



Addis Ababa University

Graduate School of Journalism and Communication

**The Media Coverage of Ethio-Chinese Relations: comparative study among
the two nation's media outlets: EBC and CGTN in focus**

BY

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School of Journalism and
Communication**

Addis Ababa University

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

June, 2019

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**A Thesis Submitted to the school of Graduate studies of Addis Ababa
University in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master
of Arts in Journalism and Communications**

Advisor: Mekuria Mekasha (Assistant Prof.)

June, 2019

Addis Ababa Ethiopia

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this study entitled “The Media Coverage of Ethio-Chinese Relations: comparative study among the two nation’s media outlets: EBC and CGTN in focus” is my own original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Declared by:

Name: Abraham Abdella

Signature: _____

Date: June, 2019

School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the papered thesis by Abraham Abdella Yusuf, entitled the Media Coverage of Ethio-Chinese Relations: comparative study among the two nation’s media outlets: EBC and CGTN in focus, and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communications complies with the regulations of the University and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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List of Abbreviations

AFRODAD	African Forum and Network on Debt and Development
AMDI	African Media Development Initiative
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
BRI	Belt and Road Initiatives
CCCC	China Communications Construction Company
CCECC	China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation
CCTV	China Central Television
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CGTN	China Global Television Network
CNEEC	China's National Electrical Engineering Company
EBC	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
EIC	Ethiopia Investment Commission
EIZ	Eastern Industry Zone
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
ETV	Ethiopian Television
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
GDP	Growth Domestic Product
IR	International Relations
JECC	Joint Ethiopia-China Commission
MOFED	Ethiopian Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OBOR	One Belt one Road
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
UN	United Nations
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Abstracts

To begin with the international relations are relation between two or more sovereign states and it could be people to people, political, economic and social relations. Diplomacy is one aspect in making any international relationship. Ethiopia and China have made fruitful exchanges in terms of political, economic and social areas and also enjoyed closer bilateral cooperation, since the establishment of their diplomatic ties in 1970's. This study aimed to examine how the EBC and CGTN media outlets cover and represent the contemporary issues related to Ethio-Chinese relationship, and the study was situated within the broader theoretical frames of Media framing theory and Media representation theory. The study also used the pure qualitative research method and employed the textual analysis method, with an open ended interview in research process. And to this end the EBC and CGTN media outlets were selected purposefully and their selected online version of the news stories which include the time period from January 2018 to January 2019, were collected from their websites. In addition data was also gathered from reporters and key informants of both EBC and CGTN through the interview method.

The analysis and discussions of this study demonstrates that EBC and CGTN online news narratives were used the frames like; common interest engagement frame, creating harmonious world frame, south-south cooperation frame, national interest's priority frame and non-interventionist policy frame in articulating the China-Ethiopia relations. Based on the findings the researcher concluded that EBC's online news stories mostly focused on development oriented positive discourses in describing the relationship of China and Ethiopia. While, the CGTN online news narratives was presented on both the positive and the negative sides. In another way EBC frames the issues in a positive ways and in a way it further strength the cooperation. However, CGTN frames the issues according to the story itself; it can be framed positively or negatively framed. EBC online news stories was highly relies on government officials as their sources for the news and mostly focus on success stories, while CGTN come across different sources from officials to the mass ordinary people.

Moreover the study in its finding conclusion confirmed that the EBC and CGTN media outlets were more constructive and likewise they emphasized the elite-based and development-oriented discourses and arguments in covering and presenting the issues related to Ethiopia-China. Finally, based on findings the researcher forwarded some of possible recommendations.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

Today we all live in globalized world, which means in internationally related world. The interconnectivity among nations what peoples called globalization is a form of an international relations. So international relations are relations between, at least two states of the world, and the goal of these relations is to promote states' economic- trade, investment, politic security, human right, ideology and socio- cultural interests- language, way of living, social values so on (Catley & Mosler, 2007).

According to Henderson (1998, p. 27), international relations is “the study of who gets what, when and how in the trans-border context involving both states and non state actors”. International Relations are also the study of war and peace, conflict and cooperation by international actors (Brown, 2001). Others also see international relations as the study of cross-border transactions of all kinds, political, economic and social (Brown, 2001, p. 11).

Diplomacy is one of most important issues in maintaining countries international relations. According to Asian Affairs (2005), diplomacy is one of the sets of instruments through which decisions are implemented, policy activated, and policy objectives are achieved.

On the other hand diplomacy was defined as the art of negotiation that has gradually adjusted itself to change in political and international conditions. The diplomacy has been changing with domestic, societal and international factors and other elements as well (Asian Affairs, 2005).

Walter (2007) noted the idea of public diplomacy as a governmental or governmentally funded foreign policy activity. Its objective is to create, for a given country, as positive climate as possible among foreign publics in order to facilitate the explanation and acceptance of its foreign policy. According to Roberts any successful public diplomacy program must take the views of the target publics into account, as well as their cultural background and their media situations.

The relationship between China and Africa goes back a long time. Wasserman (2011) stated that for China, the interest in Africa as an emerging market and the growing interest for resources, markets and diplomatic support. But this involvement has not been unequivocally welcomed. Zeleza (2008) has also categorized the portrayals of the deepening relationship between China and Africa as a whole as being either in terms of imperialism, globalization or solidarity.

China's emergence as the second largest economy of the world and most importantly an alternative economic partner enabled the country to play an important and influential role in the global economy. This situation has also benefited many developing countries over the past decade. The country is working closely with many developing countries and international organizations to promote South-South Cooperation (Damte & Tsegay, 2017).

South-South Cooperation is a development cooperation focused on the exchange of resources, technology, and knowledge for sustainable development and eradicating poverty within developing countries. With the commitment to achieve its vision of becoming a middle income country by 2025, Ethiopia is one of the countries that are closely working with China (Ibid, 2017).

Coming specifically to Ethio-China relations, the formal diplomatic relationship between Ethiopia and China goes back to the Imperial period of Haile Selassie I. Despite the fact that Ethiopia and China have imperial backgrounds, formal diplomatic relations started on November 24, 1970 (Alemayehu, 2008), four years before the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie by the left-wing military junta, led by Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam.

For the first two decades, China maintained a modest relationship with Ethiopia. However, after the fall of Colonel Mengistu in 1991, Ethio-China relationship began to surge and China became one of the top economic partners of Ethiopia balancing the economic ties of Ethiopia with Western countries (Alemayehu, 2008).

Now a day China is becoming important in the world economy, including those in Africa such as Ethiopia. According to Alemayehu and Atnafu (2010) noted that, in the last decades China has become an important trading partner for Ethiopia accounting to about 15% of its trade which was none before 2005. Thus, Chinese interaction in the Ethiopian economy is becoming stronger than ever.

Among other areas of which Chinese government investing billions of Dollars at present time is the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). China's Belt and Road Initiative was announced by Chinese President Xi Jinping in September 2013 at Nazarbayev University. The BRI Initiative, previously referred to as "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR), has been among the most heavily debated issues in both Central Asia and China—in 2016, it was the most frequent subject of articles in China's official daily, the People's Daily—as well as outside the region (Laruelle, 2018).

According to Laruelle (2018) Chinese Belt and Road Initiative is not simply the sum of individual projects cantered around the idea of connecting China to the rest of the world via new continental and maritime infrastructure. Rather, it is a met discourse on the Silk Road and a new manifestation of China's soft power, of its "peaceful" and "multilateral" rise. More over as Liu and Dunford (2016) noted that the BRI broadly emphasizes its cooperation in five areas: (a) coordinative development policies (b) Forging infrastructure and facilities network; (c) strengthening investment and trade relations; (d) enhancing financial cooperation; and (e) deepening social and cultural exchanges.

1.1.1. A brief overview of Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC)

EBC (Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation) (formerly known as ETV) is an Ethiopian government owned television channel. Its programming includes news, sport, music and other entertainment. It airs in Amharic, Oromo, Somali, Tigrinya, Afar, Harari, as well as English (Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency, 2009).

Ethiopian Television was established in 1964 with assistance from the British firm, Thomson. "It was initially established to highlight the Organization of African Unity (OAU) meeting that took place in Addis Ababa that same year. Color television broadcast began in 1982 by the military government on the founding of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE)." Since its establishment,

ETV has remained in the hands of government, with its operations and content regulated by government (AMDI, 2009, p. 20).

According to Tadesse (2015) EBC administers publicly owned radio and television stations, namely Ethiopian Radio (ER), Ethiopian Television (ETV) and FM Addis 97.1. EBC disseminates its news and programs nationwide and overseas via its radio channels, television station and online. According to him the Ethiopian Radio launched its regular programming in 1935 while the Ethiopian Television /ETV/ was inaugurated in 1964 as it is officially notified in the corporation`s website. And then Ethiopian Radio and Ethiopian Television were merged in 1995 and forming the Ethiopian Broadcasting corporation /EBC/, which is directly accountable to the House of People`s Representatives (Tadesse, 2015).

1.1.2. A brief Overview of China Global Television Network (CGTN)

China Global Television Network (CGTN) is a multi-language, multi-platform media group consisting of six television channels and including a 24- hour English-language news channel, a video content provider and a digital media division. Former channels under CCTV (China central television) brand were simultaneously re-launched on December 31, 2016 (Sun, 2018).

CGTN operates under the Overseas Centre of the most influential national broadcaster in China (China Central Television), and its role is to “tell China’s story to foreign audiences”. This channel aims to join BBC World News, CNN International, Al Jazeera English and other broadcasters in “establishing a strong global television news presence” (CCTV-News, 2012 Feb).

As Zhang (2018) discussed that in the context of media convergence; one crucial part of CGTN’s branding strategy is distributing programs both online and offline. Currently, CGTN broadcasts news on a broad range of digital, mobile and social media platforms globally and locally. With a strategy of “Mobile First”, the network aims to target global viewers who could use mobile media devices to easily access it anywhere anytime (Zhang, 2018).

According to Thussu (2006) CGTN’s expansion “reflects the recognition by the Beijing authorities of the importance of the English language as the key to success for global commerce

and communication and their strategy to bring Chinese public diplomacy to a global audience.” (p. 193).

According to CCTV’s report (2012) CGTN Africa focuses on African news and perspectives as well as international news. CGTN Africa aims at presenting Africa to world and more importantly providing a platform for Africans to tell the African story. And as one of the production centres, CGTN Africa has the mission to provide a new voice of Africa and new perspective for the rest of the world (CCTV, 2012).

1.2. Statement of the problem

Several articles published on journal of communication presents on different research studies related to China Africa engagements. For example, Herman Wasserman claims because of the Chinese efforts, journalists in South Africa now hold a “cautiously optimistic” attitude towards China, but are still concerned about China’s potential influence on South African policy making (Wasserman, 2012). In his study Wasserman man observed that “China is not represented in either a starkly positive or starkly negative light. It would seem that a cautiously optimistic attitude characterizes South African media coverage. The overall balance between positive, negative, and neutral statements may suggest an understanding that China’s role in Africa is a complex one, which cannot be pigeonholed as either a “bad” or “good” news story” (Wasserman, 2012, p.351). An empirical study of the output of Ugandan journalists also demonstrated that their articles contained mostly neutral to favorable attitudes towards China, although there was a concentration of negative images in relation to Chinese companies regarding labor relations. Ugandan journalists who had travelled to China on Chinese government sponsored visits were more likely to demonstrate favorable attitudes towards China (Nassanga & Sabiti, 2016).

Ojo (2016, p.51) observed that South African media attitudes towards China are largely dependent on the ideological orientation of the publication, with business magazines like African Business more likely to display more balanced coverage than an African journal like the New African. Using Kenya as their laboratory, Zhang and Mwangi examined public perceptions of China’s media engagement in Africa, concluding that CCTV Africa and China Daily’s Africa

Weekly contribute to a better understanding of China among Kenyans (Zhang & Mwangi, 2016, p 78).

On the other hand Wie (2015) conducted a study on comparative analysis of the representation of China's expanding business activities in Africa of media from different ideological contexts. In the study Wie demonstrated to examine the power relations and ideological differences embedded in media discourses by comparing the representation from Chinese, British and African newspapers about China's expansion of business and investment engagements in Africa on occasion of Xi Jinping's first visit to Africa as Chinese new president in 2013 (Wie, 2015, p.4).

Lots of studies on China-Africa relations, including the ones discussed above, have thus far tended to focus on broader issues such as; Chinese media strategies in Africa, South African media attitudes towards China, perceptions of China's media engagement in Africa, the political economy of Chinese media in Africa, the attitudes of African audiences towards Chinese media, comparative analysis of the representation of China in Africa. A gap in the research has been the media coverage of China-Ethiopia relationship, its representation and framing in both local and Chinese media outlets.

Thus, this research has filled the gaps to the extent which related to the coverage, representation and framing of Ethio-China relationship, in EBC of Ethiopia and CGTN of China. The researcher conducted the comparison on how the two media outlets cover, represent and frame of the issues related to Ethio-China cooperation and issues related to it. The researcher also employed framing theory and media representation theory as a broader framework to examine the two countries economic, political as well as social relations and its coverage, representation and framing in EBC and CGTN media outlets. After all the researcher is curious to know what type of the two nation's relations really looks like in line with the two media's report and news coverage. This paper also scrutinizes how EBC and CGTN media outlets cover, represent and frame the issues related to Ethiopia and China cooperation.

1.3. Objectives of the study

The study has general and specific objectives

1.3.1 General objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to examine how EBC and CGTN represent and cover the contemporary Ethio-Chinese relations.

1.3.2. Specific objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study were:

- To explore the framing of Ethio-China relations issues in EBC and CGTN online news narratives.
- To find out the way in which the two media outlets represent Ethio-China relations in their online news stories
- To assess the differences and similarities between EBC and CGTN news, in their coverage of China-Ethiopia relations.
- To identify the arguments, languages and discourses in which the two media organizations used while covering the Ethio-Chinese relationship.

1.4. Research question(s)

To meet the above mentioned objectives this particular study would answer the following questions:

1. What are the framings of Ethio-China relations issues in EBC and CGTN online news narratives?
2. In what ways the two media outlets represent Ethio-China relations in their online news stories?
3. What are the differences and similarities between the EBC and CGTN news, in their coverage on China-Ethiopia relations?
4. What arguments, languages and discourses did those two media organizations employed while covering the Ethio-Chinese relationship?

1.5. Significance of the study

The main importance of this study is that it helps create awareness as to the extent to which the media gives for issues related to international relations. The result of this study is assumed to be useful for media people in improving Ethio-China economical, political and socio-cultural interactions. It is also helpful for International relations researches and it gives tips about the level of interdependence, cooperation, mutual stand, and the gaps between the countries. So this specific study is also useful for Ethiopia and China diplomats, to know to what extent their countries were represented and framed by both local and international media outlets.

Furthermore the study would help to serve as initial point for further research to be conducted on the issues of media and foreign relations.

1.6. Scope of the study

The study was focused on the EBC and CGTN online news and news analysis narratives on China-Ethiopia political, social and economical relations. Thus, the scope of the study is purposefully committed to the coverage and representation of Ethio-Chinese relation in, EBC (Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation) and CGTN (China Global Television Network). So the research focused only on the two media outlets, and their coverage of the issues related to the two country's relation.

1.7. Limitation of the study

In the attempt to study media coverage of Ethio-China relations, in EBC and CGTN, there were some limitations which were encountered during the study:

- ❖ There was a difficulty to get several similar news articles that both EBC and CGTN media outlets gave simultaneously coverage
- ❖ Another limitation was the absence of other media outlets which are critical to the Chinese presence in Africa and Ethiopia, in order to balance this particular study.

1.8. Organization of the study

The study has five chapters in general. The first chapter was contain an introductory of the paper which includes, back ground of the study, statement of the problem, objective of the study, , scope and limitation of the study.

The second chapter deals with the review of related literatures and theoretical frame works whereas the third chapter includes the research methodology, method of data collection, method of data presentation and analysis.

The fourth chapter focuses on data presentation and analysis and finally the last chapter five was deal with the conclusion and recommendations of the study

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of related literature

2.1 Conceptualizations and Elements of International relations

The discipline of international relations was developed in response to WWI (1914 - 1918) – its guiding task was to analyze the nature of international politics and the causes of wars between or among states, with the aim of devising solutions to the problems of international interactions. For much of the twentieth century its theorizing has been dominated by two main schools of thought: the **political realists**, who argue that war between states is an ever-present condition of international politics – owing either to the self-interested nature of human actors or states, or to the ‘anarchic’ nature of the international system and the **liberals**, who argue that war between states can be moderated, regulated or even overcome through various means such as institutionalization or economic interactions (Kurki, 2008).

According to Brown and Ainley(2005) suggested that for some, international relations means the diplomatic–strategic relations of states, and the focus of international relations is on issues of war and peace, conflict and cooperation. Others also see international relations as being about cross-border transactions of all kinds, political, economic and social, and further more international relations is as likely to study trade negotiations or the operation of non-state institutions such as Amnesty International as it is conventional peace talks or the workings of the United Nations (UN) (Brown & Ainley, 2005).

In International relations historical conditions are too varied and complex for anything that might plausibly be called a theory to apply uniformly (Chomsky, 1994). According to Kurki (2008) International relations theorizing have suffered from unnecessarily restrictive methodological, epistemological and ontological assumptions. The rationalists are, first, methodologically hindered in that, because of the empiricist grounding of knowledge on the perceived; their causal analyses cannot draw on certain important interpretive types of methods of analysis and are unable to use and evaluate certain important types of evidence (Kurki, 2008).

Kurki (2008) also pointed out that a better theorization in the linkage between domestic and international by seeing the two concepts as interlinked. He argues that the international shapes the domestic structure of the state, which, in turn, affects the types of international system in the world. He sees the domestic and international as part of a whole rather than as two separable variables. Kurki also conceives of domestic and international as constituted by economic and normative relations as well as political-military relations. China and Africa can be a good example (Muluken, 2013).

2.1.1 Foreign policy

Foreign policy is the set of goals, means, strategies, tactical structures and processes designed to attain state or party objectives in international relation. It is primarily concerned with the pursuit of national interest and the attainment of national objectives. Foreign policy may deal with diverse issues and is dynamic but national security stands out in foreign policy of any state. It is also the content of foreign relations, comprising aspirations and aims, which a country wants to achieve in its relation with other states (Negeri, 2013).

Jackson (2005) stated that Nations have their eye and their mind on each other; they are looking to see what the others are doing, or wondering what they might do, how it might affect them, and how to respond to it in successful ways. Foreign policy decisions are thus social and interactive—between agents. International decisions and the games of the strategy they invoke are interdependent decisions: threats of war, deterrence, warnings, negotiations and blackmail are nonzero-sum games that involve not only conflict, as in zero-sum games, but also mutual dependence, mutual accommodation, joint expectations, communications, and coordination, (Jackson, 2005).

Ethiopia like any other sovereign states of the world has its own foreign policy towards other countries. According to Ethiopia's Foreign Policy (2002) "There can be no doubt that the attainment of speedy economic development, Democratization and peace is fundamental to the survival of one country which finds itself in a state of abject poverty and backwardness. That is why the Government gives priority to matters that are key to our survival and well-being. Unless, the overall policy direction pursued by the Government takes this basic reality into account, our national existence and security will face grave danger. In this respect it is clear to see that our

foreign relations and national security policy and strategy can only have relevance if it contributes to the fight against poverty and promotes speedy economic development, democracy and peace” (Ethiopian Foreign Policy, 2002, p.1).

2.1.2 Diplomacy

Diplomacy is concerned with the management of relations between state and other actors. From a state perspective diplomacy is concerned with advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy. According to Abhyankar (2012) diplomacy is the practical dimension of international relations theory. Diplomacy dates from the Greek, Roman, Mesopotamian and Indus valley civilizations and received its structural underpinnings in 14th century Italy. But, In the present day 21st century it has moved from state-to-state relations to cover extensive networks of nongovernmental, civil society and transnational entities which are making a material difference to the way in which we, and our countries, govern and deal with the rest of the world (Abhyankar, 2012).

The agenda of traditional diplomacy was narrow certainly by comparison with later periods. For hundreds of years, foreign policy was seen as the exclusive province of monarchs and their advisers and not surprisingly, personal ambitions, the acquisition of territory perhaps, and together with more general issues of war and peace constituted the most important issues on the diplomatic agenda (White, 2001).

Nicolson (1969) noted that the new diplomatic era was started after the First World War when international relationships became worldwide. During this period, international relationship and practice of diplomacy were no longer confined to European nations, the USA and Japan with the rest of the world was a field of diplomatic operations. Then the movement towards greater democratic control, the increasing importance of economics and finance, the inventions of modern science, and a more enlightened conception of the community of international interests were coming to existence (Nicolson, 1969).

According to White (2001) Diplomacy plays a key role in the foreign policies of states and other international actors. Diplomacy is also one of a set of instruments through which decisions are implemented, policy activated, and policy objectives are achieved. When Diplomacy viewed as a

government activity then it refers to not only a particular policy instrument but, also to the whole process of policymaking and implementation (White, 2001).

More over Diplomacy has its own objectives and goals which it stands for. Thus the primary objectives of all diplomatic relations are to safeguard the interests of one's country. The basic interest of every state is its own security; but, apart from this overriding consideration, economic interests, trade, protection of nationals are also matters of importance, which is the purpose of diplomacy to safeguard (Asian Affairs, 2005).

2.1.3 Public Diplomacy

In the modern, information-rich world, the attitude of publics has assumed an ever-larger impact on the decisions of their governments, even in autocratic countries. Hence, it has become imperative for governments to reach the publics of other countries (Walter, 2007). Thus the “consequence was the split of diplomacy into two parts: the old government-to-government activity, now referred to as traditional diplomacy, and the new government-to-foreign people program called public diplomacy” (Walter, 2007, P. 45).

According to Grunig (1992) the term public diplomacy has been explored in the Communication literature for over 20 years and it is a natural fit to be studied within the theoretical domain of international public relations. Grunig (1992) also stated that there are two main themes in the literature that address public relations and public diplomacy. The first theme is premised on the idea that governments attempt to cultivate a certain image of their nation for international publics and that public relations helps to build and promote that image. The second theme of public diplomacy is guided by the Excellence theory of public relations (Grunig, 1992).

Walter (2007) also suggested that as far as the public sector is concerned, those in charge of public diplomacy must make sure that all activities of governmental agencies and governmentally funded organizations aimed at foreign publics are properly coordinated. Walter further added that Public diplomacy has become the subject of serious scholarly work and Universities were offer courses on public diplomacy. Public diplomacy institutes have been established in the United States at The George Washington University and the University of Southern California. Books and articles on the subject are also being written in the United States and abroad (Walter, 2007).

As Melissen (2005) pointed out the practice of public diplomacy has largely been the domain of the rich and powerful states for the large part of its history. The United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany and Russia are known for their vast application of public diplomacy in complementing their foreign policy objectives. It is not only the practice, but also academic researches and literatures also largely focus on the experiences and practices of these same nations. Melissen also noted that the origins of contemporary public diplomacy, and the current debate on the need for more public diplomacy, are dominated by the US experience (Melissen, 2005, as cited in Nebiat, 2011).

In yet another definition, public diplomacy is defined as a government's process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies (Tuch, 1990).

2.1.4 International relation actors

After the Second World War, the countries of Asia entered into the field of international relations. Arnold Toynbee points out that before 1919, only 16 of the lesser states took serious part in international affairs and of those 15 were in Europe (Rourke, 1989). But After the 1919, the number increased to 47, out of which only 22 were European. In 1949, the number has also increased further to 60 in the United Nations alone and increase has been mainly from Asia as new member of the world organization (Rourke, 1989). Then the development of communications and increased impact of public opinion brought to bear conflicting and heterogeneous pressures (Rourke, 1989, cited in Asian Affairs, 2005).

The main actors of international relations are not only states, but also international and nongovernmental organizations, individuals and others. Kurki (2008) noted that although states have been accepted as the central units in international relations, many rationalists have not even accepted the state as a 'real' structure or actor, because empiricism has de-legitimized any credit of reality to unobservable entities such as the state. Some rationalists have made their empiricist commitments explicit by declaring that the state simply 'does not really exist' (Kurki, 2008).

Miller's (1994) also argued that the growth of so many kinds of non-state actors challenge and even weaken the "state-centric" concept of international politics and replaces it with a "transnational" system in which relationships are more complex. These organizations changed the international environment. Miller's also added the increase of non-state actors has recently led some observers of international relations to conclude that states are declining in importance and that non-state actors are gaining status and influence. So we can understand that the state is one sole actor in international relations, rather non-states and non-governmental organizations can also play their own role.

According to Brown and Ainley (2009) argued that in the 1970s and 1980s, there were new international relations actors, non-state actors and forces, such as multinational groups and corporations in the international arena, particularly in deal with increasing importance of international political economy. And these multinational actors changed the traditional balance of power politics by losing state's dominant position in international relations (Brown & Ainley 2009).

2.2 Media's role in International Relations

Despite media's unquestioned importance in the conduct of international affairs, it seems that the Studies of International Relations still fail to address the issue adequately; in addition, less has been done to overcome absence of understanding the communication dimension of international relations (Coban, 2016).

In the classical realist tradition of international politics analysis, the state is considered as the main actor in international arena. Foreign policy should be made by politicians, attuned to the national interest, and free of the influence of extraneous domestic factors such as the news media (Mermin, 1999). In this realist tradition, which was developed in the 1940s, communication and mass media were not regarded as part of state power, but these were considered as the propaganda 'tools' that states used towards 'others' in interstate conflicts in the international arena (Mermin, 1999).

As Brown and Ainley (2009) suggests in the latter part of the 1980s, the entry of postmodernism into International relations encouraged strengthening the non-state centric discourses, meanwhile

civil society organization and individual citizens were recognized as new international actors who expanded their influences across borders to the international level by using the power of new communication technologies and mass media. Thus, a recently growing amount of literature has emerged in International Relations approach in which the role of media is considered in international policy making (Brown & Ainley, 2009, as cited in Coban, 2016).

According to Coban (2016) global media have integrated its audiences to wars, peace and diplomacy process. The global media's efforts to attract public attention bring the crises and conflicts to the top of the agenda to persuade its audiences to pressure and influence government policies. At the same time, governments can also use the media platforms to set their own war agenda to make their views known to the public for their own purposes.

2.3 The brief overview of China-Africa relationship

In explaining the relation between china and Africa here is Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic of China's speech given in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 25 March 2013:

China and Africa have always been a community of shared destinies. Similar historical experiences, common development tasks and shared strategic interests have bound us together. We are bonded not only by the profound traditional friendship and closely linked interests, but also by the dream we all hold on to (quoted in Lejeune, 2015).

The relationship between China and Africa has developed over the last 60 years and it has three distinguished phases within this timeframe. The first were the relationships between China and African nation states in the eve of independence (1950s) when China recognized the struggle for independence. The second phase was the period when China was given a permanent seat on the UN Security Council in 1971- China needed many voices to the seat. The final phase covers the post-Maoist (1990s) period and is characterized by the liberalization and subsequent growth of the Chinese economy when Africa starts to receive loan and donation from China (Looy, 2006).

Looy (2006) further stated that before 1955, Africa has no significant importance to China but from then onwards, China hunted international recognition and political allies, hoping to strengthen international alliances against the capitalist West and the revisionist communist Soviet

Union. It is part of China's struggle against the international political and economic order which it describes the working system as unfair

2.3.1 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)

The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was first founded in 2000. According to the Centre for Chinese Studies January (2010) report, the forum was established by China and friendly African countries for collective consultation, dialogue and a cooperation mechanism among the developing countries which falls into the category of South-South cooperation (as cited in Muluken, 2013).

As Hellstrom (2009) stated that the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was initiated at the Ministerial Conference in Beijing in 2000. The Forum, driven by a joint Ministerial Conference that held every three years since 2000, aims at fostering solidarity and cooperation based on equality, consultation, consensus, friendship, partnership and mutual benefit.

Li Anshan on the other way argued that the purpose of FOCAC is to strengthen the China-Africa strategic cooperation in the context of economic globalization, so as to drive bilateral relations in a stable and sustainable direction. The sustainability of FOCAC contributes to the development of China-Africa cooperation (Anshan, 2010). According to Alden (2007) argued from the historical perspective, FOCAC should be seen as a continuum of the spirit of the Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in 1955 (Alden, 2007).

As Shelton and Paruk (2008) argued in their study the FOCAC process provides a unique diplomatic mechanism to promote dialogue between China and Africa, while at the same time it facilitates the development of a common political and economic agenda which will advance constructive South-South cooperation for mutual benefit (Shelton & Paruk, 2008). Furthermore the two scholars viewed FOCAC as the arena for developing Sino-African cooperation and problem solving as well as provide an important framework for developing a common development agenda. Moreover FOCAC negotiations have also brought African and Chinese leaders closer together and crafted a shared vision for policy coordination, commercial interaction and common prosperity (Shelton & Paruk, 2008, as cited in Wang, 2014).

2.4 Review of Ethio-China relations

Although both Ethiopia and China participated in the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955 and Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai visited Ethiopia in 1964, official relations between the two countries were established only in 1970 during the last years of Emperor Haile Selassie's reign. Since for historical and ideological reasons China was seen as the "Other", these relations remained rather stagnant (Seifudein, 2012). Haile Selassie's regime was Western-oriented and friendly with the USA, the emperor feared the spread of Communism, and the fact that Beijing was supporting revolutionary groups in parts of the country only supported such fears (Venkataraman & Gedion, 2009). The time when a military junta known as the Derg toppled the old imperial order in 1974 and in 1976 endorsed Communism as its official ideology; the new regime at first appeared to be a more natural ally for China. But in 1977 the Derg pledged allegiance to Moscow, thereby effectively ending its relations with Beijing.

In 1988 the leader of the Derg, Mengistu Haile Mariam, visited Beijing and signed the Sino-Ethiopian Agreement for Economic and Technological Cooperation (Seifudein, 2012). But the Derg had never been able to suppress the regional guerilla movements that opposed its rule. And in 1991 it was overthrown by the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition of rebel groups. Nevertheless, the internationally largely isolated TPLF during its revolutionary times did not have direct contacts with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and in the 1980s the TPLF ideologues rejected China's "revisionist" reforms and instead praised the Albanian model of self-reliance (Bach, 2011). When the party was finally able to gain control of the country in the early 1990s, however, all of these models suddenly appeared to be outdated (Lejeune, 2015).

Muluken (2013) wrote that When Ethio-China relations, the 40th anniversary, was celebrated in Beijing in December 16, 2010, the theme was Ethiopia and China Development and Transformation issue. On the occasion Ambassador Hailekiros Gessesse, Ethiopia's used to be outgoing Ambassador to China, noted that the two countries have a relationship solely based on the principles of mutual respect, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and peaceful coexistence. On the other hand Mr. Jing Dunquan, Vice President of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, on his part said, the establishment of

diplomatic ties opened a new chapter between the two countries. He also added that the bilateral relations have endured change in all level and developed in a sound and profound manner particularly since the EPRDF came to power in 1991 (Muluken, 2013).

According to Ethiopian Foreign Policy (2002) China has very good relations with Ethiopia. “China strongly supports Ethiopia’s economic development, using its limited financial means. It unreservedly shares its development experience and provides technical support. In the political and diplomatic sphere, too, China has also been a good friend as our country strove to maintain peace and secure its rights” (Ethiopian Foreign Policy, 2002, p.151).

Recently, China has stepped into the area of foreign investment, and we have to do all we can to take this fresh opportunity to promote investment and trade. This, among other things, will require us to cooperate closely with the Chinese government. And also need also to make a major effort to work with the Chinese government and companies to secure a market for our products in that country (Ethiopian Foreign Policy, 2002).

2.4.1 Political and Economic partnership

Dependency theorists explain the economic development of a state in terms of external political, economic, and cultural influences on national development policies are a form of oppression (Sunkel, 1969). Dependency theory assumes that economic domination runs across north-south geo-economic patterns. However, what the world is witnessing since the emergence of China as a global trade heavyweight is its unusual position within the center-periphery framework. That is, particularly in its economic and trade relations with Africa, China does not fit the theoretical concept of center country, nor does it any longer fit the standard periphery nation (Maswana, n. d., as cited in Muluken, 2013).

According to WTO (2014) report China has become central for Ethiopia’s developmental project. It is Ethiopia’s biggest trading partner, although with a trade imbalance that continues to strongly favor China (WTO, 2014). It is also Ethiopia’s most important source of foreign direct investment – the shoe factory the Huajian Group opened in early 2012 near Addis Ababa has become emblematic for this development (Alemayehu & Atnafu, 2010).

In addition, Chinese development aid has become an important source for the financing of especially infrastructure projects, although the distinction between aid, trade and investment is often difficult. China's "win-win" approach to development cooperation, in which market access considerations for Chinese companies play a central role, is often seen negatively, and many criticisms of China's economic impact that have been voiced elsewhere in Africa have also been heard in Ethiopia (AFRODAD, 2011). The result of Chinese aid and investment in Ethiopia is nevertheless impressive. From energy generation to roads to telecommunications – in all of these areas Chinese companies have markedly improved the status quo, and the amount of loans and grants has steadily kept rising in recent years (Gedion, 2014).

More over apart from the material support, the exchange of ideas has played an important role. China provides Ethiopia with many experiences on how to be a successful developmental state, although Ethiopian officials are careful not to create the impression that they are being influenced by China (Lejeune, 2015). Other areas in which China is sharing knowledge with Ethiopia include agricultural development, transportation, land administration, waste management, and the establishment of special economic zones (Fourie, 2012).

As Hackenesch (2011) stated in 2005, China-Ethiopia relations genuinely entered a new phase of close diplomatic, political, and economic partnership. This evolution has a direct link to the Meles regime's hardening as well as the strengthening of his powers following the 2005 elections, during which the opposition managed to take a third of the parliament seats, and in the face of rising Western criticism. The election was tainted with numerous irregularities and was accompanied by much violence (at least 200 dead), and led to a rapid deterioration in relations between Ethiopia and its traditional donors the United States and European Union (Hackenesch, 2011).

2.4.2. China's trade and investment in Ethiopia

Following its accession to the WTO and its rapid growth, China is becoming important in the world economy, including those in Africa such as Ethiopia. As Alden (2003) puts it, "at a time when the world seems preoccupied by events in the middle east and the 'global war on terror', China's growing engagement in Africa has gone little noticed in the west" (Alden, 2003, p.147).

The Ethiopian government's developmental state draws inspiration from the Chinese development model, particularly in the aspirations to develop an industrial economy able to produce both raw materials and manufactured goods based on access to a cheap labor force. The Ethiopian government also sees China as a stable and dependable partner, not simply an alternative to the West (Lie & Berouk, 2018).

Financed by the Export-Import Bank of China, Norinco is constructing and supplying locomotives for the electrified Addis-Djibouti railway. Trade between Ethiopia and China was worth USD 1.2 billion in 2016, as Ethiopia's new factories can export goods to China under preferential trade terms. China has also invested USD 2.5 billion in Ethiopia since 2013, mostly in infrastructure. Ethiopia has used Chinese loans to build the Gilgel Gibe dams (Gadzala 2013, 2015; Ziso, 2017 as cited in Lie & Berouk, 2018).

According to Alemayehu (2007) stated that following the cooperation agreements that began in early 1970s China has built for Ethiopia highways, veterinary station, power stations and water supply projects and similar other projects. The Chinese companies started to take up such undertakings intensively in Ethiopia in 1986. By the end of 2002, the undertakings contracted by the two parties came to a total value of US\$ 710.67 million. Alemayehu (2007) also further pointed out the Chinese companies carrying out businesses in Ethiopia that mainly include:

- ✓ China Imports and Exports (Group) Corporation for Complete Sets of Equipment
- ✓ China Highway Bridge Engineering (Group) Corporation,
- ✓ China Water Conservancy & Hydropower Engineering Corporation,
- ✓ China Aviation Technology Exports and Imports Corporation
- ✓ China Wanbao Engineering Corporation
- ✓ China Communication Construction Corporation,
- ✓ Zhongyuan Petroleum Prospecting Bureau,
- ✓ Jiangxi International Corporation
- ✓ Dalian Jinzhou Textile Group,
- ✓ The Chinese public telecom giant ZTE Telecom, etc

More over the Chinese exports to Ethiopia mainly cover light industry projects, metal and building materials, mechanic and electric products, and medical and chemical products, among others. All type of manufactured goods imports from China constitutes about 80 of total such exports of Ethiopia in the year under analysis (Alemayehu, 2007).

2.4.3. China's Development Assistance to Ethiopia

China's ties with Ethiopia are historic since both are the oldest nations in the world. Yet the Sino-Ethiopian economic cooperation including aid officially began in the early 1970's and remained low until 1995. The Sino-Ethiopian economic cooperation was restored in 1991 when Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the incumbent ruling party, came to power in Ethiopia. Especially after 1995, the bilateral economic cooperation witnessed marked progress and rapid development in different areas (Gedion, 2014).

According to Gedion and Venkataraman (2009) stated that during the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi's visit to China in 1995, the two countries signed economic and technical cooperation agreements. Meles also reached a good understanding with prominent Chinese enterprises and corporations. On the other hand, when the Chinese President, Jiang Zemin, made an official visit to Ethiopia in 1997, the two countries signed agreements on trade, investment and joint commercial ventures, and science and technology.

As Gedion (2009) also discussed in his study a Joint Ethiopia-China Commission (JECC) was established in 1998 by the Ethiopian Ministry of Finance and Economic Development and Chinese Ministry of Commerce to focus on trade and economic cooperation. JECC has been serving as an economic forum for dialogue where agreements are negotiated, reviewed, and areas of mutual interest along with requests for additional development assistance are evaluated. Technical and scientific exchange meetings are scheduled every two years alternatively in Beijing and Addis Ababa (Gedion, 2009).

In the last ten years, Chinese cooperation has become widely visible in Ethiopia, particularly in aid, trade and investment. The aid from China constitutes financial and technical assistance. The first type of aid is financial assistance which is meant to implement projects and inclusive of both grants and loans. The second type of aid provided by China is technical cooperation which

involves dispatching of medical teams and teachers, and offering educational scholarships for Ethiopian students to study in China. With regard to the first type of aid, financial aid, since the economic cooperation between the two countries started in early 1970s up until 2005, the Chinese government had extended to the government of Ethiopia an economic assistance in the form of interest-free loans (Gedion, 2009; Hackenesch, 2011 as cited in Gedion, 2014).

2.5 Media Perspectives on China-Africa Relations

Although the story of “China in Africa” relation has indeed become big news, with a relevant element for media scholars to consider and pursue, very little is known from an African research perspectives about African media coverage of China’s involvement on the continent (DeBeer & Schreiner, 2009). According to Hanusch (2012) there is little empirical evidence that evaluates what Africans themselves think about Chinese engagement with their respective countries and the general perspectives are dependent on a few public opinion polls that have been conducted that explore African perceptions on China–Africa links (Hanusch, 2012, p. 493).

As to the news coverage, Moeller (1999) notes that the media use standard coverage, where issues are represented as positive or negative, good or bad and black or white. He points out that the Western media approach represents issues from the extreme perspective of ‘negative’, which fits within the framework of the ‘watchdog’ role of the media. It is also argued that China's media might have adopted an approach different from the watchdog model (Farah & Mosher, 2010). On the other hand Banda (2009) discussed that China’s African policy based on equality, mutual benefits and non-interference in each other’s internal affairs has been lauded by most African nations. Consequently, African media play an essential role in “persuading other nations to view international relations, politics and development from the perspective of China” (Banda, 2009, p. 354).

According to Botma (2013) African perspectives to China’s involvement in Africa leads to the debate about the power shift from Western imperialism to Chinese imperialism and he further argues that Chinese efforts to strengthen its soft power will be judged against the history of Western colonialism in Africa. Alden (2007) also analyzes that some African media present negative images of China due to economic power and development agency of Africa being

weakened by Chinese business engagements. However, their similar colonial history creates a link between China and Africa to stand together to struggle against western hegemony and the paternalistic development paradigm (Manyozo, 2012).

Wei (2015) studied the Chinese media representation of China's investment project in Africa by focusing more on ideology and on the media power perspectives. In the study Chinese media lauds more about the Chinese business and investment projects in Africa for bringing benefits to both sides and achieving win-win results. Chinese media also refutes its growing presence in Africa as being labelled as neo-colonialism by stressing "a new paradigm of China-Africa partnership based on traditional friendship" (Wenran, 2008, p.50). Chinese media are also subject to the power from the totalitarian regime and coerce the public to accept the ideological discourse and representation by giving no tolerance to any challenges (Wei, 2015, p.11).

As Sautman and Hairong (2009) stated a perspective that Chinese media normally avoid covering problems related to China's engagements in Africa, including Chinese illegal immigrants, complaints from local workers about constant overwork in Chinese enterprises as well as shoddy Chinese low-end products on African markets. On the contrary, the Chinese media lauds their business and investment projects in Africa for bringing benefits to both sides and achieving win-win results. Chinese media also refutes its growing presence in Africa as being labelled as neo-colonialism by stressing "a new paradigm of China-Africa partnership based on traditional friendship" (Wenran, 2008, p. 50).

2.6 Critiques on China-Africa relations

There are lots of critiques on China-Africa economic, political and social engagements to mention, For instance De Beer and Schreiner (2009) in their study noted that the imagery of China in Africa as an "ominous dragon" ready to re-colonise Africa and eventually consume the continent, or that of the "flying goose" bringing economic development and aid to a struggling continent. Wasserman (2012) also observes that China's presence on the continent is often viewed in stark binary terms, as either an exploitative, predatory force or a benevolent, development partner.

China is being criticized for abusing human rights and promoting poor democracy as well as not making any effort to transfer skills and knowledge to Africa (Fantu and Cyril, 2010). Across Africa, Chinese has been accused of meddling with internal affairs of African states such as in Sudan where Chinese has shown support for the ruling government and undermined the efforts of the opposition to bring change (Christian Aid, 2011). Franks & Ribet (2009) point out that China's current intervention in Africa is either a 'reinvention of old style colonialism, exploitation or a refreshing new kind of geopolitical relationship which is helping African development.

China's foreign policy to Africa has been criticized by many scholars who they say it is not built on initiative and entrepreneurship but it is built on exploiting the opportunities offered by African continent (Holsti, 1995). Despite being a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, and possessing the veto power to actively address the responsibility of all states to abide by their international commitments such as promoting international peace and security, China is fuelling conflicts across Africa (Richard, 2005).

China's expansion of business and investment plans in Africa has triggered scepticism and criticism from western nations. As Alden (2007) noted that China's economic and political expansion in Africa was frequently portrayed as a scramble for natural resources of strategic importance and labelled the action as neo-colonialism. Some scholars also argued that representation and framing of China-Africa relations from African media has been influenced by western ideological stereotypes given the fact that African media system has special historic links with the western media system (Uka Uche, 1991; Nyamnjoh, 2005).

China's escalating economic power in Africa is often regarded as threats to the traditional interests of the West on the continent (Brautigam, 2009; Breslin, 2007). Some literatures even labelled China as a 'colonizer' in an attempt to establish intimate relations with African power elites to gain political control over the continent (Alden, 2007, p. 6). Another critic also accused China of providing despotic African regimes with the media communication infrastructure to perpetuate their hold on political power because it protected Chinese interests in their countries. As an example for this, Brookes and Shin (2006) claimed that "China provided a military-

strength radio jamming device, which the Harare government used to block broadcasts of anti-government reports from independent media outlets during the 2005 parliamentary election campaign”(Brookes & Shin, 2006, p. 4).

2.7 Theoretical Frameworks

This part of the study deals with the theoretical underpinnings for the media coverage, representation and framing of Ethio-China relationship. The researcher employed framing theory and media representation theory as broader frameworks for the study.

2.7.1 Framing Theory

Concepts and Definitions of Framing

Goffman (1974) was one of the earliest scholars to define the framing concept, which is the “principle of organization which governs events--at least social ones--and our subjective involvement in them” (p.11). Goffman also describes frames as “strips” of everyday life that help people organize what they see.

For Pan and Kosicki (1993) framing is an effort of classifying, organizing and interpreting a social life experiences, and placing information into a unique context. Other scholars who defined framing from audience point of view noted that framing refers to the process through which people develop a certain conceptualization about an idea or they reorient their thinking as it pertains to an issue (Pan & Kosicki, 1993 cited in Chong & Drockman, 2007).

More over Entman (1993, 2007) has provided more than one definition for media framing. His famous definition of framing is “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993 cited in Weaver, 2007, p.142). According to Entman’s definitions, well developed frames usually have four functions: problem definition, causal analysis, moral judgment, and remedy promotion. First, frames define problems that are salient to the public. Then, they determine and highlight causes of the problem. Next, they encourage moral

evaluations by providing the causal analysis. Finally, they promote remedies so the concerned bodies can come up with favoured policies (Entman, 2007).

A news frame is defined as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual” (Gitlin, 1980). According to Gitlin (1980) news texts contain largely unspoken and unacknowledged "media frames" that organize the world both for journalists who report news and, to some important degree, for consumers who rely on their reports. Gitlin (1980) also argued that frames are a means of presentation whereby certain elements of the communicated text are emphasized or excluded by the communicator.

Framing theory suggests that the way media present certain information enormously influences media consumers. People’s interpretation of these messages depends highly on how the information is presented to them by the media (Tewksbury & Scheufel, 2009). In social theory, a frame consists of a schema of interpretation, collection of anecdotes, and stereotypes that individuals rely on to understand and respond to events. However in communications, framing defines how news media coverage can shape mass opinion by using the specific frameworks to help guide their audience to understanding (Cissel, 2012). Framing theory also provides an explanation about the critical role the media can play in influencing human perception of issues and events (McQuail, 1994 cited in Roba, 2012).

As Amadeo (2007) discussed that framing is a comprehensive theory that includes the news making process, the formal characteristics of the pieces of news as well as their reception by the audience. It focuses on underlying social values shared by journalists and their community, values that are either explicitly mentioned or suggested in the news. Amadeo further attributes functions and specific characteristics to frames according to the specific —level of the communication which includes: The first —level is the making and treatment of news -the production of the information by journalists and the media. The second level is the message in itself -that is to say the concrete contents of news-, and the third level is the reception of the message by the audience -the effect frames have on those who receive them (Amadeo,2007).

Process of Framing

According to Entman (1993) the process of framing essentially involves two aspects, selection and salience. Selecting information that calls attention to particular aspects of a reality logically implies that attention will be directed away from other aspects (Entman, 1993). After selection, the next critical aspect of the framing process that Entman (1993) described was salience, which he defined as making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences. He noted that, by highlighting certain aspects of information, they are elevated in salience.

Reese (2001) stated that the process of framing becomes active when journalists choose which elements to include or exclude in their stories. Media agents become selective not only about the stories they cover but how they cover them and present the final message to the audience.

Entman (1993) also further described the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture as components integral to a process of framing that consists of distinct stages: frame-building, frame-setting, and individual and societal level consequences of framing. As Shoemaker and Reese, (1996) suggested that frame-building refers to the factors that influence the structural qualities of frames. Factors internal to journalism determine how journalists and news organizations frame issues (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996 cited in Scheufel, 2000).

Media Framing

Gamson and Modigliani (1987) conceptually defined a media frames as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (p. 143). Viewing media or news frame as necessary to turn meaningless and non recognizable happenings in to a discernible event, Tuchman (1978) offered a similar definition for media frames: “the news frames organizes everyday reality and news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality, it is also an essential feature of news” (p. 193).

Media frames serve as working routines for journalists that allow the journalists to quickly identify and classify information and “to package it for efficient relay to their audiences” (Gitlin, 1980, p.7). Gitlin further added that media frames, “largely unspoken and unacknowledged,

organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports” (1980, p.7). As an organizing mechanism for media content, a media frame provides immediate context to the recipient of the frame through the selection, emphasis or exclusion of specific facts or ideas.

According to McQuail (2005, p.555), there are “two key meanings of the concept of framing. One refers to the way in which news content is typically shaped and contextualized by journalists within some familiar frame of reference and according to some latent structure of meaning. A second, related meaning concerns the effect of framing on the public”. The audience is thought to adopt the frames of reference offered by journalists and to see the world in a similar way. The subject within the frame becomes more salient than subjects outside the frame (McQuail, 2005).

Entman (1991) asserts that news frames are constructed from and embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images emphasized in a news narrative. Since the narrative finally consists of nothing more than words and pictures, frames can be detected by probing for particular words and visual images that consistently appear in a narrative and convey thematically consonant meanings across media and time. Entman also points out that the relationship between text and image, which is the frame, does not eliminate all inconsistent information: text inevitably contains some incongruent data. But through repetition, replacement, reinforcing and interpretation the text is more readily comprehensible and memorable than others (Entman, 1991 as cited in Youngchul & Gwangho, 2002).

There are different types of framing according to different scholars. And identifying different types of media frames is helpful to understand when and why different frames are at work. Having this in mind, De Vreese (1999, 2001) typified media frames into two major parts, generic, and issue specific. Issue-specific frames are those that are “pertinent only to specific topics or events” while generic frames are those that “transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural contexts” (Entman, matthes, & pellicano, 2009, p.54)

Factors affecting framing

According to different scholars noted Framing can be affected by various factors. For instance, according to Scheufel (1999) cited in Bruktawit (2008) journalists 'framing of an issue may be influenced by several social-structural or organizational reasons and by individual or ideological factors. Based on different studies the variables that may potentially affect journalists' framing of an issue or events were: social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressure of interest groups, journalistic routines, and journalists' ideological or political orientations.

On the other hand, Kosicki and McLeod in Shen (2004, p.125) point out that framing social and political issues and events can be affected by "journalists' individual values, ideological constraints, and market forces." In case of journalists, their "common reliance on politicians, interest groups and other experts for quotes and analysis means that the news media may serve as conduits for individuals and interest groups eager to promote their perspectives" (Nelson et al., cited in Shen, 2004, p.125). Consequently, journalists adopt frames suggested by interest groups or political actors as sound bites and incorporate them in their report of an issue or event. Furthermore, type and political orientation of the medium can also influence news framing (Gans, 1979; Scheufel, 1999 cited in Bruktawit, 2008).

Despite the fact that framing theory has been used in many different researches, it has been criticized by some. As to Scheufel (1999, p.103) most of the limitations of theory framing are attributed to its "lack of clear conceptual definition and generally applicable operation" (as cited in Bruktawit, 2008).

Determinants of international news flow and coverage

I, Economic factor

According to He, (2003) International news does not flow evenly and uniformly across national boundaries. He summarized that several key factors involved in international news flow and coverage, including population, GDP, GDP per capita, military power, trade, colonial ties, geographic distance, and language. In this study, economic factors were chosen as one key factor for news coverage about the eight Chinese leaders' visits.

II, Ideology and political factors

The ideological or political orientations of journalists are also one and influential factor that determining how journalists frame news coverage in mass media (Van Dijk, 1985). Journalists unconsciously rely on their own values in writing news stories and absorb assumptions of the social world in which the news is embedded (White, 1950; Hackett, 1984).

According to Murdock & Golding (1977), three types of ideology may be expected to exert primary influence on the framing of news: (1) dominant ideology, (2) elite ideology and (3) Journalistic ideology, or ‘occupational ideology’ (quoted in Chang, 2008).

As Hall (1986, p.65) notes, ideology is most effective when it becomes “natural, universal, and coterminous with reality itself.” As journalists try to make events understood by readers in the form of news stories, they must inevitably draw on frames. These frames are most likely to come from the limited ideological or explanatory repertoire available in the dominant culture (Hall, 1977). Thus journalists do their ‘ideological work’ in a non-coercive process, at the moment of framing.

2.7.2 Media Representation theory

What is Representation?

Representations are images, descriptions, explanations and frames for understanding what the world is and why and how it works in particular ways (Hall 1997). It plays a central role in constituting and framing the experience of globalization, the symbolic stretching of social relations across time and distance. Concurrently, media representations increasingly are dependent on and determined by the networking of different social contexts and regions on a global scale (Orgad, 2012).

Representation, as described by Branston and Stafford is concerned with answering the question of ‘how the groups, or possible identities or events that exist partly ‘outside’ the media have been represented in the media’ (Branston& Stafford, 2003, p.90).

Representation is a vital source of reassurance and a sense of certainty. But it is precisely the ‘liquidity’ of the global age that renders the reflectionist task of representation so challenging

and problematic, if not impossible (Orgad 2012). On the other hand, the power of media representations lies neither in reflecting or distorting the ‘truth’ and imposing a certain view of ‘reality’, nor in ‘softly’ winning consent and establishing hegemony. Rather, their power resides in producing certain ‘truth effects’ and legitimizing certain discursive regimes, while rendering others illegitimate, deviant and ‘false’.

Moreover Hall’s (1997) stated that Representation is a site of power because at its heart is the symbolic production of difference and the symbolic marking of frontiers. According to Orgad (2012) Most research on media representations is interested in the ways, in which different types of media representation are involved, often in subtle, latent and highly sophisticated ways, in the reproduction and/or contestation of power relations and inequalities, for example, of class, gender, race, sexuality, ethnicity, age and nationality.

Representation’ also refers to the “process of re-presenting, the process by which members of a culture use systems of signs to produce meaning.” This highlights that representation is an active process of meaning production, the products of which are media representations, that is, texts and images (Orgad, 2012, p. 48).

According to Hall (1997), Representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or represent the world meaningfully, to other people. “Framing is the production of meaning through language,” (Hall, 1997, p.16). In the process of any production and exchange of meanings between members of a culture, representation undoubtedly plays a pivotal role. The meaning-production process involves the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things (Hall, 1997 cited in Abdisa, 2010).

As Hall (1997) argues, Meaning is the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the real ‘world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events. Abdisa (2010) also argued that meaning depends on the system of concepts and images formed in our thoughts which can stand for or represent ‘the world, enabling us to refer to things both inside and outside our heads.

Theories of Media representation

According to Hall and Nixon (1997) there are three broad approaches to explaining how representation of meaning through language works. These are the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist theoretical approaches. In the reflective approach, meaning is thought to lie in the object, person, idea or event in the real world, and language functions like a mirror, to reflect the true meaning as it already exists in the world (Hall, 1997). The intentional approach to meaning in representation holds the view that it is the speaker, the author, who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through languages (Hall & Nixon, 1997).

On the other hand, the constructionist approach to meaning in language is the perspective which has had the most significant impact in contemporary cultural studies, and the theoretical approach to representation. The constructionist approach recognizes the public, social character of language (Hall, 1997 as cited in Abdisa, 2010).

According to Wallis (2012) the theory of media Representation refers to the construction in any medium (especially the mass media) of aspects of 'reality' such as people, places, objects, events, cultural identities and other abstract concepts (Wallis, 2012). Media Representation theory the term refers to the processes involved as well as to its products. For instance, in relation to the key markers of identity - Class, Age, Gender and Ethnicity, Representation involves not only how identities are represented (or rather constructed) within the text but also how they are constructed in the processes of production and reception (Wallis, 2012).

In addition Wallis (2012) stated that all media products re-present the real world to us; they show us one version of reality, not reality itself. So, the theory of representation in Media Studies means thinking about how a particular person or groups of people are being presented to the audience.

As Orgad, (2012) discussed that the major contribution of the rich body of research on media representations is its persistence that all representation is fundamentally and inextricably inscribed in relations of power. Power relations are encoded in media representations, and media representations in turn produce and reproduce power relations by constructing knowledge, values, conceptions and beliefs. It is for these reasons that representations matter.

In the process of media representation we give things a meaning by how we represent them – the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them, the ways we classify and conceptualize them, the value we place on them (Hall, 1997 in Orgad, 2012).

So, in a nutshell when we talk about media representations we are referring to texts (in the broad sense, which includes images) that circulate in the media space and carry symbolic content: news photographs and articles, advertisements, radio programmes, YouTube videos and etc (Orgad, 2012).

Wasserman (2012) in his study about China in South Africa suggested a fairly balanced picture of China's involvement in Africa as far as South African media coverage is concerned, and even displayed a cautiously optimistic stance towards China when this country's involvement on the continent was framed as a business story which highlighted the potential economic opportunities that this relationship might bring.

According to Wasserman (2016) South African journalists viewed Chinese media with uncertainty and mistrust due to Chinese state control of the media. Despite concerns raised by scholars and in popular media discourses that the Chinese media presence in Africa would impact adversely on press freedom and editorial independence, South African journalists did not express strong fears in this regard. However, they did feel that their integrity would be compromised if they were to rely on Chinese media sources.

Wasserman (2016) in terms of the representation of China in South African media, it would therefore seem that despite an absence of overly negative portrayals, South African journalists do not portray China- Africa relations overly critically. Wasserman (2018) also concluded that Chinese media present in Africa dedicate significant amounts of coverage to stories on the continent, but also lent its support to African media on the level of infrastructure development, training, content production, content distribution and direct investment. The coverage of China in Africa has been found to be balanced and optimistic when the potential economic benefits of

Chinese involvement in Africa were considered Chinese media are viewed with a large degree of scepticism and distrust Wasserman (2018).

A previous study of De Beer & Schreiner (2009) on media coverage of China's involvement in South Africa has pointed to the fact that this relationship is a newsworthy one, i.e. that news events pertaining to this relationship are likely to receive coverage. The reason for the high volume of coverage is that China's involvement in Africa activates both political and economic discourses, the two highest areas of coverage in South Africa media after general society matters (De Beer & Schreiner 2009).

A previous content analysis of South African media coverage of China (De Beer & Schreiner 2009) found that contrary to the above assumptions of China's presumed deleterious impact on South Africa, South African media have not been overly negative in their reporting. China received only a little more negative coverage than other foreign powers like the US and the UK, leading the authors (De Beer & Schreiner 2009) concluded that the media image of China's involvement in Africa seems on the whole to be more that of a developmental partner than that of an exploitative colonialist.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Research Method

As earlier mentioned, the study was aimed at its main objectives, so in order to achieve that objective, pure qualitative research method was employed under the study.

The qualitative approach is more suitable to collect actual data. It is also very important to offer detail analysis and descriptions and represent non numerical data presentation. According to Catherine (2002) stated qualitative research explores attitudes, behaviors and experiences through such methods as interviews or document/ Textual analysis. It also attempts to get an in-depth opinion from participants.

According to Mwanje (2001) qualitative method is concerned with offering specialized techniques for obtaining in-depth response about what people is thinking about, arguing for, is doing and feel on it. Mwanje (2001) also further added that this method covers the realm of texts (especially document analysis using textual analysis), interviews, audio and video (especially discourse analysis, conversation analysis, and analysis of face to face interactions), validation and aesthetics of research.

3.2. Methods of data collection

The researcher used the data collection method or tool which includes the Interview and Textual Analysis method.

3.2.1 Interview

Interview was one of the primary data gathering tools of this study in order to get detail information from key informants.

An interview is unique forms of interpersonal process whereby two parties are purposefully interact with one another asking and answering specific questions to solve problems and change or the mutual benefit of the participant (Malisa, 2001).

On the other hands an interview is the process of communication or interaction in which the subject or interviewee give the needed information. The researcher prepared a series of open ended questions on the topic areas the researcher wants to cover. The open ended nature of question defines the topic under investigation, but it also provides opportunities for both interviewer and interviewee to discuss on some topics in more detail.

Accordingly the researcher conducted an interview with the total three senior reporters, two from EBC and one from CGTN Africa that based in Addis Ababa. The key informants were selected based on availability /purposive sampling technique, in that they have better experiences and understanding among others as to the researcher knowledge. The interview was held both physically (for EBC) and through phone and recorded (especially for CGTN), because of distance constraints and their work pressure to contact them physically. The telephone interview was held for the total of 50 minutes and the recorded interview material was transcribed and a total of 4 page transcription was produced. The researcher also prepared different type of themes and categorized the data from interview in to those themes for analysis.

3.2.2 Textual analysis

Textual analysis is the method of communication researchers use to describe and interpret the characteristics of a recorded or visual message. The purpose of textual analysis is to describe the content, structure, and functions of the messages contained in texts. The important considerations in textual analysis include selecting the types of texts to be studied, acquiring appropriate texts, and determining which particular approach to employ in analyzing them (Frey, Botan, & Kreps, 1999).

According to McKee (2003) when we perform textual analysis on a text, we make an educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of that text. This is, of course, a simplistic definition, and one which will be heavily refined over the course of your studies, but it will do as a starting point. Textual analysis is a methodology: a way of gathering and analyzing information in academic research (McKee, 2003). Textual analysis is also useful for researchers working in cultural studies, media studies, in mass communication, and perhaps even in sociology and philosophy (McKee, 2003).

This study certainly, calls for a qualitative method (especially news text examination using textual analysis method). The data collected through textual analysis was the total of 65 news stories (30 from EBC and 35 from CGTN) which focused on China-Ethiopia relations that produced during the time period from January, 2018 to January, 2019.

3.3 Sampling techniques and sampling Size

The researcher used purposive sampling to choose the two Media outlets. Thus on the basis of purposive sampling, Ethiopia Broadcasting Corporation and China Global Television Network were chosen as the two media outlets selected for the study. The two aforementioned local and International TV channels were chosen purposefully because of the reason that, i. EBC is one of the National Television and more than a halve century old Television station in Ethiopia. In addition to this EBC has a very wide breadth of coverage in the country comparing to other local TV channels. It has also a wider reach compared to other media outlets in the country. ii. CGTN of China is also selected for it is one of the global televisions owned by Chinese government that has the international wider scope. Furthermore CGTN has a much focus on China and its relation to the outside world.

Coming to sample size, the subject of the study was a total of 65 online news and news analysis narratives, which means (30 from EBC and 35 from CGTN) that covers the time period ranging from January 2018 to January 2019. And out of the total of 65 news, 40 (20 from EBC, 20 from CGTN) online news and news analysis narratives that focused on China- Ethiopia relations were selected. In order to select those news stories out of the total ones the researcher employed simple random sampling, because it is impossible to cover all stories in this specific study. The selected stories were also further examined in relation to the economic, political as well as social aspects of the Ethio-China bilateral relations.

Furthermore the selected news stories that related to Ethio-China's relationship weather its economic, social as well as political relationship was coded and analyzed based on the aforementioned appropriate theoretical frame works and study methods as well.

3.4. Data presentation

The researcher used qualitative method of data presentation in order to present and interpret the data which was collected from Textual analysis and Interviews.

Finally the researcher would explain or interpret the qualitative data clearly, and in understandable ways through the words of mouth or in non numeric ways.

3.5. Data analysis

It is obvious that data analysis is crucial part of the study, since the finding and conclusions should alive based on the analysis and interpretation of the data.

In this specific study the researcher also used pure qualitative method of data analysis in order to analyze the data which was collected through Textual analysis and Interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Data presentation and analysis

4.1. Introduction

As it has been clearly indicated under the first chapter of the study, the main aim of this particular research was to examine how the EBC of Ethiopia and CGTN of China represent and frame the contemporary Ethio-Chinese relations in line with Media Framing and Media representation theoretical frame works. Coming to this chapter it deals with the presentation, interpretation and analysis of the data obtained qualitatively through the two important methods which include Textual analysis and open-ended Interviews. And this emanates from the objectives and questions of the research those raised in earlier chapters. In making the analysis and presentation of the gathered data's from the selected online news stories the researcher tried to prepare the Topical frames on China-Ethiopia relations and also prepare another sub topics like: Sources identified and quoted in the articles about China-Ethiopia relations, Country specification and regional patterns in reporting issues related to China-Ethiopia relationship, Similarities and differences in coverage of issues related to Ethio-China across both EBC and CGTN. Thus the analysis and discussions of the selected online news narratives was based on those frames and subtopics and each topical frame and the aforementioned sub-topics looked at two outlooks, EBC's outlooks and CGTN's outlooks.

In another hand the selected stories from both media outlets and the interviews made were also further examined in relation to the economic, political as well as social aspects of the China-Ethiopia relations.

Accordingly, analysis of the data gathered through Textual analysis, i.e. some of the online news narratives from EBC and CGTN that related to Ethio-Chinese relationship, followed by the analysis and discussion of data gathered through open-ended interview is presented as follows.

4.2 Topical Media Frames on Ethio - China Relationships

The researcher identified the next five topical frames on China-Ethiopia relations and friendships which include: Common Interest engagement or win-win approach frame, Creating Harmonious

world frame, South-south cooperation frame, National interest's priority frame and Non-interventionist policy frame.

4.2.1 Common Interest engagement or win-win approach frame

Concerning China's Foreign Policy towards Africa, Li Anshan (2006) argued that China's African policy emphasis is put on cooperation, bilateralism and win-win pattern. As Wang (2014) discussed that the central message of win-win school of thought is that China is neither altruistic nor it is playing a zero-sum game in its relations with Africa. Rather it was argued that the transformatory power of China's relations with Africa and as well with Ethiopia will draw from the comparative advantages of both sides, and encouraging healthy developments for both sides as well (Wang, 2014).

Apart from the material support, the exchange of ideas has played an important role. China provides Ethiopia with many experiences on how to be a successful developmental state. In this regard Ethiopia's former Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn put it in an interview with Voice of America that:

Our party has very close ties with the Communist Party of China because we have areas where we can learn from the work the Chinese Communist Party is doing, simply because we are people centered, where Chinese Communist Party has experience in working with people at the grass roots, so we learn with China, this kind of approach, it doesn't mean our ideology is similar to China (Voice of America, 2014).

Likewise the Chinese president Xi Jinping once on a meeting with Ethiopian PM on bilateral cooperation inevitably emphasizes that "China and Ethiopia have a similar governing philosophy", and that "the international community should fully respect African countries' development path and forge a partnership with the continent based on equality, mutual benefit, cooperation and win-win" – which of course is just how the Chinese government would like to be treated as well (Xinhua, 2013).

Thus with reference to the above common interest or the mutual engagement frame EBC and CGTN online news narratives has a lot to state. So let us see articulation of EBC online news narratives on win-win approach first and of CGTN news narratives next respectively.

EBC'S Outlook

In EBC's January 11, 2019 online news report-----**Chinese engagement has propelled Ethiopia's development ambitions by boosting** the East African country's capacity building efforts, an Ethiopian scholar said on Thursday January 11, 2019.

Costantinos Bt. Costantinos, who served as an economic advisor to the African Union (AU) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), said that on Thursday that "Ethiopia has benefited from China's investments, grants and loans." The expert also added that partnership with China has among other things helped Ethiopia to build close to 74,000 km of all-weather roads, modern railway lines, hydro-power stations, transmission lines and industrial parks (EBC January 11, 2019).

In a similar manner, the next EBC online news narrative also noted that the China's ties and friendship with Ethiopia was laid up on mutual engagement.

EBC online news narratives on September 03, 2018 reports----- **Li, chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee**, said China will continue to strengthen cooperation with Ethiopia in infrastructure including railway, water supply and airport, as well as finance, trade and investment, to further elevate the two countries' comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership to a new level.

Prime minister Dr. Abiy for his part said the FOCAC Beijing Summit will become a new milestone in Africa-China and Ethiopia-China win-win cooperation and common development (EBC September 03, 2018).

From the above EBC's online news stories one can understand that China-Africa relation in general and China-Ethiopia in particular was strongly based itself on win-win approach of both sides. PM Abiy Ahmed and Chairman Li's discourse in the above news article signifies that the

two countries relationship was built up on sympathy, close friendship and common development agendas. The other discourse and arguments in the above online news coverage confirm that Chinese engagement with Ethiopia helps a lot to transform the country's economy in a different level and sector's as well.

CGTN's Outlook

The following piece of news from the CGTN online news narrative elaborated more on China-Ethiopia strong and old friendship which bases itself on common interest approach.

In CGTN online news on March 14, 2018---- **Mitiku Kassa, Ethiopia's Commissioner for National Disaster Risk Management**, has commended China for its support to the efforts of drought response in Ethiopia. The commissioner added:

I would like to thank the people and government of China for your (Chinese) four round support to Ethiopia over the last years for the drought response that we are working together," he said, "Your contribution is so immense. It is not forgettable by the government of Ethiopia and the people of Ethiopia (CGTN March 14, 2018).

I believe that China and Ethiopia are working together for their mutual interests and benefits. So, our foreign policy creates conducive and fertile environment to cooperate in a number of areas, be it development in a number of projects, and investment sectors as well as humanitarian area, he said.

The commissioner has expressed belief that the existing collaboration spirit between Ethiopia and China would continue in the future in a more strengthened manner (CGTN March 14, 2018).

In another CGTN online news narrative-----**Levi UcheMadueke, Head of AU Strategic Partnership**, said the **Ethio-Djibouti railway project is the product of Sino-Africa cooperation, which aims at mutual benefits.**

What we are witnessing today is a very good thing; it makes us happy, because we are beginning to realize our vision which is about African development and integration, said Madueke. "This railway project is a part of the cooperation program that we have, coming

into reality; because linking Ethiopian people to Djibouti, is going to facilitate a lot of things, it is going to boost development process; it is going to boost issues related to trade; even people to people exchange... It is very good thing that we are experiencing today,” he said (CGTN June 16, 2018).

CGTN online news articles on March 31, 2018 also came up with the following narratives: **Ethiopia and China have been moving in the fast lane, with rapid progress in all areas of pragmatic cooperation in many fields**, said Liu Yu, Economic and Commercial Counsellor at the Chinese Embassy in Ethiopia.

According to the counsellor, the training programs offered by China to Ethiopians aim at improving managerial skills and practical techniques for government officials, senior managerial personnel and specialized technicians of Ethiopia. With the knowledge they have acquired in China, Ethiopians are contributing to economic development in their country, while playing role in deepening the friendship and cooperation forged between the two countries.

In the context of the comprehensive strategic cooperative partnership, China will keep striving to sponsor more Ethiopians to study in China, and strengthen win-win cooperation with Ethiopia in all areas, said Liu. As Ethiopia is an old and true friend, the Chinese government and people are ready to join hands with the Ethiopian government and people to build a more beautiful future with more shared interests, she added (CGTN March 31, 2018).

From those above online news of CGTN it is straightforward to understand that China’s engagement in infrastructural developments as well as investments (rail way, roads, trade, telecommunications and etc.) are visible throughout Ethiopia as being a benchmark to Win-Win strategy. It is noticeable in the above news that many more officials and personalities from both sides were confirming that the two countries relationship built up on a win-win approach and on mutually benefiting each other. It is also visible that the both side elites were thanking and appreciating the two countries year old friendship. However, besides positive reporting there is nothing to mention about the negative sides of the story.

4.2.2 Creating Harmonious world frame

The idea of harmonious world is a recent phenomenon on the globalized world of our time according to scholars. As Qin Yaqing (2006) pointed out that the so-called harmonious world is a new conception of international order. And it refers to:

I. Harmonious world means a state of peaceful coexistence. In this state, different countries live in a harmonious and equal environment and respect one another's status, rights and unique features.

II. Harmonious world means a state of order, justice and fairness. A harmonious state itself has profound connotations of justice, because only when justice becomes the basic norm for state-to-state relations it is possible to reach a harmonious order within the international community.

III. Harmonious world is a state of order which continuously resolves conflicts. As the international community is a society without a unified central government, the lack of a domestic legal system will lead to more difficulties in solving contradictions (Qin Yaqing, 2006 as cited in Wang, 2014).

On the other hand Lanham argued that in the harmonious world discourse, the Chinese leadership and foreign policy officials often mention the importance of China's relations with other developing countries especially African nations by stressing common prosperity or common development with them (Lanham, 2008).

Accordingly, both selected media outlets, EBC and CGTN in their online news narratives had the following to say about Ethio-China's relations in line with the foundation of harmonious world or harmonious state of order, which taken as a show case for countries strong cooperation's.

EBC'S Outlook

EBC online news narratives on its August 18, 2018 noted the following story in relation with harmonious world approach:

The Chinese government on Wednesday provided 29 scholarships to Ethiopian university students to pursue further studies in China. Samuel Kifle, Ethiopia's Deputy Minister of

Education, said that the scholarship grant from the Chinese government to Ethiopians depicts "one of the best partnerships in the world in all the diplomatic, cultural and economic arenas."

We will continue to have this strong relationship, because we are sending another 29 bright students who will make the difference in this country's future, Samuel said. Noting the Ethiopian government's commitment in strengthening access to higher education, Samuel has also commended the support from the Chinese government in filling the gap in terms of access to higher education.

Tan Jian, Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia, also said that partnership in education is "very meaningful and important work." Tan further called on scholarship recipients to serve as the connecting bridges in the people-to-people relations among the two countries (EBC Aug 08, 2018).

In another EBC online news article, **Hundreds of Chinese companies have flocked to Ethiopia, helping it become Africa's fastest-growing economy for most of the past decade.**

Ethiopia absorbed almost half of the \$7.6 billion in foreign investment in East Africa last year, according to the UN Conference on Trade and Development's World Investment Report.

Helen Hai, is one of investors who owns a pioneering shoe factory in Ethiopia, began setting up the Made in Africa Initiative. Hai, co-founded factories making children's clothes in Rwanda, Senegal and Ethiopia, and she became the UN Industrial Development Organization's goodwill ambassador in Africa (EBC September 18, 2018).

In the above online news from EBC one can observe that the Chinese government helping and supporting Ethiopia in different areas like, education sector (scholarship grant), technology and industrial transfer and the likes. Thus, in doing so China was creating harmonistic state of order and true friendships with Ethiopia.

CGTN's Outlook

Coming to CGTN's online news narratives there are a lot of news articles that echo the fact that Ethiopia-China friendship was placed on creating a harmonistic world approach.

For instance CGTN online news coverage of January, 2018 came up with the following news story:

Chinese state counselor and foreign minister Wang Yi said that China and Ethiopia are close friends and strategic partners. The friendship has withstood the tests of fluctuating international situations and is unbreakable. He added that China supports Ethiopia in its pursuit of development path that suits its national conditions and wins the support of its people, Wang said.

Ethiopian president Sahle-Work Zewde on her part said that Ethiopia and China have consensus and common interests in protecting the world order from shocks of Unilateralism. And she expresses her hope that two countries would continue to strengthen coordination in the United Nations and on other international affairs (CGTN January 04, 2019).

The main issue in the above news narrative was that China-Ethiopia relationship was strong enough under every situations and that China will tirelessly support Ethiopia in its way to development. Moreover, the story was focused on the consensus that both China and Ethiopia are working together in protecting the world from being unilateral or one-sided world. Thus the above story was more inclined towards creating a harmonious world among the nations.

In another CGTN online news narrative, **the Ethiopian airline said it even has a Chinese help desk to serve its clientele from the Asian country passing through or coming to Africa.**

“We have a Chinese help desk here at the hub for passengers passing through here to Africa and coming back, we have Chinese dedicated staff here, we have Chinese crew on board, we have Chinese food, and we have Chinese call-centre,” Managing Director of Ethiopian airline's International Service Esayas Woldemariam said. He also added that the airline has strong aspirations to grow its relations with its Chinese customers towards “being the most Chinese-friendly transit hub and airline in the African continent.”

Ethiopian Airlines also celebrates Chinese festivals in a bid to attract its Chinese customers, which include a special event for Chinese nationals returning home for the Chinese New Year, or Spring Festival every February (CGTN April 18, 2018).

In a similar manner another CGTN news narrative states the next news article:

Speaking to Xinhua news agency, the CEO of Ethiopian Airlines, Tewolde Gebremariam, said China's large geographical size has meant it's not always convenient for Chinese wanting to travel to African countries to process their visa applications in Beijing.

The plan is to have a visa hub in Addis Ababa, where Chinese visitors can directly travel from our five Chinese destinations to Addis Ababa and be able to apply for visas of 35 African countries through their embassies in Ethiopia," Gebremariam said. The visa scheme will also facilitate easier air travel for Chinese experts and business people and reduces their financial cost. We believe the visa scheme will significantly boost China-Africa trade ties and we are very excited about it," he further said (CGTN November 28, 2018).

The above two CGTN online news narratives about Ethiopian Airlines show to us that the deeper relationship between Ethiopia and China. As we understand from the news the Ethiopian airline is working a lot to satisfy Beijing and to build true friendship as well as harmonist state of order with China. It is noted in the news that Ethiopian Airlines is opening the Chinese help desk, have Chinese crew, and have Chinese call-centre, having a visa hub for Chinese travelers and the like. And as the managing director stated that the airline is striving to become "Chinese-friendly" transit hub in the continent. Thus it is understandable that the two countries friendship was building of harmonious state of order between them.

4.2.3 South-south cooperation frame

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) (2011, p.2) stated that South-South Cooperation is "a means of development by an exchange of knowledge, experience, technology and information and capacity development between and among developing countries". South-South Cooperation is often established within Southern (developing) countries of the world regardless of their geographical positions (Ugwuja, Ubaku, Obiakor, &Ibekilo, 2014). It covers both the southern

and northern hemispheres. South-South Cooperation involves two or more developing countries on a bilateral or regional basis (Ugwuja et al., 2014).

According to Bilal (2012) the rise of China and other emerging powers such as India, Brazil, South-Africa and other Southern states has intensified trade and investment within the South. The countries are also the largest trading partner for Africa. BRICS is one of the strongest economic alliances which work to transform the economic cooperation of nation-states mainly developing countries. Therefore, the South-South cooperation which is rooted on the principle of non-interference advocates for extensive trade and investments as well as for a better and just economic order of the world (Vaes & Huyse, 2013 cited in Damtew & Tsegay, 2017).

Furthermore, According to the United Nations (2012), South-South Cooperation is meant to strengthen mutual benefits and it is a powerful tool to: Transfer of knowledge and development solutions; Increase opportunities and maximize mutual benefits; Develop partnerships by enabling harmonization of policies and legal frameworks; Strengthen Southern perspectives and actions in global development agendas by convening and connecting a wide variety of stakeholder (as cited in Damtew & Tsegay, 2017).

Accordingly EBC's and CGTN's selected online news narratives with regard to South-South cooperation frame presented and discussed as follows:

EBC'S Outlook

The following EBC's online news coverage's on August 25, 2018 indicate that the Ethio-Chinese friendship and cooperation are South to south in its form:

Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed said “nothing is impossible especially for Ethiopia and China; the sky is the limit. We can go far to develop next generation to take one's ability to work for their country,”

Lauding the support of the Chinese government to Ethiopia on human resource development which is the priority of his government, Abiy called on the Embassy to double the number of scholarship and trainings.

Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia, Tan Jian noted that human resource is a key to development, and investing on people through education is the best investment. “There are three kinds of resources: financial resource, natural resource and human resource. To me, human resource is the most important. When I say human resource, it is not just human brain, it’s more than human brain”, Jian said.

In the past eight months, China has provided 1,324 Ethiopians with short term seminars and training courses and offered another 220 Ethiopians long term Masters and PhD degree programs.

The training and fellowship programs contribute a lot to foster and strengthen the bi-lateral and people-to-people relation between the two countries, Jian noted (EBC August 25, 2018).

In another EBC online news article on November 23, 2018----Ethiopia-China Trade and Investment Symposium, which aimed at promoting economic and trade cooperation and exchanges between Ethiopia and China’s Zhejiang province opened today in Addis Ababa.

Opening the symposium, State Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Aklilu Hailemechael said Ethiopia and China have enjoyed historic relations in areas including trade, culture, education and development cooperation.

He said “Chinese Companies have invested over 1 billion USD in Ethiopia during the last two decades.”

Mr. Zhang Qingshan, Vice Chairman of China Council for the Promotional Trade (CCPIT) Zhejiang Province said Chinese business people will look into ways of working together in the areas of information, medicine, agriculture, energy and commerce among others (EBC November 23, 2018).

In EBC online news on November 26, 2018 --- Ethiopia is set to host a high-level Africa-China Business Forum on Nov. 27 as hundreds of Chinese companies are expected to take part at the meeting creating ties with their Ethiopian and African counterparts.

The Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce and Sectoral Association, co-organizing the high-level business meeting tomorrow in partnership with China International Exhibition Center (CIEC), said on Saturday that the gathering is aimed at promoting trade and investment for mutual growth through strengthened partnership.

According to the association, hundreds of Chinese companies that are engaged in 29 different sectors are expected to take part at the meeting in a bid to create partnership and joint-venture with their Ethiopian as well as African counterparts (EBC November 26, 2018).

In the above news articles, The PM Abiy's speech "nothing is impossible especially for Ethiopia and China; the sky is the limit" is taken as a reaffirmation of the country's commitment to south-south relation. As argued by scholars Nations in the South for the most part share the common experiences, knowledge's, skills, cultures (of collective society) and etc. Coming to the above news narratives it was argued that the Chinese and Ethiopian government engaged together in the areas of education, information, medicine, agriculture, energy, trade and commerce among others. And this kind of engagement showcase that the two nation's relations was south-to-south strategic cooperation in its approach.

CGTN's Outlook

The following CGTN's online news narrative points out that the Ethio-Chinese friendship and cooperation is South to south approach in its form:

Tan Jian, Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia, said the contribution from his country is a testimony of China's solidarity with Ethiopia.

China is a member of the international community and is ready and willing to extend our support within our ability; our support is in the framework of the south-south cooperation. China is not a developed country, but China has been very active in contacting those countries in suffer of natural disasters, he said.

Noting that China's assistance to Ethiopia is a grant aid without preconditions under the south-south cooperation, the ambassador said, "I wish to highlight this point, given the recent

allegations and accusations that China's approach in Africa has aggravated Africa's debt burden." (CGTN March 14, 2018).

Another CGTN online news story on its January 2, 2018 coverage noted that --- CGTN's Girum Chala reports **The Ethiopia-Djibouti railway is one of the mega infrastructure projects in the continent. The railway connects the heart of Ethiopia with the port of Djibouti.** It was built at a cost of \$ 4 billion, most of it funded by China.

So this is a success story out of almost four years of investment mainly from China and collaboration between Ethiopia and Djibouti. But the work is also beyond putting together a world class infrastructure here.

Chinese engineers say the project has helped them transfer skills and knowledge to their counterparts in Ethiopia. "Also the engineers from the Ethiopia side ...we seat in the same office, we talk the same issues, we face the same difficulties...so that is why we transfer the knowledge to Ethiopia and Djibouti. And for the future we have to the operation phase ...we have the contract, we have the duty to give training of the Ethiopia and Djibouti people let them know how to run this train." Deputy Head, CCECC, Yang Lee said.

Many see this train not only as a means of transportation for goods and people from one part of Africa to the other .This is also one of the best examples...a promising sign for future cooperation between china and Africa (CGTN January 2, 2018).

In its November 27, 2018 online news narratives CGTN reports that **Ethiopia's capital Addis Ababa will host high-level forum next week as some 41 Chinese companies are expected to participate**, aspiring to create business partnerships with their Ethiopian and African counterparts.

Chinese companies that are engaged in 29 different sectors will take part at the high-level forum, which will also host various other side events, including the China-Ethiopia industrial capacity cooperation forum, investment promotion conference, visit to some of Ethiopia's industrial parks, as well as business to business meeting sessions among Chinese and Ethiopian as well as other African business people, according to the organizers.

China International Exhibition Center (CIEC) Deputy Manager Liu Jian said that the forum, sponsored by the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade in partnership with the China-Africa Development Fund and Ethiopia's ECCSA, will serve as a platform in creating linkage among African and Chinese business people (CGTN November 27, 2018).

As CGTN's online news report by Dinah Matengo on August 17, 2018 --- **Ethiopian President Mulatu Teshome has hailed Chinese investment** as one that plays an indispensable role in the East African country's industrialization drive.

A decade ago the land the Eastern Industry Zone currently lies on was just an agricultural land, but with hard work it has become today a showcase of high quality industrial factories in sectors such as pharmaceuticals, pulp and textile, said Teshome. He added, I hope our local entrepreneurs will learn from the success of Eastern Industry Zone and take this opportunity to enter into the manufacturing sector.

Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia Tan Jian, who accompanied the Ethiopian president in his visit to the Eastern Industry Zone, said the bilateral relationship can be a model of South-South cooperation (CGTN August 17, 2018).

In the above news narratives Tan Jian, Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia argument "Noting that China's assistance to Ethiopia is a grant aid without preconditions under the south-south cooperation", is a showcase as a reaffirmation of the Chinese commitment to south- south cooperation with Ethiopia. The ambassador also argued that the bilateral relationship of China Ethiopia can be a model of South-South cooperation. South to south cooperation frame work is multidimensional approach which is applicable in economical, political, cultural, social, technological, industrial domains. Thus in the story it is noted that Chinese are supporting Ethiopia, sharing their experiences, strengthening business ties, and etc to foster the south to south cooperation.

4.2.4 National interest's priority frame

According to Chinese Foreign Affairs Documents (1990) stated Premier Zhou Enlai in 1949 said that, when no war or violation takes place, national interests need to be protected domestically and internationally, and in the international arena, diplomacy has become front line work.

Obviously the national interest in this sentence includes both types of interests (as cited in Wang, 2014).

Likewise Wang (2014) in her study noted that in the Chinese language the concept of national interest has two meanings to mention: One is national interest in the context of international politics, meaning the interests of a nation state in a global arena. And the other is state interest or interests of state as the highest level in domestic politics, meaning governmental interest or a government that represents the peoples 'interest (Wang, 2014).

Ethiopia's Policy and Strategy on Foreign Affairs and National security (2002) stated about Ethiopia's national interest as follows:

Foreign policy as well as national security policy should have the mission of protecting national interest and security. By national interest we can only be referring to the interest of the entire people –no more, no less. What is crucial to the interests of the entire people is rapid development that benefits the population. It is in the interest of the people as a whole that democracy and good governance take root. Our national interest is all about democracy and development (p. 7).

Coming to Ethiopia's foreign policy toward China, the policy stated that in the political and diplomatic sphere China has been a good friend as our country strove to maintain peace and secure its rights. It further assured:

Ethiopia should give special attention to the strengthening of relations with China. We need to fully utilize Chinese development experience as well as training and technical assistance possibilities. We need to secure greater financial assistance if possible and, failing that, to improve the efficiency of what is made available (p. 151-152).

EBC's Outlook

The next EBC's online news narratives points out that the EBC was more focused of Ethiopia's national interest in some of its coverage.

For instance EBC's online news coverage on July 12, 2018 marked that---- **In market year 2016-17, exports of major oilseeds, soybeans, sesame and Niger sees, generated nearly \$360 million in export earnings.** In addition, the report noted the oilseed sector provides income to millions of growers and other market actors along the value chain.

Market year 2018-19 soybean production is estimated to hit 120,000 tones, up 5,000 tons due to an increase in local demand for cooking oil, soy-based foods and livestock feed.

Market year 2018-19 soybean exports are expected to remain unchanged from the previous year's record of nearly 80,000 tones.

“Exports jumped a little more than 30,000 tones in market year 2017-18 to nearly 80,000 tones in large part because of increased demand from India,” the report said. “About 95% of exports go to five countries: India, China, Vietnam, Canada and Pakistan” (EBC July 12, 2018).

AsEBC's December 27, 2018 online news coverage reports that -- **Ethiopia has earned 38 million U.S. dollars in export revenues from its flagship Chinese-built Hawassa industrial park** in the last two years, an Ethiopian official said on Wednesday.

Built by China Civil Engineering Corporation (CCECC), the Hawassa industrial park located in Ethiopia's southern regional state, was initially completed in a record time of nine months back in July 2016.

CCECC has also constructed and commissioned Kombolcha and Adama industrial parks, while it has completed 70 percent of construction work for Bahir Dar industrial park.

Speaking to media, Mekonen Hailu, Public Relations Director of Ethiopia Investment Commission (EIC), said the 38 million U.S. dollars export revenue was earned from textile goods produced by 20 local and foreign firms located inside Hawassa industrial park.

Hailu further said Hawassa industrial park has created job opportunities for 23,000 Ethiopians, who are also receiving practical skills training to build their capacities.

Ethiopia hopes to build and commission 30 industrial parks by 2025, as part of its efforts to make the country a light manufacturing hub and lower-middle income economy in the same period (EBC December 27, 2018).

The above two stories emphasized on colorfully painting the country's (Ethiopia's) image and its benefit. It is more of sensationalized story, because it is only about developments, changes, growth and prosperity. But there is no any kind of problems to mention in it. Rather it still concentrates only on positive side of the government and its success (success story). The arguments in the news narratives noted that the story is focusing only on keeping the Ethiopia's interest and success, while neglecting the other side which is the negative side (failure story of it).

CGTN' Outlook

Even if there are not more CGTN online news stories that focuses on caring about ones National interests, but the next news narrative from CGTN was focused of Chinese interest one way or another.

In its coverage of June 16, 2018 CGTN online news narrative reports that--- **Officials from the African Union (AU) and African diplomats have hailed the Chinese-built Ethio-Djibouti railway as a project that helps Africa realize its aspirations of development and integration.**

The Chinese Mission to AU on Friday organized a train trip event, with officials of the pan-African bloc as well as African and other international diplomats on board of the Ethiopia-Djibouti standard gauge railway that links the two East African nations.

The event, which also included a visit to a Chinese-built industrial park in Adama town about 80 km away from Ethiopia's capital Addis Ababa, was to enable the participants to witness projects carried out through Sino-Africa cooperation as well as the cooperation under the Belt and Road Initiative, according to Kuang Weilin, Head of Chinese Mission to AU.

“The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) summit in Beijing will be held very soon, and the theme of the summit will be the Belt and Road Initiative and Africa's Development. That

is why we organize this trip so that we can have the opportunity to take a look at the railway, to see the early harvest of the Belt and Road Initiative,” he said (CGTN June 16, 2018).

Unlike EBC online news CGTN news story is not focused more on maintaining China’s national interest in covering the story. But in the above news narrative it seems that CGTN was inclined a little towards preserving Chinese interest and benefit. In the story it was stated that the Chinese organized a train trip event for AU officials to visit: Ethiopia-Djibouti standard gauge railway, Chinese-built industrial park in Adama, to witness projects carried out through Sino-Africa cooperation as well as the cooperation under the Belt and Road Initiative. So in such cases China is promoting its own image and its face in Ethiopia, because those all projects were built by them. Moreover they (Chinese) are using this trip to promote itself in the upcoming FOCAC summit and its BRI summit. And in fact this is self interest promoting.

4.2.5 Non-interventionist policy frame

As Garth and Paruk (2008) argued that China’s foreign policy is focused on peaceful development, which means China is trying to rise peacefully to develop by taking advantage of the peaceful international environment, and at the same time to maintain world peace through its development. The peaceful development of China is complemented by a commitment to advance harmonious world.

Likewise Lagerkvist (2009, p.119) in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* quoted China’s President Hu Jintao saying, “We respect the right of the people of all countries to independently choose their own development path. We will never interfere in the internal affairs of other countries or impose our own will on them.” Lagerkvist (2009) also referred to what a Chinese official said to the *Journal* which was quoted as saying that all the new aid packages destined for African countries were offered selflessly and there ‘were no political strings attached nor interference in internal affairs’.

On the other hand Robert (2008) contends that: China’s current thrust into sub-Saharan Africa promises to do more for economic growth and poverty alleviation there than anything attempted by Western colonialism or the massive initiatives of the international lending agencies and other donors.

The Bandung Conference was held in 1955. This meeting of 29 Asian and African states aimed to promote economic and cultural relations between the two continents. During the conference, China and the African states adopted the five principles of “Peaceful Coexistence” that had earlier been formulated by India and China. These covered (1) mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; (2) mutual non-aggression; (3) non-interference in each other’s internal affairs; (4) equality and mutual benefit; and (5) peaceful coexistence (Broadman, 2007, p.6 as cited in Uchehara, 2009).

Furthermore, as Looy (2006) discussed, when official Chinese visits were made to Africa, the main theme was non-interference in each other’s affairs. And Looy added that According to one official, “respect for each other’s affairs and non-interference should be the basis of the emerging new international order” (Looy, 2006, p. 4).

As we understand from the above discussion and arguments by different scholars that the Chinese are following a kind of non-interference policy in to the internal affairs of any other countries. And accordingly both EBC and CGTN on their online news narratives present and cover on issues related to Non-interventionist approach of China-Ethiopia relationship. Thus let us separately see both EBC’s and CGTN’s perspectives as follows:

EBC’s Outlook

The following EBC’s online news narrative lauds the fact that the non-interference approach is the core to the two countries relations and friendships.

Ethiopia’s Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed said China is a reliable friend in the course of Ethiopia's development, and China's precious assistance has always been crucial to his country's economic restructuring and achievements.

“Ethiopia hopes to learn from China's experience in governance, deepen the bilateral relations, actively participate in the building of the Belt and Road, broaden bilateral exchanges and cooperation, and strengthen coordination in international affairs,” Dr. Abiy added.

Chinese President Xi Jinping on his part said Ethiopia is an important partner of China in Africa, and the two countries have established a comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership (EBC September 03, 2018).

In its coverage of October 29, 2018 EBC online news narrative reports and quoted that:

"China has lifted 700 million people out of poverty since it started groundbreaking economic reforms in 1978, achieved through the implementation of participatory and strategic economic policies," said Costantinos Bt. Costantinos, who served as an economic advisor to the AU and the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), to Xinhua.

The four decades of economic policy not only allowed China to have rapid and sustainable development, but also enabled the Asian economic powerhouse to be a key engine in the global economy.

The lessons Ethiopia can learn from China are the need for well-designed economic plans, redeploying resources to high priority activities and professional assessment of its comparative economic advantage in a way that advances and nurtures business confidence, said Costantinos.

Costantinos also emphasized the need for Ethiopia to learn and adopt the good practices that led to China's unprecedented economic transformation and be an active participant in China-led economic initiatives like the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), the BRICs bank and the Belt and Road Initiative (EBC October 29, 2018).

As these EBC's online news narratives imply, that PM Dr. Abiy Ahmed's speech "China is a reliable friend of Ethiopia in the course of development" is a confirmation that China is not interfering in to Ethiopia's internal affairs. And for Him (Abiy) China's assistance and setting preconditions like, lending and donating money is not an intervention in to the internal affairs of Ethiopia. In the above news narratives it is also noted that china's growth and development is come out from their own participatory and strategic economic policies. And Ethiopia has a lot to learn from Chinese experience. Thus one can interpret this statement in a way that Chinas

success and growth is not come out from abroad by any interference in to others issues, rather it emanates from their internal powerful policies.

CGTN's Outlook

The following are also the CGTN's online news narrative that lauds the fact that non-interference approach as the core to the two countries relations and friendships.

In its coverage of May 14, 2018 CGTN online news article reports and quoted ---- **“China is very confident about its own development model, but we are not trying to sell it abroad,”** Tan told Xinhua. “However, if our foreign friends are interested, we are willing to share our experience.”

The diplomat said it is not surprising that some African countries hope to draw inspiration from China's success in transforming itself from an economic weakling to the world's second largest economy.

By delving into China's case, African countries may find China's promotion of investment, industrialization and infrastructure construction inspiring to their own development, he said.

However, Tan said there is no one-size-fits-all development model, and that “it's our hope that every country can find the development path that suits its own conditions.” “China's economic miracles are not achieved by just following others' advice,” he added.

Guided by this thinking, Tan said, China maintains an equality-based dialogue with African nations. “We will not try to be teachers. We're having an equal dialogue in which we offer our views to those who are interested.” (CGTN May 14, 2018).

In another CGTN online news coverage on January 04, 2019---- **Foreign affairs minister of Ethiopia Workneh Gebeyehu** said that Ethiopia highly values the Ethiopia-china relations regarding China as the most important comprehensive strategic partner of cooperation and putting bilateral relations at the top place of Ethiopia's foreign policy.

He also added that like other African countries, Ethiopia appreciates China's commitment to not interfering in other countries' internal affairs and is benefitting a lot from China's stable and consistent foreign policy, Gebeyehu Said (CGTN January 04, 2019).

In similar manner another CGTN online news narrative on March 9, 2018 reports on----- **The Chinese-built and financed African Union Headquarters in Addis Ababa**

Beijing is a better partner for Africa than Washington because Chinese investment has improved people's lives here, an Ethiopian expert said Thursday.

Abebe Aynete, a senior researcher with Ethiopian Foreign Relations Strategic Studies Institute, said the Chinese investment in infrastructure has brought changes in African countries that is "plain to see." U.S. accusations about China-Africa cooperation is "detached from reality," Aynete said.

The Chinese investment in Africa focuses on infrastructure, while the United States for a long time has focused on promoting its values." Aynete said.

Brahima Coulibaly, a former Federal Reserve economist and Africa scholar at the Brookings Institution put things in even simpler terms. "The Chinese are ready to basically do business. They're ready to partner with any country that is also willing to partner with them in a way that it makes sense to them and furthers their agenda" (CGTN March 9, 2018).

The core to the above News narratives is Mr. Tan's arguments that "China is very confident about its own development model, but we are not trying to sell it abroad." One can understand from this argument that China has Non-interventionist policy towards any of abroad countries. It is also stated in the story that China will not try to be teachers and it will have equal dialogue in which they offer their views to those who are interested. However, in contrary to that some of western scholars argued that China's support and donation to the developing countries of the south (especially of Africa) is strategic interference and they describe it as another round of colonization. In general in the above news the Chinese was loudly defended in that the country was never interfere or intervened in the others internal affairs.

4.3 Country specification and regional patterns in reporting issues related to China-Ethiopia relationship

In covering and presenting the contemporary political, economical as well as social issues related to Ethio-Chinese relationship both Media outlets which mean, EBC and CGTN were used to report on the country specific issues and of regional specific news patterns. And below are both EBC's and CGTN's perspectives on it:

EBC's Outlook

In EBC online news narratives it is observable that there is news which reflects on country specific reporting as well as regional specific reporting news in different ways. For instance EBC online news narrative reports on the following:

EBC online news coverage on June 28, 2018 reports that---- **Professor Afework Kassu, State Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his opening remarks strongly appreciated China's RBI** for its conviction to bring about economic growth and regional integration in Africa.

The State Minister noted Ethiopia's keen involvement in this initiative bearing in mind that it creates conducive climate for investment by working on infrastructural development in Africa. He reiterated Ethiopia's commitment to work with China for better economic and regional integration. He also recognized the initiative's capacity to facilitate and realize African Union's Agenda 2063.

The Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia, Ambassador Tan Jian, on his part, said the seminar is expected to kick start discussions on the inception and acceptance of the RBI by the international community and its relevance to the African Vision 2063.

The Ambassador stressed the benefits of one Belt one Road (OBOR) to Africa and its role to facilitate regional integration. The impact of OBOR in strengthening people to people relations between China and Africa as well as its contribution in facilitating tourism were some of the concepts that were raised in the seminar (EBC June 28, 2018).

This EBC news story concerns on regional specification in its reporting, rather than being merely focus on country specific issues. The news is reporting on One belt One Road (OBOR) initiative

of china and how it facilitate and realize the regional integration in Africa. And the story is focuses on the China-Africa relations with regard to the OBOR initiative. Thus in such case the story is not specifying one country.

In another way EBC online news article on June 16, 2018 reports on----- **The Chinese-built 756 km electrified rail project connecting landlocked Ethiopia to Djibouti**, was contracted by two Chinese companies, namely the China Rail Engineering Corporation and the China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation.

Rosette Nyirinkindi Kataungye, AU Advisor on Regional Integration, said the railway project is a demonstration carried out with China's commitment to supporting Africa in realizing the continent's aspirations for development and integration.

It is a really wonderful project that shows that Africa is integrating, when you have country like Djibouti, which has the coastline and a port that we can use; this is a way of having shared resources, shared vision. It is an excellent project, noted the Advisor. Katungye said China has proved that it is a "very good" partner for Africa's development as well as cultural ties. They (the Chinese) have demonstrated that they can stand by us to achieve our aspirations; and especially on infrastructure, this is a very good example of that very good cooperation, she said (EBC June 16, 2018).

Levi UcheMadueke, Head of AU Strategic Partnership, said the Ethio-Djibouti railway project is the product of Sino-Africa cooperation, which aims at mutual benefits.

What we are witnessing today is a very good thing; it makes us happy, because we are beginning to realize our vision which is about African development and integration, said Madueke. "This railway project is a part of the cooperation program that we have, coming into reality; because linking Ethiopian people to Djibouti, is going to facilitate a lot of things, it is going to boost development process; it is going to boost issues related to trade; even people to people exchange... It is very good thing that we are experiencing today," he said. This is actually very good example to other African countries; this is part of integration program; and we believe that it will be replicated in other regions, he added (EBC June 16, 2018).

In similar manner with the prior EBC news narrative this news also include of regional patterns than country specification in reporting the issue. In the news it is observed that ‘Chinese-built Ethiopia to Djibouti rail project’ realizing the continent's aspirations for development and regional integration. It is also reported in the news that Africa is integrating due to the project. More over the news is noted that the project proved the strong China-Africa cooperation in all level.

On October 08, 2018 EBC online news coverage report that----- **The industrial park built in Adama, 100 kms east of the capital Addis Ababa, specializing in textiles and apparel inaugurated on October 07/2018.**

Ethiopian Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed and Lemma Megersa, chief administrator of Oromia regional state attended the inauguration of the first phase of the park.

The park built at a cost of more than 4.1 billion Birr is expected to create jobs for 25,000 individuals and generate more than 38 million USD from export of goods.

The famous manufacturing companies in textile, wood fabric and garment are desirous and occupying some of the sheds from China Japan.

According to Industrial Parks Development Corporation construction of seven industrial parks being built around the country will be completed in this Ethiopian fiscal year, the industrial parks in Dire Dawa, Kilinto, Bole Lemi II, Jimma, Bahir Dar and DebreBirhan are expected to be complete in this Ethiopian fiscal year, doctor Arkebe Equbay, Board Chairperson of IPDC said.

Arkebe said the government is committed to develop such parks that will contribute to the country’s aspiration of becoming industrial hub, earn foreign currency and create massive job opportunities (EBC October 08, 2018).

The above EBC news narrative unlike the previous news stories focused on Country specific patterns in reporting. The news is all about the inauguration of Adama industrial park and the accomplishment of the upcoming industrial parks in Ethiopia. And the news is all about that

Ethiopia is striving forward to be industrial hub, to earn foreign currency and create massive job opportunities for its citizens. Thus this news narrative is country (Ethiopia) specific.

CGTN's Outlook

On its December 12, 2018 CGTN online news coverage reports on that----- **Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed will inaugurate the Chinese-built Dire Dawa industrial park** located in the eastern part of the country on Sunday, state-affiliated media outlet Fana Broadcasting Corporate reported on Tuesday.

Stretched on 14,500 hectares of land, Dire Dawa industrial park will have 15 industrial sheds ready to accommodate prospective investors once it's fully commissioned. The industrial park is also expected to create employment opportunities to about 40,000 Ethiopians.

Speaking to Xinhua recently, Zhu Lei, Deputy Manager of the Industrial Parks Group under the China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC) Ethiopia Office, said the industrial park has an environmentally friendly waste discharge system. Zhu further said CCECC has already constructed and commissioned Hawassa, Kombolcha and Adama industrial parks, while it has completed 70 percent of construction work for Bahir Dar industrial park.

CCECC was also a co-constructor of the 4 billion U.S. dollars Ethiopia-Djibouti electrified rail line which started commercial operations earlier this year (CGTN December 12, 2018).

The above CGTN news narrative is concerned on country specific patterns in reporting the issue. The news article is about the upcoming inauguration of Chinese-built Dire Dawa industrial park located in the eastern part of Ethiopia. All the details of the park concerning what are going to do and what is expected from it is also presented in the news. So this news is all about to showcase Ethiopia's development in industrial as well as technological sectors. Thus this news narrative is only specifies Ethiopia in its reporting.

In another way CGTN online news story in its January 2, 2018 coverage reports the next news under the headline: **Ethiopia-Djibouti railway transform trade in Eastern Africa region**

The China funded train connecting Ethiopia to Djibouti will soon start changing lives even beyond the eastern Africa region.

“It’s the face of china in Africa ...it’s the best and modern railway that connects Ethiopia and Djibouti, and by far for the future it will connect also up to Senegal. So its economic importance is very big for both countries.” Ethiopian Ambassador to Djibouti, Shamebo Fitamo said.

“As similar to its predecessor, this railway will also play an important role in the integration of the two countries, which will facilitate the transportation of people and goods. “Head of Djibouti trail project, Mohamed Khaire Roble said (CGTN January 2, 2018).

This CGTN news narrative unlike the earlier one includes of regional patterns than focusing merely on one country specification in reporting. In the news it is noted that Ethiopia-Djibouti railway transform the trade in the region, it strength Economic integration of the two countries, and it facilitate the transportation of people and goods. So the core for this news is development and regional integration of eastern Africa.

4.4 Sources identified and quoted in the articles about China-Ethiopia relations

Below are some of the online news narratives taken from Both EBC and CGTN media outlets as an example to look on what sources are represented and quoted in the issues covered.

EBC’s Outlook

On EBC online news narratives of September 12, 2018----- **China National Textile and Apparel Council (CNTAC), a large-scale textile company, has expressed its interest to invest in Ethiopia.**

President Mulatu Teshome held discussions with a 52-member CNTAC delegation led by company President Sun Ruizhe on issues of investment opportunities in Ethiopia.

After the discussions, Sun Ruizhe told reporters that he came to Ethiopia to conduct a feasibility study on large-scale textile investments. “Many Chinese textile entrepreneurs are interested to invest in Ethiopia because we have clear understanding of government policy, high efficiency,

incentives and privileges and also the comparative advantage of developing textile industry in Ethiopia,” Sun added.

According to Ashebir Getnet, Protocol and Communications Director at Presidential Office, Dr. Mulatu briefed the delegation on the existing peace and stability in the country as well as the investment opportunities in various areas including the textile and apparel sector. President Mulatu also told the delegation that the government will provide every necessary support and incentives to investors who want to engage in the manufacturing sector.

The delegation visited Hawassa Industrial Park as part of a feasibility study and expected to discuss with other senior Ethiopian government officials (EBC September 12, 2018).

From the above online news narrative one can understand that the story is full of what officials said and what they discussed about the issue. No other voices are utilized in the report. On the other hand the story simply focuses on Elite-targeted discourse and reports of an upcoming event rather than the action. Thus in this news the Sources identified and quoted is officials or big personalities.

In another way EBC in its online coverage of August 30, 2018 reports that-----**The youth in Addis and around Addis are changing their lives after they join a Chinese-owned jeans factory in the Eastern Industry Zone.**

Youngsters like Selamawit Kegna, who joined the company on the outskirts of the capital Addis Ababa, are able to earn 1,500 to 2,000 Ethiopian Birr (ETB), per month.

Selamawit is proud that the pairs of jeans she and her colleagues produce not only serve the Ethiopian market but can also be exported to other African countries and even Europe.

The factory employs over 300 young people who are mostly from nearby areas, with the majority of them being women.

“I have a savings account now and deposit 700 ETB (26 dollars) every month. I may return to my hometown and open my own shop,” Selamawit said (EBC August 30, 2018).

Unlike the prior EBC online news story this news is focused on the grass root people as their sources of the story. Here the voice of the poor was represented in the news than the officials or diplomats. Moreover, the story focuses on things that can affect people and which help improve their condition. The story is all about people and how one can change or improve his/her life condition through job creation. Thus this story utilized and quoted the ordinary person as the sources for the news.

CGTN's Outlook

CGTN also reports and presents on the following news:

For instance, CGTN online news story on December 27, 2018 reports on the next news under the headline: **Chinese built industrial parks provide new industrialization momentum across Africa**

Mastewal Tsegaye, a graduate of the Arba Minch University in Ethiopia, is among the many young Ethiopians working for Chinese companies in Ethiopia's industrial parks.

After failing to find a job related to her major for more than a year, Tsegaye was finally employed by the Huajian Shoe Factory in the Eastern Industrial Zone.

As African countries pursue industrialization, the Chinese-built industrial parks and free trade zones have been gaining momentum in the socio-economic drive of the continent, some significantly accelerating the process of industrialization and job creation.

“The factory mainly produces women's shoes, which interested me,” Tsegaye told Xinhua. Tsegaye said she is “very grateful” for the Chinese companies that provided her and other youth with jobs (CGTN December 27, 2018).

Similarly the other CGTN online news article on May 8, 2018 also reports on the later news under the headline: **Chinese built railways put Ethiopia on track to meet 2025 development goals**

For Tedela Chala, a super market worker in Addis Ababa, going to work is no longer the nightmare it used to be in the past, when traffic jams were an integral part of the chaotic city. “(Now) it takes only 10 minutes to reach my workplace,” the 37-year-old said, describing his fast, cheap and reliable commute on the light railway, the first in sub-Saharan Africa.

Today, the four million residents of the capital rely on the Addis Ababa Light Rail, the 475-million-U.S.-dollar project built with Chinese technology and currently operated by Chinese experts.

The light rail and another Chinese-built and financed transport project, the Ethiopia-Djibouti Standard Gauge Rail, are flagship infrastructure projects representing the socioeconomic importance of Chinese engagements in one of Africa’s fastest-growing economies (CGTN May 8, 2018).

In those two CGTN online news story the grass root society is identified and boldly quoted as the sources of the story. The story directly touches the life of poor people and it creates emotion in them. The above story is also process oriented and it points out the events the causes as well as the consequences. Furthermore, the story tells about the people. It is participatory, it involves peoples or sources who are really affected by the story. It includes and represents people’s voice.

4.5 The Similarities and differences in coverage of issues related to Ethio-China relations across both EBC and CGTN

Below are some of the selected similar online news narratives on the same issues covered by both EBC and CGTN media outlets. The similarities and differences between the two media outlets in their coverage of the issues presented as follows:

EBC’s Outlook

EBC on its August 16, 2018 online news story covered that---**The Reppie waste-to-energy facility in Addis Ababa will be officially inaugurated on the coming Sunday.**

As EBC's Natenael Tsegaye reports, According to Misikir Negash, Ethiopian Electric Power's External Relations Director, and the project consumed some 2.6 billion Birr, which is entirely covered by the government of Ethiopia.

Upon going fully operational, the project, which is the first of its kind in Africa, will be generating 185GWh electricity annually.

Besides creating jobs for the youth in Addis Ababa, it will also contribute to the city's cleanliness. The project, however, took more time than put on calendar initially (EBC August 16, 2018).

EBC; Nov 15, 2018 on its online news reports on ---- **Ethiopian commercial ship “Finfine” named after Addis Ababa, has docked at Massawa port today.**

The commercial ship has the capacity of loading 28 thousand tons and is expected to load 11, 000 tons of zinc mineral and will be heading to China within 20 hours.

Following the peace and friendship agreement signed by Eritrea and Ethiopia, “Mekelle” commercial ship was the first Ethiopian ship to dock at the Massawa port after 20 years. “Finfine”, Imo number 9617375, is 166 meters in length and height and built in 2013.

Ethiopia has 12 cargo and two container ships, and they are named after the seats of the regional states. In 2013, Ethiopian shipping lines (ESL) acquired nine new ships from Chinese yards for about US\$300million with the Export-Import Bank of China funding 8 percent of the cost (EBC Nov 15, 2018).

CGTN's Outlook

CGTN in its online news narrative on August 20, 2018 reports on the next----- **Ethiopia inaugurates Africa's first waste-to-energy project**

Ethiopia's first waste-to-energy facility was inaugurated on Sunday in the presence of high-level Ethiopian and foreign dignitaries.

The Reppie waste-to-energy facility, fully financed by the Ethiopian government, expected to process 1,400 tons of solid waste daily.

The project, located in Addis Ababa, was constructed by China National Electrical Engineering Company (CNEEC).

Speaking at the inauguration event, Ethiopian President Mulatu Teshome said investment in energy projects are crucial if Ethiopia is to achieve its aim of becoming an environmentally friendly industrialized middle-income economy by 2025.

The growth of energy sector has been a key driver of economic growth in Ethiopia over the last several years, this happened because electricity supply is much needed in order for the economy to transition from predominantly agricultural to industrial and to attract local and foreign investors, Teshome said. Ethiopia has been investing extensively in hydro power, geothermal, wind energy, solar energy and now biomass to boost the manufacturing sector with a supply of clean, renewable energy,” he said. “Reppie waste-to-energy project is part of that grand strategy, He added.

Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia Tan Jian said the construction of the facility also boosted the knowledge capacity of Ethiopians. “Construction is important. Capacity-building is equally important, if not more. For many projects in Africa, this could be quite a challenge; software could be more important than hardware,”

Tan said. “Sustainable development and environmental protection are major components of China-Africa cooperation. China supports Africa’s endeavour towards green, low carbon and sustainable development,” (CGTN August 20, 2018).

Another CGTN online news narrative on September 5, 2018 also identify the next story under the headline---- **Ethiopian Ship docks in Eritrea for first time in 20 years**

An Ethiopian commercial ship docked in an Eritrean port on Wednesday, the first time in over two decades a vessel from either country has docked in the other’s port.

The arrival of the ship called “Mekelle” is the latest show of the resumption of diplomatic ties between the two nations. Mekelle is expected to ferry Eritrean goods to China.

Ethiopian and Eritrean leaders agreed in July to end the conflict that had put their two countries at loggerheads for over a decade. They resumed diplomatic ties and even opened embassies in Asmara and Addis Ababa to further boost cooperation.

Following the peaceful negotiations, Ethiopian Airlines begun flights to Asmara, and the two nations even agreed to stage a friendly football match.

The news of the arrival of the Ethiopian ship in Eritrea comes following an announcement that Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed had returned to Asmara for talks with Eritrea’s President Isaias Afwerki (CGTN September 5, 2018).

Similarities in their report: in the first place Both EBC and CGTN came up with the same stories with the slight difference in their headline about the issues. The focuses of stories for both Media outlets are similar. Both Media tried to use the officials as their sources of the news and actor of the news. On the other hand both media outlets cover the news as it is success story for Ethiopia. And more over the discourses and arguments used in both EBC and CGTN is a kind of elite targeted and elite based discourses. Both media outlets also tried to anticipate the future outcomes about the thing reported in the story.

In general both EBC and CGTN, in most of their coverage used to report on the issues in a very constructive and positive ways, in that it build the countries relationship.

The differences in their report: there are a lot of differences between the two media outlets in covering the same issues. To begin with the first news about the ‘Reppie waste-to-energy’ EBC was focusing on its inauguration ceremony, while CGTN reports from another side that the China’s National Electrical Engineering Company (CNEEC) built the project. EBC was ignoring to use the Ethiopian president participation and speech on the event, while CGTN do present and used the President and other Chinese diplomats as their sources and actor of news. The EBC was reported the news too briefly and there is not much details of it. As one reporter from EBC told me that the Reppie waste-to-energy’ project ‘was not much succeeded as it was said, and the

next line from EBC news ‘the project, however, took more time than put on calendar initially’ is a showcase for what the reporter said. But coming to CGTN the issue was reported in a way it is the too much success story for Ethiopia and Africa as well. This is the difference.

In the second story about the ‘Ethiopian Commercial ship’ there are not more differences to mention but, one difference might be the angle of reporting. In reporting about the issue EBC much focused on the discourses and stuffs like, the ships capacity of loading, the number of cargo Ethiopia has, and the length and height it has and the likes. However, in contrary to that the CGTN news used to focus much on the issues of the restoration of diplomatic ties and cooperation between Ethiopia and Eritrea, rather than focusing on the rest.

In general the difference between the two media outlets lies on that EBC most of the time used the officials and influential personalities as a sources and ignoring the others voice in the news. However, CGTN in most their coverage of the issues used both the officials, influential peoples as well as the poor’s as the sources of the news. So in such a case CGTN is balancing its sources unlike that of EBC. EBC most of the time focus on the success stories, while The CGTN sometimes tries to include the failure part of the story.

4.6 Presentation and Analysis of data gathered through Interview

The qualitative research interview seeks to describe the meanings of central themes in the life world of the subjects. The main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say (Kvale, 1996).

Moreover, As Seidman (1998) noted that the main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say. And it is the technique used to understand the experiences of others. They are use full to obtain detailed information about personal feelings, perceptions, and opinions. They allow more detailed questions to be asked and they usually achieve a high response rate (Seidman, 1998).

Based on the above assumptions the researcher has conducted an interview with the senior reporters from both EBC and CGTN media outlets to get helpful information about the contemporary issues related to Ethio-Chinese relations, especially of its coverage and

presentation. Therefore, the questions raised to the interviewee, the answers and analysis of each question has been presented under different themes as follows.

1. Conceptualizing the International relations

In conceptualizing and defining the term International relations there are different views on understanding of the concepts among different journalists and individuals of EBC and CGTN. For instance, Girum Chala a senior Reporter of CGTN Television has a different view of International relations. According to him, as follows:

“International relations are a relation between two sovereign states and maybe it is people to people relationship, political relationship, economic relations, social relation and military relationship as well. Diplomacy is all about the benefit of the two people. The relationship of a certain country emanates from their foreign policy and for instance the Ethiopia’s foreign policy said about it is the interest of the people of Ethiopia”. He added that International relations are also the multi sectored relation that a country made with another sovereign country.

On the other hand in an Interview made, Getachew Balcha a senior EBC Business reporter has a following to say about the countries International relations: “International relations of the countries and their diplomatic relationship are mainly depends on the countries interest. Different country has their own foreign policy and to make a relation with other country they focus on that foreign policy and for instance Ethiopia has a Foreign Policy in that it have a mutual benefit with neighboring countries. So it is based on peace mutual development and based on making the horn of Africa peaceful.”

Getachew also further explained on China-Ethiopia relations. As He said China and Ethiopia has a very long relationship and they have a diplomatic relation for many years, but a recent years they just build a great relationship in that China is engaged in many development projects and infrastructures like roads, industrial parks, buildings, Ethio-Djibouti railway and the likes. He also added that there are many Chinese here in Ethiopia and many business men are also going to China to make business with Chinese.

Similarly, Yimer Adem another senior reporter from EBC also said “when one country agreed to have a diplomatic relation with other country it is based up on the benefit of those two countries. Thus Diplomatic relation means the two countries relationship that goes in a smooth way be it

people to people, government to government and the like. When we talk about diplomacy as a country it must keep the countries national interests and benefit.”

Yimer also expanded his idea on Ethiopia-China relations in that Ethiopia Chinese relations are a very good relation and in the recent time China announced its road and belt initiative and some of the Chinese built projects in Ethiopia is part of this initiative. So, China is a great partner of Ethiopia in terms of politics, economics, social and the likes. Yimer said he believes that Ethiopia and China relations are based up on a win-win approach or mutual engagement. Both Ethiopia and China were benefited from Each other and no one is loser.

As we can observe from the above discussion the interviewee’s from both EBC and CGTN has a very good understanding of the concepts of International relations as well as diplomatic relations of the nations. The interviewees confirmed that the international relations are any relation that made between two sovereign states weather it is political, economic social, cultural and the likes. The interviewees in their response about the concept of the international relations also stated different discourse like: the relationship of any country emanates from their foreign policy, depends on the countries interest, International relations are based up on mutual benefit and the likes.

Concerning Ethiopia-China relations the interviewees were appreciated rather than criticizing it, and they noted that it is a very good relation and both countries are the best partner for each other. They also further noted that China and Ethiopia has a lot area of relationship which includes: development projects, infrastructure, roads, industrial parks, buildings, main Ethio-Djibouti railway, etc. So in general the interviewees said nothing about the negative side of the two countries relationship.

2. The media’s coverage of the issues related to Ethio-China relationship

In relation to the media coverage of the issues related to China-Ethiopia Girum Chala of CGTN said, “For CGTN the editorial policy is something interesting and something I like it personally, because it is pro-Africa, it is encouraging People to people relationship between Africa and China and particularly between Ethiopia and China. It also focuses on the positive side of Africa, because the western media was for a long time defaming Africa defaming Ethiopia because of our past. There are many untold but beautiful and amazing story of Africa. So CGTN is giving

Ethiopia and other African Country a chance to be re discovered re explored. CGTN has changed the way stories are told from Africa and it has contributed a lot to Ethiopia economy, culture and it is promoting the country.”As he said CGTN is working as a voice for Africa and he added that CGTN is not focuses only on success stories, rather it has also many reports on the negative stories. The report of CGTN is most balanced fair and credible as he said.

As we understand from the above Girum’s response in an interview made He noted that CGTN is Pro- Africa and it focused to dig out the positive untold side of African story. And when it comes to the issues coverage, CGTN cover and present the issues in a way that it better encourage and further people to people relationship between Africa and China and particularly between Ethiopia and China. For the reporter CGTN television is a chance For Ethiopia and all Africans to be rediscovered. According to the reporter CGTN is reporting on both positive and negative stories whatever the issues is about, but the point is it never emphasized on only the negative side as the western did for a decades.

On another way Getachew an EBC reporter reflected on the media coverage of the issues related to Ethio-China relationship by saying that we are reporting on Business issues economic issues, and fortunately we just get a lot of news about Ethio Chinese Business relation when they come to invest here and when they discussed with their Ethiopian Counterparts business communities. There are so many issues that we cover regarding Ethiopia and China Economic relationship.

Yimer an EBC reporter also said that in covering the issues related to Ethiopia and China EBC report tries to be fair more or less, and we have to report in that it promotes the countries relationship.

One can understand from the above response from EBC reporters that they reports on so many issues related to the Ethiopia and China friendship because many more Chinese Business men were fled their country for Ethiopia to invest. And the reporter said they can get a chance to cover the issues related to it. The reporter from EBC also noted that the EBC’s reporters tries to be fair and covering the issues in a way it promotes the countries relations, i.e. in a positive ways no negativity to be concerned at all.

3. Sources for news and news actors in covering the issues

Concerning the Sources for news and news actors utilized in covering the issues CGTN's Girum Chala responded that in reporting the credible stories there are stake holders for china Ethiopia relationship which includes from Diplomats to organization to business frames and peoples of Ethiopia and china, the governments, all the credible sources, the African Union, Chinese mission to the African Union, the Embassies, Ethiopian foreign affairs, Prime Minster office and everywhere. Concerning the news Actors Girum said "our news actors are everybody based on the story. And your news actors are dictated by what kind of story you are telling. for instance when you comes to government to government relationship of course we involve the government officials as our news actors, but when it comes people to people relationship we talk to the people themselves and other stake holders. And when it comes to business issues business men must be involved."

As we understand from the above CGTN reporter response their media used a kind heterogeneous source which includes from the Diplomats to the organizations to the people of Ethiopia and China. So the sources selection of CGTN media outlet was more or less inclusive or it is not Elite and officials based only. Coming to the news actors the interviewee responds that their news actors are everybody, and as He noted the news actors are dictated by what kind of story they are telling. Your story guided you to what kind of the news Actors you should have. So for CGTN the news actors are everybody.

EBC's reporter Getachew Balcha responded about their sources for the issues by saying that we got news information by attending different meetings, events, different inauguration ceremonies, factories industrial parks, from government officials, from Chinese news outlets like Xinhua, CCCTV, CGTN and the likes. And he said their EBC news on Economic and Business reporting is fair and balance as well as credible.

In a similar ways Yimer Adem another reporter from EBC confirmed that the Sources for EBC come from government official's (90 percent of sources is from the government officials), sometimes from grassroots societies, Chinese Embassy, Diplomats, Contractors, Managers. The news actors in the in the Ethiopian broadcasting context it is government officials as he said.

As we understand from the responses from the two EBC reporters almost all of their news sources were from government officials and the rest is from meetings, events, and different ceremonies, the grassroots societies (seldom), Chinese Embassy, Diplomats, and etc. According to the interviewees EBC also get information for news from Chinese media outlets like, Xinhua, CCCTV, and CGTN. And as one reporter noted the news actors in EBC context is all in all Governmental officials, i.e. no other stake holders like the grass root people has position to be the news actors.

4. Framing and representation of the issues on Ethiopia china friendship

In responding on the framing and presentation of the issues Getachew Balcha one of the senior business and economy reporter of EBC said that we are reporting the issues as it is, not adding anything to it and not missing from it as well. And we are covering both sides and represent it in a fair ways. While we are reporting on China Ethiopia relationship we cover the issues according to the event. Moreover, we report the issues in a way that it will further make relation between the two countries fruitful and better. We are not framing badly. And to be honest we are reporting on success stories or the positive stories most of the time. May be some times we do report on the negative one.

One can understand from the response of the EBC reporter that they frame and present issues in a very positive ways and in the way that it further strengthens the relation with other countries. So it is understandable that EBC doesn't emphasize any negative side of the relation between Ethiopia China. On the other hand it is noted that their media organization covering and representing both sides in a fair ways, which means that they are not favoring one side in the story. In general EBC focuses on the success stories rather than the failure and the negative one. No emphasize of reporting on the negative side of the China-Ethiopia friendship.

Coming to the CGTN's framing and representation of the issues related to the two countries relations, senior reporter Girum Chala in an open-ended interview said that, there is no push for the Chinese side to be magnified and the Ethiopian side to be less magnified and a certain story to be told in an equal ways. The story could tell for example if it is about the Chinese contribution you could tell about that contribution in Ethiopia, if it is Ethiopia's favorable investment condition to Chinese then you could tell about the Ethiopian situation much better, so by far it is fairly twinned, he said.

We understand from the above CGTN's reporter response that the CGTN totally free of any push and interference from the Chinese side to be manipulated towards favoring China, and he responded the story framed and presented in equally fairways. So it is clear that the CGTN is covering both sides in a balanced ways in the story. And it is confirmed that their media cover and present the issues of any kind according to the event.

5. Frequency of the issues related to China-Ethiopia relations

EBC's reporter Getachew Balcha responded about Frequency of the issues related to China-Ethiopia relations in that they report on such issues so many times or frequently, because Ethiopia and China has much economic and political relationship so we just get a lot of events and fortunately cover on that issue so many times. Thus, among other things the issue about Ethiopia and China relations was covered frequently by EBC. And Getachew said that they cover so many stories on Forum on China Africa cooperation (FOCAC) because it is about China-Africa relations. They also get information About FOCAC from the Chinese media outlets like, CGTN, CCTV, Xinhua and the likes, as he said.

In general from the above responses by the EBC reporter one can understand that the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation frequently cover and present on the issues of China Ethiopia relations, because they get too many stories related to it every time. So it is understandable that China and Ethiopia have many issues, events and discussions as possible every time that could be a showcase for their cooperation. Moreover, one can come across from the responses that the EBC reports so many times on the stories of (FOCAC) for it is about China Africa relations in general and China Ethiopia in particular. Thus in terms of frequency EBC's coverage of this issue is frequent among others.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusion and recommendation

5.1. Conclusion

From the beginning, conducting research has its own purpose and goals, even though these motivations are different based on the nature of the research. Accordingly the main aim of this research was to assess and examine how the EBC and CGTN media outlets represent the contemporary issues related to Ethio-Chinese relationship.

The study also attempts to explore the presentation and framing of the issues as well. Moreover, it intends to provide the findings and to throw the possible recommendations to the stake holders.

The research was done based on the pure qualitative methods; hence the Textual analysis and Interview were used to collect data. These data has also been presented and analyzed qualitatively. Therefore, after these scientific procedures the study comes out with the following major finding conclusions and recommendations.

- The EBC and CGTN media outlets were more or less constructive in covering and presenting the issues related to Ethiopia and China relationship.
- EBC's online news narratives focused on the positive discourses in describing the relationship of China and Ethiopia. On the other hand, the CGTN online news narratives presented on both positive and the negative sides, but never emphasised the negativity only.
- The CGTN and EBC emphasized on the elite-based and development-oriented discourses and arguments in most of their coverage of issues related to Ethiopia and China cooperation.
- Both CGTN and EBC in their online news stories portrays that the mutual engagement plays an important role on boosting the development of China-Ethiopia relations.

- CGTN and EBC in their online news narratives confirmed that the south-south engagement paved a way for Ethiopia to learn lessons from Chinese development model and for China to share its development experience and provides technical supports as well.
- EBC frames and represent the issues in a positive ways and in a way it further strength the Ethio Chinese cooperation. EBC never framed the issues badly. However, CGTN frames and represent the issues according to the story itself; it can be framed positively or negatively. For CGTN it is the story type that shapes its framing.
- Both EBC and CGTN focus on changes, economic growth, developmental projects, infrastructures, rather than focusing more on social problems. In doing so EBC highly relies on government officials as their sources for the news, while CGTN come across different sources from officials to the poor ordinary people.
- Sometimes, EBC tends to cover facts without comparison and investigation of the issues. Covering both sides in the stories is also rare in EBC. However CGTN is moderate in comparison and investigation of issues. And covering both sides in equally fair way is better in CGTN.
- EBC in most of its reports emphasized on propagated success stories. It neglects the negative side of the stories and involving the grass roots societies as news actors is also ignored for the most part. But CGTN covers both the success stories and the negative part of it. And also CGTN involves the grass root peoples or the ordinary person in the story in a better way than EBC.
- Moreover CGTN media outlet in covering the issues related to the Ethiopia and China relation consider itself as a voice for Africa and CGTN also believes that it gives a chance for Africa and Ethiopia to be rediscovered, unlike the Western media's which always emphasize the negativity of Africa.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are forwarded by the researcher to address some of the problems discussed.

- Most of the EBC news sources were predominantly official government sources. So it is advisable that EBC should take a measure to include the mass public as dominant sources for news stories rather than taking the government officials as their own news sources and actor of the news.
- The EBC's online news reports mostly focused on success-oriented and elite-based positive narratives in describing the China-Ethiopia relationship. So the other side of the story which is critical for the audience to be viewed was missed. Thus, it is appropriate to report both sides of a story in order to give complete information to viewers.
- Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation should also deal with the stories about social problems, rather than favoring government's success stories. EBC should cover the news reports by its staff reporters rather than relying on external sources like, Ethiopian News Agency, Xinhua, CCTV, CGTN and etc.
- CGTN also focus on economic growth, developmental projects, Chinese built roads and infrastructures and the likes, rather than focusing more on social problems that lies on China Ethiopia relations. And never emphasize the negativity. So it is helpful for CGTN to emphasize sometimes on the negativity part of Africa and Ethiopia, but without exaggeration like the Western Media do.
- CGTN in its online news narratives being a voice and a chance for Africa and Ethiopia is appreciable. However, it is advisable to not to be a voice for Africa and Ethiopia by only promoting the China Africa and Ethiopia relationship, but also by seriously criticizing it as well when possible.
- In general both EBC and CGTN media outlets has to collect feedbacks from their viewers in order to get the effect of their messages, and to know who was affected by their stories.

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EBC (August 25, 2018) <http://www.ebc.et/web/news-en/-/the-sky-is-the-limit-for-ethiopia-china-relations-says-pm-abiy>

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: EBC Sample News Stories downloaded from their website

The sky is the limit for Ethiopia, China relations, says PM Abiy

(EBC; August 25, 2018) - Prime Minister Abiy Ahimed said that “the sky is the limit” in the relationship between Ethiopia and China.

The Premier, who attended at the training program fellowship reception in Addis Ababa last evening, said nothing is impossible in the ties between the two countries.

“Nothing is impossible especially for Ethiopia and China; the sky is the limit. We can go far to develop next generation to take one’s ability to work for their country,” Abiy said.

Lauding the support of the Chinese government to Ethiopia on human resource development which is the priority of his government, Abiy called on the Embassy to double the number of scholarship and trainings.

Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia, Tan Jian noted that human resource is key to development, and investing on people through education is the best investment. “There are three kinds of resources: financial resource, natural resource and human resource. To me, human resource is the most important. When I say human resource, it is not just human brain, it’s more than human brain”, Jian said.

Belt and Road Initiative Seminar opens in Addis Ababa

(EBC; June 28, 2018) - A seminar on the theme “Policy suggestions for African countries to participate in the Belt and Road Initiative (RBI)” organized by Ethiopian Foreign Relations Strategic Studies Institute (EFRSSI) and the Embassy of China in Ethiopia opened today at the Hilton Addis.

Professor Afework Kassu, State Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his opening remarks strongly appreciated China’s RBI for its conviction to bring about economic growth and regional integration in Africa.

The State Minister noted Ethiopia’s keen involvement in this initiative bearing in mind that it creates conducive climate for investment by working on infrastructural development in Africa. He reiterated Ethiopia’s commitment to work with China for better economic and regional integration. He also recognized the initiative’s capacity to facilitate and realize African Union’s Agenda 2063.

The Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia, Ambassador Tan Jian, on his part, said the seminar is expected to kick start discussions on the inception and acceptance of the RBI by the international community and its relevance to the African Vision 2063.

The Ambassador stressed the benefits of one Belt one Road (OBOR) to Africa and its role to facilitate regional integration.

Ethio-China Trade and Investment Symposium opens in Addis

(EBC; November 23, 2018) - Ethiopia -China Trade and Investment Symposium, which aimed at promoting economic and trade cooperation and exchanges between Ethiopia and China 's Zhejiang province opened today in Addis Ababa.

A large number of business leaders from Ethiopia, 100 business representatives from 53 Chinese Companies have participated in the Symposium.

Opening the symposium, State Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. AkliluHailemechael said Ethiopia and China have enjoyed historic relations in areas including trade, culture, education and development cooperation. He said “Chinese Companies have invested over 1 billion USD in Ethiopia during the last two decades.”

Dr. Aklilu mentioned the reform measures his government is taking which he said, offer fertile conditions for foreign investors to do business in Ethiopia.

Mr.Zhang Qingshan, Vice Chairman of China Council for the Promotional Trade (CCPIT) Zhejiang Province, said the Chinese business delegates have come to Ethiopia to be part of this promising investment environment.

Appendix 2: CGTN Sample News Stories downloaded from their website

Ambassador: it's not China's place to lecture Africa

Tan Jian Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia Tan Jian said Sunday that China does not lecture Africa on how it should develop, but believes that African nations could find suitable paths on their own.

“China is very confident about its own development model, but we are not trying to sell it abroad,” Tan told Xinhua. “However, if our foreign friends are interested, we are willing to share our experience.”

The diplomat said it is not surprising that some African countries hope to draw inspiration from China's success in transforming itself from an economic weakling to the world's second largest economy.

By delving into China's case, African countries may find China's promotion of investment, industrialization and infrastructure construction inspiring to their own development, he said.

However, Tan said there is no one-size-fits-all development model, and that "it's our hope that every country can find the development path that suits its own conditions." "China's economic miracles are not achieved by just following others' advice," he added (CGTN May 14, 2018).

Ethio-Djibouti railway to transform trade in eastern Africa region

The Ethio-Djibouti railway is one of the Mega infrastructure projects on the continent. The railway connects the heart of Ethiopia with the port of Djibouti. It was built at a cost of \$ 4 billion, most of it funded by China.

The railway is anticipated to play a role in transforming economic growth not only in the two nations but in the whole of the Eastern Africa region. For people, it used to take at least three days to get to Djibouti using road transport. Now it's only 8 hours, plus comfort and less pressure on their pockets.

The China funded train connecting Ethiopia to Djibouti will soon start changing lives even beyond the eastern Africa region.

"It's the face of china in Africa ...it's the best and modern railway that connects Ethiopia and Djibouti, and by far for the future it will connect also up to Senegal. So its economic importance is very big for both countries." Ethiopian Ambassador to Djibouti, Shamebo Fitamo said.

"As similar to its predecessor, this railway will also play an important role in the integration of the two countries, which will facilitate the transportation of people and goods. "Head of Djibouti rail project, Mohamed Khaire Roble said (CGTN January 2, 2018).

Ethiopian President hails China's role in industrialization drive

Ethiopian President Mulatu Teshome (R) visits the Chinese built Eastern Industry Zone in the south of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Aug. 13, 2018. (Xinhua/Michael Tewelde)

Ethiopian President Mulatu Teshome has hailed Chinese investment as one that plays an indispensable role in the East African country's industrialization drive.

Speaking after visiting the Chinese built Eastern Industry Zone he said the complex, which has more than 80 factories in it, is a showcase in how with right management and planning Ethiopia's transition from an agriculture-based economy into an industrial powerhouse in the next 10 years can be successful.

The Eastern Industry Zone, inaugurated in 2010, is Ethiopia's first industry zone that inspired the Ethiopian government towards establishing more industry parks across the country towards becoming the manufacturing hub of the African continent.

"A decade ago the land the Eastern Industry Zone currently lies on was just an agricultural land, but with hard work it has become today a showcase of high quality industrial factories in sectors such as pharmaceuticals, pulp and textile," said Teshome (CGTN August 17, 2018).

Appendix 3: Interview Questions for the Reporters or Journalists from EBC and CGTN media outlets

1. As a journalist or reporter what is your understanding of International relations and Diplomatic relationship?
2. What is your understanding of Ethio-Chinese bilateral economic and political as well as social relationship?
3. How do you see the EBC's / CGTN's Media coverage of issues related to Ethio-Chinese relationship?
4. Do you think that EBC / CGTN have the special or priority focus on issues concerned to Ethio-China economic, political as well as social relationship?
5. As a reporter from where and how do you get the information for your reporting about the stories on China-Ethiopia relations?
6. What do you think of your news actors in reporting the news about the two countries relationship?
7. How does your Media frame and represent the political, economic, as well as social issues related to Ethiopia and China relations?
8. How frequently your Media (EBC or CGTN) cover and present on the issues concerned to China-Ethiopia bilateral relationship?