

**FRAMING OF THE 2011 UPRISING IN EGYPT**  
**Content Analysis of the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter**

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Desalegne Tadesse, entitled: Framing of the 2011 Uprising in Egypt: Content Analysis of the *Ethiopian Herald* and *the Reporter* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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## List of Acronyms

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ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
CNN	the Cable News Network
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
EBA	Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority
ENA	Ethiopia News Agency
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Republic Democratic Front
EGRD	Ethiopian Grand Renaissance Dam
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopian
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan (Program)
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICCPR	International Covenants for Civil and Political Rights
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MI	Ministry of Information Ethiopia
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
OAU/AU	Organization of African Unity (African Union)
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UN PEACE	United Nations University of Peace
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

## Abstract

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The Egyptian popular uprising which brought down the Mubarak regime, not only gripped the minds and hearts of the Egyptians, but also it captured the interest of the national and international media as well. Though Internet-based social networks took the leading role in the dissemination of information about the situation in Egypt, the newspapers significantly mediated the public in providing information.

The purpose of this study is to examine how the *Ethiopian Herald* and *The Reporter* have covered the uprising in Egypt and its aftermath from January to June 2011. It aims to point out some of differences and similarities in the coverage of the two papers, to answering questions related to the kind of frames employed in the papers and external factors that influence the coverage. Did the papers framed the issue in certain ways to gain readers attention and recognition just as professional journalists do? If they did, what seems to be the trend and what are their reasons? These are also some of the main questions that the study is trying to answer.

Content analysis was used to examine their coverage of the event along with mixed data collection methods and interviews. A sample of 46 news articles and feature pieces were thoroughly examined and taken using non-random sampling from the two papers. The study reveals that six frames (conflict, economic consequence, attribution of responsibility, diagnostic and prognostic) were used by the papers in light of the agenda and interest of their owners. *The Reporter* covered the event more frequently leaning

more towards positive tone taking the side of protesters and depicting them positively. However, *Herald* adhered to down play the event and to abstain from providing detail analysis.

While interpreting the situation, the papers committed some biases in balancing the sources, placements, portraying and narrating the event towards the direction of their position and ideology, and providing emphasis on either causes or consequences to guide the readers, which the study considers unfair treatment of the story which emanated from the lack of editorial independence of the papers.



# CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

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## 1.1 Background of the Study

Conflict has always been part of the human experience and its impact can be seen in various forms. Events such as rallies, demonstrations (or whatever they may be called) are seen as an inevitable consequence of individual and collective freedom (ICRC, 2011; 18). All these justify that demonstrations or protests accompanied by acts of violence can be one of the defining features of the world that requires the attention and coverage of media to reinforce behavioural change and attitudes of the society.

Africa is one of the most affected regions with violence and its consequences. Among so many inspiring events inscribed in the memory of Africans, the 2011 violent and non-violent uprisings in North Africa have been cases in point. The situation was dubbed the Arab Spring to describe the revolutionary waves, demonstrations and protests, riots, and civil wars that happened in the Arab World (Gelvin, 2012). The whistle was blown on 17 December 2010 in Tunisia, and transmitted like a communicable disease or wildfire first to Egypt, which is the concern of the research and then went to other countries in the region.

The protesters marched to liberation squares on 25 January 2011 in Cairo, Alexandria, and other cities in Egypt. They left the squares on 13 February 2011 following the announcement of the military chief who deposed President Hosni Mubarak, who brutally

led Egypt for 30 years. He suspended the constitution and dissolved both houses of parliament. BBC on its online page published on 19 April 2011 reported that the violence claimed 846 lives and injured 6,400 people.

In most cases, lack of democracy and good governance drives people to protest against their governments, but whatsoever, the violence/ demonstration in Egypt attracted special attention around the globe for it became the dominant headlines for many media outlets around the planet, including the Ethiopian media, picked up the violent situation and reported invigoratingly. As adage “if it bleeds, it leads” means violent conflict will be headline news, not news of cross-cultural dialogue and understanding (Bratic and Schirch, 2007; 8). All concerned, including notable politicians, policy makers, scholars and analysts, academicians, and others share their views about the causes and consequences of these waves of up-risings that swept the Arab World.

Indeed media mostly covers violence or conflict. In the words of Bronwyn "death and violence are staple media topics" (Naylor, Bronwyn 2001; 180). Nevertheless, advocates of peace and stability stress the need for media to play a positive role in times of conflict so that peace can prevail (UN PEACE, 2005; 81). Moreover, Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung advocating peace journalism argues whenever there is a clear danger of violence, there is also a chance or an opportunity to transform the conflict without violence. He said, “There is no argument that violence shouldn't be reported. But *the first victim in a war is not truth. That is only the second victim. The first victim is, of course, peace.*” (Kempf and Luostarinen, 2002: 260).

Like elsewhere in the world, newspapers in Ethiopia are sources of information published to inform, to entertain and to educate citizens by providing timely information. Despite their limited circulations and accessibility to urban areas, they still have significant roles to play in framing issues and events. It is against the backdrop of the above discussion that this paper tries to examine how ETHIOPIAN NEWSPAPERS, particularly the state-owned *Ethiopian Herald* (here after called the Herald) and privately- owned *the Reporter*, covered the 2011 uprising in Egypt.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

The century we are living demands information more than anything else and media are the main means to spotlight incidents taking place around the world. As White highlights in his book on journalism ethics -the duty of journalists is the same as that of the historians- to seek out the truth, above all things, and to present to their readers not the truth as statecraft would them to know, but the truth as near as they can (White, 2008). It is about merely reporting the facts letting others worry about the fallout. Because of this and other reasons, journalism practices are usually liable to various challenges. As a result, many are sceptical about journalisms' ability to convey the information that citizens need to govern themselves effectively. Professor Francis P. Kasoma is one of those who criticize the weak points in the practice of newspaper medium. He put all newspapers of the continent (Africa) in one basket calling them "Vendetta journalism" to mean ethically wrong (Kasoma, 1995; 99). Turning to our local newspapers, Haile-Gebriel in his thesis produced similar argument, Ethiopian herald is one of the newspapers in our country suffering from ethical problems (Haile-Gebriel,

20005; 10). Very recently Mesued Mohammed's article published on *the Reporter* repeated the same view, both the state-owned and private newspapers ignored the basic principle of journalism-balance (Mesued, 2013; 23). These writers are expecting the media to go beyond reporting.

Having the aforementioned trends and the proximity of the issues with Ethiopia, the study assesses the coverage and framing of the two English newspapers to understand whether they reconciled the basic principles of journalism or suffered from the problems while covering the uprising in Egypt.

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

#### **1. General Objective**

The main objective of the study is to examine how the 2011 uprising in Egypt was covered by the Ethiopian print media, in particular *Herald* and *the Reporter*.

#### **2. Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives of the study are:

- To examine the way/framing the two newspapers covered the uprising
- To find out the sources the two newspapers used in their coverage of the uprising
- To find out whether similarities/differences exist between their coverage of uprising
- To find out the factors that might have influenced the coverage

## 1.4 Research Questions

In order to assess the coverage of uprising in Egypt by the two newspapers, the research addresses the following research questions.

1. How did the two, *Herald* and *the Reporter* cover the uprising in Egypt?
2. What sources did they use in reporting about the uprising?
3. To what extent the two newspapers differ in their coverage of the uprising?
4. What were the factors that might have influenced the papers in their coverage of the uprising in Egypt?

## 1.5 Significance of the Study

While ample of research in the school of Journalism and Communication of Addis Ababa University explored the content, production and reception of news and events. In 2013, Asmeret Haillessilasie conducted a research on related topic, titled *Ethiopian Print Media Coverage of the Arab Uprisings: the case of Addis Zemen, Fetehe and Amharic edition of Reporter*, but there is no study so far conducted on the Herald's and the Reporter's coverage and framing specifically on the uprising in Egypt. Hence, the assessment and evaluation on the nature and magnitude of their coverage would add significantly to the available knowledge on the public and academic community about the issue. Furthermore, like the researcher utilizing the work of many scholars, this study also should be used as input for further researches.

## 1.6 Scope and limitations of the Study

This study is limited to the assessment of only the two newspapers because of their long existence in the market and better profile in circulation comparing to others in Ethiopia. It also deals with only the violent situation in Egypt from 25 January 2011 until the end of June 2011, which was a period that Mubarak regime came to an end.

The research was conducted using content analysis, recognizing some of the shortcoming of this methodology. It did not clearly tell us how the coverage influences the audience. In addition, it did not address the effectiveness of the messages conveyed and the background of journalists. The six months editions of the papers were used as sample for the study.

Other reporting dimensions, such as entertainment, education, development and other social issues weren't covered in the study. Furthermore, the study is limited to the contents and interviews, particularly the texts of the newspapers'; rather didn't put its focus on other data, such as pictures, images and cartoons.

## 1.7 Operational definition of terms

**Coding:** is the process whereby the raw data are transformed into standard form suitable for analysis Babbie (2010:338).

**Content Analysis:** is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Deacon et al, 1999)

**Coverage:** Refers to the presentation of stories on violence in the newspapers.

**Magnitude:** The degree of frequency to which stories on violence or uprising happen or are repeated.

**Media framing:** is as a process of selecting some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in order to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, and moral evaluation (Entman, 1993: 52)

**Media Bias:** the term Media bias is defined as communication portrayed by journalists and news producers that is one sided. It implies a penetrative bias conflicting with the standards of journalism (<http://www.ask.com/question/definition-of-media-bias>).The extent to which media content was systematically favorable to particular set of interests.

**Media fairness:** Corn-Revere (2009) says that fairness means nothing but providing balanced views reflecting all sides of an issue. In other words, it means that the journalists give a hearing to all the contending sides in the story.

**Uprising:** the ICRC qualifies demonstration, protests, uprisings and related issues other than armed conflict under other situations of violence. It defines, demonstration as the phenomenon of taking to the streets to express their opinion publicly (ICRC; 2008; 15).

**Violence:** the WHO defines the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation.

## **1.8 Organization of the paper**

Including the introductory part, the paper has five chapters. Introduction, statement of the problem, objective of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitations of the study as well as operational definitions are the components of the first chapter. The second chapter explores the review of related literatures in which various theoretical frameworks and writings on the media coverage and framing of articles. The third chapter deals with the research design. The fourth chapter presents and analyse the data obtained, followed by findings and discussions of the results. Lastly, the fifth chapter presents, conclusions and recommendations on the basis of the findings of the study.

## CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

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### 2.1 Overview of the History of Newspapers in Ethiopia

This section reviews the evolutions of newspapers in Ethiopia. Globally the *Acta Diurna* is the first newspaper published in Rome around 59 BC, laid the milestone for the media industry and remained for 230 years as the single medium for providing information until the introduction of radio in 1920 (Baigi, 2011:51). Afterwards, the technological developments on media outlets rapidly changed the flow of information and, hence, the newspaper lost its championship from being the only way reaching large number of people. However, it is still the influential medium to deliver news and instant access information in the world in general and in Ethiopia in particular despite the changing dynamics.

Newspaper in Ethiopia was introduced in 1890 during the reign of Menelik II (who ruled from 1889-1913). *La Se-maine d'Ethiopie* (1890), published weekly bases in French by a Franciscan missionary living in Harar was the first newspaper. Five years after, the first Amharic newspaper, named *Aemero* was issued in 1895.

Between 1912 and 1915 *Yetor Wore* (means war news) and few other weekly newspapers emerged. However, many newspapers were made available for readers following the establishment of *Berhanena Selam Printing Press* in 1921. *Addis Zemen* and its counterpart the *Ethiopian Herald* began in 1941 and 1943, respectively. The *Ethiopian Herald* was the first newspapers that came out in English language in the country.

After nearly five decades, the proclamation of the Press Freedom Bill by the Ethiopian Transitional Government in 1992 gave excellent opportunity for the birth of private newspapers. *The reporter*, privately owned newspaper which began in Amharic in 1995 and in English in 1996 is one of the offspring of the proclamation. According to the Ethiopian Broadcast Authority's (EBA) recent report (December 2013), 21 newspapers are providing information for their target audience. Out of the total, 16 are privately owned and the others are under government ownership. Five newspapers: *Ethiopian herald*, *the Reporter*, *Fortune*, *Capital* and *Press digest* are published in English language. The *Ethiopian herald* is issued on daily basis, while other four are weekly. Politics, entertainment and social issues are the focus of the newspapers.

## **2.2 The Status of Press Freedom in Ethiopia during the three successive governments**

### **2.2.1 Background**

It would be noteworthy to begin with the principles of UDHR of 1948 to discuss on press freedom. Article 19 of the declaration states, " Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers" (UDHR, 1948: 5). Via this instrument, freedom of expression has achieved global recognition and guarantee as being fundamental human rights irrespective of colour, religion, race, age, gender, nationality, and other differences.

The international community is concerned about Freedom of Expression because it is very significant to achieving two important and interrelated societal goals; the search for

truth in the market place of ideas and to promote democracy. More importantly, protecting freedom of expression applies to media; this is because the right to freedom of expression and peoples' right to seek and receive information meaningfully can be applied when the media plays its key role in the society. In other words, only through free expression, one can ensure and practice competing ideas or views reach to citizens to be accepted or rejected. Again, it is the core means of communication to inform citizens about the right to participate freely in public discourse and enables them to engage in public progress. Hence, guaranteeing freedom of expression means testing democracy (Michael Brantton cited in M'boge & Gbaydee, 2004:6) said:

In order to be politically active, citizens require means to communicate with one another and to debate the type of government they desire for themselves. Civic discourse can take place in various forums, the most important of which are the public communications media, both print and electronic.

Elaborating the interconnectedness between the two societal goals Stanley Ingber (1984) noted that the quality of the public exchange of ideas promoted by the marketplace advances the quality of democratic government. These are rationales behind, the UDHR and other international human rights instruments, such as International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights in which Ethiopia ratified clearly mentioned the right to freedom of expression is to mean freedom for everyone to express themselves, the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas.

## 2.2.2 Opportunities and Challenges of press freedom in Ethiopia

**Opportunities:** 1991 is very important to mark in the time line of press freedom in Ethiopia. With the change of regime fundamental actions taken by the EPRDF during the transition period in particular the first actions that outlaw the pre-publication censorship was a golden opportunity that invited private ownership for the print media. The adoption of FDRE Constitution in 1995 was legal instrument that given judicial recognition for the first time for the press freedom in the history of Ethiopia. Since then, the country provides protection for press freedom and the expression of ideas constitutionally. Article 29 of the Ethiopian Constitution is dedicated to the freedom of press, expression and the right of thoughts. It states, freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of artistic creativity is guaranteed. It adds freedom of the press shall specifically include prohibition of any form of censorship and access to information of public interest (FDRE constitution, 1995: 89).

Therefore, the Press Freedom Bill proclaimed by the Ethiopian Transitional Government (TGE) in October 1992 that recognizes freedom of press, outlaw censorships and guarantee the right of access to information created a landmark. Currently, 13 radio stations are serving the public out of which only 3 (FM Sheger, Zami radio and Afro FM) are run by private, while others are under Federal and Regional states ownership. Regarding Television, Ethiopian Television is the only one and foremost government controlled channel broadcasts 24 hours in 7 languages (Amharic, Oriomifa, Tigrigna, Somaligna, Afar, Harari and English). There are also about 8 Community radios in different regional states.

Because of this opportunity, the private media, particularly the newspapers and magazines have been operating in a commercial climate. A magazine named Tsedey is the first private magazine and Lyita was the first private newspaper (Misrak Adugna, 2009:12). From February 2009 to December 2013, the EBA certified 39 private newspapers and 31 Magazines providing information on political, economic and social issues. Only 16 private newspapers out of 39 are currently in the service. Due to the lack significant information about the governing laws and bodies and available researches, it is difficult to mention the statistical data about the online media.

**Challenges:** Despite the above opportunities, the realization of the constitutional guarantee to freedom of expression in the country is left on paper. There is no a single day in which the government of Ethiopia escaped from critics and condemnations from different actors for its poor treatment of media. Analyses and reports published on press freedom categorized the country in the list among those who have become the enemy of the press. For instance, Freedom of House's latest report issued on 5 September 2013 scored the freedom the press in Ethiopia as NOT FREE. Participants' gathered during the sixth African Media Leaders Forum (AMLF) in November 2013 at the UNECA also echoed similar comments. Again, the Paris based Institute Reporters without Borders in its 2013 index ranked Ethiopia at 137<sup>th</sup> position out of 179 countries in this respect.

It is crucial to raise the question, why the government failed to maintain the press freedom as stipulated in the constitution. We need to go back to the 2005 Ethiopian elections that determined today's relations between the government and the press. Exactly like the 2011 uprising in Egypt, the 2005 elections in Ethiopia paid special attention locally as well as globally. It was both golden as well as dark period for the Ethiopia's media industry. It was golden, because the torches for democracy and freedom of the press lighted on. The media, in particular the print exercised its purpose by providing up-to-date information for the public about the elections. During this period, every newspaper's circulation and profit margin reached to the pick point. Again, it was dark period; because the alarm belled against the media, particularly the private press. The government accused them of igniting urban demonstration that caused the death of 193 people. Immediately after the incident, the government revoked the accreditation of many press organizations, took journalists into jail due to their coverage about the elections (Asgedom, 2006: 51) and many others exiled. CPJ reported that 55 Ethiopian journalists were exiled from June 2008 – May 2013, which puts the country the 3<sup>rd</sup> place from the world. The report added, apart from exile, Journalists are continued to be harassed, arrested, tortured and unlawfully detained bringing Ethiopia a high-risk country to the practice of journalism. Not only that, the printing price also increased; some says it is a tax on knowledge. It is better to call it pivotal time for the press freedom abortion which laid the milestone for the rise of media partisanship that undermines the very core purposes of journalism.

During the 2005, Ethiopia elections, the private press reported on events that are very partisan to the opposition and the government press to the incumbent government (Yoseph Girmay, 2005: 82-83). Following the developments, the relationship between the government and the media rapidly turned to hostility. To describe the enmity, Global Campaign for Free Expression picked up the former Ethiopian Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi's words that publicly labelled the private press as "gutter press" and accused some of them as being organs of illegal political parties. Consequently, when parliament met in 2008, its main order of business was the adoption of Mass Media and Freedom of Information Proclamation (Press Law) which contains many provisions that limit the freedom of expression and the 2009 antiterrorism Laws launched to restrict the press freedom in the country. Furthermore, in 2012, the Ethiopian parliament expanded on the theme of the 2009 antiterrorism law by passing the Telecom Fraud Offences Proclamation, which prescribes significant fines and up to eight years in prison for those convicted of using the telecommunications network to disseminate a "terrorizing message." It was an attempt putting a sharp object in the pain rather than healing the wound. Nevertheless, the press never became quiet, regardless of all the challenges taking into consideration the pain will lead to gain, tried to expose and correct flaws in the government.

It is the wishes of every Ethiopians to turn around this trend. The astonishing question is how to fix favourable environment for press freedom. As mentioned above, following the 2005 elections, the phrase changed towards a more partisan reporting culture. The hostile relationship between the government and media are reflected in the reporting of

the newspapers. Most of them picked information and twisted in their direction of sources. The public received framed and biased information from both sides that leads to become more sceptical of what it reads. As Robinson pointed out framing offer ways of explaining, understanding and making sense of events and as such could be associated with the terms slant, bias or frame of reference (Robinson, 2002: 137). It is also interesting to note the argument of Mesued Mohammed in his article published in December 2013 issue of *the reporter* clearly mentioned this dynamics of reporting. He said government newspapers have fallen in love with public relations information, entertaining only one side argument ignoring the basic principle of journalism (balance). The same mistakes are repeated in the private newspapers that filled with pessimistic analysis, focusing on political issues only, devoted their time to find faults again ignoring the good deeds. Both sides lack the value of genuine journalism. In this regard, Ashenafi added;

There was a north-south dichotomy in the press. Some of the private presses were serving as a mouthpiece for certain opposition political parties while others were highly affiliated with the incumbent government. Still others were established to promote parochial ethnic politics. The government press was also serving as a conduit to the government propaganda (ASHENAFI, 2012: 14).

Of course, much of the world has had a history of at least some form of state-related media, supplemented by a media representing certain political interests, i.e., media associated with political parties, and private press. In many countries, government

monopolies on media, but the research conducted by the World Bank on media-ownership in 97 countries confirmed that countries with greater state ownership of the media have a less-free press, fewer political rights for citizens and inferior governance. The conclusion of WB seems right and fits the situation in Ethiopia, which is the sole owner of the means of public information and used the media to extend its power and legitimacy, to control the population, and to stifle public awareness (Desalegn and Meheret, 2004 cited in Ashenafi, 2012).

The established laws continue to allow the government to prosecute journalists and members of the media for expressing their views, ensures the domination of information by the partisan pin. Researches came out from Alliance of Civilizations Media Fund (AOCMF) highlights; media driven by such threats may have an inflammatory, polarizing, radicalizing, or even violence-inducing effect on those who consume it. There are multiple theories that predict and explain how media might logically influence levels of mass polarization; Daina C. Mutz (2006) is among those who argue that media become an engine for polarization of the public. In Ethiopia, the media landscape is extremely polarized and obsessed with politics (Yeseph, 2005: 41).

Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm wrote in the four theories of the Press in 1956 about the press freedom, nevertheless, after half a century, the issue has made very limited progress. The very touchy words of Dr.Bedilu Wakjira would justify the status of press freedom in Ethiopia. In the Amharic edition of Fact Magazine of January 2014 issue, he

said, *"I am a citizen of the land of humour. The citizen of the land of humour does not ask a question born out of grievance, rather observes (Fact, 2014; 10)."*

There are two compelling arguments in this regard, the government claiming that it brought about slow but steady improvement in its relations with the media. However, press freedom advocates say the current media policy framework in the country remained dangerous to the practice of media and journalism. Not all the above recipes of the media policy framework are encouraging for the practice of competent media and market place of ideas. Therefore, they recommend the government to open its lines of communication with the media and the citizen to be able to move forward toward democratic society. This is because ensuring press freedom is a test for democracy.

The main conclusion that can be drawn from the review is that the right to press freedom is vital for every society in the world. Media succeed to achieve the notion of Fourth Estate; it is not because of election by people and nor is because of appointment by elected officials; rather because of key role in the societal goals. Nevertheless, what gives the right to an influential role is how the country is governed? Despite its importance, media has been monopolized and suffering from the government control from the founding fathers of modern Ethiopia until the reporting period and does not seem coming to an end. The growing threat against the media and journalists suggest that more frequent and most intense shocks towards the press freedom are on the way. 2005 was a pivotal year to see the lights of torch of press freedom, but unluckily retreated to the deadlight conditions. Only the recognitions of press freedom in principle

makes the current government of Ethiopia differ from its predecessors, whereas in practice all resembled.

Thus, the researcher tries to evaluate the coverage of the two newspapers operating in such condition about their coverage of uprising in Egypt.

### **2.2.3 Media and Politics**

It could not be possible to separate media and politics because they cannot live without each other. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century no single political party or government can pursue its functions without securing the assistance of the media. Politicians need the media for publicity and to inform the people about their activities (Tuing & Hasim, 2009 in Ashenafi, 2012). To inform, to discuss, to mirror, to bind, to campaign, to challenge, to entertain and to judge – these are the important functions of the media in any free country (Curran & Seaton, 2003:379).

Most of the information media used come from officials to produce available product, and the officials need the media to distribute their messages to the constituency. Media have a persuasive power on their audience influencing what people buy, how they vote, what they wish and strive for and how they conduct their daily life, mainly the news is in a state of continual change by economic, journalism, technology, politics and publics.

Today news system evolves under pressures of commercial profit and political spin; the most glaring result may be the dwindling space for serious political news itself (Bennet, in Kaid, 2004: 283). These are the main reasons for the world powers and business

men are competing for the control of media. In the presence of a favorable political environment that provides media with a remarkable degree of independence from the “threat of political interference”, the media are destined to unite, educate, and as a result, improve the actions and decisions of the polity (Yetnayet, 2008: 24).

In its journey for the past four centuries, media has passed several socio-political and economic ups and downs. However, the press-government relations are more conflicted and negative than ever before (Bennett, in Kaid, 2004: 286). This distance and constant spinning may introduce a measure of mistrust and wariness in the press-source relationship. For example, in the framework of the ‘Arab Spring’ in the MENA, there is an inherent contradiction between media and the government, aided by corporate interests in terms of the spread and wider availability of communication technology driven by the complexity of globalization. This is because the new media took the leading role in the absence of an open media and strong civil society in the region to present horizontal connectivity in social mobilization. By its nature the new information technology has a capacity to transform the potential to open up space of freedom, which was tested in the recent political transformation in the MENA region. Riots was not new trend for Egypt, for instance in 2008, the Egyptian authorities locked up when Kareem Al Beheiri, a worker turned labor rights activist and blogger, for allegedly instigating riots, the news was picked up by the conventional media but neither hogged the headlines nor stayed in the media limelight for long. Few years after the time allow for new media effectively to mobilize people against the regime in power for three decades. That is why Mubarak’s government primary action was to shut off the

Internet, although it didn't work. Because of this many Egyptians are considering that Face book and twitter are their liberators.

The media is a social institution that is influenced by its relationship to other institution. Governments are the most important of these institutions (Fourie, 2004: 463). The media are legally, normatively and structurally subject to the control of political institutions, this is so, the relationship linking a media organization to society is that between the media organizations and the government of a country. Therefore, the mass media of a country, more than any other kind of institution, are shaped by the prevailing type of political power. This relationship obviously gives a government a lot of potential control over and influence on the nature of news (ibid). Assessing the relationship between media and politics in Ethiopia, many research evidences witnessed that, throughout the history, media in Ethiopia have not been free and fair specifically when it comes to political matters because of the domination of the governmental administration. In the three successive governments of Ethiopia, the media function has remained the same. For example, many complain the inclusion of prohibition of journalists from disseminating the meager information they obtain in a manner beneficial to the public and other restrictions in the current Ethiopian Press Law. Many say that it is a political instrument prepared by the government to guard its own benefit.

#### 2.2.4 Trends of the Ethiopian Newspapers foreign Events coverage

Looking at the foreign event coverage of the Ethiopian newspapers, the researcher favors to use the concluding remarks of Mesay Bahiru (2007) in his study that evaluated the six Ethiopian Print Media foreign News Coverage. He confirms that all the considered newspapers covered foreign news items on their front and/or inner pages, more importantly the developing world in general and Africa in particular received a wider coverage than the developed world in the six newspapers, including the Ethiopian *Herald & the Reporter*.

Although it is a matter of some contention on the universality and cultural specificity of journalism, there are convincing elements about significant role of media for promoting national interest. The Ethiopian Foreign Policy document under its section dealing with the country's relations with Arabian Gulf Countries states about the media role.

Our foreign policy regarding the Gulf countries must duly consider the key role these countries can play in our economic development, and focus on seeking development, finance, investment, and markets for our products. Our diplomacy should clearly explain our policies with regard to the resources of the Nile's waters, and the equality of religions in Ethiopia.

...we should consider launching a campaign to correct the distorted image the governments and peoples of the region have about Ethiopia, and, in particular, strive to correct the negative role played by the Arab media, either by its silence, or its distorted portrayal of our country (MI, 2002:131).

This statement has similarity with the greeting letter written by the MFA to the herald in congratulating the launching of its daily publication (see annex 1) in 1943. It also reflected in the Editorial Policy of the Ethiopian Press Agency, which states (Amharic translation) publications have been produced by the Press Agency in foreign languages (Al-Alem and Ethiopian Herald) are aimed at building the image of the people of Ethiopia and the country to external world (1995: 22).

This is therefore, our media trends; in particular the state owned media have been covering foreign events maintaining the complementarity of their contents with the implementation of government policies within the country as well as towards national interest in the international plane. Referring to *the Reporter*, it has good reputation as well in promoting national interest of the country.

### **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

The press industry as a media institution plays a definitive role in shaping public consciousness and attributing salience to specific issues; news is not only news, but an active selection and creation of social reality (Goffman, 1974). In order to examine the media contribution to the public discourse on violent situations, it is important to understand the theoretical background that explains how media can influence public discourse. The topic can be addressed by agenda setting and framing models. Agenda setting refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues (e.g., based on relative placement or amount of coverage) and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, 2004).

Framing refers to the concept of salience and selection of news. Robert Entman (1993) and William Gamson (1989) pointed to the incredible power of the press to construct the audience's understanding of events which consequently shape their knowledge of the world. Framing is one of the most important theories for understanding the presentation of news stories. The media define for the majority of the population what events are taking-place, but also, they offer powerful interpretations of how to understand these events' (Gamson et al, 1974: 340). By simply reporting on something, the press consciously asserts the importance of one issue over another, and through their reporting, defines for the audience how to interpret the issue (Tuchman, 1978). Hence, framing provides a better understanding of how the newspapers influence public opinion through the way they present the story to their readers.

Therefore, to explain how the newspapers' were reported the situation, the study focused with a theoretical framework outlining the dominant theories of framing and Political Economy of mass media. Political Economy of Mass Media describes the impacts of political views and economically powerful influences in the media/journalists activities.

### **2.3.1 Framing theory**

The media study is primarily concerned on the information content and flows. The newspapers' are among the media serving as valuable sources of information and powerful modes of communication that provide a host of signals about the salience of the topics in daily news, repeatedly reminding day after day about the importance of the

issues to shape the public opinion. The process of selection and salience implicated in the notion of framing signifies the role that media institutions play in defining reality for its audiences.

The way information transferred to their readers comes through various forms of communication, all of which are framed to meet the goals of the providing sources. The role of framing comes herein. It describes the way media portray the stories, issues, events or how to tell the stories for audiences'/readers' consumption.

A number of influential scholars in the evolution of framing theory, including Entman (1993: 52) define the concept; framing, as a process of selecting some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in order to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, and moral evaluation. Hence, it involves how people interpret the news and the judgments they form after viewing or reading the news leading audiences to arrive at more or less predictable conclusions (Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1997 cited in M. Pere, 2001: 107).

Framing theory aims to identify schemes in which individuals perceive the world. Frames help us to interpret and reconstruct reality. To this end, the researcher selected this theory as useful instrument to analyze the contents of the newspapers and the type of framing they used in reporting the uprising in Egypt. The use of framing theory also allows us to detect journalistic bias.

A group of studies has identified various types of framing, the study adopted those six framing by Semetko and Valkenburg (2007) (conflict, human interest, economic consequences, attribution of responsibility, diagnostic and prognostic) that fits to the content dealing with the 2011 uprising in Egypt in the two newspapers.

### **2.3.1.1 Conflict Framing**

Conflict framing used to reflect conflict and disagreement among individuals, groups or organizations as a means of capturing audience interest. In particular, is commonly used that focuses on the media's role in defining the dispute and altering the naming and blaming among constituents.

In conflict situations, framing is evident in two processes: discourse use and development of the issues. In discourse use, framing is performed through the naming or labelling of events, the use of words that imply blame, and explanations about the nature of a situation. Parties construct them through a continual process of assessing and reassessing issues in light of attacking arguments, information exchange, and interpretations of events. In effect, stakeholders, and particularly the media, frame issues through naming what the conflict is about, exploring causes for it, and providing explanations for on-going events. For example, the uprising, turmoil, unrest, demonstration, and so on caused by social anger, lack of good governance and other factors driving people to protest.

The development of issues refers to the turning points within the conflict that shows dramatic movement in which the conflict shifts in a new direction. These shifts represent the actual as well as reporting changes due to the escalating situation (Putman and Shoemaker, 2007: 169-170).

### **2.3.1.2 Human Interest Framing**

This framing is known by bringing a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). It refers to an effort to personalize the news, dramatize or emotionalize the news in order to capture and retain audience interest; employs adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy caring, sympathy, or compassion. In the case of Egypt, phrases describing the victims; 840 people were killed and more than 6,000 injured. Or dramatizing, you can imagine how the grievances brought together people from every direction irrespective of gender, religious, ideology. Emphasizes how individuals and groups are affected by the event, issue, or problem; news items go into the private or personal lives of the actors. In crisis situation, the frame stimulates the psychological pulse of people, which ultimately leads them to a more negative attitude toward the crisis (Padin, 2005 cited in Ana and Gower, 2009).

### **2.3.1.3 Economic Consequence Framing**

This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, groups, organizations, or countries. News is often framed in terms of the actual or potential economic impact or consequences on the audience

(Neuman et al., 1992). The economic impact of an event has an important news value (Graber, 1993), and it has been suggested that news producers often use the consequence frame to make an issue relevant to their audience (Gamson, 1992). For example, different media reported the uprising in Egypt was the consequences of many factors, however, the high unemployment rate; the price increases for commodities, the low wage of civil servants, poverty were the dominating contents of the media that drives the people to protest against the leaders.

#### **2.3.1.4 Attribution of Responsibility Framing**

Either it presents an event or issue in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to the government or to an individual, group, party or institution; news items suggest the issue or problem requires urgent action. For instance, the protesters in Egypt blamed Mubarak leadership for the entire crisis and demanded to step down immediately as a solution. Since frames reflect a specific viewpoint or mind set, therefore, the purpose of conducting framing analysis is to determine how stories are framed involves looking at a story's content and seeing how reporters connect its topic to the typical stories that already exist within people's minds. This is in line with the argument of de Vreese which expresses frame setting is the interaction between media frames and individual's prior knowledge and predispositions (de Vreese, 2005: 52).

#### **2.3.1.5 Diagnostic Framing**

This frame emphasizes identifying a problem and attributing blame and causality (Gerhards and Rucht, 1992). It involves identifying a problem and its causes. A major

task of social movement like that happened in Egypt is to draw attention to and emphasize the seriousness of some perceived problem. In such case, activists must make attributions as to the cause of the problem concerting efforts to persuade people that expected to be the victim of unjust administration. Sometimes different branches of the same movement agree on the problem but not on its causes. For example, the movements in Egypt and other countries in the region assert that citizens are treated unfairly. For some the cause is primarily lack of good governance and democracy while for others it is more fundamentally economic crisis followed by unemployment and other consequences.

#### **2.3.1.6 Prognostic Framing**

This frame can also be described as a solution frame, which specifies what needs to be done (ibid). This type of framing highlights a proposed solution to the problem that has been diagnosed, including a strategy for solving the problem. Different branches of the same movement may propose different solutions. For some demonstrators, securing the overthrowing of Mubarak would bring solution, but for others the solution would be changing the overall system; one strategy to do so is to create youth-centred space only.

Therefore, by identifying the above frames, the study intends to understand some of the underlying messages that the two papers inadvertently sent to their readers.

### 2.3.2 Political Economy of Mass Media

Media and politics are two sides of the same coin. Cook (1998) defined media as a political institution that plays an important role in politics along with many other institutions. The Political Economy of mass media theory holds, the mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. Political stimuli are inherently ambiguous; in matters of principle or fact, political issues characterized by a multiplicity of interpretations and perspectives. We are living in the world of concentrated with wealth and major conflicts of class interest, which requires systematic propaganda to fulfil its purpose.

The media is the main instrument to influence of dispositional factors on political opinion that makes clear the importance of framing effects on public opinion. Although its functions are to amuse, entertain, inform, and to educate individuals regardless of their differences, the media favours more sources concerning politicians and political parties involved in policy making and governance of the country which directly involve public interest (Ashenafi, 2012). Politicians of this world are always view media as a threat. This is therefore; they become very busy in finding ways to silence their critics and to foster positive coverage. Information forwarded to discipline them can only be bad in their measurements. This is what means political economy of mass media, nothing more and nothing less.

Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky (1988) are the proponents of this theory in their *Manufacturing Consent*. Their model see the analyses as government & business elites

to have privileged access to the news, advertisers do as a licensing authority: media entrepreneurs can determine the editorial line and cultural stance of the media they own. According to them, Political Economy of Mass Media refers to the class with the means of material production controls the means of mental production, thus it controls both production and distribution of the ideas of its age. So, it worried about the ways news is structured by the relationship between press proprietors and editors of their sources.

Andrea Prat and David Strömberg (2011) noted that the relationship between media-ownership and economics, and the media's role in society provides plenty of content for active public and policy debate at the international and national levels. Whether it is profit making or not, affects what and how the media cover events, issues or problems (Graber, 2002 and Johnson Cartee, 2005). Media ownership in Ethiopia refers to whether the media are government or privately owned in which the researcher selected sample for the study from both sides to understand how the ownership influences in the practice of journalism.

The newspaper is not simply an ink-on-paper publication; it is a newsgathering institution with its own political economy and social history. There are two ways for the media industry to make money: audience-related revenues and bribes from politicians. Increasing in sales and subscriptions for newspapers; increase in advertising are sources of money from the audience. Whereas the second source of payoff for a media outlet is the incumbent politicians and elites. In the second scenario, the owners and

politicians exert significant influence over the ideology of the media. The ideological positions of the newspapers should in-line with the profit maximization positions of the owners. In such case, the media falls in the hands of the politicians that use the media for their own interests. Therefore, Chomsky & Herman maintained that the media are no more than propaganda instruments of what they term the national security state. In the Ethiopian context, the government always believes that only the government media can bring change in the society.

The CNN effect thesis conducted by Piers Robinson in 1999 linked these features even with foreign policy making in which the researcher is also interested to know the role of the two sampled newspapers whether they reflected the country's foreign policy towards the situation in Egypt or not. The underlying assumption of Robinson was that the news could make policy. Those who talk of the manufacture of consent argue that political elites impel newsmakers to 'read' global events in a particular way. Thus rather than assuming that the news media influences or determines what governments do, those who adhere to this position maintain that the media is influenced by government and government policy.

## CHAPTER THREE: Methodology of the Research

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### 3.1 Research Method

The 21<sup>st</sup> century is known by its competition to control the dominant means of communication between private and public media industry to have persuasive power over the audience. Media influence or media effects are used in media studies to refer about the ways in which mass media affect how their audiences think and behave. The effects are illustrated at different levels because communication influences what people buy, how they vote, what they wish and strive for, and how they conduct their daily lives (Sparks, 2000). The UNESCO CommGAP states; most people accept the idea that the media can influence people. But the degree of that influence, as well as who is most-impacted, when, how and why, have been the subjects of on-going debate among media and communication scholars.

In this chapter, the researcher intends to demonstrate the design of the study to be able to answer how the newspapers in the selected sample covered the uprising in Egypt. Since the purpose of the study is to investigate how *Herald and Reporter* newspapers have covered the 2011 uprising in Egypt and to gauge the differences in the portrayals between the two, content analysis would be appropriate methods for the purpose. So, the study analyses the content of two Ethiopian newspapers editions published from 25 January to 30 June 2011.

Content analysis is known for its systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding which can

be employed using both quantitative and qualitative methods (Krippendorff, 2004: 241). While the quantitative data analysed statistically measuring the coverage of the situation in Egypt by the two newspapers, the qualitative content analysis looks into the words and expressions used by the writers of the stories. Typically, content analysis and interviewees are applied to questions of representation, for example: in this case how was the uprising in Egypt represented in the newspapers?

### **3.1.1 Quantitative Content Analysis**

Quantitative content analysis research is based on the measurement of quantity or amount that is applicable to phenomena that can be expressed in terms of quantity. Since quantification is defining feature of content analysis, the researcher uses objective and systematic counting and recording procedures to produce a quantitative description of the symbolic content in a text (Wimmer & Domnick, 2011:37). It is the most applicable scientific approach to the mass media research that involves a systematic, objective evaluation of information (ibid). All the published articles, from news to commentaries and features require some degree of quantification of the data and a subsequent analysis by quantitative methods.

Therefore, quantitative research is a means for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables (Creswell, 2009:22). The main beneficial aspect of this method is that it provides the means to evaluate the papers giving rise to a wealth of qualitative information and findings. For instance, the study's main objective is to look at the framing of the uprising in Egypt in the sampled Ethiopian newspapers. For this

reason, the frequency of coverage, placement of articles, genre and sourcing are important inputs can be generated quantitatively in order to provide insights for qualitatively interpret the rationales behind the differences in the results.

### **3.1.2 Qualitative Content Analysis**

Qualitative research is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals' or groups ascribe to a social or human problem (ibid). Qualitative content analysis is one of numerous research methods used to analyse text data through careful reading of documents of various kinds including media texts. This is because, in mass communication research qualitative method relies heavily on researcher 'readings' and interpretation of media texts and often employed to answer the *whys* and *how's* of human behaviour, opinion, and experience information that is difficult to obtain through quantitatively-oriented methods of data collection. Its major concern is that variety of meanings, attitudes and interpretation in each category. So, the method would help to describe, to understand, to interpret and to evaluate the nature and extent of coverage of *Herald & the Reporter* newspapers for the Egypt uprising.

Qualitative research can provide 'deeper' understanding of social phenomena (Silverman, 2005: 10). Klaus Krippendorff (2004:242) generated the same argument saying qualitative content analysis in general is a passport to listening to the words of the text, and understanding better the perspective(s) of the producer of these words. With this background, the empirical data on the coverage of newspapers were gathered

and value judgement generated on the portrayal of the papers based on the quantified data using this method.

### **3.2 Data Collection Method: Content Analysis**

Number of scholars exerted their efforts in defining the concept content analysis, Deacon et al (1999: 115) and Berelson (1952) are among of those who define content analysis as a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. Among all Wimmer and Domnick refer the Kerlingers' (2000) definition as fairly and typical: Content analysis is a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variable (Wimmer & Domnikc, 2011:156). According to these authors, the content analysis is popular with mass media researchers because it is an efficient way to investigate the content of the media. The goal of content analysis is an accurate representation of a body of message (ibid: 157).

The first main use of content analysis in social science research was in the immediate period after the Second World War when sociologists used it to quantitatively and systematically describe and analyse the content of communications containing propaganda (L. Miller and D. Brewer, 2003: 43). Contemporarily, it is a widely used research method in framing research to collect and analyse data on media contents. It falls in the interface of observation and document analysis instead of asking people to respond to questions.

Therefore, the basic premise behind using the content analysis along with mixed research methods (Quantitative & Qualitative) is that content analysis relies on text and guided by framing theory yield data, which most readers pick up (Entman, 1993; 57). Different writers, including (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011) stress that integrating more than one approach strengthens the overall research design, and can provide more comprehensive and convincing evidence than mono-method.

This purpose is used to answer the question of *How* and addresses the identified research problems. It also important to compare how different media treat the same topics in different ways and to measure how much of the events were covered by the two newspapers. In line with this, the underlying focus of this study isn't to know how the papers influence public interest rather how they were reported looking towards the cored value of journalism by evaluating their news selection, sources, location, reporting tone, and framing. The overall operations and independence of the sampled newspapers in covering the happenings in Egypt within the fixed period (six months); and partisanship is also part of the analysis in light of political economy of mass media.

One distinction between content analysis and other analyses, like photography or video analysis is that the development of the analysis instrument is highly dependent on the content to be analysed. It involves special procedures and provides new insights, increases a researcher understanding of particular phenomena, or informs practical actions. Using content analysis, this study aims to address the questions pointed in the first chapter.

Therefore, to find out how the *Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter* newspapers covered the uprising in Egypt, the study rests on content analysis using the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. It employed focusing on the newspapers content which enable to understand the way the media framed the content and reported limiting its scope from investigating on the impacts on the public. Data gathered and analyzed on news stories, articles, editorials, commentaries and opinions published in their six months' editions.

### **3.2.1 Strengths and Weaknesses of Content Analysis**

#### **Strengths**

Content analysis has number of advantages. It is economical in terms of both time and money, there is no requirement for a large research staff, no special equipment is needed (Babbie, 2010: 344). It is useful to analyse data non-reactively: no one necessarily needs to be interviewed, no one needs to fill out lengthy questionnaires, and no one must enter a laboratory. It provides a means by which to study processes that occur over long periods of time or that may reflect trends in a society during individual years, which directly suits to this study. Finally, content analysis has the advantage of all unobtrusive measures, namely, that the content analyst seldom has any effect on the subject being studied using of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches.

#### **Weakness**

Like many other methodologies, content analysis also subjected to limitations. The single serious weakness of content analysis may be in locating unobtrusive messages

relevant to the particular research questions. In other words, content analysis is limited to examining already recorded messages. Although these messages may be oral, written, and graphic or videotaped, they must be recorded in some manner in order to be analysed (Krippendorff, 2004:259). Content analysis is frequently time consuming. The task of examining and categorizing large volumes of content is often laborious and tedious (Wimmer & Domnick, 2011:160).

Describing the weak point of content analysis, Harold D. Laswell and his associates stated that within any given set of symbol categories results depend on technical coding operations. But the categories themselves exercise the most fundamental influence on results.

### **3.2.2 Basic Principles of Content Analysis**

According to Berelson and his proponents, content analysis refers to any procedure for assessing the relative extent to which specified references, attitudes, or themes permeate a given message or document. It conforms to the following three basic principles of scientific method: Objectivity, Systematic and Generalizability.

1. Objectivity- this means that the analysis is pursued on the basis of explicit rules, which enable different researchers to obtain the same results from the same documents or messages.
2. Systematic- the inclusion or exclusion of content is done according to some consistently applied rules.

3. Generalizability- the results obtained by the researcher can be applied to other similar situations.

### **3.2.3 Approaches of Content Analysis**

Using content analysis the study designed to evaluate the manifestation of uprising in Egypt in *Herald & the Reporter* newspapers: how the uprising appeared and how it was described in the newspapers. There are four approaches to carrying out content analysis (which may be quantitative or qualitative) (Mass Media and Content analysis module 9: undated).

- 1) Formal content analysis – a systematic sample of texts is used in the study, and satisfaction systems are devised to identify different features of the text, which are then counted with an emphasis on objectivity and reliability.
- 2) Thematic analysis – ‘the idea is to understand the encouraging process, especially the intensions that lie behind the production of mass media documents. The usual strategy is to pick on a specific area of reportage and subject it to a very detailed analysis in the hope of unearthing the underlying purposes and intentions of the authors of the communication’ (Pawson, R., 1995)
- 3) Textual analysis – the analysis of the use of words and phrases within a text- and the consideration of if and how words and phrases may be used to influence the reader.
- 4) Audience analysis – considers the response of the audience of mass media to know whether they accept or reject the content and what it means to them.

Among the above alternatives, the researcher mainly focused on textual content analysis to understand the way the papers used to influence their readers.

### **3.2.4 Procedures of Content Analysis**

It is unquestionable to believe that scientific research must yield valid results, in the sense that the research effort is open for careful inspection and the resulting claims can be upheld in the face of independently available evidence. In order to come up with valid and reliable results, content analysis involves specialized procedures. More specifically, research techniques designed to bring result in findings are replicable, that is, researchers working at different points in time and perhaps under different circumstances should get the same results when applying the same technique to the same data. Replicability is the most important form of reliability (Krippendorff, 2004: 18).

The procedures in content analysis in general and for this specific case in particular help to examine the two newspapers' coverage of uprising and its consequences in Egypt took place from 25 January to 30 June 2011. The contents of the newspapers analysed in a defined criterion adapting the steps depicted in the Wimmer & Domnick's "Mass Communication Research Methods: An introduction" (2011) to conduct data analysis to ensure validity & reliability:

- 1) Formulate the research questions or hypothesis
- 2) Determine the universe of the content to be analyzed – in this case, the newspaper
- 3) Select an appropriate sample from the population

- 4) Construct the categories to be analyzed-there are 5 major recording units of analysis
  - a. Single word or symbol
  - b. Theme
  - c. Character
  - d. Sentence or paragraph
  - e. Item (entire article, etc.)
- 5) Decide on the system of enumeration or quantification. Methods of measurement include
  - a. Space – measure column inches in print materials
  - b. Time – measures duration or length of time in audio and video materials
  - c. Presence or absence of the content unit
  - d. Frequency count in which every occurrence of the content units counted
- 6) Train the coder and conduct a pilot study (checking reliability)
- 7) Code the content according to established definitions
- 8) Data preparation and analysis.
- 9) Draw conclusions and search for indications

### **Formulate the research questions or hypothesis**

Content analysis should be guided by well-formulated research questions or hypotheses (ibid: 160). In the process of assessing the coverage of 2011 uprising in Egypt by *Herald and the Reporter* newspapers, the researcher formulated four basic questions seek to answer them accordingly (see chapter 1; section 1.7).

## **The Universe of the Content to be analysed**

Literary works on researches recommend specifying the universe or a boundary of the body of the content to be considered is crucial for researches. In this regard, Wimmer & Domnick (2011:160) stressed that two dimensions are usually used to determine the appropriate universe for a content analysis; these are: the topic and the time period. The study defines its topic from the beginning and time period, i.e. from 25 January to 30 June 2011.

## **Research Sampling Techniques**

Most content analysis in mass media involves multistage sampling, such as taking sampling of content sources, topics, selecting the dates and the specific content within an edition (front page or inside page) (ibid: 177).

### **a) Selection of the Titles**

In communication, media and cultural studies sampling issues involve all kinds of areas most commonly people, social groups, events, activities, institutions and texts (Deacon, 1999: 40). Identifying a representative research population and designing an appropriate sampling technique are prerequisites of data collection and for the validity of research questions because sampling is at the heart of all scientific activity.

As Berg (2011, cited in Asmeret, 2013: 50), there are two sampling methods; probabilistic (random) and non-probabilistic (non-random). Probabilistic sampling includes simple random sampling, stratified random sampling and cluster sampling. Non-probabilistic sampling is quota sampling and purposive sampling. Sampling may

occur at any or all of the following levels: words, phrase, sentences, paragraphs, sections, chapters, books, newspapers, writers, ideological stance, subject topic, or similar elements relevant to the context. This study analyses text in the articles, excluding messages such as cartoons, pictures, advertisements and sports coverage. In addition, conducting semi structured interviews with the journalists working in the two papers had advantage to get intensive knowledge about the selection criteria of articles, the reason behind focusing specific frames, the placement of stories and other important issues in relation to the coverage of uprising in Egypt.

The EBA categorize the newspapers in to two blocks; government/public owned and commercial, however, ample literatures including the thesis of Asgedom G/Silassie (2006) use the name state owned and private. The study conducted based on the purposive sampling using the classification from these blocks to show a broader picture of the Ethiopian newspapers; selecting the two English newspapers out of a total of five English papers that provide information for the public primarily focusing on political, economic and social issues.

The two newspapers were selected because of their high circulation, their nobility in covering political, economic and social issues as well as their long existence in the service (they are pioneers in their blocks). Based on these criteria the state owned daily (except Monday) *Ethiopian Herald* and the private weekly *The Reporter* were selected as sample newspapers for investigation. The sampling frames delimited to front and inside pages (editorials, and features) that carry information only on the uprising. The

researcher found that it would be manageable and hence all the editions of the newspapers published during the specified time frame are taken in to consideration.

**The Ethiopian Herald:** the Ethiopian Herald is the oldest state owned English daily newspaper established in 1943. It is loyal servant of the governments of Ethiopia and the only English newspaper among four state papers that are published under Ethiopia Press Agency (EPA) every day except Monday, publishes local/national and international issues. The change of government did not bring any editorial independence for Herald. Since its first edition issued on 3 July 1943, all the successive governments including the incumbent forwarded their policies, strategies and laws for English language readers through this newspaper. The information appeared on the paper can be witnessing this argument, for instance, when the first edition of the paper issued, it received greetings from H.E. Blata Ephram Twelde Medhen, Vice-Minister of foreign Affairs for the first issue (see annex 1). It has been passes through similar practices until today.

From newspapers publishing in English language in the country, Ethiopian Herald has the largest circulation of 54,000 copies per week (EPA, unrevealed source, 2013). Other English editions of newspapers with large circulation are Fortune, Capital and the reporter respectively.

**The Reporter:** the Reporter is a private owned newspaper and started publishing its English edition on 11 July 1996having centre of attention on political, economic, social

issues as well as entertainment. It is one of the most read newspapers in the country (Ashenafi, 2012: 12). The English edition is a weekly, while its Amharic counterpart is bi-weekly (Wednesday and Sunday). Its feature is national and international happenings providing more detailed analysis than Herald does. About 3,700 weekly copies of the *reporter* are circulating in the country.

In a nutshell, both newspapers cover politics, economic and social issues as well as sports, advertisements and entertainment. Commonly, with any standard newspapers their front page features very catchy headlines and photographs that draws readers' interests and direct them to stories featured inside sections. According to the December 2013 yearly report of EBA, the Fortune, Capital and *the reporter* are the highest top three private English newspapers with weekly circulation of 8000, 6000 and 3700 respectively. Although the first two newspapers (Fortune and Capital) have highest circulation, because of law status in their coverage of political issues comparing to The Reporter, they left out from sampling. Selections of the sample are drawn from the same period eases the efforts to compare the similarities and differences of the newspapers' coverage of the uprisings in Egypt that required their common attention.

Therefore, the contents of *Ethiopian Herald and the reporter* are the identified sample of the study. All editions of Herald and the Reporter published during the specified time frame are included in the study.

### **b) Selection of research time frame**

Since the objective of the study is to assess the way the 2011 uprising in Egypt was covered by the two papers, it considers all the editions published between January 2011 and June 2011. This period was chosen as it was during this time period that Egypt fell under protests, demonstration and uprisings demanding the downfall of Mubarak regime. Following those situations, the Mubarak regime overthrown, the constitution was suspended and the country engaged into new dynamism and transition processes. Not only that this time frame was chosen because of some historical hostile relationship between Ethiopia and Egypt over the Nile politics and competing for geopolitical strategic importance in the region. From sides, the governments and people were curious on every development, in particularly being an Ethiopian there was high expectation of the public to hear from the media about the situation in Egypt, which initiated the researcher to select the time as important for the study. In this regard, any developments in Egypt are the concern of Ethiopia that even underlined in the country's foreign policy document.

### **c) Unit Analysis**

Units of analysis are the persons, things, or events that we want to say something about under study. The smallest element of content analysis that is actually counted in the unit of analysis can be a single word or symbol, a theme, or an entire article or story, of the newspapers to understand what the whole story wants to emphasize. Of course, it may often be appropriate to use more than one unit on the same content to get at different issues of interest. For this particular study, the unit of analysis is focused on analysing the stories by their articles mentioning uprising (demonstration, unrest, violence, turmoil, or crisis in Egypt or North Africa, which include Egypt).

Newspapers are reflections and products of the outlook prevailing in the society, this is so, understanding what the information written inside the papers, enables the researcher to describe how the uprising was provided for Ethiopian readers. Each articles of the two newspapers that explicitly covered the uprising in Egypt during the six months period and its consequences that leads to new constitutional referendum and elections were considered as the unit of analysis focusing on front page (hard news), the editorials, the columns and commentaries (opinions). Consequently, 156 editions were monitored (133 editions of Herald and 23 editions of Reporter) were considered for the evaluation within the selected period. From these, the study considers 46 issues that addressed the uprising in both paper. Twenty-four were news on the front and inside pages, and the remaining 22 were features from different inside pages.

#### **d) Defining Analytical Categories**

As mentioned above, this research intended to study how *the Ethiopian Herald & the Reporter* newspapers framed the 2011 uprising in Egypt. This can be carried out by designing of preliminary category that fits to the texts appeared in the articles.

Texas State Auditor's Office, Methodology Manual (rev.5/95) states, content analysis stands or falls by its categories. Developing coding categories, along with the actual coding of content information, is the most important part of content analysis among other key consideration. Category system (genre, location, themes, sources, functions & frames) can be roughly divided into two classes –those dealing with what is said and those dealing with how it is said. Genre refers to whether the story was news, feature or interview. Location refers to whether the story was placed on front or inside pages of the newspaper. Theme was identified as the central focus of the story (for example uprising,

demonstration, etc.) Sources were defined as the name of person, group or organization directly or indirectly quoted in the story, as government, experts, etc. The last category was about the different types of frames used in the media, and this included conflict frame, human interest frame, attribution of responsibility, economic consequences frame, diagnostic frame, prognostic frames and others. Therefore, the coders' interpretative process of the text should fit into these categories.

The selected newspapers content categorized in accordance with the above parameters, however, the study mainly focused on the framing parameter for qualitative analysis to identify the way the newspapers covered the event in Egypt. Evaluating the framing of the newspapers, the study examines the role of journalists/media in attaining the purpose of the media, which meant to provide citizens with fair, balanced and accurate information that helps them to make choices on their daily life (Kovach and Rosentiel, 2006).The issues was further analysed to know whether the newspapers objectively reporting the uprising or they committed some biases in their reporting.

In order to maintain the reliability of categorization, the researcher comes up with agreement with the coder about the proper categorization of each unit of analysis.

#### **e) Establishing a quantification System**

Quantification in content analysis can involve nominal, interval, and ratio data measurements. At the nominal level, the researcher simply counts the frequency of occurrence of the units in each category, i.e. how many times the uprising reported in the two newspapers. The topics of the hard news, theme of editorials, the columns/

commentaries or opinion pages are quantified by the means of nominal measurements (see Table 1).

At the interval level, scales used to rate attributes of characters or situations. For example, in dealing with tone of the contents, each article rated by the researcher on scales using positive, neutral and negative. *Positive* means, a story shows agreement, support, or affirmation to the uprising or actions taken by the protesters dominating criticism the then government or Mubarak regime. *Neutral* refers to mean the story favours or assist neither the protesters nor Mubarak or government responses. The third scale measurement is *negative tone*, which shows disagreement, opposition or condemnation of the uprising.

At the ratio level, measurements in mass media research are generally applied to space and time. In the print media, column-inch measurements are used to analyze editorials, advertisements, and stories about particular events or phenomena. The total space allocated for covering the uprising in the two newspapers was 114878 $inch^2$ , of which the 57018 $inch^2$  was by Ethiopian Herald and the remaining 57860 $inch^2$  was by reporter.

The study uses the three measurements in defining the frequency, use of sources, tone, total space the newspapers allocated for the event and the framing of articles.

#### **f) Training Coder and doing a Pilot Study**

Placing a unit of analysis into a content category is called coding (Wimmer & Domnick, 2011:167). To carry reliable analysis, developing coding sheet and providing careful training of coders is an integral step in any content analysis. In this regard, coding sheet

was developed (see annex III) using both quantitative & qualitative methods to look into the frequency of coverage, tone, sources of information, and frames of articles used to discuss about the uprising in Egypt. The coding sheet of the quantitative data was classified based on these analytical categories. The first part was frequency of coverage, and this helped the researcher to examine how often the newspapers have covered the uprising. The second category was tone, which refers to whether the coverage was positive, neutral or negative. The third category was source, and this dealt with individuals or organizations that were directly or indirectly quoted as source of the information. The last category was about the different types of frames used in the media, and this included conflict framing, human interest framing, and economic consequence, attribution of responsibility, diagnostic framing, and prognostic framing.

The data was gathered by thoroughly reading the news, articles and features of the sample newspapers. Training was provided for the coder in accordance with strictly set criteria (the coding instructions, the category definitions, and the unit of analysis) before the data was collected and followed by a pilot study. The coder who conducted the coding is a qualified person, who was chief editor in ENA and currently working as production officer in the ICRC.

#### **g) Coding**

The analysis of media content typically relies on the preliminary coding of the text being examined; a step that involves reading and annotating it and that limits the sizes of the content that can be analysed. Babbie (2010:338) defines coding as the process whereby the raw data are transformed into standard form suitable for analysis.

According to him content analysis is essentially a coding operation which becomes the fundamental means of developing the analysis.

The coding can take many forms and the categories used can be very specific (e.g. use of a given word) or general (e.g. theme of the communication). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) developed a series of questions in order to measure frames and important issues in which the coder has to answer. The study adopted these questions to measure the existence of frames of conflict, human interest, economic, attribution of responsibility, diagnostic and prognostic. The existence of a frame was decided based on the percentage calculation.

The coder used standard sheets developed by the researcher to make the coding more accurate. The sheets allowed the coder to classify the data in predetermined categories.

Media content analysis coding can be employed using both human and programs. Computers can clearly support quantitative and qualitative content analysis by serving as a repository for coding data and provide powerful tools for analysing and reporting research. Nevertheless, due to lack of familiarity with the software's, the researcher favoured to code manually, knowing that human coding system is extremely time consuming to count content categories and difficult to make conclusions, which subjected to error. However, efforts also have been made to evaluate the sampled newspapers and to boost the reliability of the coder evaluation results as well as to

minimize bias. As a result, the researcher identified around (98%) similarities of evaluation results by the coder of the same stories and with various newspapers.

#### **h) Analyzing the Data**

The descriptive statistics, such as percentages, means, modes, and medians, are appropriate for content analysis. The chi-square test is the most commonly used because content analysis data tend to be nominal in form; however, if the data meet the requirements of interval or ratio levels, then a *t*-test, ANOVA, or Pearson's *r* may be appropriate. The study used mainly the percentage method in analyzing the collected data.

#### **i) Interpreting the Results**

To testing specific research question, the interpretation of variables is necessary. If the study is descriptive, however, questions may arise about the meaning or importance of the results. In order to avoid dilemma, the researcher demarcated the bench mark for comparison, for instance providing 30% coverage on Egypt uprising is a high figure when compared to total editions of each papers within the time frame.

#### **j) Inter-coder Reliability**

Inter-coder reliability is the widely used term for the extent to which independent coders evaluate a characteristic of a message or artefact and reach the same conclusion. It is a critical component of content analysis, and that although it does not ensure validity, when it is not established properly, the data and interpretations of the data cannot be considered valid. If a content analysis is to be objective, its measures and procedures must be reliable.

A study is reliable when repeated measurement of the same material results in similar decisions or conclusions. Inter-coder reliability refers to levels of agreement among independent coders who code the same content using the same coding instrument.

Subsequent the initial test of reliability that yields satisfactory results, the main body of the data was coded followed by the complete coding. As Wimmer & Domnick (2011:172) recommend 10% of the subsample of the data was given to the independent coder to calculate the overall inter-coder reliability. The researcher also used the formula proposed by these authors citing Holsti (1969) for calculating the size of the inter-coder reliability of nominal data in terms of percentage of agreement.

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

Where M is the number of coding decisions on which two coders (a researcher and coder) agree, and N1 and N2 are the total number of coding decisions by the two coders respectively.

The inter-coder reliability of the study was 98%

## CHAPTER FOUR: Data Analysis and Findings

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### 4.1 Introduction

The study investigated how *Ethiopian Herald* and *The Reporter* have covered the uprising in Egypt and its aftermath from 25 January to 30 June 2011. This period witnessed the climax of popular uprising and reached the entire world until elections that concluded with a regime change.

The main objective of the study is to assess how the two sample papers covered the uprising during the specified time frame. All the editions of the papers addressing the issue during the time frame were reviewed. The study employed content analysis using both quantitative and qualitative methods as well as interviews for gathering data aiming to address the following questions:

1. How did the two, *Herald* and *the Reporter* cover the uprising in Egypt?
2. What sources did they use in reporting about the uprising?
3. To what extent the two newspapers differ in their coverage of the uprising?
4. What were the factors that might have influenced the papers in their coverage of the uprising in Egypt?

Findings are presented and discussed in this chapter in accordance with the research objectives noted above.

The chapter has two sections. In the first section attempts are made to present and analyse the data of the research. The second part of the chapter discusses on the findings to identify similarities & differences as well as influencing factors in the

coverage of the papers. Both the analysis and findings conducted in the course of the Egyptian uprising based on the five categories: the extent of coverage, sources used, placement of stories, tone and framing of the stories.

## 4.2 Data and Analysis

### 4.2.1 The Extent of coverage from 25 January to 30 June 2011

This section demonstrates how much the violent situation in Egypt was covered by the papers, where the stories were placed and total amount of space allocated for the event.

Name of the paper	Frequency of coverage	Total no. of editions from 25 Jan. – June 2011	%	Location (placement)	
				Front page	Inside page
Ethiopian Herald	28	133	22	3	25
The Reporter	18	23	78	3	15
Total	46	156	100	6	40

Table 1- Frequency & location distribution of the coverage of the uprising in the two newspapers

A total of 156 editions published by the two papers from 25 January – 30 June 2011. One hundred-thirty three editions were from the Herald, while 23 were from the Reporter. However, only 46 news articles& features (28 Herald and 18 Reporter) addressed the uprising in Egypt.

According to the finding, *the Reporter* gave more coverage; 78 percent from its total editions, whereas Herald's coverage was 22 percent out of 133 issues.

The findings related to coverage of Egypt's uprising and its aftermath are also thoroughly investigated and analyzed in terms of the amount of space allocated for each article as elaborated in the following table.

Name of newspaper	Space used in inch		Total space in <i>inch</i> <sup>2</sup>	Genre		
	Width	Height		News	Feature	Total
Ethiopian Herald	258	221	57018	20	8	28
Reporter	220	263	57860	6	12	18
Total	478	464	114878	26	20	46

Table 2- Space & genre distribution of the coverage of the uprising in the two newspapers

The space utilization ratio of Herald =  $\frac{57018}{28} = 2036 \text{ inch}^2$  and the Reporter =  $\frac{57860}{18} = 3214 \text{ inch}^2$ , this indicates a single edition of Reporter allocated more amount of space for the issue than Herald did. The ratio is  $\frac{3214}{2036} = 1.6$ , which means when Herald gives 1 sq. inch space for the uprising information in those 28 titles, its counterpart *the reporter* gives 1.6sq.inch space in 18 titles discussing about the uprising.

Herald often has two locations, namely the front cover & international news corridor at the inside page to report news items focusing on politics. *The reporter* usually covers

international events on its front page, under the headlines and opinion (commentary) pages inside the paper.

The other important point the table highlights is the genre, which describes the classification of the coverage, such as news and features. Of 46 articles, 26 were news published on the front and inside pages, and the remaining 20 were features reported only inside pages of the papers. Herald reported the event in its news pages than opinion/commentary on the contrary; *the Reporter* covered the event more frequently on the opinion page. But, both papers provided equal coverage for the event in their front pages; only 6 times (3 for Herald and 3 for Reporter).

#### 4.2.2 Sources of Information

Finding out the sources used by the papers are among objectives of the study intended to assess and part of the question to be answered. The table below indicates what sources the two newspapers used to cover the uprising.

Sources	Ethiopian Herald		Reporter	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
International media	16	57	2	11
Government	2	7	---	--
Individuals	9	32	15	83.5
Others/anonymous	1	4	1	5.5
Total	28	100	18	100

Table 3: Source distributions used by the two newspapers

Herald was more dependent on external sources than the reporter, which gave emphasis on individual opinions. The controversy initiating debate is that why such differences happened in the use of sources and the coverage preference, the one focusing on the news and the other on opinion & commentaries.

The high frequency of commentary also causes the differences in reporting tones between the papers. Uprising in Egypt has enjoyed substantially more positive tone coverage in Reporter. Herald covered in neutral tone scale. This constitutes 67 percent of the Reporter's editions support the uprising. On the other hand, of 28 articles published in Herald only 2 editions partially recognized the demonstrators' demands, i.e. 7 percent of the total coverage.

Newspapers	Tone Scale						Total Article
	Positive		Neutral		Negative		
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	
Ethiopian Herald	2	7	26	93	---	----	28
Reporter	12	67	6	33	---	---	18
Total							46

Table 4: Tone scale distribution within the two papers

The study found that positive tone about the uprising have outweighed negative and neutral by 67 percent vs 33 percent in the Reporter, while 93 percent of the stories in Herald were reported in neutral scale.

### 4.2.3 Framing of the uprising in Egypt

As Entman, Mathes and Pellicano (2004: 176), framing is selecting some aspects of perceived reality and constructing messages that highlight connections among them in ways that promote a particular interpretation. The definition implies some communicators in framing strategically, seeking to exert power over outcomes by inducing target audiences to accept interpretations that favor their interests or goals.

The table below describes the portrayal of the uprising in the two papers.

Frame	Ethiopian Herald		Reporter	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Conflict frame	1	4	2	11
Human interest	1	4	2	11
Attribution of Responsibility	2	7	5	28
Economic consequence	10	36	1	6
Diagnostic	6	20	8	44
Prognostic	8	29	---	---
Total	28	100	18	100

Table 5: Framing distribution within the two papers

## 4.2 Findings and Discussion

Media often mediate knowledge about the world. The pictures in peoples' memory and attitudes towards those pictures as well as peoples' definition of meaning are framed and put there by the media. In this regard, an overview has been taken to understand the phenomena happened in Egypt by means of the data presented in the previous section and hence, this section discusses in the main, findings making similar and difference the coverage between the two papers; the extent of coverage of the event, the genre and tone, the sourcing and spaces used by the papers. In the same vein, a considerable discussion is given to the descriptions of the frames used by the papers in reporting the event.

### 4.3.1 Similarities and differences

Depending on variety of factors media have similarities and disparities in their framing and coverage of same event at the same time. These differences could also be the feature of Ethiopian newspapers in relation to the coverage of uprising in Egypt.

**The Extent of Coverage:** describes the frequency and the quantity of information on the Egypt's uprising appeared in the two papers during the sample time frame.

Concerning the similarities; the two papers came on the same line on 12 February 2011 when they reported the stepping down of President Mubarak. In addition, the lack of background information, like the past experience of demonstrations and similar situation in Egypt is another factor that resembles the coverage of the papers. None of the two

reported about what was going on prior to the 25<sup>th</sup> January. For instance, the reason why the demonstrators specifically selected 25 January to make nationwide popular protest and every action taken by the protesters to mobilize the public until this date were not mentioned in the papers. This date is known by Egyptian Police Day, which commemorates the massacre of a police force while resisting the British occupation forces in January 1952 (Osman & Abdel Samei, 2012:6), an event that aroused the anger of the Egyptian army and led to the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July coup against King Farouq. Realizing the significance of this day to emphasis on the brutality and corruption of the security apparatus explains the significance of choosing the 25<sup>th</sup> of January to protest and mobilize the public to react on this day. Lack of a stated background in the articles might impact how the readers perceived the situation and the driving force to protest as it could make the story incomplete.

With regard to the differences, the nationwide popular uprising in Egypt was begun on 25 January 2011, but it was reported on Herald on 01 February 2011. After six days of the event, a news pieces entitled: "*Euro falls on Egypt crisis and GBP(Great Britain Pound) sags on USD strength*" was reported on its Business & Market page ignoring the front page and the international news page in which the paper usually used to report foreign events.

Different scholars and literatures qualify the newsworthiness in different ways, but none of them disagree with the importance of impact, proximity, timeless, prominence,

novelty, conflict, relevance, usefulness, and human interest. From this point of view, the situation in Egypt did score high level of worthiness.

The weekly *the reporter* covered immediately in its next edition (29 January 2011) under the title “*Unrest spreads in Arab world: violent clashes erupt during protests in Egypt*”. *The Reporter* put emphasis on the protesters’ violent actions, the causes and possibilities to spread into other countries in the region. *Herald* frequently focused on economic impacts while Reporter’s focus was towards the political situations. During this period, Herald’s headlines were dominated by local & national issues, such as the five years GTP of Ethiopian Government and its implementation, including the launching of EGRD. See below the frequency percentage composition for the coverage of uprising in Egypt.

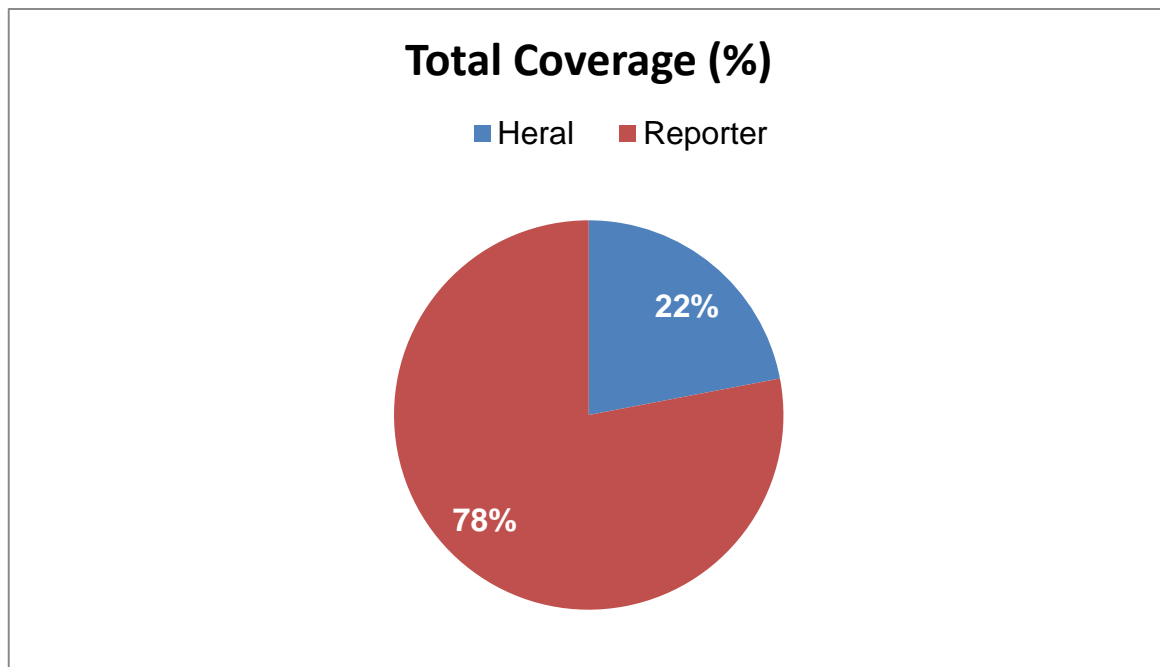


Figure 1: the frequency percentage distribution of the uprising coverage in the two papers

Of the total editions published during the sample period, 22 percent of Herald and 78 percent of the reporter editions respectively dedicated to cover the uprising stories.

To windup, the analysis conducted on the extent of coverage conforms that the papers covered the event in different levels of frequencies and quantity. Particularly in the front page both papers provided very low coverage, they reported only 6 times, which indicates the probability of bias occurrences. This is because media bias can be committed in different ways; by ignoring the issue for some days, burying the article in the back section (placement of stories) and others.

**The use of sources:** in carrying out their duties, journalists are not inventing stories, but simply report their stories supporting with sources. Without sources it would be difficult to build trust, because getting too close a source can mean giving too much credence to their view of events (Pape & Featherstone, 2005: 135). This is therefore, the use of sources strikes at the heart of media, particularly in covering news items. See below the percentage composition of the sources used by the papers.

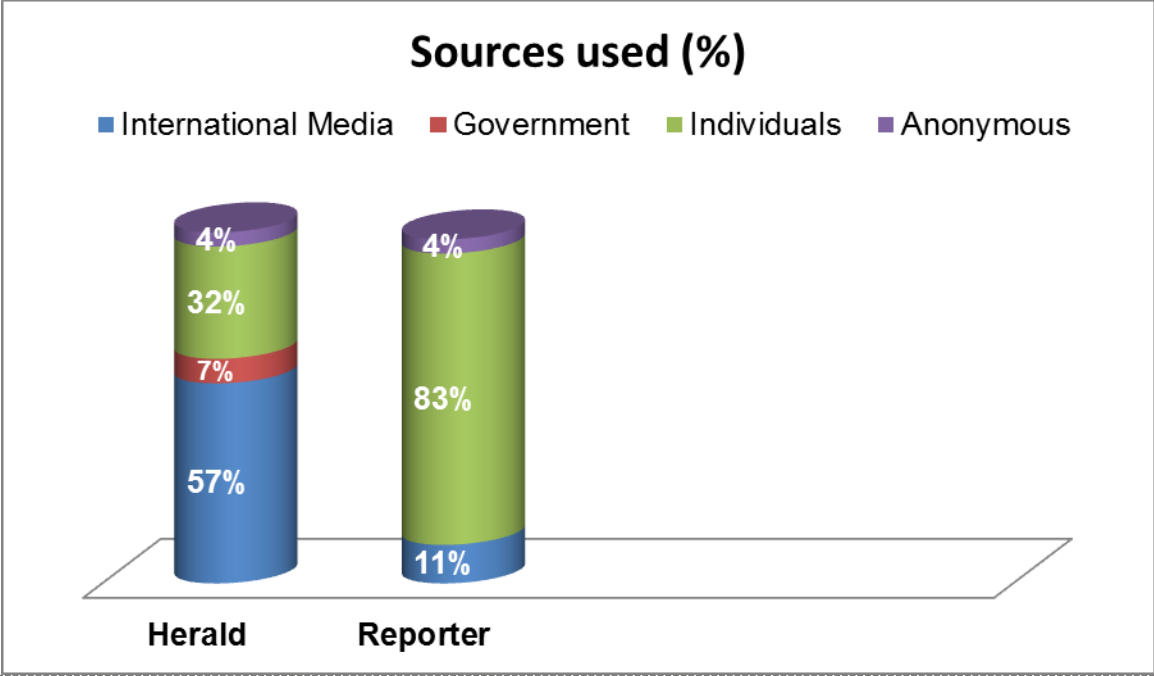


Figure 2: percentage distribution of sources used by the two papers

As mentioned in the graph 57 percent of the Herald sources were international media, 7 percent the government media (news agencies), 32 percent individuals and 4 percent goes to anonymous source. While, Reporter sourced international media only 4 percent, individuals 83 percent and anonymous were 11 percent, neglecting the government sources.

Although sourcing lies at the heart of journalism, the two papers used selective approach in quoting sources. For example, Aljazeera provided 24 hours coverage on 11 February 2011 (also known as the “day of the rage”), the date in which millions were marched to the streets and forced president Mubarak to stepping down, but Herald did not used Aljazeera as a source in any of its editions. Herald’s openness towards official sources can be justified as the confirmation to the standard definitions of objectivity

which satisfy the journalistic norms. But, in this specific scenario, Herald was selective in sourcing and in the placement of articles, which shows its pseudo-like objective reporting trends.

In order to ensure credibility and trust, reporters use sources to distance themselves from the issues explored. Rather than expressing their views on the subject, they use sources to present a range of views over which they can appear to remain objective and neutral. In this respect, Herald was trying to escape from value judgement through the use of external sources and more focusing on news. Unrevealed source verified existence of this reality in the practices of Herald. During the informal talks with the researcher, key informants stressed that resources and budget constraints also contributed the paper to depend on external sources.

*The Reporter* tried to implement the notion of market place of ideas by including or entertaining a number of different views of competing experts on the issue except government officials. Of the 18 articles published in *the Reporter*, 12 were features, which emphasize the views of individuals in colorful and controversial fashion. On top of that, the commentaries used various sources to quote their articles in order to maintain the source confidentiality. However, its exclusion government officials from this forum were an attempt of committing unbalanced reporting or unfairness bias. Two reasons put in place by the interviewee in this respect. The first is the government officials were not willing to express their views on private press on record in general and the second one was the bureaucracies were not open for access of information.

Journalism is about empathy about seeing the world through someone else's eyes and reflecting that view to a wider community and empathizing with a particular viewpoint does not automatically impede one's impartiality (Pape & Featherstone, 2005: 135) that is manifested by the selection of stories. In the highly selective process of news gathering on newspapers and the absence of any neutral language, objectivity is unattainable and a myth or can never be value-free. They are sourcing routines tend to reflect the distribution of power in the society; representatives of leading institutions and public services dominate, having easier access to the press. Other alternative bodies are either marginalized or eliminated from the local and national press, which reinforces their relative powerlessness. This justification practically feasible in the sourcing of the papers; for instance Aljazeera and anonymous sources were eliminated by Herald, while the government agencies & officials eliminated from the Reporter.

For that reason, except the use of individual sources, there is no significant similarity between the two papers in their sourcing.

**The use of space:** pertaining to the two Ethiopian newspapers allocation of space for the coverage of the uprising story shown in table 2 above, Herald gave small space for the event, instead it gave more focus for the domestic & national development issues. In the contrary the reporter devoted more space for the event, particularly in its politics and opinion page For example, the news announced the stepping down of Mubarak on 12 February 2011 consumed 84.04 *inch*<sup>2</sup> of the space in Reporter, but Herald used 32.24

*inch*<sup>2</sup> which is almost  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the space used by the Reporter for the same news on the same day. The researcher recognizes that weekly press obviously has better opportunity and enough time to provide details analysis in any topics of interest comparing to daily.

**The use of tone:** stories about the uprising were reported with different tone scales. The study is guided by the operational definition of tone to mean the scale of reporting or how the context of the story depicts the stakeholders, the government of Mubarak and the protesters. Positive, neutral and negative are measurement scales to describe reporting tones (see annex IV). Concerning the tone evaluation, most of the coverage of reporter falls under positive tone, because stories narrated in line with the position of the protesters. Herald is more or less reported in neutral mood. None of them reported in negative tone.

**The use of framing:** Framing emphasizes salient aspects of issues, reflecting thereby the perspectives of the media source. Media tend to construct accounts of events that are structured and framed by the dominant values and interests of the society in which they exist (Ronning, 2002:86).

As Bruktawit states, defining the problem, stating the cause, providing moral evaluation, and suggesting solutions are four important roles of the media used to frame an issue (Bruktawit, 2008:63). In light of this, the findings show some similarities and essential differences in the two papers and hence analysed as follows.

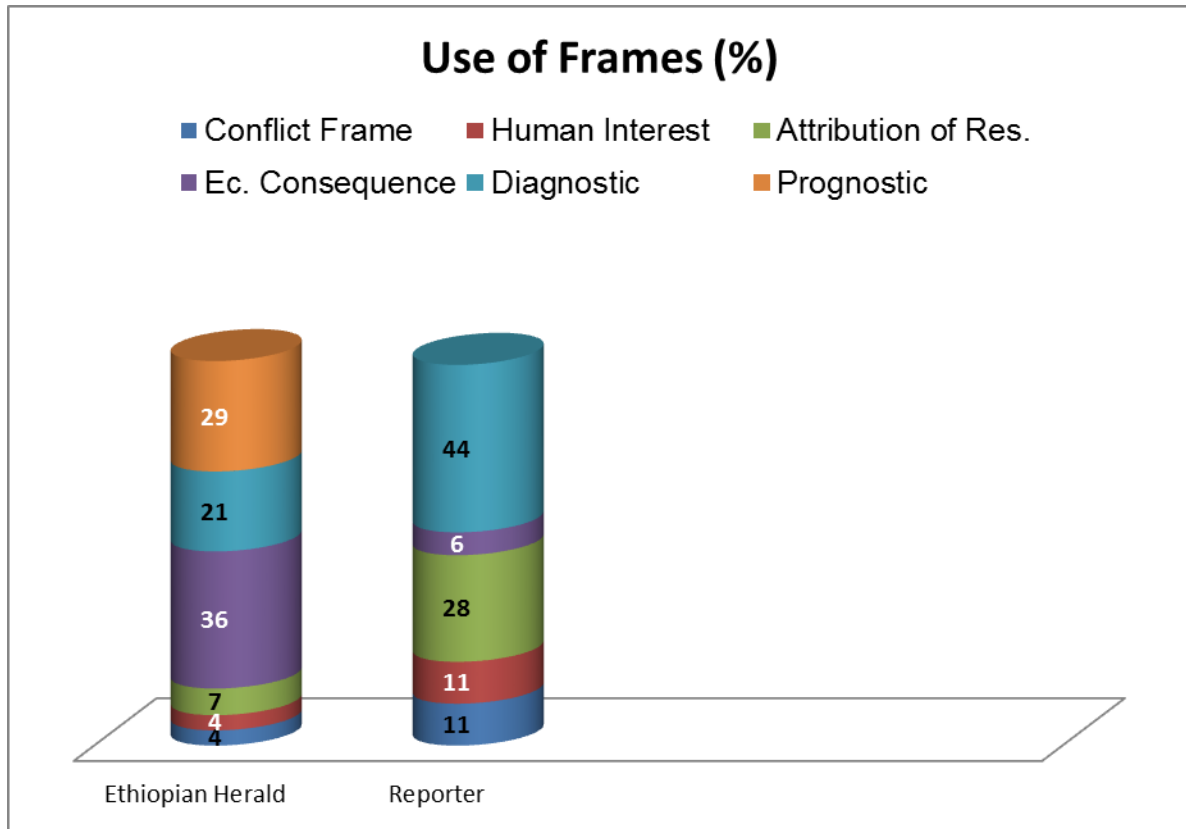


Figure 3: Percentage distribution of frames used by the two papers

➤ **Conflict and Human Interest Framing**

Although the use of conflict frame during protests or crisis situation is common to media all over the world, these frames were among the least used in the two newspapers. Each two frames constituted 4 percent of the analysed articles in *Herald* and 11 percent in *the Reporter* respectively.

➤ **Attribution of Responsibility**

According to the findings, 7 percent of *Herald* and 28 percent of *the Reporter's* coverage were framed in line with the attribution of responsibility. It is the second

frequently used frame in *the Reporter* next to diagnostic frame. The interpretation is that, *the Reporter* was more stated the Mubarak regime responsible for the problem, while *Herald* claimed the government of Egypt in small tempo.

➤ **Economic Consequence and Prognostic Frames**

Economic consequence is the highest frequently used frame in *Herald*. Thirty-six percent of the total articles in the *Herald* were dominated by this frame, followed by prognostic frame with 29 percent; however, it was undermined by *the Reporter* only using 6 percent. *Herald* focused on the consequences towards the direction of oil price rises and in terms of providing favorable condition for active jihadists' movement in neighboring countries like Yemen and Somalia.

*Herald* focused on the solution suggesting peaceful political transitions in Egypt while *the Reporter* was concentrated on the coverage of causes of the uprising.

➤ **Diagnostic Frame**

Twenty one percent of the analysed articles of *Herald* and forty-four percent of *the Reporter* were shaped by diagnostic frames. It was the second frequently used frame in *Herald*, while being the highest used in *the Reporter*. From the items highlighted and coded as causes of uprising in Egypt, high unemployment, poverty, rampant corruption, bad governance, and high cost of living were frequently stated factors that drive people for uprising. Consequently, *the Reporter* performed quite well in defining the problems.

Overall, the use of framing assumes that the news is not made up of random coverage of events, but is rather a specific process of selection and construction. The outcomes of interviews and informal talks held with resource people verify this argument. The informants expressed that the dynamics of the situations also contributed for the changes of focus and selection of stories.

The researcher found that economic consequence & prognostic frames were the most frequently dominant frames used by *Herald*, while diagnostic & attribution of responsibility frames were most frequently used by *the Reporter*. The two frames; economic consequence and diagnostic were the only frames in which the papers tried to link the situation in Egypt with Ethiopia. In their use of the diagnostic frame, the newspapers gave their version of the causes of the Arab Spring that include the event in Egypt. *The Reporter* presented the causes of the uprising in Egypt as corruption, dictatorship, unemployment, consciousness of the youth. *The Reporter* repeatedly argued that the identified causes that led Egyptians to protest are prevalent in Ethiopia as well. Some of the stories were narrated sensationally perhaps to provoke people to replicate similar uprising in Ethiopia. On the other hand, *Herald* presented that the causes were: the dependence of the Arab countries on natural resources mainly oil and the subsequent subsidy they provided to their people. *Herald*, added, the youth in the Arab countries in general and in Egypt in particular are very dependent on the government subsidies and had lack of entrepreneurial ability and therefore, it blamed the economy for the cause of uprising.

Comparing the situation with Ethiopia, articles of *Herald* were against any idea of conflict or protest in the country claiming that government is elected by the will of the people and hence should be changed by only peaceful means. It further argued that the Ethiopian government was successful in minimizing those causes driving citizens in the Arab countries to large extent, this is therefore, the paper told the impossibility of the Arab like protest in Ethiopia. There was Status Quo bias in its coverage; this is because Herald believes 'the system works' without any problem. It never question the structure of the political system, saying that the government way is the only way politically, economically and socially.

#### **4.3.2 Factors influencing the coverage of the uprising**

Media play important role in society by setting the stage for political news, manages their agenda, sources, and controls the information. It functions as a window to the outside world, and possesses the ability to shape public knowledge, attitudes and behaviour. On the basics of these roles of media, the aforementioned sections discussed about core similarities and differences identified in the coverage of the two papers on the situation in Egypt. Many factors can be mentioned as the causes of these similarities and differences. This section is an extension of the previous discussion, which focuses mainly on the influencing factors that brought differences in the coverage of the event between the two papers.

Noam Chomsky's manufacturing consent and other reviewed literatures state, the news media are institutions that are controlled or heavily influenced by government and

business interests. Under such conditions, *the reporter* sources frequently dominate the flow of information as a way of furthering their own overt and hidden agendas. More prominently, in countries like Ethiopia in which media/journalism is in crawling stage, the media ownership affects their content. Newsrooms of the papers often have experienced a loss of autonomy because they are under government direct control or ownership. The impact of such ownership on newspapers is reflected in their content, in their news and articles selection, the language of reporting, etc. As a result, they framed the stories in several ways, may be by ignoring or burying the article in the back section, which witnessed in some extent with the coverage of *Herald* that attempted to ignore the uprising in Egypt for six days and also buried the article in the economic & markets section.

❖ **Editorial Policy and focus of the papers**

*Herald* policy gives emphasis for domestic issues. At the heart of *Herald's* news coverage during this period; one can find the promotion of GTP than the issues of the protests in Egypt. Comparing to any other times, the late Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi was frequently visible on media conducting briefings for both local and foreign correspondents. Responding the questions forwarded from the press about the situations in MENA, he admitted only the economic impact, particularly in relation to the raising of oil price as the result of uprising occurred in different countries of the region. Moreover, he reiterated that Ethiopia was targeted by some actors seeking to ignite the so called Arab type of revolution and to destabilize the country.

*Herald* editorial pages during the study period entertained only the views of government officials and external (non-Ethiopian) well-known people. One hundred thirty one quotes appeared in the editorial of which 33 were referred the incumbent government officials while others were foreign people. Again of the total 33 quotations referring to government officials the former Prime Minister Melese Zenawi took the lion-share in the editorials, 17 quotations were belong to him, while academicians, civil society representatives and other groups in the society were marginalized. In any terms this figure did not show balance. The paper was heavily relied on political officials and other-government related experts excluding dissident voices. In relation to the subject of the study, this was a clear indication that how *herald* and the government were talking the same language during Egypt's popular uprising.

On the contrary, *the reporter* covered the uprising putting emphasis on the existing causes and protesters' violent actions. Most of *the Reporter's* articles were framed by narrating the causes of the uprising, tried to relate to situations in other countries in the region and beyond, avoid sourcing of government officials/agencies instead concentrated on individual expertise. Its editorials were raising various national issues; urging the citizens to come up with national consensus on diverse issues, strongly criticize the corrupt situation in the government structures and calling the government to ensuring accountability and justice which was not happen in any of the writings of the *Herald*. Therefore, from the findings, Reporter sits in a better position in practicing the market place of ideas, bringing a number of researchers and writers to express their views on the issue.

Speaking of the appeal of foreign events, there is no needing further evidence than the editorial policy of the papers which express that they often cover international events. But, the undeniable reality in the practice of journalism and media is that the selection of stories is not arbitrary but highly systemized and conventionalized by conditions external to the story. This is one of the reasons that the content of the stories of Herald sometimes edited to avoid giving offense to the government. Story selection was determined by what the government will or will not support, and also the placement of the stories were systematically arranged. The same is true, for Reporter which narrated and sensationalized the story and concentrated on the causes of uprising, as well as used sources of individuals that propagate similar views on the issue.

❖ **Proximity and the relationship between Egypt & Ethiopia**

Another important point to note is that proximity is one of the factors for news value and selection. Proximity refers to the closer of the media and audience/readers to the event. The map of Arab-Uprising covered more than 15 countries in MENA and beyond, (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Morocco, and Western Sahara, Mauritania) and our close neighbors; Sudan and Djibouti. In addition, Egypt and Ethiopia have been historically divided over the Nile that invites hostilities between the two countries. With this backdrop, the situation in Egypt was proximate to Ethiopia, which convinces about the news worthiness of the issue. During the interview, Tamiru Tsigie, Assistant Editor of *the Reporter* also said that because of this proximity, the Egyptian uprising was a story of huge interest to the readers; as such the reporter gave it a very high priority.

The situation can be also related with another scenario, which shows some similar situation between Ethiopia and Egypt, especially at government levels. The two governments have been the subject of severe criticisms for elections frauds that allow them to control absolute majority seat in the parliament, lack of freedom of press and expression, as well as lack of good governance (HRW; ICG, 2011). In addition, as Tesfaye Abisso mentioned in the reporter's edition of 7 May 2011, all the grievances reported as the causes for the uprising in Egypt are also the features of Ethiopia. In this regard, the informants expressed that the relationship between the two countries did not directly influence the coverage, but it did influence the questions the papers tried to analyse, such as what Ethiopia's relationships with Egypt would be like in the post-Mubarak era and others.

Because of the proximity and similar situations, Ethiopia joined some governments in the region who have done a lot of work to keep the protest from flourishing in their land through the media under their control.

The identified differences in the papers witnessed the breach of at least two important principles of media/journalism; balance and fairness emanated mainly from the political economy of media that determines the way media works. Lack of balanced and fair media coverage is one of the signs for committing bias. Media bias is the extent to which media content was systematically favorable to particular set of interests. For example, news reporting aspires to objectivity, to stating the facts; or it aspires to balance and impartiality in recording competing interpretation of an event, without

favoring one view over the other. However, the fact that such rule exists doesn't mean that the rules are adhered to. Media can never be value-free; some bias is inevitable since it is impossible to report everything. The reporting of papers has also some drawbacks in fairness. These media biases could be manifested through selection & omission of news item, through placement, crafting the headline and use of news titles, prohibiting equal opportunity to all contending sides to reflect their views, etc.

Having the two noteworthy points, both papers have shown some bias and unfair reporting. As mentioned earlier, most of the reporting of *the Reporter* had positive tone, which seem to back the claims of protesters and focused on a particular point of view, i.e. the possibility of uprising to spread across the region. Its opinion page coverage invited many debates and views on the situation. *Herald* tried to avoid value judgement through the use of external sources and by focusing more on news. Informant from *Herald* admitted the dependency of the paper on external sources, but he did not agree on the argument that claim intentional act to avoid value judgement, instead he said, it is a traditional trend in which the paper has been using for many decades. Nevertheless, regarding the influences from the government, he assured the government involvements in the news works of *Herald* like any other topics. Because of this the paper was not succeeded in delivering balanced, informative coverage of the uprising throughout the period. His general remark was Ethiopia's reaction was not focus and was not certainly a top priority of the paper as well.

Assistant editor of *the Reporter* believes that the focus of *the reporter* guided by the dynamics of the situation in Egypt. According to him, in the beginning, the paper concerned with the issue by describing events as they happen, being up to date, and giving the readers the ability to follow the events closely. Then after, in the process of stepping down of President Mubarak, the paper was more concentrated on the neutral role of the army, expressing its exceptionality comparing to other African countries. Therefore, *the Reporter* provided the most reliable coverage; all sorts of analysis from the beginning by various experts and commentaries regarding what might happen next, its possibility to spread.

#### ❖ **Resource limitations**

Respondents agree on source selection. They said, there were challenges to get first-hand information from the field. Because of these, the media usually have no choice except relying on external sources. Reporting from far distance without being there makes the coverage difficult. So, the greatest challenge was to help their readers make sense of the nuances of the story that forced them to depend on external sources and commentaries. In addition, though the social media was principal leader of the event in Egypt becoming valuable tools for keeping abreast of events, both papers didn't make enough use of the social media, but they included them as an angle of the coverage.

#### ❖ **Ownership**

Media ownership is linked to societal power that governs the construction of media content in terms of commercial and ideological interests. Like many businesses, it becomes common place to assert the production, distribution, and presentation of

information that involve vast sums of money. However, the media also disseminate ideas about economic and political structure. It is this ideological dimension of media production which gives it its importance and centrality that requires approach in terms of not only economics but also of politics. This is the notion of political economy of mass media.

The researcher highlights the role of newspapers as watchdogs and their ability to look out for the personal and civic interests of readers. Nevertheless, facts in the study claim that ownership has particular effects on the performance and ability of the media to serve the public interest in the society as well as the motivation of readership. For instance the reporting of *Herald* followed the same suits with the government positions, while *the Reporter's* narrations were sensationalized targeting the advertisers/market and readers. Political views and economically powerful influences come into play here.

Since current affairs in the real world happen the way they always happened, journalists cannot simply adjust their choice of what to cover in order to satisfy the needs of everyone involved. They use their skills of the framing of news. Omission of information is one of the efforts they make in such cases.

Consequently, significant differences traced in the extent of coverage, use of sources, and placement of stories, reporting tones and framing of stories between the papers are the result of acts of control over the media and of the subsequent competition for public

attention nationally and globally through ownership. Hence, ownership of the papers is the most serious influencing factors that determine the way they cover the event.

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## CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusions and Recommendations

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### 5.1 Conclusion

Egypt is one of the countries in the MENA region affected by the heart breaking uprising in 2011. The event was part of the Arab Spring that resulted in multiple devastating effects on the socio-economic and political makeup of the people in the country and the region. The global community found interesting to follow and hence, the popular uprising received high extent of coverage by both traditional and contemporary media.

This study investigates whether the sampled papers covered the event or not and the way they portray the uprising in their six months editions. The first chapter introduces what the study is all about, gives justification to carry out the study and how to go about it. A review of relevant literatures and theoretical framework are presented in chapter two. Chapter three is dedicated to methodology of the study in a bid to lay the foundation for subsequent discussion and also to put in place logical frameworks. Chapter four presents both quantitative and qualitative data followed by analysis and discussions using content analysis. Chapter five is for conclusion and recommendations.

The study generated three basic similarities or common features of the papers in relation to the coverage of uprising in Egypt. First, using their own ways, both papers covered the event in Egypt. Second, they failed in providing detail background information about the event. Third, they contributed little in suggesting potential solutions to the problem. Further, other remarks spotlight on the major differences in the

extent of coverage, their sourcing, and narration of the story and framing of articles lead them to commit some media biases. Finally, conclusion and recommendations engendered on the basis of the findings and discussions demonstrated in the previous chapter.

News is what's new and fresh. Despite this definition, *Herald* did not provide proper attention to the uprising for six days and also treated most of the news about the uprising in its back page. In the margin of the uprising, the main headlines of *Herald* focused on domestic issues, mainly GTP. By doing this, the paper committed omission/ignorance and temporal biases. *The Reporter* maintained the immediacy and was very keen to analyze and explained most events covering the causes and the positions of countries of the region to protect the event from spreading in their land. Therefore, it was found that the event was more covered by *the Reporter than Herald*. On the other hand, most of the headlines of *the Reporter* were discovered to be unfairly portrayed only the positive picture of the uprising, while *Herald* reported on neutral scale.

The finding also indicates that news media tend to construct accounts of events that are structured and framed by the dominant values and interests of the society in which they exist. The differences in coverage of the same event on the same day would invite constructive debate on their selection of stories and framing which emanated from the ideology or political economy or ownership. Using the concepts of framing, the research

looks at the presence of different frames and ownership structure that causes media bias.

Obviously, journalists often seek out opinions of competing experts or officials in order to present conflict between the two sides (or more) of the issue which leads them to inject bias as well. Yet, opinions exchanged among different experts in *the Reporter* seem to be from similar ideological camp. Except 'experts' others such government officials were not included in most of the reporting. Such process eliminates the range of different views, which can be considered as violation of public right to imparting and receiving information and expressing ideas of all kinds, enshrined in Article 29 (2) of the Ethiopian constitution.

Apart from the differences on the extent of coverage, placement of stories, narration of the stories and framing, biases in crafting the news headlines were also detected in the coverage of the papers. The results of the study revealed that the analyzed articles played profound roles in defining the problem, stating and interpreting causes of uprising. For example, the situation reported as a main turning point in Egypt's history by the Reporter, while Herald reported the causes that drive people to demonstrate are mainly economic factors.

The main point what can be concluded from the study is that the two newspapers base their stories on the same event, but manage to convey strikingly different views on what

actually transpired. The differences can be observed in their use of sources, the way they frame the uprising.

Among various factors that affect the coverage of events, time and resources limitations as well as the type of ownership of the newspapers can be considered the main ones. In this regard, *the Reporter* seems to be more independent, because it tried to give more emphasis on the causes of the uprising and relates with the situation beyond the region, including the situation and spillover effects in Ethiopia. Often *Herald's* agenda and the articles are framed in line with the interest of the government, which is known as Status Quo bias. *Herald* believes “the system works” without any problem. It never questions the structure of the political system. The government way is the only way, politically and socially. Those biases ensure that alternate points of view about how government might run and what it might do are effectively ignored.

## 5.2 Recommendations

The newspaper industry is one of the oldest mass-media industries in Ethiopia, and it has evolved to play important social, political and economic roles in the society. According to journalism principles, media or journalists expected to present a complete truth and comprehensive look at the issue, nevertheless, during Egypt's uprising, this principle in somehow faced challenges. Instead of being loyal to the facts on the ground and the people they have been serving, most of the time the sampled papers chose to follow the interpretation built by the owners. The coverage of the Egypt uprising in *Herald* was largely tilted towards the government interest while *the Reporter* tried to give better coverage in terms of frequency and details information on the event.

In the contemporary world the news system evolves under pressures of commercial profit and political spin which drives the political powers and business men to compete for controlling the media. The reliance on the interpretation of elites/owners or their frames led the media to provide a biased coverage. This trend cannot hold water in the framework of any political system as well as business sector. Newspapers had to catch up. Being from the older medium, they had to ask themselves several questions to scale up their service. Ethiopia would be better served by its media if they perform more professionally, ethically and independently which did not reflected in the findings. The critical question then is what does this kind of development do to the credibility of the media? To this end, the researcher would like to suggest the following recommendation.

1. In order to maintain the existence of responsible media for the public both the government and media must find a middle ground to maintain the core values of freedom of expression in the country. It is only the existence of independent press built on the basis of fundamental principle of journalism that can guarantee the freedom of the press, which is a basic human right. The papers, mainly Herald should develop fairness and objectivity, which is the essence of media/journalism to serve public.
2. They should represent the public and speak for and to the public interest instead of owner's interest.
3. They should also be on the forefront to fight for the realization of press freedom. In principle, the editorial policy of EPA underscores that journalists should pursue their duties without any state interference (EPA, 2002: 15), but the coverage didn't conform this. Of course, this however, cannot be achieved by the wish of journalists but by the support of owners as well. In the presence of a favorable political environment that provides media with a remarkable degree of independence from threat of political interference, the media are destined to unite, educate, and as a result, improve the actions and decisions of the polity. Hence, owners have to give their media institutions independence so that they can evaluate facts by their importance rather than by their allegiance.
4. Above all, the government should first and foremost take the fact into account and should grant press freedom as stipulated in the constitution without any interference.

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## Annexes

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### Annex I: Greeting to the Ethiopian Herald

#### GREETINGS TO THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD

H.E. Blata Ephram TweldeMedhen, Vice-Minister of foreign Affairs, has sent the following message to “The Ethiopian Herald”:

It is a pleasure for me to write these few lines in the first edition of “The Ethiopian Herald” to welcome and wish it success.

The “Herald” will be a valuable source of information for foreign readers, as well as visitors. In the past, newspaper correspondents, writers and travellers, anxious to learn and get to know Ethiopia and the Ethiopians, could not satisfy their desire because of the lack of some local paper or review in a language they understood, to guide and inform them.

They were therefore obliged to base their knowledge of Ethiopia and the Ethiopians on impressions which often led one to form a wrong idea of a country and its people, and what is worse, to represent them to others under a wrong light. This has often been leaving apart, of course, those who do it deliberately for some interested motives- the main cause of misunderstanding and consequently of misrepresenting the Ethiopians.

I hope and wish that the “Herald” will afford a sure documentation for readers abroad, to travellers, reporters and writers by enlightening them on the Ethiopian people and their rightful national aspirations, thus rendering a valuable service both to the Ethiopian cause as well as to genuine seekers of the truth.

When the time comes, this mutual understanding will, I feel assured contribute to a great measure, in laying a sure foundation to build up a lasting Peace. (Ethiopian Herald, N.1- First Vol. July 3, 1943, page 1, price 25 cents, 13 shillings for yearly subscription without postage (19, with postage).

## Annex II: Tables

Table 1: Frequency & location distribution of the coverage of the uprising in the two newspapers

Name of the paper	Frequency of coverage	Total no. of issues from Jan. – June 2011	%	Location (placement)	
				Front page	Inside page
Ethiopian Herald	28	133	22	3	25
Reporter	18	23	78	3	15
Total	46	156	100	6	40

Table 2- Space & genre distribution of the coverage of the uprising in the two newspapers

Name of newspaper	Space used in inch		Total in <i>inch</i> <sup>2</sup>	Genre		
	Width	Height		News	Feature	Total
Ethiopian Herald	258	221	57018	20	8	28
Reporter	220	263	57860	6	12	18
Total	478	464	114878	26	20	46

Table 3: Source distributions used by the two newspapers

Sources	Ethiopian Herald		Reporter	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
International media	16	57	2	11
Government	2	7	---	--
Individuals	9	32	15	83.5
Others/anonymous	1	4	1	5.5
Total	28	100	18	100

Table 4: Tone scale distribution within the two papers

Name of the newspapers	Tone Scale						Total Article
	Positive		Neutral		Negative		
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	
Ethiopian Herald	2	7	26	93	---	----	28
Reporter	12	67	6	33	---	---	18
Total							46

Table 5: Framing distribution within the two papers

Frame	Ethiopian Herald		Reporter	
	Qty	%	Qty	%
Conflict frame	1	4	2	11
Human interest	1	4	2	11
Attribution of Responsibility	2	7	5	28
Economic consequence	10	36	1	6
Diagnostic	6	20	8	44
Prognostic	8	29	---	---
Total	28	100	18	100

## Annex III: Coding Sheet

Name of the Newspaper \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Publication (date/month/year) \_\_\_\_\_

Title of the story \_\_\_\_\_

### Analytical Category

Put check mark (√) for each questions and frames belong to:

❖ Conflict Frame

Yes      No

❖ Human interest Frame

Yes      No

❖ Consequence frame

Yes      No

❖ Attribution of Responsibility

Yes      No

❖ Diagnostic Framing

Yes      No

❖ Prognostic Framing

Yes      No

### Tone Category

Put check mark (√) for each questions and frames belong to:

Positive      Neutral      Negative

## Annex IV: Coding Guide

It describes the operational definition for the categories used to identify the frequency of coverage, tone, sources and type of frames used in the story.

- 1) **Theme/Article** – refers to the central idea of the story. Put a check mark in the blank space. Uprising/crisis/protest/demonstration/turmoil: does the main ideas of the story discuss about the situation in Egypt
- 2) **Frequency of coverage** – refers to how many times the story covered by the news papers
- 3) **Genre** - describes whether the article is news or feature
- 4) **Location**- refers to the place of the story appeared in the newspapers; on front or inside pages.
- 5) **Sources** – refers to name (s) of a person (s), group or organizations that are quoted directly or indirectly in the story as source of the information.
  - ✓ International media (Int) – refers to any international media providing information globally, such as BBC, CNN, Aljazeera, Xinhua, Reuters, etc.
  - ✓ Local media (loc/Gov)– those medias and news agencies serving in Ethiopia (WIC, ENA, and others) including the government officials
  - ✓ Analysts (ind) – refers to sources that are quoted to give explanation of what is going on. For instance, political analysts, international relations experts, etc
  - ✓ Others – refers sources other than what is outline above, like unnamed sources.
- 6) **Framing** – refers to the way the information was portrayed. Put mark ‘yes’ or ‘no’ for each question to the article that fits or expected to answer the question for under mentioned frames
  - ❖ **Conflict Framing:** if the story focuses on the growing disagreement (conflict) between the government and the protesters as well as the international community or international organization.
  - ❖ **Attribution of Responsibility:** if the story blames certain body for certain action and attributes respective responsibility

- ❖ **Economic Consequence Framing:** if the coverage focuses on the consequences of the uprising will have economically on an individual, groups, organizations or countries.
- ❖ **Diagnostic Framing:** if the story discusses cause and problems of the uprising in Egypt
- ❖ **Human interest Framing:** if the story bring an emotional element and tells the personal stories of individuals involved in the issue
- ❖ **Prognostic Frame:** if the story predominantly entertains the consequences of uprisings in Egypt

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

- 7) **Tone** – it refers to the scale of reporting or how the context of the story depicts the stakeholders. In other words, the impressions dominate the story concerning the major stakeholders (the government and the protesters in this specific case). Put positive, neutral or negative in the blank spaces.

**Positive:** a story that shows agreement, support, or affirmation to the uprising or actions taken by the protesters dominating criticism the then government or Mubarak regime.

**Neutral:** means the story favours or assist neither the protesters nor Mubarak or government responses. It may praises or criticizes all the major players of the story entertaining or rejecting ideas from both sides.

**Negative:** the story shows disagreement, opposition or condemnation of the uprising. If the story dominate praising or discusses the good will of the Mubarak regime.

## Declaration

This Thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in another department of the university. All sources and materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Desalegne Tadesse

\_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_