

**THE PRACTICE OF ETHIOPIAN PRIVATE PRESSES IN COVERING
CORRUPTION RELATED ISSUES: *THE CASE OF REPORTER AND
ADDIS ADMAS NEWSPAPERS***

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Yaregal Mekuria entitled *The practice of Ethiopian private presses in covering corruption related issues: The case of Reporter and Addis Admas newspapers*, and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts in Journalism and communication complies with the regulation of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.



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ABSTRACT

The practice of Ethiopian private presses in covering corruption related issues: the case of Reporter and Addis Admas.

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This thesis has attempted to assess the practice of Ethiopian private presses in covering corruption related issues in the case of Reporter and Addis Admas for the period of one year. Content analysis was employed as method. In-depth-interview was also made with the newspaper's staff. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to collect the data. As a result, systematic random samplings of 67 articles were taken from Reporter and 36 from Addis Admas newspapers. The analysis was done based on the type of story, theme, source, placement, author and the case of individual vs. institutions. The data found from the interview as well as underlying theoretical frameworks were used to back up the analysis. Results show that embezzlement was the leading form of corruption theme for both newspapers. Reporter and Addis Admas used anti-corruption watchdogs as their major sources of story. From the research it is possible to conclude that Reporter and Addis Admas gave more prominence to corruption issues on institutional level which were led by government rather than on individual bases. The study further concluded that the biggest strength of Reporter and Addis Admas emanate from the news section as majority of the news stories were authored by their own staff reporters. The newspapers' coverage of corruption was dominated by the news genre. In addition, significant numbers of the corruption stories on Reporter were placed on the middle pages of the newspaper, and Addis Admas gave more emphasis for corruption related stories by placing on the front pages of the newspaper. From the overall finding of this research, it is possible to conclude that Reporter and Addis Admas seem somewhat responsible in fulfilling their duty as the watchdog of public interest by consistently reporting events of corruption in the country even though they failed to address important corruption themes, such as clintism, nepotism and bribery.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Corruption is hard to define even within a given cultural sphere. To do so over different cultural spheres is even harder. But it is better to define based up on the society's perception and cultural behavior of the people. All that we term as corruption in everyday life is a deviance from that model behavior. Hence, in one sense the concept of corruption is inherently subjective. Perhaps the most common example of corruption is bribes. Exchange of gifts and favors is a part of everyday life and has been so for a long time. Giving bribes is no different from this accepted behavior in but one aspect, which is that bribery, is viewed upon with loathing while gift giving is socially accepted (Dahlström, 2011, p.2).

Rose-Ackerman (1999) indicates that corruption may have its roots in culture and history, but it is, nevertheless, an economic and political setback. In addition, various studies conclude that corruption is principally a symptom of institutional failure. It may involve cash or economic benefits, power or influence, and occur in both government as well as the private sectors.

Corruption has extensive effects wherever it occurs. It hinders economic development and good governance. Deep-rooted corruption has the capacity to holdback state reform. Furthermore, a rampant corruption undermines the legitimacy of governments and erodes just and predictable legal systems. Corruption in most developing countries is becoming a normal phenomenon exercised both in private as well governmental institutions. Its negative impact is reflected on the economic and political aspect of the society. Corruption impedes the development of markets, drive away investment, increase the costs of doing business and undermine the rule of law.

Although corruption is a universal phenomenon and exists in all countries, it is a more serious matter in less developed countries. According to surveys complied by Transparency International on how rampant corruption is, Denmark, New Zealand Finland are perceived to be the world's least corrupt countries Somalia and Korea (North) are perceived to be the most corrupt. In this Corruption Perception Index Ethiopia ranked 110 out of 174 nations (Transparency International, 2014). This index of corruption tells a lot on the seriousness of the matter in Ethiopia. Additional

to other social, economical and environmental problems the country is through; it is crystal clear that corruption also is making this country cost a lot.

In order to minimize its effect on development, the Ethiopian government (EPRDF) organized the Federal Ethics and Anti corruption commission (FEAC) in 2001. As one of the objectives of the commission is working in cooperation with relevant bodies and is striving to create an aware society where corruption will not be condoned or tolerated by promoting ethics and anticorruption education.

The Federal Ethics and Anti corruption Commission (FEACC) is designing and implementing projects that could raise public awareness on the national struggle against corruption. As mentioned on the profile of the FEACC (2012), the commission has a vision of ensuring that corruption is no longer an impediment to enhancing development and good governance in the country by creating a highly ethical society that result in combating corruption unwaveringly. And one of its objectives is striving to create an aware society where corruption will not be condoned or tolerated by promoting ethics and anti corruption education.

In addition to organizing such institutions, the media can also be used as one of the principal tools for fighting corruption. This fighting through media can be carried by investigating and reporting on corruption, and by providing information with which citizens can hold both public and private institutions accountable. The media can be used for advocating anti-corruption acts through ads and spots. The media can also contribute by promoting anti-corruption efforts of individuals, civil groups and organizations.

Nowadays, there is an increasing consensus on the media's potential to expose corruption and raise public awareness. The role of a free and independent media is critical in fighting corruption and promoting good governance. The media have to play a watchdog role and thus keep the government under constant surveillance (Dennis & Merrill 1996). According to Schultz (1998), the Fourth Estate asserts that the role of the media is to act as information conduit.

The government can get help from the media in the governance of the society by acting as a platform for ideas and opinions. Moreover, the media can accomplish such kinds of tasks by

reporting, analyzing, and criticizing the actions of the powerful players on behalf of the public which lacks direct access to information.

A vigilant press ensures that individuals and institutions that are supposed to serve the public remain transparent and are held accountable. The press culture, evident in many democracies today, contains a sense that 'it is the duty of the press to afflict the comfortable -those holding the public office- in order to comfort the afflicted -the public as a whole' (Stapenhurst 2000:18). This could be realized especially when news reports exposing wrongdoing leads to forced resignation of public office holders. In turn, for such a role to be effective, investigative journalism is fundamental as it can shape public opinion against power abusers. This implies that the practice of the Ethiopian press with regard to such a role is worth investigating.

1.2.Statement of the Problem

Corruption exists since humankind evolved from the era of barbarity (Dahlström, 2011, p.2). It is rooted so deeply that seems impossible to eliminate, especially these days international community increasingly concerned with corruption, has launched a wide range of anti-corruption activities. According to World Bank report (1998), corruption can take many forms, but the current concern is with corruption in the public sector or at the interface between public and private sectors. Investigating and sanctioning corrupt practice are critical, but enforcement and punishment will not achieve sustainable results unless accompanied by efforts to correct underlying causes. Fighting systemic corruption should be addressed as part of a broad strategy for improving public sector performance.

Moreover World Bank report indicates that the causes of corruption often lie in: policies, which give rise to favoritism, distortions, and perverse incentives; a regulatory regime, which imposes excessive burdens on the private sector; and an over-extended government, which cannot adequately reward its civil service. Weak public sector financial management, the mishandling of government procurement, inadequacies in public sector accounting and auditing, and failure to hold public officials accountable for misuse of public resources and deficiencies in the legal/judicial system are also factors. These factors lead to a breakdown in formal rules governing public and private sector behavior and informal rules take over, with bribery becoming the norm. Corruption flourishes when public officials have monopoly power over a good or service and the discretion to decide who will receive the good or service and at what price, and when transparency and accountability are weak or absent.

Ethiopia is one of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa that are hugely affected by corruption. According to Transparency International's *2014 Corruption Perception Index*, Ethiopia is ranked on the 110th rank, out of the total 174 positions. As in many nations, corruption in Ethiopia emanates from the country's policies, bureaucratic traditions, political developments and social history (Korajian 2003). Some of the major causes of corruption in the country include poor governance, lenient penalty system, extreme poverty and inequity, lack of accountability as well as transparency. In addition, low level of institutional control, centrality of authority and resources, low level of democratic culture and tradition are considered to be the other contributors of corruption in Ethiopia.

In Ethiopia especially these days the extent of corruption met its climax and is burning issue. To show the magnitude of corruption in the country, one can refer an action which was taken by Federal Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission to thirteen individuals suspected involving in corruption including higher officials. (Reporter, 2014, p.1)

The media, in Ethiopia as in anywhere else, have the responsibility to inform the public and set the agenda about issues concerning the general population. In Ethiopia, little has been known about whether the media have adequately covered corruption issues as there has not been detailed information concerning thorough research on the subject-matter. Nevertheless, researches conducted in Africa in general suggest that the mass media in many instances have resorted to sensationalism than objectivity. Most of the cases alleged are suspicions and fabrications which the media do not even care to investigate (Africa Leadership Forum 1994).

Though few researches were conducted on this area, most of the studies were restricted to government controlled media, and still the researcher believes that there is a gap in reaching the fact that media houses practice in covering corruption particularly on private presses. Among these studies Getachew Weleye, who is a journalist, has conducted a research on the role of media in combating corruption was directly related with this study. On this study Getachew has tried to figure out the role's that media plays in fighting corruption. But this study was not delimited very well, and the samples he had used are not pretty enough to generalize. The main objective of his study was to assessed media's role on fighting corruption, and finally he concluded that though efforts has been made by media house, still he believe much more attention is needed on the area.

The other study which was conducted by Tesfaye Shamebo entitled as: "Anti corruption efforts in Ethiopia" stated the major facts about the on go-going anti-corruption campaign in Ethiopia, mainly in federal public offices & enterprise. It discusses the causes, manifestations & consequences of corruption & impropriety in relation to the Ethiopian context and the existing objective reality. It also illustrates the strategies & mechanisms being employed to curb corruption. This study mainly focused on efforts made by Anti-corruption commission to curb

corruption, and suggests media could play its role in tackling the problem by creating awareness to the society and revealing the corrupt practices.

Having this in mind, stressing the importance of the media's struggle against corruption, one should ask whether or not the Ethiopian private presses make an effort to uncover corruption cases in timely manner so that the public can make an informed decision. This study, thus, tried to assess the practice of private presses in covering corruption related issues in particular with *Reporter* bi-weekly and *Addis Admas* Amharic weekly news papers, for the period of September 2014 to July 2015.

1.3.Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study is to evaluate the practices of Ethiopian private press in covering corruption related issues in particular with *Addis Admas* and *Reporter*.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- To identify the types of corruption related stories featured in the newspapers
- To examine the types of sources used in the corruption coverage
- To figure out the way corruption stories are gathered and placed on the newspapers
- To find out the dominant corruption themes covered by *Reporter* and *Addis Admas*
- To uncover whether the focus of the corruption stories is on institutions or individual level

1.4.Research Questions

- What types of corruption related stories are featured in the newspapers?
- What types of sources do the newspapers use while covering corruption issues?
- How are the corruptions stories gathered and placed on the newspapers?
- What are the predominant forms of corruption themes that are covered by the newspapers?
- Do the newspapers target on corruption stories of individuals or institutions?

1.5. Significance of the Study

This paper mainly finds out the practices developed by the selected private news papers on addressing corruption related issues. Hence the selected issue is very important to measure whether or not these private media establishments in the country, i.e. *Reporter* and *Addis Admas* are discharging their responsibility of informing the public and acting as the watchdog of public interest.

The study also can be significant in providing preliminary information for stakeholders such as policy makers, media outlets, journalists, anti-corruption institutions and those who have vested interest in studies related to the role of the private presses in fighting against corruption in Ethiopia.

In addition, this study also can be used as a base for further investigations to the researcher by providing some hints on the area.

1.6. Scope of the Study

The study is limited to only two private newspapers, namely *Reporter* and *Addis Admas*, in reference with their practices in covering corruption issues. It involves descriptive analysis of media contents; methods or styles of presentation. Further, it examines the trends of private presses which are employed by journalists in covering corruption related issues. Both primary and secondary data are used for the study. The data are reviewed for relevant theories, key concepts, thoughts, opinions and other facts bearing on the subject. The data are both qualitative and quantitative, based on content analysis. The study is supported by empirical examples and statistics of studies conducted in different societies and at different times.

1.7. Limitation of the Study

This research primarily focuses on assessing the content of corruption coverage by *Reporter and Addis Admas* newspaper. To achieve this goal, a content analysis method was used. By its nature, this method has various shortcomings. Content analysis cannot give us information as to <what dimensions (categories) of content to analyze, or how to interpret the wider social significance or meaning> of the quantitative aspect derived from the content analysis (Hansen et al 1998:123). These types of aspects are inferred from the theoretical framework selected for the study.

The method also does not tell how the coverage influences the audience. Due to the limitation of time and resource, the study has not addressed additional newspapers from the private as well as from the government part. The spanning time has also its own effect on the result as it was remarkably known by crackdown of May 11. As a result, the findings of the thesis might not be generalized.

Lack of local research findings and well-documented material in relation to the topic of the study may be another limitation.

Nevertheless, the finding of this study will potentially have important implications for journalists, editors, press associations and media organizations with regard to corruption issues coverage.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This part attempts to present a brief review of related literature and theoretical framework of the study. Research findings, theories and the views of different scholars, which are pertinent to the study is explained in this chapter.

2.1. Definition of Corruption

Corruption, like obscenity, is more readily condemned than defined or explained (Williams 1991). Like beauty, corruption could only exist in the 'eyes of the beholder. 'Attempts to define or classify it for different reasons have been based on various perspectives and criteria (Langseth 2002). Definitions of corruption, therefore, vary from country to country in accordance with cultural, legal or other factors and the nature of the problem as it is manifested in each country.

No single definition encapsulates corruption. Stapenhurst and Kpundeh (1999) define corruption as 'the abuse of power, most often for personal gain or for the benefit of a group one owes allegiance.' Other types of malfeasances such as bribery, nepotism, extortion, fraud and embezzlement are also included under this general definition. Girling (2007) suggests that corruption, narrowly defined, denotes illegal behavior. The broad definition of the term refers to what may be legal but is considered as 'illegitimate' by large sections of the public. In normative sense, corruption is the 'abuse' of positions of public 'trust' for private gain. In the Aristotelian terms, on the other hand, it is an act of derogation from the common good.

For Rose-Ackerman (1999, p.1), corruption is 'the misuse of public power for private gain. Agency-principal relationships in the public sector give rise to corrupt opportunities.' This explanation, however, simply asserts that a clear distinction exists between one's public and private roles. The reality on the ground shows that in many societies no such clear distinction prevails. In the private sector, gift giving is a highly valued culture and is pervasive as well as natural to offer jobs and/or contracts to one's friends and relatives.

No one sees any reason not to conduct such practices in the public realm. This explains that one person's bribe is considered as another person's gift. Scholars such as Ronning argue that

perceptions of what constitutes corrupt behavior vary from society to society: It [corruption] ranges from what, in some places, is only regarded as traditional gift giving to complicated schemes of transactions between public officials and businessmen.(...) Clearly, corruption, and what it is not, is deemed to be always fluctuating(2009, p.158-159).

2.2. Costs of Corruption

Corruption is one of the condemned however quite pervasive acts within in the society. Nowadays, this deep rooted problem is creating a multilayered incalculable damage. Especially in developing countries like Ethiopia it is justifiable to say that corruption is the basic and sometimes the sole cause for the emergence of massive poverty-stricken and marginalized societies of which basic rights are denied.

To this, Kofi Annan also described how corruption is a complex and entwined problem that touches upon and spoils the basic institutions that makes up a state; "...Corruption debases democracy, undermines rule of law, distorts markets, stifles economic growth and denies many their rightful share of economic resources or life saving aid". Kofi Annan, The former secretary general of United Nation as cited in Kameswari (2006, p.1)

According to Belay (2009), in a paper prepared for African Local Government Action Forum, the costs of corruption can be categorized in main four folders. These are economical, social, political and environmental.

2.2.1. Economic Cost

World Bank (2001) has identified corruption as „the single greatest obstacle to economic and social development. Recently, World Bank(2004) has estimated more than US \$ 1 trillion is paid in bribes each year, and that countries tackle corruption, improve governance and rule of law could increase per capita incomes by 400 percent.

Corruption mainly manifests itself in various forms in developing countries where by the watchdogs role, transparency and accountability are not well developed. The condition would be worst when it is reflected on the poorest and defenseless societies.

This misallocation of public resource will adversely affect programs that are designed to overcome poverty. As Gabriel, et.al (2001) states it “When money disappears into the wrong pocket, the credibility of the authorities is undermined, an investment falls away or misdirected, development grind to a halt and the poorest groups end up paying the price.”(Gabreil, et.al, 2001, p.4)

Kameswari (2006, p.9) also mentioned “Corruption in developing countries also impairs economic development by transferring large sums of money precisely in the opposite direction to what is needed to address poverty.” The reverse flow of capital leads in turn to political and economic instability, poor infrastructure, education, health and other services and general tendency to create or perpetuate low standards of living.

2.2.2. Social Cost

Corruption is not only an economic and political loss it also can be resulted by unethical way of life. In a society where demanding and paying bribe is a norm, it will be difficult to have a future generation free from corrupted activity. Kameswari stated this aspect “Individuals who wish to conduct their affairs honestly are demoralized and lose faith in the rule of law. Corruption breeds distrust of public institutions, undermines ethical principles by rewarding those willing and able to pay bribes and perpetuates inequality.” (2006, p.10)

2.2.3. Political Cost

It is not uncommon to see corruption hampering democratization process and good governance in a country. Corruption produces human rights violations and denies the people of their political rights. As to Kameswari (2006) unfair access to even the basic needs would end up denying basic rights “When individuals and families have to pay bribes to access food, housing, property, education, jobs and participate in the cultural life of a community, basic human rights are clearly violated” (Kameswari 2006, p.9).

Dell (2006) further strengthens; “Corruption violets human rights by denying equitable access to public service such as health and education, placing obstacles in the way of earning a livelihood in public and private sector and by distorting decision making processes regarding the allocation of resources” (Dell, 2006, p.6).

Thus it would be natural to anticipate that if the public is unfairly devoid of access to public services and basic political rights, it would gradually develop mistrust on the government. This in turn would result in public unrest and lawlessness and civil war.

2.2.4. Environmental Cost

Corruption is also one of the major causes of environmental damage. It facilitates abuse of the environment and misuse of natural resources. For instance, we can take the case of Industries that are manufacturing products that poisons the environment either in the process of production or in the time of using the products. For the sake of the industries best income collection other environmental issues are suppressed. The responsible bodies that can enforce those industries not to manufacture or compensate the damage caused kept silent standing on the side of the rich, not on the side of the public.

2.3. The Role of the Media in Combating Corruption

Many people are dependent on the media not only to be informed about current events in their surroundings and the world, but also to receive information about less newsworthy issues such as health and education. Studies have also indicated that the mass media serve as a major source of information, metaphors, and values in a mass society, influencing customs, taste and morality in a wide range of areas including politics, religion, family and sexual life, science and medicine (Clarke, 1992, cited in Valenta, 2002).

In developing countries like Ethiopia, where corruption is rampantly spreading, ignorance poses the greatest danger. The media in such countries have an essential function to educate the public about key elements of the problem. They can disseminate facts about corruption to the public. They can also propagate practical information like how to prevent such a deviation and how it affects the lives of others, what steps reduce the risk of spreading corruption and where to seek guidance and so on. The role that the media play in the halt against the corruption can be seen in two ways: the educative role and the advocacy role. It is, however, difficult to set a clear distinction between the two.

2.3.1. The Educative Role of the Media

There is general consensus that media have an important influence in educating the public about the seriousness of corruption and its effect in the society. Trevor Munroe says the clearest case of the use of media power for illicit advantage thereby contaminating governance with corrupt relations between the press, the politicians and the police. That is the downside. But the upside is that it is the media itself that triggered what is the dismantling of a media empire before our very eyes and that is laying the base for strengthening governance in a certain country (2011, p.2).

Media can also play a pivotal role in demystifying some of the erroneous notions that the Public has about the corruption. In many African countries, for example, misinformation and misconception still exists on how the corruption is manifested and how it is prevented. The basic aspect of the role of media in combating corruption is to expose and report the facts relating to corruption particularly in high places, in the private and in the public sector, without fear or favor (ibid, 2011, p.3).

Nations talking about corruption is still remained in a well developed countries, and developing countries like Africa is yet not given that attention. Since the media have the potential to reach various segments of the population, they can rectify the state of affairs by disseminating accurate and sensible information about the issue o corruption. They can also contribute to change the attitude of the public by persistently referring to the broaden and prevention methods of corruption. Thus, the mass media can remove myths and misconceptions that blur Peoples' perception of the deviation.

2.3.2. The Advocacy Role of the Media

Apart from what has been mentioned, the media can play an advocacy role in relation to corruption. However, the advocacy role of the media is somewhat contentious. As Johannes (2006, p.8) states "controlling and preventing corruption requires an extensive coordinated effort of individuals, groups, civil society, countries and the world at large, a huge resource and multi faced approach to suit the multi dimensional aspect of corruption."

Johannes (2006, p.7) also indicated the possibility where corruption can breed and grow. It can begin in personal and family level and can be conducted by the youths and the elderly or the rich and poor and escalate the national and international level.

Therefore the responsibility of combating corruption is not only a single organization's or government's duty. The active participation of every individual in a society is essential for its eradication supporting this Johannes (2006, p.26) also added that tackling corruption requires active participation of media, religious institutions, business groups, trade unions, civic association, teachers, health workers, NGOs and voluntary groups. It requires local initiatives and international cooperation between governments.

However, the media are expected to be partaker in social and community development. A study conducted with South African journalists which is written by Stein (2002) and documented under the title "What is News: Perspectives on corruption in the South African Media", underscores this point. The study shows that most journalists argue that the media as a whole should play an advocacy role vis-à-vis corruption. They believe that the media have a moral responsibility to inform the public about corruption to be critical when appropriate and to advocate constructive approaches to dealing with the issue.

Stein (2002) added, though it was argued that news reporting must remain as neutral as possible for the most part the advocacy role of the media vis-à-vis corruption, was not seen to contradict the media's responsibility to remain neutral and objective.

Scholars like Riyadi (2000, p.1) also support the abovementioned view. According to him Advocacy journalism on corruption is relevant. He suggests, "To contribute effectively combat on corruption, the media have to change their role into an advocacy role and promote the dignity and rights of people with corruption and other marginalized groups".

However, Falobi and Bamigbetan (2000) believe that media are not doing well in relation to corruption advocacy. They argue that journalists have tended to fear away from taking a proactive response to corruption advocacy for the reason that they must remain 'unaffected' and stand-aloof commentators on the issue.

Media can also play a pivotal role in challenging government policies and providing a forum for discussion. Concerning this, Panos' (2005) study state that the media can play a role in holding policy-makers to account and contribute to debate and change. Different scholars on the area also argue that media can play a significant role in highlighting deficiencies in the response to corruption.

Generally, the role that the media play in public awareness, discussion, and debate, the following points are made by scholars:

- The media can generate public and policy discussion of corruption, which further encourages public awareness and leads to action by political, financial, and other leaders. Accurate news coverage of corruption can generate public and political support for fighting corruption.
- The media can influence public opinion and attitudes about corruption, including attitudes towards corruption.

On the other hand, the media can play a negative role in portraying the issues o corruption. As various scholars have argued, public understanding of how corruption is prevented and avoided is still varied in many parts of the world. This misunderstanding and misconception of the public is largely attributed to the negative character of the media in the representation of the corruption.

Although different sectors of the mainstream media - newspapers, magazines, radio and television - have been playing a major role in the fight against the corruption, "their role in determining individuals' attitudes to corruption is quixotic and often varied" (Netter and Brown, 1992, cited in Shepperson, 2000, p.10). According to Stein (2001) this may partly be due to the tendency of the media to tune out information not in line with people's existing beliefs. The suggestion is, in other words, that although the regular media play a pivotal role in mitigating the spread of corruption, they alone do not provide the necessary and sufficient means to change behavior.

In communications the media are similarly placed. The justification for their freedoms, their wide ranging roles in society, politics and culture, and their place in regulatory orders depends ultimately on the public interests presumed to be served thereby". In short, the power of the

media, like that of government, has to be used in a legitimate way, which is not far removed from the notion of responsibility.

Similarly some other scholars argue a certain transcendent quality attaches to the notion of public interest. It is different from and, in policy terms, superior to particular interests. This entails a longer-term, in which the claims of successor generations and the future of society are included as well as people's immediate needs. And also notions of public interest must work in an imperfect perspective and impure world. This means inevitable tension, compromise and improvisation according to circumstances.

2.3.3. Watchdog role of the Media

The notion of the press as watchdog is more than 200 years old. Yet the idea of vigilant media monitoring government and exposing its excesses has gained new traction in many parts of the world. Globalization, the fall of authoritarian and socialist regimes, and the deregulation of the media worldwide have fuelled a renewed interest in -as well as a surge in efforts by various groups to support- "watch dogging" by the media. (Sheila Corone, 2009, p.111).

Since the late 17th Century, classical liberal theorists had argued that publicity and openness provide the best protection from the excesses of power. The idea of the press as Fourth Estate, as an institution that exists primarily as a check on those in public office, was based on the premise that powerful states had to be prevented from overstepping their bounds. The press working independently of government, even as its freedoms were guaranteed by the state, was supposed to help ensure that this was so (ibid, 2009, p.111).

The watchdog role of the press has become central to contemporary understanding of the Fourth Estate by journalists and editors. The role may seem like an 'unleashed mastiff' to many outside the media industry. However, it is a key aspect of exemplary professional quality in journalism and is considered as unrivaled opportunity for public service by those working in media houses.

The media, especially those involved in public affairs, are said to play a watchdog role and thus keep the government as well as the private sector under constant surveillance. One of the primary purposes of a free press in a democratic system is keeping the public informed about

government's daily activities. However, since the media often plunge into a resistant government that is not eager to disclose all information, inherent conflict results (Dennis & Merrill 1996).

Thomas Carlyle first coined the term 'Fourth Estate' in 1811 to refer to reporters in the British House of Commons (McQuail 2003). It has often been used to characterize the position of the press in the process of government as a source of power parallel with that of other branches, especially the judiciary and upper and lower houses of the legislative (parliament). In the nineteenth century, the British press adopted the expression and idea of the role seriously as the influence became apparent.

The Fourth Estate ideal is based on the premise that powerful states, individuals as well as institutions have to be prevented from overstepping their limit. The press can act as a conduit for information, ideas and opinions to assist in good governance of society. It can also report, analyze and criticize the actions on behalf of the public, which usually lacks access to direct information or power.

The Fourth Estate label has moved a long way starting from its inception. From a critical perspective, the self-assigned Fourth Estate model over privileges the powerful, established media as compared with ordinary citizens, especially where they are more concentrated and harnessed symbiotic solidarity with political power. It is also arguable that where the assertion is made and taken seriously, it embodies certain responsibilities, including an unwritten obligation to offer a dependable channel of communication from government to citizens and vice versa (McQuail 2003).

According to some scholars there should be a distinction between the presses as watchdog scrutinizing the activities of the powerful, adversarial, and oppositionist press fueled by partisan ambition. The presence of an oppositionist press has been a crucial element in all political movements. When the press overlooks the conduct of the government and attacks government secrecy and alleged corruption, this fosters an adversarial relationship between the government and the press:

The government can exercise its adversarial role by withholding information the media want. Some critics say this antagonistic relationship has a 'checking value,' where in the press checks on government and makes certain that it is performing properly (Dennis & Merrill 1996, p.19).

Several media scholars agree that the nineteenth-century press has ceased to be simply an echo of political institutions. The news media, journalists and editors have involved in a process of debate with the judiciary, executive and parliament to strengthen its role and responsibility. The essential elements for the press to be recognized as the Fourth Estate include 'autonomy from government and politicians; having the duty to speak the truth; and having primary obligation to the public and to readers' (McQuail 2003, p.52).

There is little or no doubt that the institutional establishment of democracy provides the most friendly atmosphere for watchdog journalism to flourish. A revived Fourth Estate must be independent, accountable and responsive to the audience. The press has to be ethical in its dealing with sources and honorable in its intentions. The survival and continuation of the ideal highly depend on the professionalism of journalism and the extent to which responsibility is passed from the news media as an institution to journalists, editors as well as producers.

Sheila Coronel similarly argued that watchdog reporting covers an array of malfeasance: from sex and personal scandals to financial wrongdoing, political corruption, enrichment in public office, and other types of wrongdoing. They can also be classified according to who initiates the exposé: sometimes these are the results of leaks from interested parties such as government investigators, rival businesses or politicians, or opposition political parties; others are triggered by whistleblowers inside an organization. Some are investigated first by advocacy groups and campaigners, before being taken up by mainstream news organizations (2009, p.113).

Coronel, in addition, pointed out Watchdog journalism is exposure journalism. The ethical standards of the journalist or the quality of the reporting may be high or low. What distinguishes watch dogging is the exposure of wrongdoing in the public interest. Whatever motivates the journalist or the news organization that publishes a muckraking report is not the issue; what matters is that the reporting warns citizens about those that are doing them harm and empowers them with the information they need to know. Watch dogging can be both episodic—as in

one-off exposés that may or may not have impact— or sustained, especially where a community of journalists devotes its energies to exposing malfeasance and produces a continuous stream of reports on wrongdoing.(ibid,2009, p.113).

In order to assure that whether watchdog journalism is important or not, Coronel Sheila strongly believes that it is undeniable fact having watchdog kind o journalism to create a strong governmental administration and eradicating problems related with social, economy, and politics.

'A watchdog press ensures that individuals and institutions who are supposed to serve the public remain transparent and are held accountable. A vigilant press is therefore key to good governance. That, at least, is the liberal democratic orthodoxy. This orthodoxy is not unchallenged, however. To nonbelievers, the watchdog role should be subordinate to other, in their view more constructive, goals' (ibid, 2009, p.114).

Finally Coronel suggested about raising professional and ethical standards: This means improving the level of skills in various areas of journalism, not to mention improving working conditions and raising compensation to respectable levels. These help raise the social status of watchdog journalists and also make them less prone to corruption. It is important to build a community of journalists bound by a watchdog ethos and committed to democratic principles. Journalists' unions and journalists' associations can play a role in these. So can donors that fund media development. But donors should also appreciate the limits of what journalists can do the contingent nature of news, and the demands of the market.

In addition he recommended some points to be included as a reform:

- Training journalists in investigative reporting skills and ethical standards and funding for such efforts;
- Teaching investigative reporting in journalism schools and including references to the watchdog role of the press in general-education curricula;
- Instituting awards and other forms of recognition for excellence in watchdog reporting;
- Supporting and providing more funds for investigative journalism courses, whether in universities or elsewhere;

- Enacting journalistic codes of ethics and instituting mechanisms to ensure these codes are followed; governments should not legislate media ethics, which should be the domain of the media themselves;
- Making media organizations more transparent about their ownership, their editorial decision making process and the pressures and restraints on reporting;
- Encouraging and supporting free and independent journalist unions and associations that promote press freedom, ethical journalism and watchdog reporting; and
- Providing better pay and job conditions for watchdog journalists. (Coronel, 2009, p.132)

By playing its watchdog role, the media help bring about reforms and in the long term, assist in creating a culture of civic discourse, transparency, and government accountability. While there are genuine limits to the media's effectiveness and power, the media's capacity to promote good governance is enhanced if the rights of the press are guaranteed, information is made available to the media and the public, journalists are protected, and news organizations enjoy editorial independence and abide by high ethical and professional standards. In addition, the press is most effective and less prone to capture by vested interests if there is a plurality of media entities representing diverse views and ownership patterns operating in a competitive market as well as broad public access to the media.

2.3.4. Investigative Journalism

Investigative journalism is finding, reporting and presenting news which other people try to hide. It is very similar to standard news reporting, except that the people at the centre of the story will usually not help you and may even try to stop you doing your job. The job of journalists is to let people know what is going on in the community, the society and the world around them. Journalists do this by finding facts and telling them to their readers or listeners.

Investigative reporting is an exciting part of journalism that has witnessed growth and enhanced prestige during the end of the twentieth-century. Media analysts claim that investigative reporting is perhaps the most celebrated form of watchdog journalism. As a result, the prestigious Pulitzer prizes are usually awarded to prominent investigative stories across the globe.

Gaines (1994) argues that investigative reporting knows no geographical limitations and no subject have ever been considered off-limits to an investigative reporter. The targets of exposure journalism range from simple news-oriented inquiries to undercover operations that piece together a jigsaw puzzle of events, ending up in a final expose'. Furthermore, investigative reporting might involve a wide area of malfeasance including sex scandal, financial wrongdoing, smuggling, and enrichment in public office, corporate scandals and other types of wrongdoing.

In much of their work, the facts are easy to find in such places as the courts and parliaments, disasters, public meetings, churches and sporting events. People are usually happy to provide journalists with news. Indeed, in many countries, thousands of people work full time in public relations, giving statements, comments, press releases and other forms of information to journalists. Houston et al (2002) suggested that journalists should take three steps in investigative report. First, journalists should try hard to find the information from on-the-record human sources and from documents. Second, they should try their best to persuade the original off-the-record source to go public. Finally, when nothing else works, they should explain why the source has requested and been granted anonymity.

Throughout the world, though, there are still a lot of things happening which people want to keep secret. In most cases these are private things which have no impact on other people - such as relations within a family or a bad report from school. These personal things can remain secret. In many other cases, governments, companies, organizations and individuals try to hide decisions or events which affect other people. When a journalist tries to report on matters which somebody wants to keep secret, this is investigative journalism.

There are several reasons why societies need investigative journalism. They include:

- People have a right to know about the society in which they live. They have a right to know about decisions which may affect them, even if people in power want to keep them secret.
- People in power - whether in government, the world of commerce, or any other group in society - can abuse that power. They can be corrupt, steal money, break laws and do all sorts of things which harm other people. They might just be incompetent and unable to do

their job properly. They will usually try to keep this knowledge secret. Journalists try to expose such abuse.

- Journalists also have a duty to watch how well people in power perform their jobs, especially those who have been elected to public office. Journalists should constantly ask whether such people are keeping their election promises. Politicians and others who are not keeping their promises may try to hide the fact; journalists should try to expose it.

Of course, journalists are not the only people in society who should expose incompetence, corruption, lies and broken promises. We also have parliaments, councils, courts, commissions, the police and other authorities. The police often take people to court for breaking laws. But sometimes they do not have the time, staff or skills to catch and correct every case of abuse. Also, they cannot do anything against people who behave badly without actually breaking any laws. So journalists have a role as well. The difference is that when journalists expose wrongdoing, they cannot punish people. Journalists can only bring wrongdoing into the light of public attention and hope that society will do the rest, to punish wrongdoers or to change a system which is at fault.

In general, journalists are seen as active participants in the struggle against corruption. It is important to consider investigative reporting within the framework of the movement to democratize continents such as Africa. To this end, both print and electronic media need to be independent. There should also be media diversity and the government must furnish an enabling setting in which the independent media can thrive. Furthermore, journalists need continuous trainings regarding investigative techniques, professional standards as well as newsroom organization.

2.4. Social Responsibility Theory

In the mid 20th century most of the developing countries and third world nations have used this social responsibility theory of press which is associated with “the Commission of the Freedom of Press” in United States at 1949. In the book “Four theories of Press” (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm) it’s been stated that “pure libertarianism is antiquated, out dated and obsolete.” That paved way for replacement of Libertarian theory with the Social responsibility theory.

Social responsibility theory allows free press without any censorship but at the same time the content of the press should be discussed in public panel and media should accept any obligation from public interference or professional self regulations or both. The theory lies between both authoritarian theory and libertarian theory because it gives total media freedom in one hand but the external controls in other hand. Here, the press ownership is private. The social responsibility theory moves beyond the simple "Objective" reporting (facts reporting) to "Interpretative" reporting (investigative reporting). The total news is complete facts and truthful but the commission of the freedom press stated that "No longer giving facts truthfully rather than give a necessary analyzed or interpretative report on facts with clear explanations".

The theory helped in creating professionalism in media by setting up a high level of accuracy, truth, and information. The commission of press council also included some tasks based on social responsibility of media, which are as follows:

1. Formulate the code of conduct for the press.
2. Improve the standards of journalism.
3. Safeguarding the interests of journalism and journalist.
4. Criticize and make some penalty for violating the code of conduct.

The Theory allows:

1. Everyone to say something or express their opinion about the media.
2. Community opinion, Consumer action and professional ethics.
3. Serious invasion of recognized private rights and vital social interests.
4. Private ownership in media may give better public service unless government has to take over to assure the public to provide better media service.
5. Media must take care of social responsibility and if they do not, government or other organization will do.

Moreover, different scholars of the area agreed up on that social responsible theory is an extension of the libertarian philosophy in that the media recognize their responsibility to resolve conflict through discussion and to promote public opinion, consumer action, private rights, and important social interests. This theory has its major premise that freedom carries concomitant obligations. The press has an obligation to be responsible to the public. If it is not so, then some

agency of the public should enforce it. Public opinion and consumer action can guarantee that the press behaves. This theory led to the establishment of Press Councils, drawing up of Codes of Ethics and anti-monopoly laws in many countries. One of the foremost communication scholars Denis McQuail summarized the basic principles of Social Responsibility Theory as the following:

- Media should accept and fulfill certain obligations to society.
- These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of its formativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance.
- In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions.
- The media should avoid offensive content triggering crime, violence, or civil disorder or harm to minority groups.
- The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and rights of reply.
- Society and the public have a right to expect high standards of performance, and intervention can be justified to secure the, or a, public good.
- Journalists and media professionals should be accountable to society as well as to employers and the market (As cited by B.K. Ravi, 2012, p.307).

In fact, one of the added cannons of Journalistic functioning after the famous report by the Commission on Freedom of the Press headed by Robert Hutchins in 1947. The immediate conflicting point however is that 'who is the journalist responsible to?' Is it the media-house owners, editors or people? Man is subject to manipulation at the hands of media owners. Due to the emergence of big businesses in the field of media, there is a threat of monopoly which may lead to control on information. Journalists are obligated to the same society that gives them freedom of expression- provides the laws that bring about a free press. They function as the trustees of the public- promote public interest (ibid, 2012, p.308).

Regarding the issue, Deepak Nayyar says,

'There is more elitism, personism and negativism than ever before' [...in the media Contents throughout the world]... 'the front page of a newspaper degrades itself, its Journalists, its readers and all those concerned, when it represents rape and murder as

the major constituents of world society. And this is sometimes called the personal touch!' (2007, p.127)

Therefore in developing countries the media report or cover mostly politics and government activities. Their surveillance of the political and socioeconomic environment is quite useful to the business and industrial sectors. Their interest in restructuring the society in accordance with the goal set out in the Constitution is purely incidental. Priorities change according to the agenda set elsewhere by global financial institutions.

The private initiative, the American Commission on Freedom of the Press, was aimed at inquiring the failings of the press and suggesting possible remedies. As McQuail (2003) explains, the move was the first attempt to establish a basis of considered criticism and prescription concerning the social role of the news media. In addition, assessing the impact of the government, readers and owners on the press were the major areas the Commission focused. The key outcome of the inquiry later on referred to as the social responsibility theory.

The Commission on Freedom of the Press in its various books following the Second World War did a tremendous task toward making social responsibility 'a new, integrated theory instead of a mere appendage to the traditional one' (Siebert et al 1963, p.75). Particularly the most crucial books were *A Free and Responsible Press* by the Commission as a whole and *Freedom of the Press: A Framework of Principle* by William E. Hocking, a member of the Commission.

The social responsibility theory, which is an Anglo-American concept, is closely related to the libertarian press system. However, its proponents see it as going beyond the free press theory, in that 'it places many moral and ethical restrictions on the press' (Merrill 1970, p.16). Siebert et al (1963, p.74) points out the major premise of the theory as: 'Freedom carries concomitant obligations; and the press, which enjoys a privileged position under our government, is obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication in contemporary society.'

Although the theory generally accepts the six functions of the press, it is dissatisfied with how those functions are interpreted and carried out by some media owners and operators. The theory implies recognition by the media that they must perform a public service to warrant their

existence (Merrill 1970). The theory puts strong faith in the conscience of every reporter. 'It expects him in following it to do his duty, not only to himself but to society as well' (Peterson, 1996, p.46).

According to the social responsibility theory, freedom of expression is a moral right with an aspect of duty. This claim is grounded on the duty of the individual to his thought or to his conscience. Under this theory, freedom of expression is not an absolute right. This is because one's right to free expression should be balanced with others private rights and crucial social interests. For instance, if a person uses freedom of expression to inflame hatred, to lie, or to deliberately contaminate truth, then the person has no claim to right. This implies the fact that moral right comes with a concomitant moral duty. However, this right does carry with it the right to commit error, not deliberately or irresponsibly.

The theory holds that there are at least two reasons for tolerating honest error. Firstly, the social responsibility theory (Siebert et al 1963, p.98) assumes that the quest for truth and the spread of truth require considerable freedom. 'Liberty is experimental, and experiment implies trial and error.' Secondly, each individual has the right to ensure that he has found truth through his own 'free discovery instead of having it imposed up on him by some authority.'

The Commission on Freedom of the Press identifies the government, the public and the press as the three prominent sources that are vital for improving the performance of the press. The Commission argues that the government should recognize the fact that the press must be confined to the private ownership status. Merrill (1970) believes that the supervision of the press does not necessarily imply government control. The social responsibility theory holds that the government should not simply allow freedom (Siebert et al 1963); it must also actively promote it. When the stakes are high, the government has to take cautious measures in order to intervene in press supervision and control. In the case Trevor Munroe argued that 'the media has played a critical role, indeed the extent to which the media is free to play this role is one indicator of good governance.' (2011, p.1)

Governments across the globe can encourage the communications industry rather than becoming competitors of privately owned media outlets. For example, it can set up new ventures in the

arena to support the private sector, not to eliminate it. Furthermore, the government can adopt new legal remedies to put an end against abusive press laws.

McQuail argues that the different theories concerning social obligations of mass media turn on two assumptions. The first assumption asserts that the media have a number of roles that are essential for society. In particular, this is fundamental in relation to democracy, social order and social change. The second assumption holds that 'the media are (and should be) free to choose their own role, express their own views of others, without external pressure or subsequent penalty' (2003, p.119).

The social responsibility theory has been called 'unrealistic. 'The theory, which was developed by the Commission on Freedom of the Press, was not well received by the American press at the time, partly because it feared losing some of its privileges, already under threat (Blanchard 1977 cited in McQuail 2003). The main parts of the Commission's report seemed to have antagonized many American editors (Merrill 1970) especially the intimidation over the possible involvement of the government in the press system. Publishers were not also in consensus with all of the logical extensions of the Commission's idea (Peterson 1996).

Despite these criticisms, however, the Commission forms an important milestone in forming the ideas and principles of the social responsibility theory. The report became an essential point of reference in the growing trend towards the professionalism and self regulation of the press. Its recommendations in large measure accommodate themselves with the emerging worldview and thought patterns. The findings were critical of the press for its frequent failings and for being so limited in its service mostly confined to the privileged circle of elites (McQuail 2000).

Generally, it should be recalled that in those countries that are praised neither for having a responsible press, the goal has not been attained instantly nor by a magic formula. Sometimes it took a century or two to achieve the desired stability, freedom as well as responsibility. Mostly the process involved painstaking compromises.

2.5 The State of Corruption in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is one of the countries in Africa that are highly affected by corruption. According to the 2014 Transparency International's *Corruption Perception Index*, the country is ranked as 110th, out of the total 174 positions. Like many other nations, corruption in Ethiopia emanates from the country's policies, bureaucratic traditions, political developments and social history which negatively affect the lives of the general public (Korajian, 2003).

The survey conducted by AAU's Institute of Educational Research (IER) shows that the major corruption crimes often observed in Ethiopia include "abuse of power, bribery and extortion, fraud and embezzlement, nepotism, illegal reduction of taxes and failure to discharge duties" (IER 2001, p.14). The common breach observed fell in the area of embezzlement of public money and property. The areas where corruption is believed to be rampant are those where financial resources are transferred from the private to the public sector and vice versa (Tesfaye, 2007).

Corruption is also widespread in telephone and electric services, granting of loans, licensing and issuance of permits as well as collection of taxes. A similar problem arises in other agencies which are identified as being infested with corrupt practices are those engaged with the allocation of land and government housing. Transparency International's report claims that with an increasing value of land in Addis Ababa, incentives for corruption are increasing as it is awarded to individuals on the basis of bribes or forged bank statements (TI 2014).

Currently, corruption is believed to be one of the major factors that significantly contribute to the reduction of government revenue. It can also negatively affect the on-going poverty reduction program at the national level. In this regard, to show the magnitude, a certain individual may refer that the May 11 crackdown on corruption in Ethiopia, which is the biggest in the last 10 years. Authorities arrested more than 50 high profile people including government officials, businessmen, and ministers. (Reporter, 2011, p.1)

Melaku Fanta, the director general of revenue and custom authority, which is equivalent rank of a minister, and his deputy, Gebrewahid Woldegoirgis, and other officials were apprehended on suspicious of tax evasion. But the arrests have raised questions about the endemic corruption at

the heart of the country's political elite. Therefore, some argued that these arrests highlighted how corruption has insinuated itself into the higher level of officialdom. (Addis Admas, 2011 p.1)

Hence the country is facing corruption problem ever than before. Although, in order to reduce such catastrophe, Ethiopian Government establish Anti-Corruption Commission (FEACC), and has prosecuted some high-profile cases of government officials, there are still concerns that the commission is not fully independent (Transparency Ethiopia, 2014).

2.6 Private Press in Ethiopia: An Overview

Ethiopia enjoys three thousand years of independence. However, hardly at any period in history were Ethiopians free to express their opinions at any level. Freedom of expression was not a reality. Both the Haile Selassie and Dergue regimes had included freedom of expression in their legislation, but exercising this fundamental right was practically non-existent. The media simply served as propaganda mouth pieces of the autocracy.

In this respect, (Costentinos et al, 1993), argued that in the early days of the Dergue, public media entertained a certain amount of freedom of expression. These were in the form of a dialogue between various opposing forces that surfaced at the time. They used the public media to argue vigorously on a number of national issues such as democracy, the land holding system and forms of government. Unfortunately that exercise did not last long.

Consequent to the fall of the Dergue's rule and the take-over of power by the Ethiopian Transitional Government (later: Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, EPRDF) the June 1991 conference brought together different political organizations and liberation movements that adopted the legal framework by endorsing the National Charter - initially for the transition period of two and a half years.

The Press Freedom Bill was proclaimed in October 1992 and guaranteed the right to private ownership of the press and declared the abolishment of censorship. The bill also guaranteed access to government information. But later, it was severely accused by many for that the Ethiopian government has used various forms of reactions to curb the opposition press. One is

poor access to government information. Another is delays and sometimes denial of legal registration. The most vocal is, however, imprisonment of journalists and media owners, which has caused heavy media attention and reactions from international press freedom organizations. (Skjerdal, 2009).

Following the event that the Council of Representatives approves a new Press Law aimed at ending years of censorship in Ethiopia; the first of its kind in press history. Consequently, privately owned and independent magazines and weekly newspapers have mushroomed. This decisive proclamation for private publications resulted in a proliferation of newspapers and magazines. According to the Ministry of Information 385 publications, comprising 265 newspapers and 120 magazines were registered between October 1992 and July 1997.

Most of the news and articles, mainly reported in the private press, are sensitive political issues that government papers or media dare not touch. They are information often acquired from opposition sources both at home and abroad with little news value. These seem to be the preference of the sensation seeking public. They deal with issues that frustrate the public and are most common topics of the public but do not appear in government media.

As a result, (Contentinos, et al, 1993) seems to believe that the general public tends to prefer to read the private press because the sensational topics that appear in the private press are total taboo for the government media. Government paper would hardly publish investigative articles leading to the exposure of the misappropriation of funds or fraud by an incumbent official or the high handed way in the allocation of new villas to all ministers and vice ministers or the alleged provision of duty free privileges to members of the council of representatives. Such news items are extremely consumable.

The private press had become a public eye, at times seeing through colored glasses. Its popularity is ever increasing not because of the high standard of journalism they display, but because the government press has failed to offer a better alternative.

Though the Ethiopian government guaranteed the decisive press freedom elements in its constitution(1995) Article 29 (1, 2, and 3 (1 & 2) which is direct copy of article 19 of the

Universal Declaration of Human Right (UDHR), the existence of press freedom gets boomed during election 2005. (Ameyu Etana, 2014).

The bright momentum for the private press began in 1993, but faces twists and turns. It is reported that the free press has faced diverse problems at different times. But the 2005 post election violence marked as a turning point in the Ethiopian media landscape. The government accused the private press for unbalanced report and for the post election violence that occurred during that time. Subsequently, it began a full-scale crack down on members of the private press. (Ross, 2005 as cited by Ameyu, 2014).

Explicitly, though, the Ethiopian government granted the abolition of censorship for the first time in country's history, the censorship and controlling the media' product was done indirectly. According to (Meseret 2013, p. 237) the government closed down the censorship office which was operating under the ministry of information for decades. However, in practice, the government assigned loyal cadres in each government media organization so that they may censor the news and other information before being published or broadcast (ibid).

According to committee to protect journalists (CPJ, June 2014), from June 1, 2009 to May 31, 2014, 404 journalists forced into exile globally. This is due to threat of imprisonment, threat of violence, and harassment .Out of those 41 journalists almost 10 percent, are from Ethiopia, little from Somalia which makes the nation the grave yard for journalists. The number arises great if we see it within decade. Within ten years 79 Ethiopian reporters have fled into exile, the most of any country in the world, according to CPJ data. A number of these have worked as stringers for international news agencies (Economist, September 27, 2011).

In addition, 2013 prison census of CPJ shows 211 journalists jailed worldwide which is the second worst year on record. Out of the lists 7 are from Ethiopia. As Economist put it Ethiopia is the second leading jailor of journalists in Africa. In this respect (Ameyu, 2014,) argues even in recent year prison census for Ethiopia increased than before as 9 bloggers and journalists are still in prison. As Reporters without Borders disclosed press freedom index of 2014 Ethiopia lies on 143rd out of 180 countries which is still 6 ranks behind the previous year. As a result of this, lots of private newspapers get close their office and exile out of the country. Little or finger counted

private newspapers still are being circulated and seen on the street of Addis Ababa. Among these survivor, *Addis Admass* and *Reporter* are still functional, which are the main focus of this study.

2.6.1 Brief Profile of Reporter Newspaper

Reporter is one of privately-owned newspapers in Ethiopia which have stayed in the often volatile media landscape about 20 years. It is published by Media and Communications Center in both Amharic and English languages by Berhanena Selam Printing Press. The Amharic version is a bi-weekly (Wednesday and Sunday) newspaper with a copy sale per issue 22,000 per a week. It could sometimes reduce the circulation below 11,000 copies depending on issues raised.

The Amharic version of the newspaper was established in September 2003. Apart from the Amharic edition, *Reporter* is also available every Saturday in English version. In addition, it has its own website as a source of news and other issues which is aimed at reaching the Ethiopian Diaspora across the world.

As far as the number of employees working in the staff is concerned, reporter has about a total of 109 journalists; among those 104 of them are full time worker, and the rest 5 part timer. Looking for educational qualification of journalists there are 7 diploma holders, 16 first degree holders, and 3 second degree holders with different area of qualification. For instance about 12 of staff members are qualified in language and literature, and 15 of them in other qualifications. In addition, having such a variety qualified staff; Reporter gives different Trainings like trainings which are related with general journalism, economic reporting and investigative reporting.

Reporter is publishing frequently its Amharic version twice per a week, which is on Wednesday with 32 pages, and on Sunday 192 pages. Among the total number of pages it has dedicated for Ethiopian politics 20%, National news 30%, International news 1%, Art and culture 11%, Letters and commentary 15%, Entertainment 10%, and Sports 12%. More over Reporter newspaper used to as a sources of news different government officials, businesses people, and the general public. In addition reporter assigned 20 journalists to collect local news on a daily basis.

Reporter is widely known for its “undertaking of investigative and adversarial news report” both on the government as well as the private institutions who have pivotal stake in the political,

economical and social issues of the country (Yetnayet 2008, p.89). Journalists of house claim that their newspaper has been successful in uncovering corrupt practices of high-ranking institutions such as Ethiopian Telecommunications Corporation, National Bank of Ethiopia, Ethiopian Airlines and Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, to mention but a few. Even the ardent critics of the paper agree to the newspaper's role of exposing of wrongdoing in such huge companies of the country.

2.6.2 Brief Profile of Addis Admas Newspaper

Addis Admas, which is one of finger counted private owned newspaper, registered and published under Admas Advertising Plc, and stayed for 15 consecutive years. For the first time Addis Admas started to appear in the country in December 1999, and printed by Berhanena Selam Printing Press in Amharic language. This Amharic weekly newspaper circulated 10,000-12,000 copies per a week, and it may reduce depends on the issues raised. Like any other newspaper available in Ethiopia, Addis Admas has an official website which they used to disseminate information for abroad residents.

Addis Admas published its newspaper in Amharic language with 28 pages. It covered current affairs like Ethiopian politics 18%, National news 12%, International news 6%, Art and culture 48%, Letters and commentary 6%, Entertainment 3%, Sports 6%. Addis Admas newspaper has 42 full time and 7 part time journalists with different educational qualification. It has 9 journalists with diploma, 5 first degree, 1 second degree and 4 with other qualifications.

Addis Admas newspaper, beside its journalists who are assigned in the field to collect local news, documents, reports, government and non government institutions, private organizations and individual residents have been used as a source of news.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Under this chapter the researcher deals with the methodology and procedures of the study, under which the methods, sampling techniques and sampling size, unit of analysis, analytic categories, coders' reliability and consistency as well as data analysis techniques of the study.

3.1. Methods of the Study

This research has made use of both quantitative content analysis and in-depth interview methods. Such kind of approach is commonly referred to as triangulation. Many scholars suggest that this approach may result in revealing unexpected angles of an enquiry. According to Holsti (1969, p.11) the content analyst should use qualitative and quantitative methods to supplement each other. It is by moving back and forth between these approaches that the investigator is most likely to gain insight in to the meaning of his data.

3.1.1. Quantitative Content Analysis

Content analysis by definition is a quantitative method. Stempel III and Westley (1981, p.125) define content analyses as a research technique or the objective, systematic, and quantitative design of the manifest content of communication. In addition, the purpose of such a method as identifying and counting the occurrence of the specified characteristics or dimensions of texts, and through this, to be able to say something about the messages, images, representations of such texts and their wider social significance, Hansen et al (1998, p.95).

It is believed that using quantitative content analysis provides a vivid description of the different variables by quantifying the issues raised in the *Reporter* and *Addis Addis admas* newspapers. Moreover, this type of approach is successful especially when the aim of the study is to analyze the manifest content of meaning. Therefore, it is assumed conducive enough for this research project as one of the research question is shaped to find out how wide coverage has been given to corruption stories by the selected newspapers.

3.1.2. Interview

The researcher has also employed an in-depth interview, as it is crucial research method for uncovering individuals' attitudes and values towards a topic. As a result, the researcher has conducted interviews with two journalists from *Reporter* and *Addis Admas* newspapers. This

semi structured interview is used to explore the research questions and to further substantive the results obtained by the quantitative content analysis. Apart from the main questions developed at the stage, follow up questions were also forwarded during the interview with the journalists of the two news papers, *Reporter* and *Addis Admas*.

3.2. Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

Sampling technique in content analysis is often overlooked to make sure that sample represents the population that is intended to represent. The prime consideration is that each unit in the population must have the same chance of being represented in the sample (Stempel III and Westley, 1981, p.125). According to Holsti(1969), sampling decisions in content analysis will vary according to the type of documents and the purpose of the analyst. The sampling scheme may also depend on the population to be sampled and the kind of inferences to be derived from the text.

Stratified sampling is often used in studies related to mass media to allow subclasses of larger sources to be treated differently (Holsti 1969, p.116). The researcher, thus, has employed stratified sampling along with systematic random sampling in order to collect the vital representative data.

Twelve months editions spanning from 1 September 2014 to 2 August 2015 of the two newspapers were chosen as samples of this study. The time span was purposively selected because the period was remarkably remembered by the May 11 crack down which pushed away more than thirteen individuals including higher officials in to jail; and the media give much coverage to the issue around this time.

It was cumbersome to cover all issues of the bi-weekly *Reporter* in the sample. Hence, in order to make the two newspapers compatible, only the Sunday edition of the Reporter was taken from the two editions of a week. The main reason of selecting the Sunday's edition of the paper is that it has got more attention by the readers, and the issues being covered on Sunday was broader than Wednesday's edition. Since *Addis Admas* is a weekly newspaper, all editions of the given time span were used.

3.3. Unit of Analysis

According to Weber (1990), one of the most decisive and crucial decisions in content analysis concerns the definition of the basic unit of text to be classified. For different reasons the theme, a single assertion about some subject, is usually the most important unit of content analysis (Holsti 1969). Therefore, individual article that dealt with corruption related issues was the unit of analysis for this study.

3.4. Analytic Categories

The most demanding and vital task of any content analysis research is to define the analytic categories. As the categories contain the important ingredients of the investigation, a content analysis can be no better than its arrangement of categories. Hence, in this research, a careful attempt was made for the categorization to reflect the objectives of the study, the research questions and the underlying theoretical frameworks.

The researcher has given operational definitions for the various categories with an explicit specification. According to Holsti(1969), a good operational definition is a valid representation of the investigator's concepts and it guides coders to come up with reliable judgments. To this end, due attention was given to shape exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories. Moreover, the researcher has made an effort to produce operational definitions that are as precise and unambiguous as possible. The following table shows the brief descriptions of the categories:

No.	Analytical categories	Operational definitions
1	Theme of story	This refers to the main or central message of the stories.
	✓ <i>Embezzlement</i>	It is a kind of financial fraud that involves fraudulent misappropriation of money or property by someone who has been entrusted with the money or property by Virtue of their status or employment.
	✓ <i>fraud</i>	As a form of corruption, it is mainly considered as a deliberate financial crime. Deception could involve identity theft, counterfeit credit cards, forgery, racketeering etc.
	✓ <i>clientelism</i>	It is characterized by patron-client relationships in which relatively powerful and rich patrons promise to offer

		relatively powerless and poor clients with benefits.
	✓ <i>bribery</i>	It is the essence of corruption where by an offer is given in the form of money or favors for influencing individuals, institutions or senior government officials.
	✓ <i>nepotism</i>	It is a form of corruption and occurs when officials favor relatives or close friends in which they hold some decision-making authority.
	✓ <i>others</i>	This category was employed if a story employed if a story had a theme other than the one mentioned above. Stories with multiple themes as well as those with ambiguous themes were included in this category.
2	Source of story	This refers to the main source used in the stories
	✓ <i>documents</i>	Articles sourced from reports, surveys, letters etc were coded under this category.
	✓ <i>anti-corruption</i>	This category refers to organizations whose main task is investigating and prosecuting corruption perpetrators.
	✓ <i>law enforcement bodies</i>	This category represents mainly prosecutors, police (investigators) and lawyers.
	✓ <i>Government officials</i>	This category refers to those who hold public office and are involved in government administration.
	✓ <i>institutions</i>	This category represents organizations that were used or mentioned directly in the stories.
	✓ <i>anonymous</i>	This category was used when the identity of the source of a story was not revealed.
	✓ <i>others</i>	This category was used if a source could not be classified under one of the above-mentioned categories. Articles with multiple sources were also coded in this category.
3	Type of story	This refers to the genre that the story belongs to.
	✓ <i>news</i>	News stories highlight the day's major new happenings or events. The stories attempt to give answers to the fundamental questions: who, what, where, when, why and

		how.
	✓ <i>feature</i>	This is usually accompanied by vivid descriptions helping the reader to get picture of the story.
	✓ <i>commentary</i>	This includes any article that involves criticism, discussion or explanation of ideas, opinions or facts.
	✓ <i>editorial</i>	It reflects the opinion or stand of the newspaper concerning an issue.
	✓ <i>letter to the editor</i>	It is written by readers on topics relevant to the publication's audience.
	✓ <i>others</i>	Any article that is other than the above-mentioned categories or is not clear to categorize under the above-mentioned categories was coded here under.
4	Individual/institution	This refers to the people and/or the governmental and private institutions that get the leading corruption coverage
	✓ <i>private sector</i>	This category was used when the stories focused on privately owned organizations.
	✓ <i>government sector</i>	This category was used when the stories focused on organizations owned by the government.
	✓ <i>others</i>	Institutions that were not clearly stated as one of the above-mentioned categories were coded here under.
5	Author of story	This refers to the people who write the stories
	✓ <i>in-house writers</i>	This category refers to the staff reporters who are employed within the target newspaper.
	✓ <i>news agencies</i>	They include communication organizations who sell news to their client media outlets.
	✓ <i>unknown</i>	This category was used if a story had an author other than the above mentioned categories or if a story had no clearly stated author.
	✓ <i>readers</i>	They represent people with different backgrounds and are assumed to be regular or occasional clients of the newspapers.

6	Placement of story	This refers to the position in which the corruption stories are placed on the newspaper
	✓ <i>front page</i>	The category refers to the very first page of the newspaper.
	✓ <i>middle pages</i>	This category was used while referring to pages 2 up to 5.
	✓ <i>back pages</i>	This category refers to pages including pages 6 and above.

Table 1. Analytical categories and their operational definition

3.5. Coders' Reliability and Consistency

Reliability is defined as 'repeated measurement of the same material [resulting in] similar decisions or conditions' (Wimmer 1983, p.156). The important goal in content analysis is reliability and consistency of assessment across various coders to confirm uniform in the coding as well as analysis procedures.

Two coders- the researcher and one trained- conducted the coding process. An in-depth explanation was given for the coder before coding. The contents to be analyzed were chosen based on explicit and constantly applied rules. A similar set of guideline was employed throughout the research process to which both the coders had to be abided.

The inter-coder reliability check was performed using Holsti's formula. The researcher moderated for some of the inconveniences and disagreement observed throughout the process. The problems were resolved by rigorously employing double coding mechanism. As a result, the researcher computed and come up with an overall inter-coder reliability coefficient of .97 (97.37%). Hence, this figure is more than required when compared with the standard used in most content analysis studies. 'As a rule of thumb, most published content analyses typically report a minimum reliability coefficient of about 90% or above when using Holsti's formula' (Wimmer 1983, p.156).

3.6. Data Analysis Technique

Most content analysis researchers claim that the type of research design depend on the aims of the questions the investigator plan to answer and on the data available. "The data analysis needs to address the questions or hypothesis set out in the definition of the main axes of comparison [that] need to be examined." (Hansen et al 1998, p.122)

After coding all corruption related articles using the previously mentioned categories, in-depth analysis was conducted by using the quantitative data and interviews with *Reporter and Addis Adams's* journalist. In addition, the insights from the review literature and other supplementary non-content data were used to back up the findings. Weber (1990, p.19) argues that “much stronger validity is obtained by comparing content-analytic data with some external criterion.” Thus, the study has incorporated various external criterion data as non-content standard to audit the communication content of the findings.

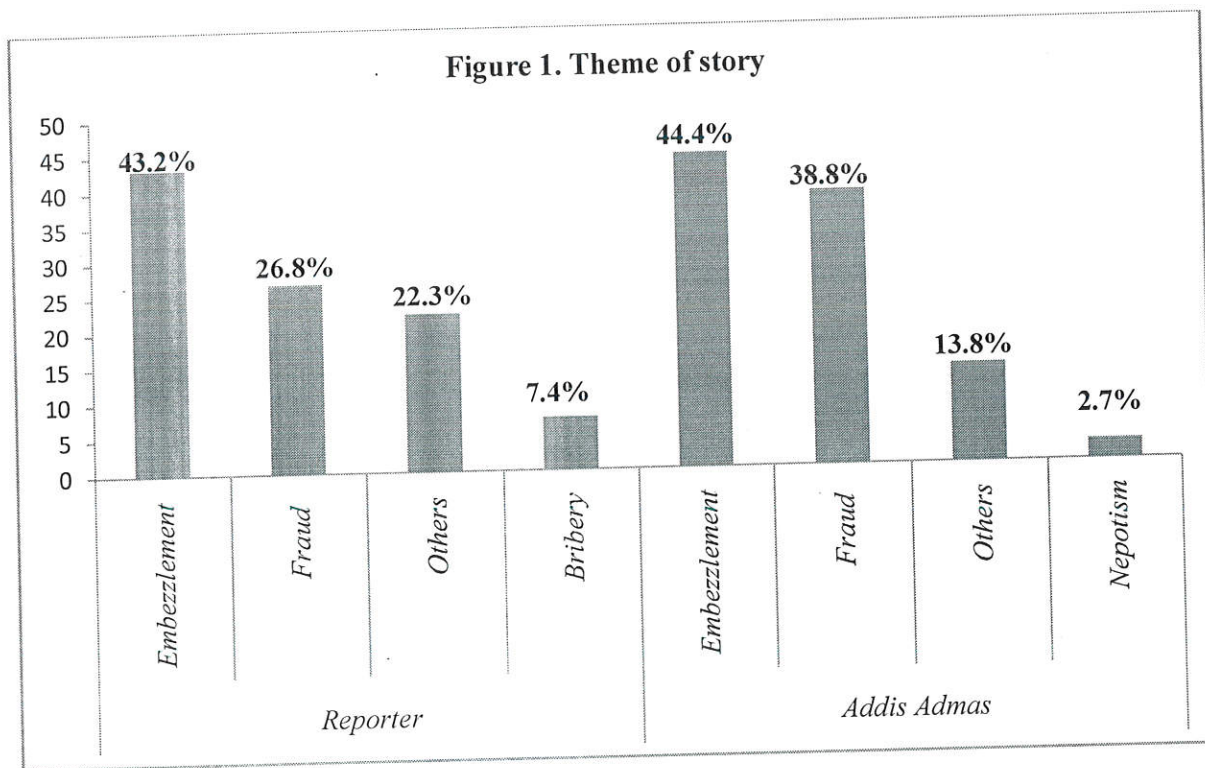
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In this section, the major findings of the study are presented using bar graphs, pie charts and tables. The collected data are also discussed in the next part qualitatively using the information gathered through interview and the underlying theoretical frameworks.

4.1. Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1.1 Theme of the Story

As can clearly be seen from figure 1 below, embezzlement was the most common theme of corruption articles for *Reporter and Addis Admas* during the selected period of this study. Stories with central focus on embezzlement consisted of 29 (42.2%), out of the total 67 (100%) articles monitored. Most of the embezzlement themes of corruption appeared on the news section of the newspaper. Some of the embezzlement stories focused on allegations of custom and revenue authorities' on suspicious of tax evasion. The finding also reveals that majority of the embezzlement stories were related to different government lead institutions.



Embezzlement has got more coverage than others in *Addis Admas*. Out of the total 36 (100%) stories, 14 (38.8%) were dominantly covered issues of corruption particularly related with embezzlement. As it was the hot issue in the country, *Addis Admas* gave more emphasis for the accusation of General Director of Custom and Revenue Authority, Melaku Fanta and his deputy Gebrewahid Gebrewold. Most stories related with embezzlement in *Addis Admas* newspaper placed on its front pages.

The second common theme of corruption coverage in the Reporter was fraud. As the above bar graph indicates, articles with fraud themes received 18(26.9%) stories. One point worth mentioning here is that the newspaper vigorously attempted to denounce fraudulent activities observed at some individuals who were highly involved in money laundering. *Reporter* used its editorial, commentary as well as news items to consistently reflect on this issue.

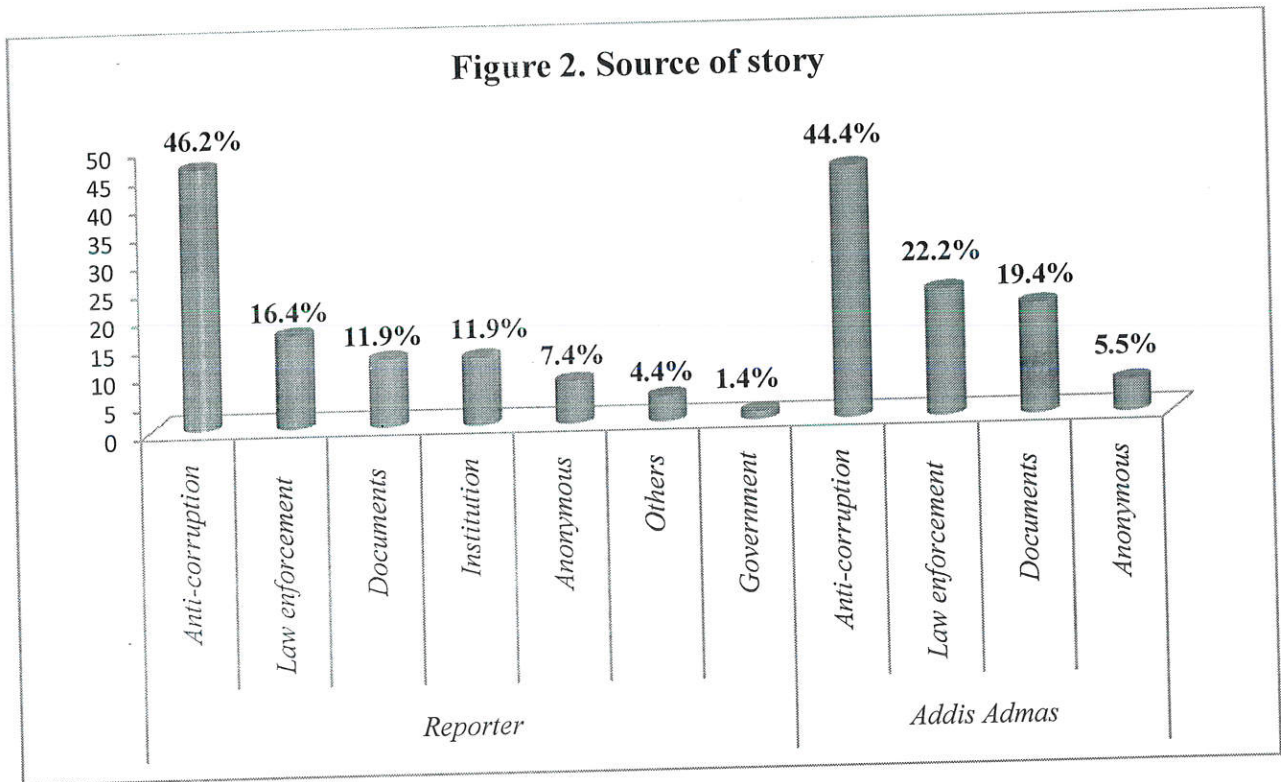
Like the Reporter, the second highest theme or aspect of corruption issue in *Addis Admas* was Fraud, which got 16 (44.4%), One point worth mentioning here is that *Addis Admas* tried to inform the public about the seriousness of this topic by covering timely and continuously in its commentary and news item.

The category 'Others' made up 15(22.38%) of the articles as the central corruption theme. Some of the variables under this category included allegations of extortion, officials' wealth registration law and general issues concerning corruption. It would be possible to say that *Reporter* was inactive in providing coverage of corruption-related themes clientism and nepotism. Out of the total 67(100%) articles, none of its theme was considered as nepotism and clientism as the prominent theme.

In *Addis Admas* newspaper, Only 5 articles, representing 13.88% of all stories, could categorize under others. Nepotism as main theme of corruption had got 1(2.7%) from the total of 36(100%) handled the then time. Issues related with clientism and bribery didn't pay much more attention in *Addis Admas* newspaper. In both newspapers, this fact obviously contradicts with the widespread acts of clientism and nepotism in Ethiopia.

4.1.2. Source of Story

Anti-corruption watchdogs were the major sources of information used by *Reporter* to produce corruption stories. Out of the total 67(100%) articles, 31(46.2%) were sourced from anti-corruption watchdogs especially from the Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (FEACC). It was interesting to understand that the public relations office of FEACC was the backbone of several news stories produced by *Reporter*.



In Addis Admas newspaper also Federal Ethics and Anti-corruption commission was prominent sources of information used in writing corruption related articles. Out of the total 36 (100%) stories, 16 (44.44%) were found from FEACC. This clearly indicates that the newspapers take steps to smooth the efforts of the Commission in combating against corruption.

Law enforcement bodies were found to be other important sources of journalists of *Reporter* to write corruption stories. 11(16.4%) of the articles were based on these groups. These sources, especially criminal charges filed by prosecutors of FEACC, provided pivotal information for court-related corruption news items. On Addis Admas newspaper too, Law enforcement bodies

were the second common source that the newspapers used. 8 stories representing 22.2 % of the total number were sourced from different law enforcement bodies.

Almost with similar number, documents and institutions became the 3rd crucial sources of corruption articles for *Reporter*. 8(11.9%) of the articles were sourced from a variety of documents such as reports, letters and minutes of meetings. In Addis Admas newspaper, out of the total 36 (100%), 7 (19.4%) articles were sourced from different documents.

Anonymous sources were the 4th common sources that the Reporter used to cover corruption articles. 5(7.4%) of the stories monitored during the study period were prepared based on anonymous sources who declined to be named. This might cast doubt on the trustworthiness of the sources as well as the stories. *Addis Admas* used Institutions as a source of news. From the total sample 36(100%) handled during the study 3 (8.3%) stories were referred from different intuitions like Ethiopia News Agency (ENA) Therefore institution as a source in Addis Admas newspaper could be ranked 4th.

The category others resulted in Reporter as the least sources of corruption articles during the selected period of the study. 3(4.47%) of the articles were coded under this category. The reason as to why some of the sources were labeled under this category was because some stories used multiple sources. Addis Admas used anonymous sources in its commentary and feature section. From the total stories monitored during the study 2(5.5%), contributed by anonymous sources.

4.1.3. Types of Story

As the above table shows, news was found to be the leading type of story in corruption coverage by *Reporter*. Out of the total 67(100%) articles, 50(76.6%) were dominated by news items. This might suggest that more emphasis was put on the news genre. In the meantime, Addis Admas used its news item to covered corruption issues. It had dedicated 28(77.7%) of stories in the form of news. In addition, most of the exclusive and in-depth news analyses were prepared by the effort of staff writers in both, Reporter and Addis Admas.

Types of news papers	Types of news	frequency	Percentage
Reporter	News	50	74.62
	Feature	9	13.43
	Letters to editor	5	7.46
	Editorial	2	2.98
	Commentary	1	1.49
		Total -67	
Addis Admas	News	28	77.7
	Commentary	4	11.11
	Feature	3	8.33
	Letters to editors	1	2.77
		Total -36	

Table 2. Types of story

In the Reporter newspaper, the second common type of story went to feature. Out of the total 67(100%) articles, feature received 6(8.9%) stories. This result might reveal that *Reporter* gives a decisive place for vivid descriptions helping the reader to get picture of the story. It is interesting to mention the various description kinds of writing forwarded from staff reporters on the corrupt practices of financial institutions in Ethiopia.

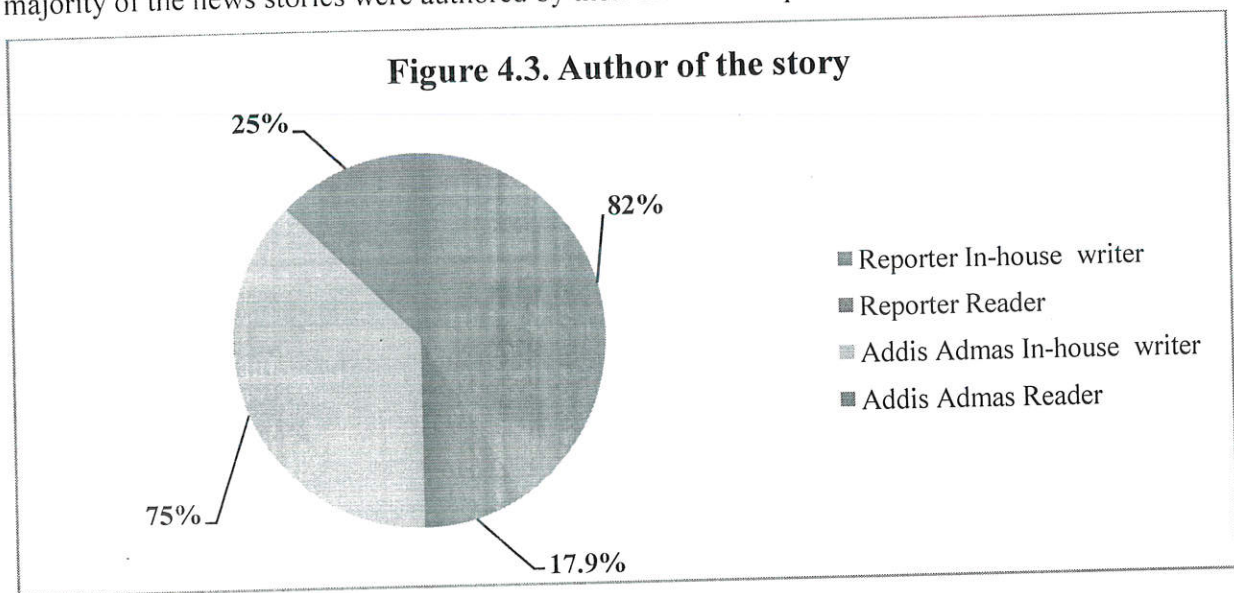
As the above table shows clearly, Addis Admas newspapers secondly gave significant coverage to commentary section. Out of the total 36 (100%), 4 (11.1%) were found to different commentary stories. This result might reveal that *Addis Admas* gave more emphasis for its readers to have their say on corruption issues by acting as a platform. It is worth to mention the various eye-opening comments forwarded from readers on the corrupt practices on government and private institutions in Ethiopia.

5(7.4%) of the corruption articles in Reporter were came from different institutions and agencies which were worked on corruption related issues. Feature stories in Addis Admas ranked 3rdly during the study. From the total population monitored 36(100%) stories 3(8.3) were found as form of feature.

Reporter gave low attention to editorial and commentary sections in the then time. It had used its editorial section 2(2.9%) stories were found on editorial section, and commentaries have got 1(1.4%). As it can be shown in the above table, Addis Admas were less active in receiving the letters from the out sides. From the total sample 36(100%) it had covered only 1(2.7%).

4.1.4. Author of the Story

Most of the corruption stories were authored by *Reporter's* and *Addis Admas* own staff writers. For *Reporter* out of the 67(100%), and *Addis Admas* 36(100%) 55(82.1%), and 27(75%) articles respectively were written by the newspaper's in-house writers. The finding of the study indicates that the biggest strength of *Reporter and Addis Admas* emanate from the news section as majority of the news stories were authored by their own staff reporters.



Readers of the *Reporter* newspaper were the second largest contributors in producing the corruption stories. 12(17.9%) of the articles were authored by the readers of *Reporter* mainly in the form of commentary and letter to the editor genres. For *Addis Admas* reader had too played their role in producing stories. Out of total corruption related 36(100%) stories, 9(25%) were contributed by the readers. This seems that the readers were the backbone of the two newspapers in providing their insights on corruption-related issues.

4.1.5. Placement of the Story

Results obtained on what pages stories are published gave us an idea about the importance of the content. While comparing the overall finding shown on Table below, *Reporter* used its middle pages for corruption articles. Out of the total 67(100%) articles, 28(41.7%) appeared on the middle pages of the newspaper. All these stories were news articles which focused on different corruption themes.

On the other hand *Addis Admas* gave a significant position for corruption articles on its front page. 29(80.5%) of corruption related stories were positioned on the front page. Thus, the front page coverage of corruption articles confirms the importance that was given by *Addis Admas* for such crucial issues.

Types of news paper	Placement of the story	Frequency	Percentage
Reporter	Middle pages	28	41.7
	Back pages	22	32.8
	Front pages	17	25.3
		Total -67	100
Addis Admas	Front pages	29	80.5
	Middle pages	4	11.1
	Back pages	3	8.3
		Total-36	100

Table 3. Placement of story

22(32.8%) of the stories in reporter were displayed on the back pages (page 6- above). This part of the newspaper mostly contained commentary, feature articles and news stories continuing from the front and middle pages were also the 2nd largest place to discuss corruption issues. As it can be shown on the table, *Addis Admas* Out of the total 36 corruption related news which represents 100% that *Addis Admas* published, 4 (11.1%) were placed in the middle pages.

As far as the position of the story is concerned, it would be possible to say *Reporter* gave little attention for corruption related stories by placing front pages. Out of the total stories accounted during study 17(25.3%) of stories were placed the third position, front pages. In the main time, *Addis Admas* placed 3(8.3%) of its stories on the back pages.

4.1.6. Individual Vs. Institution

The research finding shows that *Reporter and Addis Admas* gave more prominence to corruption issues on governmental organizations. As indicated on the table below, the numbers of articles focusing on cases of corruption accounted on Reporter 35(52.2%) of them were directly referred to governmental organizations. In Addis Admas too, governmental organizations received much more attention. 18(50%) stories were dedicated to expose corruption issues on government lead organizations.

On the other hand, on Reporter newspaper cases of corruption-related issues featuring individual level accounted for 14(20.8%). The 2nd emphasis was given to private sector on Addis Admas which represents 12(33.3%) stories. This might suggest that the newspaper gave considerable coverage for systematic and organized corruption crimes perpetrated by a group of people rather than mere individual-related anecdotes.

Out of 67(100%) stories monitored, Reporter newspaper addressed issue related with corruption on private lead organizations. As it had been shown on the table, 10(14.9%) stories covered corruption news. Addis Admas on this stage tried explicitly to uncover corruption related issues on the individual level. 4(11.1%) of stories were found on the newspaper corruption done by the individual.

Types of news paper	Individual vs. institution	Frequency	Percentage
Reporter	Government	35	52.2
	Individual	14	20.8
	Private	10	14.9
	Both	8	11.9
		Total-67	100
Addis Admas	Government	18	50
	Private	12	33.3
	Individual	4	11.1
	Both	2	5.5
		Total-36	100

Table 4. Individual vs. institution

On this stage, both newspapers exposed corruption which is done in private and governmental organizations. In Reporter 8(11.9%) of the stories dealt with corruption-related items featuring on both sectors. Addis Admas from total 36(100%) stories, 2(5.5%) of them were on government and private organization lead corruption. Majority of these stories in both newspapers were discussed on the commentary section of the newspaper. On the other hand, did not clearly state which institutions were the target of discussion.

4.2. Discussion

In this part of the study, the findings are discussed in terms of type, theme, placement, origin and source of story and amount of space given for the stories. The discussion is presented along with qualitative description of some of the articles. The information gathered through the interview was used to back up the discussion.

4.2.1. Theme of Story

The vital feature of most content analyses is to classify types or sub-categories of coverage within a broader area of an enquiry. The classification of what themes or topics are covered within a general area of coverage selected for analysis is a common starting point for media content researches (Hansen et al 1998).

Regarding the themes of corruption-related articles, this research reveals that significant focus was given by *Reporter and Addis Admas* newspapers for stories that highlighted embezzlement as the prominent theme. This finding is similar with the study conducted by Addis Ababa University (AAU) concerning the state of corruption in Ethiopia. According to the survey prepared by AAU's Institute of Educational Research (IER), the "majority of the transgressions witnessed fell in the area of embezzlement of public money and property" (IER 2001, p.14).

The sample stories of both newspapers within the study period indicate that fraud theme was the second predominant corruption-related topic. Out of 67 (100%) articles, Reporter covered fraud-related topics accounted for 18 (26.8%) of the stories, and Addis Admas 14(38.8%).

The finding of the research suggests that the category 'Others' were considered as the third favorite of *Reporter and Addis Admas*. From the total corruption related stories Reporter covered 15 (15.2%) of the articles belong to this section. On Addis Admas the research revealed the same finding. Out of the total sample taken during the study, 5(13.8%) of the stories were categorized under 'Others'. During the study stories belong to this specific section, were found as having multiple themes as well as some other were with ambiguous themes.

Moreover, the finding shows that bribery and nepotism themes were relatively less reported by and *Reporter*. In *Reporter* corruption themes related to bribery accounted for 5(7.4%) stories, whereas the issue of nepotism in Addis Admas accounted for 1 (2.7%) of the overall stories run by the newspaper. This finding seems somewhat contradictory with actual phenomenon on the ground. Various research articles indicate that corrupt practices manifested in the form of bribery and nepotism are widespread in different parts of Ethiopia.

4.2.2. Source of Story

Media of all kinds depend on a readily available supply of information sources in order to produce stories. The relationship between journalist and their sources is vital as it often constitutes a very active two-way process. With regards to this, the analysis of sources is necessary both from a straightforward and literary point of view. Furthermore, analyzing sources or actors of a story is pivotal "from a more sociologically articulated theory of media representations and media roles" (Hansen et al 1998, p.18).

What this research has found about the use of sources is more or less similar with research in other cultural contexts which prove that newspapers mainly use official sources when reporting about Corruption related issues. In both sample newspapers journalists mainly used higher authorities working in particular institutions as sources. Authorities in Anti corruption watchdog and Law enforcement bodies were frequently used as sources.

Anti-corruption watchdogs were overwhelmingly used by *Reporter and Addis Admas* newspapers as a prominent source in corruption articles. Out of the total 67(100%) articles monitored, 31 (46.2%), and in Addis Admas from the total sample 36(100%), 16(44.4%) employed ant-corruption watchdogs such as Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission

(FEACC) and Transparency Ethiopia as a source in order to produce corruption stories. The research finding clearly indicates that the role of FEACC was pivotal as a primary definer of events of corruption as they are unfolded in the public arena. The public relations officer of FEACC has contributed a lot as an ever present source of information by providing exclusive news tips and elaboration.

As FEACC is the leading anti-corruption institution to fight corrupt practices in Ethiopia, it is worthwhile to use such type of source to back up claims of corruption articles. It has firsthand account of events than anyone else. Since its inception in May 2001, FEACC has provided the public as well as other stakeholders with various information about corruption activities. Similarly, it could be possible to say that *Reporter and Addis Admas* have a good working relationship with FEACC and they get important information from the institution. However, since FEACC's jurisdiction is limited on federal institutions, it was difficult to use it as a primary source of information concerning corrupt practices in the private sector. During such instances, the newspapers are forced to turn their face to other types of reliable sources.

Law enforcement bodies such as police, lawyers and prosecutors were also used by *Reporter and Addis Admas* to produce corruption articles. These groups accounted for 11(16.4%) articles on *Reporter*, and 8(22.2%) stories on *Addis Admas* sources employed by the newspaper under the period of the study. News reports focusing on court proceedings of alleged perpetrators were significantly sourced from criminal charges which were filed by several prosecutors. The two newspapers were admirably careful in reporting court meetings by basing itself on criminal charges and the court room debate. According to the *Reporter's* informants, the journalists have taken various court reporting techniques at different instances. Moreover, they cross-check different proclamations and legal documents of the country that are readily available in the newsroom. Some of the high profile court reporting news items that used mostly law enforcement bodies includes alleged corruption crimes by higher officials of Ethiopian custom and revenue Authorities, Addis Ababa city land administration and Nile Insurance Bank Company.

Documents and institutions were also contributed equal by *Reporter* as sources which accounted for 8 (11.9%) articles. The third favorite sources of news for *Addis Admas* were Documents. Out

of the 36(100%) stories 7(19.4%) were sourced from documents. The study finding shows that the newspaper used various document sources such as letters, communiqué, annual reports as well as corruption surveys to back up news items. The problem with the use of documents as a source to prepare news articles is that the journalist mostly printed the summary of the documents. There were fewer attempts in some news reports to develop stories based on these types of documents by contacting other sources to confirm instances of alleged corrupt practices.

Another important sources of *Reporter and Addis Admas* in corruption stories were anonymous sources that accounted for 5 (7.4%), and Addis Admas for 2(5.5%) of the total articles monitored under the period of the study. The use of secret or unnamed sources is inevitable in sensitive topics like corruption. In relation to this, the interviewed journalists claimed that their media house refrains from using anonymous sources unless it is forced under various circumstances. Their newspapers, according to the informants from Reporter acts responsibly to balance stories by contacting reliable and knowledgeable sources before publishing allegations of corruption. Even when they receive important leaked documents, the journalist routinely attempt to crosscheck the information by strictly following the code of ethics exercised in the media house. The informants strongly believe that it is their duty to balance and confirm information provided by anonymous sources.

4.2.3. Types of Story

In relation to the type of stories, the finding of this study shows that significant attention was given for news item. As news item is one of the major categories that newspapers use to show the prominence of the issue, it is interesting to get more corruption related stories on form news in both newspapers. Out of the total 67(100%) articles monitored, 50(74.6%) on Reporter, and on Addis Admas 28(77.7) were corruption-related news stories. Hence, both newspapers seem determined to expose local corruption crimes by somewhat consistently covering events on major institutions of the country.

It seems that the news genre is the major strength of *Reporter and Addis Admas*. The finding of this research indicates that most of the corruption-related news stories were exclusive that were prepared by the newspapers' staff writers. Majority of the news items, especially those related to court procedures, were presented with a series of follow-ups. In this respect, it is possible to

suggest that both have strongly built the public discourse by setting the agenda for the other media outlets.

The finding of this study clearly shows that feature articles of corruption issues were significantly represented in Reporter newspaper so that the reader could have a vivid picture of the story. 9(13.4%) of stories were found as to be Feature. The 2nd favorite of Addis Admas seems commentary. According to the monitored one year editions of *Addis Admas*, encouraging steps were taken relatively on the commentary section as a result of letters forwarded by concerned readers and stakeholders of the paper. In particular, this column was pivotal in exposing the alleged malpractice of various activities in the Custom revenue authorities, following the tax evasion and corrupt practices in the financial sectors in general.

In contrast, the letter to the editor in Reporter column relatively used to convey the much needed messages. There were times when this section of the paper was sacrificed for advertisement. Most of the time only two or three brief letters from readers were published to express their say about previously run stories. On other occasions, the newspapers had entertained complaint and correction letters from public relations officers. However, sometimes the paper had presented the complaint letters in a delayed manner. This could emanate from shortage of space on the newspaper or due to delayed reply from those who submit the correction letters. This could be related to the busy schedule of *Reporters'* journalists as they always strive to publish three newspapers per week- two Amharic and one English edition. Therefore, as finding indicates that Reporter from total sample 5(7.4%) stories were received on the form of letter.

Addis Admas on the other hand, were relatively seems passive in covering corruption related issues on the form of feature which could help the reader to create an image, and catch their attention. In addition, it gave little or no attention to the letters that were coming from the readers. Therefore it would be needless to say that Addis Admas were serving not as discussion forum for the public as it was expected. Out of total sample taken during the study, Addis Admas newspaper devoted its article for feature 3(8.3%), and 1(2.7%) for letters.

Although the editorial pages in a certain newspaper was one of the prominent column for displaying its outrage against corrupt practices in various government and private institutions of

the country, Reporter seems gave less attention in addressing corruption related issue on its editorial pages. In fact, this section of the paper had always been remembered by its hot topic of discussion by several critics especially during the 2005 national election. The newspaper also gave little or no emphasis for commentary section during the study. It had published 2(2.9%) articles on its editorial page, and 1(1.4%) comment on its column.

4.2.4. Author of Story

The finding of this study strongly confirms that *Reporter and Addis Admas* have strength in producing corruption articles by their own staff writers. Out of the total 67 (100%) articles monitored, 55 (82%) were authored by the Reporter's writers. As too Reporter, 27(75%) of articles were produced by Addis Admas's staff members. In particular, the news genre is mainly written by journalists of the papers showing less dependency on news agencies. These organizations such as Walta Information Center and Ethiopian News Agency for both newspapers authored or brought little or no stories in relation to corruption. All of the agencies' contribution was on the news section given not more than two or three paragraphs of the newspaper. In addition, the stories wired by the agencies were mainly related to meetings and issues of petty corruption.

The contribution of the two newspapers' readers in authoring corruption-related commentaries was also invaluable. It seems that the readers have shouldered the burden of the in-house writers to concentrate on the news section. The readers were very active especially in the sections of commentary and letter to the editor (Particularly for Addis Admas). This mechanism confirms that the newspapers have attempted to implement their crucial role of acting as a public forum. In relation to this, 12(17.9%) of the story contributed by the readers of Reporter, and 9(25%) of articles were written by Addis Admas's follower.

4.2.5. Individual vs. Institution

Whenever corruption-related scandals erupt, the media is frequently criticized for personalizing the news item by targeting individuals at the centre of the crisis. Responses to corruption scandals often tend to center only on personalities-covering up blame and searching for possible scapegoats. The media establishments often ignore "the systematic conditions that created

incentives for corruption in the first place” (Garment 1991 cited in Rose-Ackerman 1999, p.209-210).

In light of the above discourse, the selected newspapers, namely *Reporter and Addis Admas* corruption coverage seems on the right direction. Out of the total 67 (100%) articles monitored, on *Reporter* 35 (52.2%) focused on corruption on governmental organizations, where as those articles targeting on individual level accounted for 14(20.8%) stories. This doesn't, however, mean that corruption scandals perpetrated by individuals should be kept quiet by the media. Rather, the investigative reporters' endeavor must not be limited to exposing just individuals only, but systematic failures of institutions as a whole. The press should be able to pinpoint that individual wrongdoing is part and parcel of huge pattern of negligence as well as abuse of the established system. Moreover, *Reporter* covered corruption related stories particularly dealt with the huge private sectors. From the total population handled during this study 10(14.9%) of the stories directly dealt the corrupt activities of private sectors.

Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) argue that the watchdog ideology means more than merely monitoring government, but it extends to all the powerful institutional establishments in society. With regards to this, it would be appropriate to examine how the cases of institutions were dealt with in relation to corruption under the period of this study. The finding in reference with *Addis Admas* newspaper indicates that corruption stories on the government sector got dominant coverage with 18 (50%) articles, out of the total 36 (100%) items. In contrast, the private sector received 12 (33.3%) articles which focused on corruption. *Addis Admas* displayed 4 (11.1%) stories which targeted on individual level.

The finding finally in this category seems to suggest that less attention had been given for corrupt activities which involves individual with institutions in both newspapers. As it could be seen on the ground, corruption which was done in collaboration with governmental institution by the individual, are these days a serious problem for socio economic development of the country. Hence, it is needless to say that emphasis should be given to such an organized crime. Out of the total corruption related stories, *Reporter* published 8(11.9%) stories dealt with the issue. With the same emphasis, *Addis Admas* covered 2(5.5%) stories which were related with individual and institutional level.

4.2.6. Placement of Story

According to the agenda-setting theory, reporting one issue regularly is one way in which newspapers give people a sense of identifying important issues. Displaying articles on the front page is the other way to show the prominence of the story. This is because article displayed on the front page of a newspaper tend to have more prominence and suggest urgency rather than articles displayed on the inside pages.

Various media researchers believe that the location of articles on a newspaper is one of the factors contributing to decide the prominence of certain issues on the public agenda. Journalism professors Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw established *position* and *length* of a story as the two main criteria of prominence (Griffin 2006). In this regard, headline stories on the front page of newspapers are a representation of prominence and significance. Stories displayed on the front page have an impact in capturing readers' attention and may suggest urgency rather than articles placed on the inside pages.

It is important to analyze where corruption stories were placed on *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* under the period of the study. Relatively the Addis Admas newspaper displayed a significant number of corruption-related articles on the front page. Among the 36(100%) articles published, 29(80.5%) appeared on the front page. Prominent news items of corruption were put on this section of the paper. On the other hand, significant stories were position on middle pages on *Reporter*. It is not possible to across with a grading common to all publications. According to Phillips (1992, p.44), "it is the message and readership profile which economically dictates page position value" if the media sample is not small. In relation to this, the next most important position is middle pages. The finding of this research shows that corruption articles on *Reporter* placed on the middle pages (page 2- page 5).

The finding of this research shows that 28 (41.7%) of the corruption stories on *Reporter* were placed on this section of the paper. Placement of corruption-related articles on the middle pages is important as this part of the paper contains editorial, news, letter to the editor and the politics' column. A three column story on an inside page and the lead editorial were all considered as evidence of significant focus on issues (Griffin 2006).

As far as the placement of the story is concerned, Addis Admas covered 4(11.1%) of its articles were published on the middle pages. According to the above perspective, it didn't meant that the newspaper gave emphasis on corruption related stories, rather the middle page in Addis Admas consists the important column, like commentary, political issues, and free opinion to the readers, it would be possible to conclude that it had played a vital role in covering corruption issues by placing at the middle pages.

Though it was believed that placing the stories at front pages to shows how the stories are deceive and got more emphasis, Reporter secondly prefer to use it its back page to cover corruption issues. According to the interview conducted with the journalist, they believed that it is the number of pages pushed the stories to be back, and it is not their intention to placed such an important stories poisoned at back side of the pages. The other determinant factor placing the stories on back page is the number of advertisements they received per a week which helps to generate income, and it is the interest of the company owner's to promote their service at middle pages. 22(32.8) stories were found placed at the back pages, so one could understand that Reporter gave more emphasis for its advertisement instead covering corruption stories by placing on the back pages.

Relatively speaking the least desired position for placing corruption articles was found to be the back pages (page 6 and above). This assumption might be related to the nature of the newspapers page composition. The number of pages differs according to the day of publication. The research finding also shows that continued news stories from front page and middle pages were sometimes not exactly located on the back pages in both newspapers. In few occasions, the continued stories were totally not found due to mistakes that could possibly emanate from work load and the rush to meet deadlines. As it was shown in table 4.2, 3(8.3%) stories place on the back pages in Addis Admas, and Reporter newspaper covered 17(25.3%) stories on the front pages. Hence it would be possible that Reporter failed in giving prominence to corruption related stories by placing on the front pages.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This part of the study deals with the conclusions of the findings and attempts to come up with workable recommendations that are assumed to be useful for future coverage on corruption issues.

5.1. Conclusions

The study was set out to explore the Ethiopian private presses practice in covering corruption related issues in particular with Reporter and Addis Admas newspapers. The study has also sought to know whether the private presses can result in effective addressing problems which can hinder the country's development, particularly in covering corruption related issues timely. The general theoretical literature on this subject and specifically in the context of Ethiopia is inconclusive on several vital questions within the coverage discourse. The study sought to answer five basic research questions.

A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of data gathering and analysis were employed in the research. To this end, 67 stories on Reporter and 36 on Addis Admas had appeared on newspapers were sampled. The size of stories selected and the span of time covered are considered representative as well as valid choices for the study. In addition, the analytic categories include theme of story, source of story, type of story, individual vs. institution, author of story and placement of story. The theme of each individual article on corruption was considered as the unit of analysis.

The main findings in this study are chapter specific and were summarized within the respective empirical chapters: data presentation, analysis and discussion. This section synthesizes the empirical findings to answer the study's research questions. As the research findings indicate the newspapers focused more on corruption themes of embezzlement which goes in line with various research findings. With regards to the use of sources in corruption stories, the Reporter and Addis Admas relied more on the anti-corruption watchdog in the country, FEACC.

Almost the one years' monitoring of the papers under this study confirms that *Reporter's and Addis Admas's* strength emanates from their staff writers. The lion share of the corruption stories were authored by the in-house writers on both newspapers. It was discovered from the study that

the low staff turn out of journalist-not observed in most media houses in the country- helped the authors of the articles to be familiar with corruption issues especially lengthy court proceedings.

Last but not least, while comparing the overall finding of this research, one can understand that *Addis Adma* has given a significant position for corruption articles on the front page. The front page coverage of corruption articles confirms the importance that was given by *Addis Admas* for such crucial issues. Stories displayed on the front page have an impact in capturing readers' attention and may suggest urgency rather than articles placed on the inside pages. On the other hand, the finding shows that most corruption related stories were found on the middle pages on *Reporter*. Regarding this issue, the interviewed journalist believed that it did not mean that they are giving low attention to corruption, but the number of pages published per a week might affect the placement of stories.

The scale of the debate is therefore extensive and multifaceted. To generate achievable editorial policy and strategies targets with regards to corruption coverage, there is need for more case studies on other private presses to allow further assessment of media's dimensions of the subject. Exploring the following as future research strategies can facilitate the attainment of this goal.

The study has offered an evaluative perspective on private presses practice in addressing corruption related issues, and was conducted in reference with *Reporter* and *Addis Admas* through sampling individual articles. Hence, it could be difficult to generalize the subject under discussion. As a direct consequence of this methodology, the study encountered a number of limitations, which need to be considered.

In spite of what is often reported about the benefits of media and its role in theoretical and policy debates, press's role in exposing corruption in practice has only offered some solution to the prevailing and persistent public vulnerability and deprivation in Ethiopia, particularly pity corruption such as nepotism, clientism, and bribery were not given adequate coverage on the selected newspapers.

5.2. Recommendations

By fulfilling its role as the Fourth Estate, the press can bring reforms by harnessing civic discourse. Furthermore, the media is pivotal since it can act as a conduit for information, ideas and opinions to assist in good governance of society. To this end, based on the finding of this study the researcher suggests the following specific points as a recommendation for both newspapers for future consideration:

- ❖ *Reporter* and *Addis Admas* need to give more attention for specific instances of corruption themes especially that of bribery and nepotism, and clintism. The newspapers should move all its resources at its disposal in exposing such forms of corruption crimes observed in various institutions of the country.
- ❖ *Reporter* and *Addis Admas* have to continue their endeavor in exposing corrupt practices at private institutions and individuals. The effort should focus on uncovering systematic abuse of power and exposing complicated corruption networks at individual level.
- ❖ The newspapers have to further broaden their horizon of authoring corruption stories by providing continuous training of investigative reporting for their journalist. *Reporter* and *Addis Admas* have to use documents such as survey and annual reports as additional materials to support stories and must engage in the revelation of original corruption stories.
- ❖ *Addis Admas* must increase the number of feature stories on corruption as they can easily draw readers' attention. To this end, the newspaper has to employ and organize a dedicated feature's team who are solely assigned for embarking on in depth stories on corruption.
- ❖ *Reporter* should capitalize on its role as the forum for community discussion by broadening commentary sections on the newspaper. In particular, readers and potential stakeholders should be encouraged to express their insights in relation to corruption. The newspaper can invite prominent professors from various universities as guest writers.
- ❖ *Reporter* has to be efficient in placing corruption articles in a suitable place. It must be careful from hiding stories in the middle of congested display and classified advertisements.

- ❖ In general, *Reporter and Addis Admas* should steadfastly continue their role as watchdog of the public interest with regard to the government as well as the private institutions' day to day activities. As private owned press, the newspapers have to serve as strong tools in combating the perils of corruption in the public's interest.

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Appendices

Appendices A: Coding Sheet (Reporter)

of ication	Theme of Story <i>(Embezzlement, fraud, clientelism, bribery, nepotism and others)</i>	Source of Story <i>(Documents, anti-corruption watchdogs, law enforcement bodies, government officials, institutions, anonymous and others)</i>	Type of Story <i>(News, feature, commentary, editorial, letter to the editor and others)</i>	Individual/ Institution <i>(Private sector, government sector, both and others)</i>	Author of Story <i>(In-house writers, news agencies, unknown, readers and other)</i>	Placement of Story <i>(Front page, middle pages and back pages)</i>
, 2006	Fraud	FEAC	News	individual	In house reporter	Middle page
, 2006	Fraud	FEAC	News	individuals	In house reporter	Back pages
, 2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	individual	In house reporter	Back pages
, 2006	Bribery	FEAC	News	individual	In house reporter	Back pages
, 2006	Embezzlement	Others	editorials	Government sector	In house writers	Front pages
, 2006	Fraud	FEAC	News	individual	In-house writer	Middle pages
, 2006	Other	Other	Commentary	Government sector	Reader	Back pages
, 2006	Other	Law enforcement	News	Private sector	In house writer	Middle pages
, 2006	Embezzlement	Documents	Feature	Government sector	Reader	Back pages
, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	individuals	In house writer	Back pages
, 2006	Embezzlement	Documents	Feature	Private sector	Reader	Back pages
, 2006	Other	Government officials	News	Both	In house writers	Front pages
, 2006	Embezzlement	Law enforcement	News	Government sector	In house writer	Middle pages
, 2006	Others	anonymous	Feature	Both	Reader	Back pages
, 2006	Others	documents	Feature	Both	Reader	Middle
, 2006	Others	institutions	News	individual	In house writer	Back page
, 2006	Others	Anonymous	News	individual	In house writers	Middle page
, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government	In house writer	Front pages
, 2006	Embezzlement	Law enforcement	News	Government sector	In house writer	Middle page
, 2006	Embezzlement	Law enforcement	News	Government sector	In house writer	Middle page
, 2006	Bribery	FEACE	News	government	In hose writer	Front page
, 2006	Others	Anonymous	News	government	In house writer	Middle page
, 2006	Embezzlement	Law enforcement	News	government	In house writer	Middle page

Dec. 27, 2006	Embezzlement	Institutions	News	Government	In house writers	Front page
Dec. 27, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government	In house writer	Middle pages
Dec. 27, 2006	Embezzlement	Law enforcement	News	Government	In house writer	Middle page
Dec. 27, 2006	Fraud	Institutions	News	Individual	In house writer	Back page
Dec. 27, 2006	Others	FEACE	Letter to the editor	Both	In house writer	Back page
Jan. 4, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government	In house writer	Front page
Jan. 4, 2006	Bribery	FEACE	News	Government	In house writer	Middle
Jan. 18, 2006	Bribery	Institutions	News	Government	In house writer	Front page
Jan. 18, 2006	Fraud	Institution	News	Private sector	In house writer	Front page
Jan. 25, 2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
Jan. 25, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	Editorial	Government	In house writer	Front pages
Jan. 25, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Middle pages
Jan. 25, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Middle page
Jan. 25, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Middle pages
Feb. 2, 2006	Fraud	FEACE	News	individual	In house writer	Front page
Feb. 2, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Middle page
Feb. 2, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Middle page
Feb. 9, 2006	Fraud	Institution	News	Individual	In house writer	Back pages
Feb. 9, 2006	Other	FEACE	Letter to the editor	Other	In house writer	Back pages
Feb. 16, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government	In house writer	Middle pages
Feb. 23, 2006	Fraud	Anonymous	News	Private	In house writer	Front pages
Feb. 23, 2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	Individual	In house writer	Middle pages
Feb. 30, 2006	Fraud	FEACE	News	Individual	In house writer	Middle pages
Mar. 7, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government	In house writer	Middle pages
Mar. 7, 2006	Other	FEACE	Letter to the editor	Both	In house writer	Back pages
Mar. 14, 2006	Other	Institution	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
Mar. 14, 2006	Fraud	Documents	Feature	Private sector	Reader	Back pages
Mar. 21, 2006	Fraud	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
Mar. 21, 2006	Other	Document	Feature	Government sector	Reader	Back page
Mar. 21, 2006	Other	Anonymous	Article	Government sector	Reader	Back page
Apr. 5, 2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	Individual	In house writer	Middle pages
Apr. 19, 2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	Private sector	In house writer	Front pages
Apr. 19, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government	In house writer	Middle pages
Apr. 19, 2006	Bribery	Other	Letter to the	Government	Reader	Back pages

			editor			
ay. 3, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government	In house writer	Middle pages
ay. 10, 2006	Others	FEACE	News	Government	In house writer	Front page
ay. 10, 2006	Embezzlement	Institution	News	Private sector	In hose writer	Front pages
ay. 10, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government	In house writer	Middle pages
ay. 10, 2006	Fraud	Document	Letter to the editor	Private sector	Reader	Back page
ay. 17, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government	In house writer	Middle pages
ay. 17, 2006	Embezzlement	Documents	Article	Private sector	Reader	Back pages
ay. 24, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government	In house writer	Middle pages
ay. 24, 2006	Fraud	Documents	Article	Private sector	Reader	Back page

Appendices B: Coding Summary (Reporter)

Theme of story	Source of story	Type of Story	Individual/ Institution	Author of Story	Placement of Story
Embezzlement (29)	<i>Documents (8)</i>	<i>News (50)</i>	<i>Private sector (10)</i>	<i>In-house writers (55)</i>	<i>Front page (17)</i>
Fraud (18)	<i>anti-corruption (31)</i>	<i>Feature (6)</i>	<i>government sector (35)</i>	<i>news agencies (-)</i>	<i>middle pages (28)</i>
Clientism (-)	<i>law enforcement (11)</i>	<i>Commentary (1)</i>	<i>Individual (14)</i>	<i>unknown readers (12)</i>	<i>back pages (22)</i>
Bribery (5)	<i>government officials (1)</i>	<i>Editorial (2)</i>	Both (6)	<i>Other (-)</i>	
Nepotism (-)	<i>Institutions (8)</i>	<i>Letters (5)</i>	<i>Others (2)</i>		
Others (15)	<i>Anonymous (5)</i>	Articles (3)			
	<i>Others (3)</i>	<i>Others (-)</i>			

Appendices C: Coding Sheet (Addis Admas)

Date of Publication	Theme of Story (Embezzlement, fraud, clientelism, bribery, nepotism and others)	Source of Story (Documents, anti-corruption watchdogs, law enforcement bodies, government officials, institutions, anonymous and others)	Type of Story (News, feature, commentary, editorial, Articles letter to the editor and others)	Individual/ Institution (Private sector, government sector, both and others)	Author of Story (In-house writers, news agencies, unknown, readers and other)	Placement of Story (Front page, middle pages and back pages)
Apr. 4, 2006	Fraud	FEACE	News	Private sector	In house writer	Front page
Apr. 11, 2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	Private sector	In house writer	Front page
Apr. 25, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
Oct. 9, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
Oct. 16, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
Oct. 23, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	Commentary	Government sector	Reader	Middle page
Oct. 30, 2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
Nov. 7, 2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	Private sector	In house writer	Front page
Dec. 14, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
Dec. 14, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
Dec. 28, 2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	Individual	In house writer	Front page
Jan. 12, 2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
Jan. 12, 2006	Fraud	Document	Commentary	Private sector	Reader	Middle pages
Jan. 26, 2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	Private sector	In house writer	Front page
Jan. 26, 2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
Jan. 26, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government	In house	Front page
Jan. 3, 2006	Embezzlement	Documents	Article	Government sector	Reader	Back pages
Jan. 10, 2006	Other	Institution	News	Private sector	In house writer	Front pages
Jan. 10, 2006	Other	FEACE	News	Both	In house	Front page

					writer		
a. 24,	2004	Fraud	Documents	Article	Private	Reader	Back pages
b. 1,	2006	Fraud	FEACE	News	Private	In house writer	Front page
b. 1,	2006	Other	Documents	Article	Both	Reader	Back pages
b. 8,	2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
b. 8,	2006	Fraud	Documents	Commentary	Individual	Reader	Front page
b. 2,	2006	Fraud	Law enforcement	News	Individual	In house writer	Front page
b. 2,	2006	Others	Institution	News	Private sector	In house writer	Front page
b. 2,	2006	Nepotism	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
b. 2,	2006	Others	Anonymous	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
ar. 1	8, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
ay. 1	6, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
ay. 1	3, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
n. 7,	2006	Fraud	Institutions	News	Private sector	In house writer	Front page
n. 1	4, 2006	Fraud	Documents	Letter to the editor	Private sector	Reader	Middle pages
n. 1	21, 2006	Embezzlement	Anonymous	News	Private sector	Other	Front pages
n. 1	21, 2006	Embezzlement	FEACE	News	Government sector	In house writer	Front page
n. 1	28, 2006	Fraud	Documents	Commentary	Individual	Reader	Middle pages

Appendices D: Coding Summary (Addis Admas)

Theme of story	Source of story	Type of Story	Individual/ Institution	Author of Story	Placement of Story
Embezzlement (14)	<i>Documents (7)</i>	<i>News (28)</i>	<i>Private sector (12)</i>	<i>In-house writers (27)</i>	<i>Front page (29)</i>
Fraud (16)	<i>anti-corruption (16)</i>	<i>Feature (-)</i>	<i>government sector (18)</i>	<i>news agencies (-)</i>	<i>middle pages (4)</i>
Clientism (-)	<i>law enforcement (8)</i>	<i>Commentary (4)</i>	<i>Individual (4)</i>	<i>unknown readers (8)</i>	<i>back pages (3)</i>
Bribery (-)	<i>government officials (-)</i>	<i>Editorial (-)</i>	<i>Both (2)</i>	<i>Other (1)</i>	
Nepotism (1)	<i>Institutions (3)</i>	<i>Letters (1)</i>	<i>Others (-)</i>		
Others (5)	<i>Anonymous (2)</i>	<i>Articles (3)</i>			
	<i>Others (-)</i>	<i>Others (-)</i>			

Appendices E: Observation check list

Guidelines	Information to be filled by the staff members	Remark
City and Address of headquarters		
Type of media outlet		
Ownership type		
Established		
Operating for		
Name of registered owner		
Name of printing press the newspaper uses		
Copy sales per issue		
Number of employees working in the staff (with qualification)		
Number of journalists in the field to collect local news		
Training schemes		

Educational qualification of journalists		
Average number of pages in an edition		
Language		
Percentage of number of pages dedicated for (%)		
Kind of content		
Sources of news		

Appendices F: Interview Questions for Journalists

1. What are the prominent achievements of *Reporter/Addis Admas* in the fight against corruption?
2. What are your major targets (focus) on corruption crimes? (Individuals vs. institutions/Private institutions vs. government institutions).
3. How do you evaluate your sources in relation to corruption stories? What is your stand and handling mechanism on anonymous (hidden) sources?
4. How do you assign journalists to report on corruption stories? Are there any specific criteria? When and why do you use the expression <by staff reporter >?
5. What are the precautions that you take while covering court proceedings of corruption cases?
6. What kind of response do you receive from the private sector as well as the government when you report on corruption stories on them? Have they ever withdrawn advertisement from your paper?
7. Can you explain your relationship with anti-corruption campaigning organizations (such as the Federal Ethics Anti-Corruption Commission and Transparency Ethiopia)?
8. Some scholars argue that investigative reporting should not be <end product> of leaks or a report on a public agency investigation. Rather, they say it should be the journalist's own enterprise or original work. What is your stand on this?
9. What are the major obstacles your media house or journalists face when covering corruption stories?
10. Are there any trainings or special considerations your media house provide to enrich its staff members' endeavor of investigative reporting?
11. Have you ever been charged because of your coverage corruption stories?
12. Are there any awards that *Reporter/Addis Admas* received as a result of its corruption articles?

Thank you very much for your time and consideration!!!