works to constitute and change the world (Jorgensen & Philips 2002, p. 9).

As it's described in the above quotation, every natural and human activity involves contestations represented through discourses. Hence, these contestations are primarily contestations of discourse resulted from discursive struggles. Since discourse constitutes the social world, "...changes in discourse are a means by which the social world is changed. Struggles at the discursive level take part in changing, as well as in reproducing, the social reality" (Jorgensen & Philips 2002, p. 9). Here, one must note that contestation is a key factor for the continuity and circulation of discourses. Hence, contestation helps to legitimize and sustain a particular discourse through commentaries. This is because "those discourses which are commented upon by others are the discourses which we consider to have validity and worth" (Mills 1997, p. 67).

The media as an institutional means of framing reality always involves discursive struggles and contestations over fixing the meaning of various issues. Especially, in the 21st century, the media

has become the primary and most influential tool in shaping and re-shaping the social world (Herman & Chomsky 2002). It puts various actors into a conversation over various topics and these, in turn, redefines the social world. Media always presents voices of the elite and these voices often face counter-elite contestations (Zaller 1999). These ‘elite vs counter-elite’ contestations are mostly ideologically loaded and build on inclusions and exclusions. Hence, these contestations are hegemonic struggles that attempt to manufacture consent. This, in turn, yields manipulation and power abuse in one way or another.

Evidence of discursive struggles and contestations in the media can be manifested both in discursive and linguistic (semiosis) elements. At the discursive level, journalists and/or the media outlets produce reports in line with their ideological stands. For instance, in the production process, editorial decisions (e.g. selection of stories and sources, framing, etc.) highly influence the message. On the other hand, the actual discourse, the linguistic and semiosis signs used by the media manifests contestations. For instance, the use of value-laden words and syntactic constructions, rhetorical expressions and pictures create contestations.

2.5.1.8. Critical discourse analysis

2.5.1.8.1. History and Definitions

Nowadays, the terms critical linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) are often used interchangeably. In fact the later has been preferred and used to denote the theory formerly identified as critical linguistics (CL). Besides some scholars prefer the term critical discourse studies (CDS). “The manifold roots of CDA lie in Rhetoric, Text linguistics, Anthropology, philosophy, socio-psychology, cognitive science, literary studies and sociolinguistics, as well as applied linguistics and pragmatics” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.1).

In the 1960s and 1970s many scholars adopted a more critical perspective in language studies. Concurrently a group of linguists at the University of East Anglia began using the term critical linguistics (CL) in their research on language use in various institutions, claiming that discourse cannot exist without social meaning (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.5). Thus, these activities are considered as a starting point for CDA. Meanwhile the general approach to CDA has been refined, broadened and changed.

What is it all about? CDA “is a perspective which studies the relationship between discourse events and socio-political and cultural factors, especially the way discourse is ideologically influenced by and can itself influence power relations in society” (Crystal, 2008, p.149). Accordingly, CDA aims at uncovering the role of language in constructing social identities, relationships, issues, and events. Its central concern is to examine the socio-political nature of the texts and discourses through which social reality is constituted and investigate how these discourses maintain power through their ideological properties (Fairclough, 1995; Min, 1997).

According to Fowler (1996, p.2), CDA is instrumental linguistics that uses the study of language for understanding of something else. In other words it is an analysis designed to get the ideology coded implicitly behind the overt propositions, to examine it particularly in the context of social formations. Wodak (2006, p.5) argues that “social theory should be oriented towards critiquing and changing society as a whole.” She further states that, the core concepts of such an understanding of Critical Theory are: (1) Critical Theory should be directed at the totality of society in its historical specificity, and (2) Critical Theory should improve the understanding of society by integrating all the major social sciences, including economics, sociology, history, political science, anthropology and psychology (Wodak, 2006, p.5).

CDA sees language use as a social practice and considers the context of language use as a crucial element to discourse analysis (Richardson, 2007). In other words, discourses are historical and can only be understood in relation to their context. Methodologically, CDA is interpretative and explanatory that employs systematic tactic to reveal the relationship between text and its social conditions, ideologies and power relations.

2.5.1.8.2. Approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis

There are a number of approaches in CDA paradigm having their own distinct disciplinary backgrounds based on their notion of ‘discourse’ and ‘discursive structures’. However, these approaches share basic characteristics. Wodak (2006, p.6) and Jorgensen & Philips (2002, p.12) suggest the following general characteristics of CDA research:

- The approach is interdisciplinary: it combines different theories from various disciplines for the better understanding of the subject under investigation.

- The approach is problem-oriented, rather than focused on specific linguistic items: it gives due emphasis for social problems like racism, social change, development, etc.
- The theories as well as the methodologies are eclectic: theories and methods are integrated for an understanding and explanation of the object under investigation.
- The approach is abductive: a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary.
- The historical context should be analyzed and integrated into the interpretation of discourse and texts: i.e. to understand the notion of ‘change’.

a) Fairclough’s three dimensional model

Fairclough’s (1995) ‘three-dimensional model’ sees language use as a ‘social practice’ that is both determined by social structure and contributes to stabilizing and changing that structure simultaneously (Wodak, 2001, p.7). Thus, social practice refers to social activity that encompasses a cumulative articulation of diverse social elements, including discourse. Every social practice includes activities, subjects and their social relations, objects, time and place, forms of consciousness, values and discourse. These elements are not discrete and fully separated; rather they are dialectically related (Fairclough, 1995). As a result a change in social practice leads to a change in discourse and vice versa.

Fairclough’s ‘three-dimensional model’ (see figure 2) argues that, every instance of language use in a communicative event consists of three dimensions:

- It is a text (speech, writing, visual image or a combination of these);
- It is a discursive practice which involves the production and consumption of texts; and
- It is a social practice (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002, p.68)

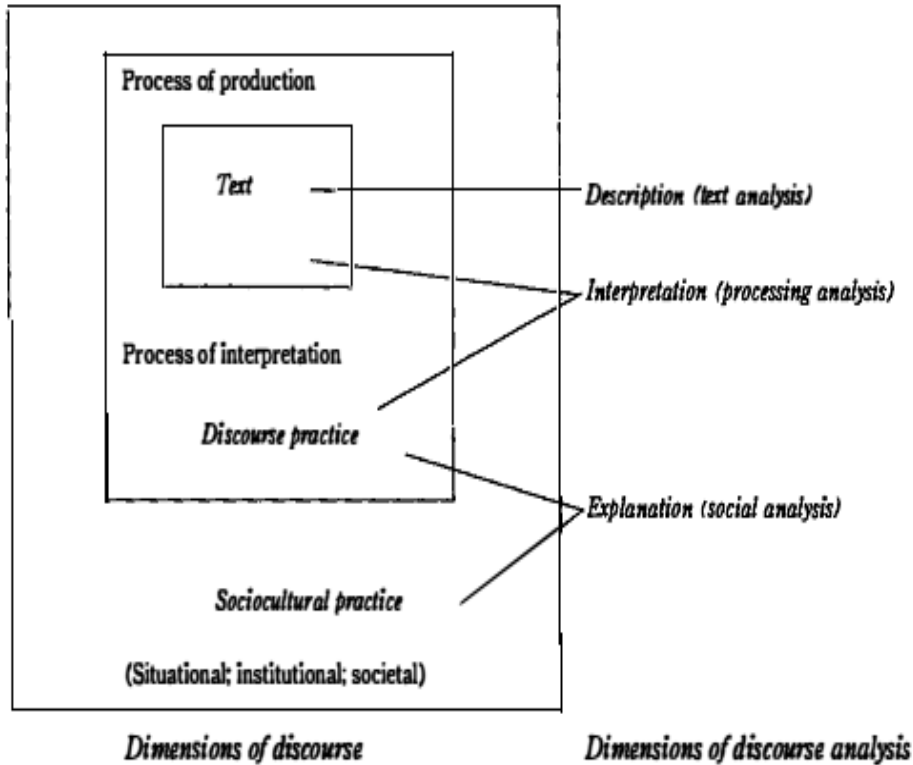


Figure 2: Fairclough's three dimensional model for critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995, p.98)

This model is an analytical framework for empirical researches on communication and society. Hence, the analysis focuses on (1) the linguistic features of the text, (2) processes relating to the production and consumption of the text (discursive practice) and the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs (social practice).

The analysis of texts in this CDA model constitutes a linguistic part. That is because, “a discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text” (Halliday, 1994 as cited in Kousmanen, 2011, p.21). Accordingly, most studies that use this model employ systematic functional linguistics as a textual analysis tool. The textual analysis takes two steps: first the initial and purely linguistic analysis of the text and its grammatical features; second, the interpretation of the text in its situational and cultural context or discursive practices.

b) Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model

This model basically operates based on the theoretical framework of discourse – cognition – society triangle (van Dijk, 2012). Contrarily to most CDA approaches, this model denies “the influence of the social context on language variation and discourse in terms of objective social variables such as gender, class, race, ethnicity or age” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.14). Van Dijk argues that no such direct influence exists, because social structures and discourse structures cannot be related directly, and need the mediation of an interface.

He shows that this interface must be cognitive, in the sense that it is not objective social situations, but the subjective definitions of the relevant properties of communicative situations that influence text and talk. These subjective representations of events and situations are called **mental models** (van Dijk, 2012) and they are related to the social environment through **context models**. Context models are “specific mental models of subjective representations (definitions) of the relevant properties of communicative situations, controlling discourse processing and adapting discourse to the social environment so that it is situationally appropriate” (van Dijk, 2012, p.65).

According to (Wodak & Meyer, 2001), context models are understood as mental representations of the structure of the communicative situation that are discursively relevant for the participant. As such, context models control the generation of meaning based on the mental models of events. They make sure that language users adapt their discourse to the social environment so that it is socially appropriate. Within such contexts, Three Forms of social representations are relevant to understand discourse:

- Knowledge (personal, group, cultural)
- attitudes (not in the social psychology understanding)
- Ideologies. Discourses take place within society, and can only be understood in the interplay of social situation, action, actor and societal structures (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.26).

In nutshell, the socio-cognitive approach assumes that the relation between discourse and society is not direct, but needs to be mediated by cognitive process. Here, cognitive process refers, “the production and comprehension of discourse/interaction on the basis of specific mental models, controlled by context models, and based on knowledge and ideologies” (van Dijk, 2012, p. 65).

Most empirical studies using this model focus on examining the representation of ‘us’ and ‘them’ in text and talk based on van Dijk’s ‘ideological square’⁶.

2.5.2. Development: definitions and interpretations

‘Development’ is a buzzword in contemporary discourses of scholars, politicians, and journalists. “Despite its widespread usage, the meaning of the term ‘development’ remains vague, tending to refer to a set of beliefs and assumptions about the nature of social progress rather than to anything more precise” (Rist, 2010, p. 19). Though it depends on where and by whom it is used, the underlying notion of development is positive change. In other words, it conveys the idea that ‘tomorrow things will be better or necessarily better.’ As such, development is a normative concept, almost a synonym for ‘improvement’ (Seers, 2011, p.10).

Likewise, Rist (2010, p. 23) defines development as a “general transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations in order to increase the production of commodities ... by means of market exchange, to effective demand.” Thus, this definition emphasizes that, development is all about negotiating economic growth with social relations.

For years economic growth has been the dominant story-line in defining development discourse. As time progressed however, development had come to be more than economic growth. For instance, issues of civil and political rights are added as core elements of development discourse nowadays. More recently, issues of environment and natural resource are become the forefront topics in modern development discourse.

According to Chambers (2004), development has now become a generic concept that encompasses elements of both economic growth and modernity simultaneously. Due to this, defining development within a single parameter will be both difficult and misleading. Accordingly, scholars tried to define the term development using various synonym vocabularies and contextual domains. One among such attempts is the following list of development vocabularies by Chambers (2004, p. 4).

⁶ See 2.4.1.3 (c) section of this paper for further explanation about van Dijk’s ‘ideological square’

The human condition	Capabilities, deprivation, entitlement, livelihood, poverty, vulnerability, well-being dimensions
Organization, power and relationship	Accountability, consumer, decentralization, empowerment, ownership, participation, process, stakeholder, transparency
Domain of dimensions	Civil society, environment, globalization, governance, market
Values	Democracy, diversity, equity, gender, human rights, pluralism, sustainability

Table 1- development vocabulary

2.5.2.1. Development Vs Economic growth

For years ‘development’ has been used as an exact synonymy concept for economic growth signifying the change in national income over time, usually measured over one year. According to Haller (2012),

...economic growth is, in a limited sense, an increase of the national income per capita, and it involves the analysis, especially in quantitative terms, of this process, with a focus on the functional relations between the endogenous variables; in a wider sense, it involves the increase of the GDP, GNP and NI, therefore of the national wealth, including the production capacity, expressed in both absolute and relative size, per capita, encompassing also the structural modifications of economy (p.66).

This notion was especially pronounced in the post second world war period when it came to connote ‘indefinite growth, maturity and the capacity to grow without end’ (Ermiyas, 2012). Until recently, this view of development is often reflected in the practices of international organizations like the World Bank which uses gross national product per capita (GNP p.c.) as a criterion to divide countries of the world into development categories.

The view of development discourse as economic growth has been under criticism from different sources since the 1960s. This is because; development is not only mean growing in material assets

(e.g. growth in GDP, export performance, etc.), but must, “in equal measure, bring about real improvements in people’s livelihoods, promote social equity, and enable the sustainability of the natural resource base” (Desalegn, 2014, p. xiii). As such, scholars started to conceptualize development as multi-dimensional phenomenon.

The difference between economic growth and development is that, economic growth is concerned with the quantitative side of the economic activities, while development focuses on larger concerns, including qualitative changes that take place in economy and society (Haller, 2012). Development shows how economic growth impacts and improves the living conditions and standards of the society. As a result, economic growth is considered as a pre-condition for development.

2.5.2.2. Core values of Development

The concept of development has been changing its meaning and conceptualization through time. Accordingly, the definition of development we give today is not necessarily the same as it would have been in previous decades. However, it is possible to understand the inner meanings of development through its basic components or core values. According to Todaro & Smith (2012, p.21) there are three core values of development. These are;

- 1) **Sustenance:** The basic goods and services, such as food, clothing, and shelter, those are necessary to sustain an average human being at the bare minimum level of living.
- 2) **Self-esteem:** The feeling of worthiness that a society enjoys when its social, political, and economic systems and institutions promote human values such as respect, dignity, integrity, and self-determination.
- 3) **Freedom:** A situation in which a society has at its disposal a variety of alternatives from which to satisfy its wants and individuals enjoy real choices according to their preferences.

2.5.2.3. Theories of Development and Economic growth

The post-world war II literature on development and economic growth has been shaped and influenced by various school of thoughts. According to Todaro & Smith (2012), there are four

major school of thoughts that dominated the development literature: (1) The linear-stages-of-growth model, (2) theories and patterns of structural change, (3) the international-dependence revolution, and (4) the neoclassical, free-market counterrevolution. Thus, this study draws up on these paradigms of development.

a) Development as Growth: Linear-Stages Theories

This theory conceptualizes development as modernization that must be achieved through sequential stages. It is a US and Euro-centric model mainly associated with the American historian Walt W. Rostow. The theory focuses on using a systematic process to move underdeveloped countries to a more sophisticated level of development (Shareia, 2015). Here, development is equated with “advancement towards a condition corresponding to the industrial capitalist societies of the west” (Smith, 2005, p.45). Thus, the focus of modernization theory is cultural change directed at institutional structures in non-industrialized countries.

Modernization theory treats development as a phased process. Todaro & Smith (2012) referring the American economic historian Walt W. Rostow stated that, “the transition from underdevelopment to development can be described in terms of a series of steps or stages through which all countries must proceed” (p.111). According to Rostow there are five identified stages of development: 1) the traditional society; 2) preconditions for take-off; 3) take-off; 4) the road to maturity and 5) the age of mass consumption.

However, linear-stages theory of development is criticized for imposing political, cultural, social and institutional characteristics of the west on the so called ‘under developed’ world. Thus, it completely ignores the particular concerns of developing countries (Shareia, 2015).

b) Structural-change models of development

This theory is mainly constructed on the concept of ‘transformation’. To be precise, the theory focuses on how underdeveloped economies transform their domestic economic structure from traditional or agrarian to modern and urbanized economy (Todaro & Smith, 2012). According to Todaro & Smith (2012), the main hypothesis in this theory is that:

Underdevelopment is due to underutilization of resources arising from structural or institutional factors that have their origins in both domestic and international dualism. Development therefore requires more than just accelerating capital formation (p. 115).

Consequently, the process of transforming an economy in such a way that the contribution to national income by the manufacturing sector eventually surpasses the contribution by the agricultural sector.

Though there are various versions of structural-change theory of development, the most visible one is Lewis's theory, which is known as the Lewis two-sector model. According to this model, the underdeveloped economy always consists of two sectors: traditional sector characterized by overpopulated and unproductive labor (surplus labor), and a high productive modern and urbanized industrial sector (Todaro & Smith, 2012). As a result development can only be achieved by transferring the surplus labor from the traditional sector in to the modern industrial sector, aiming industrialization and sustained development. Thus, the process continues until the surplus labor is absorbed by the industrial sector.

The Lewis model is criticized for conceptualizing development as “an identifiable process of growth and change whose main features are similar in all countries” (Todaro & Smith, 2012, p. 121). However, the model fails to recognize that differences can arise among nations in the pace and pattern of development, depending on their particular social, political, cultural, and resource based contexts and issues (Todaro & Smith, 2012).

c) The Dependency model

The dependency model of development focuses on the relationship between the developed and underdeveloped countries which is structured based on power and dominance. In this model, ‘dependency’ is defined as “a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others” (Dos Santos, 1971, 231 cited in Servaes, 1999, p.34). Accordingly, the dependency model view “developing countries as beset by institutional, political, and economic rigidities, both domestic and international, and caught up in a dependence and dominance relationship with rich countries” (Todaro & Smith, 2012, p. 122). As a result, due to the power imbalance between the developed and underdeveloped

countries, underdeveloped countries are always affected by developed countries in important decisions about international economic issues such as pricing products and raw materials.

The dependency model has its root in neo-Marxist theory and has a number of versions. Of these, there are three dominant versions of dependency models: The neocolonial dependency model, the false-paradigm model, and the dualistic development thesis. From these models the first two are discussed below.

The neocolonial dependency model mainly proposes that “underdevelopment exists in developing countries because of continuing exploitative economic, political, and cultural policies of former colonial rulers toward less developed countries” (Todaro & Smith, 2012, p. 122). As a result, the cause of underdevelopment is attributed to the historical evolution of highly unequal relationship between rich and poor countries. This unequal power relationship between the center (the developed countries) and the periphery (the developing countries) highly affects the developing nations in building self-reliant and sustainable development (Todaro & Smith, 2012). Since these two poles are structurally connected, “development in the center determines and maintains underdevelopment in the periphery” (Servaes, 1999, p. 34). Thus, this is done directly or indirectly by powerful international groups through multinational corporations, aid agencies, IMF, World Bank and many others. In nutshell, underdevelopment is seen as an externally induced phenomenon.

The False-Paradigm model labels faulty and inappropriate advises by ethnocentric international ‘expert’ advisors from developed countries as major causes of underdevelopment (Todaro & Smith, 2012). These experts are blamed for offering uninformed, biased, and completely misleading models of development that often lead to inappropriate or incorrect policies. According to Todaro & Smith (2012) argues that:

developing countries have failed to develop because their development strategies (usually given to them by Western economists) have been based on an incorrect model of development, one that, for example, overstressed capital accumulation or market liberalization without giving due consideration to needed social and institutional change (p. 124).

Accordingly, multinational donors from developed countries deployed unhealthy and inappropriate models, ideas and concepts in developing countries, and this in turn high underdevelopment problems.

Though they mainly focus on international power imbalance between the center and periphery, dependency theory has two major weaknesses. First, “they give no insight into how countries initiate and sustain development” (Todaro & Smith, 2012, p. 126). Second, “the actual economic experience of developing countries that have pursued revolutionary campaigns of industrial nationalization and state-run production has been mostly negative” (Todaro & Smith, 2012, p. 126). Due to these reasons the model has been under criticism from various school of thoughts.

d) The Neoclassical Counterrevolution: Market Fundamentalism

This theory of development is emerged in 1980s counter to dependency and interventionist theories of the 1970s. According to Todaro & Smith (2012), the central argument of this theory is that, “underdevelopment results from poor resource allocation due to incorrect pricing policies and too much state intervention by overly active developing-nation governments” (p. 127). As a result, the cause of underdevelopment is attributed to the very high rate of state intervention in the economic activity. Therefore, the role of the government in economic activities has to be minimal.

Neoliberals argue that, development is achieved by free market that can be manifested through permitting competitive free market; privatizing state-owned enterprises; promoting free trade and export expansion; welcoming investors from developed countries and elimination of government intervention in the market process (Todaro & Smith, 2012).

The neoclassical counterrevolutions has three divisions: the free-market approach, the public-choice (or “new political economy”) approach, and the “market-friendly” approach. The free-market approach claims that “an unregulated market performs better than one with government regulation” (Todaro & Smith, 2012, p. 127). The public choice approach, on the other hand argues that, the economic activity has to be totally free from government interventions. This is because, “using their power and the authority of government for their own selfish ends ... Politicians use government resources to consolidate and maintain positions of power and authority” (Todaro & Smith, 2012, p. 128). Finally, the market-friendly approach, unlike the previous two models

recognizes the role the government in the economic activities. According to this approach, “successful development policy requires governments to create an environment in which markets can operate efficiently and to intervene only selectively in the economy in areas where the market is inefficient” (Todaro & Smith, 2012, p. 128).

2.5.2.4. Development, Communication and Media: The nexus

Communication is central to every human activity. Likewise, development is a fabric woven out of the activities of billions of people, and communication represents the essential fiber that binds them together (Ebigbagha, 2016). As a result, communication is the most essential (if not the only) tool of development. A successful development strategy always uses appropriate communication approaches to understand and shape people’s attitudes; to help people to acquire new knowledge, messages and skills; and to spread new social messages (Ebigbagha, 2016).

According to FAO & World Bank (2007), communication as a core tool of development needs a special treatment and design as elaborated in the following quotation:

Communication for Development is a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change (p. xxxiii).

Accordingly, communication plays a critical role in informing, mobilizing, educating and persuading the public to achieve both economic and human development. In doing so, the media plays a vital role: radio, TV, press and other media genres play a crucial role in promoting development activities.

There are a number of communication approaches to development that emanated from three major paradigms of development: modernization, dependency and multiplicity. These paradigms of development have shaped communication practices in various ways.

The Modernization paradigm argues that, “wealth and development occur in a poor and undeveloped society or receiver, when ideas are disseminated into it from rich and developed society or source” (Ebigbagha, 2016, p. 320). In doing so, top-down and one-way communication approach is used to disseminate information from the center to the periphery. Besides, the

communication process is basically characterized by transmissive models of communication. A typical example for this is Harold Lasswell's formula of communication which only focuses on the message transmission (Servaes, 1999).

Similarly, **the Dependency paradigm** claims that "development would occur when ideas are transmitted into societies that are undeveloped from developed society" (Ebigbagha, 2016, p. 321). It uses both the transmissive and diffusion models of communication. However, unlike the modernization paradigm, the dependency model underscores knowledge of the receiver and his/her socio-political environment as expected in the diffusion model.

The Multiplicity paradigm is regarded as the best of both modernization and dependency paradigms. It's known by various labels such as another development, participatory development and etc. in this paradigm "development is seen as a product of collaboration and participation of all stakeholders and communication is seen as an essential tool for participation" (Ebigbagha, 2016, p. 323). Accordingly it employs a multidimensional and participatory models of development, which are characterized by two-way communication process.

In nut shell, development as a multi-dimensional societal process uses communication as a vital tool of promotion. In this process, the media (with its various genres) serves as a crucial tool to achieve development by educating, mobilizing, and persuading the public. Accordingly, development and communication (the media in particular) are intimately related.

2.6. Meaning Making in the Ethiopian Press

In social constructivist view knowledge and meaning are constructed through social interactions. Likewise, meaning in media reports is determined by the production and consumption process that underlies various social, ideological and discursive variables. Accordingly, this section deals with social and discursive practices that determine the production and consumption of meaning in Ethiopian press.

2.6.1. The Ethiopian Press: An Overview

Ethiopia has a very old literary tradition, possessing its own highly developed written language and body of literature encompassing religious and historical accounts. Ethiopia's earliest

literatures were written in Geez, a classical Semitic language that persisted until the middle of the nineteenth century and still lingers around churches and monasteries.

Though the literary tradition of the country dates back to the first millennia, modern mass media (newspapers) practices began to take place several centuries later, around the second half of nineteenth century. At the turn of the 20th century the first Ethiopian newspapers, *Le semuer d' ethiopie*, *Aimero* and Blatta Gabre Egziabher's hand written weekly newspapers appeared on the scene (PMC: 2006). However, "the question of which was the first periodical is a matter of disagreement" (Shimelis, 2000, p. 6).

Le semuer d' ethiopie was established by a Franciscan missionary named father Bernand in 1896. Meanwhile the first Amharic newspaper, *Aimero* was issued by Greece business man called Andreas E. Cavadia (Pankhurst, 1962 as cited in Shimelis, 2000, p.7). Thus, the history of Ethiopian modern mass media could be labeled as a century old antique.

In the following decades, the press industry witnessed considerable developments; new printing houses and newspapers were launched. Of these, the remarkable one was the foundation of *Berhanena Selam* printing press and *Berhanena Selam* weekly newspaper in 1923 and 1925 respectively (Shimelis,2000, p.8). These establishments by the then regent *Ras Teferi* (later, *Haile Selassie I*) were counted as a landmark in the history of Ethiopian press. *Ras Teferi* used the press as a special propaganda machine to establish his personal image and "tell others of his greatness and kindness, wisdom and leadership, and that he had no comparison in his time" (PMC, 2006, p.8).

As a result of the Italian invasion, the development of Ethiopian press was interrupted for about five years (1935-1941). Accordingly, some of the printing presses were demolished and others were used to produce and disseminate fascist propaganda (Shimelis, 2000, p.8). In the post-liberation period, the press industry witnessed a comparatively significant progress with the establishment of *Addis Zemen*, *The Ethiopian Herald* and *Yezareytu Etyopia* newspapers (Shimelis, 2000, p.8, PMC, 2006, p.9). Of these newspapers, the first two were influential and came onto the scene in 1941 and 1943 respectively as weekly papers. Meanwhile, both became dailies after December 1958.

During the early days of the military regime, *Derg* (1974-1991), the media (the press in particular) started to exercise freedom of expression extensively. Thus, this period has generally been referred as “the golden days of Ethiopian journalism” (Shimelis, 2000, p.13). Furthermore, due to the sudden lifting of censorship,

. . . the press began to report fairly accurate, albeit abbreviated accounts of the events that were shaking the regime. For the first time in their history, Ethiopians were able to read something other than soporific propaganda in their newspapers. More than that, they were now able to express their own opinion in letters to the press (Markakis & Nega, 1978, p.95).

Eventually however, the government had controlled each and every mass media activities throughout the country using strict censorship and regulation procedures. Hence, both the press and broadcasting media were expected to frame their reports and stories in favor of the then national ideology, socialism. Moreover, it was difficult to own a private press or broadcast agencies during this period (Shimelis, 2000).

The 1991 political change was a remarkable moment in creating democratic political changes in Ethiopia. After taking power from *Derg*, the EPRDF led government had introduced a new press proclamation in 1992. Subsequently, article 29 of the new constitution guaranteed freedom of speech by confirming the basic principles of UDHR (Shimelis, 2002). These in turn slabs a vantage point for the mushrooming of mass media. Since then, a very huge number of private newspapers and magazines came into existence (PMC, 2006).

In comparison with the previous regimes, the media environment during this period is different in terms of policy packages, ownership issues and media genres. Accordingly, many scholars prefer to divide the period into smaller pieces based on the underlying political situations, rather than generalizing about the whole picture. For instance, Skjerdal (2012, p. 17) divides this period (1991-2012) into six categories: liberalization (1991–92), proliferation of new media outlets (1992–96), government crackdowns (1996–2000), consolidation and renewed diversity (2000–05), post-election setbacks (2005–07), revitalization (2007–10), renewed coercion (2010–12).

2.6.2. Social Practices in the Ethiopian Press

Media texts are not a value-free reflection of facts. They can shape or shaped by ideological, political, cultural, social and many other factors. These factors shape and influence media reports directly or indirectly. Such relationship between society and journalism is known as social practice. According to Richardson (2007) “social practices cover the structures, the institutions and the values that, while residing outside of the newsroom” (p. 114). Likewise, Fairclough (n.d) defines social practice as a relatively stabilized form of social activity. Thus, every social activity includes the following elements: activities, subjects and their social relations, instruments, objects, time and place, forms of consciousness, values and discourse. These elements are dialectically interrelated.

Accordingly, Critical discourse analysis should involve two-layered analysis: the discourse/text and its socio-cultural practice should be analyzed to unravel social inequalities and power abuse. “This can only take place when texts, and their (ideological) claims, ‘are analyzed against the facts - the reality’ of social practices and relations of power more specifically” (Richardson, 2007, p.42).

Based on the above conceptualization of social practice this section of the paper discusses the basic elements of social practice in Ethiopian press. In doing so, the legal, institutional and political elements are considered as pillars of the social practice.

2.6.2.1. Freedom of Expression in Ethiopia’s Legal Framework

In Ethiopia freedom of expression has been recognized for more than half a century, at least on paper (Gedion, 2010). The first juridical recognition of freedom of expression in Ethiopia was given by the revised 1955 constitution⁷. Article 41 and 42 of this constitution stated about freedom of speech in the following way:

Article (41) freedom of speech and of the press is guaranteed throughout the empire in accordance with the law.

Article (42) correspondence shall be subject to no censorship, except in time of declared national emergency.

⁷ The 1955 revised constitution of the Empire of Ethiopia

Likewise, freedom of expression was also a right that was given recognition in the 1974 draft constitution. However these constitutional guarantees were not effective in fostering political dissent and freedom of press (Gedion, 2010, p.205).

Unlike the above mentioned constitutions, the 1995 FDRE constitution stipulated freedom of expression in elaborated manner. Article 29 of this constitution stated that the 'right of thought, opinion and expression' in the following manner:

- 1) *Everyone has the right to hold opinions without interference.*
- 2) *Everyone has the right to freedom of expression without any interference. This right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any media of his choice.*
- 3) *Freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of artistic creativity is guaranteed. Freedom of the press shall specifically include the following elements: (a) Prohibition of any form of censorship; (b) Access to information of public interest.*
- 4) *In the interest of the free flow of information, ideas and opinions which are essential to the functioning of a democratic order, the press shall, as an institution, enjoy legal protection to ensure its operational independence and its capacity to entertain diverse opinions.*
- 5) *Any media financed by or under the control of the State shall be operated in a manner ensuring its capacity to entertain diversity in the expression of opinion.*
- 6) *These rights can be limited only through laws which are guided by the principle that freedom of expression and information cannot be limited on account of the content or effect of the point of view expressed. Legal limitations can be laid down in order to protect the well-being of the youth, and the honor and reputation of individuals.*
- 7) *Any citizen who violates any legal limitations on the exercise of these rights may be held liable under the law.*

In addition to recognizing freedom of expression, the constitution asserted that, this this right should be interpreted in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other

international human rights instruments ratified by Ethiopia⁸. This includes International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and other instruments adopted by the country.

Apart from the positive side, the constitution also have limitations regarding freedom of expression. According to Meron (2006, p. 27), “the constitution stipulates limitations on the freedom it recognizes, along with the means and reason. The tool of limitation is nothing else but relevant laws.” For instance Article 29(6) stated that, legal limitations can be laid down to protect the youth and the honor of individuals. Such expressions entail “overly vague provisions that are vulnerable to broad and abusive interpretations” (HRW, 2015, p. 57-8). Consequently, such statements might allow the government to formulate laws and regulations that can manipulate freedom of expression.

From international perspectives, freedom of expression and press in Ethiopia remains in the ‘NOT FREE’ category. The recent report by Freedom House⁹ stated that, in Ethiopia both civil and political rights are limited, if one of the worst in the world. Likewise, Ethiopia remains low in world press freedom rankings measured by ‘reporters without borders¹⁰’. Thus, the 2008 ‘freedom of mass media proclamation, the 2005 criminal code and the 2009 anti-terrorism law were mentioned as the main contributing factors this bad picture.

2.6.2.2. Press Proclamations in Ethiopia

Ethiopia has numerous regulations and directives governing the media in general and the press in particular. Of these, the primary one is press proclamation 34/1992. This proclamation is the first of its kind in Ethiopia’s media landscape and legal framework. The proclamation was meant to provide conducive environment for the press to operate freely and responsibly (Meron 2006). In its preamble the proclamation acknowledged the role of the press in promoting democratic culture, civil and political rights, and freedom of expression. Besides, the press was considered as a vital venue for citizens to express their views in various topics. Furthermore, this proclamation was glorious for prohibiting censorship unconditionally.

⁸ FDRE constitution (1995), Article 13(2)

⁹ www.freedomhouse.org/2017

¹⁰ <https://rsf.org/en/ethiopia>

After operating for more than a decade, press proclamation 34/1992 has been replaced by proclamation No 590/2008, with a title ‘freedom of the mass media and access to information proclamation.’ This proclamation reaffirmed constitutional protections, prohibition of censorship and protection of freedom of mass media. However, the proclamation “contain problematic provisions that grant broad powers to initiate defamation suits, impose harsh financial penalties, demand correction in print publications, and empower government to arbitrarily deny licenses and permits” (HRW, 2015, P. 58).

The proclamation contains overly broad provisions that force publications to publish apologies and corrections without defining the limits of requirements as stated in the following manner: “the editor or shall have a duty to publish free of charge and without correction any reply addressed to him ...” (Article 40(1a)). Besides, “ in an action for defamation through the mass media the court may award, having regard to the seriousness of the moral damage, compensation up to 100, 000 birr having regard to the seriousness of the damage” (Article 41(2)). In addition to the financial charge, the criminal code also allows penalties of fine up one year in prison.

Article 26 of the proclamation empowers government officials, allowing them to mention various reasons to hinder information and to deny access to government information. Thus, officials may deny access to information “on the pretext that the request will place an individual in jeopardy; harm commercial activities or financial welfare; or negatively impact policy, national security, or international relations” (HRW, 2015, p. 59).

In nutshell, though the proclamation provides improved access to information, it put restrictions on the press activities. The proclamation contain vague articles and expressions that might lead to abusive interpretations and manipulations. Accordingly, the press (the private press in particular) is facing various difficulties.

2.6.2.3. Politics in the Ethiopian Press

The press can manipulate or manipulated by various factors. One among these factors is politics, which order and determine our day to day movements broadly. “A political happening or temper could bring the emergence or collapse of a phenomenon. It could also determine the direction and dimension of the phenomenon” (Salawu, 2016, p.3712). As a societal and political apparatus, the

press can also influence or be influenced by the political processes and events. This because, according to normative media theories, “the press always takes on the ‘form and coloration’ of the social and political structures within which it operate” (Kunczik, 1988 cited in Salawu, 2016, p. 3712).

Likewise, the development of press in Ethiopia has been highly influenced by the political process and happenings. According to Nigussie (2014), the press in Ethiopia “has gone through a lot of challenges under the authoritarian governments of the past who used the media for fulfilling their wishes and whims” (p. 75-6). In other words, the press has been muzzled by politicians to hegemonize the regimes, and consequently, freedom of the press and people’s right to free thought and expression were denied. As a result, the press has been used as a tool of propaganda and a means of manufacturing consent.

Though it has created a better condition for the press (the private press in particular), the current regime EPRDF is also criticized for using repressive measures against independent press, and implementing one of the most pervasive systems for filtering political content (Gagliardone, 2014). In most cases, press reports are polarized and biased¹¹ in line with the ideological orientation they adopt. Typically, the private press often negates the development efforts of the government, while the state press mostly cover favorable stories about government activities (Nigussie, 2014). Thus, these differences were manifested in their language use, source selection, story framing and representation.

The EPRDF government used various measures to suppress the private constant imprisonment of journalists without charges; lack of willingness of officials to give information and financial pressure and rise in paper price among the serious measures taken by the government (Nigussie, 2014, p. 90-1). Besides, the government has also passed various proclamations and directives, which restrict the press from reporting freely. Among these the anti-terrorism proclamation and development journalism are considered as major obstacles and political tools, which are used by the government to manipulate the press.

¹¹ Skjerdal (2013), revealing political bias in media content

a) The Anti-Terrorism Proclamation as a Political Tool

Since its launch in 2009, the Ethiopian anti-terror proclamation has been highly criticized by various actors both locally and internationally. “The proclamation contains provisions which contravene the pillar of human rights provisions of both FDRE constitution and international human rights conventions ratified by Ethiopia” (Shimelis, 2014, p.65). Although the government argued that the proclamation is a response to clear and present terrorist threats to Ethiopia, it contains vague and broad statements and definitions.

The most threatening aspect of the proclamation is its broad and ambiguous definition about ‘terrorism¹²’ itself. The provision defines terrorism and terrorist acts in the following manner:

3. Terrorist Acts

Whosoever or a group intending to advance a political, religious or ideological cause by coercing the government, intimidating the public or section of the public, or destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional or, economic or social institutions of the country:

- 1) causes a person’s death or serious bodily injury;*
- 2) creates serious risk to the safety or health of the public or section of the public;*
- 3) commits kidnapping or hostage taking;*
- 4) causes serious damage to property;*
- 5) causes damage to natural resource, environment, historical or cultural heritages;*
- 6) endangers, seizes or puts under control, causes serious interference or disruption of any public service; or*
- 7) threatens to commit any of the acts stipulated under sub-articles (1) to (6) of this Article;*

¹² There is no agreeable definition of terrorism (Shimelis, 2014)

According to Sekyere and Bossman (2016), the aforementioned “definition of terrorism or a terrorist is too broad and that the law is politically motivated to crackdown on political dissent, and hence a limitation on the potential for true democracy and good governance in Ethiopia” (p. 352). Besides, not only the definition is problematic, but also the implementation of the proclamation begins from the weak ends of the law.

Similarly, the provision does not mark a clear boundary between criminal acts of property and destruction and acts of terrorism (Shimelis, 2014; Sekyere and Bossman, 2016). As a result, the distinction between criminality and terrorism had become blurred. Additionally, the proclamation provides a suppressive provision that affects free press. Article 6 of the proclamation with a subtitle ‘encouragement of terrorism’ stated that:

6. Encouragement of Terrorism

Whosoever publishes or causes the publication of a statement that is likely to be understood by some or all of the members of the public to whom it is published as a direct or indirect encouragement or other inducement to them to the commission or preparation or instigation of an act of terrorism stipulated under Article 3 of this Proclamation is punishable with rigorous imprisonment from 10 to 20 years.

Due to its vagueness, this statement allows the government to crackdown any activity and to criminalize anyone it deem not in its interest (Shimelis, 2014; Sekyere and Bossman, 2016). Particularly, this provision highly affects the media (the press in particular). This because different people derive various meanings from reading a given text, any publication could be accused in support terrorism.

In practice, the EPRDF government has been using the anti-terror proclamation as a political tool to crackdown opposition political leader, activists and journalists. According to ‘Reporters without Borders’:

Terrorism charges have been systematically used against journalists... the charges carry long jail sentences and allow the authorities to hold journalists without trial

for extended periods. There has been little improvement since the purges that led to the closure of six newspapers in 2014 and drove around 30 journalists into exile¹³.

Thus, since the enactment of this proclamation a number of journalists and opposition politicians have been convicted and sentenced to 10 – 20 years imprisonment (HRW, 2015; Sekyere and Bossman, 2016; Shimelis, 2014). Of course, the arrest of the ‘zone 9’ bloggers is a recent phenomenon. Furthermore, “websites are blocked and foreign shortwave radio broadcasts are habitually jammed. Private media outlets experience verbal attacks and warnings from the official media” (Skjerdal, 2011, p. 64).

However, the Ethiopian government denies all accusations by international human right organizations, echoing the similarity of the anti-terrorism proclamation with some of the biggest democracies; USA, UK and Germany (Shimelis, 2014). Contrarily, Sekyere and Bossman, (2016) argue that “the process by which the anti-terrorism proclamation is interpreted and implemented makes the difference even if the law is copied verbatim from the US and Britain” (p. 366).

In nutshell, the anti-terrorism proclamation is viewed as a threat to exercise freedom of thought and expression in general and freedom of press in particular. The proclamation forced journalists to be silent from expressing their feelings and opinions on critical political issues.

b) Developmental State and Development Journalism

Developmental state is basically characterized by tight state control over the economy in general and the market in particular. It asserts positive role of the government in creating and regulating appropriate conditions in accordance with mass mobilization of the public for development (Bolesta, 2007). Putting economic development at the center, the government designs effective instruments and policies to promote and enhance the society (UNDP, 2012). In most cases developmental state is presented as a theoretical explanation for East Asian industrialization.

Currently the concept of developmental state had spread in Africa, Latin America and Asia various modifications. As a result developmental state has many colors and variants. Thus, “there isn’t one right or typical model of developmental state” (UNDP, 2012, p.8). As a result, scholars prefer to

¹³ <https://rsf.org/en/etiopia>

focus on explaining the characteristics of developmental state, rather than defining the concept. For instance Fritz and Menocal (2007) stated the following;

To be judged developmental, a state does not need to be in control of everything and successful in all spheres. A transformation that is positive overall may be accompanied by a range of negative consequences, such as major environmental damage or greater social tension, which become problems that society and the state have to address in a subsequent phase (p. 533).

Most importantly developmental state is often described in terms of its ideological orientation and institutional arrangements (UNDP, 2012). These features are considered as ‘software’ and ‘hardware’ of developmental state respectively. Ideologically, developmental state is often positioned at the opposite edge of neo-liberalism and its variants. Accordingly, developmental state tend to manifest traits such as economic nationalism, large government bureaucracy, corporatism and skepticism about neo-liberalism (UNDP, 2012, p.8).

Developmental state can be classified as ‘authoritarian’, and ‘democratic’; or ‘classical’ and ‘emergent’. In many contexts developmental states are characterized by authoritarian regime. This is because the state might use its positive role to manipulate the society with the pretext of development (Johnson, 1999). However, there are some nations that considered as a bench-mark for democratic developmental state. Typical example here is Japan (Johnson, 1999).

In Ethiopia, it has been more than a decade since ‘democratic developmental state’ was proclaimed as an official political and economic orientation of the country. In terms of implementation, the government adopted various development strategies. First it was ‘sustainable development and poverty reduction program (SDPRP), which centered on the goal of reducing poverty in the country. Then, the first growth and transformation plan (GTP 1), a five year solid plan covering the period 2010/11-2014/15 was adopted. Currently, the Ethiopian government is implementing growth and transformation plan II, a subsequent plan of GTP 1 aiming to fix drawbacks and bold the strengths of its predecessor.

The government claims that the GTPs (GTP 1 in particular) has registered impressive results and remarkable achievements in GDP growth, infrastructure and social developments (Meheret, 2014, National Planning Commission, 2016). However, the ruling party is criticized for ignoring

numerous challenges impacting on society and political process that are becoming visible at the moment. The causes for some of these challenges are unbalanced growth, corruption, policy and institutional failures (Desalegn, 2014).

The concept of 'development journalism' was first emerged in Asia, and then spread to Africa with various contextual modifications. However, the concept still lacks a holistic and unified definition across the world. According to Ogan (1982), development journalism:

Critically examine, evaluate and report the relevance of a development project to national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation and the differences between its impacts on the people as claimed by government official and as it is activity is (p. 8).

Yet, such definitions are not capable enough to clarify the confusion about the meaning and scope of development journalism. This is because, in reality the critical and investigative roles of the media has been suppressed in the name of development and common good.

As to Skjerdal (2011), the confusions and problems around development journalism can be summarized in the following five key points:

- The vagueness of the concept: the ambiguity of the concept has created an opportunity for governments of different ideology to justify a politicized media policy in the name of development journalism;
- The practice has been criticized for its interventionist stance;
- A highly uneven journalism practice: the model is found to suppress investigative journalism;
- The media industry itself has been reluctant to accept the practices;
- The model represents ideological contestations, rather than genuine care for media and society.

Due to the above mentioned problems scholars most often prefer to describe development journalism in terms of its practical criteria and principles, rather than giving a single definitions. For instance Xu (2009 cited in Skjerdal 2011, p.63) defines development journalism by listing its focuses in the following manner:

- Reports on achievements and shortcomings in development;
- Focuses on long-term developments;
- Stays independent from government and critiques its leader;
- Focuses on development issues while working constructively with the government in nation-building; and
- Empowers ordinary people.

Nevertheless, implementing these purposes in African media landscape in general and in the Ethiopian case in particular is far from reality. Thus, in many African countries the media landscape is dominated by the government, and this in turn discourages the media to critically investigate and report shortcomings in development activities.

In Ethiopia, development journalism was introduced in 2008 as an official policy document or manual for the state media. The document is written in Amharic, and can be translated as ‘*Basis and directives for an operational philosophy of our democratic and development media*¹⁴.’ In *de jure*, the policy has not yet been formally ratified, but in *de facto* it is still regarded as an official document (Skjerdal, 2011).

In reality, there is a mismatch between the policy document and the actual media practice in general and the press in particular. According to Abayneh (2017), “both the government and privately-owned media in Ethiopia had their own kind of problems in their practice of development journalism” (p. ii). Likewise, Muluneh (2015) in his thesis stated that, the government media (EBC) focuses on positively charged development issues. In the same token Negeri (2010) analyzed the role of media for development and democratization from various dimensions. In his findings Negeri stated that, there is a considerable difference between state-owned and privately-owned media outlets in their selection of development issues.

In nutshell, though the government claims about using development journalism as a guiding principle, there is a huge gap between the policy and the actual practice. Besides, the government is criticized and condemned for using the media in support of its own agenda.

¹⁴ This translation is taken from Skjerdal (2011) and Salawu (2016)

2.6.3. Discursive Practices in the Ethiopian Press

Apart from the broader societal practice, it is also important to examine specific discursive practices under which the messages are processed, produced and consumed. On this Fairclough (1995a) stated that:

The discourse practice dimension of the communicative event involves various aspects of the processes of text production and text consumption. Some of these have a more institutional character ... whereas others are discourse processes in a numerous sense [the 'decoding' of texts by the reader] (p. 58).

In mass mediated communication discourses and meanings are institutionally based. Accordingly, the production process is basically shaped by two issues. On one side, the producer encode meaning and information into the text using various techniques: i.e. choosing over another; choosing to foreground one view rather than another; choosing one word over another; etc.(Richardson, 2007, p.40). On the other side, the information is shaped by “the conventions of the text-genre under construction” (p. 40). Thus, this shaping factors are determined by institutional and professional practices. In the case of institution, editorial policies and reporting styles are the basic determinants, whereas in terms of professional practices, journalists’ ethics, job satisfaction, self-censorship and etc. are determinant factors.

Likewise, the consumption process involves a complicated process of decoding the actual meaning encoded in the text. This is mainly because, “our assessment of the ‘meaning’ of a text is often affected by our judgment of who produced it, given that we tend to believe the testimony of people (or institution) we trust, or believe those with practical knowledge” (Richardson, 2007, p. 41). Besides, understanding meaning in a text depends on the reader’s experience, knowledge, cultural and political background, and ideological orientation.

Based on this conceptualization of discursive practice, this section of the paper discusses the production process of information and meaning in Ethiopian press. In doing so the paper discusses professional practices and factors that affect the production process based on previous studies.

2.6.3.1. Ethiopian Journalists' Job Satisfaction

In Ethiopia, there are about 1,650 journalists serving in private and government media (Birhanu, 2014). About 80% of these journalists work for government-owned media, while the remaining 20% work for private media (Skjerdal, 2017). Academically, Ethiopian journalists are “one of the most educated in the world with, 97% having a Bachelor’s degree” (Skjerdal, 2017, p. 5). Demographically, the Ethiopian media landscape is dominated by young and unmarried male journalists (Birhanu, 2014; Skjerdal, 2017).

Though it attracts such impressive work force, the journalism business in Ethiopia is not as good as it is expected. The job has various difficulties and problems that range from political interventions to personal capabilities. One (if not the major) manifestation of these problems is journalists’ low job satisfaction. Various studies on job satisfaction in Ethiopian media revealed that, Ethiopian journalists have low job satisfaction rate which is caused by various factors.

According to Amanuel (2005), Ethiopian journalists working in the state media have low job satisfaction due to lack of job autonomy, low wage and other external factors. Thus, the majority of government journalists were unsatisfied resulting high attrition and turn over. Likewise Sisay (2011) revealed that both private and state FM radio stations’ journalists were moderately dissatisfied by their job. The dissatisfaction rate has slight differences between state-owned and private FM radio stations. Consistently, Shubba (2014) found out that, journalists in Oromia Radio and Television Organization were highly dissatisfied due to institutional and income factors. Similarly, Mesud (2014) investigated factors affecting the job satisfaction rate of journalists working in six selected state and private media outlets. In his findings Mesud revealed that, most of the journalists’ response fall under the dissatisfied and very dissatisfied category. More recently, Asegid (2017) found out that, media professionals working in Ethiopian Radio¹⁵ have low job satisfaction that were caused by the working conditions, organizational system, and relationship with immediate line managers and supervisors.

¹⁵ EBC’s national radio, formerly known as ‘Radio Ethiopia’

In conclusion, though the job satisfaction is crucial factor for both the journalists and the media, Ethiopian journalists' are highly dissatisfied by their job due to various reasons. This in turn affects the objectivity and accuracy of reporting issues and events.

2.6.3.2. Job Autonomy and Objectivity

In Ethiopia, the professional culture of journalistic practice is very weak. One (if not the major) reason for this is lack of job autonomy. "Ethiopia is among the countries where journalists feel they have least editorial autonomy" (Skjerdal, 2017, p. 15). Ethiopia remains at the lower end of professional autonomy together with Sub-Saharan, Middle East and East Asia countries. Thus, the degree of autonomy differs between journalists working in the private media and in the state media, with the former have a better autonomy than the later.

The major reason for lack of job autonomy in Ethiopian journalism culture is political intervention, which could be explained in two ways. Firstly, the media (the state media in particular) uses strict editorial policy that prohibits journalists to critically investigate events and create stories. For instance, in the state media, using development journalism as a shield, "government is praised and criticism is suppressed" (Skjerdal, 2012, p. 212). Consequently, "journalists produce and reproduce a subservient reporting style" (Skjerdal, 2012, p. ii). Consistent with this notion, Asegid (2017) reported that, editorial policy couldn't make the journalists feel secured and confident to practice journalism to its fullest. However, "it is important to underline that, high impact of editorial policy does not necessarily represent a threat to journalistic autonomy or craftsmanship; it depends on the contents of the policy and its implementation" (Skjerdal, 2017, p. 16).

Secondly, job autonomy is affected by indirect political interventions. Thus, "the perceived political influence in Ethiopian newsroom is among the highest in the world" (Skjerdal, 2017, p. 18). In the state media, government uses various techniques to voice out its interests. According to Birhanu (2014), "the government continues to staff mass media organizations with its own cadres and sympathizers to achieve pro-government influence over media content" (p. 5). Especially, after the crackdown of the 2005 general election, the government had started filling and reshuffling the media with politically affiliated 'journalists'. According to Skjerdal (2012), these 'journalists' are extremely pro-government and political appointees.

Consequently, journalists were obliged to focus on doing protocol news in line with ‘safe’ reporting. This in turn affected the practice of investigative journalism. According to Ashenafi (2017) “the major challenges to practice investigative journalism in the media were government officials’ intervention; lack of media managers and government commitment and lack of professionalism” (p. iv).

Likewise, the private press is also a victim of political instrumentalization. “Government officials have ‘very’ or ‘extremely’ much influence on professional work” (Skjerdal, 2017, p.18). As a result, “a few private media outlets are staunch supporters of the government, while most are regarded as exponents for opposition” (Skjerdal, 2012, p.202). However, in most cases private press are regarded as allies of opposition political parties, and this affects their objectivity in reporting various issues and events.

Apart from the political variable, the autonomy and objectivity of journalists’ in the private press is affected by market/financial factors. Thus, it’s clear that the private press “throughout the years rather than providing news stories progressively to the public, their concern has shifted to advertising” (Frezer, 2011, p. vii).

2.6.3.3. Self-Censorship

In Ethiopia, journalists restrain themselves from critically reporting about sensitive issues such as politics, religion and ethnicity due to government and other actors’ interference. In other words journalists report sensitive issues in a way it pleases the government or other actors; abiding the standard ethics of journalism. Technically, such practices are known as ‘self-censorship’, and can be defined as “withholding of journalistic material due to felt external pressure” (Skjerdal, 2010, p.99). Reasons for self-censorship range from political interference to in-house reporting procedures and styles.

Although the reasons differ, self-censorship is part of the daily routine in both private and state press. For instance, in the state press reasons for self-censorship has political, cultural, economic, religious and editorial nature (Nebiyu, 2009). More specifically, Skjerdal (2010) proposed four underlying ethical justifications for performing self-censorship. These justifications are primarily related to four dimensions as elaborated in the following manner:

- Relegation of ethical responsibility: self-censorship is rooted in the organizational structure. In the state media “there is a discrepancy between their own journalistic standards and expectations of the media institutions” (Skjerdal, 2010, p. 113). Consequently, journalists deviate from the professional standards and align with the expectations of the government/organization.
- Elasticity of journalistic editing: the boundary between ordinary editorial decision making and self-censorship is blurred. Due to this journalists either hide facts or communicate fabricated information (Skjerdal, 2010).
- Confidence in critical audience: in Ethiopian, “journalists sense that the audience is able to see through the rhetoric of the state media” (Skjerdal, 2010, p. 114). Using this notion as a justification, journalists perform unethical practices such as self-censorship and biased reporting.
- Adherence to social responsibility: In a country like Ethiopia, the media is expected to play a significant role in development and democratization. Having this in mind, journalists in Ethiopia justify self-censorship “as a necessary strategy for performing socially responsible journalism” (Skjerdal, 2010, p. 114).

The major factor behind the aforementioned justifications of self-censorship is attributed to ‘discourses of fear’ (Nebiyu, 2008; Skjerdal, 2010). Journalists exercise self-censorship due to the fear of losing their job and punishments that can range from losing promotion to imprisonment in some cases.

In practice, self-censorship can be performed at various levels of reporting. It can be done in selecting issues and events to be reported; in many cases journalists avoid reporting about sensitive issues. Thus, “self-censorship depends on the particular issues to be covered” (Nebiyu, 2008, p. 28). Self-censorship can also be done in choosing informants or interviewees. For instance, in the state media “persons who are likely to be strongly critical to government policy will not be asked for interviews” (Skjerdal, 2012, p. 220). Besides, self-censorship can be implemented at the final stage of writing and editing. Here, journalists decide which information to be included and trashed.

In nutshell, the presence of self-censorship in Ethiopian media in general and the press in particular is high. Most journalists practice self-censorship due to uncertainty and fear. Contrary to the global

literature, some journalists (especially in the state media) accept self-censorship as a good and useful practice (Nebiyu, 2008).

2.6.3.4. Media Corruption

In a narrow sense, media corruption refers to “the act or practice of giving or accepting money or some other payment with the objective of corruptly influencing the judgment or action of another person” (Berhanu, 2008, p. 4). The practice has been known by numerous names in line with typical manifestations such as bribes, freebies, junkets, perks, and brown envelopes. In Ethiopia, such practices are widespread facts among journalists working in different media outlets. For instance, Berhanu (2008) found out that, journalists working in the state media accept different forms of bribery. Reasons for such misconducts were “often attributed to low salaries and lack of ethical training” (Berhanu, 2008, p. v).

Journalists in the state media have their own slang terminologies for media corruption practices. For instance, ‘brown envelopes’, “an informal payment given from sources to journalists, sometimes concealed in a brown envelop” (Skjerdal, 2012, p. 190) is known as *buche*¹⁶: a term derived from *bucheka* to mean ‘snatching something’. In most cases, journalists create a network/group to accept *buche*. Journalists who didn’t want to accept brown envelopes are labeled as *wogami* (literally meaning conservative), while institutions with such character are labeled as *derek tabia*, meaning ‘dry station’ (Berhanu, 2008; Skjerdal, 2012). *Wogami* journalists were alienated by their colleagues. Besides, journalists identify potential sources of bribes. In doing so, NGOs, Embassies and some government organizations were identified as better sources of bribes, who give a lot of money in a form of per diem and allowances.

Do these practices affect objective reporting? The answer is obviously yes. For instance, Skjerdal (2012) stated that, “brown envelopes are prone to affect reporting in that journalists will ‘repay’ the envelope with positive coverage” (p. 191). Thus, the famous adage ‘there is no such thing as a free lunch’ explicitly describes the situation. Consequently, journalists and the report they produce directly or indirectly influenced by the interest of the bribers. “The impact of bribes seems obvious, with irrelevant news given flesh and soul, while important news is killed. Some reporters occupy

¹⁶ Phonetically, the term is read as ‘bučeka’ which consists ejective sound that didn’t exist in English.

a lot of air time with undeserving stories. Bribed sound bites may be repeated over and over” (Berhanu, 2008, p. 40).

To conclude, media reports whether in a form of news, editorials or other forms are not free reflection of facts. They can be affected by various variables. At macro level, these reports can be affected by political, legal, and institutional factors. Based on this notion, the media landscape in Ethiopia has been affected by political interferences, ideological orientations, and various proclamations and directives such as anti-terrorism and press proclamations. Accordingly, journalists refrain themselves from critically reporting about sensitive issues, fearing punishments. At micro level, the journalistic practice has been affected by factors revolve around the production room. This includes; self-censorship, job satisfaction, job autonomy and journalistic misconducts. Thus, the macro level refers to social practice, while the micro level entails discursive practices.

Chapter Three

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Study Design

This study is situated in qualitative research design. According to Zoltan (2007), “language use is determined or significantly shaped by social, cultural and situational factors, and qualitative research is ideal for providing insights into such contextual conditions and influences” (p. 31). Qualitative research design is concerned with providing descriptions of phenomena that occur naturally. Besides, it is an excellent method to get a detailed description of a complex issue within its natural context. It offers rich and in-depth insights that no other method can yield. However, there is no agreed doctrine underlying all qualitative research designs (Zoltan, 2007). As a result, there are various approaches and methods within the qualitative paradigm. One among these approaches is CDA.

As it is stated in the objective part, the chief aim of this study is to investigate the representation of development discourse in Ethiopian press. To this goal, CDA is the most appropriate method that allows the researcher to investigate the selected press outlets thoroughly. According to Richardson (2007), media text has to be studied from contextual and constructivist approach. One among such approaches is CDA, which offer “interpretations of the meanings of texts rather than just quantifying textual features; ... situate what is written or said in the context in which it occurs, rather than just summarizing patterns or regularities in texts; and argue that textual meaning is constructed through an interaction between producer, text and consumer” (p.15).

To sum up, the research orientation for this study is qualitative research design. Within this qualitative paradigm, the study used CDA as a major data analysis tool in line with the research questions and objectives. In doing so, thorough attention is given to the linguistic items and the discursive context they are emerged in.

3.2. Source of Data and Sampling

The main sources of data in this study are media texts; a collection of news articles, feature stories and editorials published in the selected time frame by the targeted publications. Accordingly, the data are collected from secondary sources in two phases; first, articles, books, journals and other resources were read and reviewed to develop a clear insight about the issue to be examined. Then, the raw/input data was collected from the selected media outlets.

In this study, 5 publications (3 newspapers and 2 magazines) and their coverage of development issues during five years (September 2010 to August 2015) were selected using purposive sampling. The publications were selected due to their vast coverage of development issues more than any other publication in the country. This time frame was selected based on the five year GTP1 (growth and transformation plan), a five-year solid plan covering the period 2010/11 – 2015/16. Thus, during these years development has become a common wheel that drives the political, economic and social issues across the nation.

The sampling process took three steps: first, all the press outlets were categorized into two broad divisions (governmental and non-governmental groups). Next, the press outlets were chosen based on circulation, accessibility (distribution), focus, and personal observation. Finally the selected samples are re-grouped in the following manner:

No	Domain	Name of the selected media		
		Title	Genre	Language
1	Government press	Ethiopian Herald	Newspaper	English
2	Non-government press (private press)	Addis Standard	Magazine	English
		The reporter	Newspaper	English
		Ethiopian Business review	Magazine	English
		Fortune	Newspaper	English

Table 2: list of sampled outlets

Ethiopian Herald is a daily newspaper with a wide circulation of more than any periodical in Ethiopia. It is a government-owned newspaper published by the Ethiopian Press Agency. *The reporter* is a long-standing private newspaper that focuses on social, developmental and political issues. It is a bi-weekly newspaper having both Amharic and English versions.

Fortune is a weekly newspapers dedicated to promote the development of the private sector. It is the largest circulating paper in its category surpassing all others in the competition by average of 60%¹⁷. According to Ethiopian broadcasting authority documents, this newspaper have an average circulation of 6,000 copies.

Addis Standard and *Ethiopian business review* are monthly private magazines that give due emphasis to business and development issues. These magazines have print and online versions.

3.3. Data collection methods and procedures

After selecting the data sources, the next thing to do was to decide which articles qualified as data and which did not. Since, there is a possibility that any article could potentially contain a development issue, it is difficult to determine which article constitutes a development content and which does not. To tackle such problems scholars proposed various approaches to classify development and non-development stories. Among these, the prominent ones are reporting criteria and the topical list (Shah & Gayatri, 1994).

The reporting criteria are a set of ten guiding principles on how to report development issues. These principles are derived from Aggarwala's normative model of development news. The topical list method, on the other hand, operates by creating a list of topics related to development and classifies all stories about those topics as development issues (Shah & Gayatri, 1994). However, none of these approaches is adequate by themselves. Having this in mind, this study combined these two approaches to yield more useful results.

Accordingly, the articles were screened through the following ten criteria of development reporting and categorized using topical lists¹⁸ (Shah, 1988, p. 427; Shah & Gayatri, 1994, p. 413).

¹⁷ www.addisfortune.net

¹⁸ The topical lists were formulated based on the collected data (see the next chapter for details)

Accordingly, any article that satisfied at least one of these ten criteria was classified as development story.

- 1) Does the item emphasize development processes rather than events?
- 2) Does the item contain content critical of development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues?
- 3) Does the item discuss the relevance of development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues to national, regional or local needs?
- 4) Does the item provide contextual or background information about development projects, plans, policies, problems or issues?
- 5) Does the item speculate about the future in relation to development needs?
- 6) Does the item discuss the impact of projects, plans, policies, problems or issues on people?
- 7) Does the item discuss development processes in other regions or countries?
- 8) Does the item compare the subject with original development goals?
- 9) Does the item compare the subject with government claims for success?
- 10) Does the item make any references development needs of the people?

As might be predicted, the number of articles on or about development issues over a period of five years in the selected newspapers and magazines with no restriction on the type, size, ideological standpoints and scope of circulation would create a huge corpus and a huge number of articles. Such a large amount is obviously beyond the possible range of analysis for CDA's qualitative text-analytical procedure. Hence, there was a need to find a systematic mechanism of sampling and downsizing the data.

For that reason, the appropriateness of an article was further downsized and determined by Parker's (1992) seven criteria for distinguishing discourses. These seven criteria deal with different levels of discourse analysis and some conceptual work that needs to go in into analysis before the material is touched (Parker, 1992). The criteria are the following:

- 1) A discourse is realized in texts (in this study newspapers and magazine articles)
- 2) A discourse is about objects (in this study objects refer to 'development issues')
- 3) Discourse contains subjects

- 4) A discourse is a coherent system of meanings
- 5) A discourse refers to other discourses
- 6) A discourse reflects on its own way of speaking
- 7) A discourse is historically located (Parker, 1992)

In addition to these seven criteria, Parker (1992) adds three more criteria that a discourse analyst should focus upon. These additional criteria are called the ‘**THREE AUXILIARY CRITERIA**’ and they are concerned with institutions, power and ideology. These criteria are:

- 1) Discourses support institutions
- 2) Discourses reproduce power relations
- 3) Discourses have ideological effects

3.4. Analytical framework

In CDA research “there is no such thing as a ‘complete’ discourse analysis: a ‘full’ analysis of a short passage might take months and fill hundreds of pages” (van Dijk, 2001, p.99). In other words, there are too many relevant units, levels of dimensions, strategies, moves, types of acts, devices and other structures of discourse in a single short text. As a result, a complete discourse analysis of a large corpus of texts or talk is difficult, if not unthinkable. Having this notion in mind, in this study two analytical models of CDA are selected together with systematic functional linguistics, appraisal theory and representation of social actors theory based on the research objectives and research questions.

3.4.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

There are a number of CDA paradigms. Of these, van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach (1980, 1988) and Fairclough’s three dimensional model (1989, 1992, and 1995) of critical discourse analysis were selected. Because a general and comprehensive description of these models is presented in section 2.4, this part of the paper only focuses on the analytical frameworks.

In van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach discourse is understood as a combination of text, cognition, and context. Accordingly, critical discourse analysis distinguishes and analyzes three levels of

discourse structures: macrostructure, superstructure and microstructures (van Dijk, 1988). Macrostructure refers to the global meaning which can be obtained from the topic or theme of the text, and considered as the summary or gist of the whole text (van Dijk, 1980). Microstructure is concerned with local meanings observed through linguistic and semiotic elements, such as lexicalization, syntactic construction, style, presuppositions and etc. Finally, superstructure refers to a schematic model that determines the way a text or part of a text is organized, arranged and structured (van Dijk, 1988).

a) **Basic elements of analysis in socio-cognitive approach**

Macrostructure

Macrostructure is the theoretical notion of global meaning that can be defined as summary or topic. Here, “summaries are discourses that express the global meaning or main topics of the summarized discourse” (van Dijk, 1980, p. 10). Because topics cannot be defined as meanings of single words or sentences, macrostructures can be explicit or implicit depending on the type of the text. Explicitly, “macrostructures may be expressed in the discourse itself by thematical (or topical) words or sentences” (van Dijk, 1980, p.10). Implicitly, macrostructures might not be stated directly. In this case, it is up to the listener/reader to construct macrostructures of the text.

From socio-cognitive perspective of CDA, text is simply a combination of propositions that have a unified communicative function. These propositions of a text always contain two kinds of discourse structures: macrostructure and microstructure. However, it is difficult to easily distinguish between propositions that carry global meaning (macrostructure) and local meaning (micro structure). Accordingly, there are **macrorules** that help to analyze and construct the macrostructure. “Macrorules are semantic mapping rules or transformations which link lower level propositions with higher level macro propositions” (van Dijk, 1988, p.32). This means that topics or themes are derived from the meanings of a text by such summarizing macrorules.

Macrorules basically operate by reducing information, and this reduction takes place based on four major rules: (1) DELETION: simply deleting “all information that is no longer relevant in the rest of the text, such as local details” (van Dijk, 1988, p. 32); (2) SELECTION: selecting “from a

text base all propositions which are interpretation conditions (presuppositions) of other propositions in the text base” (van Dijk, 1980, p. 47); (3) CONSTRUCTION: replacing “a sequence of propositions that denote the usual conditions, components, or consequences of an act or event by one macro proposition that denotes the act or event as a whole” (van Dijk, 1988, p. 32); (4) GENERALIZATION: replacing a sequence of propositions by a single generalization. For instance, “instead of saying that we have a cat, a dog and a canary, we can more succinctly say that we have pets” (van Dijk, 1988, p. 32). Besides, there is also a ZERO rule “which yields the same proposition at a macro level which occurs in the micro level” (van Dijk, 1980, p. 48-9).

Topic

Topic is both a starting and central point in interpreting a text. However, deriving a topic from a text is not an easy task as it seems. This is because “a topic of a text is a strategically derived subjective macroproposition, which is assigned to sequences of propositions by macroprocesses (rules, strategies) on the basis of general world knowledge and personal beliefs and interests” (van Dijk, 1988, p. 34). There are a number of ways in which one can derive topic(s) from a text. One among these is using topic indicators that have particular functions. For instance, van Dijk (1980) mentioned the following expressions as topic indicators (table 3):

a) global metasemantic expressions	b) summary indicators	c) relevance indicators
-this discourse will be about... -I shall speak about. . . -the topic of my talk will be... (theme, gist, upshot ...)and their past-time variants (for the end of the text) and third person variants (he said, her talk, ...)	-summarizing, ...; let us resume ... -in brief, in short, in other words... -we may conclude...; we have seen that...	-the most important (relevant) thing is... -primarily, crucially, especially... -it should be stressed that... -I repeat (recall) that ... (p. 102-3).

Table 3: Topic indicators summarized from van Dijk (1980, p 102-3)

Apart from the aforementioned explicit topic indicators, there are also pervasive grammatical features that express underlying macrostructures: pronouns, adverbs, definite articles, demonstratives, etc. (van Dijk, 1980).

Superstructure

Text is always composed based on certain schema or rule, and theoretically this schema or rule is known as 'superstructure'. Here, superstructure refers to the overall syntax "which defines the possible forms in which topics or themes can be inserted and ordered in the actual text" (van Dijk, 1988, p. 49). Based on this notion every text has its own superstructure or a rule that determines its structure. For instance, news texts have a typical way of composition: "Headline precedes Lead, and together they precede the rest of the news item" (van Dijk, 1988, p. 53). Their structural function is also clear: Headline + lead summarizes the text and expresses the macrostructure; then, the remaining parts of the news present less important details, evaluations and backgrounds about the incident.

Superstructure "determines how the topics of a text could or should be ordered and, hence, how sequences and sentences should appear in the text" (van Dijk, 1988, p. 51). In doing so, propositions are basically ordered in top-down approach: high-level information comes first and lower level information follows. Thus, superstructure signals macrostructure or topic both structurally and semantically. For instance, in many cases news texts always put topics or macrostructures in their headlines and lead paragraphs. Accordingly, macroproposition analysis must consider the superstructure of the text.

Microstructure

Microstructure is a theoretical notion of local meaning which is concerned with the surface structure of the text, such as words, phrases, clauses and syntactic constructions (van Dijk, 1988). Among the focuses of microstructure analysis the prominent ones are, propositions and their sequence; local coherence; lexicalization; implications, entailment and presupposition; discourse style and context markers; word order and syntactic functions; rhetoric and persuasive effects; source and quotations, etc. (van Dijk, 1988).

Text Structure	Things to be observed/analyzed	Units of analysis
Macrostructure	Thematic	Topic/theme
Superstructure	Schematic	Scheme
Microstructure	Lexicalization:	Word choice; word order;
	Syntax:	Proposition sequence; local coherence; use of pronouns; nominalization; transitivity; active & passive constructions; etc.
	Semantic style: meaning (explicit and implicit)	Presuppositions, implicitness,
	Rhetoric: effects	Persuasive content features; figurative expressions (metonymy, allusion, metaphor, etc.); numbers; etc.
	Intertextuality: internal and external	Discourse representation; source and quotation;

Table 4: A summarized CDA framework according to van Dijk (1988)

b) Fairclough’s three dimensional model

Fairclough’s three dimensional model on the other hand sees discourse as a social practice¹⁹; as a discursive practice; and as a text. In terms of social practice the study focuses on the broader societal factors such as press proclamations, political variables and institutional elements. Regarding the discursive practice, the study analyzes the message production process and factors that affect this process: journalist’s job satisfaction, job objectivity and autonomy, and media corruption.

In terms of text, the study focuses on intertextuality. According Foucault (1972), “there can be no statement that in one way or another does not reactualize others” (p. 98). Likewise, Fairclough (1992) elaborates this notion by saying “all utterances are populated and, indeed constructed, by snatches of others’ utterance, more or less explicit” (p. 101). In CDA sharing of such meanings between texts or utterances is known as intertextuality. In a broader definition intertextuality can be defined as shaping of a text’s meaning by another text, and it can be produced and manifested in texts in various ways. Thus, allusion, source and quotation, and discourse representation are the major manifestations of intertextuality. Accordingly, this study focuses on these elements of intertextuality.

¹⁹ Both social and discursive practices were contextually analyzed in the previous chapter

3.4.2. Systematic Functional Linguistics

SFL is a functional approach that is concerned about how language is used to convey different meanings in various contexts. “SFL is oriented to the description of language as a resource for meaning, rather than as a system of rules” (Halliday & Martin, 1993, p. 22). Moreover, SFL focuses on how language as a system of communication is used as a tool for social purpose (Halliday, 1973, Kassaye, 2013). SFL is concerned with texts, rather than sentences, as a basic unit through which meaning is negotiated (Halliday & Martin, 1993). As such, it focuses on mutual relations between texts and social contexts. As a result, language is taken as a system of meaning construction.

Language and social context are intricately interrelated based on three meta-functions: ideational (representations and processes), interpersonal (identities and social relations) and textual (coherence and cohesion). These levels of analysis are parallel with the three categories of register: field, tenor and mode. To elaborate, *ideational* meaning, containing both the experiential meaning represented within clauses (field); *interpersonal* meaning, the realization of interpersonal roles and relationships (tenor); and textual meaning, the organization of clauses through continuity and foregrounding (mode).

“In identifying these three main types of meaning, Halliday is suggesting that of all the *uses* we make of language (which are limitless and changing), language is designed to fulfill three main *functions*: a function for relating experience, a function for creating interpersonal relationships, and a function for organizing information.” (Egins 2004: 110-111 as cited in Kousmanen, 2011, p. 20)

SFL theory claims that lexico-grammatical organization of language is a realization of the semantic organization of language. In actual analysis, each of the three tenets of SFL has their own sets of grammatical tools and terminology. However, they are usually realized by clause constituents that are playing more than one function at a time. Thus, a description of these meta-functions of language is given next.

- a) **Ideational function:** focuses on how reality is represented in language or ways in which texts signify the world and its processes, entities and relations (Fairclough, 1992; Mathiessen, Teruya

& Lam, 2010; Halliday, 1973). At ideational level, clause is seen as a process and the term of analysis is '*Transitivity*'. The analysis revolves around the choice of process type, which implicates 'associated participant roles and configuration'.

- b) **Interpersonal function:** focuses on how language is used to construct relationships between people. Here, language is understood as "a resource for enacting roles and relations between speaker and addressee" (Mathiessen, Teruya & Lam, 2010, p. 126). Besides, language contributes to the construction of social identities and subject positions. Fairclough (1992, p. 64) distinguishes between two categories of interpersonal function: identity and relational. At this level language is seen as speech acts and the analysis revolves around clause structure (interrogative, declarative), attitudinal words, expressions referring to degrees of certainty and other markers. Thus, the core of interpersonal meaning is 'mood' (Halliday, 1973).
- c) **Textual function:** concerned with the structural configurations in which a text is organized as a message, and how bits of information are foregrounded or backgrounded. Here, the clause is seen as a message and the analysis focuses on the two main functional components of a *Theme* (point of departure for the message) and a *Rheme* (new information about the point of departure) (Fairclough, 1992; Mathiessen, Teruya & Lam, 2010; Halliday, 1973).

In a nutshell, the investigation of language use in SFL theory takes a three-layer analysis of meaning in line with the three functions of language.

3.4.3. Appraisal

The term 'appraisal' refers to linguistic codes and constructions that are used to "negotiate emotions, judgments, and valuations" (Martin, 2000, p. 145). Appraisal can be classified into three distinct categories according to its intended function: 'attitude', 'engagement' and 'graduation'. The following figure clarifies the structural subdivisions made in the appraisal theory framework.

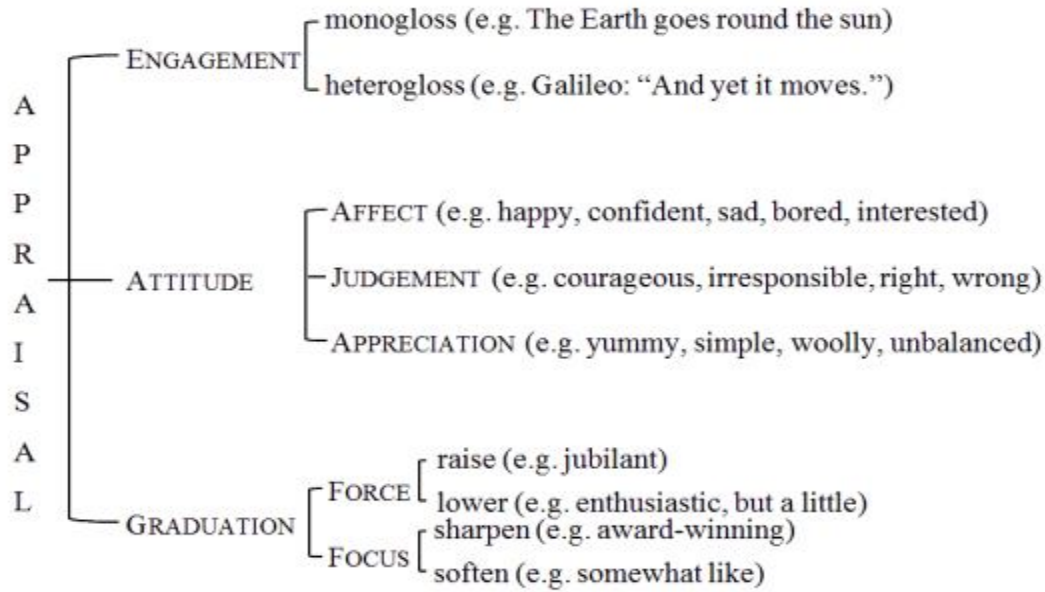


Figure 3: An overview of appraisal resources (modified from Martin and White 2005, p. 38)

3.4.3.1. Attitude

In appraisal theoretical framework, attitude has three major manifestations: affect, judgment and appreciation. '**Affect**' encompasses emotional expressions and/or words, which can be further categorized in the following manner:

- Positive vs. negative
- behavioral surge (laughed) vs. mental disposition (liked)
- reaction to other (liked the cake) vs. undirected mood (was happy)
- grading of feelings (liked vs. loved vs. adored)
- Intention (irrealis) vs. reaction (realis) (Divides into (dis)inclination, behavioural surge, and disposition)
- (un)happiness (sad, happy) vs. (in)security (anxious, confident) vs. (dis)satisfaction (fed up, absorbed) (Martin, 2000, p. 148-150)

‘Judgment’ denotes moral evaluation of behavior (ethical, deceptive, brave, etc.). In other words, it is the normative framework that determines how people in a society should feel about various things (Martin, 2000, p. 155). Judgment can be divided into two groups: social esteem and social sanction.

Social esteem 'venial'	Positive (admire)	Negative (criticize)
Normality (fate) 'Is he or she special?'	Lucky, fortunate, charmed normal, average, every day in, fashionable, avant-garde	Unfortunate, pitiful, tragic odd, peculiar, eccentric dated, daggy, retrograde
Capacity (ability) 'Is he or she capable?'	Powerful, vigorous, robust insightful, clever, gifted balanced, together, sane	Mild, weak, wimpy slow, stupid, thick flaky, neurotic, insane
Tenacity (resolve) 'Is he or she reliable, dependable?'	Plucky, brave, heroic, dependable, tireless, persevering, resolute	Rash, cowardly, despondent unreliable, undependable weak, distracted, dissolute
Social sanction 'mortal'	Positive (praise)	Negative (condemn)
Veracity (truth) 'Is he or she honest?'	Truthful, honest, credible real, authentic, genuine frank, direct	Dishonest, deceitful, glitzy, bogus, fake, deceptive, manipulative...
Propriety (ethics) 'Is he or she beyond reproach?'	Good, moral, ethical law-abiding, fair, just sensitive, kind, caring	Bad, immoral, evil, corrupt, unfair, unjust, insensitive, mean, cruel...

Table -5 categories of judgment (Martin, 2000, p. 156)

The social esteem category comprises 'normality', describing luck and adherence to social norms, 'capacity', describing an individual's abilities and skills, and 'tenacity', describing a person's willingness, or lack thereof, to succeed. People and acts are in effect admired and praised for fitting the norm, being clever or brave, or for being honest and law-abiding. The negative social esteem characteristics are personal traits that are not desirable, but are still in some way forgivable.

“Social sanction involves praise and condemnation, often with legal implications: if you have problems in this area you may need a lawyer” (Martin, 200, p. 156). Here, speakers take sensitive judgments. For instance, journalists who are responsible to write editorials and commentaries have a right to use judgmental words, expressions and structures. On the other hand however, reporters writing hard news are expected to avoid judgmental expressions.

‘Appreciation’ refers the way in which people react to various things (e.g. work of art). It also has its own categories: reaction, composition and valuation.

	Positive	Negative
Reaction: impact 'did it grab me?'	Arresting, captivating, engaging, fascinating, exciting, moving	Dull, boring, tedious, staid Dry, ascetic, uninviting
Reaction: quality 'did I like it?'	Lovely, beautiful, splendid, appealing, enchanting, welcome	Plain, ugly, repulsive, revolting
Composition: balance 'did it hang together?'	Balanced, harmonious, unified symmetrical, proportional	Unbalanced, discordant contorted, distorted
Composition: complexity 'Was it hard to follow?'	Simple, elegant, intricate, rich, detailed, precise	Ornamental, extravagant monolithic, simplistic
Valuation 'Was it worthwhile?'	Challenging, profound, deep innovative, original, unique	Shallow, insignificant conservative, reactionary

Table- 6 categories of appreciation (Martin, 2000, p. 160)

3.4.3.2. Engagement

“Engagement deals with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse” (Martin and White 2005, p 35). Accordingly, engagement refers to the way of evaluators participating in discourse, in which language users adopt intervention techniques to regulate the responsibility and obligations of discourse resources. Engagement has two subsystems: Monogloss and Heterogloss. “Monogloss shuts down all the negotiations from other sounds or dialogue space while Heterogloss creates a wide range of sound consultation coexistence in space through the voice of project implementation” (Wang 2016, p.870).

According to Martin and White (2005), engagement has several taxonomies within the aforementioned subsystems, based on dialogistic positions. Of these, the major ones are disclaim, proclaim, entertain and attribute.

Disclaim happens when “the textual voice positions itself as at odds with, or rejecting, some contrary position” (Martin and White 2005, p. 97). It can be manifested in two ways:

- (1) (Deny) negation (*You don't need to give up potatoes to lose weight.*)
- (2) (Counter) concession/counter expectation (*Although he ate potatoes most days he still lost weight.*)

Proclaim happens “by representing the proposition as highly warrantable ..., the textual voice sets itself against, suppresses or rules out alternative positions” (Martin and White 2005, p. 98). Its major manifestations are:

- (1) (concur) *naturally ... , of course ... , obviously ... , admittedly ...* etc.; some types of ‘rhetorical’ or ‘leading’ question
- (2) (pronounce) *I contend ... , the truth of the matter is ... , there can be no doubt that ...* etc.
- (3) (endorse) *X has demonstrated that ... ; As X has shown ...* etc.

Entertain occurs “by explicitly presenting the proposition as grounded in its own contingent, individual subjectivity, the authorial voice represents the proposition as but one of a range of possible positions – it thereby entertains or invokes these dialogic alternatives” (Martin and White 2005, p. 98). Thus, the following expressions can be mentioned as typical examples:

- (1) *it seems, the evidence suggests, apparently, I hear*
- (2) *perhaps, probably, maybe, it’s possible, in my view, I suspect that, I believe that, probably, it’s almost certain that ... , may/will/must*; some types of ‘rhetorical’ or ‘expository’ question (Martin and White 2005, p. 98).

Attribute occurs “by representing proposition as grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice, the textual voice represents the proposition as but one of a range of possible positions – it thereby entertains or invokes these dialogic alternatives” (Martin and White 2005, p. 98). Its major manifestations are the following:

- (1) (acknowledge) *X said.., X believes ... , according to X, in X’s view*
- (2) (distance) *X claims that, it’s rumored that*

3.4.3.3. Graduation

“Graduation attends to grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred” (Martin and White 2005, p 35). It is concerned with gradability of feelings, and has to do with adjusting the degree of evaluation – how strong or weak the feeling is. Graduation has two subdivisions: force and focus.

Force is mainly realized through “intensification, comparative and superlative morphology, repetition, and various graphological and phonological features (alongside the use of intensified lexis – *loathe* for *really dislike*, and so on)” (Martin and White 2005, p. 37). It can be manifested in a lower or raised tones as in the following examples:

- **Raise:** so touchy, infinitely more naked, quite clinical, most dangerous
- **Lower:** a little upset, somewhat upset, the least bit more information

Focus operates in the context of non-gradable resources, by adjusting the strength of boundaries between categories in line with constructing core and peripheral types of things (Martin and White, 2005). It can be manifested through sharpen and soften versions as in the following examples:

- **Sharpen:** a fully-fledged, award-winning, gold-plated monster; all alone
- **Soften:** a word ... spelled somewhat like terrorists; about 60 years old

3.4.4. Representation of social Actors

One of the crucial tasks of CDA research is to reveal how actors are represented in a given discourse. Grammatically, the tool to analyze the representation of people, things or events is provided by the transitivity system that “construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process type” (Halliday 1994: 106). This analysis starts with the identifying and labeling of the processes. Likewise, van Leeuwen (1996) proposed a framework that helps to reveal how social actors are represented in discourse.

According to van Leeuwen (1996), there are a number of ways in which social actors are represented in discourse. For instance, suppression, backgrounding, aggregation, collectivization, passivation, beneficialization, association, dissociation, individualization, assimilation and etc. can be mentioned. These different ways of representations always loaded with ideological frames and hegemonic activities. Accordingly, in this study the representation of social actors is analyzed using the synthesis of transitivity analysis and van Leeuwen’s framework.

Apart from describing the theoretical orientations, it is crucial to draw a pattern or model in which the aforementioned analytical tools operate together in the study. Accordingly, the study employed the aforementioned tools in a harmonized fashion as presented in the following figure:

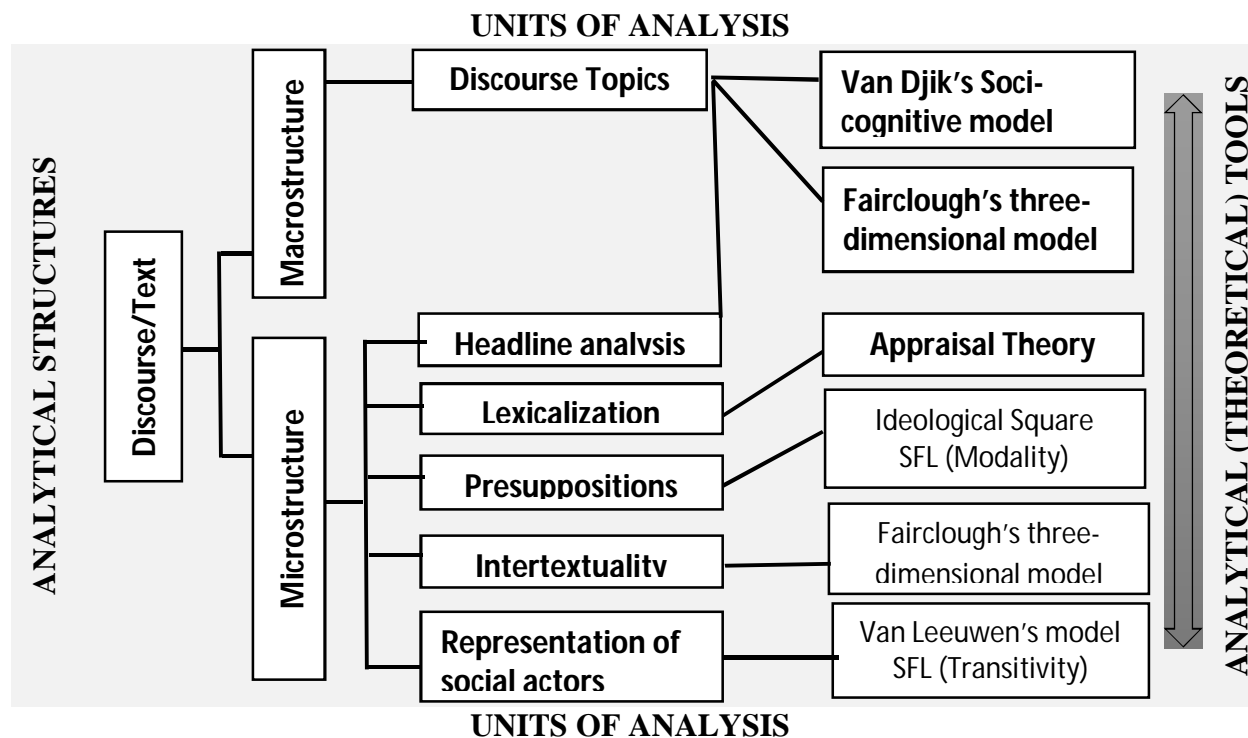


Figure 4: Analytical framework of the study

3.4.5. Criticisms against CDA

CDA as a theory, method and analytical framework has been under criticism. The criticisms basically can be categorized into three divisions: theoretical, methodological and political (Breeze, 2011). Theoretically, CDA has been criticized for lacking a unified and strong theoretical background. This is because most CDA approaches draw their theoretical ground on Marxist theory, which is now discredited by philosophers and historians (Breeze, 2011). To cover this weakness, CDA scholars always combine various theories to form a unified whole. However, this process is also criticized for lacking clarity as elaborated in the following quotation:

Critical discourse analysis draws on a wide range of theories about language and society. These theories are not always clearly defined, and there is a tendency to draw on an eclectic mix of concepts from different intellectual traditions, not all of which are compatible (Breeze, 2011, p. 520).

The central and confusing theoretical element of CDA is the concept of ‘criticality’. Though the concept has various interpretations depending on the school of thought it is used, CDA scholars always consider their research as critical without defining and conceptualizing the concept of ‘criticality’. Thus, “the polysemy of the term “critical” may have led to certain confusions regarding what the role of the discourse analyst is, and what, if any political stance she ought to take” (Breeze, 2011, p. 500).

Methodologically, CDA is criticized for using ‘impressionistic’ methodology that lacks rigour. This can be seen both at data collection and analysis procedures (Breeze, 2011). In terms of data collection, CDA is criticized for using unsystematic and partial method of data collection that only takes a few texts and analytical units. This in turn leads to potential analytical bias. According to Versechueren (2001 cited in Breeze, 2001), CDA has a “tendency to leave out important aspects of the text that do not fit with the interpretive framework” (p. 505). As a result, findings obtained in this way are “the product of conviction rather than the result of a careful step-by-step analysis that reflexively questions its own observations and conclusions” (Versechueren, 2001 cited in Breeze, 2001, p. 505).

Finally, CDA is criticized for being political. As it is explained in the previous chapters, the chief aim of CDA is addressing power abuse, ideological operations and political exploitations that are manifested through discourse or language use (Fairclough, 1995). Accordingly, CDA scholars always focus on political critique based on power and ideology (Breeze, 2011). According to Jorgesens and Phillips (2002), politics is the most important and prime concept in CDA. This is because “political articulations determine how we act and think and thereby how we create society” (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 34). Accordingly, CDA is basically defined by its political aims and “researchers are usually explicit about their political commitments, at least in a general sense” (Breeze, 2001, p. 520). This in turn affects the generalizability of the findings.

Based on the aforementioned criticisms, the current study employed a CDA paradigm that helps to eliminate the above mentioned weaknesses. Regarding theory, social constructionism is selected and combined with CDA in a harmonized fashion. In terms of methodology, strict and systematic methods of sampling and data collection were employed; then the data are analyzed objectively. Finally, though politics is an important concept in CDA, in this research its influence is reduced to the contextual analysis (social and discursive practices).

3.5. Quality and Ethical Issues

Measuring quality and assuring trustworthiness in qualitative research is not an easy task as it is in quantitative research. Accordingly, different scholars suggest various criteria of trustworthiness in qualitative research. In this study, trustworthiness is ensured using Lincoln and Guba's taxonomy of quality criteria. The taxonomy is composed of four components: Credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Zoltan, 2007). These components correspond to quantitative counterparts: Credibility corresponds to 'internal validity'; transferability corresponds to 'external validity'; dependability parallels with 'reliability; and confirmability corresponds to 'objectivity' (Zoltan 2007; Shenton 2004).

Credibility is concerned with the truth value of the study, and primarily questions "how congruent are the findings with reality?" (Shenton 2004, p. 64). Transferability refers to applicability of the findings into other contexts or situations (Zoltan 2007; Shenton 2004). Dependability questions the consistency of the findings, i.e. "if the work were repeated, in the same context, with the same methods and with the same participants, similar results would be obtained" (Shenton 2004, p. 71). Confirmability is concerned with the neutrality or objectivity of the findings. In other words, findings are expected to be "the result of the experiences and ideas of the informants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher" (Shenton 2004, p. 72). In view of that, these criteria were applied throughout the study to ensure trustworthiness.

Throughout the study strict measures of quality in line with the aforementioned criteria were employed. After reviewing relevant literature in the area of development discourse and media, data collection procedures and frameworks were developed. First, to identify development stories from other stories, a comprehensive framework was adopted based on 'reporting criteria' (Shah & Gayatri 1994) and 'Parker's criteria of distinguishing discourse' (Parker 1992). Then, the framework was evaluated by three professionals. Next, the data were collected from the selected press outlets in both hard and soft copies (lists were attached in the appendix). The data were read, categorized, clipped and checked based on the selected conceptual and analytical frameworks. Finally, the data were analyzed, discussed and interpreted with representative excerpts taken out of the data set. In reporting the findings, every activity of the research process is explained clearly.

Chapter Four

4. Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1. Demography of the Data

As might be expected, the number of stories about development over the selected period in the targeted outlets with no restriction on the type, size and ideological standpoints would create a huge corpus. Accordingly, if we pick up all editions of the outlets in the selected five years, the total figure will look like the following.

No.	Name of publications	Genre	circulation	No of publications in five years
1	Ethiopian Herald	Newspaper	Daily ²⁰	1560
2	The Reporter	Newspaper	Bi-weekly ²¹	260
3	Fortune	Newspaper	Weekly	260
4	Addis Standard	Magazine	Monthly	55 ²²
5	Ethiopian Business Review	Magazine	Monthly	33 ²³
			Total	2168

Table 7: total number of the publications (total population=N)

Such a large amount of data is obviously beyond the possible range of analysis for CDA's qualitative text-analytical procedure. For that reason, the data was downsized using Parker's (1992) seven criteria for distinguishing discourses and Shah's (1988) ten criteria of development reporting and categorized using topical lists. In this study, using these methods 143 articles were selected and analyzed (see table 2).

²⁰ It appears daily except for Mondays

²¹ Only the English version of the Sunday edition is considered in this study

²² Started lately in Feb 2011

²³ Started lately in 2013

No.	Name of publication	No of articles		Total
		Genre	Quantity	
1	Ethiopian Herald	Editorials	17	67
		News	8	
		Analysis	34	
		Opinion	8	
2	The Reporter	Editorials	12	32
		News	12	
		Analysis	8	
3	Fortune	Analysis/commentary	16	38
		Editorials/ Op-Ed	14	
		Opinion/viewpoint	7	
		News	1	
4	Addis Standard	Analysis/commentary	19	27
		Opinion	5	
		Editorials/ Op-Ed	3	
5	Ethiopian Business Review	Analysis/commentary	13	19
		Editorials	6	
			Grand total	183

Table 8: list of sampled articles in terms of genre

As indicated in the above table, there is a significant difference among the publications in reporting development issues. Ethiopian Herald addressed development issues in its editorial section more than any other publication. Fortune and Addis Standard on the other hand, devoted to represent development issues in their analysis and commentary columns. Likewise, Ethiopian Business Review gave a considerable attention in its editorial and analysis columns in reporting development issues, while The Reporter reported about Ethiopia's development in its news, editorial and analysis sections.

Apart from a genre classification, it is also important to examine the particular topics reported under the umbrella of development. Accordingly, fourteen specific topics of development were identified using the topical list approach (see Table 3).

Topics²⁴	ETH	REP	FOR	ADS	EBR
1. Agriculture	3	2	1	1	1
2. Trade	5	1		3	1
3. Cooperation	3	1	2	1	
4. National business	22	6	5	3	5
5. Man power		1	2	1	2
6. Science & Tech.	2			1	1
7. Politics	12	2	7	8	
8. Law/policy	3	2	7	1	3
9. Private sector	1	1	1	2	1
10. Economic dev't	4	6	5	1	2
11. Investment	1	3	1	1	
12. Aid			1		
13. Human right	1	4	1	2	
14. Government apparatus	10	3	5	2	3
Subtotal:	67	32	38	27	19

Table 9: list of development topics in the selected articles

As it can be seen in the above table, topics of development vary across the outlets depending on their ideological viewpoints and editorial policies. Ethiopian Herald has given more emphasis to national issues. In other words the newspaper focused on development issues at national level, whereas Addis Standard and Fortune focused on private sector development and political elements. One thing to note here is that the topical variation is a result of ideological variation among the publications. For instance, Ethiopian Herald reported issues of policy development and human rights in line with the ruling party's ideology. Contrary to this, the private presses focus on the

²⁴ This topical list is adopted from Shah and Gayatri (1994)

political elements of these issues and focused on pinning out the drawbacks of claims and actions taken by the government.

4.2. Thematic Analysis

This section of the paper presents thematic analysis of the data based on the research questions. Hence, the data was categorized around two major analytical structures (macro and micro), each category having its own sub-divisions. The categories were represented and discussed using excerpts taken out of the data set. The analysis is mainly presented in a form of comparison focused among the selected outlets in general, and comparing the state press, Ethiopian Herald, with privately-owned publications in particular.

4.2.1. Macro-structure analysis/ Discourse Topics²⁵

Based on the collected data, there are two broad and conflicting discourse topics about Ethiopia's development. On the one hand, the state press, Ethiopian Herald, shows a positive picture about Ethiopia's development claiming that the country is shining and progressing. On the other hand, the private press asserts that the development is unhealthy, insufficient and partial. Thus, for this study the former view is referred to as 'the optimist view' and the latter referred to as 'the doubting view'. Accordingly, the whole discussion in this study revolves around these two groups.

4.2.1.1. The 'Optimist' view²⁶

The chief proponent of the optimist view in this study is Ethiopian Herald, a daily newspaper owned by the state. On the topic-level analysis, the Ethiopian Herald generally presented itself as a promoter of development, by drawing heavily on optimistic expressions, where Ethiopia is viewed as a rising, shining and phenomenal state. The newspaper showed pretty pictures about Ethiopia's development based on reports from the government, using exaggerated verbalizations and rhetorical tropes. Ideologically, the newspaper represented development based on revolutionary democracy and development ideology. In doing so, a huge emphasis was given to

²⁵ The topic analysis is a kind of summary based on the analysis of the sample data;

²⁶ The 'optimist' view represents Ethiopia's development as exceptional and its progress as hopeful and bright in line with revolutionary and developmental state thinking.

economic growth and poverty reduction in line with unlimited role of the government in development activities. A typical example of this can be found in the following representative article:

(1) *Once again, Ethiopia is rising, shining*²⁷ (ETH, 9Jul 2011)

(1) As it is known, Ethiopia is credited with being the origin of mankind. (2) It is the oldest independent country in Africa and one of the oldest in the world. What are believed to be the oldest remains of a human ancestor ever found, which have been dated as being some five million years old, were discovered in the Awash valley in Ethiopia. (3) The Greek historian Herodotus, of the 5th century B.C, describes ancient Ethiopia in his writings, while the bible's Old Testament records the queen of Sheba's visit to Jerusalem where "she proved Solomon with hard questions". (4) However, Ethiopia's civilization took twists and turns in its long journey. (5) It was interrupted by some devastating natural phenomena and human actions. (6) The 1950s and 1960s were marked by students' demonstrations, popular uprisings and severe drought. Students' political activism galvanized the masses in to action. (7) As a result, the country witnessed the 1974 bloody revolution, which eventually consumed the life of many of those students. (8) Soon the king (Emperor Haileseilasie) was overthrown. (9) The 'Derg', a committee of low-ranking military officers and enlisted men filled the power vacuum as the self-proclaimed voice of the masses. (10) Between 1974 and 1991, under the leadership of Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam, Ethiopian state security forces tortured and executed thousands of persons suspected of belonging to urban opposition movements. (11) During these same years, the military killed tens of thousands during indiscriminate campaigns against ethnic groups in rural areas. (12) The Mengistu government imposed a restriction of movement on goods and aid to the famine affected regions. (13) Hundreds of thousands of people died of starvation due to the Mengistu regime's refusal to allow aid to be transported to the regions affected by the famine, which were controlled by freedom fighters. (14) The brutality of the regime over a period of 17 years – aided by drought and famine – hastened the Derg's collapse. (15) In May 1991, the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) forces advanced on Addis Ababa forcing Mengistu to flee to Zimbabwe. (16) In 1991, the transitional government of Ethiopia (TGE) was set up from the EPRDF and other political parties in the country. (17) The renaissance of Ethiopia started since the coming to power of EPRDF in 1991. (18) Over the past twenty years, the EPRDF has registered resounding successes in the political as well as socio-economic history of the country. (19) No political party has contributed as much for the Ethiopian people as has EPRDF. (20) To mention but few of the successes of EPRDF, it ended the cruel era of vicious dictatorship the world had ever seen (the DERG); it drafted an all-inclusive constitution, which recognizes and guarantees the equality of all nations and nationalities with inherent right to govern themselves in their own language; it has been perusing an economic policy focused on the enhancement of the standard of living of all Ethiopians regardless of their region; it fought tooth and nail in the war against poverty with great success; it attained phenomenal success in education throughout all nations and nationalities of Ethiopia; recorded gigantic strides in agriculture and manufacturing sectors and is on course to becoming a net exporter nation. (21) Thanks to Ethiopia's immense water resources, it is on track to becoming an exporter of electric power, and EPRDF is working diligently to that effect including the construction of the Ethiopian grand renaissance dam...

²⁷ The article is abridged for the purpose of analysis and the full article is attached in the appendix

The article contains 21 propositions that should be scrambled into manageable pieces. Based on van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, the first phase of critical discourse analysis is breaking the whole text into macro-structures/topics. Accordingly, the text is deconstructed and the main topics/macro-structures are outlined using macrorules.

For initial analysis the text is broken into six macropropositions using the GENERALIZATION macrorule. The first three propositions (P₁, P₂ & P₃) focus on Ethiopian ancient civilization. As a result, they are generalized into a single category. The next three propositions (P₄, P₅ & P₆) deal with the downfall of Ethiopian civilization and its causes, and they are generalized into one category. Similarly, the succeeding three propositions (P₇, P₈ & P₉) are concerned with the change in the ruling system (downfall of Hailessilasie I and succession of 'Derg'), and they are generalized under a single macroproposition. The next five propositions (P₁₀, P₁₁, P₁₂, P₁₃, & P₁₄) present the brutality of 'Derg' with its various manifestations. So, they are categorized into one set. Propositions (P₁₅ & P₁₆) focus on 'regime' change (downfall of 'Derg' and succession of EPRDF), and they are generalized under a single category. The last five propositions (P₁₇, P₁₈, P₁₉, P₂₀, & P₂₁) are also packed into a single category due to their emphasis on the success of EPRDF.

After the text is broken into smaller pieces and categorized into macropropositions, the story is restructured into six macropropositions using CONSTRUCTION macrorule. Besides, the headline is included as one macroproposition using ZERO macrorule for it summarizes the whole story.

1. Once again, Ethiopia is rising, shining (headline).
2. Ethiopia is home to ancient civilization that could be manifested in terms of history, religion and nature (P₁, P₂, & P₃).
3. Ethiopian civilization fall apart due to human made and natural disaster (P₄, P₅, & P₆).
4. Ethiopia made a regime change (P₇, P₈, & P₉).
5. 'Derg' ruled the country brutally (P₁₀, P₁₁, P₁₂, P₁₃, & P₁₄).
6. Ethiopia changed its political system (P₁₅, & P₁₆)
7. EPRDF have achieved successful development victories (P₁₇, P₁₈, P₁₉, P₂₀, & P₂₁).

From 22 propositions (including the headline), the text is reduced into seven macropropositions. Yet, these macropropositions need further examination to construct a stable macro-proposition(s) that tells the global meaning of the text. To do that SELECTION, DELETION, CONSTRUCTION and GENERALIZATION rules were employed. First, the headline is selected as it is, for it contains various interpretive elements about the text. Then, the second macroproposition (P₁, P₂, & P₃) is

totally deleted, because it contains irrelevant historical background that is already implicated by the headline. Likewise, macropropositions 4 (P₇, P₈, & P₉) and 6 (P₁₅, & P₁₆) contain similar information (i.e. political change) that can be merged in a single category. Yet it is unnecessary for the main theme /topic of the text. So, they are both reduced using deletion macrorule. Finally, macroproposition 5 (P₁₀, P₁₁, P₁₂, P₁₃, & P₁₄) talks about an issue already presupposed in macroproposition 3 (P₄, P₅, & P₆) and as a result deleted from the list. Based on the above analysis, the following three macro-structures/topics are identified:

MS₁: once again, Ethiopia is rising, shining (headline).

MS₂: Ethiopian civilization collapsed due to human made and natural disaster (P₄, P₅, & P₆).

MS₃: EPRDF have achieved successful development victories (P₁₇, P₁₈, P₁₉, P₂₀, & P₂₁).

In description, the article mixed development story with historical and political variables in a way that makes it difficult to create a segment among them. The macro-structures identified above dictate that Ethiopia is scoring a phenomenal success in various sectors of development. The first one (MS₁) claims that Ethiopia is moving forward to retain its ancient civilization. The phrase ‘once again’ presupposes the ancient civilizations of the nation and connects it with the current activities aimed towards attaining the then civilization. The second macro-structure (MS₂) asserts the down-fall of Ethiopia’s civilization and its causes were attributed to human made (mainly blaming the ‘Derg’) and natural disasters (drought and famine). The final macro-structure (MS₃) foregrounds the role of the government/EPRDF²⁸ as an agent (transitivity: the government as an actor). Thus, the government is presumed to be the commander leading the battle against poverty and backwardness.

Interpretively, the article is guided by revolutionary democracy and development state ideology that were manifested linguistically in a form of economic growth and poverty reduction. In doing so, the government was lionized. For instance, the proposition ‘*no political party has contributed as much for the Ethiopian people as has EPRDF*’ clearly shows how the ruling party/the government is represented, connoting lionization. Likewise, the two basic elements of revolutionary democratic and developmental state, economic growth and poverty reduction were given a huge emphasis. These themes were implied through expressions like ‘*perusing an economic policy focused on the enhancement of the standard of living*’; ‘*fought tooth and nail in the war against poverty*’; ‘*attained phenomenal success in*

²⁸ Most of the time the newspaper uses EPRDF and the government synonymously

education’; *‘recorded gigantic strides in agriculture and manufacturing sectors*’; and *‘on course to becoming a net exporter nation*’. Thus, all these elements are major manifestations of economic growth and poverty reduction.

Such kind of representations are basically manifestations of developmental state ideology. Theoretically, developmental state is basically characterized by tight state control over the economy in general and the market in particular. It asserts a positive role of the government in creating and regulating appropriate conditions in accordance with mass mobilization of the public for development (Bolesta, 2007). Putting economic development at the center, the government designs effective instruments and policies to promote and enhance the society (UNDP, 2012). Consequently, the state press, Ethiopian Herald, had focused on representing Ethiopia’s development in terms of economic growth and poverty reduction. In doing so, other dimensions of development such as the political and social segments were neglected, and in some cases branded as elements of liberal and neo-liberal ideologies that are luxurious for Ethiopians at least for the time being. Moreover, critics and investigative reports on government policies and strategies were eliminated in favor of success and bright stories.

4.2.1.2. The ‘Doubting’ view²⁹

This view refers to those private newspapers and magazines that doubt the validity of Ethiopia’s development in their reports. These publications do not totally deny the existing change, but they claim that the development is unhealthy, partial and insufficient. In most cases these outlets narrate Ethiopia’s development based on liberal and neo-liberal ideologies that mainly focus on free market, unlimited private sector involvement in the economy, social dimensions of development (social equity) and political developments such as democracy and human right issues. To elaborate this notion, a few representative articles were selected and analyzed as follows.

²⁹ The ‘doubting’ view represents Ethiopia’s development as unhealthy and uninclusive based on questioning the validity (uncertainty) of the development process in line with liberal and neo-liberal thinking.

a) Fortune

Fortune represented Ethiopia's development as unsustainable and inequitable that caused a huge income difference between the few wealthy and the mass poor. The government has been accused of controlling the economy and misadjusting statistics to show a rosy picture to the international community, rather than fixing massive problems of the private sector. This critic was revealed through words, statements and statistics taken from independent sources as in the following excerpt.

(2) Heavy Business Barriers Guard Against Economic Growth (FOR, 29 JUN 2014)³⁰

... (1) The limited space the private sector is given within the economy has brought huge changes to the economy. (2) But the picture is not all smooth. (3) It is tainted with a disproportionately heavy regulatory burden and cumbersome bureaucracy. (4) According to the latest doing business report of the World Bank, for instance, Ethiopia, under the leadership of the ruling revolutionary democrats, is one of the poorest performers in terms of making it easy for businesses to do business. (5) Starting, as well as liquidating, a business takes a long time in the country. (6) Entrepreneurs need to pass through multiple regulatory procedures to realize their business visions. (7) Actions taken over the past five years made the whole process of starting a business more cumbersome and costly. (8) In the parlance of business people, doing business has become an "unfeeling job" – something that is not viable for risk sensitive individuals. (9) The case is even worse for starters. (10) There is an inherent contradiction in this approach. (11) On the one hand, it is visible that the Ethiopian economy lives in severe deficit of entrepreneurial skill. (12) In the absence of this, the state is seen involved in almost everything, from manufacturing to trading. (13) This is by and large, a huge bias for an economy that aspires to see sustainable growth. (14) The state seems to want to have their cake and eat it. (15) The rise in aggregate price is not the only outcome of the regulatory bias, however, unemployment, income inequality, economic recession and political instability are all possible outcomes ... (16) after all, the current state is unsustainable, exclusionary and unfair...

³⁰ The article is abridged for the purpose analysis and the full article is attached in the appendix

This is a typical article that shows how the private press reports about development activities in Ethiopia. It contains about seventeen (17) propositions including the headline. Applying different macrorules, the text is downsized to manageable pieces in the following manner. First, the propositions are categorized into macropropositions. Accordingly, the headline and the initial proposition are generalized and constructed into a single macroproposition. The next two propositions (P₂ & P₃) are merged using selection macrorule: the former proposition (P₂) is taken as it is using zero rule for it presupposes the latter proposition (P₃). The fourth proposition (P₄) is reconstructed into a manageable form, while the succeeding three propositions (P₅ P₆ & P₇) are generalized and constructed into a single macroproposition. Similarly the next two propositions (P₈ & P₉) are also merged using generalization macrorule. Likewise, the succeeding three propositions (P₁₀, P₁₁ & P₁₂) are generalized and represented in a single macroproposition. In the same token, the next three propositions (P₁₃, P₁₄ & P₁₅) are also generalized into a category. Finally, the last proposition (P₁₆) is transformed into a macroproposition without any change applying the zero macrorule.

As it is explained above, the text is broken into eight (8) macropropositions using generalization, selection, construction and zero macrorules in the following manner:

1. Despite heavy barriers, the private sector has brought huge changes to the economy (headline & P₁).
2. But the picture is not all smooth (P₂ & P₃).
3. Ethiopia is among the poor performers in creating conducive business environment (P₄).
4. Starting and liquidating business is difficult, time consuming and costly due to actions taken by the government (P₅, P₆ & P₇).
5. Doing business has become an ‘unfeeling job’ and even worse for starters (P₈ & P₉).
6. The economy is in the state of contradictions having severe deficit of entrepreneurial skill and unlimited state involvement (P₁₀, P₁₁ & P₁₂).
7. Due to their incorrect decisions, the state is leading the economy in a wrong direction (P₁₃, P₁₄ & P₁₅).
8. After all, the current state is unsustainable, exclusionary and unfair (P₁₆).

After identifying the macropropositions, the next step is deriving the macrostructures/topics using macrorules. So, the aforementioned macropropositions are further analyzed and re-ordered to create stable macropropositions/topics. Accordingly, macroproposition 1 (headline and P₁), 2 (P₂ & P₃), 4 (P₅, P₆ & P₇) and 5 (P₈ & P₉) are generalized and constructed into a single macrostructure

as they talk about critical problems of doing business in Ethiopia. Similarly, macroproposition 6 (P₁₀, P₁₁ & P₁₂) and 7 (P₁₃, P₁₄ & P₁₅) are also merged and reconstructed for they focus on describing the state's involvement in the economy. The remaining two macroproposition, 3 (P₄) and 8 (P₁₆) are treated individually and taken as they are, because of they contain unique information about the situation. Based on this arrangement, the following four (4) macrostructures/topics are identified:

MS₁: Ethiopia is among the poor performers in creating a conducive business environment (P₄).

MS₂: Due to heavy barriers, doing business has become difficult, time consuming, costly and 'unfeeling job' (headline, P₁, P₂, P₃, P₅, P₆, P₇, P₈ & P₉).

MS₃: The state's incorrect decisions and unlimited involvement is leading the economy in a wrong direction (P₁₀, P₁₁, P₁₂, P₁₃, P₁₄ & P₁₅).

MS₄: After all, the current state is unsustainable, exclusionary and unfair (P₁₆)

Based on the above macropropositions, one can see that, the newspaper had represented Ethiopia's development as unfair, partial and unsustainable. Reasons for these are attributed to restrictive measures and decisions taken by the state. Thus, the state is represented as a monster that grabs every little opportunity. Contrary to the state press (Ethiopian Herald), Fortune represented the economic situation in general and the private sector in particular as unhealthy both in local and international standards. This goes with the liberal ideology that accounts for zero or minimal intervention of the state in the economy. According to the newspaper's prediction, the situation might result in unemployment, income inequality, economic recession and political problems.

b) Addis Standard

Addis Standard narrated Ethiopia's development from the perspective of the private sector. Accordingly, the magazine asserted that the country is not moving in the right track, and the reasons for this is the government. The government was accused of monopolizing each and every economic and development activity. As a result, the private sector is expected to act in accordance with the di-facto political patterns, not to be thrown out of the business. The following excerpts clearly show this notion.

(3) Is Ethiopia becoming ‘no go zone’ for investment?³¹ (ADS Oct 2015)

(1) Despite a decade old hyperbole on the double digit GDP growth, several looks into various indicators ranking Ethiopia – from the ease of doing business to corruption and investment freedom indices – reveal unflattering details. (2) The latest report in ease of doing business (DB) released by the World Bank, for instance, paints a gloomy picture: Ethiopia ranked 132nd – a three spot slip from preceding edition – out of 189 countries surveyed. (3) It scored 56.31 in distance to frontier (DTF), a score to regulatory practices showing the absolute distance to the best performance, 100 being the best. (4) There are multiple actors playing against Ethiopia’s stated wish to become an economic wunderkind in the continent. (5) To start with, unlike government officials’ repeated promise, the bedrock of Ethiopia’s economy remained at odds with where market forces play big roles – the private sector. (6) It is a well-established cliché that the economy in Ethiopia is either dominated by state owned enterprises (SOEs) or is run by a private sector deeply affiliated to the regime in power, “I will have a hard time to believe you if you tell me business outside these two frontiers can survive and flourish in Ethiopia”, a foreign investor told this magazine. (7) The government and the party – often one and the same – see nothing wrong with a state reigning over the economy. (8) What’s more, the government and the party’s interest in doing business is protected by the law and defended by the party’s loyalty to a developmental state ideology in which doing business, first and foremost, is the affair of a state and a party in power.

The article contains nine (9) propositions including the headline. Based on van Dijk’s socio-cognitive model, these propositions need to be transformed into macropropositions and, then macrostructures. Accordingly, the first three propositions (P₁, P₂, & P₃) were categorized into one macroproposition using selection, generalization and deletion macrorules respectively. This is because the latter two propositions (P₁ & P₂) are detailed descriptions of the initial proposition (P₁), and can be reconstructed together. Likewise, the succeeding three propositions (P₄, P₅, & P₆) were categorized into a single pot applying selection, generalization and construction macrorules, because they all focus on the backdrops of Ethiopia’s economy. The final two propositions (P₇, & P₈) were also fused into one macroproposition. Besides, the headline is taken as it is using zero macrorule for it summarizes the claims made by the magazine. Based on the above analysis the following four (4) macropropositions were identified:

1. Is Ethiopia becoming a ‘no go zone’ for investment? (headline)
2. Despite a decade old hyperbole on the double digit GDP growth, Ethiopian economy ranks low in international standards (P₁, P₂, & P₃).

³¹ The article is abridged for the purpose analysis and the full article is attached in the appendix

3. Despite government officials promise, the economy in Ethiopia is either dominated by state owned enterprises (SOEs) or is run by a private sector deeply affiliated to the regime in power (P₄, P₅, & P₆).
4. The government and the party reign over the economy with the pretext of the developmental state ideology and with the help of legal protection (P₇ & P₈).

These macropropositions were further analyzed in order to construct macropropositions/topics of the whole article. In doing so, all the macropropositions were cross-checked with the main article and the result revealed that all of the macropropositions represented the core themes of the whole text. As a result, all of them were transformed into macropropositions using zero macrorule. Accordingly, the article is reorganized into four macropropositions/topics.

MS₁: Is Ethiopia becoming ‘no go zone’ for investment? (Headline)

MS₂: Despite a decade old hyperbole on the double digit GDP growth, Ethiopian economy ranks low in international standards (P₁, P₂, & P₃).

MS₃: Unlike government officials promise, the economy in Ethiopia is either dominated by state owned enterprises (SOEs) or is run by a private sector deeply affiliated to the regime in power (P₄, P₅, & P₆).

MS₄: The government and the party reign over the economy with the pretext of developmental state ideology and with the help of legal protection (P₇ & P₈).

The first macroproposition questioned Ethiopia’s situation in terms of investment attraction and presented the issue with doubtful tone that leads to negative connotation. The use of present continuous tense ‘*is Ethiopia becoming...*’ clearly shows the worsening process of investment attraction in Ethiopia. The second macrostructure compares Ethiopian government’s claim of development against international standards. In both cases (MS₁ & MS₂) the agent was deleted and covered up by alternative syntactic constructions. The last two macropropositions (MS₃ & MS₄) provide a critical information about the inappropriate deeds of the government and the party (EPRDF)³². In doing so, the government and the party took the agent role with negative attributions: they are accused of and blamed for the unhealthy development activities happening in the country.

³² Most of the time the newspaper uses EPRDF and the government synonymously

c) Ethiopian Business review

Ethiopian business review gave sincere attention to the negative edges of Ethiopia's development. The poverty level in the country was depicted as pervasive and chronic. Like Addis Standard, this magazine also blames the government and its political orientation for problems related to development.

(4) Calculating the Poor: the reality of measuring poverty in Ethiopia (EBR Nov 2013)

(1) The Ethiopian government has claimed a double digit economic growth in the last decade, yet independent observers have been critical of this assertion. (2) Be that as it may, it is important to examine the poverty reduction implications of whatever growth has been achieved because all type of growth is not necessarily poverty-reducing. (3) The official level of poverty in Ethiopia is based on ETB 3,781 per year per adult equivalent. (4) This is equivalent to ETB 10.50 per day, per adult equivalent (about USD 0.50), with the food poverty line being ETB 5.4 (USD 0.27). (5) Given the galloping inflation in the country since 2005-which largely resulted from government's excessive domestic borrowing (through money printing) – ETB 10 is an extremely small amount of money to attempt to cover a person's basic needs (food and non-food items alike), even by Ethiopian standards. (6) Despite official decline in poverty in Ethiopia, the poor are still vulnerable to further poverty if eradication resources and programs do not specifically target and reach the chronically poor – those who hardly meet their daily food requirements. (7) In short, the pervasiveness and enormity of poverty levels should be obvious as the calculations are based, as I have noted above, on ETB 10.75 per day. (8) Such critical examination of the data would discern the most probable state of poverty in the country, without bias. (9) When we do this, the officially reported poverty figures did not seem to accurately show the current level of poverty in the country. (10) More importantly, if we move from this income based poverty indicators and attempts to take all aspects of the life of the poor, the level of poverty in the country will undoubtedly be shockingly high.

Using deletion macrorule the article is abridged to eleven (11) propositions including the headline. Yet these propositions were further analyzed to construct macropropositions that could form macrostructures/topics. Accordingly, the headline is eliminated using the deletion macrorule. This is because, the headline didn't show a concrete picture about the issue. Then, the first two proposition (P₁ & P₂) were merged and reconstructed into a single macroproposition, due to their sincere focus on the accurateness of Ethiopia's development. Next, three propositions (P₃, P₄, & P₅) were fused into one and construction rule is applied, for they describe similar and consecutive ideas. The sixth proposition (P₆) is upgraded to macroproposition using selection macrorule, because it presents a unique idea signaled by a topic indicator 'despite' at its initial. The remaining four propositions (P₇, P₈, P₉ & P₁₀) were merged into a single category using construction

macrorule. Based on the above analysis, the article is restructured into four (4) macropropositions in the following manner:

1. The double digit economic growth claimed by the Ethiopian government is questioned by independent observers (P₁ & P₂).
2. Due to government's unhealthy actions, the international income based poverty measurement is unpractical in Ethiopian context (P₃, P₄ & P₅).
3. Despite official decline in poverty in Ethiopia, the poor are still vulnerable to further poverty (P₆).
4. The officially reported poverty figures did not seem to accurately show the current level of poverty, and if critically examined the level of poverty in the country will undoubtedly be shockingly high (P₇, P₈, P₉ & P₁₀).

After identifying the macropropositions, the next step is constructing the macrostructures/topics using macrorules. Accordingly, the aforementioned four (4) macropropositions were generalized into two macropropositions/topics using generalization, selection and construction macrorules. As a result, the initial and the final macropropositions, 1(P₁ & P₂) & 4(P₇, P₈, P₉ & P₁₀) were generalized and constructed into a single macrostructure/topic, as they represent the dilemmas about Ethiopia's economic growth. The remaining two macropropositions, 2 (P₃, P₄ & P₅) & 3 (P₆) were also merged and represented within a single topic. Based on the above analysis, the following two macropropositions/topics were identified:

MS₁: Despite the double digit growth claimed by the government, independent observers claim that the level of poverty in the country will be shockingly high (P₁, P₂, P₇, P₈, P₉ & P₁₀).

MS₂: Due to government's unhealthy actions and unpractical income based poverty measurements, the poor are still vulnerable to further poverty (P₃, P₄, P₅ & P₆).

The first macroproposition (MS₁) briefly presented the competing voices about Ethiopia's economic growth that is manifested through poverty reduction. On the one hand, the government claims a double digit economic growth that resulted in a visible level of poverty reduction. On the other hand, however independent sources critically question the accuracy and inclusiveness of the progress, claiming that the officially reported poverty figures did not seem to accurately show the current level of poverty in the country. The second macrostructure (MS₂) asserts the problems mentioned in the first macrostructure (MS₁) and blames the government for these problems. The

government is represented as an agent with negative attributions. Its actions and claims were criticized and blamed.

d) The Reporter

The Reporter, unlike the aforementioned private publications, focused on narrating Ethiopia's development moderately, creating a delicate balance between the optimist and the doubting views. At the topic level, the newspaper focused on providing evaluative reports both on the negative and positive aspects of Ethiopia's development. The following excerpt elaborates this idea.

(5) Ethiopia ranks low in human development despite economic gains (REP 02 May 2015)

(1) The United Nations development program's (UNDP) report on National Human Development puts Ethiopia among lowest performing nations despite double-digit economic growth over a decade. (2) Eugene Owasu, resident representative of the UNDP said that despite major gains in economic sectors, Ethiopia remains low ranking in terms of Human Development Index (HDI). (3) He heeded Ethiopia for making "impressive progresses" in the last decade. (4) He admitted that since 1998 where the first national report was launched, Ethiopia has made progress in health, education and life expectancy areas. (5) James Wakiaga, economic advisor to the UNDP said that though there exist disparities among various regions in Ethiopia, changes in primary school enrollments, changes in life expectancy and reduction in poverty are some of the areas that the country as whole performed better. (6) The report alluded Ethiopia for lifting 2.5. Million people out of poverty in ten years' time since 2004/5. (7) Poverty incidence is believed to have declined into 26 percent in 2013. (8) Yet, inequalities together with disparities in human development progress need to be inclusive and broad based, Wakiaga noted. (9) Risk to shocks and vulnerability, lack of private sector involvement, absence of infrastructure in major social sectors are some of the areas the UNDP report recommends for future considerations by the government. (10) Launching the report President Mulatu Teshome (PhD) reacted on the findings of the report that his government has been stepping into major socioeconomic betterments. (11) Yet, the presidents differed from the conclusion of the report saying the inclusive and broad-based economy has enabled to reduce the level of poverty to 29 percent last year against the 38 percent in 2005. (12) Mekonnen Manyazewal, Commissioner of National Planning Commission, did not accept the report's suggestion for inclusive and broad-based growth. (13) He said that rapid and broad-based growth has been the case in the economy.

The article contains 14 propositions including the headline. Using various macrorules, the article is further analyzed and broken into manageable pieces. In doing so, the propositions were analyzed to form macropropositions. The headline and the first two propositions (P₁ & P₂) were categorized into a single macroproposition using generalization and selection macrorules because of they contain similar information. Then, the next five propositions (P₃, P₄, P₅, P₆, & P₇) were generalized and reconstructed as a single macroproposition using generalization and construction macrorules. Likewise, the succeeding two propositions (P₈ & P₉) were generalized into one macroproposition as they dictate similar idea. The last four propositions (P₁₀, P₁₁, P₁₂ & P₁₃) were also generalized

and reconstructed within a single macroproposition. Based on the above analysis, the article is broken into the following four (4) macropropositions:

1. Ethiopia ranks low in human development despite economic gains (headline + P₁ & P₂)
2. Ethiopia has made “impressive progresses” in the last decade (P₃, P₄, P₅, P₆, & P₇).
3. Ethiopia’s development is not inclusive and broad-based (P₈, & P₉).
4. Government officials deny the partiality and unhealthiness of Ethiopia’s development (P₁₀, P₁₁, P₁₂ & P₁₃).

After the macropropositions are identified, the next step is transforming them into macrostructures or topics. Accordingly, the first macroproposition (headline + P₁ & P₂) is transformed into a macroproposition/topic using zero macrorule. The next two macropropositions were merged into a single macrostructure/topic applying generalization and construction macrorules. The last macroproposition is taken as a macrostructure/topic as it is. Accordingly, the following three macropropositions/topics were identified:

MS₁: Ethiopia ranks low in human development despite economic gains (headline + P₁ & P₂).

MS₂: Though it is not inclusive and broad-based, Ethiopia is making “impressive progresses” in the last decade (P₃, P₄, P₅, P₆, P₇, P₈, & P₉).

MS₃: Government officials deny the partiality and unhealthiness of Ethiopia’s development (P₁₀, P₁₁, P₁₂ & P₁₃).

The first macroproposition (**MS₁**) represented Ethiopia’s development in a balanced tone, paralleling economic gain claims with low performance in human development index. Accordingly, the newspaper remains neutral or objective in reporting about Ethiopia’s development. The second macroproposition (**MS₂**) is an extension of the first macroproposition. This is because, it had presented elaborated ideas that are presupposed or hinted in the first macroproposition. Here, though the economic gain claims were accepted, they were labeled as uninclusive and unhealthy. The use of the quotation mark in “impressive progresses” entails that the writer does have doubts about the inclusiveness of Ethiopia’s development. The last proposition represented the position of the government (in this case denial of shortcomings about Ethiopia’s development). In a nutshell, the newspaper presented Ethiopia’s development in a balanced manner using both supporting and opposing voices in a given issue. Thus, the writer

acknowledged major economic gains claimed by the government, and then evaluated those gains in terms of other parameters.

In interpretation, the private press represented Ethiopia’s development with the frame of liberal and neo-liberal ideologies. In doing so, private sector development, political development, social equity and investment were addressed. Likewise, the role of the government was commended to be minimal, and its current unlimited engagement in the economy was criticized. Thus, excerpts in the following table can be taken as brief examples:

Publications	Typical examples
FOR	The limited space the private sector is given within the economy has brought huge changes to the economy. But the picture is not all smooth. It is tainted with a disproportionately heavy regulatory burden and cumbersome bureaucracy... The state is seen involved in almost everything , from manufacturing to trading. This is by and large, a huge bias for an economy that aspires to see sustainable growth (FOR 29 Jun 2014).
ADS	There are multiple actors playing against Ethiopia’s stated wish to become an economic wunderkind in the continent. To start with, unlike government officials’ repeated promise, the bedrock of Ethiopia’s economy remained at odds with where market forces play big roles – the private sector . It is a well-established cliché that the economy in Ethiopia is either dominated by state owned enterprises (SOEs) or is run by a private sector deeply affiliated to the regime in power... (ADS Oct 2015).
EBR	The Ethiopian government has claimed a double digit economic growth in the last decade, yet independent observers have been critical of this assertion . Be that as it may, it is important to examine the poverty reduction implications of whatever growth has been achieved because all type of growth is not necessarily poverty-reducing ... Despite official decline in poverty in Ethiopia, the poor are still vulnerable to further poverty if eradication resources and programs do not specifically target and reach the chronically poor – those who hardly meet their daily food requirements (EBR Nov 2013).
REP	... Despite major gains in economic sectors, Ethiopia remains low ranking in terms of Human Development Index (HDI) Risk to shocks and vulnerability, lack of private sector involvement, absence of infrastructure in major social sectors are some of the areas the UNDP report recommends for future considerations by the government.

Table 10: ideologically loaded examples from the private press

As it can be seen from the above table, the private press represented Ethiopia’s development in a doubting voice in line with liberal and neo-liberal ideologies. Unlike the developmental state ideology, the liberal ideology of development puts the private sector at the heart of a nation’s

development. This is clearly evidenced in the above excerpts. In the first excerpt (FOR), two major propositions were presented. First, the magazine claimed that the private sector has given limited space within the economy, and second, the government is blamed for its unlimited involvement in the economy. Connectedly, these propositions call for liberal development ideology that puts the private sector at the heart of the development in line with zero or minimal involvement of the government in the economy. Likewise, the second excerpt (ADS), presented a synonymous story. Here, the private sector is represented as a victim of policies and actions of the government. Apart from its unlimited involvement in the economy, the government is blamed for corruption and maladministration. Thus, the expression '*the economy in Ethiopia is either dominated by state owned enterprises (SOEs) or is run by a private sector deeply affiliated to the regime in power*³³' clearly shows the criteria of participating in the economy.

In the last two excerpts (EBR & REP), the ideological manifestations are criteria of development. Criteria of development vary across nations based on their ideological standards. In Ethiopia, the government/ruling party measures development solely based on economic growth (i.e. GDP, per capital income) in line with its developmental state ideology. Contrary to this, the private press evaluates Ethiopia's development based on international standards derived from liberal and neo-liberal stands. Consequently, the selected private press outlets always doubt development claims made by the government, mostly by comparing them with evaluations made by international institutions. For instance, in the above excerpts (EBR & REP), government's development claims were compared and evaluated based UN's HDI (human development index), and consequently a doubting judgments were drawn. Here, criteria of development were used as a prime manifestations of ideology.

In conclusion, based on the aforementioned macro structural analysis routine rules of reporting and patterns of meanings were identified. These patterns were identified based on comprehensive samples that are represented through selected excerpts. As a result, these patterns were taken as macrostructures/topics or global meanings that determined the structure and content of the

³³ "Two other major enterprises, though falling into the private sector, retain close links with government that give them a privileged position. The first are the endowment companies, formed in close association with the constituent parties of the EPRDF, by far the most important of which is the Endowment Fund for Tigray, EFFORT ... Another potential contender for the role of an Ethiopian *chaebol* is the MIDROC group, owned by the Saudi entrepreneur Mohammed Al Amoudi ..." (Clapham 2018, p. 1159).

reporting both at macro and micro levels. Thus, the global meanings are outlined in the following table.

		Global meaning				
		Ethiopia's development				
Publications		The human condition	Organization, power & relationship	Domain of dimensions	values	The government/ Party
1	ETH	Improving: poverty reduced; living conditions improved	Accountable, transparent and decentralized system	Good governance, free market and sustainable development	Democratic, equitable, diversified and pluralistic	Powerful, cautious (careful, prosperous), legitimate, thoughtful, caring for the poor, etc.
2	FOR	Deteriorating: the mass poor are still vulnerable to deprivation	Untransparent, unaccountable and underpowered system	Bad governance, restricted civil society and command market	Undemocratic, unsustainable, human right abuse and partial	Monster, trouble maker, defiant, cause of any problem, etc.
3	REP	Balanced: improving, yet have problems	Balanced: contains both good and bad situations	Bad governance with few positive aspects	Still undemocratic, but started the democracy process	Trouble maker and solution maker
4	ADS	Falling: unsustainable and inequitable	Centralized/ Monopolized and unparticipatory	Bad governance, restricted civil society and command market	Authoritarian, unequitable, human right abuse and etc	Monster, trouble maker, defiant, cause of any problem, selfish, etc.
5	EBR	Worsening: the poverty level is pervasive and chronic	Centralized/ monopolized and unparticipatory	Bad governance, restricted civil society and command market	Authoritarian, unequitable, human right abuse and etc	Uncaring to the poor, monster, trouble maker, defiant, cause of any problem, etc.

Table 11: global meanings/topics of the publications

As it is indicated in the above table, the selected publications represented Ethiopia's development in two broad paradigms. On the one hand, the state press, Ethiopian Herald, represented Ethiopia's development as extraordinary, using optimistic ways of reporting in line with revolutionary democracy and developmental state ideology. On the other hand, the private press represented Ethiopia's development as unhealthy, partial and unparticipatory in various ways based on liberal and neo-liberal development ideologies. In both cases, the government and/ or the ruling party were assigned with agency role with opposite attributions. The state press represented the government as promoter of change and development, while the private press represented it as a monster and trouble-maker. So, in the former's case the government was pictured with positive attributions, whereas in the latter's case only negative deeds were emphasized.

4.2.2. Micro Structure analysis

Microstructure is a theoretical notion of local meaning which is concerned with the surface structure of the text, such as words, phrases, clauses and syntactic constructions (van Dijk, 1988). Analysis at this level is mainly a gateway to understand ideological investments and power enactments in discourse. Thus, the central aim of any CDA research is to account for the relationship between discourse and social practices. Accordingly, critical discourse analysis focuses on describing and explaining how power abuse is enacted, and how ideology is manifested in linguistic and semantic constructions. There are various strategies that reveal ideological constructions and power abuse enactments. Accordingly, in this section selected features of microstructure are analyzed using van Dijk's and Fairclough's critical discourse analysis models. Among these, headline, lexicalization, transitivity, presupposition and intertextuality are the focal points.

4.2.2.1. Headline analysis

In CDA research the analysis of a newspaper article begins with the headline analysis, which would involve examining the headline to find out the main theme, the major actors and structure. It is at this point that we identify the information focus of the article. Based on this notion, let us examine some of the headlines.

a) The State Press: Ethiopian Herald

(6) Once again, Ethiopia is Rising, Shining (ETH, 09 July 2011)

This is not a news headline. It appeared on the politics and opinion column of the newspaper. As a result, it consists of subjective lexicalizations and structural constructs. The phrase ‘once again’ presupposes that Ethiopia used to be a shiny and civilized nation. Thus, the expression alludes the great civilizations of Aksum, Zagwe and Gondar. Besides, the phrase presupposes the collapse of the aforementioned civilizations and claims that the country is gearing to retain its ancient positions on the map of the world. Though the words ‘rising’ and ‘shining’ look like neutral, they were used in an overwhelmingly subjective and authoritative manner. This is because these words represent abstract concepts that need objective/materialistic realization. However, in the above headline, nothing objective is signaled and as a result, the reader comes across this headline might take for granted that Ethiopia is rising and shining without doubts. This is visibly evidenced and elaborated in the main text presented under the headline (see excerpt 1). Using the main text as a context, the headline issued an authoritative voice about Ethiopia’s development that is loaded with developmental state ideology. Accordingly, the government/the ruling party was assigned with agency role in line with positive attributions. As a result, alternative voices doubting Ethiopia’s development were excluded.

(7) Rosy growth out of coherent budget plan (ETH, 26 Jun 2011)

The above headline issues a judgmental standpoint about Ethiopia’s growth. The hyperbole ‘rosy growth’ implies that the growth is exceptional. The agent role is attributed to the ‘budget plan’ which is described as ‘coherent’. Thus the ‘budget plan’ backgrounds the role of the government and praises for its successful planning. Such kind of reporting is a clear result of discursive practices under which the message is produced. As it is mentioned in the previous chapter, Ethiopian Herald is a state-owned press that follows developmental journalism as a working manual. Yet, the newspaper focuses on success stories, rather than implementing development journalism comprehensively. Accordingly, in the above headline, the growth is expressed as ‘rosy’ and the budget plan as ‘coherent’. Here, two basic questions of objectivity can be raised: (1) the newspaper represented the situation without mentioning expert voice or quotation; (2) the word selection signals the authoritative tendency of the newspaper and subjectivity nature of the writer.

Thus, it would have been possible to select other words in order to meet the objective nature of journalism. As a result, the writer had presented himself both as a reporter and an expert.

(8) Ethiopia's inspirational journey towards development (ETH, 16 Jan 2015)

This headline implies two propositions. The first one asserts Ethiopia's development and the second describes this development as inspirational. Lexically, the choice of the words 'journey' implies that the country is developing through a planned process that has a definite beginning and end in line with the definition of the term as 'travelling from one place to another.' Consequently, the journey is described as 'inspirational' with the intention of asserting the positive values of Ethiopia's development. However, the word 'inspirational' has a subjective tendency, rather than being objective and can lead to multiple interpretations. Thus, such kind of expressions are pure manifestation of how political variables influence the journalistic practice.

(9) Ethiopia's economy: path of holistic development (ETH, 24 Jan 2015)

As it is defined in the earlier section of this paper, development is a multi-dimensional concept that has various manifestations. However, in the above headline the concept is reduced to economic growth, and described using critical nouns and adjectives. The noun 'path' is used as a modifier for Ethiopia's economy denoting the economy as a way of life or journey, and this in turn denotes that the economy is in the right track. Likewise the term 'holistic' refers to the inclusiveness and broad-based-ness of Ethiopia's economy. Accordingly, the headline asserts that Ethiopia's development (the economic growth) is path. However, the headline presented a one-sided view by excluding alternative voices that doubt Ethiopia's development.

In a nutshell, Ethiopian Herald focused on reporting success stories. Consequently, the agent role was assigned to the government and EPRDF extensively. By focusing on economic growth, development activities in various sectors were represented as tremendous, fantastic, exceptional and phenomenal. Production and income were projected as increasing, mounting and expanding. The public has been represented as beneficiary of the ongoing 'good governance' and 'democratization'.

b) The Private Press

As mentioned earlier any textual analysis of a media text must start with analyzing headlines and lead paragraphs. Accordingly, in this particular section some headlines from the selected private press outlets are analyzed and discussed thoroughly.

(10) Ethiopia ranks low in human development despite economic gains (REP 02 May 2015)

(11) Ethiopia's HDI improving, yet among the worst performers (ADS Apr 2013)

Both of the above headlines admitted that Ethiopia's economy is changing or improving. However, both the headlines asserted that economic gains were insufficient. Using words 'low' and 'worst', the headlines clearly depicted the countries position when weighed in international standards. The headlines were written using neutral and clear words. However, the syntactic construction conveys a negative emphasis about Ethiopia's development. The conjunctions 'despite' and 'yet' are used to show the low status of Ethiopia's development in a way that directly opposes the state press which mainly focuses on success stories. These differences are primarily ideological that resulted from the selection and framing strategies rooted in the discursive practices of the publications.

(12) The educated youth assumption that never is (ADS Jun-July 2011)

It is obvious that education is a key to get job and having a better life. According to the above headline however, in Ethiopia education might not be the crucial factor for employment. The word 'assumption' presupposes that the Ethiopian youth counts education as a wheel to better life. But the use of the word 'never' entails that in Ethiopia being educated alone cannot be a guaranty for employment and better life. Using the main text as a contextual reference, the aforementioned headline entails two assumptions: First, Ethiopia's development is not sufficiently grew to accommodate the educated youth's unemployment; second, Ethiopia's development is unhealthy, due to lack of balanced wealth distributions and the reason for this might be attributed to corruption and maladministration caused by the government/the ruling party.

(13) Let there be more IT suppliers (ADS Jun-July 2011)

(14) Privatize, Liberalize (EBR Apr-May 2014)

It is a well-known fact that in Ethiopia basic services like telecom and electricity are monopolized by the government. Having this in mind, the writers of the above headlines were urging the government to privatize services monopolized by the government. These headlines are discursive products of liberal ideology that prioritizes liberalization, privatization and no/minimal role of the government in the economy. Accordingly, the headlines provide discursive construction of liberal development ideology that directly opposes developmental state ideology, which puts the government at the center of the economy with a lion share. Thus, the headlines aimed at providing counter-elite contestations to the elite propositions made by the state press, Ethiopian Herald. This clearly shows how the press is used as a sight of struggle to hegemonize the discourses of development.

(15) The private sector Ethiopia failed to get right in 20 years (ADS May-Jun 2011)

(16) Private sector is weak, fragile: government should prepare favorable policy
(EBR Aug-Sep 2014)

The private sector is expected to be the engine of any economy. The above headlines, however, claimed that the private sector in Ethiopia is not doing well. Using words like ‘weak’, ‘fragile’ and ‘failed’ both the headlines took authoritative position than being evaluative. In doing so the government was assigned with agency and accused of not providing favorable policy. As it is explained in the previous sections, these headlines are also discursively constructed through liberal ideologies. Accordingly, the headlines provided a counter-elite contestations to the claims made by the government.

(17) Is Ethiopia becoming a ‘No go Zone’ for investment? (ADS Oct 2015)

The Ethiopian government and affiliated media outlets always dictate that the country is attracting investments massively. However, in the above headline the writer presupposes that Ethiopia is not comforting investors. The word ‘becoming’ clearly views the deteriorating nature of investment activities in Ethiopia. Thus, the use of present continuous tense clearly shows what is happening right now and what will happen in the future. This might happened due to political and social problems.

(18) Jobless Economic growth exacerbates illegal migration (FOR, 16 Jun, 2015)

This headline contains three propositions that are chained in a cause and effect relationship. First, the headline acknowledges Ethiopia's economic growth. Then, the economic growth is described as jobless, and finally, being jobless is presented as a cause for illegal migration. The critical question here is why the economic growth do not created enough jobs? The likely answer for this questions is that the economic growth might be partial that only benefit the wealthy few. Accordingly, Ethiopia's development is partial, uninclusive and unhealthy.

(19) Heavy business barriers guard against economic growth (FOR, 29 Jun, 2014)

Business needs conducive environment to flourish. However, in the above headline it is presupposed that the business environment in Ethiopia is discomforted by various barriers. Using the adjective 'heavy' and the plural form 'barriers', the headline issues the seriousness of the problem which in turn hurts the economic growth badly. Though the presupposed barriers were not explicitly mentioned, it is obvious that they are mainly political and institutional by nature.

(20) Unstable policy regime exhausts investors (EBR, Sep-Oct, 2014)

The headline mainly contains two propositions; first, the government has unstable policy and second, this policy instability is exhausting investors. Lexically, the government is represented as 'regime', a word always associated with negative type of ruling (dictatorship, authoritarian, etc.). Then, this 'regime' was blamed for unstable investment policy that exhausted investors. Here, the use of the term 'exhaust' connotes the extremely irritating situation of investors. Accordingly, the government is represented as inconsistent and this inconsistency is represented as a cause of investment obstacles.

(21) For how longer should Ethiopians yearn for democracy (REP, 08 Aug, 2015)

One among the dimensions and manifestations of development is democracy. The above headline presupposes one major proposition; Ethiopia is not democratic and the people are not enjoying democracy. The phrase 'for how longer' presupposes that Ethiopia has not been democratic and this situation is still continuing. Besides, using the word 'yearn' the headline connotes that though Ethiopians wish democracy very strongly, democracy is becoming something that is very difficult to have.

The headlines examined so far are only few examples that critically doubt Ethiopia’s development. In most cases the private press represented development activities as unhealthy and ill formed. This notion is the exact opposite of claims made by the government and affiliated outlets. Accordingly, in Ethiopia the poor are still vulnerable to further difficulties, and efforts made by the ruling party were considered as insufficient and sometimes undemocratic.

To conclude the headline analysis section, both of the state and privately-owned outlets constructed their headlines based on their underlying ideologies that are rooted in discursive practices. Accordingly, the headlines manifest discourse contestations and discursive struggle patterns in one way or another. This is especially vivid when they report about similar issues as in the following examples.

Publications	Typical examples
ETH	Ethiopia is becoming a favorite hub for investors
FOR	Haphazard public investment breeds economic misery
ADS	Is Ethiopia becoming a ‘No go Zone’ for investment?
EBR	Unstable policy regime exhausts investors
REP	Encouraging local, foreign investment

Table 12: ideologically loaded headlines from the selected outlets

As it can be seen from the above table, all the headlines talk about a similar issue, investment. All the headlines share similar discursive information that asserts the importance of investment for development. However, ideologically, the publications differ in reporting about investment. On the one hand, the Ethiopian Herald (ETH), shows pretty picture about Ethiopia’s investment attraction level and this represents actions of the government as valid. On the other hand, the private press represented the investment situation as exhaustive and unhealthy. All the private press headlines in the above table, blamed the government because of not creating conducive legal grounds. This is because the headlines show a clear pattern of hegemonic contestation between two perspectives, developmental state and liberal ideologies.

The developmental state ideology puts the government at the center of every development activity, while the private press puts the private sector at the nucleus of every development activity in accordance with no/minimal role of the government in the economy. Thus, the contestation between these two ideologies is evident in the above headlines in a pattern of elite and counter-elite struggles.

4.2.2.2. Lexicalization: Word choice and Stance Taking

One apparent and straightforward means of identifying power abuse and ideological bias in the press is through lexical choices. It is up to the outlets to choose whether to focus on the negative or positive aspects of a particular issue. The word choices the outlets employ can thus be very revealing. For instance, Ethiopian Herald employed optimistic words in reporting about Ethiopia's development. Thus the choice of such words goes with the underlying ideological stance of the outlets.

According to Bednarek (2006, p. 26), stance in lexical and grammatical encodings can be manifested in two ways; one, through evidentiality (certainty/doubt) and second, through affect (positive/negative). Thus, choosing among these lexical encodings depends on the ideological standpoint of a particular media outlet. Likewise, Martin and White (2005) claimed that words are the main tools of emotional and rational negotiations. These negotiations are mainly framed through Appraisal theory, which can be manifested in attitude, graduation and engagement. Based on this notion the selected outlets were analyzed in the following way.

4.2.2.2.1. The state press: Sensationalization

In reporting about Ethiopia's development Ethiopian Herald extensively used words marking certainty and positivity. Using optimistic words the newspaper reported Ethiopia's development as tremendous and exceptional. To put this notion in a contextual framework the following two representative articles were analyzed using appraisal theory of (Martin & White 2005).

(22) *Once again, Ethiopia is rising, shining*³⁴(ETH, 9Jul 2011)

³⁴ The article is abridged for the purpose analysis and the full article is presented in the previous section (excerpt 1)

The main article	Appraisal analysis	
	Attitude	Engagement & graduation
<p>(1) In May 1991, the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) forces advanced on Addis Ababa forcing Mengistu to flee to Zimbabwe. (2) In 1991, the transitional government of Ethiopia (TGE) was set up from the EPRDF and other political parties in the country. (3) <u>The renaissance of Ethiopia started</u> since the coming to power of EPRDF in 1991. (4) Over the past twenty years, the EPRDF has registered resounding successes in the political as well as socio-economic history of the country. (5) <u>No political party has contributed as much for the Ethiopian people as has EPRDF.</u> (6) To mention but few of the successes of EPRDF, <u>it ended the cruel era of vicious dictatorship the world had ever seen (the DERG); it drafted an all-inclusive constitution, which recognizes and guarantees the equality of all nations and nationalities with inherent right to govern themselves in their own language; it has been perusing an economic policy focused on the enhancement of the standard of living of all Ethiopians regardless of their region; it fought tooth and nail in the war against poverty with great success; it attained phenomenal success in education throughout all nations and nationalities of Ethiopia; recorded gigantic strides in agriculture and manufacturing sectors and is on course to becoming a net exporter nation. (7) Thanks to Ethiopia's immense water resources, it is on track to becoming an exporter of electric power, and EPRDF is working diligently to that effect including the construction of the Ethiopian grand renaissance dam...</u></p>	<p>(1) both +ve and -ve judgment (powerful vs. weak)</p> <p>(3)+ve affect (4) +ve judgment (tenacity: tireless) (5) +ve judgment (capacity: vigorous) (6) +ve judgment (capacity: powerful); +ve judgment (tenacity: tireless); +ve appreciation (valuation: deep);</p> <p>(7) +ve appreciation (positive, arresting, captivating, etc.)</p>	<p>Monoglosic: taken for granted</p> <p>Monoglosic: proclaim, endorse Monoglosic: proclaim, endorse Monoglosic: Monoglosic: proclaim, endorse; taken for granted</p> <p>Monoglosic: proclaim, endorse</p>

Table 13:appraisal analysis of Ethiopian Herald I

(23) Development efforts in pastoral areas (ETH 06 Feb 2010)

The main article	Appraisal analysis	
	Attitude	Engagement & graduation
<p>(1) Pastoralists suffered from a long history of political, economic and sociocultural marginalization. (2) As a consequence, the pastoral population which account for 15 per cent are among <u>the poorest and most vulnerable people in the country</u>. (3) The problems in the pastoral areas have been exacerbated by recurrent drought and natural calamities such as flood, disease etc. (4) hence, due to both artificial and natural calamities the pastoralists have emerged as the poorest of the poor. (5) However, <u>the federal government has given considerable attention</u> to address pastoral problems. (6) <u>The government has established various institutions to make interventions</u> viz. pastoral affairs standing committee in the house of people's representatives and pastoral commissions and pastoral council. (7) Pastoralism and pastoral development have also become at the center of the national agenda. (8) Students drawn from pastoral areas are also offered affirmative action opportunities to join higher education. (9) <u>Pastoralists and semi-</u></p>	<p>(1) -ve judgment (unfortunate) (2) -ve affect (pitiful, unfortunate)</p> <p>(5) +ve judgment (tenacity: dependable) (6) +ve judgment (capacity: balanced)</p> <p>(9)+ve affect</p>	<p>Monoglosic: proclaim, endorse Monoglosic: taken for granted</p> <p>Monoglosic: proclaim, endorse Monoglosic: proclaim, endorse</p>

pastoralists community have been benefiting much from the ongoing good governance, democratization and socio-economic endeavors .		Monoglosic: proclaim, endorsed evaluation
(10) Tremendous changes have been made in all pastoral areas improving the livelihoods of the pastoral community. (11) The pastoral community has become active in all socio-economic endeavors of the nation, as livestock is the major contributor to the national growth domestic product (GDP). (12) In panel discussions prime minister Meles Zenawi held with representatives of the pastoral community and clan leaders and elders of Somali state said the federal government has been making various development interventions in pastoral areas. (13) Apart from providing technical and capacity building support to the pastoral areas, the government has relentlessly been expanding infrastructure like road, telecommunication and electricity as well as basic social services like school and health services. (14) The government has especially given attention to scaling up strategy pursued to expand best practices in all areas to enhance the activities started. (15) Regional states have shown rapid progress in political, social and economic development. (16) Promising changes in infrastructural development and basic social services in particular provisions have been made possible...	(10) +ve judgment (capacity: powerful) (11) +ve affect (12) +ve judgment (tenacity: dependable) (13) +ve judgment (capacity: tireless) (15) +ve appreciation (16) +ve appreciation	Monoglosic: proclaim, endorse Monoglosic: proclaim Monoglosic: attribute Monoglosic: proclaim Monoglosic: proclaim Monoglosic: proclaim

Table 14: appraisal analysis of Ethiopian Herald II

Evaluatively, the above excerpts (22 & 23) are organized around similar points of attitudinal alignments which involve the following axiological structures:

- **Blaming others:** primarily the previous political system is blamed
- **Praising the government/ruling party (EPRDF):** every success is attributed to the government
- **Focusing only on the bright side of Ethiopia’s development:** success and optimistic stories

Using these structures as a pillar the articles reported about Ethiopia’s development using positive and praising words and expressions. Looking through contextual lens (appraisal theory in particular) the use of the bolded words and underlined expressions in the above excerpts surely reveals the ideological standpoint of the newspaper. The government has been assigned as an agent who is responsible for each and every positive change. It is represented as a midwife helping the country to get out of poverty and backwardness. The public represented as beneficiary, and changes expressed as tremendous.

In terms of **affect**, both the articles used positively charged words and expressions to describe Ethiopia’s development as in the following examples:

- a) Pastoralists and semi-pastoralists community have been **benefiting** much from the **ongoing** good governance, democratization and socio-economic endeavors.
- b) The **renaissance** of Ethiopia **started** since the coming to power of EPRDF in 1991.

The first example (a) shows a positive attitude about Ethiopia's development. The use of the word 'benefiting' shows positively charged attitude towards the success of the government/ruling party, for it implies the all-inclusiveness of the development activities. Similarly, the use of the word 'ongoing' implies the success made by the government in various development arenas. In the second example, the use of words 'renaissance' together with 'started' pictures a positive attitude about Ethiopia's development. Here, the bolded words may look like neutral, however, they are used in a context that legitimizes the deeds of the government. As a result, the newspaper only focused on reporting positive attitudes using effectual words and expressions.

Apart from affect, the articles were highly populated with judgmental words, expressions, and propositions. However, almost all of the **judgments** were charged with positive conclusions as in the following examples:

- a) In May 1991, the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) forces **advanced** on Addis Ababa **forcing** Mengistu to **flee** to Zimbabwe.
- b) It **attained phenomenal success** in education throughout all nations and nationalities of Ethiopia; **recorded gigantic strides** in agriculture and manufacturing sectors and is on course to becoming a net exporter nation.
- c) The government has **relentlessly** been **expanding** infrastructure like road, telecommunication and electricity as well as basic social services...

As it is obvious, the bolded words or expressions in the above excerpts imply an ideological effect in word choice. These words have been subtly applied to present a positive image about Ethiopia's development and EPRDF's leadership. In the first example (c), both positive and negative judgments were encoded. Using words like 'advanced' and 'forcing' EPRDF is represented as powerful entity with positive attribution. Yet, within the same proposition the former political leadership is represented as weak. Thus, the use of the verb 'flee' clearly shows negative judgment. In the remaining two examples (d & e) Ethiopia's development is reported as exceptional using positively charged words and expressions that resulted positive judgments. The development

situation is represented as tremendous, phenomenal, and gigantic. In doing so, all the successes were attributed to the government and the ruling party, EPRDF.

In terms of **appreciation**, the newspaper represented positive appreciations in favor of the government and the ruling party as in the following examples:

- a) Regional states have **shown rapid progress** in political, social and economic development.
- b) **Promising changes** in infrastructural development and basic social services in particular provisions have been made possible...
- c) EPRDF is **working diligently** to that effect including the construction...

As it is indicated by the bolded words in the above examples, Ethiopia's development is appraised positively as rapid and promising, and as usual the success is attributed the ruling party. Thus, such kind of reporting can be understood as an outcome of the newspaper's ideological orientation.

Apart from attitudinal values analyzed above, the newspaper also used **engagement** strategies that show clear picture about its ideological orientation. In most cases Monoglosic way of reporting with proclaim and endorsement strategies were used.

- d) **No political party has contributed** as much for the Ethiopian people as has EPRDF...
- e) Representatives of the pastoral community and clan leaders and elders of Somali state said the federal government has been making various development interventions in pastoral areas.

In the first case (i) the newspaper states authoritative and judgmental proposition without giving a space for optional or competitive narrations. Technically, such kind of propositions are known as 'Monoglosic' for they only focus on presenting certain view as valid, plausible and reliable. Accordingly, in the above example (i) the newspaper represented its view as a wholly accepted fact proclaiming and endorsing the ruling party's claim. In the second example (j), though an attempt is made to attribute sources, yet it is Monoglosic. This is because, the newspaper mentioned 'clan leaders' and 'elders' as sources, and yet, the attributed information was not represented neutrally. Rather, it was presented as an agreed up on truth.

In a nutshell, looking into the lens of Martin’s appraisal theory, the newspaper used positive words and expressions. In terms of Affect the newspaper expressed emotions positively. Judgments about Ethiopia’s development and actions of the government were expressed positively. Appreciations were also expressed in favor of the government and ruling party. Besides, Monoglosic way of engagement was common. To be precise, the appraisal analysis of the aforementioned articles (22 & 23) is summarized in the following manner (table 8):

	Affect	Judgment	Appreciation
Excerpt 22	Ethiopia is shining, rising [af] +ve	forces advanced on Addis Ababa forcing [j] +ve Mengistu to flee [j] –ve EPRDF has registered resounding successes [j] +ve has contributed [j] +ve it ended the cruel era [j] +ve drafted an all-inclusive constitution, which recognizes and guarantees [j] +ve attained phenomenal success [j] +ve recorded gigantic strides [j] +ve	renaissance of Ethiopia started [ap] +ve perusing an economic policy [ap] +ve enhancement of the standard of living [ap] +ve fought tooth and nail [ap] +ve working diligently [ap] +ve
Excerpt 23	have been benefiting much from the ongoing good governance [af] +ve has become active in all socio-economic endeavors [af] +ve	Suffered [j] +ve marginalization [j] +ve given considerable attention [j] +ve The government has established various institutions to make interventions [j] +ve Tremendous changes [j] +ve making various development interventions [j] +ve relentlessly been expanding [j] +ve	the poorest and most vulnerable people [ap] +ve shown rapid progress [ap] +ve Promising changes [ap] +ve

Table 15: appraisal analysis of Ethiopian Herald newspaper: summary

4.2.2.2.2. The private press: Negation

Generally speaking the private press mostly used negative words, expressions and syntactic constructions in reporting Ethiopia’s development. Messages were constructed contextually to

connote negative implication about Ethiopia’s development. Thus, “negative sentences are often used for polemical purposes” (Fairclough, 1992, p.121).

Fortune, for instance, used words and expressions loaded with negative judgments in reporting about Ethiopia’s development. Thus, the following representative article from the newspaper can be presented as a testimony.

(24) Little lies, Big lies: Maladjusted statistics to deprive those in need (FOR, 21 NOV 2010)

The main article	Appraisal analysis	
	Attitude	Engagement & graduation
<p>(1) By most standards, and especially those of Africa, <u>Ethiopia is generally rated positively in statistical rigour.</u> (2) <u>All of this seems to have changed in the aftermath of the 2005 election.</u> (3) Apart from the killings, arrests, and destruction of the opposition, another casualty was the truth. <u>Senior government officials denied</u> that more than 37 people were killed following the elections, right up until the official government report <u>admitted</u> that 192 were killed. (4) This example still fits in the “lies” category (or “damned lies”). (5) However, <u>the biggest casualty</u> was official statistics. (6) <u>The panicked government forced a “rosy picture” approach to be taken to all aspects of social and economic statistics for political expediency, sacrificing the pride, integrity and independence of statistics.</u> (7) The reality, that <u>agricultural production has systematically been exaggerated</u> for the last five years, remains. (8) This is widely known and has been publicly challenged, not least by the 2009 Crop and Food Security Assessment Mission (CFSAM), undertaken by the United Nations (UN) food and agricultural organization (FAO) and world food program (WFP). (9) After the spotty rainfall of 2009, <u>official government estimates put cereal production at six per cent increase, whereas the CFSAM estimated it to decrease by three per cent.</u> (10) <u>Annual exaggeration in agricultural production also impact on the accuracy</u> of the overall GDP growth. (11) The share of agriculture in the gross domestic product (GDP) is about 40pc, so the nine percent exaggeration in agricultural production in 2009 would translate into three per cent to four percent exaggeration in GDP for the same year. (12) <u>Statistical distortion is not confined to the economic sphere.</u> (13) A couple of years ago, <u>the government claimed that</u> the use of mosquito nets had jumped from less than 10pc to over 80pc in affected areas. (14) <u>While experts concede</u> that the use of nets had seen an impressive increase, they felt that the figure was closer to 40pc usage. (15) <u>In education, huge increase in the enrolment rates of children in basic education were based on hosting festivals with lots of goodies on enrolment days.</u> (16) All the children would show and enroll, and this became the official figure. (17) Yet, what happened on day two? How many children were left six months later?</p>	<p>(1) +ve appreciation: quality (2) –ve judgment (3) –ve judgment: tenacity (unreliable)</p> <p>(5) –ve appreciation: veracity (dishonest) (6) –ve judgment</p> <p>(7) –ve judgment: tenacity (unreliable)</p> <p>(9) –ve judgment: tenacity (unreliable)</p> <p>(10) –ve judgment: tenacity (unreliable)</p> <p>(12)–ve judgment: tenacity: unreliable (13 & 14) –ve judgment: tenacity (unreliable) (15)–ve appreciation: valuation: shallow</p>	<p>Hetroglosic : entertain Force: raise Hetroglosic: entertain Hetroglosic: attribute (acknowledge)</p> <p>Monoglosic: disclaim Monoglosic: disclaim</p> <p>Hetroglosic: disclaim (counter)</p> <p>Hetroglosic: disclaim (counter)</p> <p>Monoglosic: disclaim (deny)</p> <p>Hetroglosic: disclaim (counter) Hetroglosic: disclaim (counter)</p> <p>Monoglosic: disclaim (deny)</p>

Table 16: appraisal analysis of Fortune

Plainly speaking the bolded and underlined words and expressions in the above excerpt show negative connotations about Ethiopia's development. As such, agency is attributed the government with negative attributions. Thus, the government is accused and blamed for each and every wrong doing. All appraisal resources in general and attitude (affect, judgment and appreciation) in particular were expressed negatively using words and expressions that tell the partiality and unhealthiness of Ethiopia's development. Besides, engagements were expressed in way of disclaiming and opposing those claims made by the government. For instance, the following examples from the text clearly support this notion:

- a) Senior government officials **denied** that more than 37 people were killed following the elections, right up until the official government report **admitted** that 192 were killed.
- b) The biggest **casualty** was official statistics.
- c) The **panicked government forced a "rosy picture"** approach to be taken to all aspects of social and economic statistics for political expediency, **sacrificing** the pride, integrity and independence of statistics.
- d) The reality that agricultural production has **systematically been exaggerated** for the last five years, remains.

As it can be seen in the above examples, the government is represented negatively using negative tokens and contextual constructs. In all of the examples (a, b, c & d) the government is judged negatively as manipulative and unreliable. Especially, the last example clearly disclaims the development claims made by the government and affiliated bodies. The clause "systematically been exaggerated" shows how the government manipulate statistics to win public support. Thus, this systematic exaggeration might include lies and fake reports. Consequently, the propositions were presented in a form of counter disclaim. This directly opposes with the state press, Ethiopian Herald.

In nutshell, the newspaper disclaimed the claims made by the government and its affiliates. In doing so, affect is expressed negatively; judgments were constructed negatively and appreciations were loaded with negative values. Likewise, both Monoglosic and Hetroglosic ways of engagement strategies were used. However, in both of them disclaims and counter disclaims were explicitly employed.

Likewise **Addis Standard** used words, expressions and syntactic structures that connote negative outcomes about Ethiopia’s development. Focusing on the private sector development, the magazine represented Ethiopia’s development as partial and unhealthy as indicated in the following article:

(25) The private sector Ethiopia failed to get right in 20 years (ADS May-June 2011)

The main article	Appraisal analysis	
	Attitude	Engagement & graduation
<p>(1) <u>Ethiopians were made to accept and believe how bad the centralized command economy of the Derg and its unfortunate demise was for them as opposed to the free market economy brought and adopted by the ruling revolutionary democrats and its subsequent result that unleashed the private sector to thrive.</u> (2) This motto has been the prime emblem of the ruling <u>EPRDF’s persistent campaign for the last 20 years.</u> (3) Over the past 20 years <u>the private sector has boomed incomparably – unimaginable during the communist Derg whom the ruling party EPRDF uprooted.</u> (4) Now <u>the happy days of the private sector has come to an abrupt end.</u> Hostility between the private sector and the ruling EPRDF is busy at work as trust between the two became a rare commodity. (5) <u>The private sector’s role as the engine of a given economy has seen a dramatic decline particularly over the past two and half years.</u> (6) Prime minister Meles Zenawi expressed – on more than one occasion his disgust over what he believes is “rent seeking” lethal attitude by the private sector and his wishes to “cut off” the hands of those messing up the nation’s number one export item – coffee. (7) So far, <u>sizable numbers of prominent business people have been thrown to jail and their businesses reduced to non-existent.</u> (8) From the private sector, <u>such actions are taken as the state’s deliberate intimidation to kick genuine businesses out of the game in favor of party affiliated ‘private companies.’</u> (9) Lately, every move the state takes is interpreted straightforward by the private sector as a calculated move to extinguish their existence. (10) As we speak, the Ethiopian customs and revenue authority, the primary bridge between the government and the private sector, <u>is nothing but a torture chamber for the private businesses because of its recent declaration enforcing every business (small and bi alike) to purchase a non-available electronics cash register machines.</u> (11) Prior to that, <u>the government gradually transformed itself from a partner in business consultation to a little more than an authoritative partner when many private businesses were told and ordered to sell some consumables for a state imposed prices.</u> (12) This is a dangerous deadlock. (13) It cannot and should not be allowed to continue.</p>	<p>(1) –ve appreciation: distorted</p> <p>(2) –ve judgment: manipulative</p> <p>(3) +ve judgment: normality (fortunate)</p> <p>(4) +ve judgment: tenacity (erratic)</p> <p>(5) –ve judgment: normality (waning)</p> <p>(6) –ve judgment: tenacity (unreliable)</p> <p>(7) –ve judgment: tenacity (irrational)</p> <p>(8) –ve judgment: tenacity (prejudiced)</p> <p>(9) –ve appreciation: Contorted</p> <p>(10) –ve affect: unhappiness</p> <p>(11) –ve affect: unhappiness</p> <p>(12) –ve appreciation: Reaction(unbalanced)</p>	<p>Monoglosic: disclaim</p> <p>Monoglosic: disclaim</p> <p>Monoglosic: proclaim</p> <p>Monoglosic: disclaim (deny)</p> <p>Monoglosic: disclaim</p> <p>Hetroglosic: attribute (distance)</p> <p>Monoglosic: disclaim</p> <p>Hetroglosic: disclaim (counter)</p> <p>Hetroglosic: attribute (distance)</p> <p>Hetroglosic: disclaim (counter)</p> <p>Hetroglosic: proclaim (pronounce)</p> <p>Monoglosic: proclaim (endorse)</p>

Table 17: appraisal analysis of Addis Standard

The text exhibits negative values about Ethiopia's development and the government. It represented the government and its apparatus as monster that does not hesitate to eat the private sector. Accordingly, all affect, judgment and appreciation were expressed with negative values. Both Monoglosic and Hetroglosic strategies of engagement were used. In terms of Monoglosic, the newspaper used proclaim strategies in a form of disclaim and endorsement. In the same token, Hetroglosic engagement is used in a form of disclaim, attribute and proclaim. Here, disclaim is used for two purposes: to deny and to counter claim. To be precise, the following examples from the text show a crystal clear picture:

- a) Now the happy days of the private sector has come to an **abrupt end**.
- b) The private sector's role as the engine of a given economy has seen a **dramatic decline** particularly over the past two and half years.
- c) From the private sector, such actions are taken as the state's **deliberate intimidation to kick genuine businesses** out of the game **in favor of party affiliated** 'private companies.'
- d) The Ethiopian customs and revenue authority, the primary bridge between the government and the private sector, is nothing but a **torture chamber** for the private businesses.
- e) The government gradually transformed itself from a partner in business consultation to a little more than an **authoritative partner** when many private businesses were told and ordered to sell some consumables for a state imposed prices.

In the first example (a) the situation in the private sector is judged negatively as erratic and uncomfortable. Interpretively, causes were attributed to the government in a form of blaming and accusations. The second example clearly disclaims development claims made by the government and its affiliates in line with negative judgments. In both cases (a & b) Monoglosic engagement strategies in a form of disclaim (denial in particular) is employed. Likewise, in the third example (c) the government is presented negatively as prejudiced entity that purposely diminish the private sector. In doing so, the government and the private sector were represented in a binary opposition. On one hand the use of expressions like 'deliberate intimidation', 'kick genuine businesses' and 'in favor of party affiliated' looks like purposeful selections that represent the government as

‘arrogant’, ‘unfair’, and ‘corrupt’. On the other hand the private sector is represented as ‘genuine’ and ‘reliable’. Besides, the view of the private sector is represented in a Hetroglosic engagement by focusing on counter disclaiming.

In the fourth example (d) the Ethiopian customs and revenue authority has been described as a torture chamber. However, the agent or the torturer is not clearly indicated. According to van Leeuwen (1996), texts represent certain issues with no reference to social actors or agents in question in the text. Accordingly, though the agent is not explicitly stated, the use of the word ‘enforcing’ implies that the government is torturing the private sector. Likewise, in the last example (e) the government is represented negatively as ‘authoritative’

In a nutshell, by focusing on the private sector the magazine represented Ethiopia’s development as partial, unhealthy and undependable. In doing so, negative appraisal resources were highly used. Affect, judgment and appreciation were loaded with negative values. By doing so the government is criticized and blamed for no creating a conducive environment to the private sector. Regarding engagement, both Monoglosic and Hetroglosic strategies in various forms (mainly disclaim) were used.

Ethiopian Business Review is known for its critical comments about Ethiopia’s development. In doing so the magazine criticized government’s development policy and strategies using negative and judgmental words and expressions.

(26) Unstable policy regime exhausts investors (EBR, Sep-Oct 2014)

The main article	Appraisal analysis	
	Attitude	Engagement & graduation
(1) From a distance, <u>the policy framework in Ethiopia seems to be stable</u> . (2) However , <u>the reality on the ground paints a different picture</u> . (3) Recent occurrences of policy framework inconsistency include the unexpected and overnight devaluation of Birr in 2010 against a number of major hard currencies by 20Pct. (4) In addition to this, the government’s decision to restrict the availability of credit from private banks in 2008 and 2011 to curb inflation are examples of <u>the shaky policy framework in the country</u> . (5) The introduction of price caps on 18 commodities in December 2011 is <u>perhaps the most disturbing and sudden policy change to occur in the country</u> . (6) This has also been a point of contention among the business community and the government. (7) When the government decided to monopolize the importation of palm oil major importers like Camel Trading Enterprise, Al-Sam	(1) -ve judgment: normality (unstable)	Hetroglosic: entertain
	(2) –ve appreciation: impact (tedious)	Monoglosic: disclaim (deny)
	(4) –ve affect: unhappiness	Hetroglosic: disclaim (deny)
	(5) –ve judgment: undependable	Hetroglosic: disclaim (deny)
	(7) –ve judgment: tenacity (rash)	Monoglosic: disclaim (deny)

<p>International Plc., Get-As and others left the business. (8) Of course, policy instability has been a typical feature of Ethiopia’s investment and business environment. (9) Frequent changes in policy and regulatory frameworks have been responsible for the increasing actual and expected risks of investors. (10) Experts agree that the government has a responsibility to strike a balance between protecting the society as well as capturing fair and sustainable revenue for its resources and simultaneously providing stable investment regime and sufficient incentives that attracts and sustains investment. (11) Most investors agree that the relatively inexpert and occasionally erratic implementation and enforcement of government regulation undermines the predictability and stability of the business and investment climate. (12) This is perhaps true in relation to the administration of land and customs procedures and levies. (13) Abrupt changes of policy on price and bank credit controls in the context of inflation have also caused recent controversy.</p>	<p>(9) –ve appreciation: Monoglosic: disclaim impact (uninviting)</p> <p>(10)–ve appreciation: Hetroglosic: attribute unbalanced (distance)</p> <p>(11)–ve appreciation: Hetroglosic: attribute Shallow (distance)</p> <p>(13) –ve judgment: Monoglosic: disclaim undependable (deny)</p>
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Table 18: appraisal analysis of Ethiopian Business Review

Beginning from the headline the above text exhibits numerous judgmental propositions, words and expressions. Like the previous two articles (25 & 24), this text also criticized and blamed the government for not creating fertile ground to the private sector. In doing so, the government is represented as ‘undependable’ and ‘unpredictable’ when it comes to policy issues. In terms of appraisal theory, affect, judgment and appreciations were constructed negatively. Both Monoglosic and Hetroglosic engagements were used. In both cases disclaim (denial and counter) were extensively used. Thus, the following examples from the text vividly illustrate this notion:

- a) **Unstable policy regime** exhausts investors.
- b) The government’s decision to restrict the availability of credit from private banks in 2008 and 2011 to curb inflation are examples of the **shaky policy framework** in the country.
- c) The introduction of price caps on 18 commodities in December 2011 is perhaps the **most disturbing and sudden policy change** to occur in the country.
- d) **Frequent changes in policy and regulatory frameworks** have been responsible for the increasing actual and expected risks of investors.
- e) Most investors **agree** that the **relatively inexpert and occasionally erratic implementation and enforcement** of government regulation undermines the predictability and stability of the business and investment climate.

- f) **Abrupt changes** of policy on price and bank credit controls in the context of inflation have also caused recent controversy.

As it is indicated in the above examples, the government is blamed for not providing stable and dependable policy packages. Based on the position of the private sector, the text purposely glorified the private sector's idea by blaming and criticizing the government. In doing so, the text presented its position as an agreed upon fact. For instance, in the fifth example (e) the writer used the expression 'most investors agree' to present its position as a genuine fact. However, though it's Heteroglossic (for it attributes somebody 'most investors'), the expression still did not give a room for alternative opinions. According to Martin & White (2005), such kind of engagement strategies were mostly used to present someone's opinion as a universally accepted view. Accordingly, in the above text such expressions were used to promote certain opinions as an accepted facts in line with manufacturing consent.

In all of the examples the government is negatively judged using various strategies. Expressions such as 'shaky policy framework', 'abrupt changes', 'inexpert and erratic', 'enforcement', 'disturbing and sudden', and etc. clearly pictured the government as undependable and unreliable. For instance, in the first example (a) though it's not explicitly stated, the government is accused for two consequential reasons. Firstly, the expression 'unstable policy regime' presupposes the irresponsible behavior of the government in providing stable policies. Besides, the word 'regime' attributes the government with negative character. This is because, 'regime' is always associated with bad governing systems such as dictatorship and totalitarianism. Secondly, the instability of policy is mentioned as a major cause of exhaustion among investors. Thus, the word 'exhausts' clearly connotes the level of tiredness and its extremity.

In conclusion, the text is basically constructed on a negative pillar. As a result, it presented a negative picture about Ethiopia's development and government's activities. In doing so, affect, judgment and appreciations were expressed negatively. Though an attempt is made to entertain alternative opinions using Heteroglossic engagement, yet the text presented its position as an accepted and agreed up on fact. Besides, disclaims were presented in a form of denial.

The **Reporter** narrated Ethiopia’s development in a balanced tone compared to all the selected publications in this study. Evidently, the newspaper used both negative and positive words, expressions and syntactic constructions in reporting development issues.

(27) Eradicating abominations detracting from the nation’s success! (REP 18 Jul 2015)

The main article	Appraisal analysis	
	Attitude	Engagement & graduation
(1) In as much as <u>Ethiopia has registered successes which have earned it esteem on the international stage, it is still beset by shortcomings that force it to hang its head down in shame.</u> (2) <u>The country is rapidly shedding its synonym with poverty and famine and becoming an African powerhouse.</u> (3) <u>Bad governance is presently the gravest of Ethiopia’s flaws that jeopardizes the gains it has made over the past decade.</u> (4) <u>Though all levels of government starting from local administrations to the premiere have opined a lot about the dangers bad governance, much leaves to be desired when it comes to suiting their word to action.</u> (5) <u>A sizable number of government officials and employees have placed themselves above the law and are perpetrating injustices against citizens who are simply demanding their constitutionally enshrined rights.</u> (6) <u>Accountability and transparency have become scarce commodities in government bureaucracies.</u> (7) <u>The leadership and members of the EPRDF should be particularly worried by the worsening state of good governance in Ethiopia.</u> (8) <u>Scores of citizens are languishing in prison on terrorism charges.</u> (9) <u>While the government has consistently stated that it has sufficient evidence to substantiate the charges, the defendants claim that they were thrown in jail for simply demanding their rights.</u> (10) <u>Several instances which cast a shadow over the independence and impartiality of the judiciary have transpired over the years.</u> (11) <u>It is quite upsetting that Ethiopia’s internationally-acclaimed rapid growth in the socio-economic sphere is diminished by the human rights violations the government is constantly accused; it is frustrating to see the country categorized as a repressive state.</u> (12) <u>Corruption in Ethiopia is assuming alarming proportions and poses an existential threat.</u> (13) <u>The description that is “petty” no longer applies.</u> (14) <u>If we truly aspire for our beloved nation to grow and prosper, to be a shared home where the rights and dignity of all its citizens is respected and the latter enjoy an equitable distribution of wealth, and to symbolize plurality, we its people owe it the duty to eradicate the abominations which eat away at it from the inside.</u>	(1) +ve & -ve judgment: success vs. shortcomings (2) +ve judgment: capacity (vigorous) (3) –ve appreciation: impact (staid) (4) –ve appreciation: huge gap (5) –ve judgment: ethics (corrupt) (6) –ve judgment: ethics (unfair) (7) –ve affect: unhappiness (9) –ve judgment: tenacity (unreliable) (10)–ve appreciation: balance (distorted) (11) –ve affect: dissatisfaction (12)–ve appreciation: Repulsive (14) –ve affect: dissatisfaction	Hetroglosic: disclaim (counter) Monoglosic: proclaim Monoglosic: proclaim Hetroglosic: disclaim (counter) Monoglosic: proclaim Monoglosic: disclaim Monoglosic: disclaim (counter) Hetroglosic: attribute (distance) Monoglosic: disclaim Hetroglosic: disclaim (counter) Monoglosic: proclaim Monoglosic: proclaim (endorse)

Table 19: appraisal analysis of The Reporter

Unlike the other private publications in this study, the reporter employed a kind of balancing way of reporting. Basically, the newspaper accepts and acknowledges the development efforts made by the government. Yet, it focuses on revealing the shortcomings of Ethiopia’s development claimed

by the government. To be precise, the following examples from the above text can be presented as a typical testimony:

- a) Ethiopia has **registered successes** which have earned it esteem on the international stage, it is **still beset by shortcomings** that force it to hang its head down in shame.
- b) The country is **rapidly shedding** its synonym with poverty and famine and becoming an African **powerhouse**.
- c) **Bad governance** is presently the **gravest** of Ethiopia's flaws that **jeopardizes** the gains it has made over the past decade.
- d) Accountability and transparency have **become scarce commodities** in government bureaucracies.
- e) Several instances which **cast a shadow** over the independence and impartiality of the judiciary have **transpired** over the years.
- f) It is quite upsetting that Ethiopia's **internationally-acclaimed rapid growth** in the socio-economic sphere is **diminished** by the human rights violations.

As it can be seen from the above examples, the newspaper reported about Ethiopia's development both positively and negatively. Positively, the newspaper acknowledges the success claimed by the government using expressions like 'internationally-acclaimed', 'rapid growth', 'power house', 'registered successes and etc. yet, the newspaper also pinned out the shortcomings of Ethiopia's development using words such as 'diminished', 'transpired', 'shadow', 'gravest', 'beset', 'shortcomings', 'jeopardizes' and etc.

In terms of appraisal theory, attitudes were communicated and dominated by negative affect, judgment and appreciation. Judgments and appreciations were expressed negatively to connote 'dissatisfactions', 'unreliability', 'unfairness', and etc. Regarding engagement, both Monoglosic and Hetroglosic strategies in a form of proclaim and disclaim were employed. Proclaim is mainly used to endorse an opinion in a form of proposed solution as in 'we its people owe it the duty to eradicate the abominations'. Likewise, disclaim is employed to represent counter claims as in 'it is frustrating to see the country categorized as a repressive state.'

In a nutshell, the private press used negative and critical words in line with their ideological standpoints. Thus choosing between the words 'increase' and 'decrease' in reporting certain

activity depends on the ideological stand of the publication. Accordingly, in the private press economic gains were represented negatively, the government was accused of any fault and the public was pictured as deprived by the mistaken actions of the government and its affiliates. In comparison with the state press (Ethiopian Herald), the private press is overpopulated with negatively loaded appraisal markers, disclaimers and propositions that express partisanship with the private sector. To show a complete picture the appraisal analysis of the selected four private press outlets is summarized in the following manner (see table 13):

	Affect	Judgment	Appreciation
FOR		seems to have changed [j] –ve officials denied [j] –ve report admitted [j] –ve panicked government forced [j] –ve Sacrificing the pride, integrity and independence of statistics [j] –ve Systematically exaggerated [j] –ve Whereas ... decrease [j] –ve Annual exaggeration [j] –ve Statistical distortion [j] –ve	generally rated positively in statistical rigour [ap] +ve the biggest casualty [ap] –ve huge increase [ap] –ve
ADS	is nothing but a torture chamber for the private businesses [af] –ve The government gradually transformed itself to a little more than an authoritative partner when many private businesses were told and ordered to sell some consumables for a state imposed prices [af] –ve	persistent campaign [j] –ve boomed incomparably – unimaginable [j] +ve happy days [j] +ve abrupt end [j] –ve dramatic decline [j] –ve “rent seeking” lethal attitude [j] –ve “cut off” [j] –ve Thrown to jail [j] –ve Businesses reduced to non-existent [j] –ve deliberate intimidation [j] –ve Kick genuine businesses out of the game [j] –ve In favor of party affiliated ‘private companies’ [j] –ve calculated move to extinguish their existence [j] –ve	made to accept and believe [ap] –ve This is a dangerous deadlock [ap] –ve
EBR	The government’s decision to restrict the availability of credit ... are examples of the shaky policy framework [af] –ve	seems to be stable [j] –ve perhaps the most disturbing and sudden [j] –ve decided to monopolize [j] –ve left the business [j] –ve Abrupt changes [j] –ve Caused [j] –ve	Paints a different picture [ap] –ve responsible for the increasing actual and expected risks [ap] –ve Experts agree [ap] –ve inexpert and occasionally erratic [ap] –ve
REP	EPRDF should be particularly worried by the worsening state of good governance in Ethiopia [af] –ve	Registered successes [j] +ve earned it esteem [j] +ve still beset by shortcomings [j] –ve hang its head down in shame [j] –ve rapidly shedding [j] –ve	Bad governance is the gravest of Ethiopia’s flaws that jeopardizes [ap] –ve much leaves to be desired [ap] –ve

It is quite upsetting [af] – ve It is frustrating to see the country categorized as a repressive state [af] –ve we its people owe it the duty to eradicate the abominations [af] –ve	above the law [j] –ve become scarce commodities [j] –ve	cast a shadow over the independence and impartiality [ap] –ve Corruption is assuming alarming proportions and poses an existential threat [ap] –ve
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Table 20: appraisal analysis of the private press: summary

4.2.2.3. Presuppositions and Implicatures

Ideology is primarily located in the unsaid. Therefore, it is crucial to look systematically for carriers of implicit meaning. Such meanings are known as presuppositions, and they are marked in a variety of ways in a text. It is obvious that a single text might contain too many presuppositions. Accordingly, it is difficult and exhausting to examine each and every implicated meaning in the selected texts in this study. As a result, three commonly presupposed themes were identified based on discourse topics and their recurrence. These are enemizing/labeling, blaming/defending and solutions. The publications constructed these themes using ‘THEM’ vs. ‘US’ distinction as indicated in the following table.

No	Categories	US/WE	THEM/THEY
1	The government press	The government, EPRDF and their allies The public, anyone who supports our actions	Anyone (individual or group) opposing EPRDF’s ideology
2	The private press ³⁵	The public The private sector (except for politically affiliated ones)	The government, EPRDF and their allies (anyone affiliated with)

Table 21: division of in-group and out group actors in the selected publications

4.2.2.3.1. Enemizing³⁶/Labeling

In reporting about Ethiopia’s development the selected publications constructed the ‘them’ vs. ‘us’ using enemizing and labeling expressions. Accordingly, actions of ‘US’ were appreciated while actions of ‘THEM’ were degraded. This goes with van Dijk’s (1998) concept of “Ideological

³⁵ There are slight differences among the selected outlets in categorizing out-group actors

³⁶ Branding something or someone as enemy

square”. For instance, Ethiopian Herald focused on defending the government’s position by enemizing and labeling others who stand in opposition to government’s ideology as illustrated in the following excerpt.

(28) As there are many **friends** and **lovers** of Ethiopia who wish to see its development and civilization, there are also some groups bent toward **tarnishing** the country’s image. **These** are groups who don’t want to see Ethiopia’s bright future... the recent criticism of **human rights watch**, who has never stopped to find reasons to defame Ethiopia, is a clear demonstration of the fact that this organization has stood against the interest of Ethiopia and Ethiopians... **human rights watch** and **the likes** of it want Ethiopia to remain backward and uncivilized. (ETH 21 Jan 2012).

As it can be understood from the above excerpt, the newspaper marks a clear division between ‘them’ and ‘us’ using certain words and syntactic constructions. Using the phrases like ‘some groups’, ‘these’, ‘the likes’ and ‘human rights watch’ the writer labeled the ‘them’ category as enemy of the country and threat for development. The ‘us’ category on the other hand, was labeled as friends and lovers of the country and best wishers of its bright future. By doing so the government is represented as the only responsible agent of development. Likewise, the following excerpt represented similar depictions.

(29) The statement also says that the **neo-liberal extremists’ institution** by the name of ‘**Oakland**’ has made repeated efforts to undermine our country’s development policies and label it **negatively** under the pretext of **bogus “researches.”** ... In a way that sounds like it’s **against the people’s fight** to get out of poverty and to stutter the government’s development efforts, the institute has voiced its **usual blabber**. It’s obvious that its tirade torch to other **ideology-demagogue institution** after its fanatic neo-liberal lackeying became exposed and its endeavor failed as a result of it. The next **anti-Ethiopian people and government** started its tenure by continuing from where the likes of ‘**human rights watch**’, ‘**friends of lake Turkana**’, ‘**international crisis group**’, ‘**Amounting international**’ etc ... left off; **spewing contradicting and totally bogus report** on Gibe III electric dam construction project without even changing their words. ... From my point of view, the antics of the institution is both **arrogant** and **disrespectful**- both towards **Ethiopians** and **donor countries** (ETH, 13 Jan 2015).

In the above excerpt the writer had made vivid ideological distinction between the ‘them’ and ‘us’ categories. The government, the people and donor countries were labeled under the ‘us’ division, while international institutions such as ‘Oakland institute’ were thrown into the ‘them’ division. Based on such ideological division, the ‘them’ category is represented with negative labels. They were represented as ‘arrogant’ and ‘disrespectful’, and their claims were labeled as ‘fake’.

Furthermore, they were represented as ‘enemies of Ethiopian people’. Expectedly, in the ‘us’ division ‘the government’ and ‘the people’ were represented as twins that cannot be separated in line with positive labels and attributions. Here, it can be understood that the newspaper is blindly devaluing ‘neo-liberalism’ in favor of ‘developmental state’. Evidently, the writer labeled the ‘Oakland institute’ as neo-liberal extremists’ institution which is the direct opposite of developmental state. Likewise, the following excerpt tells synonymous story in a different contextual frame:

(30) **Unfair and greedy** trade practice is a huge burden to consumers. However, sooner or later, business that relies solely on making money, ignoring all social responsibilities, gets itself in a deadlock. ... The price hike which is escalating almost on a daily basis, challenges the survival of consumers. ... There is a **cruel virus** which is infecting most in the **business community** and spreading fast: “short cut”. **Individuals** infected by a “**short cut**” virus always dream to surcharge consumers by every means possible. **Their egocentric attitude** tell **them** that Rome was built over a night (ETH, 04 Apr 2014).

According to Wirth-Koliba (2006), the state of passiveness in a threatening situation is regarded as a negative stance. In view of that, in the above excerpt (30) passive agent deletion strategies were employed to ‘delegitimize’ the business community based on inclusion and exclusion distinctions. For instance, the first proposition ‘*unfair and greedy trade practice is a huge burden to consumers*’ did not have explicitly signaled agent. However, the use of the phrase ‘trade practice’ implies the actors involved in the commercial practice, namely the business community. By doing so the business community were represented as ‘irresponsible’ and ‘immoral’. Especially, the representation of the business community as something infected by ‘cruel virus’ and ‘egocentric attitude’ is something ideological. From ideological perspective, the writer puts the consumer in the ‘us’ category and the business community in the ‘them’ category. In doing so, the consumer is represented as ‘helpless victim’ of the greedy acts done by the business community. Consequently, the business community were marked with negatively attributed agent role, and labeled as enemy of the consumer.

(31) *The Economist* in its fourth weekly of May 2015 described this magnificent progress in attracting FDI as “**dim**” and claimed the foreign investors are deterred from coming to Ethiopia. The government’s main priority is *industrialization*. But endless red tape and restrictions on finance deters investors ... And the prospects for attracting desperately needed foreign equity

capital remain dim. Therefore, it is not **blatant denial** to describe 25 per cent increase in FDI as dim? It is a secret for nobody that *The Economist* and **rich financial and telecom companies** backing the magazine are **day dreaming** about soon to be 100 million population market potentials of one of the fastest growing countries in the world. ... actually, who knows as all the writers in the magazine are anonymous, the writer can be one of the **barking friends** of **those** sympathizers in the UK (ETH, 11 Jun 2015).

One among many strategies of identifying power and ideology in discourse is looking for claim and disclaim resources. The above excerpt is full of disclaimers that mark a vivid distinction between two competing discourses associated with ‘them’ and ‘us’ categories. on the one hand, the writer aligns with the government and people of Ethiopia putting them together in the ‘us’ division, and applauding them for their success in generating foreign direct investment. Thus, the expression ‘25 per cent increase in FDI’ clearly explains this notion. On the other hand, ‘*The Economist*’ and its associated allies, ‘*rich financial and telecom companies*’ were blamed for discrediting the efforts made by the Ethiopian government. They were represented as ‘day dreamers’ that only care about manipulating the country. The expression ‘barking friends’ clearly shows the misrepresentation of the ‘them’ group. Thus, the word ‘barking’ is inanimate behavior mainly associated with dogs. By using such words, the ‘The Economist’ and its allies were represented with inanimate behavior, in a way that pictured them as inhuman and immoral. As a result, their claims were represented as ‘blatant denial’, which connotes deliberate and obvious act of defamation.

Likewise, the **private publications** also constructed the ‘them’ and ‘us’ category through enemizing and labeling. However, their focal direction has a significant difference from that of the government press, Ethiopian Herald. Here, the government is blamed for development problems and labeled with negative attributions as in the following excerpts.

(32) **The government and the party** – often one and the same – see nothing wrong with a state **reining** over the economy ... the government and the party’s interest in doing business protected and defended by the party’s loyalty to a developmental state ideology (ADS Oct 2015).

Addis Standard in the above excerpt (32) labeled ‘the government and the party’ in the ‘others’ category and described them as ‘monsters’ only faithful to the developmental state ideology. The magazine puts itself in the ‘US’ category with those who are not proponents of the government

and the party, and their dominant ideology. Here, the word ‘reigning’ is used as a paradigmatic synonym of ‘controlling’, implying a domination made by coercion or some other measures. This in turn connotes how the government handled the business unfairly and undemocratically³⁷ in favor of few elites. Similarly, the following Excerpt shows synonymous picture.

(33) ... The political economic analysis of the Ethiopian democratic developmentalism can be approached through the nature and practices of citizenship that Ethiopian citizens are currently pursuing. It has **already become public knowledge** that **membership and affiliation to the ruling party is an essential requirement to access social rights** like education, employment and other benefits from the government. ... since everything that the government is doing is presented as **inherently** ‘develop mental’ and ‘democratic’, any natural act of **not agreeing with it** is automatically categorized as ‘anti-developmental’ and ‘anti-democratic’; **hence a crime**. Whoever tried to pursue a different view and perspective is **grossly harassed, attacked and demonized** by the ‘developmentalist’ government which claims to present itself as a **holly-savior**... (ADS Aug 2014).

According to Naz (2006), “the questions to ask about a country’s development are three: what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality?” (p. 66). Based on this notion, the above excerpt (33) has at least three presuppositions about Ethiopia’s development. Firstly, putting the words like ‘developmental’, ‘democratic’ and ‘developmentalist’ in a single quotation connotes the writer’s doubt about Ethiopia’s development. Technically, if a word or an expression is under a single quotation, it is either a jargon (foreign word in some cases), or understood as irony. Accordingly, in the above excerpt the quotation marks were used for ironic purpose. Secondly, the excerpt represented Ethiopia’s development as uninclusive that favors a few parts of the population. The expression ‘membership and affiliation to the ruling party is an essential requirement’ clearly shows the partiality of Ethiopia’s development. By doing so, the ruling party and its members were categorized under the ‘them’ division, while the ‘us’ division is represented as victims of the ‘them’ category. Finally, the government is labeled as a monster which eats anyone that act defiantly from the developmental state ideological position. In doing so, the government is represented as enemy of the public with negative attributions such ‘harassing’, ‘attacking’ and ‘demonizing’. In the same token, the following excerpt shows a continued picture.

³⁷ The proceeds of growth have been captured by a minority of politically well-connected businesses and politico-military elites, leading to the emergence of oligarchic politics (Tefera & Hout 2018).

(34) ... Number one amongst the problems that continue to challenge the relationship of the state with the diaspora community is the **monopolization of the political space by the whims and shadows of the obese ruling party**. So long as the **political space remains inauspicious** to alternative policies, which raises the magnitude of the political risk rating of the nation, there will remain members of the diaspora community who are apprehensive in investing in the country. ... But, the ruling revolutionary democrats **remain adamant against embracing a political culture** that entertains alternatives, tolerates dissent and tailors policies in line with popular demand. ... This very culture of the EPRDFites has **significantly narrowed** the political space, to the extent that the whole political competition of the nation has turned into **a game between an obese giant and stunted penguins**. Its implication on the business regime of the nation **continues to inflate** the political risk of the nation. Hence, for many foreigners and members of the Ethiopian diaspora, investing in Ethiopia remains a risky engagement, due to the high political risk rating of the nation, which is **largely caused by the predominant monopolization** of the policy sphere by the ruling EPRDFites (FOR, 23Jun, 2013).

This excerpt presupposes two basic implications. First, the excerpt explicitly stated that the political space is narrow and monopolized by the ruling party. Second, the government and the ruling party were enemized for not allowing free space to alternative political views. The expression ‘remains inauspicious’ presupposes two connected ideas: firstly, the word ‘remains’ presupposes that the political space used to be narrow and still moving that way. Secondly, the term ‘inauspicious’ presupposes the extremity of the case. In combination, the political space is represented as extremely narrow with no future hope in it. Second, the ruling party, EPRDF is labeled as enemy of democracy. The expression ‘predominant monopolization’ clearly shows the manipulating character of the ruling party. The ruling party is represented as an ‘obese giant’ connoting hugeness and cruelty, while the oppositions were represented as ‘stunted penguins’ connoting their unreliable, diminutive, harmless and weak appearance.

(35) ... Although the private media **undoubtedly suffer** from a raft of woeful shortcomings, **their stiffest challenge** is largely attributed to external factors, namely **in the form of the government**. In a country where the government views the private media **as an enemy**, leave alone build their capacity, its accusations that they are unethical is hard to stomach (REP 01Aug, 2015).

Here, the government is represented as enemy of the private press. The phrase ‘stiffest challenge’ implies the level of negative influences done by the government to muzzle the private press.

Marking a distinction between the ‘them’ and ‘us’ category depends on the ideological standpoint of the publications. As such, the publications put supporters of their ideologies in the ‘us’ category with appreciations, whereas they put their opponents in the ‘them’ category using enemizing and downgrading expressions. Based on van Djik’s (1998) concept of ideological square, Ethiopian Herald presupposed the government/the party as promoter of development, and others who oppose the government’s position were regarded as threats of development. On the other hand however, the private press focused on representing the government as partial and biased and the public as victim of incorrect actions of the government.

4.2.2.3.2. Blaming/Defending

In narrating Ethiopia’s development, poverty and backwardness were regarded as common enemies of the nation. However, causes for these enemies differ across the selected publications. The government press, **Ethiopian Herald**, blamed previous regimes, natural disasters and others who disobey the will of the ruling party – EPRDF. In doing so, the newspaper focused on defending each and every actions of the government.

(36) Pastoralists suffered from a long history of political, economic and socio-cultural **marginalization** ... the problems in the pastoral areas have been exacerbated by recurrent **drought** and **natural calamities** such as **flood, disease**, etc (ETH 06 Feb 2010).

(37) The **Derg** became deeply unpopular due to **ill-sought** out policies (ETH 09 Jul 2011).

In the above excerpt (32) the word ‘marginalization’ refers to the previous regime – Derg. However, using agent deletion and suppression strategies, the writer excluded the main actor or doer of the action. Besides, the writer also blamed natural factors for exacerbating the problem. In the second excerpt (33) the writer explicitly mentioned the ‘Derg’ as a cause for providing inappropriate policies. Similarly, the following excerpt gives an extended picture:

(38) Price gouging has been widespread in the country. **Few business persons** are hatching up **baseless reasons** for the soaring of prices. The swelling prices of basic commodities have been caused by **artificial factors** created by **few illegal traders**. **They** trade on the artificial shortage of basic food and non-food items to mount the prices of commodities. ... **The oligarchy** in the production and distribution chains has created unhealthy market. In fact, **individuals** in the **oligarchy** are profiting from the unfair market competition. Consumers are filled with anger

due to price gouging. ... Recently, the **Ethiopian government** has taken steps to fix the ceiling prices of basic food items and commodities. ... The measures taken by the government are **appreciated by all citizens** of the nation. **The public strongly believes** that the price caps on basic food and non-food items is fitting. ... After all, the new price ceiling by Trade Ministry **does not contradict** with the free-market principle. **Rather**, it is an instrument to stabilize prices of basic commodities in the market (ETH 23 Jan 2011).

Here, in excerpt (34) causes for price hike were expressed as artificial factors and agency was attributed to traders with the label 'illegal.' This implies that the newspaper pictures the government as innocent that have no role in the price hike. In doing so the newspaper puts itself with the government and its allies in the 'us' or 'we' category with positive self- presentation, whereas the 'traders' were categorized in the 'them' or 'they' position with negative attributes – *illegal*. Moreover, using the term 'oligarchy' the business persons were represented as 'manipulative' and 'irresponsible' that do not care about the public. In doing so, the newspaper defended the government's measures as favorable and conducive. Besides, government's actions were represented as positive measures that were totally supported by the public. Using expressions like 'appreciated by all citizen' and 'the public strongly believes', acts of the government were translated as publicly accepted and supported truth. According to Chilton (2004), such kind of overt statements and implications are used mainly to represent some kind of legitimacy. Accordingly, in the above excerpt the writer employed such syntactic construction to legitimize (defend) the actions of the government by putting it as a widely accepted fact, with the aim of delegitimizing and misrepresenting (through blaming) the counterparts in the 'them' category – the business people.

Unlike the Ethiopian Herald the **private press** mainly attributed causes of backwardness and poverty to the government and its allies. However, in some cases the publications also accused the previous regime and natural phenomena. In doing so, the political discourse is always visible in the publications, in line with their ideological standpoints.

(39) ... The challenges are rather **brought by the party's reckless failure** to internalize the basic principles of the model and **its refusal** to recognize how short-sighted profit mentality and an **incompetent revolutionary democracy** might jeopardize its ambitions (ADS July 2013).

As it is indicated in the above excerpt, the ruling party is represented as irresponsible and incompetent. The word ‘reckless’ refers to doing something dangerous and not worrying about the risks and the possible results. Accordingly, the ruling party is blamed for not accepting its problems and moving towards the solution. Thus, the expression ‘its refusal’ clearly shows the party’s arrogance that did not give a space for alternative ideas. Similarly, the following excerpt shows synonymous picture:

(40) Frequent changes in policy and regulatory frameworks have been **responsible** for the **increasing actual and expected risks** of investors. **Experts agree** that the government has a responsibility to strike a balance between protecting the society as well as capturing fair and sustainable revenue for its resources and simultaneously providing stable investment regime and sufficient incentives that attracts and sustains investment. **Most investors agree** that the **relatively inexpert** and **occasionally erratic implementation and enforcement** of government regulation **undermines** the predictability and stability of the business and investment climate (EBR Sep-Oct 2014).

Development in general and investment in particular needs a conducive environment that manifest itself in a form of various policy packages and frameworks. However, in the above excerpt the government is blamed for not providing such conducive environment for investment. Here, the writer presented its idea in a way of binary opposition, blaming vs. defending. On one side, the government is blamed for not providing appropriate policy to enhance the investment environment. On the other hand, the view of investors’ is defended as logical and scientific. Using distance attributions such as ‘experts agree’ and ‘most investors agree’ the investors’ view is represented as an accepted orientation. Technically, such kind of attributions are mainly used to represent certain view as logical and accepted opinion (Martin & White 2005).

(41) ... Structural challenges **continue** to hamper the growth of the economy to a large extent. The primary challenge is the **incessant growth** of the public sector that **continues to crowd out the private sector** from mainstream business engagements. The **suppression** of the private sector has **limited the job creation** ability of the economy so much so that over 95pc of the new jobs created in the economy come from the overweight state structure. ... A bureaucracy that is **inflexible to favor entrepreneurs continues to drain the energy of citizens**. Starting a business is **still tough** in Ethiopia. A state that is **parochial** enough to keep its clench on every possible economic resource makes it difficult for enterprising individuals to turn their business plans into reality. So narrow is the available financing window that only those on good terms with the bureaucracy can access it. ... In terms of job creation, therefore, are not only marginal,

but also **disproportional** when compared to the rate of increase in demand (FOR, 16 Jun, 2015).

In modern development orientation the private sector is considered as the engine of development. Nevertheless, the Ethiopian situation is against this notion, and the government is blamed for disfavoring the private sector. The expression ‘the suppression’ clearly presupposes the negative doings of the government. Here, the definite article ‘the’ presupposes that the private sector is under suppressions emanated from the government. Likewise, the clause ‘the public sector that continues to crowd out the private sector’ presupposes and clearly marks the distinction between ‘them’ and ‘us’ categories. In this clause, ‘continue’ presupposes that the ‘them’ category (the public in this case) is discomfoting the ‘us’ category (the private sector in this case). In doing so, the government is blamed and its actions were represented as ‘disproportional’ and ‘inflexible’. Likewise, the following excerpt shows similar picture:

(42) ... Whenever elections come around in Ethiopia, they are inevitably accompanied by recriminations. This is attributable to the fact that the playing field is not even for contending political parties. Opposition parties constantly accuse the ruling Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) of **constricting the political space and consequently rendering peaceful political struggle very difficult**. As a result, although the elections that have been held so far in Ethiopia have been described as being free, fair, democratic and credible by the government, **opposition parties continue to categorically reject** such characterization. **This is indicative of the extent to which the political space is constrained** (REP, 08 Aug, 2015).

In a nutshell, the private press commonly blames the government for ill-sought policies, development problems and economic drawbacks. Thus, such kind of reporting goes with the ideological standpoint of the publications.

4.2.2.3.3. Solutions

In reporting Ethiopia’s development both the government and private press admit that there are serious problems of poverty and backwardness with various manifestations. However, the publications very much differ in suggesting solutions to these problems. Thus, this goes with the aim of the writers and the ideological stand point of the publications.

According to **Ethiopian Herald**, the major solution to tackle development problems is to act in accordance with government's ideology and political orientation. For instance, in the following excerpts the newspaper urged various stakeholders to support actions of the government to tackle problems.

- (43) The business community is **expected** to join hands with the government in its efforts to create a healthy market chain (ETH 23 Jan 2011).
- (44) Ethiopians living abroad have to press ahead with **rallying behind the government** towards the transformation of the Ethiopian society. They **must** also be ready to face the challenges the country may face (ETH 15 Jan 2012).

In the above examples the government is represented as the only source of solution and agent of change. For that reason, other stakeholders are expected to join hands and rally behind the government, rather than recommending alternative solutions. Thus, the modality 'must' in excerpt (44) and the word 'expected' in excerpt (43) imposes a sense of obligation on the business community and on the Diaspora. Especially, the verb 'must' in the second excerpt is an obligatory deontic modal verb that connotes a binding situation. Accordingly, cooperating with the government is represented as a sole obligation, rather than looking for alternatives. This implies that, these actors are obliged to act in line with the solution ideas outlined by the government.

On the other hand, solutions from the **private press** focused on suggesting policy formulation and reformation. In many cases they urge the government to amend existing policies and regulations, and in some cases they request for new policies. For instance, in the following examples the writers sincerely urged the government to make policy amendments.

- (45) **Let there be** more and new companies providing better IT services that no one will regret paying for (ADS Jun-Jul 2011).
- (46) Government **should** therefore work to establish a system that rewards and retains capable employees at each level (EBR Jun-Jul 214).
- (47) Policies that improve the competitiveness of manufacturing **must** be provided with adequate attention (FOR 06 Nov 2011).

The use of modalities 'should' and 'must' in the above excerpts (46, 47) implies that the only solutions for the problems is government's actions. Thus, these modalities are deontic by nature,

and they mainly imply state of obligations. Likewise, in the first excerpt (45) the expression ‘let there be’ suggests policy reform recommendations. As a result the private press neglects the role of other stakeholders in solving the development problems.

- (48) ... **It is time** the country’s policy makers **depoliticize** hunger as detractor of their image and **start treating it** for what it is; a country’s image is nothing without its people’s lives (ADS Sep 2015).
- (49) It is the **government’s responsibility** to find short-term ways out of these problems ... rules and regulations that encourage people to participate in delivering better transportation services to the business community and the general public **should be** granted (EBR Dec 2014).
- (50) ... Transforming the political space into a more competitive, vibrant, inclusive and diverse platform is the **responsibility** that the ruling EPRDFites **ought not to overlook** (FOR 28 July, 2013).

In the first excerpt (48), the writer urges for urgent actions from the government. The word ‘depoliticize’ presupposes that the government has been politicizing the hunger in a way of denial. Accordingly, the writer requested the government to start urgent change towards treating hunger. Similarly, in the second excerpt (49) the modal expression ‘should be’ charges the government with the obligation of providing better services through favorable policy reforms. In the third excerpt (50), the expression ‘ought not to overlook’ presupposes that the government had overlooked its responsibility. Accordingly, the writer urges for solutions from the ruling party, EPRDF.

The Reporter tried to suggest balanced solutions ideas. For example, in the following excerpts, the newspaper considered every stakeholder as a source of solution. In the first excerpt (51) the expression ‘let’s’ connotes that success depends on cumulative result, rather than partial achievement. Similarly, in the second example the writer assigned the responsibility of problem solving to all stakeholders.

- (51) **Let’s** join hands and make more history. The world expects us to (REP 08 Sep 2012).
- (52) ... All stakeholders are **obliged** to desist from inflaming tension and to see to it that the election process is blemish less (REP 17 Jan 2015).

In a nutshell, the government press presents the government's way as the only way of solving problems and urges the public and other stakeholders to rally behind it. On the other hand, the private press urges the government to give a room for alternative idea and approaches by making policy amendments and formulations.

4.2.2.4. Intertextuality

According to Foucault (1972), "there can be no statement that, in one way or another, does not reactualize others" (p. 98). Likewise, Fairclough (1992) elaborates this notion by saying "all utterances are populated and, indeed constructed, by snatches of others' utterance, more or less explicit" (p. 101). In CDA sharing of such meanings between texts or utterances is known as intertextuality. In a broader definition intertextuality can be defined as shaping of a text's meaning by another text, and it can be produced and manifested in texts in various ways. In this study some elements of intertextuality were selected and analyzed thoroughly.

4.2.2.4.1. Distribution of Sources

Journalistic texts are mainly characterized by their nature of embeddedness. According to Bednarek (2006), 'embeddedness' is one of the most characteristic features of newspaper language. In CDA research, this situation is labeled as intertextuality. Through intertextuality, media grants access to the dominant groups emphasizing their good properties and manipulate the minorities by denying access. Thus, access to discourse and communicative events is a very crucial element in reproducing power and dominance (van Dijk, 1996). The chief (if not the only) manifestation of intertextuality is selection and distribution of sources. Journalists always report/write about an event selectively in line with their ideological standpoint. As such, selection of sources is ideological in which the media exercises its power through information control. Accordingly, the selected publications of this study differ in their selection of information sources in line with their ideological stance and editorial policy.

Ethiopian Herald totally keen to cite government documents, offices and officials as a sole source of information. Thus, the newspaper employed definite, indefinite and anonymous sourcing strategies in accordance with various purposes. Definite source refers to those sources presented explicitly with full details, whereas indefinite source refers to sources that are presented with less

details that may lead to vague attributions. On the other hand, anonymous source entails sources that are stated anonymously without a particular indication. To be elaborative, some of the examples were selected and presented in the following table:

No	Types of sources	Typical examples from the newspaper
1	Definite sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Office head Tadelle Shigute said ... ✓ President Girma Wolde-Giorgis rightly put it while discussing with ... ✓ The CEO Mihiret Debebe was explaining ... ✓ Girma Wake, CEO of Ethiopian Airlines ... refreshed the audience ... ✓ Capacity building bureau head, Wakjira Terfasa told WIC³⁸ ... ✓ Meles reaffirmed that ... ✓ Somali state chief, Dawed Mohammed said ... ✓ Ministry of Industry shows ... ✓ Afar regional state chief Esmael Ali sero said ... ✓ Trade state minister Ahmed Tusa said ... ✓ According to Samson Wondimu, public communications head with the authority ... ✓ Hailemariam said ... ✓ Etc.
2	Indefinite sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Heads of important development institutions presented ... ✓ Clan leaders and elders of Somali state said ... ✓ The report of the Ministry further indicated that ... ✓ The business community, importers, wholesalers and distributors that took part in the discussion with government officials agreed ...
3	Anonymous sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Critics, mainly western companies ... ✓ Reports released recently attribute ... ✓ Studies show that ...

Table 22: selection and distribution of sources in Ethiopian Herald

As indicated in the above table, Ethiopian Herald is highly dependent on governmental sources: government officials, government documents and offices. Sources other than these were mainly used to glorify the claims made by the government. Consequently, the newspaper granted access to claims made by the government, while alternative opinions from other stakeholder were denied. According to van Djik (2006) such kind of reporting always involves domination³⁹ that results manipulation and power abuse. As a result the media becomes an influential tool of agenda setting and mind control⁴⁰. Based on these ideas, Ethiopian Herald enacted power abuse and manipulation that can be explained by two major themes: (i) using government apparatus as a sole source of information, the newspaper emphasized the position, power and authority or moral superiority of the government; and (ii), the newspaper discredited alternative (dissident) source and opinions.

³⁸ Walta Information Center

³⁹ "Domination, defined as power abuse, requires special access to, or control over, scarce social resources. One of these resources is preferential access to the mass media and public discourse" (van Djik, 2006, p. 362).

⁴⁰ "It is an effective vehicle for hidden ideological messages" (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. xviii).

From this one can conclude that, the newspaper purposely selected source that can help to manufacture consent.

Fortune on the contrary used international sources directly as a sole source of information. For instance, United Nations, World Bank, human rights watch, and other individuals were named directly. Besides, the newspaper also used academic and survey reports from various sources.

No	Types of sources	Typical examples from the newspaper
1	Definite sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ A recent study by Kibrom (2010) found that ... ✓ According to the United Nations (UN), about 90 pc ... ✓ In his book ‘The Tipping Point’ Malcolm Gladwell points out ... ✓ A recent study commissioned by the ministry of finance and economic development (MoFED) found that ... ✓ A comprehensive annual study by the World Economic Forum (WEF) indicates ... ✓ “They could have at least offered us half the amount on credit,” Getachew told Fortune. ✓ “There were no transportation problems until ...,” Etsegenet told Fortune. ✓ For Asrat, a mini bus driver, that permit was ... ✓ For Abreham Getachew, a transit officer at Ethio-ceft ... ✓ The HRW released a report titled ...
2	Indefinite sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ An official from the private organization employees social security agency (POESSA) has said ... ✓ Last figures from the World Bank (WB), For example show that ... ✓ Last week officials at the ministry of trade (MOT) reported ... ✓ According to the latest Doing Business Report of the World Bank ...
3	Anonymous sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Critics say fighting institutional corruption ... ✓ Evidence from the world over- from overly statist China, the warden of the EPRDFites, to the sufficiently market oriented India- shows that ... ✓ Critic, however claim otherwise ... ✓ Theories and practical evidence, from both developed and emerging world shows that ... ✓ As heterodox economists argue ...

Table 23: selection and distribution of sources in Fortune

As it can be seen in the above table, Fortune used sources outside of the government apparatus; rather, the newspaper used reports from international bodies, ordinary people and businessmen as a source of information. Besides, academic researches and books, and elite scholars were also used as a source of information. The selection of such sources have two major implications: (i) using international sources, the newspaper tried to disclaim and delegitimize claims proposed by the government/the ruling party; and, (ii) using academic (scientific) sources, the newspaper presented its claims as logical, acceptable and scientifically proven⁴¹. Here, it must be noted that the

⁴¹ “Elite reporters would like to produce a highly sophisticated news product, which in their case means a product rich in journalistic interpretation and critical analysis” (Zaller, 1999, p. 24).

newspaper had used government sources only to draw a comparative picture between claims made by the government and international bodies and the academic world. Moreover, the anonymous sources were also designed in a scientific frames such as ‘economists argue’, ‘theories and practical evidence,’ and etc. In nutshell, claims made by the government were delegitimized in favor of claims made by the private sector and international bodies in line with manipulative strategies.

Similarly, **Addis Standard** and **Ethiopian Business Review** were also used international sources as a sole informant. Like Fortune, these magazines were also highly used ‘expert’ voices: academic publications, survey reports and individual elites or experts. Besides these magazines gave an alternative voice for Ethiopia’s development. However, the magazines were also used anonymous or unknown sources such as ‘party documents’, ‘economists’, ‘investors’ and etc. as explained in the earlier section, these magazines also used sources from government apparatus to draw a comparative and contrastive picture between the claims made by the government on one side and claims made by international agencies, ‘experts’ and business people from the private sector. Thus, the following tables presents a brief picture about the selection of sources in the magazines:

No	Types of sources	Typical examples from the newspaper
1	Definite sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ International Telecommunications Union (ITU) ... released ... ✓ “It is very difficult to cope with ...,” says Senait Dimitry ... ✓ Mekonnin Tesfay (PhD), a livestock expert ... says ... ✓ According to Zelalem Mengiste, former manager of ELfora ... ✓ “Lack of finance is the major ...,” Ayele Teka ... told EBR. ✓ Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn said ... ✓ “I have no idea about the change ...,” Yongquan told EBR. ✓ “Investors are greatly influenced ...,” says Zebidar Birru, a senior investment advisor at BET consulting PLC. ✓ Tesfakiros Aklilu, a financial consultant who has been working with many private banks ... explains to EBR ... ✓ “Business was pretty good three years ago,” Esayas recalls.
2	Indefinite sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Stakeholders agree that ... ✓ “No one informed us before the government made its decisions ...,” one of the general managers of the company ... told EBR. ✓ For most palm oil importers, the governments’ move ...
3	Anonymous sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ This is evidenced by experiences of many countries ... ✓ Close observation also shows ... ✓ Experts agree that ... ✓ According to experts ... ✓ Critics however argue that ... ✓ Many observers and critics still believe that ... ✓ Many experts agree that ...

Table 24: selection and distribution of sources in Ethiopian Business Review

No	Types of sources	Typical examples from the newspaper
1	Definite sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ In May 2011, Hamadoun Toure, secretary-general of the UN’s International Telecommunications Union (ITU), said ... ✓ According to the recent report by ILO (2011), ... ✓ A 2005 UNECA report states, ... ✓ Alebel believes ... ✓ World Bank argues that ... ✓ A statement issued by the United Nations office of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and was released in early august this year ...
2	Indefinite sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Current EHPEA statistics on the amount of land used to grow flowers indicates ... ✓ “I will have a hard time to believe you if you tell me business outside these two frontiers can survive and flourish in Ethiopia,” a foreign investor told this magazine.
3	Anonymous sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ As has been shown by numerous studies ... ✓ EPRDF party documents relating to development policies ... ✓ The proponents of the counter view ‘pro-government’ theorists ... error by lumping ... ✓ Different people cite different reasons in explaining the incident. Some attribute it to the hasty and not well-studied ... Intervention, while others characterize it as vindication ... ✓ Various researches have also looked ...

Table 25: selection and distribution of sources in Addis Standard

From the above tables (16 & 17) it can be understood that, both the magazines selected international agencies and ordinary individuals and business people as a source of reporting. Apart from these sources, government officials and offices were also used as a source in a form of manipulation and power abuse. Here, “Manipulative discourse typically occurs in public communication controlled by dominant political, bureaucratic, media, academic or corporate elites” (van Dijk, 2006, p. 372). However, manipulation (or dominance) is always contested by the dominated group. Accordingly, these magazines used the aforementioned sources with the purpose of delegitimizing government’s claims and actions in favor of the claims made by the private sector and international agencies.

The Reporter used both governmental and non-governmental sources. In both cases, sources were presented definitely, indefinitely and anonymously as indicated in the following table:

No	Types of sources	Typical examples from the newspaper
1	Definite sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The Global Hunger Index (GHI) in its 2012 report released ... ✓ However, the likes of IMF and the World Bank, in their respective assessment of the economy, have indicated ... ✓ Economists like Costentinos Berhe (PhD) see other ways ... ✓ A new report from Friends of the Earth (FOE), an environmentalist group, reveals that ... ✓ A report from Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) shows that ... ✓ ... Relinquished their land without any compensation from the responsible body, Degefu told The Reporter. ✓ Merara Gudina (PhD) lecturer on Political Science and International Relations (PSIR) at Addis Ababa University told The Reporter. ✓ Textile Industry Development Institute (TIDI) said, ... ✓ Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn told MPs that ... ✓ Redwan Husein, head of GCAO, disclosed that ... ✓ The 2014 edition of the US state department Human Rights' report severely criticizes ...
2	Indefinite sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The data compiled by the Central Statistical Agency (CSA) ... indicates ... ✓ The Reporter on the other hand argues that ... ✓ A significant foreign investors have expressed interest ... ✓ An Expert, who requested anonymity ... said that ... ✓ According to the World Bank Group's latest poverty assessment ... ✓ According to the latest report issued by the World Bank ... ✓ According to the official figure released by MOI ...
3	Anonymous sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ According to bank president and one macroeconomist, both of whom opted to stay anonymous ✓ Studies confirm huge potash deposit lay...

Table 26: selection and distribution of sources in The Reporter

To conclude, the selection of sources has manifested a sign of discursive and power struggles between the state press and privately-owned outlets. On the one hand, the state press, Ethiopian Herald used government officials, offices and documents as a major sources of information and represented their views as neutral and commonly accepted facts. On the other hand, the privately-owned outlets, used international organizations, experts, individual business persons and represented their view in a way that opposes the claims made by the Ethiopian Herald. Thus, the sources selection strategy is discursively constructed based on elite and counter-elite contestations.

4.2.2.4.2. Quotation Analysis

Apart from identifying sources of information, it is also very crucial to examine the representation of spoken and written discourse in the selected publications. Accordingly, it is important to identify between direct and indirect representation of particular discourse. To do so, this study draws up

on accounts of discourse representation in Fairclough⁴² (1995b). According to Fairclough, discourse representation incorporates five parameters. Of these, the most crucial are mode and boundary maintenance.

Mode distinguishes between direct discourse (DD) and indirect discourse (ID). In most cases direct discourse is converted into indirect discourse, in a form of *that-clause*. This goes with the traditional direct and reported speech. Boundary maintenance refers to how the boundary between direct and indirect discourse is kept. Using these parameters the selected texts were analyzed in the following way.

The government press, **Ethiopian Herald**, used both direct and indirect mode of representation in representing both spoken and written discourse. In the indirect mode, the newspaper didn't draw an explicit demarcation between the voice of the 'source' and the 'journalist'. In other words the boundary between the direct and indirect discourse is blurred. Thus, the following excerpts from the newspaper can be mentioned as a prominent examples for this:

- (53) Office head Tadelle Shigute **said** the investors are carrying out the projects on over 280 hectares... job opportunities have been created for a number of unemployed youth as most of the investment projects have entered production phase, he added (ETH 09 Jan, 2010).
- (54) Clan leaders and elders of Somali state **said** the federal government has been making various development interventions in pastoral areas. Apart from providing technical and capacity building support to the pastoral areas, the government has relentlessly been expanding ... (ETH 06 Feb, 2010).
- (55) Meles **reaffirmed** that the federal government further strengthened its technical and capacity building support as well as infrastructural development in all pastoral areas (ETH 06 Feb, 2010).
- (56) Hailemariam **said** the increase in the production and productivity of agriculture enabled the nation meet the MDG target set to halve proportion of people who suffer from hunger (ETH 09 Jun, 2015).

As it can be seen in the above excerpts, the demarcation between the voices of the source and the journalist is not clear. Only the reporting verbs like 'said', and 'reaffirmed' were used to mark the sources' voice. Technically, dependence between direct and indirect forms of reporting is marked

⁴² Fairclough's analysis is based on Leech and Short (1981) and the concept of discourse representation is familiar with the name 'speech reporting'.

using the subordinate conjunction ‘that’ with a reporting verb. However, in the above excerpts, only the reporting verbs were used. For instance, in the last excerpt (56) using the reporting expression ‘Hailemariam said⁴³ ...’ the writer presented a certain opinion. However, one cannot be sure whether the presented opinion is purely Hailemariam’s or a modified version. The use of less formal/more of spoken language, made the distinction between the source and the journalist’s voice blurred.

According to Fairclough (1995b, p.61) low demarcation between direct and indirect discourse refers to a tendency of “the translation of official viewpoints into a public idiom which not only makes the former more ‘available’ to ‘uninitiated’, but also invests them with popular force and resonance, naturalizing them within the horizon of understandings of various publics.”

Apart from the indirect form of reporting, Ethiopian Herald used direct reporting signaled with quotation marks as in the following excerpts:

(57) “nation growing at faster rate”: Premier (ETH 06 Oct, 2013)

(58) The policies are in the right track towards bringing development to the nation, she said: “I would say that it is a very dynamic country growing very rapidly. The whole policies are seated in the right place” (ETH 18 Jun, 2015).

In the case of direct reporting, direct quotation were purposely employed to legitimize development claims made by the government. In doing so, speeches of government official were reported directly as in the above excerpt (57). Similarly, reports and speeches by international organizations that applaud government’s development claims also quoted directly as in the second example above (58). In nutshell, the newspaper legitimized government’s claims at the expense of alternative and competing opinions.

Likewise, the **private publications** were also employed both direct and indirect reporting strategies in line with their ideological stances. Unlike the Ethiopian Herald, the private publications focused on quoting ordinary individuals, business people and international agencies directly, while government officials and documents were quoted indirectly. However, the

⁴³ Leech and Short (1981) labeled such forms of reporting under ‘Free Direct Speech (FDS)’

demarcation between direct and indirect modes is mostly blurred. Thus, the following examples show a vivid picture:

- (59) **According to** the latest Doing Business Report of the World Bank, for instance, Ethiopia, under the leadership of the ruling revolutionary democrats, is one of the poorest performers in terms of making it easy for businesses to do business (FOR, 29 June, 2014).
- (60) **Mebrate argues** that there should be an amendment to the existing law, which restricts driving not later than 7:00pm to these locations (FOR 07 Jul, 2013).
- (61) **Alebachew** moved to Addis Ababa after giving up hope of finding a job in his home town of Bahir Dar... “I am no lucky” he says... (FOR 14 July, 2013).
- (62) “Mistakes that should not occur in such a five-star hotel,” as **one British tourist** who visited Ethiopia recently **wrote**... (EBR Oct-Nov 2014).

In the first excerpt (59), the distinction between the source and the journalist’s voice is unclear. Using the reporting expression ‘according to’, the writer attributed the presented idea to the World Bank. However, it is not clear whether the idea presented is originally taken as it is from the mentioned source, or modified by the journalist. According to Kovačič and Laban (2006), such kind of reporting styles were mainly used for hidden journalistic commentary.

The remaining three excerpts (60, 61 & 62) are examples of direct reporting. Unlike the Ethiopian Herald, the private publications mainly grant the direct quotation access to ordinary persons and business people. For instance, in the two excerpts (60 & 61) ‘Mebrate’ and ‘Alebachew’ were granted the direct quotation status. Similarly, in the last excerpt (62) the anonymous with the label ‘one tourist’ has enjoyed the direct quotation status. All of these sources are ordinary individuals that came from different life spans. Such sources were mainly used to disclaim and delegitimize claims and gains propagated by the government.

4.2.2.5. Representation of Social Actors

One of the crucial tasks of CDA research is to reveal how actors are represented in a given discourse. Grammatically, the tool to analyze the representation of people, things or events is provided by the transitivity system that “construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process type” (Halliday 1994: 106). This analysis starts with the identifying and labeling of the processes. Likewise, van Leeuwen (1996) proposed a framework that helps to reveal how social

actors are represented in discourse. Accordingly, in this study the representation of social actors is analyzed using the synthesis of transitivity analysis and van Leeuwen's framework.

4.2.2.5.1. Role Allocation

The press exercises and/or abuses power through the roles that social actors are given to play in a given action. Accordingly, the press can reallocate roles by rearranging the social relations between the participants. In many cases the actor/agent role is assigned to the 'WE' group, whereas the patient/goal role is assigned to the 'THEM' group.

Accordingly, in **Ethiopian Herald** the government is represented as 'actor' in material process, 'sensor' in mental process, and 'sayer' in verbal process with positive attributions. The following excerpts clearly elaborate this notion.

- (63) **[Actor]** The government **[Process: material]** has established various institutions **[Goal]** to make interventions. **[Beneficiary/Recipient]** Pastoralists and semi-pastoralists community **[Process: material]** have been benefiting much from **[Actor]** the ongoing good governance . . . (ETH 06 Feb 2010)
- (64) **[Sayer]** The minister **[Process: verbal]** urged **[Addressee]** the Ethiopian Diaspora **[Verbiage]** to contribute their share in knowledge and technology transfer for the success of GTP (ETH 23 Jan 2011).

In the above excerpts, the government is represented as active dynamic force in relation to the given activities. Accordingly, in the first excerpt (63) the government is assigned with active role in material process and the people (pastoralists) are represented as beneficiaries using passivation strategy. In the second excerpt (64) the government (the minister) is pictured as a sayer in verbal process, while the people (Diaspora) are positioned at the receiving end of the action. Likewise, in the following extract, the government is represented as sensor in mental process.

- (65) **[Sensor]** The government **[Process: mental]** strongly believes that **[Phenomenon]** the private sector is an engine of development (ETH 23 Jan 2011).

Because it focuses on showing positive pictures about Ethiopia's development, **Ethiopian Herald** employs material and verbal processes as a major tool of representation. In doing so, the actor, sayer and sensor positions were allotted to the government with positive attributions. Accordingly,

the government is represented as omnipresent for all activities and changes. Ideologically, such representations are done to exercise power and to legitimize the government's actions and to transform these actions in to a common view.

In **The private press**, the government and the public are represented as agents in relation to a given action. However, in many cases the government's agent role is attributed with negative connotations. For instance, in the following excerpts the government is represented as sensor and sayer in mental and verbal processes respectively in relation to negative activities. In doing so, the government is represented as ignorant and unreliable.

- (66) [Sensor] The government and the party... [Process: mental] see [Phenomenon] nothing wrong with a state raining over the economy (ADS Oct 2015).
- (67) [Sayer] Prime minister Hailemariam Desalegn [Process: verbal] admitted that [Verbiage] businesses have been cash strapped (EBR Mar 2014)
- (68) [Sayer] Senior government officials [Process: verbal] denied that [Verbiage] more than 37 people were killed (FOR 21 Nov 2010).

4.2.2.5.2. Assimilation and Individualization

In press reports actors can be assimilated or individualized based on the publication's ideological stand point. Assimilation can be done in two ways, aggregation and collectivization. **Aggregation** focuses on quantifying groups of participants, treating them as "statistics". In **Collectivization**, on the other hand, actors are collectivized using the first person plural pronouns and generalizing words and expressions.

The government press: In **Ethiopian Herald**, the government and its officials were individualized as strong leader (see excerpts 69, 70, 71), whereas, actors other than the government were aggregated and collectivized as in the following excerpts.

- (69) **The people** are **praising** the government's leading efforts (ETH 09 Jul 2011)
- (70) **The government and people** of Ethiopia have **expressed** their firm commitment to beef up ... (ETH 23 Jan 2011)
- (71) It is **widely** accepted that the problem was caused by ... (ETH 23 Jan 2011)

Aggregation is realized by the presence of definite or indefinite quantifiers, which either function as the numerative or as the head of the nominal group. Accordingly, in the above excerpts (69, 70) the definite article ‘the’ represented the people as homogeneous, consensual group. Likewise, the word ‘widely’ in the last example (71) views the issue as communally accepted fact.

In terms of transitive analysis, verbal process is employed using words ‘praising’ and ‘expressed’. In the first case (69) the role of the sayer is assigned to ‘the people’ and in the second case (70) this role is assigned to both ‘the people’ and ‘the government’. Assigning such roles goes with the ideological ‘THEM’ and ‘US’ distinction. Besides, actors are collectivized using the first person plural pronouns and generalizing expressions as in the following excerpts.

- (72) This agenda has set a pace for different plans for **us** and it has remained a reference point for **our** dreams as a nation (ETH 23 Jul 2011).
- (73) **Critics** mainly **western companies** which would like to involved in possible profits (ETH 29 Sep 2013).

In the first excerpt, the writer used the first person pronouns ‘us’ and ‘our’ to collectivize the public and the government as a single entity. In the second excerpt (73) ‘western companies’ were represented as homogenous body. Besides, in Ethiopian Herald actors were collectivized using terms like ‘the community’, ‘Ethiopians’, ‘the country’, ‘the nation’, ‘experts’, ‘the committee’, and etc. According to van Leeuwen (1996, p. 49) such strategies are often used to regulate practices and to manufacture consensus opinion, “even though it presents itself as merely recording facts”. Based on this notion, Ethiopian Herald used both aggregation and collectivization strategies to signal agreement among various social actors.

The private press: the private publications also used individualization and assimilation strategies in representing social actors. Based on the ‘THEM’ and ‘US’ distinction, the publications represented the ‘them’ category collectively and the ‘us’ category individually. The following examples elaborate this notion clearly.

- (74) In Ethiopia **government** and **the party’s** interest in doing business is protected by the law and defended by the party’s loyalty to a developmental state ideology (ADS Oct 2015).
- (75) The **revolutionary democrats** seem to have made conscious strategic decision to ditch the idea of representative democracy (FOR Sep 2011).

- (76) The usual indoctrinated **cadres** spew political ideology without any in-depth understanding (FOR Sep 2011).
- (77) What do **woreda officials** in an agricultural office with inadequate resources and information say ... (FOR Nov 2010)

In the above excerpts the government and its entities were represented collectively. In the first excerpt (74) the government and the ruling party were aggregated as a single actor marking no distinction between them. In the second excerpt (75) the government is represented in terms of its political identity and function it shares with others using differentiation and categorization strategies. In the last excerpts (76, 77) ‘cadres’ and ‘woreda officials’ were represented as homogeneous set. Thus such collectivized nominations help to draw generalizations in order to manufacture consent.

Apart from collectivized nominations the publications also used indetermination strategies, in which actors were represented as unspecified, anonymous groups. Thus the use of ‘experts’ and ‘people’ in the following excerpts elaborate this notion clearly.

- (78) Many **experts** agree that the current conditions in the service sector created by policy measures can indicate ... (EBR Mar 2014)
- (79) **People** increasingly prefer to stash cash in secret places instead of depositing it in banks (REP Sep 07 2013)

In terms individualization the private press tends to individualize ordinary people with positive attributions while the government and its officials were individualized with negative attributes in many occasions. For instance, in the following excerpts civilians were individualized using proper nouns. By doing so the publications construct these actors as genuine sources in which their view can be translated in to a public idiom and delegitimize claims made by the government.

- (80) **Essayas Fekru, 39** who has been engaged in the wholesale and retail business for the last 17 years ... (EBR Mar 2014)
- (81) According to **Nega Ejigu**, a researcher at Bahir Dar University (EBR Mar 2014)

In a nutshell, in the government press the government, its entities and its allies were represented individually with positive attributes, while other actors who oppose the ruling party’s ideology

were collectivized as homogeneous. Contrarily, the private press individualized both the government and opposing actors individually. However, the government attributed with negative actions, while the opposing actors attributed to positive moves. Besides, the government and its entities were collectivized and aggregated in many occasions.

Chapter Five

5. Findings, Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Findings and discussion

The chief aim of this study was to investigate the representation of development discourse in the Ethiopian press. The study has the following research questions: (I) how is development discourse represented? (II) How development is linguistically constructed and what kind of linguistic differences can be found in different press outlets in the reporting of development issues? (III) How do these linguistic differences demonstrate the ideological and hegemonic schemes that underlie the press reports on development? (IV) In what kind of discursive structures and communicative events is meaning communicated?

Based on these research questions, the following findings have been drawn in accordance with the analysis presented in the preceding chapter. In doing so, the findings were categorized into the two central tenets of CDA, ideology and power.

a) Ideology

Based on the analysis, two major and opposite ideologies were identified: (1) revolutionary democracy and developmental state; and (2) liberal and/or neo-liberal ideology. In this study, the former is addressed as ‘the optimist view’, while the latter is labeled as ‘the doubting view’. Contestations between these divisions were emanated from three criteria: (a) differences in interpreting factual evidence of development; (b) differences in social and cultural values of development; and (c) differences in the framework of concepts of development.

The state press, Ethiopian Herald, reported about Ethiopia’s development in line with revolutionary democracy and developmental state ideology. Here, three basic manifestations of the developmental state ideology were emphasized. Firstly, the government/ruling party had positioned at the heart of every development activity. This goes with the notion that claims “ultimate success will depend on the capacity to transform a state that has itself been central to the development process” (Clapham 2018, p. 1151). Secondly, economic growth was reported as a sole manifestation of development in a way that contradicts with the multidimensional behavior

of development. Finally, development activities were mostly evaluated in terms of poverty reduction. Such an approach always lacks to address the social and political (human) dimensions of development. The primary (if not the only) reason for such kind of reporting is the government's unlimited involvement in the media through institutional arrangements, staff recruiting and allocation, and editorial parameters (see chapter three for social and discursive practices).

On the contrary, the private press represented Ethiopia's development in accordance with liberal ideology. Consequently, two major themes were constructed: Firstly, the private sector takes the central position in the development narrative, while the government was commended to have zero or minimal involvement in the economy. This was bolded through stories that dealt with privatization and the free market. Secondly, development activities were evaluated in terms of social and political variables. Politically, freedom in both democratic and market arenas, and human right issues were the main focuses. Socially, the emphasis was basically on social equity and all-inclusiveness of the development.

Analytically, ideological investments were identified both at macro and micro level analyses. At a macro level, ideological investments were identified through macro-structural/topical analysis based on van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach. At this level, the representation of development issues in the Ethiopian press have been highly polarized and politicized. Every development story contains political variables directly or indirectly. Accordingly, there are competing and sometimes antagonistic discourses of development. The government press, Ethiopian Herald presented pretty and rosy pictures about Ethiopia's development making social orders favorable to the ruling political scheme. Accordingly, the newspaper represented development as economic growth based on statistics drawn from the government itself in line with the developmental democratic state ideology. On the contrary, the private press questions the validity of Ethiopia's development; it represented the country's development as partial, unhealthy, and insufficient in line with liberal and neo-liberal development ideologies.

At a micro level, ideological investments were manifested through linguistic constructions (mainly lexicalizations), and inclusive and exclusive strategies. Accordingly, there are numerous linguistic differences among the selected press outlets in reporting development issues. The government press sensationalized the development scenarios using optimistic and positive words, expressions and syntactic constructions. Consequently, the development situation is appraised using positive

judgment, affect and appreciations. Comparably, the private press employed negation strategies using words and expressions that doubt the validity of Ethiopia's development; the use of *not*, *cannot*, *do not*, *un-*, *in-* and other negatively marked words is high. Accordingly, development issues were appraised through negative affect, judgment and appreciation strategies. This accords with Verschueren's (2012) statement, "Language use or discourse is also privileged as a manifestation of ideology because it is no doubt the main instrument for spreading complex patterns of meaning" (p.18).

Besides, ideological investments were manifested in inclusive and exclusive strategies. Accordingly, both the government and the private press invested their ideologies drawing on 'THEM' and 'US' distinction. In Ethiopian Herald, the 'US' category primarily includes the government, the ruling party and their allies. On the contrary, the private press puts the public and the private sector (except politically affiliated ones) in the 'US' division, whereas the government and the party were thrown in to the 'THEM' category. Based on these distinctions, ideological themes such as enemizing, labeling, blaming, and defending have been identified.

In the Ethiopian Herald, any action of the government and the ruling party is considered as positive and appropriate. As a result, anyone who opposes or criticizes such actions is enemized, blamed, and labeled as a threat of development. Thus, these ideological themes were constructed through linguistic elements that range from lexicalization to syntactic structures. On the other hand, the private press blames and labels the government and its policies as obstacles of healthy development by defending the positions of the public and the private sector. This goes with van Dijk's (1988) theory of 'ideological square', which operates based on the notion of polarization, which emphasizes positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

Corruption and political variables were central to the labeling and blaming acts of the 'them' and 'us' categorization. The state press, Ethiopian Herald, represented the private sector as a corrupt apparatus, naming them '*rent-seekers*' that promote liberal ideology in favor of the western world. According to Clapham (2018), "'rent-seeker' has become a catch-all term of abuse that it used to describe any attempt, whether by private businesses or by associates of the government itself, to retain resources that the state seeks to use to promote its own development agenda" (p. 1156). Likewise, the private press blamed the government for its unlimited political intervention in the economy. This goes with the conclusion, "the political setting is tightly constrained and the state

has not allowed the private sector freedom of action to generate the required levels of production” (Clapham 2018, p. 1151).

b) Power

Power abuse and enactments were mainly identified through analyzing source selection, quotation analysis and representation of social actors. Regarding source selection, the government press, Ethiopian Herald, mainly used the government as a sole source of information in its reports about Ethiopia’s development. As a result, government offices and officials were individualized and their voices/ideas have been presented as a common fact and truth without considering alternative views about the issue being reported. On the contrary, the private press mostly individualized ordinary business persons and international organizations as a source of information and the voices of the government and its officials were collectivized and aggregated as a homogenous set.

In both cases, the outlets used these strategies to translate their underlying ideologies and to manufacture consent. This accords with van Dijk’s (1996) notion of ‘access’ which conceptualizes power as “privileged access to valued social resources, such as ...preferential access to public discourse and communication” (p. 85). Accordingly, the press has become a site of discursive struggle and power contestation among various actors over controlling the framing of development issues. The power contestation is a direct product of the discursive constructions formulated through social and discursive practices that discussed in the previous chapter (see chapter two) of this paper. These societal and discursive practices involve political, social, and economic factors on the one hand and institutional factors that are directly related to the production and meaning-making processes on the other hand. Thus, power contestations are visible manifested in both societal and discursive practices.

Apart from the source selection and distribution, quotations were also used as a tool of power abuse. In the government press, the Ethiopian Herald, government officials and documents were quoted directly, while alternative sources were presented indirectly (if not neglected). Such kind of strategy was primarily employed to glorify the government’s voice at the expense of doubting/contesting views through exclusion and mitigation. On the contrary, the private press gave the direct quotation access to international agency officials and reports, and ordinary business

persons. Here, such kinds of sources and strategies were mainly employed to provide a counter-contestations to the claims made by the government about Ethiopia's development.

In both cases, the distinction between direct and indirect discourse is highly blurred. According to Fairclough (1995b), low demarcation between direct and indirect discourse refers to a tendency of "the translation of official viewpoints into a public idiom which not only makes the former more 'available' to 'uninitiated', but also invests them with popular force and resonance, naturalizing them within the horizon of understandings of various publics" (p. 61). Accordingly, both the government-owned and privately-owned press outlets used different quotation strategies to claim, disclaim, and counter-claim over development issues.

Regarding representation of social actors, in the Ethiopian Herald, the government and the ruling party were assigned with the agent role with positive attributions. Accordingly, they were represented as actors in the material process, sensors in the mental process, and sayers in the verbal process. Here, the government was lionized. Likewise, the government was assigned with the agent role in the private press. However, here, the agent role of the government is attached with negative attributions. Besides, the private press has given agency role to ordinary business persons and individuals to show its fidelity to the unheard voices of the public.

In a nutshell, the government press represented Ethiopia's development positively claiming that the country is rising and shining, and the cause for such tremendous change is attributed to the government and the ruling party and their excellent policies and practical measures. Thus, EPRDF and the government were represented as the one and the only promoters of development. On the other hand, the private press claims that Ethiopia's development is partial and insufficient, and politically biased. As a result, the private press accused the government and the ruling party for manipulating the country and its people in the mask of development.

Apart from the ideological investments and power enactments, such kind of differences in reporting development issues can be attributed to the social and discursive practices under which the messages were emerged and communicated. At the social practice level, the messages were influenced and/or affected by press proclamations and other legal enforcements. At discursive practice level, the messages were influenced by journalists' job autonomy and objectivity; journalists' job satisfaction; self-censorship; and media corruption.

5.2. Conclusion

The study has examined the representation of development discourse in Ethiopian press in the context of growth and transformation plan I (GTP 1). Using qualitative research design and utilizing tools provided by critical discourse analysis, systematic functional linguistic, and appraisal theory, the study has sought to explore development discourses in Ethiopian press. To accomplish the aim three newspapers and two magazines, and their coverage of development issues in the selected period were selected purposively.

Specifically, for this study 183 articles were selected. In doing so, all media discourse genres were included and considered as mutually equal. Based the collected data and the analysis made in the previous chapter, the following conclusions were drawn.

There are a numerous differences between the government and private publications in reporting development issues. The former focused on reporting success stories and optimistic views about Ethiopia's development, whereas the latter focused on questioning the validity of Ethiopia's development, mostly emphasizing the negative aspects and shortcomings of government policies and measures towards development.

Based on their ideological standpoints, all the publications used ideologically loaded lexicalizations and linguistic constructions. Utilizing the 'THEM' and 'US' distinction, the publications emphasized showing the good properties of the 'US' group and mitigating the good properties of the 'THEM' category. In both cases, agency role was attributed to the 'US' group with positive attributions while the 'THEM' division have been misrepresented.

Both the private and government press reported development issues in a polarized and politicized manner. For instance, the government-owned newspaper, the Ethiopian Herald, employed power abuse strategies through its source selection and representation of social actors. Thus, the newspaper mainly used government reports and officials as a main source of information and reported them as commonly accepted idiom. Likewise, the private press did the same thing using certain individuals and international organizations. In such ways, the publications tried to create hegemony and dominance among the public, targeting 'manufacturing consent' as a final goal.

5.3. Recommendations

This study came up with the role language has played in representing development discourse in selected press outlets to maintain uneven power relations and ideological investments through various linguistic mechanisms. Investigating development as discourse, the study underlined two major issues: firstly, the study came up with how development (events, relationships, etc.) is represented; and secondly, the construction of identities of those involved in the development discourse and network. Based on these insights, the following recommendations were forwarded:

- 1) To the government: as it is concluded by many researchers and discussed in chapter three of this study, the media (the press in particular) in Ethiopia are influenced by both direct and indirect factors. Partly, these influencing factors are attributed to the government that emanate from legal, political and institutional variables. Due to these factors press reports about development are full of uneven and biased stances that promote a certain kind of ideology. Accordingly, the government should prepare a favorable legal, institutional and political environment for the press to operate freely.
- 2) To the media: partly, uneven performance of the press is attributed to journalists' performance (knowledge, language ability, etc.) and institutional factors (income, job autonomy and objectivity, corruption, etc.). These factors made the press to produce substandard reports about Ethiopia's development. Accordingly, the media should prepare a standard guidance and editorial policy; should prepare better payment to the journalists; and should help the journalists to get additional trainings to enhance their job competence and capability.
- 3) To the public: because press reports are full of linguistic signs that aimed at promoting certain kind of ideological investments and power abuses, the public should read press reports critically, rather than accepting everything as it is. This will help to emancipate the public from propaganda and fake reports.
- 4) To future researchers: the study endeavored to explore the representation of development discourse in selected press outlets. However, the topic needs further and all-rounded investigation. To hit more on the topic, it is vital to study, (i) what the journalists, editors and other participating stakeholders think about development; (ii) how the audience perceive press reports about development; and (iii) how development issues are influenced by other variables, such as politics.

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APPENDIX

Title and publication dates of the selected articles

Articles from Ethiopian Herald (ETH)

Jan 09, 2010	Vol. LXVI No 94	“Investors undertaking development activities”
<hr/>		“remaining awake, alert to peace threats”
Jan 16, 2010	Vol. LXVI No 110	“together let us build Ethiopia”
Jan 17, 2010	Vol. LXVI No 111	“development projects begin rendering service”
Jan 23, 2010	Vol. LXVI No 116	“chamber on new path to development”
Feb 06, 2010	Vol. LXVI No 128	“Development efforts in pastoral areas”
Mar 28, 2010	Vol. LXVI No 171	“access to clean water: at the heart of Ethiopia’s development strategy”
<hr/>		“fair price index for ensuring healthy market system
Jan 09, 2011	Vol. LXVII No 104	“Ethiopia boosts fruits import, export”
<hr/>		“Dev’t projects begin rendering service”
Jan 15, 2011	Vol. LXVII No 109	“the role of 4 th RSDP in upgrading country’s road system”
<hr/>		“sustaining urban infrastructural, social services development”
Jan 16, 2011	Vol. LXVII No 110	“Forging synergies for change”
Jan 23, 2011	Vol. LXVII No 116	“envisaging healthy, dependable market”
<hr/>		“Ethiopia’s manufactured goods export increases”
Jan 30, 2011	Vol. LXVII No 122	“rosy growth out of coherent budget plan”
Jun 26, 2011	Vol. LXVII No 248	“Once again, Ethiopia is rising, shining”
Jul 09, 2011	Vol. LXVII No 259	“Two birds with one stone”
Jul 23, 2011	Vol. LXVII No 271	“GERD set to bring heyday for construction sector”
<hr/>		“diaspora’s commendable investment in nation’s development”
Jan 15, 2012	Vol. LXVII No 108	“Human rights watch’s never ending ‘cry wolf’”
Jan 21, 2012	Vol. LXVII No 113	“energy, a sector in continued boom”
Jan 28, 2012	Vol. LXVII No 119	“promoting private investment for development”
Jun 10, 2012	Vol. LXVIII No 234	“linking freight transport with development”
Jun 23, 2012	Vol. LXVIII No 245	“grand dam, grand vision”
Sep 15, 2013	Vol. LXX No 005	“the manufacturing sector: mature enough to compete internationally”
Sep 21, 2013	Vol. LXX No 010	“MSSEs gearing towards industrialization”
Sep 28, 2013	Vol. LXX No 016	“Ethiopia’s telecom sector development”
Sep 29, 2013	Vol. LXX No 017	“a gateway to tap from tourism sector”
Oct 05, 2013	Vol. LXX No 022	

Oct 06, 2013	Vol. LXX No 023	“Pursuing on a fast economic development”
		“‘nation growing at faster rate’: premier”
Jan 02, 2013	Vol. LXIX No 98	“preparing for the bigger, tougher mission”
Jan 03, 2013	Vol. LXIX No 99	“in overcoming poverty, accelerating growth: the 2010/11 GTP in summary”
Jan 10, 2013	Vol. LXIX No 105	“Ethiopia is becoming a favorite hub for investment
Jan 15, 2013	Vol. LXIX No 109	“pastoralists benefiting much out of livestock”
Jan 16, 2013	Vol. LXIX No 110	“seeing is believing”
Jan 17, 2013	Vol. LXIX No 111	“Metec on the right track”
Jan 22, 2013	Vol. LXIX No 115	“only the sky is the limit for Ethiopia’s dev’t”
Feb 01, 2013	Vol. LXIX No 124	“no forcible resettlement in Ethiopia”
Jan 21, 2014	Vol. LXX No 114	“women empowerment: how far has it gone?”
Apr 02, 2014	Vol. LXX No 175	“education development in Ethiopia”
Apr 04, 2014	Vol. LXX No 177	“act of one greedy could despair many”
Apr 06, 2014	Vol. LXX No 179	“Ethiopia on track to be future power house of East Africa”
Jun 14, 2014	Vol. LXX No 238	“democracy on progress: challenges, prospects”
Jun 17, 2014	Vol. LXX No 240	“in pursuit of peace, democracy and development”
Jun 09, 2015	Vol. LXXI No 233	“Ethiopia receives recognition from FAO for meeting hunger target”
		“ICT village to bolster the fast economic growth”
Jun 11, 2015	Vol. LXXI No 235	“Ethiopia could share its practices”
		“why <i>The Economist</i> wants to meddle too low in Ethiopian domestic politics”
Jun 12, 2015	Vol. LXXI No 236	“the bedrocks of Ethiopia’s socio-economic stride”
Jun 13, 2015	Vol. LXXI No 237	“efforts to contain artificial price hike”
Jun 18, 2015	Vol. LXXI No 241	“IMF lauds Ethiopia’s policies”
		“fostering multi-party system”
Jun 23, 2015	Vol. LXXI No 245	“EPRDF landslide victory”
Jun 24, 2015	Vol. LXXI No 246	“Ethiopia’s development: a path of holistic dev’t”
May 13, 2015	Vol. LXXI No 210	“election 2015 will be peaceful, free, democratic”
May 14, 2015	Vol. LXXI No 211	“repeating the success stories of pre-election stage in the remaining two phases”
May 21, 2015	Vol. LXXI No 217	“mixing advocacy with reporting”
		“cobblestone dev’t key to economic, social impact”
May 27, 2015	Vol. LXXI No 222	“ministry scored big result in clean water provision”
		“the country witnessed a free, fair and peaceful election”
May 29, 2015	Vol. LXXI No 224	“to keep on ascending developmental heights”

Jan 11, 2015 Vol. LXXI No 106

Jan 13, 2015 Vol. LXXI No 107

Jan 16, 2015 Vol. LXXI No 110

Articles from Fortune (FOR)

Sep 26, 2010 Vol. 11 No 543

Oct 03, 2010 Vol. 11 No 544

Oct 24, 2010 Vol. 11 No 547

Nov 21, 2010 Vol. 11 No 551

Dec 05, 2010 Vol. 11 No 553

Sep 11, 2011 Vol. 12 No 593

Oct 09, 2011 Vol. 12 No 597

Oct 23, 2011 Vol. 12 No 599

Nov 06, 2011 Vol. 12 No 601

Nov 13, 2011 Vol. 12 No 602

Mar 25, 2012 Vol. 12 No 621

Apr 01, 2012 Vol. 12 No 622

Jun 16, 2013 Vol. 14 No 685

Jun 23, 2013 Vol. 14 No 686

Jun 30, 2013 Vol. 14 No 687

Jul 07, 2013 Vol. 14 No 688

Jul 14, 2013 Vol. 14 No 689

Jul 28, 2013 Vol. 14 No 691

Aug 11, 2013 Vol. 14 No 693

Sep 01, 2013 Vol. 14 No 696

Sep 08, 2013 Vol. 14 No 697

Nov 03, 2013 Vol. 14 No 705

“may 28(Ginbot-20) lays foundation for Ethiopian renaissance”

“viable step to industrialization”

“anti-terrorism law not ‘draconian’”

“the ideological extremists’ latest stunt”

“Ethiopia’s inspirational journey towards dev’t”

“devaluation: wrong bitter pill”

“New policies bite poor masses, serve wealthy few”

“Dev’t group slams allegations of aid abuse”

“Growth plans exclusion of politics unrealistic...”

“Little lies big lies: Maladjusted statistics...”

“GTP: execution III-timed is execution still”

“decision modality unsettles pension debate”

“Evolutionary democracy in hindsight”

“past year brings no easy transformation”

“dithering over population stunts economic growth”

“unlimited government endangers growth”

“Inequitable growth unsustainable”

“birr, popcorn: easily expendable light weight”

“cracking competitiveness password...”

“pushing poverty debate past incidence crucial;”

“Ethiopia symbolizes development 3.0”

“diaspora opposition: all hat, no cattle”

“jobless economic growth exacerbates illegal migration”

“growing pains in fertilizer drive”

“reducing political risk vital in facilitating FDI”

“liberalizing agricultural input market vital to ...”

“transport chaos threatens commuters”

“time to walk the walk on economic policy ...”

“education gaps responsible for poor graduate ...”

“competitive politics a necessity, not a luxury ...”

“poor export revenue demands diversification”

“haphazard public investment ...”

“better public service demands improved government integration”

“government must respect the constitution...”

“developmental comedy”

Jun 29, 2014 Vol. 15 No 739
Aug 10, 2014 Vol. 15 No 745
Aug 24, 2014 Vol. 15 No 747
Oct 26, 2014 Vol. 16 No 756
Jul 05, 2015 Vol. 16 No 792

Sep 13, 2015 Vol. 16 No 802
Sep 27, 2015 Vol. 16 No 804

Articles from the Reporter (REP)

Sep 04, 2010 Vol. XIV No 730

Sep 11, 2010 Vol. XIV No 731
Oct 02, 2010 Vol. XV No 734
Sep 08, 2012 Vol. XVI No 835

Oct 13, 2012 Vol. XVII No 840

Sep 07, 2013 Vol. XVII No 887

Sep 20, 2014 Vol. XVIII No 941
Sep 27, 2014 Vol. XVIII No 942
Oct 25, 2014 Vol. XIX No 946
Jan 23, 2015 Vol. XIX No 959
Jan 17, 2015 Vol. XIX No 958
Feb 14, 2015 Vol. XIX No 962
Feb 21, 2015 Vol. XIX No 963
Apr 04, 2015 Vol. XIX No 969
Apr 18, 2015 Vol. XIX No 971

Mar 28, 2015 Vol. XIX No 968
May 02, 2015 Vol. XIX No 973
Jun 06, 2015 Vol. XIX No 978
Jun 27, 2015 Vol. XIX No 981

Jul 18, 2015 Vol. XIX No 984

“heavy business barriers guard against economic...”
“employment crunch”
“open skies vital for air transport growth”
“from a land of famine to a shining star”
“development without capable bureaucrats”
“letting politics distort economic plans, disastrous”
“clear plan on private sector support vital ...”
“disparity in the quality of university education...”

“encouraging local, foreign investment”
“doubling GDP- why not?”
“land grabbing still rampant in Ethiopia”
“time is ticking for Ethiopia ...”
“oppositions need transformation plan soon”
“Meeting our commitments”
“Ethiopian economy in 365 days”
“assuming office on merit”
“global hunger index places Ethiopia under
‘alarming’ category”
“Keeping the economy afloat”
“in the shadow of over hung-economic perils”
“reviving the private sector”
“women’s development goals”
“government, IMF spat missing fundamentals”
“poverty in Ethiopia down 33% since 2000”
“Guarding against constriction of political space”
“respect for article 21 of the constitution”
“clock ticks on parliament and GTP”
“GERD taking shape”
“government drafts cement industry dev’t strategy”
“the capital hill”
“ensuring a judicious administration”
“Ethiopia ranks low in human development”
“ministry of mines approves Dangote’s potash ...”
“government targets to lower share of agriculture in
GTP II”
“state department criticizes human right condition
in Ethiopia”
“eradicating abominations ...”

Jul 25, 2015	Vol. XIX No 985	“condo conundrum”
Aug 01, 2015	Vol. XIX No 986	“stop muzzling the private press”
Aug 08, 2015	Vol. XIX No 987	“for how longer should Ethiopians yearn...”
<hr/>		“SAP eyes Ethiopia ...”
Aug 22, 2015	Vol. XIX No 989	“PM vows quality will be the ...”

Articles from Addis Standard (ADS)

Feb 2011	“disorder in the ‘free market’”
Mar-Apr 2011	“the good, the bad and the expected”
<hr/>	“Ethiopia’s reforms and export performance”
<hr/>	“disorder in the free market: towards the ‘inclusionist approach’ solution”
Apr-May 2011	“of the ‘right livelihood’ view: a promising development to the pursuit of human satisfaction”
May-Jun 2011	“The private sector Ethiopia failed to get right in 20 years”
<hr/>	“tourism in Ethiopia: yes! But not there, yet”
Jun-July 2011	“Let there be more IT suppliers”
<hr/>	“Ethiopia’s dot-com ‘boom’: it’s a shame”
<hr/>	“turning Ethiopia to be a developmental state: is it possible
<hr/>	“the educated youth assumption that never is”
Jun-July 2011	“Turning Ethiopia to become a developmental state...”
July 2012	“how a developmental state ruins good governance”
<hr/>	“valuing the ABCs of value chain”
Jan 2013	“kaizen and revolutionary principle: a marriage of opposing world views?”
<hr/>	“making sense of development through freedom”
Feb 2013	“good news at last?”
Apr 2013	“Ethiopia’s HDI improving, yet among the worst ...”
July 2013	“Ethiopia’s dysfunctional developmental statism: It is not the model, fix the politics”
<hr/>	“the cost of hunger in Ethiopia: implications for growth and transformation of Ethiopia”
Sep 2013	“Ethiopia’s developmental statism: if ain’t broke, don’t fix”
Oct 2013	“Ethiopia: the manufacturing sector’s constant sting”
Nov 2013	“is Ethiopia ready to make the best of renewable energy”
Feb 2014	“Ethiopia’s developmental statism: dotted by pitfalls, but functional”
Aug 2014	“Ethiopia’s developmental statism: the audacity to call a spade a spade”
Sep 2015	“Ethiopia should depoliticize hunger”

Oct 2015 “Is Ethiopia becoming ‘No Go Zone’ for investment?”

Articles from Ethiopian Business Review (EBR)

Apr 16-May 15, 2014

“Privatize, Liberalize”

“monopoly’s hang ups”

“developing nations repeat the mistakes of the west”

Jun 16-Jul 15, 2014

“Who execute the plans? Pay them better”

“a broken value chain”

July 16-Aug 15, 2014

“beneath the skyrocketing land lease price in Addis...”

“road to nowhere”

Aug 16-Sep 15, 2014

“Private sector is weak, fragile”

Sep 16-Oct 15, 2014

“unstable policy regime exhausts investors”

“why is there a big gap between targets and outcomes in Ethiopia”

Oct 16-Nov 15, 2014

“labor market”

“the hospitality industry in Ethiopia”

“why is there a big gap between targets and outcomes in Ethiopia? Part 2: solutions”

Nov 16-Dec 15, 2014

“dreadful transport challenges:”

Nov 2013

“Calculating the poor”

“Ethiopia: the African tiger”

Dec 2013

“Ethiopia: hailed as ‘African lion’ with fastest creation of millionaires”

Feb 2014

“The white-box of Ethiopian agriculture”

Mar 2014

“Striking a delicate balance”