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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION

FRAMING APPROACHES OF ETHIOPIAN HERALD AND THE REPORTER
NEWSPAPERS: ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN RELATIONS NEWS IN FOCUS

BY

CHANEYALEW MAMO WOLDE

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

JUNE, 2020

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Chaneyalew Mamo Wolde, with the title **Framing Approaches of Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter Newspapers: Ethiopian Foreign Relations News in Focus**, and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Declaration

I the under signed, declare that this thesis is my original work, has never been presented in this or any other university, and that all resources and materials used herein, are acknowledged.

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ACCRONYMS

AU	African Union
EBA	Ethiopian Broadcast Authority
EIFRSS	Ethiopian Institution for Foreign Relations Strategic Study
EIFRSS	Ethiopian Institution for Foreign Relations Strategic Study
ENA	Ethiopian News Agency
EPA	Ethiopian Press Agency
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
EU	European Union
FANSPS	Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.
FR	Foreign Relations
GCAO	Government Communication Affairs Office
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ethiopia)
n.d.	Not dated (the date is note given)
PHD	Doctor of Philosophy
PSIR	Political Science and International Relations
RQ	Research Questions
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
WIC	Walta Information Center

ABSTRACT

Millions of activities are engaged in day to day activities of states foreign relations among other states and other organs including influential individuals. Those activities might be vast and significant since they have to cover the social, economic and political activities and interests of countries. Due to their most significances and national interests of countries; the foreign relations issue has been one of the most focused agendas of all media kinds including newspapers; because the media and politics are two sides of the same coin. The purpose of this study was to assess the framing approaches of local news papers from the government and private ownership sides in Ethiopia; i.e. the Ethiopian Herald from the government ownership and the Reporter English version from the private side from April 2, 2018 to July 7, 2018. The scope of the time was fixed depending on the wide activities of Ethiopian foreign relations businesses regarding the coming of the new Prime Minister (Dr. Abiy Ahmed) to power. During the scope of the study, the new prime minister visited neighboring countries of Ethiopia, the Arab countries, Europe, Asia and the far east states and these got wider media coverage by the focused local newspapers and other media outlets. In this thesis, a comparison of Ethiopian public and private newspapers framing has been focused to examine concerning their news coverage of Ethiopian foreign relations by using media framing and agenda setting media theories. The qualitative research method was mostly used with a little of quantitative method in collecting data for this study, depending on the nature of the topic of the study. The Ethiopian Herald and Reporter (English version) were purposefully selected for the study and content analysis was the major research method used in the study and hence 120 articles were analyzed. In collecting data both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. In addition to this, so as to make the data deep-rooted and tangible, in-depth interviews were conducted with the editors and journalists of the newspapers and other two concerned individuals. The result of the study shows that from the analyzed articles the most dominant frames utilized by these focused newspapers were economic, contingency and prognostic respectively. Both papers used the economic frame at the highest level, but in comparisons, the Reporter used this type of news frame slightly more than the Herald. While the Reporter gave attention for Ethiopian foreign relations hard news and analysis, the Herald had focused in covering the issues only with hard news.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Media and politics are two sides of the same coin. According to (Cook, 1998), media is defined as a political institution that plays an important role in politics along with many other institutions. Media favors more sources concerning politicians and political parties involved in policy making and governance of the country which directly involve public interest.

The wider sector of foreign relations has dramatically grown to build the relationships between states and organizations; and its key to their effective communication. This study is conducted to assess the framing practice of local news papers from the government and private ownership sides in Ethiopia; i.e. the Ethiopian Herald from the government ownership and the Reporter English version from the private side.

1.1. Background of the Study

Diplomacy or foreign relation is the means by which States throughout the world conduct their affairs in ways to ensure peaceful relations (Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA, 2008). Diplomacy or an international relations is (G. R. Berridge, 2015:1) an essentially political activity and, well resourced and skilful, a major ingredient of power. Its chief purpose is to enable states to secure the objectives of their foreign policies without resort to force, propaganda, or law. It achieves this mainly by communication between professional diplomatic agents and other officials designed to secure agreements.

Although it also includes such distinct activities as gathering information, clarifying intentions, and engendering goodwill, it is thus not surprising that, until the label ‘diplomacy’ was affixed to all of these activities by the British parliamentarian Edmund Burke in 1796, it was known most commonly as ‘negotiation’ – by Cardinal Richelieu, the first minister of Louis XIII, as *négociation continuelle* (Ibid).

International relations—as the term implies—have revolved predominantly around the interactions between nation states, at least for the last century, and diplomacy and war have been the means of conducting those interactions. But international relations have always gone beyond states alone. Diplomacy, as defined by Hedley Bull, is “the conduct of relations between states

and other entities with standing in world politics by official agents and by peaceful means.” (Bull, 1977:162) This begs the question of what constitutes “entities with standing in world politics”.

Since foreign policy is the way in which states articulate their interests towards foreign actors, it needs media to communicate and the effectiveness of the articulation rests on the relative level of power that a state has (Nye:1999). Due to the anarchic nature of the international system, no state can successfully attain and hold the position of a global hegemony. The world is too vast for any state’s limited reach (Mearsheimer, 2001). Thus, a state in the pursuit of security and prosperity needs to use further means to influence other actors in the international system. Two of the main elements that will guide us through the examination of the media’s effect on a state’s relative level of prestige are: institutional interdependence and the liberal school of thought’s approach to foreign policy making.

The existence of a 24 hour media environment can lead to a constant flow of news and information, which acts as a pressing factor upon governmental decision-making. On that account, the accelerant effect impairs the quality of both the gathering of intelligence and of the actual response formation (Hoge 1994, 137). The constant flow of information can also be seen as an impediment to operational/national security, since news coverage on certain topics may lead to disclosure of classified information. In examining media through an input perspective, media cables potentially can act as agenda setters. Following this, in each major power, one newspaper stands out as an organ of elite opinion (Cohen B. C., 1963: 136). Thus; media can obtain great influencing power through its role as a core provider of information/intelligence.

Turning the scope of examination from passive recipients to active decision makers, executives themselves tend to utilize media as loudspeakers. In this way, governments send public signals, targeting foreign governments or certain groups of people. Governments can thus put pressure on foreign actors while raising awareness of their motives and intentions on an international scale.

In case of Ethiopia, Many historians trace modern Ethiopia's foreign policy to the reign of Emperor Tewodros II, whose primary concerns were the security of Ethiopia's traditional borders, obtaining technology or modernization from Europe and to a lesser degree Ethiopian rights to the monastery of Dar-es-Sultan in the city of Jerusalem (Chris Proutky, 1986:247).

Ethiopia's foreign policy and diplomacy has passed through three stages of foreign policy dimensions each characterized by different policy determinants and objectives (Solomon ,2017); and these include: Ethiopia's foreign policy and diplomacy during the imperial regime (1931-1974), then during the totalitarian regime of Derg (1974- 1990) and in the advent of a democratic federal state (1991- present). For the sake of this study Ethiopia's foreign policy and diplomacy since 1991 has been focused.

Since the establishment of a federal democratic republic system of 1991, a major paradigm shift in the dynamics of the country's foreign policy and diplomacy has found. During this time, (Ibid, 3) for the first time in the history of the country, a comprehensive and an all-embracing democratic policy and strategy was released in 2002. The document, entitled 'The Foreign Affairs and National Policy and Strategy of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia' was issued as a document that defined the foreign policy & diplomacy of the country; it was (Alemayehu:2014) constructed in 2002, pursuant to Proclamation No. 257/2001 and the FDRE Constitution.

Media is a very important and powerful tool that governs the direction of a society today. As David and Berman (Bagdikian: 1981) put it, media inform people and develop public understanding of events. For (Mefalopulos: 2008), media is used to persuade people to achieve, maintain, and strengthen development goals. Recent literature highlights the fact that independent media is important for the quality of governance.

Mass media content is the most likely source of over-time changes in foreign policy preferences. On one hand, the mass media are the primary conduit between the public and policymakers. Policymakers follow media reports on public opinion, and the media are the public's chief source of information on what policymakers are doing. In addition, (Soroka, 2014:28) the media are the principal means by which the vast majority of individuals receive information about foreign affairs, an issue for which personal experience is unlikely to provide much useful information. If foreign policymakers respond to the public and the public responds to the media, studying the nature and degree of media influence on public opinion is crucial. (Bagdikian 1987:23) note, "It would be premature to celebrate the triumph of democracy before knowing how and by who the public is itself influenced". With similar concerns in mind, a limited number of studies have examined media effects on foreign policy issues.

The political importance of media can be identified by the shifts in the way the state's power configuration. Media are pluralizing forces which work against power's ability to influence and control. Essentially, local, national and international news agencies circulate information and images between countries and form relationships between people from the local level to the international level (Boyt-Barret and Rantanen, 2001: 127).

The complex interdependence in modern day international system and the rise of non-state actors in international politics has brought forth powerful actors such as the media which influence primary interests of states in one way or another (Robinson, 1999). The media has provided an arena for contestations of political, economic and social cultural issues by states.

Since World War II, Ethiopia has played an active role in world and African affairs. Ethiopia was a charter member of the United Nations and took part in UN operations in Korea in 1951 and the Congo in 1960. Former Emperor Haile Selassie was a founder of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), currently celebrated as the African Union (AU). Addis Ababa also hosts the UN Economic Commission for Africa. Ethiopia is also a member of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, a Horn of Africa regional grouping and Ethiopia began the official diplomatic relations with U.S. before a century; in 1903 (U.S. Bureau of African Affairs, 2018:4).

Although nominally a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, after the 1974 revolution, Ethiopia moved into a close relationship with the Soviet Union and its allies and supported their international policies and positions until the change of government in 1991. Today Ethiopia has good relations with the United States and the West, especially in responding to regional instability and supporting counterterrorism efforts, (U.S. Bureau of African Affairs, 2018:10).

With the consideration of Ethiopian magnificent ancient and modern diplomatic role, the diplomatic activity of the nation has a vast access of local and international media. And this thesis aimed to assess the framing approaches of two local newspapers; one from the government and the other from the private ownership.

1.1.1. The Ethiopian Herald (Background)

The English daily, The Ethiopian Herald is the sole state owned newspaper which was launched in 1943. It is among four state papers that are published under EPA. Currently there are about 32 people working for The Ethiopian Herald. Some 17 of them are journalists while the rest are supportive staff members. The Ethiopian Herald newspaper, which is published every day except Monday, entertains home and world news including various socio-economic and political issues in nine daily as well as weekly columns and pages. Most of the local news stories published in the paper are dispatched by the government, ENA, Ethiopian news agency.

A very limited number of news items are written by staff reporters. As the staff reporters are little to cover all daily events, the paper is highly dependent on the above mentioned news agency as its major news sources. Two editorial meetings that are conducted two times a day are most important in determining the day to day activities of the paper. These meetings attended by editors-in chief and chaired by a department head, who is the second top official of the agency, EPA, next to the general manager.

Various issues that should receive coverage by the paper get their final decisions at these meetings. Every conference participant receives copies that carry tip off (List that indicates events to be covered by the media). These copies are distributed to every conference participant ahead of the meetings. Most of the time the tipoff is commonly sent from ENA, and by reading the lists one by one the conference participants, mostly editors-in-chief, discuss which of the four papers (including the Amharic Daily, Addis Zemen the weeklies Berissa and Al-Alem) should cover which events. If an event is assigned to be covered by The Ethiopian Herald, the editor-in-chief of the paper will assign a reporter. It is in this way events get coverage in the national English daily. The daily circulation of The Ethiopian Herald is between 4,000 - 5, 000.

1.1.2. The Reporter newspaper (background)

The Reporter is one of private owned and ‘independent’ newspapers founded in 1995 and published in Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia. Owned by Media and Communications Center with the motto of ‘Free Press, Free Speech, and Free Spirit’, it produces English newspaper on weekly basis and Amharic newspapers twice a week and makes both newspapers available online. As stated in its mission statement, its readers are the public in and outside the country.

The editorial choice for publishing articles is based upon the importance of the issue along with the quality of professionalism.

The government, private businesses, and the general public are main sources of information. It covers both the national, predominantly, and international events. Indeed, the quality and nature of its news coverage influences how the issue is perceived in the public eyes. It has a national circulation and readership, and online availability, coupled with a different editorial policy with the state owned newspapers that make The Reporter quite important media for research.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The sorts of questions examined in mass media study are practically unlimited (Roger and Dominick 2006:5). According to Roger's statement, it is practically impossible to limit mass media research subject areas. Given that a research work can never be perfect, hence, the limitations of a research open the scope for further research work in the subject area. Here, a comparison of Ethiopian public and private newspapers framing is focused to be examined concerning their news coverage of Ethiopian foreign relations.

The study of framing is a significant segment of intellectual research in news media. Reporters and news media come to a decision what aspects of a story to emphasize, while excluding other aspects – a process known as framing. In words of (Haley, 2010:2), a frame consists of concepts and keywords that reinforce one idea, but not others. Frames enable certain elements of a story to stand out; all while making other elements fade into the background.

The government media in Ethiopia do almost nothing more than satisfying those in power. In support of this view, (Shimelis: 2000) identified that:

Journalists in the state-owned print medium were then let loose to pursue their traditional function, which they did with great vigor and dedication: praising and glorifying the government, at times beyond reasonable proportions, and condemning and castigating actions of previous governments as well as those of current political opponents of the regime in power. (p. 14).

In Ethiopia, it has been more than a couple of decades now since democracy is declared and private media have started to proliferate (Dagim, 2013:6). From the time of their emergence, the

private media have played their own, both positive and negative, roles in reporting the foreign relations issues of the country.

The government and privately owned newspapers in Ethiopia provide different news, articles and editorial views. For good or bad, these newspapers are believed to influence peoples' perception towards the foreign relations information of the country. As (Tuing & Hasim, 2009:406) noted, "Newspapers are able to downplay or play up a certain issue." Furthermore, (Gamson, 1992) argued that media act as gatekeepers, supporters and interpreters by deciding selectively to do coverage on the side of one party or all parties on certain issues, giving them their own interpretation and greater coverage to certain issue compared to other issues.

This being the case, however, very little is known about how the Ethiopian print media have been framing the foreign relations of their country. To fill this gap a little bit, this study aims to examine the government and private two newspapers framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relations.

Thus, the current study attempts to examine the actual roles that the Ethiopian Private and government print media play in reporting, framing and analyzing Ethiopia's foreign relation issues in light of the roles they are expected to play. Additionally, it tries to identify the major challenges the government and private newspapers face in reporting Ethiopian foreign relations.

The economical, professional and editorial policy gaps of the private and government newspapers (Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter) in reporting Ethiopian foreign relations would be investigated in the study.

This being the case, and as a step towards filling this gap, this study set out to examine the print media's framing of Ethiopian foreign relations.

1.3 Objective of the Study

The main aim of this project is to examine how the Ethiopian government and private newspapers (the Reporter and the Ethiopian Herald) framed Ethiopian foreign relations in their news coverage, analysis and interpretive works.

i. General Objective

This paper aims at examining the Practice of framing issues in their reporting at Ethiopian public and private print media landscape.

ii. Specific Objective

- To explain the nature of government and private owned newspapers coverage of framing issues.
- To identify the level of difference between public and private print media in framing their news reports.
- To analyze why both print media framed a similar issue in different ways.
- To identify that to what extent the focused two newspapers concerned to the elements of Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in Ethiopian foreign relations reports.

1.4 Research Questions

From the beginning to end this study attempted to examine and describe the framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relations by two Ethiopian news papers. Through the whole process, the following research question will be answered by this study:

RQ: To what extent did two of the Ethiopian (one public and one private) newspapers frame the Ethiopian foreign relations issues?

The research questions are set through a further evaluation of the following:

1. How the selected media institutions or newspapers framed the Ethiopian Foreign Relation issues?
2. What are the dominant frames used in framing Ethiopian foreign relations by Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter newspapers?
3. What are the factors that influenced the framing approaches in the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter newspapers?
4. To what extent the focused two newspapers concerned to the elements Foreign Affairs and National Policy and Strategy of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in Ethiopian foreign relations reports?

1.5. Hypothesis

The Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter English version news papers importantly print the foreign relation issues of Ethiopia. The framing approaches of the news differ in news reporting, analysis, and interpretation of both newspapers is investigated. This study has been conducted to examine how the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter news papers framed Ethiopian foreign relations issues. In addition, the study also investigated the dominant frames the newspapers used and the factors influenced their framing approaches.

1.6. Significance of the Study

This study has an important role for the researcher in providing additional knowledge on the area. Further, it gives a hint for the researcher to do more researches on the issue. In addition, it will provide as a data source for other researchers who are enthusiastic to conduct their researches in related areas.

This study also highlights the importance of media framing usage in news reports and the consequences of using certain framing approaches can have on the entire news report. By doing so, this study to some extent helps for local Newspaper publishers in order to solve their problems while framing, analyzing, and interpreting Ethiopian foreign relations by focusing on national interest of the country.

1.7. Scope of the Study

The role of media in every aspect of human life is wider; from individual to society, and also it extends its scope to national and international contents of issues. The foreign relations of a country have an immense role in nation building. This research attempts to examine the framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relations in the time-frame of one hundred days since the Ethiopian government called as “the Reform Power” holds power; beginning from April 2, 2018 up to July 12, 2018.

The rationales for focusing on the first one hundred days of the “Reform Power” are shortly listed as the following:

- ✚ The speech of prime minister Abiy Ahmed (PhD) on his inauguration ceremony hold much of Ethiopian foreign relation issues and highly framed in different ways through

different mediums of media institutions; including those newspapers this study focused on.

- ✚ The new prime minister visited different countries and his new visits got coverage from different media according to the framing approaches of those media houses.
- ✚ The foreign relations activities done after the reform including the re-interrelation case of Eritrea in the first one hundred days were taken as great and highly framed by media and political institutions.

Whereas media institutions in Ethiopia are numerous and mostly owned by the state and private owners, this study would focus on one state owned newspaper (the Ethiopian Herald) and one privately owned news paper (the Reporter).

1.8. Limitation of the Study

The study aimed to examine one state owned and one privately owned newspapers in case of their framing approaches of the Ethiopian foreign relations. Due to constraints, such as time, resources, and research experience, the study was limited to a few selected print media outlets. Therefore, the broadcasting media as well as a significant number of print media outlets from the government and the private ownership were out of the coverage of the study. As a result, the findings of the study would have been limited to generalization. Hence, they should be used with concern and care.

Second, due to the time the Ethiopian “Reform government” holds power is short and nearer to the scope of this study, it was difficult to get sufficient books and other published materials. Due to this the researcher used the internet sources, magazines and newspapers in addition to the conventional media outlet.

Finally, from the selected newspapers, only straight news reports and feature articles were analyzed for the sake of this study. Accompanying visuals (such as photographs, illustrations and charts) were not being included. Editorials, commercials, and letters to the editor/publication also excluded in this study to minimize framing bias inherent in these highly opinionated pieces.

CHAPTER TWO

RELATED LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. An Overview of Ethiopian Foreign Relations and Foreign Policy

Ethiopia stands one of the oldest countries in international relations. The foreign relations of the modern Ethiopian situation were driven by the government's mission to establish this multinational polity as a practical nation-state and to maintain its territorial integrity. As one of only two African states that have never been permanently colonized (the other is Liberia), Ethiopia has a long diplomatic tradition. Tewodros II, who reigned in the mid-nineteenth century, was the first modern Ethiopian leader to try to develop a foreign policy that go beyond the Horn region (Talik, 2013:34).

Media and the press have a long history in Ethiopia. According to the foregoing argument, the history of early media in Ethiopia began before Menelik II came to power. However, as far as the history of modern media is concerned, it is associated with the era of Menelik II (Nigussie, 2014). According to (Skjerdal, 2012), the Ethiopian media has experienced different features. For instance the beginning Amharic newspaper, Aimer, that established in 1902 was very small in its circulation but highly served the ruling government of that time. In this way, from the historical commencement of media in Ethiopia, up to nowadays, the Ethiopian media is taken as the mouthpiece of the government (Zewge, 2010:2-6).

2.1.1. Ethiopian Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is a systematic arrangement of states' national interests in their relations with other states. The setting of national interest takes into consideration different variables of national and international characters (Gebressilase, 2015:86). The internal character contain variables such as economic power, military strengths, natural endowment, level of technological development, geographic location, etc., which are some to mention. The techniques of identifying the relevant foreign policy variables from the irrelevant ones need an institutional approach and scientific analysis (Gebressilase, 2015).

Information is crucial to the emerging phenomenon of global localism (otherwise known as globalization) whereby international and local issues and interests are connected and managed

(Webster, 2006:97). As the velocity of information increases and the types of publicly available information diversify, the very architecture of international relations is changing dramatically. State and sub-state officials from a number of countries work together to share information with each other, develop harmonized guidelines and best practices, and reduce friction associated with globalization (Bach and Newman, 2010).

Mass media content is the most likely source of over-time changes in individuals' foreign policy preferences. On one hand, the mass media are the primary conduit between the public and policymakers. Policymakers follow media reports on public opinion, and the media are the public's chief source of information on what policymakers are doing. In addition, the media are the principal means by which the vast majority of individuals receive information about foreign affairs, an issue for which personal experience is unlikely to provide much useful information (Soroka, 2014:28).

Ethiopia's foreign relations with countries near and afar, and the country's foreign policy and diplomacy can best be characterized as a process of change and continuity in which various determinants are involved. According to (Dibaba, 2017), the country's foreign policy and diplomacy has passed through three stages of foreign policy dimensions. These include; Ethiopia's foreign policy and diplomacy during the imperial regime (1931- 1974), then during the totalitarian regime of Derg (1974- 1990) and in the arrival of a democratic federal state (1991- present), each of them characterized by different policy determinants and objectives

(Dibaba,2017) added that, the major determinants of the foreign policy of the country during the imperial regime included the quest for resolving international disputes through peaceful negotiations without resorting to violence. This meant a devotion to the principles of collective security, and becoming stronger militarily. Major diplomatic activities were carried out by the emperor himself through charismatic personal diplomacy, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs played second role in formulating and implementing foreign policy objectives. There was no meaningful connection between the domestic policies of the regime and its foreign policy and diplomatic objectives.

Just like the feudal regime before it, the Derg government followed totally incompatible policies in its domestic and foreign policy. As (Merriam, 2016: 8), internally Derg was repressive, to say

the least, and at the international level, the country sided with the socialist countries that were led by the former Soviet Union. In a similar manner, the military government had no specific policy document that could have explained the foreign policy and diplomatic objectives of the government

Ethiopia, one of the oldest countries, has been engaging in foreign relations with different countries of the world. From the very emergence of the modern state of Ethiopia, that country's leaders have been consumed with the twin concerns of establishing the legitimacy of their monarchies, and maintaining its territorial integrity (Keller, 1987). Former governments pursued external relations and national security policies that disregarded internal problems that were fundamental to our national condition. Rather, FDRE Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy (FANSPS, 2002) stated that the effort was to focus on the outside world and to look in from the outside, as it were.

In many respects, then, the foreign policy pursued by the leaders of post-revolutionary Ethiopia was consistent with the foreign policy of the old imperial regime. Nevertheless, its foreign relations began to take modern shape under Haile Silassie I. (Arka,2002) noted that, it was during his period that permanent representations have begun and diplomatic missions were opened in many countries. Haile Silassie oversaw Ethiopia's early participation in international relations. In this respect he became an international figure.

Ethiopian foreign policy objective of the monarchies was to consolidate their authoritarian regime rather than keeping the national interest of the country. Due to the highly securitized nature of the country's foreign policy, most of the areas of cooperation were in providing military equipment and trainings (Sebsebe, 2015).

The Derg regime foreign relations approach was characterized by high priority on getting arms and military diplomacy without paying attention to economic diplomacy. It also exhibited extreme ideological dependency on the east, emphasizing on maintaining good relations with the socialist world and promoting socialist principles on international forums (Ejegu, 2015).

Since 1991, Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) government revives the western-centric foreign policy and strategy, which is significantly influenced by the prevailed universal paradigm that is mainly characterized by market economy and liberal democracy.

According to (FANSPS, 2002), the Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy document, which is currently under implementation, was formulated and issued by the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in 2002. It is designed to create a favorable atmosphere to safeguard the national interest and security of the nation, and centered on the economy. In the current Ethiopian foreign policy there are elements of continuity as well as change that emanates from the previous governments. Thus, on this term paper attempts are made to assess the major elements of EPRDF's foreign policy and its changes and continuities with the perspective of foreign relation of its predecessors.

2.1.1.1. Ethiopian Foreign Policy in the Post 1991

The end of the Cold War era and subsequent developments of the global politics resulted to a regime change in Ethiopia. In 1991 the largely ethnic and regional based guerrilla groups removed the military regime from power and established the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDFs). As stated in (Sebsebe, 2015), this in turn led to the revival of the western-centric foreign policy and strategy of Ethiopia, which is significantly influenced by the prevailed universal paradigm that is mainly characterized by market economy and liberal democracy

The EPRDF government designed and published two foreign Relation policies and strategies within a short period of time difference; Ethiopian Foreign Relation policy in 1996 and the Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy in 2002.

a. Ethiopian Foreign Relation policy (1996)

The 1996 foreign policy of Ethiopia, ratified by the council of ministers by the year on November is implemented for a short period of time. The pillars of the foreign policy of the country designed in 1996 included: promoting national interest, sovereignty of the state, keeping the principle of sovereignty and equality of other states and non-interference in their internal affairs, gradual development of economic relations and solidarity with neighboring and other

African states and respecting international laws and agreements which promote sovereignty of Ethiopia among others.

Contrary to the former regimes this foreign policy of Ethiopia mainly concerned on inside out orientations of policy objective; providing primary focus to activities at home. (FANSPS, 2002) stated that the central problems of the country are thought to be poverty and lack of democracy than problems arising from external enemies.

b. Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy (2002)

General Overview

The Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy document, which is currently under implementation, was formulated and issued by the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in 2002. It is designed to create a favorable atmosphere to safeguard the national interest and security of the nation, and centered on the economy. Economic Development and the building of a democratic system, National pride and prestige as well as Globalization are used as the base for the formulation of the policy (Alemayehu, 2009).

The Policy emphasizes that, the attainment of speedy economic development, democratization and peace is fundamental to the survival of the country, which finds itself in a state of abject poverty and backwardness. In light of this, supporting the democratization process of the local politics and addressing economic constraints by actively engaging in strategic trade negotiations, aid and foreign direct investment are highlighted as priority areas (FANSPS, 2002).

According to the policy, the relations the country has with a given country or group of countries is based on the protection of national interests and security, and as such, is linked to its democratization and development goals. FDRE Government Communications Affairs Office (GCAO, 2012), showed that the relations with countries in the Horn, therefore, should be seen from the vantage-point of how relations could help it promote its agenda of democracy and development.

Similarly, as (Alemayehu, 2009).it has been also characterized by the effort to diversify its foreign relation partners. Unlike its predecessors, the current foreign policy and strategy identified both western as well as non-western powers as a main external relation partner. The document

provides special attention to the particular significance of the rising powers in accelerating the countries socio-economic as well as political development.

ii. Elements of EPRDF Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy

The foreign policy of any country is determined by a number of elements. These elements may be broadly classified as objective and subjective. (Debela, 2011), stated that the objective or environmental factors determine the general framework within which the foreign policy is to operate. The subjective factors determine the specific response to a particular situation and indicate the direction of a foreign policy. The following are among the elements of EPRDF's foreign policy:

I. Providing for National Security

The Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy of Ethiopia (FANSPS) focuses on national security i.e. survival. The FANSPS articulated that security policy is a matter of ensuring national survival, (FANSPS, 2002) says:

The alpha and omega of security is ensuring national survival. Other national security issues may be raised only if national existence is ensured. Foreign affairs and security policy must be formulated first and foremost to ensure national security. Issues of prosperity, sustainable peace, and stability and other related concerns then follow (p.9).

Due to this, achieving development and democracy is a base to maintain the national Security. Ethiopia's foreign policy has to serve these twin objectives of rapid economic development to win the war on poverty, and democratization to ensure participation of the people in administering their own affairs (Alemayehu, 2009).

It is not too much to say that a commitment to democracy and the war on poverty are therefore the two most important and central elements in national security. Ethiopia is now dedicating its capacities and resources to reversing the impact of poverty. Similarly it is steadily extending the process of building up the institutions of democracy and good governance in a manner which takes into account the realities of Ethiopia, recognizing the vital principle of unity in diversity

and the need for tolerance and accommodation in light of the diversity of languages, cultures and faiths (Ejegu, 2015).

II. Promoting Economic Interest

The foreign and security policy of EPRDF is centered on development that benefits the People and creating conducive situations for such development. According to the policy, national interests and security will be guaranteed only if rapid development is attained. Therefore, rapid development is critical for the protection of national interests and security. That is why the policy designed to create a favorable atmosphere to safeguard the national interests and security should be centered on the economy.

According to National Security Policy and Strategy the external activity should focus on promoting business and investment opportunities and identifying sources of aid and credit.

It means ensuring that Foreign Service officers realize that they are first of all development officers and that they acquire the requisite competence to accomplish this mission. It also means that we should not view our economic-related tasks as just one of many in our external activities, but rather to place economic work at the center of foreign relations”(p.19).

The philosophy behind Ethiopia’s foreign policy then is clear; diplomatic activity should serve the country’s economic agenda of providing rapid economic development together with the objective of advancing democracy in the building up of the democratic developmental state. This is an imperative necessity for maintaining the viability of the country. The government has therefore over the last years centered diplomatic activities on the promotion of trade, encouraging investment and tourism (Chatham House, 2015).

III. Maintaining National Sovereignty, Pride and Prestige

One of the strategies that are instrumental in minimizing potential threats endangering the peace and security of the nation and in ensuring its sovereignty is establishing good diplomatic relations and friendly cooperation with neighboring and other countries based on mutual interest and benefits. The government of Ethiopia strongly believes that ensuring national security and

peace could be questionable unless supported in particular by the prevalence of regional peace and stability and by good relations and co-operations from the countries neighboring Ethiopia and other countries of the continent (Ejegu, 2015).

Ethiopia's diplomatic work must aim at eliminating or at least reducing external security threats. Its policy should strive to widen the number of foreign friends that can help to ensure a regional and global atmosphere conducive for its peace and security. The country's diplomatic activity also aims forecasting potential threats and addressing them through dialogue and negotiation. The policy should also secure allies that can help the country withstand intractable challenges and threats (Chatham House, 2015).

The real source of national humiliation to Ethiopia at this time is poverty and backwardness. It is the lack of democracy and good governance. Still another source is inability to work together in a spirit of tolerance and cooperation forged by a common belief in national destiny. To put it in short, the only solution is to effect a rapid socio-economic transformation and democratization which has a direct benefit to the people (FDRE Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy, 2002).

IV. Developing Friendly Relations with Other Countries

- **Relations with the Horn /African countries**

Horn African countries have long standing links with Ethiopia in such areas as economy, politics, culture, history, natural resources, and so on. Changes in Ethiopia affect them directly, and what happens to them in return has an impact on the country. There are rivers that connect the country with these nations and have a direct bearing on its development. This is particularly true of Sudan, Somalia and also Kenya. Ethiopia is landlocked, while all its neighbors except South Sudan have ports that can provide services. Thus, the country gives greater consideration to have strong ties with its neighboring countries and pursues appropriate policy towards them (Kłosowicz, 2015).

By taking into consideration the importance of such diplomatic ties, the Ethiopian government has established strong political ties with all countries of the sub-region. In addition, the government has been engaged in activities that will ensure the peace and security of the sub-region. Helping contain political instabilities recurring in Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan in

various forms and levels is one of the focus areas of Ethiopia's Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy (Ibid, 2002).

- **Bilateral and Multilateral Relations**

Pursuing strategies capable of enhancing sub-regional, regional and international political and diplomatic understandings and friendly cooperation is the focus areas of the country's Foreign Relations and National Security Policy and Strategy. As a result, Ethiopia has strong political and diplomatic ties with other countries in the world comprising China, Japan, Turkey, India, Italy, America, Britain, Germany, Brazil and France. It has strong bonds with China and other nations in the area of politics (Sebsebe, 2015).

The country is a strong ally of America and European countries, among others, in Africa, in their fight against global terrorism. The significant contribution Ethiopia made towards the fights against terrorist groups consisting of Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabab basing in Somalia has enabled the country win friends and allies from many countries around the world. Ethiopia has also been playing significant role towards consolidating its relations with regional and international organizations comprising the European Union (EU), the African Union (AU), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Arab League, etc around the world (Alemayehu, 2009).

The foreign policy of Ethiopia is also concerned in promoting regional integration and international priorities; based on principles of sovereignty and equality of other states and non-interference in their internal affairs through protecting international laws and agreements which promote sovereignty of Ethiopia. As a result, Ethiopia is important international diplomatic actor, as host of the African Union and chair of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) regional bloc. It is a key partner in peacekeeping missions in the horn of Africa including in Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan.

In general, the philosophy behind Ethiopia's foreign policy is to use diplomatic activity to serve the country's economic agenda of providing rapid economic development, together with the objective of advancing democracy. Both goals are imperative necessity for maintaining the very viability of the country (Sebsebe, 2015).

2.1.2. Media Ownership in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia the media ownership is categorized in two groups called the state or government owned and the privately owned. (McQuail,2010) stated that while writing on the influence of ownership on mass media content “there is no doubt that owners in market based media have ultimate power over content and can ask for what they want to be included or left.” This is against the ethics of journalism. The influence of media ownership is felt more by government owned media organizations especially in Africa.

The media ownership in Ethiopia is categorized in to two parts called the government/public media in one side and the private media in the other category. The two categories are labeled in their partisan interest of service. While the state or the government/the public media is compromised in its partisan to the ruling group or party, the private one is taken as its willingness to the opposition side.

Ownership has continued to play an influential role in the editorial policies of media organizations. It is so bad in some media organizations that the ethics of journalism are exchanged with the opinions and decisions of the proprietors of the organization. (McQuail: 2010) while writing on the influence of ownership on mass media content and said:-

“There is no doubt that owners in market based media have ultimate power over content and can ask for what they want to be included or left. This is against the ethics of journalism. The influence of media ownership is felt more by government owned media organizations especially in Africa”.

A. Private Newspapers

According to (Shimelis, 2002:6), Private Newspapers, the beginning of the explosion of private newspapers and magazines came into being by ‘taking advantage of the government’s declaration of intent’. By the same token, (Skjerdal, 2012:17) indicates that “the media situation during EPRDF is significantly different from that of the two previous regimes, especially with regard to formal media policy and openings for independent journalism.”

(Shimelis, 2002) writes that after the declaration of a press proclamation in 1992, which was entitled “A Proclamation to provide for the Freedom of the Press No. 34/1992”, a number of

private newspapers and magazines emerged in the market. While writing about the positive changes that the proclamation brought about, (Skjerdal, 2012:18) writes: "...the press law guaranteed a number of rights associated with a free media society." Here, two principles were deemed particularly important: the abolishment of pre-publication censorship (article 3(2)), and the right for any Ethiopian citizen to open a media outlet (article 5(1)) of the freedom of the press No. 34/1992.

Again, according to (Shimelis, 2002), about 200 private newspapers and 87 magazines were registered in 5 years—from 1992 to 1997. However, (Skjerdal, 2012: 18) assert that in the period between October 1992 to July 1997, about 265 newspapers and 120 magazines were given license from the then Ministry of Information. No matter how different the figures are, this period could possibly be referred to as the 'golden time' for those who had the interest to engage in the publishing market.

(Skjerdal, 2012:19) contends that such proliferation of private media is evident in many countries that freed their media system after many years of oppression. However, the problem of these rapidly proliferating media in Ethiopia, according to Skjerdal, was accompanied by a volatile characteristic of the media in that most of the 'renowned publications' were short-lived. He explains, "Some barely made it to the vendors before folding, while others stayed for a couple of years or more." In relation to what features best characterized the Ethiopian private newspapers during this period, (Shimelis, 2002) chronicles:

The private press in Ethiopia, as in other developing countries under similar circumstances, could be said to be evocative of the press in more developed areas a century ago. This applies to its multiplicity, urban concentration, economic insecurity, limited advertising, comparatively small circulation, relatively untrained staff and, frequently, modest equipment. (p. 199)

In case of partisan, the Ethiopian private media stands in the side of the opposition group, (MSI, p.129) "there are serious questions raised by the public concerning the ownership of media companies. Many private newspapers are allegedly supported, if not created, by opposition political parties operating locally and abroad. Most readers do know for certain who owns the papers they read."

B. Government owned Newspapers

According to (Anaeto and Solo,2010) government owned media in Africa have continued to be used by incumbent governments to deceive their people on projects they have not been able to accomplish after several years in power with nothing to show for years. In case of Ethiopia, (Chala: 2012) added that to this issue, the government papers in Ethiopia are subsidized by government funds, and partly financed by advertisements and subscribers. Ethiopian government media have consistently and primarily promoted government policy and activities.

After EPRDF came to power in the late 1991, the freedom of expression has been launched. As (Ameyu, 2014:1) described the beginning of EPRDF era characterized by two important events: the outlaw of prepublication censorship and press ownership, both which are a typical of democratic government. It is following proclamation No. 34/1992 that private media flourished tremendously. This was earlier monopolized for years by government and party though there are publications which came out a head of the enactment of the press law (Skjerdal, 2012).

Even if the other laws were launched after 1992 the serious control on the press continues in different ways. According to (Meseret, 2013) the government deeds during the transitional government were merely to win the heart and mind of Ethiopian people. However, things becoming getting confusing just after the press proclamation begun to practice. Then, the flourished papers got non-operational, mostly, due to several factors: by their own and the influence from government.

Even though, the Ethiopian government granted the abolition of censorship for the first time in the country's history, it is doing it indirectly. (Meseret 2013: 237) argues that 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 it gets published or broadcasted.

There are many private print media institutions than broadcast media in Ethiopia. This is due to the proclamation that liberalizes the print press came 16 years ahead of broadcast media proclamation. In addition, the government is uninterested to give a media outlet that would have

wider outreach to private owner. However, mostly, reaching the wider public is highly minimal for both (Ameyu, 2014:10).

2.1.3. Influence of Media ownership

(Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2006) stated that, the primary purpose of the media is to provide citizens with the information they need to be free and self guiding. The duty of journalists is working towards the attainment of this purpose of the media. They have to provide fair, balanced and accurate information that helps the people to make choices in their daily life. To do so, there are ethical considerations and principles that should be practiced by journalists.

Journalists in Ethiopia, both in private and in state owned media are observed violating the ethics and principles of journalism. The practice of the profession in Ethiopia indicates that that there are irresponsible journalists who do not contribute to the welfare of the society (Gudeta, 2008). Journalists of the state owned media magnify the speeches of government officials, in neglecting their responsibility of providing balanced information to the public.

The main categories of ethical breaches by the private media are thought to be related to inaccuracy, imbalance, partiality and misrepresentation. There are private media that serve as a mouthpiece for certain political parties; however, the public usually question the independence of state-owned presses (Gudeta, 2008). Many factors directly or indirectly influence media freedom in a democratic society. There are also different types of factors influencing freedom of the media: external, internal and media related laws, policies and ethics. The term 'external factors' refers to the influences come from exterior to media companies. These include government, politicians, market (advertisers), interest groups (such as media-related associations), civil organization, religious groups, readers or viewers, the general public and others. Studies on media company shows that, the market was seen as the largest factor influencing freedom of the press because of the advertising revenue the media companies earn. In other way, according to (Aklilu, 2018:21-22), the media should not only pursue their own benefit, but should also play a role of public service.

There are serious questions raised by the public concerning the ownership of media companies in Ethiopia. (Zewge, 2010), explained many private newspapers are allegedly supported, if not

created, by opposition political parties operating locally and abroad. Most readers do know for certain who owns the papers they read. The media should maintain independence and the power offer voice to voiceless. Beside to this, the media should be diversified and also give priority to social, political and also entertainment issue. If the media are market oriented, the market leads the content and changes of the policy of the media.

2.1.4. The Role of Mass Media in Politics

Media and politics are two sides of the same coin and (Cook, 1998) defined media as a political institution that plays an important role in politics along with many other institutions. Media favors more sources concerning politicians and political parties involved in policy making and governance of the country which directly involve public interest.

The mass media, since being invented, have experienced many improvements, undergone numerous in variety from television, radio, newspaper to the internet. People watch televisions every day, read newspapers every hour, therefore, it goes without saying that mass media has the capability to affect the mind of the society. The mass media, including TV, radio, newspaper play a very important role in the modern life of the people. They have changed the life of the society very much. It is not disgusting to say that they have a great influence in shaping people's ideas, both for the better and the worse.

Regarding the politics, without an understanding of the media's political functions and their influences on the nations, it is not possible to provide a comprehensive picture of their impacts on the states and international relations. There are five political functions of the media (Kuhn, 2007:21), which include information provision, agenda setting, public watchdog, political mobilization and regime legitimating.

In the first function, the roles of media in expressing, reproducing and spreading information, ideologies and values to wider social and international structures constitute a crucial relationship between society and the media (Richardson 2007:114) cited in (Coban, 2016:49). These roles make them ideological instruments that produce meanings and naturalize power relations; they become the means to realize domination. The media select, organize and emphasize particularly news in order to decide what a significant subject for public discussion is.

The media cannot force us what to think; but they certainly influence what we think about and how we think about it by their function of agenda building. According to (Nye, 2004:53), increased information flows through the media have caused the loss of government's traditional control over information in relation to politics. The speed in moving information has created a system in which power over information is much more widely distributed, which means decentralization and less official control of government agendas. In that spirit, the media are not just the means of reproduction of power relations, but also pluralizing forces which work against the government's ability to influence and control.

The media's acting as the public watchdog works out a check on elite behavior, thus it can help make political actors accountable to the public, assisting in the empowerment of the latter as citizens and voters. Furthermore, the media can be used for political mobilization by political parties and pressure groups for the purposes of membership recruitment, calling for a public meeting, local party canvassing, protesting, campaigning or a demonstration.

The final political function of the media, regime legitimating helps to socialize citizens into acceptance of prevalent social norms and the institutions that embody them; by this way they contribute to the legitimating of the political system. On the other hand the media can trigger to increase levels of political cynicism and voter apathy which can result demobilizing effect or delegitimizing effect at least for some of their audiences (Kuhn 2007:30).

It can be argued that the media's potential is based on to what extent there is political control in the hands of politicians in policy making process in the linkage of media-source balance, (Robinson,2004:31) suggests that there are four types in the policy-media interaction: a supportive media, an uncritical role for official policy; non-influential and non-supporter of any side of the debate; critical media, having limited influence to change policy; and side taker media, effective in policy outcomes. As Herman and (Chomsky, 2002) the first one focuses on the power of the words, sounds and images in the media which might have influences on policy. Contradictory, political economy approach uses the power and ownership relations that determine the structural constraints and communication to analysis the influence on the decision making process.

According to this approach, privately owned media within a liberal state with legal protection of free speech is different from the press which is owned and operated by the political parties or state. For instance, pluralist and democratic governments face more competition in shaping the news than nondemocratic governments. The media would be used for justifying policy decisions of elites and having popular support for it (Roselle, 2006:9). In democratic regimes, leaders' powers rely on the public for votes. Thus, they use media to explain and legitimize policies, which means media are the fourth estate acting as a protector against unrestrained power, in other words they are independent watchdogs of the system.

2.1.5. The Role of Mass Media in Foreign/international Relations

Media has a great role in foreign policy performance of governments. The domestic and global public opinion have become key factors in the formulation of foreign policy in the age of mediation. Before this period, (McNair, 1998: 177) international politics were carried out mostly behind closed doors in secrecy and covert maneuverings. During the twentieth century, the media have been used by governments to influence public opinion on foreign policies of states in their favor.

As an assessment of the British Foreign Office, (Cohen, 1986) found that at the level of policy implementation, government departments, individual officials and ministers use mass media as direct channels to foreign societies in the purpose of explaining policy to overseas publics to advance or conceal policy opinions. Again, (Cohen, 1986: 52) noted that politicians use mass media in international negotiations in order to manipulate international public sphere and other governments. It can be described as an indirect media impact that mainly depend on pressure from the government's supporters and interest groups that can result to policy change at the planning stage of a decision in foreign policy.

2.2. The Conceptual Framework of the Study

A conceptual framework represents the researcher's synthesis of literature on how to explain a phenomenon. It maps out the actions required in the path of the study given the previous knowledge of other researchers' point of view and the observations on the subject of research (Regoniel, 2015). In other words, the conceptual framework is the researcher understands of how the particular variables in the study connect with each other. Thus, it identifies the variables

required in the research investigation. As (McGaghie *et al.* 2001) put it “the conceptual framework sets the stage for the presentation of the particular research question that drives the investigation being reported based on the problem statement.”

In Ethiopia the print media is divided in to two broad ownership categories called the state owned and the privately owned. This being an issue, most of the time the framing ways of news on both the newspapers ownership categories differ each other. The reasons of their difference are taken as their political and ideological perspectives, economic view they hold and some legal gaps among their editorial policies.

As it was stated in the chapter one statement of the problem (section 1.2), this study attempts to examine the actual roles that the Ethiopian Private and government print media play in reporting and analyzing Ethiopia’s foreign relation issues in light of the roles they are expected to play. Additionally, it tries to identify the major challenges the government and private newspapers face in reporting Ethiopian foreign relations. So, the economical, professional and editorial policy gaps of the private and government newspapers (Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter) in reporting Ethiopian foreign relations would be investigated in the study.

Very little is known about how the Ethiopian print media have been framing the foreign relations of their country. To fill this gap a little bit, this study aims to examine the government and private two newspapers framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relations focusing on the variables such as the framing ways of the focused newspapers; the dominant frames used; and the factors and challenges that influenced the framing approaches.

2.3. Framing Theory

Political issues including the foreign relations of a country are one of the major focuses of news media and the news framing has great roles in citizens’ or audiences interpretations about the issue. In the words of (Chong & Druckman, 2007:103-126), "the magic bullet metaphor is probably an exaggeration, frames in mass media matters – in the way that, they affect the attitudes and behaviors of their audiences".

According to (Grope, 2007: 60-78) framing theory can be useful as a bridging concept between cognition at the individual level and culture on the societal level and thus provide the linkage

between news production and news consumption. Again, (Grope, 2007) proposes that framing involves the interplay that occurs between the textual level (frames applied in the media), the cognitive level (schemata among the audience and media makers), the extra-medial level (the discourse of frame sponsors), and, finally, the stock of frames that is available in a given culture. It is widely studied and noted that the media often tend to cover political events and election campaigns with a focus on the winners and losers, and tactics employed by opposing parties, rather than the substantive matters.

The growing reputation of the framing notion in media study goes hand in hand with important inconsistency in its function. This study relies on the framing approaches of Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter newspapers; focusing on their Ethiopian foreign relations news reports. So, framing theory is one of the issues to be dealt with in the theoretical framework of the study.

According to (Abdissa, 2010) there is no agreement among researchers about who was the pioneer of the term framing. For instance, some scholars take the thought of framing was first posited by Gregory Bateson in 1972. He defined psychological frames as a “spatial and temporary bounding of set of interactive messages” (Bateson, 1972:197) at that time. In another way most sources credited it to the work of an American sociologist Erving Goffman (1974). While Goffman and some others; such as (Stone et al., 1999; Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011) attributed it to the work of (Gregory Bateson, 1955, 1972). Still, according to (Grope, 2005) as cited in (Abdissa 2010:25), it was Tuchman (1978) and Gitlin (1980) “who introduced the notion of frames in the area of communication research.” Whereas, (Riaz, 2008) on his part, traced back the beginning of the framing theory some 50 years into Walter Lippmann’s publication, *Public Opinion* (1922).

Media framing is the way in which information is presented to its audiences. Goffman was the first to concentrate on framing as a form of communication and defined “framing” as a “schemata of interpretation” that enables individuals to “locate, perceive, identify and label” occurrences or life experiences (Goffman, 1974), as cited in (Cissel, 2012:69).

Media Framing theory is one of the fundamental theoretical frameworks for this research due to it serves as a means in which information is presented as to the audience. Previously a framing theory and its several definitions have been provided.

2.3.1. The Concept of Framing Theory

The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning (Cissel, 2012).

Framing theory suggests that how something is presented to the audience (called “the frame”) influences the choices people make about how to process that information. Frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning. The most common use of frames is in terms of the frame the news or media place on the information they convey. Framing theory explains that the media create this frame by introducing news items with predefined and narrow contextualization. Frames can be designed to enhance understanding or are used as cognitive shortcuts to link stories to the bigger picture (Weaver, 2007).

(Reese, 2007), cited in (Arowolo: not dated) presents the concept of framing as a bridging model for media research. (Reese, 2007) thinks of frame as structure that draws the boundary, set up categories, define some ideas as out and others in, and generally operate to hold-up related ideas in their net in as active process. In general, framing captures the way meaning can be embedded across stories, media and time.

(Entman, 2010) conceptualizes framing theory by relating it with bias and politics as:

Some clearing of the conceptual underbrush connects framing to news slant and bias and ultimately to political power. Framing is an omnipresent process in politics and policy analysis. It involves selecting a few aspects of a perceived reality and connecting them together in a narrative that promotes a particular interpretation. Frames can perform up to four functions: define problems, specify causes, convey moral assessments, and endorse remedies. Framing works to shape and alter audience members’ interpretations and preferences through priming. That is, frames introduce or enhance the availability and apparent importance of certain ideas for evaluating a political object (p.391).

By framing issues in a particular way, the media may shape the public opinion and with it, the public agenda. Framing effects research is based on the assumption that the way something is portrayed in the news can affect human perception and change a person’s judgment on that issue

by making information more visible, meaningful, or memorable. As (Godefroidt, 2016:4), reporters can select and omit features, and make them more salient by means of key words, stock phrases, adjectives, repetition, visuals, and/or association with culturally familiar symbols. The notion of framing thus implies a widespread effect on large portions of the receiving audiences, though it is not likely to have a universal effect on all (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). Thus, the mass media may not only be successful in telling us what to think about something, but they may also be stunningly successful in telling us how to think about it.

News framing also explains the practice of thinking about news items and story content within familiar context. (Hallahan, 2008) explains that symbolic tool used by communicators to delimit the scope of a situation or argument.

In words of (Muez, 2012:55); “overall, media framing can be conceptualized as the process of selection, emphasizing and presentation of some aspects of ‘reality’ or an issue at the expense of others so that it make them more salient; and thus they hold different slants and angles.” In one way or the other framing theory in short, investigates how media people or journalists frame an issue, reality, or story - either what to include or what to exclude. Therefore, media framing refers to a process of selecting an issue from a given situation and furthermore provide more coverage to some aspect of it in order to realize one’s aim by attracting the attention of the audience more importantly to it, whilst minimizing or, at worst, ignoring the other angles of an issue (Muez, 2012).

2.3.2. Types of Framing

Framing can be classified in two different ways called Episodic and Thematic. As (Iyengar, 1991) cited in (Meron, 2016:32), argued that television news which is designed to report a certain issues or problems in the form of events or specific incidents called episodic framing.

Episodic framing portrays concrete events which illustrate issues, which is more likely to consider individual is responsible for a certain event while thematic framing presents collective or general evident. It encourages peoples to propose individual level clarifications for public communal difficulties. Thematic framing is more likely consider societies are more responsible (Meron, 2016). Types of media frame are listed as follows.

2.3.2.1. Conflict Frame

The importance of conflict interprets into news-framing research, and conflict frames are one of the most frequently used frames in political communication research today (Vliegenthart, Boomgaarden and Boumans, 2011:92). Conflict frames are particular in that they “emphasize conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000:95).

Empirically, this definition has been translated to include elements such as disagreement, tension between different sides, incompatibility between viewpoints and politicians attacking each other in the media (Putnam & Shoemaker, 2007:167). However, a review of the literature shows inconsistent operational definitions of conflict framing in content research, as well as differential findings within framing effects research. This promises that conflict frames are multilayered and complex constructs in the news, rather than one single entity.

There are two dimensions that are particularly important for conflict framing. These are the level of substantivizes and the level of journalistic intervention of a conflict frame (Bartholome, Lecheler and Vreese, 2017:4).

First, conflict news can focus on policy issues and “hard” information (Hänggli and Kriesi, 2010:141). Conflict news can also be characterized by incivility between politicians, instead of civil and courteous political deliberation (Mutz and Reeves, 2005:141-157).

Second, conflict frames may vary by the extent to which journalists intervene during the news production process. According to (Bartholome, Lecheler, and de Vreese, 2015: 438–457) research shows that journalists have a propensity to intervene in the conflict frame-building process.

This intervention in conflict framing is exhibited in journalistic speculation concerning consequences of political conflicts, active journalistic framing of conflict news by juxtaposing political actors, and by journalistic interpretations and analysis of political disagreements. Journalists can also be a part of the political conflict themselves. Journalists can also intervene by adding direct commentary within a news report or taking a stance on issues (Hanitzsch, 2007:367-385).

2.3.2.2. Human interest frame

The human interest frame is one of the most commonly used generic news frames (Vreese, 2005). Human interest framing is that a broader issue is explained by portraying one or more specific persons who are personally involved with that issue.

This frame “brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000:95). In crisis situations, the frame stimulates the psychological pulse of people, which ultimately leads them to a more negative attitude toward the crisis (Padin, 2005:12). (Cho & Gower, 2006) showed that the human interest frame influenced participants’ emotional response, and that it was a significant predictor of blame and responsibility in a transgression crisis.

2.3.2.3. Economic Consequences Frame

This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, groups, organizations, or countries. (Neuman et al., 1992), cited in (Ann and Gower, 2009), identified it as a common frame in the news.

2.2.2.4. Attribution of Responsibility Frame

This frame is defined as “a way of attributing responsibility for a cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) cited in (Ann and Gower, 2009). They also found that the attribution of responsibility frame was most commonly used in serious newspapers.

A long-standing body of research illustrates how the framing of news stories affects the way people attribute responsibility for various social problems. Consider two ways of discussing a problem such as homelessness. Stories may provide straightforward facts and figures as to the underlying cause of this problem, such as an economic downturn. Or news organizations may choose to personalize a story, as they often do, by centering on the individuals affected by homelessness in order to illustrate the issue.

Political communication researcher Shanto Iyengar’s experiments found that viewers exposed to a problem through the travails of particular victims (“episodic framing”) are more likely to

attribute responsibility to dispositional or individualist factors, while stories that focus on the problem itself (“thematic framing”) are more likely to lead viewers to fault systemic factors and ultimately the government. As a result, this difference in media framing has undeniable political implications (Iyengar, 1991) cited in (Ashenafi, 2012:30).

2.3.2.5. Value/ Morality Frame

This frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of morals, social prescriptions, and religious views. (Neuman et al. 1992) cited in (Gudeta, 2012) found that the morality frame was commonly used by journalists indirectly through quotations or inference, rather than directly because of the journalistic norm of objectivity.

Media coverage can affect the types of moral, religious, or social values that people apply when processing a news story. When news reports stress values such as honesty or discuss which candidate can be an agent of change, they are also framing this principle as central to the audience. Framing occurs through the salience afforded to different values and by subtle linguistic differences that favor one value or another (Sterling, 2009).

Value-framing research often finds that framing is dependent on individuals’ predisposition, suggesting that framing is not inevitable. As (Sterling, 2009), people’s support for national security policies is affected differently when the story’s wording centers on individuals impacted by the policy than when it focused on groups (thematic). Media framing in this case affected the type of values (national security or individual rights) activated by the individuals in conjunction with their own ideological leanings. Liberals were more likely to be affected by the individual rights frame than conservatives, while the national security frame affected conservatives more than liberals (Sterling, 2009).

2.3.2.6. Diagnostic Frame

This frame is a problem identification and attribution frame which articulates the problem which needs fixing. Since social movements seek to remedy and need to change some problematic situations or issues, it is depended on credential sources of causality, blame, and/or responsible agents in order to take direct actions (Snow R. D., 2000).

2.3.2.7. Prognostic Frame

This frames influence recruits of the achievements, provide conceivable solution to a certain problems which is articulated by diagnostic frames and recommend strategy and tactics to get measurable result (Cammaerts, 2015).

2.3.2.8. Attribution of responsibility:

If the story predominantly blames a certain body for certain actions and attribute respective responsibility.

Criticism of Framing Theory

While most scholars acknowledge workability and the effects of framing theory on the audience, especially on opinion formation, framing theory, according to (Sneha, 2016), it is criticized for the reasons that;

- ✚ Framing builds mistrust against the media.
- ✚ Framing creates gap between the truth and the public awareness by creating a point of view.
- ✚ Framing distorts truth.
- ✚ Frames limit debates by placing vocabularies and metaphors that can be used in news that is used by all public
- ✚ Framing is becoming less as new media is developing and giving people an opportunity to think about same topic with different point of view (Sneha, 2016).

2.4. Political Economy Theory of media

The political economy theory of the media would be another convenient theoretical frame work for this study regarding the effects the media has on Ethiopian foreign policy and relations. It is also an overarching theoretical frame to guide the study as media are often taken to be the product of the socio-political environment it inhabits.

Historically, in Anglo-Saxon world media research paid considerable attention to the analysis of property relations and economic control over the media. Paying attention to micro-economic processes and phenomena, the researchers such as Balnaves and Donald brought in the analysis of a term political-economic perspective; and they find out how the division of power in society

is projected on economic relations in the media and, consequently, the behavior of media companies in their markets (Balnaves & Donald, 2001). Thus, the political economy of media was created.

Political economy – is the science of industrial relations between people and the economic laws governing the development of historically successive socio-economic formations. For the media we can talk about the analysis of how the power relations in society shape the production, distribution and consumption of resources, the media industry. It is important to emphasize that it is in studies of economic convergence of the media and, there is a special Political Economy and Economics that it is not surprising because of the special role of the media in society and the dual nature of the market Media (UK Essays, 2016:3).

The specific challenge facing the modern journalist and perspectives of their work are that they should have at least a general idea of two related but still separate from each other's disciplines. On the one hand, it must be functioning media in a macroeconomic context, which focuses on political and economic tradition of media research. On the other, any journalist, not even aspiring to work in the commercial department of media companies need to have ideas about micro-economic situation in the media industry. Cohen mentioned that is what directs our attention to media economics – economic discipline, dealing with issues of economy, i.e. maximum use of what are media companies (Cohen, 2007). This means the practical use of the material (buildings, equipment, finance) and intangible (information, people – journalists, managers, technical professionals and support staff) resources, which leads to maximum efficiency of media industry in particular and the media industry as a whole.

Mass media have become the subject of economic analysis for several reasons. On the one hand, the media industry, having developed and highly profitable sector of the economy, is extremely interested in studying the operation of economic laws – and the media as a separate system, and their relationship with society, its many institutions. On the other, as a special industry, serving not only for profits, but also to meet the special needs of the public, mass media fascinating interest of many forces in society. Media economics objective is the most important socio-economic discipline, because it reveals the conditions of profitability that is perhaps the most profitable sectors of the economy today, examines the scope of the most closely the “three

pillars” on which prosperity of media is based – they are corporate businesses (advertisers), state (regulator) and society (the audience paying time and money), (UK Essays, 2016:1).

Political economy is a major perspective in communication research. Since the 1940s, the approach has guided the work of scholars around the world and its global expansion continues today. Two definitions of political economy capture the wide range of approaches to the discipline, as (Mosco, 2009):

In the narrow sense, political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources. A more general and ambitious definition of political economy is the study of control and survival in social life. Control refers specifically to how a society organizes itself, manages its affairs and adapts, or fails to adapt, to the inevitable changes that all societies face. Survival means how people produce what they need to reproduce themselves and to keep their society going. According to this interpretation, control is a political process because it shapes the relationships within a community, and survival is mainly economic because it involves the process of production and reproduction (p.13).

According to (O’Connor, 2010) “Political economy is a branch of social science that studies the relationships between individuals and society and between markets and the state, using a diverse set of tools and method drawn largely from economics, political science, and sociology”. Furthermore, as (Ogenga, 2010:152), political economy involves the idea of media ownership, the media market, and financial support.

Remarks that in the capitalist societies the capitalized and commercialized mass media have little difference from the other commodities in nature, they resemble the other commodities very much, and both are used for profit for the capitalists, and are bound to be heavily dependent on the capitalist because their operations are ensured by the sponsorship from the enterprises and advertising revenues. This cripples the independence of mass media, thereby making it an illusion. Depending on this, assert that the manner in which the media operate is shaped by their owners, the market environment, and the financial support.

(Mosco, 2009:7) identifies the following distinguishing factors that separate political economy approaches from mainstream economic approaches:

- Political economy analyses of the media are holistic. They see the economy as interconnected with society, culture and politics, not as a separate domain.
- They are concerned with the balance between capitalist enterprise and public intervention.
- They go “beyond technical issues of efficiency to engage with basic moral questions of justice, equity and the public good.

The mainstream media of Ethiopia as mediators of political discussion is not an exception in any way from the media of most African countries. Much research has evidenced that, throughout history, they have not been free and fair public arena specifically when it comes to political matters because of the domination of the governmental administration (Aadland & Fackler, 2009).

Until the downfall of the military regime in 1991, all the press and the electronic media served the government in power. Though there are some improvements since this period regarding freedom of expression, the media have not accomplished the status of being a ‘fourth state’ and free public arena for political communication yet. (Aadland and Fackler, 2009), cited in (Elizabeth, 2010 :) in line with this, said the following about the situation in the media:

It is fair to say that while the makeup of Ethiopia's government has frequently changed during the twentieth century, the printing press's function, as well as that of radio, television, and news agencies, has remained the same: to serve the government in power. Media have consistently and primarily promoted government policy and activities. Consequently, Ethiopia has little or no indigenous tradition of thinking about the press as a free commercial enterprise, or as a watchdog or critic of the government (p.31).

The inefficiency of the media has been observed not only in the government owned but also with the so called ‘independent’ media. Since the state owned media are mouthpieces of the governors, the privates’ failed to serve the people because of internal (i.e. being sensational,

partisan, ‘polarized’ and so on) (Shimelis, 2006) and external factors (i.e. systematic government repression, censorship) (Aadland and Fackler, 2009 and Yetenayet, 2008).

In the political structure of society, the media plays a significant role, acting as a social institution, which implements the mobilization and recreational functions. From this point of view, the “media markets” understand the public space in which journalists and media companies in a variety of social ideas and concepts, popular audience, who is, citizens of the society. The combination of the words “the marketplace of ideas” is not as absurd as it involves a free exchange of ideas between different social forces and agents, similar to the exchange of goods and services on the market.

As it is all said above, the political economy has real perspectives on media markets. The media industries talk about how the power relations in society shape the production, distribution and consumption of resources. In the study of the economy, there is a special media convergence of political economy and economics; because of the special role of the media in society and the dual nature of the media market. It is due to this reason; that this study applies the political economy theory of media as one of the theoretical frameworks in addition to the media framing theory and agenda setting theory.

2.5. Agenda Setting Theory

The agenda setting theory is a theory that discusses on how the mass media influences in making a certain issue as a public agenda (Zain, 2014:4). According to (Zain, 2014), the public agenda is the main focus or prime issue which the members of the society or public concern about. The term agenda setting theory is first used by Combs and Shaw in 1972. This theory elaborates the connection in term of relationships between the emphasis that the mass media put as an issue and the media audiences or the public’s reaction or attributes to such issue (Littlejohn and Foss, 2009). Subsequently, the theory has inspired and developed hundreds of latter explorations on how the mass media primes and frames issues for their audiences. It also covers on how the mass media colors a particular event for their media audiences (Zain, 2014:5).

With such influences from the mass media, the media audiences tend to form their own opinion or focus on those issues that are considered as worthy of inclusion on their mental agendas (Littlejohn and Foss, 2009).

Media agenda are issues discussed in the media, such as newspapers, television, and radio getting special attention in public agenda (are issues discussed among members of the public). According to (Wikipedia encyclopedia, 2009), the two basic assumptions that underlie most research on agenda-setting are that the press and the media do not reflect reality, they filter and shape it, and the media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than any other issue. This refers to the decision of the news media in determining which information should be written in the newspaper as news of the day which we call it newsworthiness.

2.5.1. Second-level Agenda-setting

As agenda setting theory has been developed, scholars pointed out attributes that describe the object. Each of the objects on an agenda has a lot of attributes containing cognitive components such as information that describes characteristics of the object, and an affective component including tones (positive, negative, neutral) of the characteristics on agenda.

Agenda-setting pioneer McCombs has undertaken an effort to expand and develop the theory by linking it to a broad range of other media theories, like framing theory for example. He calls his new theory second-order agenda-setting (Baran & Davis, 2012). (McCombs et al. 1997) argue that agenda-setting operates at two levels, or orders: the object level and the attribute level.

Conventional agenda-setting has focused at the object level and has assessed how media coverage could influence the priority assigned to objects (e.g., issues, candidates, events, and problems). In doing this, media told us “what to think about”. But media can also tell us “how to think about” some objects. Media do this by influencing second-order “attribute agendas”. They tell us which object attributes are important and which ones are not (Baran & Davis, 2012). Furthermore, the second level agenda setting differs from traditional agenda setting in that it focus on attribute salience, and public’s attribute agenda is regarded as one of the important variables.

2.5.2. Core Assumptions and statement of the theory

Agenda-setting is the creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media. Agenda-setting theory rests on two basic assumptions (University of Twente, 2014). The first one states that the media filters and shapes reality instead of simply reflecting it. For example, news stories are not presented chronologically or according to the number of people affected by them, but rather in an order that a producer or editor determines to be the most “sensational,” or most appealing to audiences.

The second assumption states that the more attention the media gives to certain issues, the more likely the public will be to label those issues as vital ones. In other words, agenda setting doesn't necessarily tell people how they should think or feel about certain issues, but rather what issues they should think about. One of the most critical aspects in the concept of an agenda-setting role of mass communication is the time frame for this phenomenon. In addition, different media have different agenda-setting potential (University of Twente, 2014).

2.5.3. The mass media's agenda

The scholars such as (Rogers and Dearing, 1988), cited in (Zain,2014:6) believed that the agenda setting theory in connection with mass media stands with interrelationships between three agendas. Such agendas are identified as public agenda, media agenda and Policy agenda. They claim such policy agenda can be developed based on the issues that the governments and other policy makers create.

Occasionally, the reality of the world offers a new issue as a setting of agenda in mass media. Such can happen in referring to natural disasters such as earthquake or tsunami or wars. This will equally affect directly or indirectly the above mentioned agendas. Based on their discussion, another theory is developed and known as agenda building. By referring to (Rogers and Dearing, 1988:9), such theory is more appropriate to be considered in comparison to agenda setting theory.

2.6. Similarities and differences of framing and agenda setting theories

McCombs argues that second order agenda-setting and framing share common concerns for attribute agendas (frames), the dynamics of the agenda-setting process (framing process), and

agenda-setting influence (framing effects) (Baran & Davis, 2012). According to (Weaver, 2007), framing and second-level agenda setting have the following characteristics:

Similarities:

1. Both are more concerned with how issues or other objects are depicted in the media than with which issues or objects are more or less prominently reported.
2. Both focus on most salient or prominent aspects of themes or descriptions of the objects of interest.
3. Both are concerned with ways of thinking rather than objects of thinking

Differences:

1. Framing does seem to include a broader range of cognitive processes – moral evaluations, causal reasoning, appeals to principle, and recommendations for treatment of problems – than does second-level agenda setting (the salience of attributes of an object).
(Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007) argue that “framing differs significantly from these accessibility-based models (i.e., agenda setting and priming). It is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences” the difference between whether we think about an issue and how we think about it. Framing and agenda setting differ in their functions in the process of news production, information processing and media effects.
2. **News production:** Although “both frame building and agenda building refer to macroscopic mechanisms that deal with message construction rather than media effects,” frame building is more concerned with the news production process than agenda building. In other words, “how forces and groups in society try to shape public discourse about an issue by establishing predominant labels is of far greater interest from a framing perspective than from a traditional agenda-setting one” (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007).
3. **News processing:** For framing and agenda setting, different conditions seem to be needed in processing messages to produce respective effects. Framing effect is more concerned with audience attention to news messages, while agenda setting is more concerned with repeated exposure to messages.

4. **Locus of effect:** Agenda-setting effects are determined by the ease with which people can retrieve from their memory issues recently covered by mass media, while framing is the extent to which media messages fit ideas or knowledge people have in their knowledge store.

Based on these shared characteristics, (McCombs and colleagues, 1997) recently argued that framing effects should be seen as the extension of agenda setting. In other words, according to them, the premise that framing is about selecting "a restricted number of thematically related attributes" for media representation can be understood as the process of transferring the salience of issue attributes (i.e., second-level agenda setting). That is, according to McCombs and colleagues' arguments, framing falls under the umbrella of agenda setting. McCombs believes that the integration of agenda-setting theory with framing theory will help clarify some of the concepts in framing theory (Baran & Davis, 2012).

CHAPTER THREE

THE DESIGN, METHODS AND PROCEDURES

3.1. Introduction

As discussed in earlier chapters, the study approaches the object under investigation by employing more a qualitative research method both as theory and method to strengthen the overall analysis in the study. The qualitative research approach is crucial to understand and explain how the theories are working and applied for fruitful analysis and it is actually ((Denzin and Lincoln 2005) as cited in (Aspers and Corte, 2019) :

Qualitative research is multi method in focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals’ lives (p. 6).

One of the five features of a qualitative research as identified by (Yin, 2011:8) is that “it represents the views and perspectives of the participants in a study”. He also added that getting the perspectives of the research participants could be a major purpose of a qualitative research; “the events and ideas emerging from qualitative research can represent the meanings given to real-life events by the people who live them, not the values, preconceptions, or meanings held by researchers”.

Thus, for the investigation of the framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relations news on state and private newspapers (Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter), has employed a qualitative method and the methodological tool that used to collect the qualitative data is in-depth interview and the researcher’s observation. According to (Bhatt, 2019) a qualitative research is defined as a market research method that focuses on obtaining data by open ended and conversational communication. Therefore, the qualitative research methods allow for in-depth and further

probing and questioning of respondents based on their responses, where the interviewer/researcher also tries to understand their motivation and feelings.

This study utilized a qualitative technique of research combined with a quantitative one. The qualitative approach was selected as a major method for its worthwhile in the area of media framing. On the other hand, supporting qualitative method with a quantitative one will provide a deeper understanding of the issue since the two approaches address different aspect of the problem (Orcher, 2005).

A quantitative approach was used to collect data from the newspapers about themes, sources, and frames used in stories of Ethiopian foreign relations issues whereas, a qualitative method (in-depth interview) was employed to gather information in a deeper manner. This in-depth interview provides a massive awareness on how the Ethiopian foreign relations stories are framed on newspapers. (Berger, 1998:55) notes that by using an in-depth interview, “You often obtain unexpected information that forms research might not discover.”

Meanwhile, so as to extensively assess the framing of Ethiopian foreign relations on newspapers, content analysis has as well been used in the study. As (Berger, 1998:23) points out, content analysis is an approach that aims at measuring the extent of an issue “in a representative sampling of some mass mediated popular art form.”

3.2. Data Source

In an attempt to generate data on the framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relations news on the focused state and private newspapers, the researcher gathered data from the newspapers in the time frame and from the representative editors and reporters of the newspapers involved in the study. The Ethiopian Herald (government owned) is published daily except Mondays and the Reporter-English (privately owned) is published weekly. The two newspapers were chosen for the reasons of their availability, popularity, and socio-political standing.

This study employed both primary and secondary data. The primary data was collected from the concerned expert, journalists of the selected newspapers and the editors by conducting interviews. In addition to these, reports, regular and spatial news by those newspapers were the primary data sources of the study. Secondary sources of data were also used. With the secondary

sources, the researcher used related materials with the topic such as books, theses (published and unpublished), reports, articles, internet and other relevant sources that were useful for this study.

a. Newspapers

This study has chosen only two newspapers: the Ethiopian Herald (government) and the Reporter –English version (private) owned newspapers. So as to make the ideas compiled by content analysis concrete, seven editors and journalists, in addition to other two key informants; in general nine informants have been interviewed. (See Appendix A)

In order to compare and analyze the coverage of the framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relations on the focused state and private newspapers, the study used only the Ethiopian foreign relations appeared both in the front and inner pages of the focused newspapers. The news items in the front page and inner pages were used; because where the news item appeared shows the kind of prominence and the value given to it.

The selected newspapers for the study were only English newspapers which had highest circulation rate in Ethiopian current standard (4,000 for the daily Herald, except Mondays and 5,000 for the weekly Reporter. The reason behind considering the only English and highest circulation newspapers is that English is one of international languages for foreign relations issues and the English newspapers prefer national and international issues than the local and regional ones. The other reason for the selection of the newspapers is the longer period of their life time in the market; and this indicates their readership.

b. Key Informants

The key informants of this research were senior editors and reporters from each of the focused newspapers; thus the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter English version. The selection of the key informants has been by using the purposive sampling; thus depending on the role they had on Ethiopian foreign relations stories (news). The senior editors from the two newspapers were interviewed by considering their seniority as a reporter and as an editor too. In addition, by considering their power to answer questions focusing on the objectives of the newspapers, newsworthiness selection processes, the criteria of sources consideration, and the barriers they faced that affects journalistic decisions.

Furthermore, the reporters from the two newspapers were selected and interviewed by considering the types of news they cover; particularly by giving attention for those frequently cover Ethiopian foreign relations issues (purposive selection). The interview was conducted by the researcher in Amharic; this is because of the researcher's justification that the journalists and other informants interviewed well explain the questions briefly and clearly. Along with all the respondents, the interview was recorded.

c. Documents

Documents which were relevant to the study were well considered. At the beginning, the focused newspapers; Ethiopian Herald from the state/government ownership and the Reporter English version from the private ownership side have been used successively. Secondly, to validate the study results with relevant literatures: a book, articles, brochures, related research materials and internet browse documents has been reviewed.

3.2.1. Study Site of the Study

The study was conducted in Addis Ababa from April 2, 2018 to June 7, 2018; to find out the framing approaches of Ethiopian Foreign Relations news on the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter English version newspapers with the participants who have been involved in producing and leading the news, some audiences and the concerned government bodies. The justifications for the selection of the date of the study depended on the inauguration of Ethiopian new Prime Minister (Dr. Abiy Ahmed) and his continuous diplomatic activities and visits to different countries at the time with the frequent news coverage by both selected newspapers of this study, see the Scope of the study; chapter one).

3.2.2. Population

All research questions were tried to address issues that are of great relevance to important groups of individuals known as a research population (Explorable.com). A research population is generally a large collection of individuals or objects that is the main focus of a scientific query. It is for the benefit of the population that researches are done. Since the entire group of people or objects to which the researcher wished to generalize the study findings is the target population, so, this thesis relied on the target population.

3.2.3. Sampling

The sources of data for this research were both primary (key informants) and secondary (documents). Moreover, the data were collected mainly through purposive sampling method. With a purposive sampling method, the researcher selected a sample from a population that contains different people with certain characteristics, in which the researcher is interested, or media or other sources of data or content of interest to the researcher (Rubin, R., Rubin, A., Haridakis, & Piele, L., 2010).

From the different types of purposive sampling, stakeholder sampling was preferable for this study. Stakeholder sampling (Given, 2008:697) ,“involves identifying who the major stakeholders are; who are involved in designing, giving, receiving, or administering the program or service being evaluated, and who might otherwise be affected by it”. Hence, for the stakeholders in the framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relations on state and private newspapers are the sample population, among which the major stakeholders are in the government and private media industry, and the foreign relations ministry of FDRE.

This study has utilized two newspapers: the Ethiopian Herald from the state ownership and the Reporter English version from the private ownership of Ethiopian press. This is mainly done on the basis of higher circulation for the newspapers as of April, 2018 and the other criterion is due to their longer years of experience in the field compared to any other similar print media in the nation serving in English language.

The researcher has employed purposive sampling technique for collecting data. It is one of the non-probability sampling methods, (Wimmer and Dominic, 2011: 94) define purposive sampling as it includes respondents, subjects or elements selected for a specific criterion or characteristics and qualities and eliminates those who fail to meet the criterion. Purposive sampling is used frequently in mass media studies in which subjects are selected to meet a predetermined or known percentage. In the words of (Singh,2006:91), “ it is the idea of picking out the sample in relation to some criterion which are considered important for the particular study of which it is appropriate when the study places special emphasis upon the control of certain specific variables.”

However, one can raise a question on the bias of sampling technique in terms of generalizability of findings. Thus, this study do not attempted to generalize the findings in the Ethiopian media context, but attempted specifically to generalize to the selected media organizations outputs in relation to the demonstration which is also a central focus of the study in which the texts of the outputs were investigated from contents to their wider social contexts.

3.3. Instruments/tools

Qualitative research engages the target audience in an open-ended in-depth interview. Qualitative research explores the “what, why and how” questions and provides directional data about the issue under investigation (Isurus, n.d). The quantitative research method was also used a quantitative research method in supporting with the qualitative one as indicated at the above. The data analysis tool used in this study was content analysis.

The researcher also used priori defined frames by Semetko and (Valkenburg, 2000) to analyze the frames used by the media houses under study in this paper; because of the almost standard level acceptance of their frames especially in media and communication studies. However, not all the seven frames are defined by the above mentioned scholars. The frames of diagnostic and prognostic are defined by (Scheufele, 1999) topics on the speeches of the president are coded by the researcher.

3.3.1. In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews are a guided, open-ended discussion with a single respondent. Interviewers lead respondents through a structured topic guide that addresses key issues of interest. (Newcomb, 1991:93 cited in Afework, 2013:61), explaining the effectiveness of interviewing, writes, “The primary strength of interviewing as a method is its capacity to range over multiple perspectives on a given topic.” He explained more that conducting various interviews helps to increase the information and broaden a point of view. Interview data also make possible the gathering of historical viewpoints on the subject area of the study.

For this research, in-depth interviews has been conducted with three senior editors (one deputy-editor-in-chief from the Herald, and a managing editor-in-chief and another senior editor from the Reporter); four senior reporters (two from each focused newspapers) in general with seven journalists working on the selected two newspapers. Two concerned informants were also added

to this study by conducting in-depth interview; (an official for digital diplomacy from the ministry of foreign affairs of FDRE and a senior expert from Ethiopian Institution for Foreign Relations Strategic Study).

These key informants have been selected purposively. The need to conduct the in-depth interviews was to acquire a systematic view of those interviewed regarding the framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relations news by the focused state and private newspapers. The in-depth interviews were conducted in person (face to face).

3.4. Procedures

3.4.1. Data Collection/Administration

The researcher selected the news from the focused newspapers according to the scope of the study and read at least twice and criticized their framing points of views. Additionally, interview guides were prepared in English that appropriate to gather the required data for the issue under study. The interview guides were later translated in to Amharic to make them understandable by all interview participants and respondents. Voice recording with professional recorder as well as note taking has been employed by securing the permission of the respondents in order to collect the data.

Since the deductive approach to qualitative data analysis involves analyzing data based on a structure predetermined by the researcher (www.slideshare.net), the researcher used the research questions as a guide for grouping and analyzing the data. This is a quick and easy approach to qualitative data analysis and can be used when a researcher have an idea of likely responses from the sample population (Elo, 2008). The inductive approach on the other hand, is not based on a structured or predetermined framework. This is a more thorough and time consuming approach to qualitative data analysis. This approach is often used when the researcher knows very little of their research phenomenon. Due to this reason, the researcher has used the deductive one.

3.4.2. Confidentiality/ privacy/ Consideration

To respect the privacy of informants in this study, it was essential to consider the ethical principles such as informed and voluntary participation, privacy, anonymity as well as the possibility of feedback. To respect the dignity and privacy of individuals, all of the participants

were interviewed with their full consent and in convenient places where their privacy was well kept. Before starting the interviews or discussions, the aim and content of the questions was explained in brief to them and their full consent was highly expected. By this understanding, the main and the only aim of the researcher was academic purpose, and all the participants were willing if their names be cited in the research.

3.4.3. Data Analysis

Content analysis was first developed in the field of Communication Sciences in the first decades of the twentieth century. At this stage content analysis was closely associated with the analysis of the media with the aim of understanding its impact on society (Afonso, Linhares, & Costa. 2018). They also indicated that, currently, the analysis of content has evolved into other areas and it is a technique that analyzes mainly the forms of verbal communication, written or non-written, that materializes among individuals, thus encompassing both the literary text and interviews or speeches.

Number of scholars exerted their efforts in defining the concept content analysis and nowadays content analysis is a research technique widely used in qualitative research. According to (Bardin, 1977: 42 cited in Afonso, Linhares, & Costa. 2018), “it is a set of techniques of analysis of communications aiming to obtain by systematic procedures and objectives of description of message content, indicators (quantitative or not) that allow the inference knowledge of the conditions of production / reception of messages”.

The other scholar, (Cole, 1988 cited by Elo and Kyngäs, 2008) adds that content analysis is a “method for analyzing communication of written, verbal or visual messages”. They also stated that content analysis is a flexible method, where there are no simple guidelines for data analysis, which makes it a challenge for the researcher and one of the advantages of this method is the use of large volumes of information and data sources used to confirm evidence.

The sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods 2008, also defines content analysis as “the intellectual process of categorizing qualitative textual data into clusters of similar entities, or conceptual categories, to identify consistent patterns or relationships between variable and themes. As (Silva & Fossá, 2013)content analysis is the only one that focuses on unstructured

material, such as interviews, media articles, historical or sociological documents, thus analyzing different sources of content, which can be verbal and non-verbal.

In this research, the purpose of using content analysis is to answer the question of how and to addresses the identified research problems. It is also important to compare how different media treat the same issue in different ways and to measure how much of the events were covered by the two newspapers. In addition to this, the underlying focus of this study is to know how the papers were reported looking towards the cored value of journalism by evaluating their news selection, sources, location, reporting tone, and framing. The overall operations and independence of the sampled newspapers in framing Ethiopian foreign relations within the fixed period (one hundred days); and partisanship is also part of the analysis in light of political economy of mass media. Using content analysis, this study aimed to address the questions pointed in the first chapter. An attempt has also done to employ interpretive analysis for the qualitative data obtained through the in-depth interviews.

As a result, to locate how the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter newspapers framed the Ethiopian foreign relations news, the study rests on content analysis using the qualitative method in its most parts and a quantitative one in its small areas. It employed focusing on the newspapers content which enabled to understand the way the media framed the content and reported limiting its scope from investigating on the impacts on the nation. Data was gathered and analyzed on news stories and articles published in their three months or one hundred days editions.

Data analysis has guided by the research objectives; questions; also by concept and themes that emerge from the field data and the selected newspapers. All interviews that were captured through audio recorded were transcribed textually along the researcher's field notes, then reduced through the methods of coding, categorizing and major and sub-theme identification process.

3.4.3. Principles of Content Analysis

Content analysis refers to any procedure for assessing the relative extent to which specified references, attitudes, or themes permeate a given message or document. It conforms to the three basic principles of scientific method called; Objectivity, Systematic and Generalizability (Desalegn, 2014:41).

- i. **Objectivity:** - this means that the analysis is pursued on the basis of explicit rules, which enable different researchers to obtain the same results from the same documents or messages.
- ii. **Systematic:** - the inclusion or exclusion of content is done according to some consistently applied rules.
- iii. **Generalizability:** - the results obtained by the researcher can be applied to other similar situations.

3.4.4. Content Analysis Approaches

There are four approaches to carrying out content analysis; which may be quantitative or qualitative, (Mass Media and Content analysis module 9: undated).

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

3.4.5. Procedures of Content Analysis

It is unquestionable to believe that scientific research must yield valid results, in the sense that the research effort is open for careful inspection and the resulting claims can be upheld in the face of independently available evidence. In order to come up with valid and reliable results, content analysis involves specialized procedures. More specifically, research techniques

designed to bring result in findings are replicable, that is, researchers working at different points in time and perhaps under different circumstances should get the same results when applying the same technique to the same data. Replicability is the most important form of reliability (Krippendorff, 2004: 18) cited in (Desalegn, 2014:41).

The procedures in content analysis help to examine the two newspapers' framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relations from April 2 to 12 July 2018. The contents of the newspapers have been analyzed in a defined criterion adapting the steps portrayed in the (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011) to conduct data analysis and to ensure validity & reliability. The points for the criterion are:

1) Formulate the research questions or hypothesis

Content analysis should be guided by well-formulated research questions or hypotheses (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011:160). In the case of assessing the framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relation news by Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter newspapers, the researcher formulated three basic questions seek to answer them accordingly (chapter 1; section 1.4).

2) determine the universe of the content to be analyzed – in this case, the newspapers

Literary works on researches recommend specifying the universe or a boundary of the body of the content to be considered is crucial for researches. In this regard, (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011:160) stressed that two dimensions are usually used to determine the appropriate universe for a content analysis; these are: the topic and the time period. The study defines its topic from the beginning and time period, i.e. from April 2 to 12 July 2018.

3) Select an appropriate sample from the population

Most content analysis in mass media involves multistage sampling, such as taking sampling of content sources, topics, selecting the dates and the specific content within an edition, i.e. front page or inside page, (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011:177). Regarding the topic under investigation, the researcher used both the front and the inside pages of both newspapers.

a) Selection of the Titles

In communication, media and cultural studies sampling issues involve all kinds of areas most commonly people, social groups, events, activities, institutions and texts (Deacon, 1999: 40 cited

in Desalegn, 2014:43). Identifying a representative research population and designing an appropriate sampling technique are prerequisites of data collection and for the validity of research questions because sampling is at the heart of all scientific activity.

According to (Berg, 2011, cited in Asmeret, 2013: 50), there are two sampling methods; probabilistic (random) and non-probabilistic (non-random). Probabilistic sampling includes simple random sampling, stratified random sampling and cluster sampling. Non-probabilistic sampling is quota sampling and purposive sampling. Sampling may occur at any or all of the following levels: words, phrase, sentences, paragraphs, sections, chapters, books, newspapers, writers, ideological stance, subject topic, or similar elements relevant to the context. This study analyzed text in the articles, excluding messages such as cartoons, pictures, advertisements, sports and news out of Ethiopian foreign relations coverage in both focused newspapers. In addition, conducting semi structured interviews with the journalists working in the two papers had advantage to get intensive knowledge about the selection criteria of articles, the reason behind focusing specific frames, the placement of stories and other important issues in relation to the coverage of the issue under study.

The EBA categorize the newspapers in to two blocks; government/public owned and commercial, however, plenty literatures including the thesis of (Asgedom G/Silassie, 2006), (Desalegn Tadese, 2014) and others use the name state owned and private. The study conducted based on the purposive sampling using the classification from these blocks to show a broader picture of the Ethiopian newspapers; selecting the two English newspapers that provide information for the public primarily focusing on political, economic, social and Ethiopian and others foreign relations issues.

The two newspapers were selected because of their high circulation, their nobility in covering political, economic and social issues as well as their long existence in the service (they are pioneers in their blocks). Based on these criteria the state owned daily (except Monday) Ethiopian Herald and the private weekly The Reporter were selected as sample newspapers for investigation. The sampling frames delimited to front and inside pages (editorials, and features) that carry information only on the Ethiopian foreign relations. The researcher found that it has been manageable and hence all the editions of the newspapers published during the specified time frame taken in to consideration.

- 4) Construct the categories to be analyzed- here there are five major recording units of analysis
 - a. Single word or symbol
 - b. Theme
 - c. Character
 - d. Sentence or paragraph
 - e. Item (entire article, etc.)
- 5) Train the coder and conduct a pilot study (checking reliability)
- 6) Code the content according to established definitions
- 7) Data preparation and analysis.
- 8) Draw conclusions and search for indications

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

This study investigated the framing approaches of Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter – English version on Ethiopian foreign relations issues from April 2/2018 to July 7 2018. This period was taken for the reasons that the frequent visits the new Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed paid to different countries and the new relation emerged with the Eritrean government. The visits of the prime minister to different countries and the Eritrean relationship with Ethiopia has been improved and started again after two decades visible closedowns.

The main reason of the study is to assess how the two sample newspapers framed Ethiopian foreign relations during the specified time period. All the editions of the newspapers addressing the issue under investigation during the time frame were assessed. The study employed content analysis using both quantitative and qualitative methods, as well as interviews for data gathering aiming to address the research questions raised as far in chapter one.

The analyzed reports were selected from both news papers depending on their relevance to Ethiopian foreign relations. In this regard, the whole 184 Ethiopian foreign relations news stories published on both news papers were counted and from these 120 of them (the first 60 stories from each paper) were analyzed. The editors, the reporters (journalists) and the experts used as a data source for this thesis were selected by purposive selection of data collection, based on their relevance to Ethiopian foreign relations issues.

The chapter has two sections. In the first section attempts are to present and analyze the data of the study. The second part of this chapter discusses the findings to identify the similarities and differences, as well as the framing approaches of the 120 coverage of the papers (60 from each). The analysis and the findings based on four categories; the extent of coverage, sources used, placement of stories and the framing types of the stories. The qualitative data, the in depth interview, was conducted in Amharic language and the whole has been transcribed and translated in to English, finally it is presented and analyzed in English.

4.2. Quantitative data presentation and analysis

4.2.1. The extent of the papers Ethiopian foreign relations coverage

This section shows that how much the Ethiopian foreign relations issues was covered by the papers, where the stories were located and the total amount of space allocated for the issues.

Name of the paper	Frequency of coverage (Number of stories)	Total no. of editions from April 2, 2018 to July 7, 2018	Percent	Location of the issue (placement)	
				Front page	Inside page
Ethiopian Herald	103	84	81.5	60	43
The Reporter	81	15	15.5	9	72
Total	184	99	100	69	115

Table 1: Frequency & location distribution of the coverage of Ethiopian foreign relations news in the two newspapers

Ninety-nine editions of both newspapers from April 2, 2018 to July 7, 2018 published 184 Ethiopian foreign relations stories in general. From these, 84 editions were from Ethiopian Herald and the rest 15 editions were from the Reporter- English version. And from the whole editions there are 184 Ethiopian foreign relations stories were published on the two newspapers; 103 of them from the Ethiopian Herald and 81 stories were published on the Reporter.

According to the figure from the table, the Ethiopian Herald more covered the Ethiopian foreign relations; 81.5 percent from its total editions in three months, while the Reporter's coverage was 15.5 percent from the total 184 stories.

4.2.2. Sources of the information

Sources	Ethiopian Herald		The Reporter	
	Frequency	percent	Frequency	percent
Government	62	60.1	31	30.09
Embassies	16	15.5	10	9.7
International media	7	6.7	10	9.7
UN, EU, AU, IGAD	5	4.8	15	14.5
Others/Anonymous/Experts	13	12.6	15	14.5
Total	103	100	81	100

Table 2: Source distributions of Ethiopian foreign relations news used by the two newspapers

The Ethiopian Herald more used the government sources, while the reporter used UN, EU, AU, IGAD and others sources such as anonymous and experts more than the Herald. In the other hand the Herald focused more on the news and the Reporter focused on the opinions and commentaries.

4.2.3. The total coverage of the both newspapers

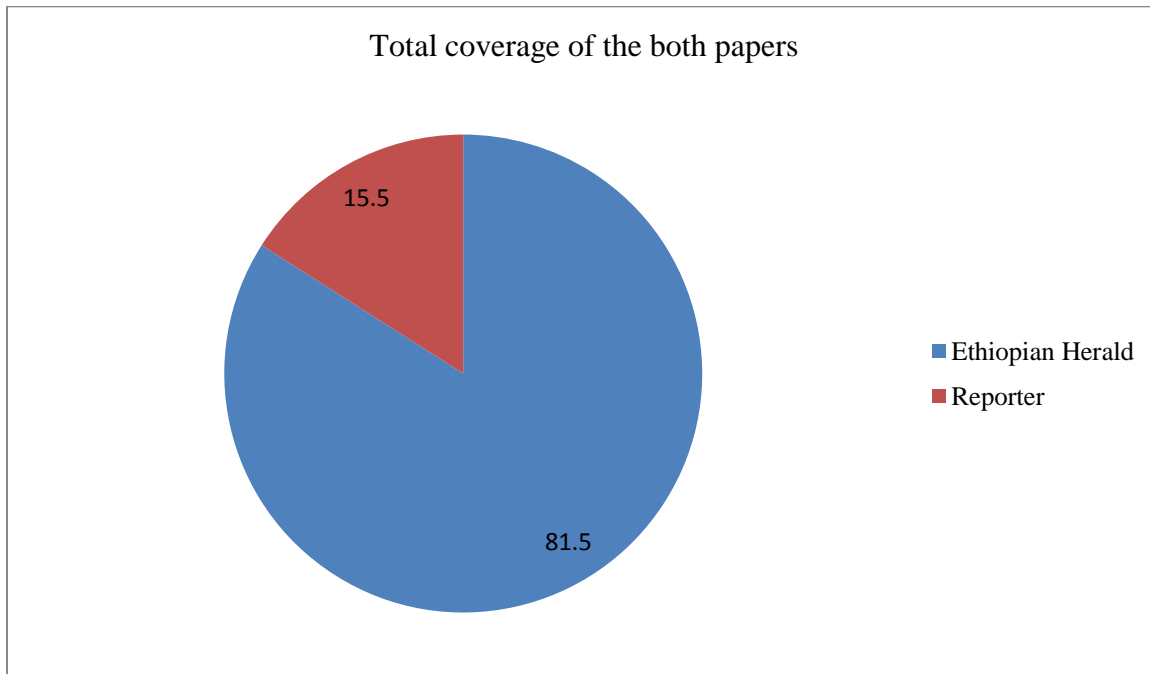


Figure 1: The frequency percentage distribution of the coverage in the two papers

Of the total editions published during the sample period, 81.5 percent of Herald and 15 percent of the reporter editions respectively dedicated to cover the Ethiopian foreign relations stories.

4.2.4. Framing of the Ethiopian Foreign Relations by the selected newspapers

According to (Muez, 2012:55); the overall, media framing can be conceptualized as “the process of selection, emphasizing and presentation of some aspects of ‘reality’ or an issue at the expense of others so that it make them more salient; and thus they hold different slants and angles.” As the definition implies, communicators frame an issue strategically to exert power over the outcomes by bringing to the mind of audiences to accept the interpretations that help their interests or goals. The following table portrays the framing of Ethiopian foreign relations issues by the focused two newspapers in the scoped period of this study. The figures are the results found from the randomly selected stories from both focused newspapers; thus, 51 stories from Herald and 41 stories from the Reporter were selected for the sake of the study.

Type of frame	Ethiopian Herald		Reporter	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Human interest	4	7.8	6	14.6
Conflict frame	6	11.7	4	9.7
Attribution of responsibility	3	5.8	3	7.3
Prognostic frame	5	9.8	7	17
Diagnostic frame	4	7.8	1	2.4
Value/Morality frame	1	1.9	2	4.8
The economic consequences	15	29.4	13	31.7
Contingency	13	25.4	5	12.2
Total	51	100	41	100

Table 3: Framing distribution of Ethiopian foreign relations news within the two papers

Both newspapers mostly used the economic consequence type of media frame while reporting Ethiopian foreign relations issues. The Reporter used 31.7% and the Herald is 29.4. This shows that the Reporter is more focused to the economic consequence frame than the Herald. Here, the interesting point to be that both newspapers at the same time focused on the economic issues of Ethiopian foreign relations, one of that the Ethiopian foreign policy also focused on.

The other point observed from the table is that, next to the economic consequence frame the Herald focused on the contingency and conflict frames consequently; the Reporter focused on prognostic and the human interest frames consequently.

4.2.5. The dominant frames used by the focused newspapers

i. The Ethiopian Herald newspaper

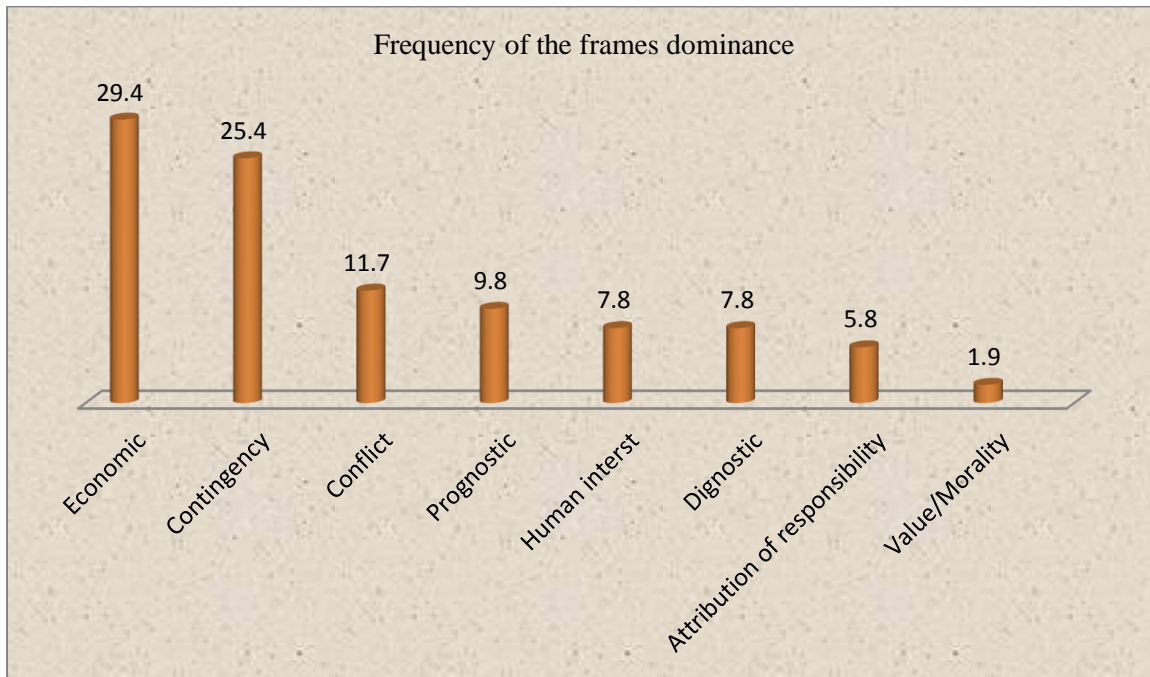


Figure 2: Herald’s dominant media frames of Ethiopian foreign relations news

Regarding the frequency of dominant frames used by the two newspapers focused in this study, the Ethiopian Herald used dominantly the economic consequence 29.4%, contingency 25.4% and the conflict frames 11.7% in Ethiopian foreign relations stories coverage respectively.

ii. The Reporter newspaper

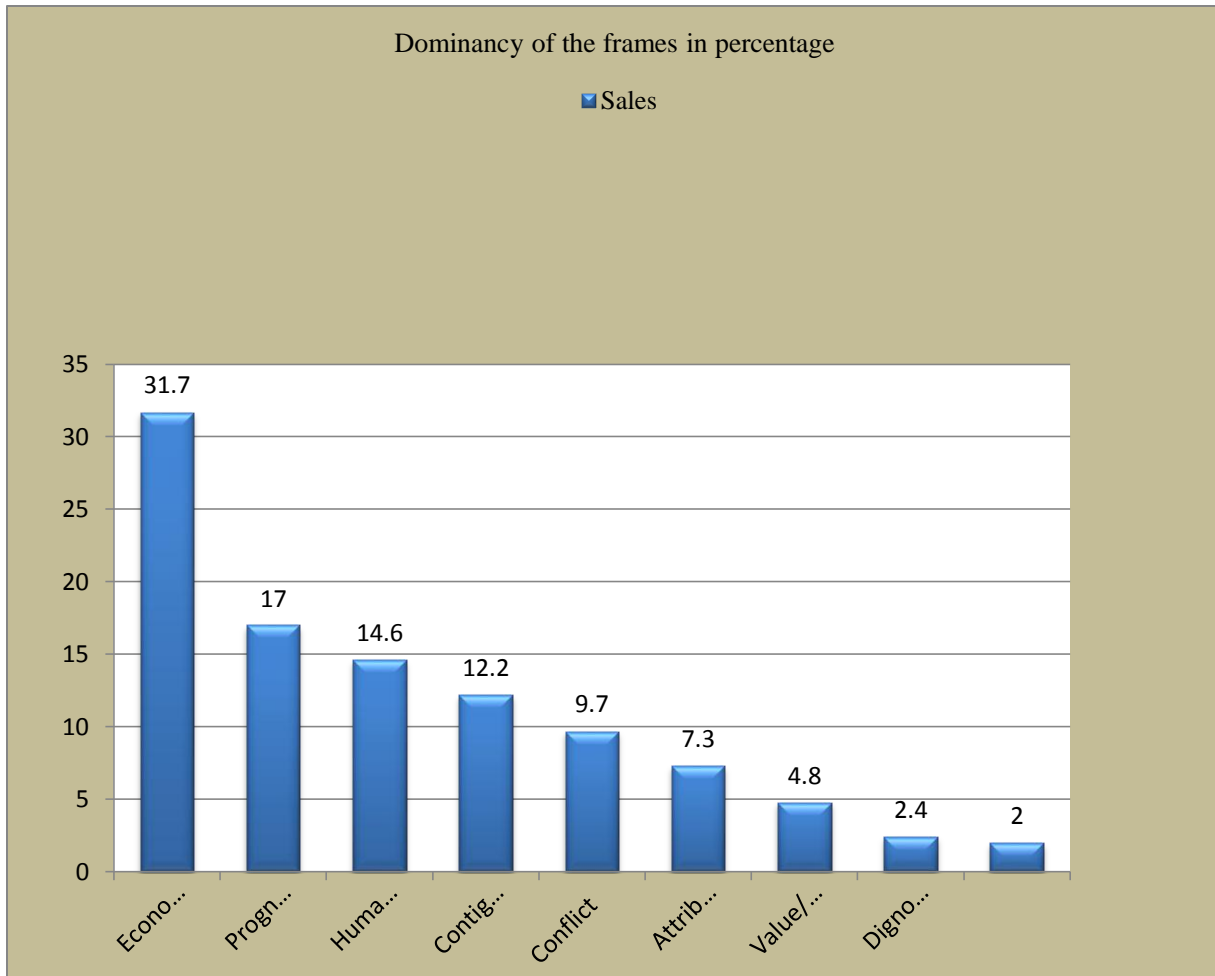


Figure 3: The percentage of Reporter's dominant media frames of Ethiopian foreign relations news

Like the Ethiopian Herald, the Reporter newspaper also used the economic consequence frame dominantly (31.7%) while reporting Ethiopian foreign relations issues. Next, the Reporter used the prognostic (17%) and the human interest frame (14.6) respectively.

4.3. Qualitative data presentation and analysis

4.3.1. The factors and challenges influenced framing of Ethiopian foreign relations

4.3.1.1. The Ethiopian Herald newspaper

a. Ownership

Citizens primarily learn about their governments' activities via the mass media. The government owned media is one of the media categories in Ethiopia. In this manner, the Ethiopian Herald

newspaper is the only governmental English newspaper in Ethiopia, since 1943. Since the paper is owned by the government the higher and medium level officials are assigned by the government and most of them are assigned by the political commitment and loyalty to Ethiopian governing party, EPRDF. The deputy-editor-in chief of Herald indicated that (interview, September 3, 2019), on the government newspaper, there is a tendency to keep the interest of the government and the public while writing and editing stories.

According to the deputy editor-in-chief, the contents of the stories of Herald, including the Ethiopian foreign relations are seriously followed and controlled by the assigned officials and ‘journalists’ with loyalty to the governing political party to fulfill the interest of the government. He also added that “the officials again grouped the Herald journalists by the network called one to five and this is to spy and control journalists each other and again to make the enemies of each other.”

The other problem in the house of the Herald, according to the deputy-editor-in-chief is that the difficulty that attacks the working plans of journalists. He observed that if a reporter plans or begins to write a foreign relations news story out of the government interest, the group organized and seriously criticizes or undermines the plan and finally most of the foreign relations journalistic plans like to fail in this way. The other point the informant shared with his colleagues is that, the government owned newspaper; the Herald is under the censorship of one to five networks instead of professional editors. The editors and the reporters are ordered only to focus on image building in framing the Ethiopian foreign relations contents, and he believed that these problems were happened due to the governmental ownership of the paper.

Only focusing on the daily events was also another problem for the Ethiopian Herald newspaper, according to one of the Herald’s senior editor, (interview, September 3, 2019). He said that the Ethiopian Herald is owned by the government, and they (the journalists) are assigned only to focus on reporting the events regarding the Ethiopian foreign relations; such as the visits paid to different countries and the getting back to home ceremonies of the president, the prime minister and other higher officials. There was a lesser permission to report the issues or events with deep analysis or investigative reports.

The informant believes that seriously focusing on event reports of Ethiopian foreign relations stories is due to two reasons; one for the cult building of purposes of Ethiopian government officials under the shadow of promoting the Ethiopian interest to foreign countries and; second, the higher officials leading the Herald do not know the purpose of foreign relations issue reports and the editorial policy that governs the Herald.

The all informants from the Herald supposed that, for them, it is difficult to report by traveling out of Addis Ababa. The deputy editor-in-chief, thought that with his long service in the house that the managers assigned to Ethiopian press agency at different times failed to make things appropriate for their journalists even to report from Bishoftu /Debre-Zeit/, 37 kilo meters far from Addis Ababa. This was due to improper financial management in the agency and the misunderstanding or thought the managers hold about the function of reporting and framing Ethiopian foreign relations issues via different angles and areas.

The other informants, an editor and another senior editor knew that the Ethiopian Press Agency, EPA, (the publisher of the Ethiopian Herald), has no budget insufficiency. But they believe that the management of the house likes to ignore the expenses allocated for journalistic activities, particularly the budget for field works. The informants also told that they had informal estimations and gossips about the budget that it might be serving for another purpose, including administrative jobs.

Being the government owned, the Herald had differentiated from the other private English newspapers in reporting and framing the foreign relations of the Ethiopia, according to the whole informants working for the Ethiopian Herald. The senior editor of the paper indicated that (interview, September 3, 2019); the big difference of the Herald is its great role in promoting Ethiopia to foreigners. The foreigners and the diplomatic community know Ethiopia more through the Ethiopian Herald.

The deputy editor-in-chief also shared this idea on the same day interview as; the Herald is the honest source of Ethiopian government information, and added that “since the paper is governmental, its editorial section is read as a government stand, it is written with serious care.” He also recognized that, unlike the other private English newspapers in Ethiopia, due to the journalists’ networks one to five groupings, the editions differs each other; for instance, the

quality of Tuesday editions differs from that of Wednesday and so on. The editions depend on the quality of the group assigned for that day.

b. Legal and editorial policy challenges

According to (Nielsen, Cornia and Kalogeropoulos, 2016:27) legal and policy interventions in the media market takes three forms: first, broad investments in infrastructure and capacity, second, direct and indirect intervention specifically aimed at media, and thirdly, the wider legal regulations aimed at enabling a well functioning and competitive marketplace. In this manner, the Ethiopian Herald newspaper has the gaps of these three points.

Regarding the investment in infrastructure and capacity; the Herald journalists have serious shortage of transport vehicles even to report in the city. One of the editors told that the journalists have different problems within their work and the national media law and an editorial policy that governs the Herald had nothing to say about this issue. Another senior editor of the Herald also shared the comment and added that one of the gaps within the Editorial policy of Ethiopian Press Agency that governs the Herald newspaper is the lack of clear law or guideline about the concerned body, authority and responsibility for the investment of infrastructures and capacity building.

The deputy editor-in-chief of the Herald by his side claims the issue as “even if the capital budget is expected to be allocated from the federal government, the final performance has no the direct concerned ownership in the agency”.

The direct and indirect intervention is common in this government media institution according to the data the researcher obtained from the Herald journalists and personal observation. The deputy editor-in-chief of the Herald (interview, September 3, 2019); says that Herald works to keep fair and tolerated diplomacy in Ethiopian foreign relationship with other countries. According to him, there is no as such gap of a law in editorial policy; but the government puts politically loyal officials to control the content of the paper and this make difficult the professional reporting and framing of Ethiopian foreign relations news stories.

The other senior editor of the paper opposed the idea of the deputy editor-in-chief by saying the editorial policy that led the Ethiopian Herald has a legal gap. He states as the editorial policy of

the Herald focuses only on promoting Ethiopia to outside and this hinders the journalists' activities to report from different areas, angles, location and framing approaches. He further added that most of the time this issue is the top agenda of their meetings and sometimes the commands came from the higher government officials and it is taken as a law and affects their journalistic jobs.

The ways the officials of the Herald defined the editorial policy of the house is also another legal and policy problems, according to an assistant editor and the other editor of the Herald. Both of them thought that promoting the national interest and image of Ethiopia is taken as the mandate of every citizen including the media of the country. But, the way the Herald officials defined the policy and the law is wrong; "the Herald officials take the phrase 'promoting the national interest and image' as only reporting the positive sides and ignoring the negatives and faults of the government bodies and others."

An assistant editor added that reporting framing the Ethiopian foreign relations issues according to the command of the officials within and out of the Herald's house is two things; the first one is violating the editorial policy, and secondly it is interfering and hurting journalistic profession. He also said that "the officials do these all for their biased interest of media coverage that seems to them as they are serving their political loyalty."

The other Herald's journalist commented that, the editorial policy has to include clear law and right to criticize the Ethiopian government and other countries faults with witnesses and facts. Particularly the government as a whole and its officials understand the media as it is a mouthpiece and a propaganda tool for the government. The Herald journalists indicated that direct and indirect interventions harming their paper in its competition with other newspapers. The other damage shown due to these faults is taken the paper as only the mouth piece of the government instead of being the professional newspaper. They also observed that these gaps and problems are to some extent in the way of solving little since a year, but not enough yet.

In general, it has been observed, from the in depth interview with the journalists and the personal observation of the researcher, the editorial policy of the Ethiopian Herald has been designed in line with the political system by large, and its loyalty is strengthened by the determination of the

government to strictly regulate it through assigning affiliated political administrators and gatekeepers.

c. Lack of source

The access to information allows citizens to make responsible, informed choices and not remain in ignorance or misinformation. The media thus assist modern democracies to advance forward. The media with its news analysis and editorial content provides all the required information that help people. To fulfill this, the media has to obtain information from a source. In case of Ethiopian Herald, the paper has lack of sources as the journalists explained.

According to the deputy editor-in-chief of the Herald said that, in case of sources, the ministry of foreign affairs is difficult to access like other government offices. While it has a weekly regular media briefing, there is no freedom and it has difficult system to get additional information from that office. The deputy editor-in-chief added that he and the colleagues approach different embassies in Addis Ababa and read foreign sources. But their source for Ethiopian foreign relations news is not enough as such due to lack of freedom to approach what they need as journalists. In addition to lack of source, the other is lack of access to foreign tours for Herald journalists regarding the Ethiopian foreign relations issues and this has been due to lack of goodwill with Herald officials.

Regarding this criticizes, the ministry says that it has different disciplines and regulations including the entrance and wearing protocols. These are inviolate regulations for the staff members of the ministry including for the clients or guests. Out of these, the office is always open for everybody on the regular way. In addition to this, the office of the spoke person of the ministry and the directorates accountable regarding the case are free for journalists to access what they need. The office and the directorates are willing to media offices to access the information they need according to their requests even via emails, social media or in physical.

d. Economic issue

The editors and reporters of Ethiopian Herald told that the journalists have financial problems in performing their actual job. For instance, there are difficulties in arriving to their appointment areas due to lack of taxi transport. Even if they got a transport the expense would be from their own pocket. The print journalist is expected to read more before writing a story, and in

particular, since there were no sufficient English reading materials and insufficiency of internet accesses the reporters and editors of the Herald newspaper are obliged to buy bulletins, books and internet data.

According to the whole informants from the Herald, their salary scale is too few when compared to other media houses and the inflation in the country; and unless the salary and other economic benefits would be improved it would be difficult to them and their families to live and to be the journalists of 21st century.

e. Professional issues

As the response of a senior editor of the Herald, there is high knowledge limitation of Ethiopian foreign relations policy and related issues within the journalists of this newspaper. Again, he confirmed that there are few individuals who do not know how to write news but they sent to the media house by the government and became additional loads on the editors. The senior editor with another editor of the Herald added that, unless a rare general journalistic training, there are no additional trainings at all on about Ethiopian foreign relations policy and the related topics. These informants took to account that the lack of knowledge and particular trainings on Ethiopian foreign relations is one of the major problems that limits the reporting and framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relations stories among the Herald.

The other problem was about the currently serving organizational structure of the Herald. The deputy editor-in-chief took the structure as wrong and put his reason as:

It is not concerned with knowledge, experience and performance of journalists; instead it gives attention to political loyalty and affiliation. The job assignment in the earlier nomenclature depended on the columns; for example the news team, the view point team, and so on, but the current structure grouped the journalists depending on days of a week. This is not convenient for the efficient work because is not based on the interest, skill, ability, talent and even the standard of the journalists, (interview, September 3, 2019).

An editor of the paper on his side added that the assigning of the whole officials and other some gate keepers has been via political loyalty and it had a negative effect on the professional reporting and framing of Ethiopian foreign relations stories and others.

Regarding the lack of trainings on Ethiopian foreign relations policy and the related issues, the Ethiopian Institution for Foreign Relations Strategic Study (EIFRSS), stated that most of Ethiopian media including the newspapers have no specialized journalists to analyze different issues in their profession and this includes the stories of Ethiopian foreign relations, (interview, October 10, 2019).

The institute observed and confirmed that, while reporting Ethiopian foreign relations issues, The Ethiopian Herald focuses more on hard news instead of an analysis; and this indicates lack of experts on the field within the media house. Regarding the trainings on Ethiopian foreign relations policy, his institute has sufficient potential to do so; but including the house publishing the Herald nobody asked it to help.

The whole informants with similar concern added that the Ethiopian Herald newspaper also confronts the technological challenges and the changing market face intensified competition for audiences' attention, even if the revenue from the paper is not directly invested on the media environment. The use of modern media technology in Ethiopian Herald is very weak.

4.3.1.2. The Reporter newspaper

a. Ownership

According to scholars such as (Herman, 2002: 64) “Private owners, especially those of major media, are likely to favor markets, of which they are a part and of which they are major beneficiaries.” A distinguishing characteristic of the Ethiopian media since 1991 is the boost up of the print media both in types and numbers. A large number of privately owned newspapers emerged and the Reporter is one of them. It is a weekly private newspaper since 1995.

The managing editor of the paper said that the Ethiopian foreign issues framing at the house of the Reporter is teamwork and depends on the motto from the owner of the paper; “do what benefits the country, and not do what damages the country.” So, following what the owner instructed him, the managing editor and the rest of the staff members are doing what benefits the

country. He added that the journalists of the Reporter only focus about journalism principle and the house has reporters and editors to follow the routine jobs of reporting and framing Ethiopian foreign relations issues.

The assistance editors, editors, senior editors, editor-in-chief and the reporter assigned to report the issue of Ethiopian foreign relations meet together and discuss how to frame the story; in this process the idea or the story can be fail or pass. The other journalists of the paper also added that they work in team or group and an individual has no more personal roles in framing Ethiopian foreign relations stories. The whole informants from the Reporter newspaper are confident that being the private ownership, there is no any interference from the owner of the paper in reporting and framing Ethiopian foreign relations.

Even if the private newspapers flourished in Ethiopia since 1991, most of them disappeared by different reasons including the political and economic issues of their own or from the government. According to the managing editor and the senior editor and political commentator of the Reporter newspaper, one of the successes for reviving of the Reporter until its current 25th years anniversary is that the editorial and professional freedom the owner of the paper gave to its journalists.

b. Legal and editorial policy issues

According to the managing editor of the Reporter, the legal and editorial policy issue matters at all media houses and this also the reality of the Reporter itself. As he replied, the editorial policy of the Reporter news paper was found by the active participation of the journalists of the paper and it has no any influence on reporting and framing any fact and truth including Ethiopian foreign relations stories. Again, he replied that the issue of reporting and framing the Ethiopian foreign relations stories and others has been decided on the editorial meeting that holds the participation of the whole journalists (about 40 journalists) and the last follow up has been done by the editors.

The managing editor of the Reporter, at the same time criticizes the on job Ethiopian media law as it ignored the freedom of speech that ratified by the constitution of FDRE (Article 29). Due to the gap of Ethiopian media law, sometimes the Reporter faces problems. At this time the managing editor with other editors search for the concerned experts for further advice and then

after, the stories would be published in a right manner; that includes the Ethiopian foreign relations stories.

According to the managing editor, the senior editor for foreign relations news and the senior political commentator of the paper, the editorial policy of the Reporter has no any problem in hindering the journalists from reporting and framing everything depending on facts and truths, but the media law currently Ethiopia handles has so many ills in hindering the application of press freedom that includes Ethiopian foreign relations and they hoped that the government would solve it soon.

c. The issue of source

The Reporter newspaper has different kinds of information sources. According to the interview held with the journalists and the managing editor of the paper the major sources of the paper are the government, international media, embassies and diplomats, individuals, and the anonymous sources.

According to the senior editor and political commentator of the Reporter, the paper has diplomatic sources. These are personalities working in the embassies. It has also local and international analysts; those write several documents about Ethiopian foreign affairs. The journalists contact them via e-mail or telephone and give them questions for their reflections. Sometimes the sources inform the journalists with issues to be focused from their observations. The journalists also have Ethiopian diplomats working in the ministry of foreign affairs and abroad embassies and they share information.

The journalists of the Reporter newspaper always seek for sources everywhere; according to the words of the managing editor:-

The Reporter goes any reception not only to drink tea or coffee; instead it is to make network. The source uses us in giving information, document, interview formally or informally. They may give us in a formal way or in anonymous way. The strength of our newspaper is that we have sources, informants, and it has to be very good if we get a primary source for information. By the tip, we begin searching for the story. When the assignment or media invitation request come to us, we go to there with our own questions.

According to the senior editor, the journalists of the paper do not keep quiet until the assignment come to them. So they publish Ethiopian foreign relations issues mostly by their own plans. They also use anonymous sources by keeping their personality and secrets one hundred percent. And if they confirmed about the fact, they protect their source up to the end. In this way, the Reporter focuses on these sources due to its more attention to analysis than hard news of Ethiopian foreign relations stories.

d. Economic issue

In case of its own economic status, currently, the Reporter reflects that it has better economic strength. One of the reporters explained this point as “even though there is a problem, for me, there is no time I remember that I was absent from reporting Ethiopian foreign relations stories out of Addis Ababa due to lack of money.” He added that the Reporter covers all his expenses for plane tickets, car expenses and the other needed costs. The informant journalist believes that the Reporter is economically a strong institution. While the other institutions have a serious shortage of budget, in case of the Reporter, if the editorial confirms the necessity of the tour, the whole expenditure would be fully covered.

The managing editor of the Reporter newspaper explained that, the Reporter newspaper has great economic power. In the year 2011 E.C, the company has rewarded as higher tax payer in Ethiopia by paying above 10 million birr and the profit was about 80 or 100 million birr. The Reporter newspaper company has about 100 employees and above 40 journalists. At the same time it has an organized institution with supporting staff; pays salary for all of them; and the company is building the Reporter’s head quarter in Addis Ababa around Ayat area which has above seven floors. The revenue of the institution is not as such from the sale of the paper, but it is more from the advertisements and sponsorships, as the informant explained.

Regarding the field report invited by the government, since the government payment is very small, the Reporter pays the higher payment and sends its journalist with a photo camera man. The paper has no problem in case of money and payments; because it has well stabled management and once trusts the issue to be covered; it pays the whole necessary expenses for the concerned employees and professionals.

e. Professional issues

A term 'profession has several senses. It can be a mere synonym for occupation being any typically full-time activity defined in part by an easily recognizable body of knowledge, skill, and judgment, a discipline by which one can and people typically do earn a living. Regarding journalism, it is "non-fictional writing about current events, for pay and publication." (Kovach and Rosenstiel as cited in Meyers, 2010:107), "the purpose of journalism is to provide people with the information they need to be free and self-governing."

In case of the Reporter newspaper, as the managing editor of the Reporter newspaper explained, his paper do not sacrifice the profession for the sake of money and do not like to lose the work discipline to get money from advertisement; it is clear that a full page colored advertisement is about 12 or 13 thousand birr, but the Reporter newspaper do not lose the discipline for the sake of money.

The senior editor and political commentator of the Reporter explained the professional quality of the Reporter newspaper by comparing it with other newspapers; professionalism makes different the Reporter from the other papers. He also added that all of them, the Reporter's journalists give due attention for professional journalism. They read different sources and documents and all of them, particularly the editors, have been well matured when compared to other English newspapers in Ethiopia as the explanation of the senior editor.

He also mentioned that the journalists and editors of the Reporter are not tabloid or colored, but they are professionals writing about policy issues, social affairs, etc. He also commented that this is not to say that Reporter has arrived at the professional excellence, but simply it is to say that, from the view of the current Ethiopian newspapers standard, the Reporter is more professional than the others, according to an estimation of the senior editor.

4.4. Discussion of the Findings

Media frames an event by choosing what to present and what not to present. What is more, framing can be achieved through elaboration and emphasis. According to (Entman, 1993: 54) to frame means "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in

communicating text in such way as to promote particular definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993:52).

It is when they include and exclude facts that they are able to promote particular definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation and recommendation. In their coverage Ethiopian foreign relations, the media outlets under discussion have framed the issue by presenting some facts and by evading others. They also gave emphasis and elaboration to some concepts so that they will to promote them a particular definition.

In this regard, an overview has been taken to understand the framing approaches of Ethiopian foreign relations by means of the data presented in the previous section and hence, this section discusses in the main, findings making similar and difference the coverage between the two papers; the extent of coverage of the event, the sourcing and in the same manner, a considerable discussion is given to the descriptions of the frames used by the papers in reporting the issues.

According to the data showed (table 3), different frames were used by the selected newspapers in covering Ethiopian foreign relations news. Both newspapers used in this study, thus, the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter English version used all the eight frames served in this study. The types of frames used by the newspapers can also be classified as episodic and thematic frames. While conflict, human interest, contingency and attribution of responsibility are episodic frames, prognostic and diagnostic frames are thematic frames (Iyengar, 1990).

4.4.1 Similarities and differences

Depending on variety of factors media have similarities and differences in their framing and coverage of same event at the same time. These differences could also be the feature of Ethiopian newspapers in relation to the coverage of Ethiopian foreign relations. The Extent of coverage describes the frequency and the quantity of information on the Ethiopian foreign relations approaches appeared in the two papers during the sample time frame.

Concerning the similarities; both papers used the eight types news frames used for the sake of this study. Again, the two papers came on the similar line on using relatively the economic consequence frame, thus; 15 for the Herald and 13 for the Reporter coverage. This shows the relative priority both papers given for the economic issues and its diplomatic arena.

The other big similarity of the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter English version is, as it is concluded from the journalists of staffs, the papers and the working journalists have no any bargain in prioritizing the national interest of Ethiopia.

Here, there is another similarity of both papers observed, concerning the content of the stories. The Herald, on its front page publishing of May 4, 2018, reported the visit of Ethiopian prime minister Abiy Ahmed (PhD) as “Ethiopia, Sudan agrees to beef up economic ties”, and added that “Prime minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed and president Omar Al-Basher agreed to strengthen the ongoing strategic cooperation and economic relations and to contribute to the regional economic integration.

In the mean while, the Reporter published the same story as “Abiy, Al-Basher discuss Addis Ababa-Khartoum railway”, and it adds that “Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (PhD) and Sudanese President Omar Al-Basher discussed on a deal to build a railway line connecting the two countries on his second foreign visit, Abiy and Al-Basher discussed a host of issues including economic integration and military cooperation.”

With regard to the differences observed between the two focused newspapers reports, the nationwide popular inaugural speech of prime minister Abiy Ahmed was reported on the daily Ethiopian Herald (except Mondays) after a day,(because the inaugural ceremony was on Monday), on April 2, 2018. The report on the front page was given a colored topic “New premier vows to rebuild nation’s glory, Promises to break deadlock between Ethiopia, Eritrea.” The Herald also added that the new Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed has vowed to bring economic, social and political transformation by restoring the country’s glory and spurring regional integration.

In case of the weekly Reporter newspaper, nothing was reported about the new prime minister and his inaugural speech on April 2/2018 until April 7, 2018. After six days, on April 7, 2018, it reported the issue as “the European Union Mission and US Embassy in Addis have welcomed the incoming of Abiy Ahmed (PhD) as the Prime Minister of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia”, in the inner page 6, by ignoring it the front page. In the reverse, the Herald did not report this issue. On the same day, April 7, 2018 the Herald reported that “the reports of some international media to remind others about the harmful effects of the Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam

(GERD) on the lower riparian is untimely and irrelevant, according to a ministerial adviser”, which is not covered by the Reporter.

The other difference between the two newspapers in reporting Ethiopian foreign relations issues observed was about the peace call to Eritrean government. The new Ethiopian prime minister disclosed his concern for the peaceful relationship of both countries. Regarding the case, the Herald analyzed about the peace call and the response of Eritrea by publishing on its April 6, 2018 front page by the topic of “Why Asmara puts Algiers agreement in face of Ethiopia’s call for talks?” The Herald also adds that “following FDRE prime minister’s call on Eritrea to reciprocate to Addis Ababa’s readiness to engage in peace talks and resume bilateral relations, Eritrea has once again put the Algiers agreement as a precondition for any breakthrough.

In reporting the same issue, the Reporter was too late until May 5, 2018 when it published the topic “Breaking the deadlock.” Under the topic the paper wrote that “leaders of Ethiopia and Eritrea have never come face to face since the bloody border war of 1998-2000 that claimed the lives of more than 70, 000 people. Abiy Ahmed (PhD), a soldier who has fought in the Ethio-Eritrean war, is now at the helm of the government of Ethiopia, calling for peace and negotiations with the nation he fought against.” This report was stayed above a month from the first call of the prime minister and the days the Herald reported the issue.

In case of Ethio-Eritrea relations, the Herald published its 4th story on its front page of April 28, 2018 by the topic “US appreciate Ethiopia’s call for peace talks with Eritrea.” Under the topic, the Herald explains it as “US acting assistant secretary of state for African Affairs ambassador Donald Yamamoto appreciated the Ethiopian government’s call for peaceful settlement of the border dispute with neighboring Eritrea, foreign affairs spokesperson Meles Alem disclosed.” The Reporter reported this issue on May 12, 2018 in its In-depth page (page 12), as “breaking the deadlock: Ethio-Eritrea relations; and added:

...the newly appointed Ethiopian PM Abiy Ahmed looks determined another swing at normalizing relations. In the meantime, recent, shuttle diplomacy like visit by US official between the two nations got pundits asking if there is hope yet for the relation of the two nations.

This story was late by 14 days from that of the Herald.

In the other difference, while the Herald reported the following event stories of Ethiopian foreign relations issues from May 4 – 31, 2018, the reporter unnoticed them. The managing editor of the Reporter newspaper explained that, being the weekly newspaper, it is improper to report the daily events, because the news couldn't fit the timeliness of news worth if they are reported after the event.

No	Date	Stories	Herald	Reporter
1	May 4	In his first visit outside Ethiopia, Dr. Abiy Ahmed struck a deal with Ethiopia's strategic partner, Djibouti that makes their foreign and economic cooperation ministries to come up with a proposal to jointly develop and manage a port.	reported	Not
2	May 9	Prime minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed and Kenya's president Uhuru Kenyatta have agreed to shore up the two countries partnership in bilateral and regional issues.	reported	Not
3	May 10	Prime minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed has paid visits to neighboring countries of Djibouti, Sudan and Kenya that resulted in several key bilateral agreements to ensure mutual benefits of the signatories and foster regional economic integration	reported	Not
4	May 11	Prime minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed's visits to Djibouti, Kenya and Sudan have brought tangible results in further protecting the national interest by promoting joint development and good neighborly relations, says Ministry of Foreign Affairs.	reported	Not
5	May 13	The official state visit of prime minister Abiy Ahmed would have huge implication in realizing economic and political integration in the horn African region, according to scholars.	reported	Not
6	May 16	Prime minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed and chairman of the National People's Congress of China (NPC), Li Zhanshu yesterday witnessed the signing of inter-government framework agreement of Mekele water supply development project between the respective countries.	reported	Not
7	May 17	Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt agreed to deal with the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) to undertake independent studies filling and operation without the involvement of external party.	reported	Not
8	May 31	South Sudan's president Salva Kiir arrived in Addis Ababa for official visit yesterday.	reported	Not

Table 4: Event stories reported by the Herald and unnoticed by the Reporter in May 2018

In general, the Herald focused on the event reports of Ethiopian foreign relations stories and it was reported greater numbers of stories than the Reporter. Regarding the Reporter, it gave due

attention to depth reporting, analysis and commentaries than event reporting, and due to this reason, the number of Ethiopian foreign relations news covered by the Reporter newspaper during the data period were less than covered by the Herald. The Reporter newspaper published the stories at different pages including the front page and its variety of columns and permanent pages such as news in brief page (page 6), headlines page (page 7), in-depth page (page 12), interview page (page 14), and society page (page 19) and so on.

4.4.2. The use of sources

According to (Pape & Featherstone, 2005: 135), without sources stories would be difficult to build trust, because getting too close a source can mean giving too much credence to their view of events. So, in performing their activities, journalists are not inventing stories, but simply report their stories supporting with sources. In this manner, the use of sources is one of the central attentions of the media in writing news or other types of stories.

Regarding the use of sources within the Herald and the Reporter newspapers in this data time, the Herald used (see table 2) the government, Embassies and others such as anonymous and experts respectively in reporting Ethiopian foreign relations stories. At the same time, the Reporter newspaper used the government, international and continental organizations such as UN, EU, AU, IGAD and anonymous sources such as experts and others respectively to do so. The two news papers used the government sources in the most of their Ethiopian foreign relations stories, even if the Herald used more than the Reporter; thus, the Herald used 60.1 % and the Reporter used 30.09, (Table 2).

In order to ensure credibility and trust, both focused newspapers used sources to distance themselves from the issues explored. Rather than expressing their views on the subject, they use sources to present a range of views over which they can appear to remain objective and neutral. In this respect, Herald was trying to use mainly the government sources and Embassies those are the representatives of the sending countries. During an interview with the researcher, the key informants from the Herald told that due to the loose relations, budget constraints, and other reasons they are obliged to use the government officials and diplomats residences only in Addis Ababa and the Herald has in a serious deficiency of sources for Ethiopian foreign relations stories and other international issues. The difficult bureaucracies within the ministry of Ethiopian

foreign affairs and the government officials; and its own internal problems listed above were also taken as other constraints to the Herald.

In case of the Reporter, while an interview for data collection, the key informants told to the researcher that they have plenty of sources for Ethiopian foreign relations stories and international issues, because of their due attention and for the issue and an active attention their house gave to Ethiopian foreign relations affairs. In this manner, they have a wider chance of selection of the sources for every story they like to write, analyze or comment on.

By committing on this prosperous source of information and since the Reporter being the weekly, the house preferred analyzing and writing commentaries on Ethiopian foreign relations issues instead of reporting by hard news. The other reason that the Reporter prefers analysis and commentaries than that of hard news is, the news became older and lacks timeliness due to the paper is published weekly as the journalists explained to the researcher.

4.4.3. The use of framing

4.4.3.1. Economic consequence frame

Economic consequence frame is the highest frequently used frame in both the Herald and the Reporter newspapers in the time frame of this study (29.4% and 31.7% respectively. In framing Ethiopian foreign relations stories the Herald used the contingency and the conflict frames respectively following the economic consequence. And the Reporter used the prognostic and the human interest frames respectively next to the economic consequence frame, (Table 3).

Both papers similarly used the economic consequence frame and their reason was; the economic issue is taken as the main concerned element in Ethiopian foreign policy document. The papers differ in frame types they used on second and third levels according to the stories examined for the sake of this study. The amazing thing is that the types of frames the Herald used on second and third level (contingency and the conflict frames) were found fourth and fifth level on the Reporter.

In the same way, those frame types used on second and third levels of the Reporter (prognostic and the human interest) became fourth and fifth on the Herald (Table 3). This shows that the framing ways of Ethiopian foreign relations issues by both newspapers differs a little; based on

the focus and news angles the papers gave to those issues and the priority the issue had within the papers.

4.4.3.2. Conflict frame

In this study, the conflict frame is used for the news stories particularly that have controversial and conflict issues were presented as competitions between actors. In covering the Ethiopian foreign relations story, for example, when the media cited different actors including the Ethiopian government or the other Ethiopian actor versus the other countries', or the ruling party versus the other countries ruling parties it was coded as conflict frame.

It was found out that both newspapers used the conflict frame at different levels. For instance Herald used the conflict frame more than the Reporter used. In the coverage of the Herald, the conflict frame stands the third level next to economic and contingency frames respectively. But in case of the Reporter's coverage the conflict frame stands at the fifth stage following the economic, prognostic, the human interest and contingency frames.

Accordingly, the analyzed data indicated that the Herald newspaper covered more conflict frame stories than the Reporter. The conflict frame is a common frame used when there is disagreement between groups or individuals who take part in the issue. In light of this, the Herald used this type of frame particularly in its story coverage related with Ethiopia and Egypt on the issue of GERD construction and the Ethiopian government peace deal call for Eritrean government during the sample period. In case of the privately owned Reporter newspaper, it used the conflict period at the minimum level when compared to the Ethiopian Herald and this shows that the minimum coverage and attentions it gave for those conflicting issues covered by the Herald; thus the issue of GERD with Ethiopia and Egypt, and the peace deal of Ethio-Eritrea at the data period.

4.4.3.3. Contingency frame

In this study, the contingency frame has been used when the story propagates the probability that other countries including Ethiopia have the same issue entertained in the story. It is also used in both newspapers when the issue entertained focused on Ethiopian national interest via its foreign relations activities. In this manner, the Contingency frame has been the second major frame to be used by the Herald and stands fourth in the Reporter's coverage in this study.

Both newspapers, the Herald and the Reporter used the contingency frame redundantly in the agreement signature or bargaining stories of Ethiopian foreign relations. For instance, the Herald used the contingency frame as “Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt struck a deal to submit comments, clarifications and other issues of concerns which the technique committee of each countries compiled to the French consulting firm, BRL.” In the other way the Reporter used the frame as “The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have agreed to start the renovation and preservation of the iconic Africa Hall, located inside United Nations compound in Addis Ababa, built in the 1960s.”

In this way, the Herald used the contingency frame for stories related with bargaining issues of Ethiopian foreign relations and the Reporter used it for the stories related with agreements among different organizations, including the governments. Here, the Herald used the contingency frame for the national interest of Ethiopia when compared to that of the Reporter; which used the same frame in framing the renovation of African Hall located at Addis Ababa.

4.4.3.4. Prognostic frame

This frames influence recruits of the achievements, provide conceivable solution to a certain problems which is articulated by diagnostic frames and recommend strategy and tactics to get measurable result (Cammaerts, 2015). The prognostic type of media frame used to analyze the predictive stories in both newspapers for the sake of this study.

In this manner, the Reporter used the prognostic frame more than the Herald (17% and 9.8% respectively). The prognostic frame type in the Reporter was widely used in the stories of the Ethiopian peace call for the Eritrean government in addition to predictive stories in the data period of this study. One of the prognostic frame stories the Reporter published on April 21, 2018 is shown as follows:

Selam Ethiopia, an NGO first established in 1994 in Stockholm and 2003 in Ethiopia with the aim of introducing Ethiopia to the rest of world, launched a project called “Culture Lead the Way” on Tuesday April 17 at Bellevue Hotel. This 3-year project will focus on music, film, media and circus arts emphasizing capacity building, increasing knowledge base, assisting in production and distribution of creative outputs.

And the Herald used the prognostic frame type regarding the new premier vows to rebuild nation's glory and Promises to break deadlock between Ethiopia, Eritrea:-

The new Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed has vowed to bring economic, social and political transformation by restoring the country's glory and spurring regional integration. He also remarked his selection process to assume the premiership has showcased a peaceful transition of power in Ethiopia, which could serve as a benchmark for the continent.

Both newspapers used the prognostic media frame for conceivable solution to a certain problems in searching the recommend strategy and tactics to get measurable results. In this manner both newspapers published a number of stories and indicated the problems in a better ways. But in case of indicating the proper solutions, most of the stories have limitations.

4.4.3.5. Human interest frame

The human interest frame is one of the most commonly used generic news frames (Vreese, 2005). The human interest frame used by the focused two newspapers while a broader issue is explained by portraying one or more specific persons who are personally involved with that issue. The human interest frame used in this thesis when the story brings an emotional element and tells the personal stories of individuals involved in the issue.

In this manner, the Reporter highly used this type of frame twice when compared to the Herald (14.6% and 7.8% respectively). For instance on its July 7, 2018 edition the Reporter printed the issue of a woman as:

A desperate call for help by a woman in Lilongwe, Malawi over a wedding dress on behalf of her award winning journalist brother – Hopewell Chin'ono, CNN African journalist of the Year award recipient, who most recently produced a documentary on mental illness in Zimbabwe – and her soon to be sister-in-law over a shipment that was brought in from Hong Kong, but stranded in Addis Ababa for several days, resonated across social media this week.

The Reporter has published many stories of such kind while the Herald used less. For instance, on June 6, 2018 the Herald published a story with its news lead “Anchor international companies are investing in Ethiopia: MoFA directorate general” and the second lead read as:-

Zelalem Birhan received his B.A degree in economics from Addis Ababa University in 1992. He also received his graduate degrees in diplomacy and international law and business administration from Coventry University in England and Southern Queen University of Australia respectively.

The Reporter used the human interest frame characters in its wider Ethiopian foreign relations analysis to catch the interest of the readers when compared to the Herald. The Reporter also focused on elaborating the life style of the character as broader as the message about Ethiopian foreign relations in the story. But, the Herald used the character only as a beginning or as an introduction of the story about Ethiopian foreign relations it likes to focus on.

4.4.3.6. Diagnostic frame

This frame is used in this study for problem identification and the problem which needs fixing. Because, the diagnostic media frame is depended on credential sources of causality, blame, and/or responsible agents in order to take direct actions (Snow R. D., 2000). In this study the diagnostic frame is more used in the Reporter than that of the Herald in framing Ethiopian foreign relations issues (7.8% and 2.4% respectively).

The Reporter used this type of frame while publishing Ethiopian foreign relations stories that needs solutions. For example on its May 12, 2018 edition, it published the issue of GERD as:

The Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, Meles Alem said that the Foreign Affairs Minister of Egypt, Sameh Shoukri has continued his trend of offering unhelpful comments on the Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) after the failure of the latest round of Dam talks in Sudan.

Regarding the Herald, on its April 25, 2018 edition, it published the issue to normalize Ethio-Eritrean conflict as:-

As mentioned repeatedly, various efforts have been and are still being made to normalize the confusing ongoing situation of no war no peace between the

brotherly Ethiopian and Eritrean peoples. Indeed, trials have been made by the Ethiopian government though the other side of the equation has been absent. This, in turn, resulted in a high socio, economic, cultural and other related costs in both sides.

From the items highlighted and coded as the stories of Ethiopian foreign relations stories, the issue of GERD particularly related with Egypt and the Ethio-Eritrea peace case were the major concerns of both newspapers during the data period. One major shortage that the researcher observed from the two papers while using the diagnostic frame is that, they performed quite well defining the problems and indicating the solutions to the point.

4.4.3.7. Attribution of Responsibility

Attribution of responsibility is a frame used by journalists to claim certain organization or person has a responsibility for certain action. This type of frame was used as a way of attributing responsibility for a cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group in framing Ethiopian foreign relations by the two newspapers focused in this study. In the process of ordering the frames used by the two newspapers, the attribution of responsibility frame is used more in the Reporter when compared to the Herald (7.3% and 5.8% respectively).

In this way, the Reporter on its April 28, 2018 edition published the next Ethiopian foreign relations story:-

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) said that it is demanding the Government of Ethiopia to grant it access to the Oromia and Amhara Regional States. Having arrived in the country on Sunday for a four-day official visit, Zeid bin Ra'ad, High Commissioner met with Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (PhD) on Wednesday.

The Herald used a little of attribution of responsibility frame than the Reporter in its Ethiopian foreign relations reports during the data period of this study. In its April 14, 2018 edition, the Herald published the Responsibility the U.S. embassy to Ethiopia hold in supporting the stand of Ethiopian government as:

When some people have continued to express delight over the US congress endorsement of HR 128, the US embassy in Addis Ababa has reaffirmed the government's stance to further uphold the current robust relations chilling the sentiments.

The newspapers used this type of frame as one the last three frames, or it is one of the three types of media frames used a little when compared to others and this shows that both focused newspapers were served a little in attributing responsibility for a cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group in framing Ethiopian foreign relations stories.

4.4.3.8. Value/morality frame

This frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of morals, social prescriptions, and religious views. Both newspapers used this type of media frame in a minimum level and the Reporter used it more than the Herald (4.8% and 1.9% respectively), while framing Ethiopian foreign relations during the data time of this study.

Regarding the stories, the Reporter published the following article on its May 5, 2018 edition:

UNAIDS Ethiopia head stirs controversy: Placed under admin. Leave. With mounting pressure both internally and externally, over allegations of personal and professional misconduct, UNAids has put the head of its Ethiopian office, Miriam Maluwa, on administrative leave to conduct an independent operational and management review of its local operations, The Reporter has learnt.

The Herald on its side published next story that relates to value/morality frame more than others on June 26, 2018:-

IGAD condemns grenade attack on rally. The Executive Secretary of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), ambassador (Eng.) Mahboub Maalim, condemned in the strongest terms the attack of last Saturday here on a peaceful rally in support of the new prime minister's efforts, and conveyed his heartfelt condolences to the Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed.

In these regard, both focused newspapers gave a little attention in using value/morality frame in framing Ethiopian foreign relations stories and this indicated that, the papers had a little performance in covering and analyzing the events, problems, or issues in the context of morals, social prescriptions, and religious views.

Overall, the use of framing assumes that the news is not made up of random coverage of events, but is rather a specific process of selection and construction. Accordingly, the outcomes of interviews and informal talks held with journalists of both focused newspapers and the concerned officials from the ministry of foreign affairs of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian institute for foreign relations strategic study verified this argument. The informants expressed that the dynamics of the situations also contributed for the changes of focus and selection of stories.

The researcher found that economic consequence & contingency frames were the most frequently dominant frames used by Herald, while economic consequence and prognostic frames were most frequently used by the Reporter in framing Ethiopian foreign relations. The two papers used prioritizing and keeping Ethiopian interest and reputations as it was stated in Ethiopian foreign policy document in the same attention.

4.4.4. The factors influencing the framing approaches in both newspapers

a. Editorial Policy issues

The Ethiopian Herald editorial policy gives emphasis for domestic issues. This means it gives the only attention for promoting Ethiopia to outside and this has been taken as one of the limitations of the editorial policy that governs the Herald. According to the findings of this thesis, the attention the editorial policy of the paper gave to promoting Ethiopia to outside is tended to ignore the nation to the local society.

The other problem observed is that takes the editorial policy took to more political than professional. Due to this problem the interferences from the government body has been higher and higher through times. Regarding the interferences from the government, its root has become wider in the house of the Herald and arrived at the level that to assign the journalists covering Ethiopian foreign relations stories to more focus on the cult buildings the government officials instead of focusing on analyzing the issue itself. In this manner the commands came from the

Herald officials or the higher government officials is on the way of being a law and affecting journalistic jobs of the paper.

For instance most of the published stories during this time were about the new Ethiopian prime minister and his speeches, visits to foreign countries, the well coming ceremonies, his deals and attempts to restore the Ethio-Eritrean relations. The issue of GERD through Ethiopian side, the regular press releases of the ministry of foreign affairs, the positive news and views from Addis Ababa hosted embassies and foreign relations meetings were also the widely covered stories by the Herald. The highly covered issue, the economic issues related to foreign affairs, were also focused only on the government activities by ignoring the private sector and other concerned bodies.

Lack of remaining on the editorial policy and the limitation with performing the policy in active approach was also observed while analyzing the editorial policy of the Herald. In particular, the officials assigned to the Herald were loyal to the governing political party and they intend more to their political commitment than the editorial policy. Due to this the job classifications were not followed the editorial policy and professional ways; instead the one to five political networks was applied on the groupings of journalists from Sundays to Mondays. In the same way the officials understood the newspaper (Ethiopian Herald) as “it is a mouthpiece and a propaganda tool for the government” according to the words of the journalists taken as the data sources of this thesis.

The Reporter newspaper English version has also an editorial policy which was prepared by the wider participation of its staff members. In the data period of this study, the Reporter covered the Ethiopian foreign relations stories in analysis way than hard news stories depending on its editorial policy. Most of the articles of the Reporter were framed and narrated by including the views of experts, few government officials, the commentators in the staff and other concerned bodies.

This has been performed depending on the Reporter’s tendency to journalistic profession. Its editorial policy was raising various Ethiopian foreign relations issues; urging the citizens to come up with international consensus on diverse issues, strongly criticize the corrupt situation in the governments’ structures and calling the governments to ensuring accountability and justice

with win-win concepts which was not happen in any of the writings of the Herald. Therefore, from the findings, Reporter sits in a better position in practicing the market place of ideas, bringing a number of researchers and writers to express their views on the issue, helped by the editorial policy.

Speaking of the appeal of foreign events, there is no needing further evidence than the editorial policy of the papers which express that they often cover international events. But, the undeniable reality in the practice of journalism and media is that the selection of stories is not arbitrary but highly systemized and conventionalized by conditions external to the story. This is one of the reasons that the content of the stories of Herald sometimes edited to avoid giving offense to the government. Story selection was determined by what the government will or will not support, and also the placement of the stories were systematically arranged. For Reporter, there was high practice to be professional, timely and proper in following its own editorial policy and other subsidiary press laws.

In general, the print media organization that is financed, regulated and overseen by the state, the Herald newspaper, is likely to have an ideology and editorial policy that is tuned more in a way that favors its financing and overseeing authority. Editorial policy is the guiding principle for the day to day journalistic activity of the journalist who works in that particular media organization. Ethiopian government owned media including the Herald is guided more by the principles of developmental journalism that is a part of developmental government (editorial policy of Ethiopian Press Agency).

In addition to the editorial policy the loyalty of Ethiopian state media to the political system is ensured through the appointment of politically affiliated gatekeepers who facilitate the easy use of the media as a mouthpiece of the state organs. Therefore, the intention of political actors to use media organizations as their mouthpiece becomes easier if the media organization is guided by an editorial policy that favors the political system. So, this has been real in the Herald administration.

b. Ownership

Literatures state that the news media are institutions that are controlled or heavily influenced by government and business interests. Under such conditions, the reporter sources frequently

dominate the flow of information as a way of furthering their own overt and hidden agendas. More prominently, in countries like Ethiopia in which media/journalism is in crawling stage, the media ownership affects their content.

Newsrooms of the papers often have experienced a loss of autonomy because they are under government direct control or ownership. The impact of such ownership on newspapers is reflected in their content, in their news and articles selection, the language of reporting, etc. As a result, they framed the stories in several ways, may be by ignoring or burying the article in the back section, which witnessed in some extent with the coverage of the Reporter that attempted to hide the more important Ethiopian foreign relations article in the inner sections of the paper, (Appendix E).

This study found that ownership structure has a profound impact on the Ethiopian foreign relations issues coverage. The government owned Ethiopian Herald newspaper also framed the stories according to the will, interest and situation of the government. Most of its sources and attributes were the government bodies and the stories were framed in the loyalty of the government itself. For instance, 60.1 % (Table 2) of the Herald was totally from the government sources and many of its stories were hard news (Appendix F) that main characters were the government officials and this was happened due to the paper was owned by the government.

According to the findings from in depth interviews and the content analysis of the Reporter newspapers, the respondents on the claim as to the independence of their media they work for in reporting and framing news on the Ethiopian foreign relations, they feel free and professional, since there was no interference from the owner and another body.

c. Profession issue

The Reporter is more professional than the Herald in its recruitment process and the ways of reporting, analyzing and commenting Ethiopian foreign relations stories and the other topics to be covered. At the beginning, it selects the distinction grades and qualified journalists with better salaries compared to the Herald. It has also a wide contact with different scholars within the country and abroad those write, comment and analyze the concerned topics. Depending on the professional disciplines of these personalities, it gave more attention to commentaries and analysis for Ethiopian foreign relations stories than hard news.

Regarding the capacity building trainings on Ethiopian foreign relations, the Reporter is observed as it was better; it can train the journalists and other personnel on the demanded topic by better professionals' inland and at abroad. The journalists were happy and confident regarding the training; because they can conduct any training everywhere according to the demand the house had for the topic. The training can be acquired in the Reporter's house through the outer organs, by the demand of the house itself or by the exchange with an advertisement published on the Reporter.

The ways of issue selection, the information gathering and decision making processes in the house of the Reporter passes through professional lines than the bureaucratic and political thoughts including about covering the stories of Ethiopian foreign relations. For instance, the whole journalistic activities and decisions are left to the journalists, editors and the managing editor according to the in-depth interviews conducted for the sake of this study and the personal observation of the researcher.

The bureaucratic jobs such as seeking for revenue and advertisement, human resource management, finance administration etc were left to the supporting staff and the owner of the paper. Such a clear job description and classification seems the journalistic activities of the Reporter are more smooth and professional than that of the Herald.

The other point helped professionalism in the Reporter is, as much as possible, the professional distance of its management and journalists from political loyalty. In the house of the Reporter newspaper, the political affiliation and loyalty has been personal. Everybody has full right to support or oppose any political organization or activity.

In case of the herald newspaper, professionalism is mixed with political assignments. In this regard, there are professional journalists and some politically assigned personalities as reporters and gate keepers, according to the data collected from there. Many of the top officials and the gate keepers at different level were assigned with their political party loyalty instead of journalistic skill.

According to the respondents of this study, the mixture of both personalities sometimes clash each other and obstacles the professional jobs including Ethiopian foreign relations issue framings and reporting. The respondents pointed out instances such as; when the professional

journalist decides to frame story content according the data collected and the concerned framing type, the politically committed personality, particularly the gate keepers, needs to frame it as it to serve the political angle the government holds.

d. Resource limitations and utilizations

The resource standard limits every activity, information access and success of every media. Both newspapers focused for this study have their own resource acquiring and sourcing ways and limitations. The Herald gets its working resources from the government annual budget and the Reporter acquires it from the advertisement and sales of the paper. According to the data obtained and discussed at the above sections, the Reporter had sufficient resources and better utilization in framing and reporting Ethiopian foreign relations issues and other stories.

Being the developing country, Ethiopia has a budget deficit in all government sectors including the government media houses including the Herald. Beside this fact, the misunderstanding of media management, the political loyalty, and lack of attention for the daily activities of journalism highly limits the use of a few resource allocated to the Herald in reporting and framing the Ethiopian foreign relations issues and the others. For instance, regarding the Herald, as much as possible, the supporting staff had a better chance to use the logistics such as cars, office services, payments, and so on for the actual jobs more than the journalists, according to the informants.

The editors, senior editors and the deputy editor-in-chief of the Herald critically complained the issue as they had serious lack of transport services or allowance, shortage of salaries, ignorance of par time payments; and all these limitation of resources restrict their motivation, ability and job responsibilities in their actual jobs. It is more serious when come to the issue of framing and reporting Ethiopian foreign relations issues; since the issue by its nature needs some protocol standards than the other media coverage.

In the house of the Herald, it has been observed that, not only the limitation resource particularly the finance, there is additional problem that limits the limited resource is that the mismanagement that had been widened in the institution with the misunderstanding of the managers about the media management.

In general, in resource holding, utilizing and acquiring, the Reporter has been better than the Herald, according to the data obtained from both sides and the additional personal observation of the researcher during the data period.

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Appendixes

Appendix A

Key Informants

Informants's Name	Position	Organization
1. *	Editor	Ethiopian Herald
2. Abebe Ayinete (PH.D)	Senior Researcher	EFRSSI
3. Alem Hailu	Deputy-Editor-in-Chief	Ethiopian Herald
4. Amsalu Tizazu	Director, Digital Diplomacy	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
5. Bilal Derso	Editor	Ethiopian Herald
6. Bruh Yihunbelay	Managing Editor	Ethiopian Reporter
7. Daniel Beyene	Senior Editor	Ethiopian Herald
8. Henok Tibebe	Assistant Editor	Ethiopian Herald
9. Neamin Ashenafi	Assistant Editor	Ethiopian Reporter

*Not consent to disclose his name.

Appendix B
Coding Sheet

Name of the coder-----

Newspaper-----

Date of publication-----

Headline of the article-----

1-Article description

1.1 Article types

-News-----

-Feature-----

-Interview-----

1.2 Location –

FrontPage-----

-Inside page-----

Last page-----

2- Theme of the article

2.1 Themes –

-Bilateral and multilateral relations of leaders

- Promoting economic interests

- National Sovereignty, Pride and Prestige

- Discussions/ Demonstrations.

-Government action or policy.

-Non- governmental organization

2.2 Types of Ethiopian foreign relations talk about frequently

-Economy

- Diplomacy
- Signing of agreements
- Development
- Democracy
- Peace and Security

3- Sources

- Government officials
- Non- government officials
- Experts
- Politicians
- Researches and researchers
- International organizations
- No specified source

4- Frames

Operational definition for the sub-categories of the type frame in the story

- 4.1. Conflict frame: if the story concentrates on the growing disagreement between various groups like government and politicians or among groups in the international community.
- 4.2. Attribution of responsibility: if the story predominantly blames a certain body for certain actions and attribute respective responsibility.
- 4.3. Contingency frame: if the story propagates the probability that other countries including Ethiopia have the same issue entertained in the story.
- 4.4. Diagnostic frame: if the story discusses cause and problems of the Ethiopian foreign relation issue raised in the story.
- 4.5. Human interest frame: if the story brings an emotional element and tells the personal stories of individuals involved in the issue
- 4.6. Prognostic frame: if the story predominantly entertains the consequences of Ethiopian foreign relations.

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

5- Media functions (Inter – coder reliability)

- Does the article define the issue? Yes/No
- Does the article accommodate the view of concerned body? Yes/No
- Does the article state the reason of the problem? Yes/No
- Does the article suggest solutions? Yes/No
- Do the media include different points of view? Yes/No
- Does the article accommodate the views of experts or officials? Yes/No
- Does the article provide logical reasoning for why it is written or reported? Yes/No
- If other please specify

Appendix C

Coding Guide

- Name of the coder: the coder should write her/his name.
- Newspaper: the coder should write the name of newspaper.
- Date of publication: write the date the story was published date, month, and year.
- Headline: write the headline (and sub-head line if there is any)
- Article description (Inter- coder reliability- coder reliability 1.0)
- Article type – refers to the main idea of the story.
- Location- show part of a paper the articles is placed (front page, inside page or last page).
- Sources- refer to as a name(s) of a person, group or organization that are quoted directly or indirectly in the story like, officials, NGOs, etc.

Appendix D

Interview guide

1- Background

- what is your attitude towards the framing of Ethiopian foreign relations in general?
- How do you and your media cover the issues of Ethiopian foreign relations?
- do you think your reports had influence on the foreign relations of Ethiopia?
- How did you get sources for your stories?

2- Themes

- What were the central points or issues in your stories?
- what was the justification for focusing on these themes?

3- Types of Ethiopian foreign relations

Which sector of Ethiopian foreign relations issues is the most common type in your report?

- Is there a specific type of Ethiopian foreign relations issues gets you emotional?
- If yes, what is your reason?

4- Sources

- Who were the sources you quoted, when you write articles on Ethiopian foreign relations?
- Were laymen used as sources in your stories?
- Was there any pressure from the interest groups to write your story in certain ways?

5- Frames

- How do you construct your reports on Ethiopian foreign relations issue? Why?
- Were you aware of how the stories were framed?
- Did you purposefully shape or organize the stories in certain ways?
- What were your routines when writing such stories?
- Do you think the routine had affected how you wrote your stories?

-What factors affect how you frame the stories, like sources, professional issues, the bosses, economy, and politics?

Diagnostic frame

-What do you think are the cause of the problems in framing Ethiopian foreign relations issues?

-Why do most of the stories lack interpretation of the framing types?

Prognostic frame

- What do you think about the effects of framing Ethiopian foreign relations stories??

-On which type of media framing, long-term or short term, do you focus more?

Attribution of responsibility frame

-who do you think is responsible for addressing the problems in framing Ethiopian foreign relations issues?

-Why did Ethiopian foreign relations articles fail to attribute responsibility to any one?

Morality frame

-Do you consider the impacts of society's beliefs, norms and values in Ethiopian foreign relations stories?

-What was the reason for infrequent use of such beliefs in your stories of Ethiopian foreign relations?

Human interest frame

-Do you think that using human face in foreign relations stories is important? Why?

Economic frame

-What were the implications of Ethiopian foreign relations stories on the Ethiopian economy and vice versa?

-Why do most articles fail to show this impact?

Conflict frame

-How do you entertain conflicted ideas and opinions from different individuals/groups?

-What is your reflection on the disagreement of the magnitude of Ethiopian foreign relations framing?

Media functions.

-What roles do you think your media played in framing Ethiopian foreign relations issue?