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THE COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER EDITORIAL PAGES IN REPORTING ETHIOPIAN POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING: THE CASE OF ADDIS ZEMEN AND ADDIS ABABA

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BAHIR DAR UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

**POST GRADUATE PROGRAM OF MEDIA AND
COMMUNICATION**

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ZEMEN AND ADDIS ABABA**

**A Thesis Submitted to Faculty of Humanities in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree of Masters of Art in Media and
Communication**

By Botawlanchi Terfe

January, 2020

Bahir Dar, Ethiopia

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Approved by Board of Examiners

Adviser

Examiner

Examiner

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Abstract

Newspapers publicize political, cultural and social debates on their editorial pages in addition to providing the facts and analysis of information and allow informed citizens to make effective decisions. Editorials are platforms in which newspaper editors portray their standpoints towards issues using specific framing strategies to incite public discussion and influence officials or other concerned bodies to take appropriate action. This study was intended to examine and compare and contrast the framing strategies of Addis Zemen and Addis Admass newspapers to cover the unrest/conflict of 2018 in Ethiopia. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. For this end, 26 editorials of each newspaper (a total of 52 editorials) published in six months' time and responses of 4 interviewees /editor in chiefs were analyzed using a content analysis method. As the finding show, Addis Zemen described the crisis of the unrest/conflicts openly listing out the loss of human lives, destructions of properties and blockage of investments. But, Addis Admass presented the problem integrating the crisis in a wider political sphere. Addis Zemen can be put into conflict oriented as it openly backs the government legitimizing the actions against the opposing groups, downgrades the questions of the opposing groups relating them with just lack of 'good governance' and portrays opposing groups using demonizing language such as 'anti-peace', 'anti-development', extremists' and chauvinists'. Conversely, Addis Admass can be placed into the 'peace oriented' category as it presented the unrest neutrally call for consensus among all citizens. The study concluded that the two newspapers covered and framed the Ethiopian political unrest differently. Based on the findings of the study, it is recommended that media need to frame and present the conflict issues using standardized and consistent strategies. Moreover, media outlets need to establish standards which can guide the journalists how to select and frame conflict issues.

Key Words: editorial, unrest/conflict, peace, change, framing, editorial stance

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

Ad-Ad*Addis Admass*

Ad-Z.....*Addis Zemen*

E.C.*Ethiopian Calendar*

EPRDF.....*Ethiopian Peoples Republic Democratic Front*

GERD.....*Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam*

Gin.*Ginbot (May)*

Meg.*Megabit (March)*

MOI.....*Ministry of Information*

Yek.*Yekatit (February)*

CHAPTER ONE

1. Background of the Study

Human beings receive messages from different media in this digital age. There are various types of media outlets that provide people with a lot of information about the world every day. As a result, human beings have been dependent on media to get up to date information. Thus, people become eager to get access to various media for latest news in everyday life. A lot of information has been mediated through various channels for people. “The process of mediatization draws a widening range of activities into the sphere of media, making mediation an increasingly key feature of society and everyday life” (Fornäs et al., 2007, p.1). In this full of complex and sophisticated world, we need media that can help us see the world. Traditionally, human beings used to make world meanings through socialization processes, creating a collective reality within a culture or society, but today, the so-called mediated communication delivers messages of world in powerful frames (Volkmer, 2009; Eilders, 1997).

Media can also play its indispensable roles in economic, social and political sectors. For example, mass media can play a significant role in democratizing countries by opening public forums in which citizens can participate. According to Dahl, (1989) and Diamond (1993), the responsibilities of democratic citizenship in stable democracies are heightened to avoiding the chaotic process of socialization and make all institutions of politics, economics, and society in a state of change. Gross, (2002) also states that media can produce changes in values, attitudes, and behaviors matching with democratic citizenship. Moreover, media can play an influential role in re-socialization and modernization by teaching a new way of participation in politics and socioeconomic life.

What is more, the crucial role of the media in political communication is not limited to mediating information between the political system and the audience. They play active roles by setting agendas and framing issues in specific methods so that they can shape public opinions (Eilder, 1997). Mass media have; therefore, a huge influence to mediate message and shape public opinion. The other roles of the mass media in the society include surveillance, interpretation, linkage, transmission of values and entertainment (Popoola, 2014). As it has

much roles in socio-political, economic and cultural change in our age, media can also disrupt or stabilize and strengthen a society (Ashraf et al., 2013). The role of media in providing information and shaping opinions is high especially during conflicts. Media selects specific issues and sets agenda using systematic portraying strategies. By and large, media can have two roles. These are it can either play an important part in the resolution of conflict between two parties, or it can escalate the conflict (Ashraf et al., 2013).

The traditional print media reporting has been viewed over time as the way to ensure the American public gets the real story on the functioning of government and viewpoints of political applicant (Mintz, 2016). A free press serves to hold government leaders accountable to the people, to publicize issues that need attention, to educating citizens so they can make informed decisions, and to connect people with each other in civil society. As one of the outlets of media, the objectives of a newspaper are to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it, to arouse among the people certain desirable opinion and to fearlessly expose shortcomings (Zaheer, 2016). Newspapers attempt to provide the facts and analysis that enables informed citizens to make effective and responsible decision in a complex, information-saturated society (Khalid & Ahmed, 2014).

Newspaper editorial is considered as the heart of the newspaper since it is the leading article, the main part of the newspaper and it expresses the view of the editor, editorial board, or publisher. As Okoro & Agbo, (2003) stated that an editorial is a critical assessment, explanation, and arrangement of a significant, and current events which is organized for informing, educating, entertaining the reader. In addition, editorials come out of the editorial pages of newspapers that comprise editorial notes, columns, opinion articles, reviews, and cartoons. The other element of the editorial page is the masthead or stuff box, which includes the detail of editors, photographers, and staff members (Kenneth, 1994). In addition, according to Kahn & Kenny (2002), the editorials of newspapers present the stances and voice of the newspaper and reflect the ideology. Moreover, the newspaper editorial page is where a strong political, cultural, and social discussion and debate is most likely taken place. Thus, it is a likely focus of an analysis of newspaper content as evidence of a market place of ideas (Hallock, 2007). Equally, the editorial page provides a platform for readers to give their

opinion, to incite thought and to discuss to influence the public officials on action to be taken, to provide background and to examine events (The Washington Post, Jan. 28, 2003).

Editorial pages of the newspapers are written based on the editorial policy of the media. Editorial policy is that the set of tips by that the media outlet operates. It includes the news organization's attitudes toward its community and aids editors in creating editorial selections. Each division of editorial page has a principle and role in the public forum contribution, explanation and interpretation of the day's events (Mott, 1940). Thus, it can be assumed that editorials reflect the political views of the papers and serve as a forum of demonstration for the media's own view of public affairs (Eilders, 1997).

Although editorial pages differ from newspapers to newspapers, most newspapers encompass editorials, columns, letters the editor, supplemental data and Cartoons. Coifali (1998) wrote that editorial pages, specifically the op-ed pages, are important part of any newspaper that encourages public discourse in an open forum of ideas for the community involvement to the effective functioning of presidency and democracy in the slightest degree levels. Newspapers identify issues and advocate causes in their editorials and serve as a public forum for the introduction and discussion of issues of public concern in their letters to the editor and columns (Hynds, 1976). Letters to the editors are a proposed to give a voice to local citizens and readers.

1.1.The Ethiopian Context

Ethiopian media history is considered as a recent phenomenon as compared with the historical background of mass media. When we look at the history of print media, the first newspaper, namely Aemiro (intelligence) was started in the era of Emperor Minilik II in 1894 (Getachew, 2003). The new history of Ethiopian press starts from 1991 (Birhanu, 2009), when EPRDF replaced the Marxist Derge regime, several press products flourished (Ethiopian Press Law, Negarit Gazetta, Proclamation No. 34/1992), and the constitution was ratified in 1995. Since the proclamation of the press law in 1992, more than 630 newspapers and 130 magazines had taken press licenses, from which 401 newspapers and 130 magazines were published and circulated in the country (Negussie, 2006).

As a media outlet, Ethiopian press media have great role in reporting social, economic and political unrest issues in different times and it has been contributed for the democracy and development of the country. As media and conflicts go hand in hand, media in Ethiopia have played important role in reporting a conflict as well as resolution of peace. As various research shows there were conflicts in Ethiopia and it was changed to violence in different times.

According to Moges, (2017), Ethiopia is among the first top-five African countries where high clashes and aggressions occurred. Due to the internal and external war and conflict, the Ethiopian people have been distressed for long period of time. Political conflicts or unrests happened in Ethiopia for different reasons. These might be ethnic, border, religious and lack of good governance like unequal distributions of resources. As Østebø (2007) cited in Moges (2017) based on ethnic federalism, the issues of ethnicity become more politicized and sometimes it brings internal conflicts between nations, nationalities, and peoples. Moreover, the protest caused by the Addis Ababa Master plan which was proposed to enlarge the municipal boundaries of Addis Ababa resulted in conflict between ethnic groups. The political tension between Amhara and Tigray region boundaries also caused conflicts in the country and this ethnic unrest discolored the reforms of changes in Ethiopia (Reuters, August 24, 2018). Similarly, the ethnic-based violence in the southern part of Ethiopia causes the ten thousand people internal displacement. For instance, the Guji violence against Gedeo in Oromia zone is the cause of flooding of thousands of people from their homes from April to July 2018 (Human Rights Watch, 2019).

The fight between two ethnic groups-Oromo and Somali peoples in 2018, causes hundreds of people dead and around one million people have been displaced (Daily nation, February, 2018). In addition, according to Al Jazeera's (2018) report due to the fighting taking place between Oromo and Gedeo people, around one million Ethiopians have been forced to flee their homes and this brings a new internal displacement crisis for reforms of new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. Moreover, according to Washington post (August 25, 2018), more than a million Ethiopians have been driven from their homes in 2018 mostly by ethnic violence and due to widespread conflict, the government was forced to declare state of emergency law twice in two years at the time of 2016. Demonstrations, roadblocks and conflicts were spreading in almost throughout the country.

But after the new Prime Minister Dr. Abiy came to power, some changes have been taking place in the political system of the country. The state of emergency was lifted, thousands of prisoners were released, and 264 websites and TV channels were unblocked. All these were the changes occurred (BBC, September 14, 2018 & Quartz Africa, July 24, 2018). Moreover, the long-lasting border war with Eritrea ended by agreeing to give up disputed territory in the process of normalizing relations with the long-time antagonist. This shows there is a shift of politics in Ethiopian political system (Addis Standard, July 2, 2018).

The reason why the researcher wanted to study newspaper coverage on political unrest and changes in Ethiopia is when compared to broadcast news, newspapers can provide more in-depth information. Newspapers also cover more issue-centered stories than does broadcast news (Druckman, 2005). In addition, McCombs (2004) suggested that political information obtained from reading a newspaper is more easily recalled than information obtained by watching television broadcast news.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

This study mainly focused on how the media outlets, especially newspapers covered the whole conflict occurrences both before and after the changes were made in the country. The newspapers, both the private and the government, have covered news of political unrest before and after the new prime minister have come to power. However, the strategies employed by the newspapers to frame the political issues cannot be similar. Regarding media framing differences, there are different scholars that put their assumptions. According to Hallin and Mancini (2004) various media outlets may frame the same event in different ways based on the type, the organizational (editorial) policy, the ownership of the media outlet and the prevailing social, political and economic condition of the country.

There are some studies conducted on media framing of conflicts politics. A study conducted by Moges, (2017) on the title “Why Silence? Reporting internal conflicts in Ethiopia” showed that different conflicts happened in Ethiopia by various reasons such as ethnic, religious, regional power and other minor occurrences. The focus of the study is to investigate how these internal conflicts were reported in Ethiopian newspapers Addis Admass, Reporter, the daily monitor, and the Ethiopian Herald from 2005-2013.

The finding of the study showed the reporting of internal conflict is less in number in these selected newspapers and also it inclined to silence cases, by disregarding some of the issues or facts of the events. The frame analysis also reveals that the text try to hide some of the important elements of the events relating to the internal conflicts. In addition to that the study showed the Ethiopian local newspapers and their journalists have confronted challenges mainly in relation to ownership, fright, self- censor ship and forces which lead professional truthfulness while reporting on cases of internal conflicts.

The study conducted by Nigussie, (2014) on the Media and Politics in Ethiopia: A critical analysis aimed at analyzing the political discourse and dynamics of the Ethiopian media in the last three regimes. The finding showed that media and politics in Ethiopia are highly interrelated. To practice journalism based on the ethics of profession, the overall working condition, professionalism of the journalists, media management and organization and independence of media need to be developed.

As far as my review, the framing of political unrest on newspapers, especially on the editorial, has not been investigated in Ethiopia. Hence, the study aimed to fill this gap by investigating how political unrest has been covered before and after the changes have been made by the new Prime Minster of Ethiopia.

Therefore, the researcher wanted to examine the coverage of Ethiopian political unrest in 2018 particularly three months before and after the coming of the new Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed by identifying how these two media outlets frame the issue in their editorial pages. In addition, as far as my knowledge concerns, there is no research conducted in Ethiopian political unrest and changes in 2018. Then, the study has tried to see how the two newspapers' editorials framed the issues within the time frame of the study.

1.3.Objectives of the Study

The study has both general and specific objectives. The general objective of the research is to examine how the Ethiopian political unrest of 2018 was covered and framed in the editorial

pages of two selected newspapers-Addis Zemen and Addis Admass. The specific objectives are to:

- Examine the frequency of coverage of political unrest and changes in the editorial pages Addis Zemen and Addis Admass.
- Identify the framing strategies of the two newspapers' editorials regarding the political unrest and changes.
- Compare and contrast the ways of presenting and the contents in the editorial page of Addis Zemen and Addis Admass Newspapers.

1.4. Research Questions

1. How often do Addis Zemen and Addis Admass newspapers cover the issues of political unrest in their editorial pages?
2. How do the two newspapers frame the Ethiopian political unrest and the change in their editorial pages during the study time?
3. What are the similarities and differences in the ways of presenting the editorial page contents of Addis Zemen and Addis Admass newspapers?

1.5. Significance of the Study

The study aimed at examining how the Ethiopian political unrest of 2018 was covered and framed in the editorial pages of Addis Zemen and Addis Admass newspapers. As it has been planned, the study is expected to come up with findings regarding the framing strategies of the two newspapers. The findings of this study can contribute its part by providing evidences of practices of framing issues on editorial pages of newspapers for media organizations. Moreover, the research results can be used as stepping stones for other researchers for further studies.

1.6. Delimitation of the Study

The scope of the study has been limited to the content analysis of published materials in Addis Zemen and Addis Admass newspaper editorial pages. It includes editorial note, op-eds, Cartoons, entertainment and letters to editors. To do this, the study has focused on dates from

January 1/ 2018 to June 30/2018 because this was a time when the political unrest reached at its peak and the changes occurred.

1.7. Limitation of the Study

This study mainly focused on the coverage and framing of Ethiopian political unrest in the editorial pages of Addis Zemen and Addis Admass Newspapers. To achieve this goal, a content analysis method has been employed. The content analysis method has its drawbacks. One of the restrictions of the study is that it doesn't inform the influence of the coverage on the audiences. Moreover, it doesn't include more private and government-owned Newspapers. Therefore, the researcher is cautious not to generalize the findings of the study to the influence of framing on audience since editions of a six-month period have been used as samples for the study. In addition, to make the samples convenient and comparable, only one edition of Addis Zemen was taken from the seven editions of a week while the only edition of the weekly Addis Admass has been used. This might also be the limitation of the study. Hence, the researcher has selected one edition of Addis Zemen per week by using systematic random sampling to avoid bias.

1.8 Organization of the study

The paper has five chapters. The first chapter provides an extensive background of media. The second chapter deals with the review of related literature and theoretical framework that informs the study. Chapter three also deals with research methodology and tools used in the study. The fourth chapter focused on the analysis, presentation of the data and discussions of the findings. The fifth chapter provides conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presented the definition of conflict, framing and agenda setting theories, media framing and studies on the newspaper editorials.

2.2. Definition of Conflict

Conflict is an inevitable part of life. It is a natural process or a kind of human contact that can occur within and among individuals, groups, organizations or societies (Horowitz, 2000). Conflict can be defined as the competition or struggle between individuals or groups by different causes. It can also be defined as a process whereby units or elements of a society develop unequal differences of objectives, either with similar units, reliable units, or both, consequential in social clashes, disputes, tensions or competition in any given period of time (Ting-Toomey, 2007).

According to Galtung (2003), conflict can be defined as a contest which two parties or combatants struggle to enforce their goals. Most of the time conflicts seen as a challenge to the world as people, groups, countries and groups of countries seem to stand in each other's way. In this type of conflict, there is not only destruction of properties but also there is loss of human life which shows a clear violence. Nonetheless, in conflict, there is also a clear opportunity for human progress, using the conflict to find new techniques, being creative, innovative and transforming the conflict in to resolution without violence.

Generally, Galtung divided the way of looking conflict into two based on whether the focus is on the conflict or its peaceful transformation- the "high road" and "the low road". In the low road, the reporting model is like that of a military command who advances, capitulates short of their goals; counting the losses in terms of numbers killed, wounded, and material damage. War journalism only attaches to "our" side.

On the other hand, the high road, the road of peace journalism concentrates on conflict transformation. Peace journalism is a “journalism of attachment” to all actual and possible losses; it stands for truth as opposed to propaganda and lies. The task is to report truthfully both war and peace, based on professional reporting and making these processes more transparent.

Conflicts, especially in developing countries where the literacy level as well as the habit of cross-checking of information from different sources is low may cause loss of lives and damage infrastructure and properties. Hence, the journalists of these countries should report carefully when they are taking photos, making notes and interviewing politicians and societies.

There are different causes of political unrest in different countries. The reason of political unrest and conflict may be unequal access to resources and wealth, unemployment, discrimination, poverty, oppression, bad governance. Conflict can also be described as a great effort or competition people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values or goals. The outcome can either be negative when associated with violence and destruction of life and property, or positive when it leads to the resolution of structural problems such as inequalities, cultural or moral differences, and the distribution of power in society (Gadzekpo, 2017).

Conflicts and violence frequently result in the loss of lives, burning of houses, farmlands, farms, and produce as well as other property, including state assets. People in conflict areas should be informed through good reportage. Journalists/reporters/ and editors have been highly concerned on conflicts by acting in various roles. By taking photos, making notes and interviewing politicians and military forces as well as members of civil society. Moreover, they take part by selecting news and pictures from news agencies, correspondents, or social media; and writing news, opinion pieces, editorials, and background features (ibid).

2.3. Framing Theory

Framing refers to the way events and issues are organized and made sense of, especially by media, media professionals, and their audiences (Reese, Gandy & Grant, 2001; Carter, 2013; Tandoc, 2015). Entman (1993; 52) defines frames as:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.

According to this definition, framing involves selecting a few aspects of a perceived reality and connecting them together in a narrative that promotes a particular interpretation from the audiences. For example, the issue of abortion can be framed as killing unborn human life or can be seen from the perspective of free choice. Both views imply different ending in terms of problem definition, causal interpretation, evaluation, and treatment recommendation (Matthes, 2012).

Just like the outside view seen through windows on houses, news content is contained and represented within a frame. In both cases, the construction of the frame itself alters what people are able to see and ultimately how they make sense of it (David et al., 2017). A person who is looking at the outside scenery through the window can only see the light and the pictures just within the limits of the window edges. Besides, the size and shape of the picture which comes to our vision will be affected by the design of the window. Likewise, news content is shaped within the media frame employed to publicize it to the audience. It is based on the hypothesis that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences (Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2009). Accordingly, specific attributions, evaluations, or decisions can be suggested for audience via media frames.

According to Scheufele & Tewksbury (2009), frames can be recognized in different areas such as among journalists, newsrooms or media systems and among recipients of media messages and political, economic, cultural, etc. actors, groups, or organizations. Many authors conceptualize frames on a cognitive and on a textual level, but others see them as patterns of public discourse. Based on these, a frame can be seen in three ways. These are as a cognitive complex of issue-related schemata for different aspects of reality, established in public, political or inter-media discourse, and becoming manifest as a textual structure of messages such as press releases or newspaper articles (ibid).

A journalist or any other communicator has to tell a story within certain time and space constraints, and make it accessible to a broad and often heterogeneous public. This can be

accomplished by structuring the information, creating an interpretive framework that allows the comprehension of the message (A Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015).

2.3.1. Media Framing

The mass media have played an important role in influencing the nature, form and development of social protest movements, as well as the ability of these movements to reach their goals. The mass media have become an instrument to attract public attention and mobilize public support for the protesters (Baylor, 1996). On the other hand, the media can exert control through negative news framing, which functions as a mechanism of social control to weaken the influence of social protests in public opinion or by ‘manufacturing consent’ (Dimitrova, 2000).

When the media cover news of political unrests or conflicts, various strategies and methods are employed to portray the issues to the audience. The strategies which are employed by the reporting and the editorial sections of a media outlet are not the same. In the reporting part, the journalists may present a news item applying journalism principles and newsroom routines. In these sections journalists are expected to be fair and neutral. However, in the editorial section, the administrators or editors portray their stances towards an issue based on their own ideologies and newsroom regulations and editorial policies.

As we have seen from the introduction above, media can use different strategies by providing signals which can help the audience how to perceive and interpret the information. Scholars in media effect studies have defined these ‘media cues or ‘frames’ in various ways.

Media frame issues starts from selecting what to present and what not to present in media coverage and then proceeds through emphasis and elaboration using key strategies. In other words, media represent an issue to the audiences through specific strategies which can serve as ‘frame of reference’ to perceive the issue and act accordingly. Framing can be defined as the method which events and issues are organized and made sense of, particularly by media, media professionals, and their audiences (Reese, Gandy, and Grant, 2001).

Editors of a newspaper can influence the interpretation and evaluation of an issue using special frames (Eilders, 1997). The role of mass media can be seen from two sides: it can play a vital

role in restoring conflicts through peace journalism strategies or it can escalate the clashes employing war journalism methods (Ashraf et al., 2013). Galtung (2003) has summarized categories journalists’ reporting strategies during conflicts as follows.

Peace/conflict journalism	War/violence journalism
<p><i>Peace/Conflict-oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore conflict formation; x parties, y goals, z issues; general “win-win” orientation • Open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture • Making conflicts transparent • Giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding • See conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity • Humanization of all sides; more so the worse the weapons • Proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs • Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture) <p><i>II. Truth-oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expose untruths on all sides • Uncover all cover-ups <p><i>III. People-oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged, children, giving voice to the voiceless • Give name to all evil-doers • Focus on people peacemakers <p><i>IV. Solution-oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peace = non-violence + creativity • Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war • Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society • Aftermath: resolution, re-construction, reconciliation 	<p><i>I. War/Violence-oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on conflict arena, two parties, one goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation • Closed space, closed time; causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone • Making wars opaque/secret • “Us-them” journalism, propaganda, voice, for “us” • See “them” as the problem, focus on who prevails in war • Dehumanization of “them”; more so the worse the weapon • Reactive: waiting for violence before reporting • Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage) <p><i>II. Propaganda-oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expose “their” untruths • Help “our” cover-ups/lies <p><i>III. Elite-oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on “our” suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece • Give name of their evil-doer • Focus on elite peacemakers <p><i>IV. Victory-oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peace = victory + ceasefire • Conceal peace-initiative, before victory is at hand • Focus on treaty, institution the controlled society • Leaving for another war, return if the old flares up

Table-1: *Peace Journalism (Galtung, 2003)*

2.3.2 Studies on Media Framing

Different researches were conducted on press coverage and framing of protest movements. Among those, the study, which examined how the four mainstream newspapers namely, the *Bangkok Post*, *The Nation*, *Thai Rath* and *Matichon*, framed the political crisis in Thailand

during the 2014 general election showed that the political crisis which is the protest movement, was framed in different perspective-Negatively and positively by those Newspapers (Supadhiloke, 2015). The study conducted by Lee, Maslog, and Kim (2006) on the news coverage of the Iraq War and Asian conflicts by eight newspapers from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and the Philippines compared the framing of international and local conflicts. The finding showed that the Asian newspapers used a war journalism frame in covering local conflicts, but deployed a peace journalism frame in covering the Iraq War. Moreover, most of the hard news stories are dominated by peace journalism framing. What 's more, the Foreign-sourced stories from wire services restricted more war journalism frames and fewer peace journalism frames than locally produced stories written by the newspaper correspondents.

The study conducted in Malaysia which compared the coverage of the inter-ethnic conflict in different Malaysian Newspapers found that the newspapers framed the issue differently based on their political, economic and ideological boundaries (Fong, 2013).Similarly, the research conducted on the Ethiopian print Media framing of political parties during the 2010 parliamentary election showed the government and private owned Newspapers portrayed the issue differently and their biased view led to less informed and more polarized electorate (Gudeta, 2010).

The study conducted by Dessalegn & Destaw, (2016) on the extent of media coverage and framing types in the celebration of nations, nationalities and people's day in Ethiopia: in the case of some selected newspapers which focused on both government and private owned media outlets Addis Zemen, Addis admass and Reporter newspapers from November 24 to December 24, 2014 revealed that the dominance of development frame over other media frame types both in Addis Zemen and Reporter Amharic newspapers.

In addition to that, a study conducted on analysis of the media influence of frames on publics' perception of the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest by Tekola (2017) showed that the Ethiopian broadcast corporation used to structure the news anti-peace frames in which the news portrayed the protest as an anti-peace movement planned by anti-peace and anti-development groups to create chaos and terror. On the contrary, the public framed the protest in terms of its economic consequences.

Journalists decide if and how to report about political conflict. They may seek out political conflicts, amplify political conflicts for the attractiveness of the story, or even actively arrange and manufacture conflict frames. However, besides the agency of individual journalists, other aspects such as media routines and external, political, influences obviously shape how journalists frame conflict (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014; de Vreese, 2005). The study conducted on the extent to which journalists take an interventionist stance in the conflict frame building process in Dutch political journalists show that journalists indeed take an active stance in the conflict frame building. They contribute to the emergence of conflict frames by using exaggerating language, by orchestrating, and by amplifying possible consequences of political conflict (Bartholomé, Lecheleln & Vreese, 2015).

2.3. 3 Newspapers' Editorial Framing

Newspapers are a particularly tangible components in the media wheel; editors, columnists, and news reporters all have customary beats or areas of interest and are clearly defined as individuals to be won over in any battle for denition that might take place within the newspaper (Smith & Wakefield, 2005). Furthermore, according to these authors, newspapers are frequently more localized and thus potentially more approachable than are other media outlets. On the other hand, newspapers continue to be a major source of information for electronic media. The products of Newspapers include news and commentaries like columns, letters to the editor, and editorial cartoons. Interpretations and perspectives on the reported event are published in the commentaries. In addition to the editorial texts, some newspapers have editorial columns. In the op-eds section editorial staff writers can express their idea freely as far as it supports the ideological framework of the newspaper (Lemoine, 2016).

According to Lemoine (2016), an editorial can in short be described as a piece of frequently reoccurring opinion journalism that express the ideological or political standpoint of the newspaper or tabloid it is published in and are by tradition unsigned, contrary to debate articles or columns that are signed by specific individuals or named groups, in order to enhance the message that this text does not have one author, it is produced by the editorial staff together to present the common opinion of that newspaper. Editorials are also a potential medium for new ideas that may challenge existing perspectives on issues.

Editors play a particularly relevant role in terms of understanding how issues are framed by the news media, and they decide which issues the newspaper covers and set the terms of debate. The editorial writer is free to write what they want - as long as it fits inside the ideological and political framework that signifies the papers point of view (Nord, 2001).

The research conducted on the US image in the editorials of leading Pakistani newspapers, the '*Dawn*', '*The News*' and '*The Nation*' examined the very basic difference in the policy/ideology of these newspapers. The general finding show that overall US perception presented negatively. Though some newspapers such as *Dawn* try to build a positive image on certain issues, the prevailing opinion sounds negative (Imad, 2012).

Similarly, the research conducted on a critical discourse analysis of four editorial texts, published in the newspapers '*Aftonbladet*', '*Dagens Nyheter*', '*Expressen*' and '*Svenska Dagbladet*' examined how the findings of Bolin et. al (2016) correlate with discursively framed representations in these texts, with regards to negative, positive or neutral framing of border controls, immigration and the connection made to political parties during the first week of January 2016 when the Swedish temporary border controls were introduced. The results showed both consistencies and inconsistencies in regards to framing where the liberal newspapers *Dagens Nyheter* and '*Expressen*'s editorials were less negative towards the border controls and expressed more negative and stereotypical framings on refugees and migration than expected, whereas the independent social democratic *Aftonbladet* articulated the unspoken negative framing on border controls and the Social Democrats, and positive framing on migration. The findings may indicate a political and cultural change due to the change in directions in the Social Democrats migration politics (Lemoine, 2016).

As a study conducted on the framing of violent Israeli/Palestinian conflict on New York Times, in 13 months times by Ross (2003) show the title focus of editorials ranged from Palestinian or Arab actions to U.S. strategic interests to the steadiness of calm within the region. The largest number of editorial titles focused on U.S. strategic interests, pointing readers' attention to the "diplomat balance" needed within the region, the posture of the Bush White House, "America's Mideast responsibilities," and therefore the missed opportunity of the Camp David accords. These editorial titles alternated between recognition of the tactical

and therefore, the moral incentives for U.S. regional involvement. Almost one-fourth of the editorial titles were paying attention to Arabs or Palestinians often arousing or combining the two groups. Secondly, Arafat, Arabs, and the Saudis are genuine brokers of peace.

All frames were not distributed evenly throughout the study. The most important finding is that none of the editorials impress the Palestinian Need for Justice Frame. This nonexistence inhibits challenging justice frames from appearing (Gamson, 1992). Although frames of violence create a rather constant background for editorial discussion of the Palestine Authority and Israel, issues of justice and injustice arise regularly, most often in combination with external peace initiatives. Justice frames presented within the context of discussions of U.S. peace negotiations then later associated with Arafat's perceived failures and therefore the promise of the Saudi first step. Despite its wealth and relative autonomy, the New York Times editorial commentary often criticized U.S. government policy.

2.2 Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda setting is the process whereby the mass media decide what we think and be concerned about. In the 1920s a journalist called Lippmann observed the influence of agenda setting towards the issues raised. He understood that how much agenda setting in the media influences the audiences to think of about the issue and how much the issue is developed in publics' mind. Therefore, agenda setting is important technique used in the media to let audiences emphasize on the issue happening around the environment they live (McCombs and Shaw (1972).

Agenda setting is enacting the common subjects that are most important. The media do not reflect the reality; they may filter and shape it. Media may concentrate on few issues and subjects and lead the public to perceive those issues as important as others (Cohen, 2013).

According to McCombs and Shaw (1972) the Mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of issues on other news agenda to the public agenda. Based on this, the researcher identified how these two newspapers set the agendas of the political unrest before and political changes after Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed came to power by using agenda setting theory and by looking into the way they frame the political unrests.

To sum up, as media organizations use the editorial section as the junction of their stance, the framing strategies are not similar throughout different media. Each media use specific framing strategies which can convey the intention of the editors' position towards an issue. This study aims at examining the framing strategies employed to cover the Ethiopian political unrest of 2018 in the editorial pages of Addis Zemen and Addis Admass newspapers.

CHAPTER THREE

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presented the research methodology, on what and how things have been done to successfully carry out the research. The chapter included, sampling procedure, subjects of the study, and the rationale for their selection, the tools and procedure used in data collection and finally the way data have been analyzed included in this chapter.

3.2 Research Design

As it has been pointed out, the main purpose of this study was to examine the practice of covering and the ‘key framing strategies’ used to present political unrest in the editorial pages Ethiopian newspapers. According to Volkmer (2009), the use of framing theory not only identifies the difference framings of one story across a number of media outlets, but enables us to identify journalistic bias. Thus, this study focused on media framing of the 2018 political unrest of Ethiopia on editorial pages of two selected newspapers.

According to Kothari (2004), research design is the arrangement of conditions for assortment and analysis of data. Research design involves planning, organizing, collecting and analyzing data to produce the information so desired by the researcher (Peil, 1995). For this research, a mixed research approach has been employed so that both qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed and general evaluations were made about the practice of framing political unrest on editorial pages of the newspapers. As the main purpose of this study is to investigate the existing problem and describe it, a simple descriptive method has been selected. A descriptive method, according to Wimmer and Dominick (2011) attempts to show and document current conditions or attitudes, describing what exists currently in each context. In addition to Wimmer and Deminick (2011), Peil (1995) observes that a descriptive study gives a researcher an opportunity to explore new ideas and open doors for further discussion on emerging ideas. Descriptive method has been used to describe the political situation of the country stated on the newspapers.

The study gathered both qualitative and quantitative data in providing possible answers to the research questions articulated. But as the main purpose is to identify media framing strategies

used to portray political unrest, mainly qualitative research method has been used though quantitative data were collected for triangulations. “Qualitative research is a naturalistic, interpretative approach concerned with understanding the meanings which people attach to phenomena (actions, decisions, beliefs, values etc.) within their social worlds,” (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p.3).

The study has analyzed print media coverage of Ethiopian political unrest and changes in the editorial pages of the *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass* newspapers in order to obtain descriptions about the common practices. Besides, the study aims to look into the editorial page of the newspapers to analyze how they frame the reporting of Ethiopian politics in the editorial page of the newspapers. According to Kahn & Kenny (2002), the ideology or stance of newspaper is described in the editorial page of newspaper. So, in this study the editorial part of the newspaper was selected purposively because permanently political issues and the stance of the organizations are published in this page. This helped the researcher to evaluate how much coverage is given for the political issue and how the issue is framed based on their media routines. Therefore, it helped to understand how these two newspapers regularly report and frame political unrest and changes of politics in Ethiopia.

3.3 Data collection methods

Qualitative research methods are crucial in exploring peoples’ values, opinions, and beliefs. As Ragin (1994), qualitative research enables researchers search for hidden meanings, non-obvious features, multiple interpretations, implied connotations and unheard voices. Supporting these ideas, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) note that semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, archival and phonemic analysis and other related issues can be studied by qualitative researchers. On the other hand, the quantitative method helps to get numerical data for the triangulation of information. Denzin, (1989) states that many researchers tend to use multi-method approaches to achieve broader and often better results method referred to as triangulation.

On discussing the necessity of triangulation, Jankowski and Jansen (1991) say that the weaknesses in each single method will be compensated by counter-balancing strengths of another. This can show how the use of multiple methods helps this research to make a

conclusion. Therefore, to do this, the researcher used both quantitative and qualitative or mixed methods. Qualitative method was used for the in-depth interview with editor in-chiefs (writers of editorial page) and for the description of newspapers from the content. And quantitative method has been used to quantify how often the issue is covered.

The study used both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. Content analysis can be described as the systematic analysis of the content of a text to show who says the message or text to whom in what extent, how the message or the text and also for what purpose the author write the text in a quantitative or qualitative manner (Bhattacharjee, 2012; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). As the study is concerned with how political unrest is portrayed and depicted in editorial pages of newspapers, qualitative content/textual analysis was adopted. In addition, the study aimed to analyze the practice of Ethiopian newspapers in covering political unrest topic. For this end, quantitative content analysis method was also employed as data gathering tool. Using Content analysis, both the content and context of documents were analyzed and themes were identified, and the researcher focused on the way the theme is treated or presented and the frequency of its occurrence.

According to Entman, (2014), the major intent in framing is sizing-magnifying or shrinking elements of the depicted reality to make them more or less salient. Thus, using content analysis technique for the questions; *'how much material on the event is available?'* *'How prominently is it displayed?'* have been addressed to examine how much importance is given to political unrest issues.

3.4 Framing Analysis

Frames reside in the specific properties of the news narrative that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understanding of them (Entman, 2014). In addition to Galtung, (2003), the framing elements in this research was done by Entman's (1993, 2004) definition of framing. These are problem definitions, causal attributions, and moral evaluations/treatment in the text. Problem definition is well planned to include both the issue of political unrest and the actors. Causal attribution is operationalized as whether the responsibilities of political unrest are attributed to an individual or the government. The moral

evaluation considers whether the issue is framed as an individual crime or a societal norm violation by newspapers.

3.5. Subject and sampling of the study

The study examined content analysis of the *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass* newspapers and to do this time from January 2018 to June 2018 purposively selected. This is because the researcher wanted to compare the political coverage in three months (January to March 2018) before Dr. Abiy came to power and three months (April to June 2018) after he came to power. The months selected before Prime Minister Dr. Abiy came to power because it was the time when the political situation of Ethiopia was not in a good situation. There was conflict, division and chaos in different parts of the country. On the other hand, the months selected after he came to power because of some changes have started to happen in the political situation of the country. Unity, human rights, foreign diplomacy and freedom of speech have got its better achievement (BBC, 2018) after Prime Minister Dr. Abiy came to power. This helps the researcher to compare how the issue is framed and covered before and after the new Prime minister came to power on the two selected newspapers of government and private.

For the study, two newspapers that are *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Adams* have been selected using purposive sampling technique based on the objectives of the research. *Addis Zemen* is an Ethiopian daily Amharic newspaper, published by the federal government. The paper was launched as a four-page daily newspaper in 1941. It is currently published by the Ethiopian Press Agency. *Addis Admass* newspaper was founded in 2000 and it is a weekly private-owned newspaper and the language is Amharic. As I have got the information from the editors during the interview (2019), *Addis Zemen* has 14,000 publications and *Addis Admass* has 10,000 publications. Although there were variation in publication and circulation, still they have relatively high number of publication and circulation in wider areas (Assefa, 2010). These two newspapers were selected from the perspective of ownership, political stance and viewpoint towards the political unrest and change of the politics.

As the two newspapers do not have similar frequencies of publications, a balancing strategy has been employed using purposive and Systematic random sampling. Yin (2011) defines purposeful sampling as the selection of participants or sources of data to be used in a study,

based on their anticipated richness and relevance of information in relation to the study's research questions. When developing a purposive sample, researchers use their special knowledge or expertise about some group to select subjects who represent this population. Therefore, the researcher selected 4 editors and editors-in-chief based on their special knowledge and/or expertise on the issue. The researcher also used systematic random sampling in order to give every unit of the publication a chance of being selected in the sample (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Accordingly, from a total publication of 180 of *Addis Zemen* in six months' time, 26 publications were selected by using systematic random sampling. Systematic random sampling is the random sampling method that requires selecting samples based on a system of intervals in a numbered population (Bellhouse, 2005). In – k systematic sample, where $K = \text{number of units in population} / \text{number of sample units required}$ $K = 180 / 26 = 6.92$ almost 7. So the design is a 1-in 7 systematic sample. Based on this, one publication is selected out of seven per week. And all 26 editorial pages of *Addis Admass* newspaper which is published once a week have been selected for comparative content analysis by using comprehensive sampling method in the selected six months.

3.6. Data Analysis and Interpretations

Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts using either qualitative or quantitative data. Researchers quantify and analyze the presence, meanings and relationships of such words and concepts, then make inferences about the messages within the texts, the writer(s), the audience, and even the culture and time of which these are a part (Berelson, 1971). Content analysis offers several advantages. It looks directly at communication via texts or transcripts, and hence gets at the central aspect of social interaction. In addition, it can allow for both quantitative and qualitative operations and provides valuable historical/cultural insights over time through analysis of texts. However, quantitative content analyses tend to be purely descriptive accounts of the characteristics of media output. There has been a growth in media research using interpretive and hermeneutic styles and methodologies. Accordingly, qualitative content analysis is now being applied in media studies to explore meanings from the media outputs (Gunter, 2000, p.82). Thus, in addition to the quantitative content analysis for some data, qualitative data analysis has been

mainly used to analyze the contents of the editorials published in the newspapers in the identified period of time for this study.

According to Hsieh and Shanon (2005), qualitative content analysis is a research method used for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns. It helps to understand texts that can express detail meanings depending on the contexts (Gunter, 2000, p. 82). Content analysis is more helpful in qualitative analysis to identifying, organizing, indexing, and retrieving data (Berg, 2001, p.130). Accordingly, texts of the editorials were gathered, organized and categorized using open coding procedures. Besides, the pre-determined codes of Galtung (2003) have been used to evaluate selected texts.

The data gathered through close investigation of documents and in-depth interviews for the research have been analyzed based on the theories chosen for the study. All data that were collected from newspapers' editorials in any form of qualitative data collection techniques have been first categorized and coded. Then it has been analyzed thematically. The researcher has also used the John Galtung's model of War and Peace journalism to analyze the data. The categories are constructed according to guidelines of the model and the war and Peace journalism are operationalized on the basis of this model. Moreover, based on Entman's (1993, 2004) model, the framing analysis has been applied in order to analyze: 'definition of the problem, casual attribution and moral evaluation. Then, the quantitative data from the documents were coded and analyzed by using a computer program called SPSS (Chi-square test) to show the significant difference between the coverage of the two newspapers.

3.7. Inter-coder Reliability

The researcher has tried her best so as to ensure the validity and reliability of the study. Firstly, six months' time has been allotted to get adequate data. Secondly, the researcher conducted careful record keeping clearly and then data have been triangulated by gathering data from editorials prints and interviews establishing a comparison case/ seeking out similarities and differences and demonstrated the findings clearly. Third, the interpretations of data are consistent and transparent based on the models identified. Texts portrayed have been analyzed using qualitative content analysis for deeper interpretation. Furthermore, two coders, the

researcher and a master's student in journalism and communication were involved in the coding process to avoid bias and ensure reliability. 52 editorials and 34 supplementary elements from the editorial page were coded. In addition, the internal consistency was checked by using Cronbach's alpha. Internal consistency measures consistency within the instrument and questions how well a set of items measures a particular behaviour or characteristic. Coefficients of internal consistency increase as the number of items goes up, to a certain point (Kothari, 2004). Therefore, the values of Alpha Cronbach was 0.83.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the data gathered from the newspapers have been analyzed using qualitative content analysis method. As it has been discussed in the methodology section, the editorials of the two newspapers which were disclosed during the selected period (from Tir 1(5) to Sene 30, 2010 E.C.) have been gathered. In order to analyze the editorials, two methods; a qualitative content analysis and framing analysis methods have been applied. But, in order to assess the overview of the coverage, some contents of the editorial pages have been analyzed using quantitative content analysis method. The results of the analysis have been presented as follows.

4.2. Topical Coverage of the editorials of Addis Zemen and Addis Admass

After the newspapers editorials published in six month time (Tir 1, 2010 E.C. to Sene 30, 2010 E.C.) were gathered, the topics covered in the editorials were grouped into categories.

Newspaper	Table-3: Topical categories covered in the editorials						
	Unrest/ conflict	Politics (peace- stability	Change	Governance	Economy	Social issues	Total
Addis Zemen	6	3	2	4	7	4	26
	23%	11.5%	7.7%	15.4%	27%	15.4%	100%
Addis Admass	3	4	6	11	1	1	26
	11.5%	15.4%	23.1%	42.3%	3.8%	3.8%	100%

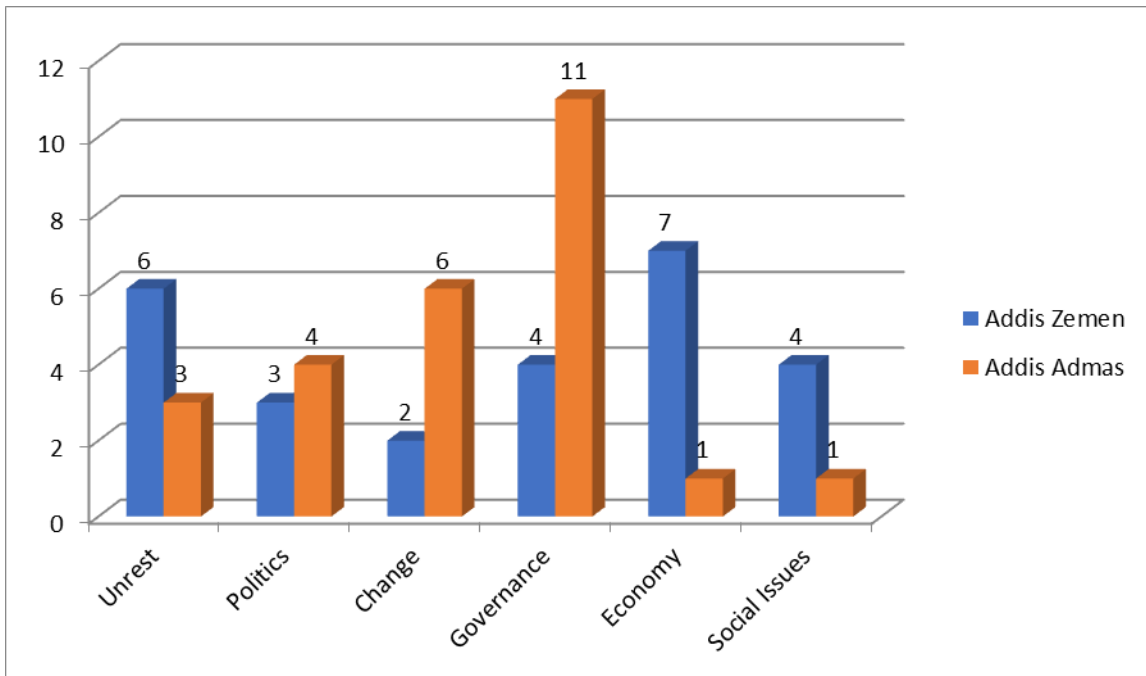


Fig. 1: coverage of topics in the two newspaper editorials

As it has been displayed in table 1 and figure 1, the editorial of Addis Zemen gave more emphasis for issues related to economy (27%) and unrest (23%). Governance and social issues have got the second level of coverage followed by politics and change. In this category, the newspaper published 4 editorials related to ‘governance’, 7 editorials related to ‘economy/development’ and 4 editorials on ‘social issues’. The category of ‘Governance’ contained 4 editorials (15.4%) which were related to ‘transparency’, ‘accountability’, ‘decentralization’, workers’ payment’ and ‘safety’. Issues such as, ‘*Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD)*’, ‘*Alternative electric power source*’, ‘*Inputs supply for industries, foreign investment, privatization, Renovation of roads and economical transformations*’ have been published in 7 editorials of the newspaper. Issues such as ‘*youth addiction*’, ‘*Safety net program*’, ‘*rising of the living costs*’, and ‘*unethical surgery of women for child delivery*’ were published under ‘social issues’ category.

With regard to the ‘Unrest/conflict’ in the country, the newspaper allotted 6 (23%) of the editorials published in the six months’ time. In this category issues such as, ‘loss of human life’, ‘destruction of properties’, ‘causes of the unrests’, ‘rule of law’, ‘state of emergency’ etc... have been discussed. Under the ‘Politics’ (peace and stability) category, 3 editorials (11.5%)

were published and the main issues were related to *political sphere, National Consensus, Federal System, press release of EPRDF, Release of prisoners, populism, status of EPRDF, political problems and Anti-terror and civic association law. 'Ensuring Democracy and protecting human rights', 'Peaceful power transfer', 'accomplishing duties and responsibilities to enhance the change', 'new spirit', 'hopeful inspiration and consensus'* in different sectors were publicized in the 'Change' category.

An interview was held with selected personnel of Addis Zemen in order to triangulate the data of the content analysis of the editorials. During the interview, participants were asked about the policies and practices of organizing the editorial page. As it has been learned from their responses, the newspaper has to follow 'directions' given by the government.

'Based on the editorial policy of the newspaper, the central issues, plans, policies and their accomplishments of the country are raised in the editorial page. Each daily editorial is organized picking up issues from these policies and priorities of the government. These editorials are endorsed at the regular meetings. As a government media outlet, all the focuses are based on the directives given,' (Ad-Z, interview 1).

'When there are issues given due attention by the government, the editorial board discusses to choose themes from these issues for the editorial. There are evaluation sessions with the chief editor in which journalists and editors discuss together,' (Ad-Z, Interviewee 2).

On the other hand, as it has been depicted in the table above, Addis Admass has published few editorials directly related to the topic of 'Unrest/conflict'. Only, 3 (11.5%) were dedicated to this issue. The newspapers focused on themes such as, 'safe living environments', 'extremism and rationality' 'the cost of oppressing public voices', 'elite participation for the progress of change' and 'equality and respect for meaningful participation'. Under 'politics' category, the newspaper published 4 editorials (15.4%). This category included issues related to 'avoiding undermining each other', 'involving citizens' and 'respect for diversity'. 'Change' and 'Governance' have been given much more emphasis. A total of 17 editorials (65.4%) were dedicated for these topics. Under 'Change' category issues such as, '*change as a process*', '*improving working atmosphere*', '*using time*', '*diversity tolerance*', '*government advisories*', '*individual change versus systems change*', '*populism*', '*proactive measures*' '*listening voices*'

and 'flexibility' have been discussed in the editorials. Addis Admass has published 11 (42.3%) editorial issues related to 'Governance'. Under this category issues such as, 'the judiciary process', 'bureaucracy', 'common goals', 'follow up of government plans, 'citizens' contribution' 'love and care for each other' and transparency and corruption' have been focused. 'Economy and 'social issues' were not given enough coverage. Only 1 editorial was published for each category.

Generally, to see whether there is a significant difference between the two newspapers editorial page coverage or not, a chi-square analysis was made. The result of statistical test shows that there is a significant difference in the coverage of unrest and change between the two news papers ($\chi^2 = 12.71$, $df = 5$, $p < .05$)

Newspaper * Topic Cross tabulation

		Topic					Total	
		Unrest	Peace	Change	Economy	Governance		Social
Addis Zemen	Count	6	3	2	4	7	4	26
	% within Newspaper	23.1%	11.5%	7.7%	15.4%	26.9%	15.4%	100.0%
	% within Topic	66.7%	42.9%	25.0%	26.7%	87.5%	80.0%	50.0%
Addis Admas	Count	3	4	6	11	1	1	26
	% within Newspaper	11.5%	15.4%	23.1%	42.3%	3.8%	3.8%	100.0%
	% within Topic	33.3%	57.1%	75.0%	73.3%	12.5%	20.0%	50.0%
Total	Count	9	7	8	15	8	5	52
	% within Newspaper	17.3%	13.5%	15.4%	28.8%	15.4%	9.6%	100.0%
	% within Topic	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Newspaper * Topic	52 ^a	50.0%	52	50.0%	104	100.0%

a. Number of valid cases is different from the total count in the cross tabulation table because the cell counts have been rounded.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.710 ^a	5	.026
Likelihood Ratio	13.642	5	.018
N of Valid Cases	52		

a. 10 cells (83.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.50.

In addition to editorial text, Addis Zemen has published issues selectively in parallel with the editorial under the ‘Agenda’ column.

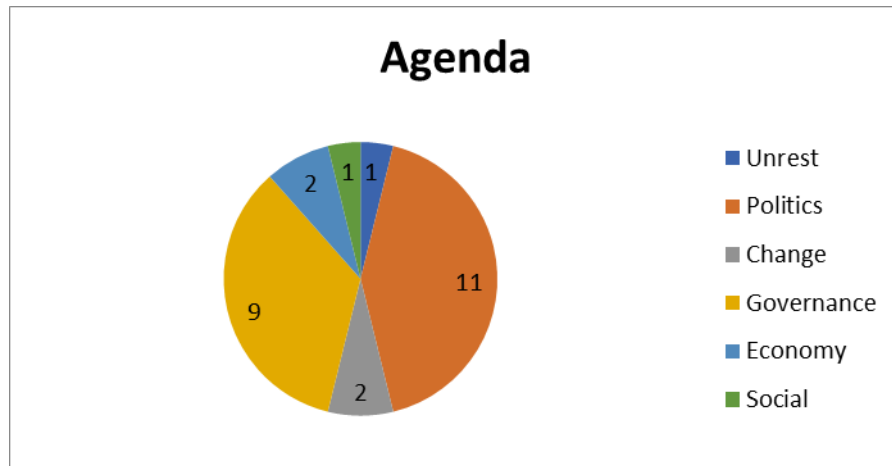


Fig 2: Themes covered on the Agenda column of Addis Zemen

In this column, the newspaper allowed citizens to reflect their own opinions on issues summarized in the figure. However, the topics were not just randomly selected. Issues reflected by citizens will get to be published as long as the contents and general themes are in line with the editorial policies. Hence, these articles published in parallel with the newspaper editorial are selectively publicized to supplement the editorial. As it can be seen from the figure, more emphasis has been given to politics in the editorials of Addis Zemen published in January (Tir 1- June 30, 2010 E.C.). The agenda section was almost dedicated to politics. When we see the contents in this category, they were related to the unrest in the country.

Similarly, Addis Admass has added few an op-ed side columns in parallel with the editorial page.

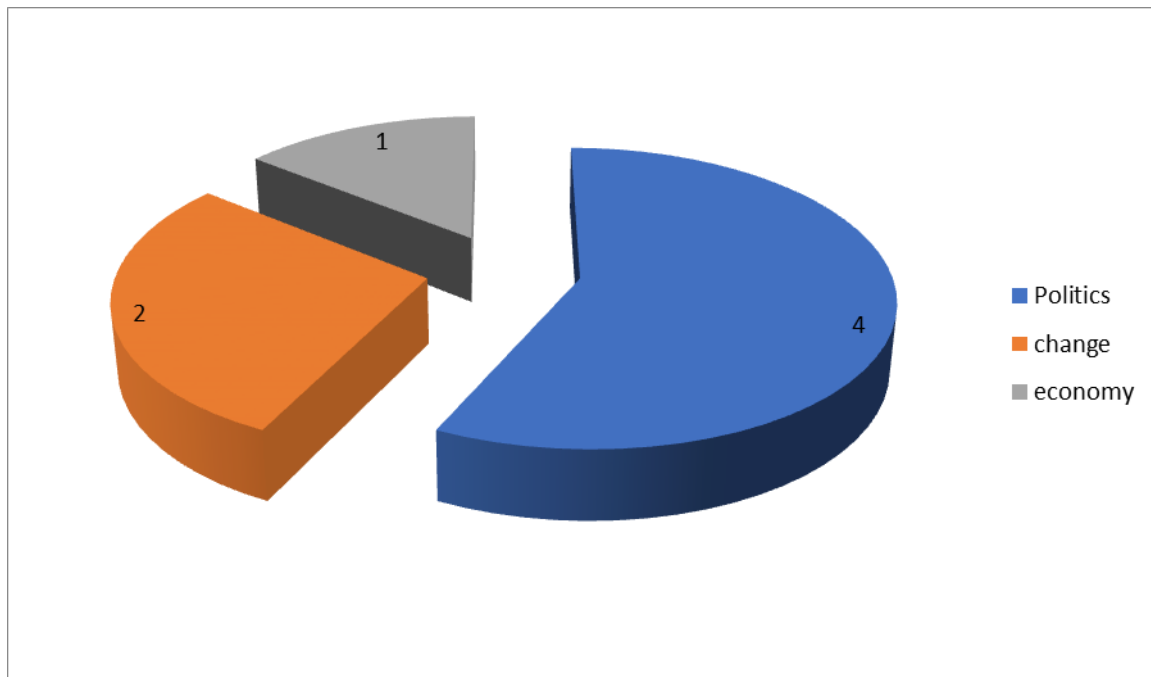


Fig 3: Supplementary contents of Addis Admass

As it has been noticed from the texts published, the newspaper used ‘idiomatic expressions, poems, quotes, and reminders etc... to augment the messages disclosed in the editorial page.

On the other hand, most newspapers have editorial cartoons in their editorial pages. An editorial cartoon is used as a tool to put the idea about political, social and economic issues. According to Everette (1974), political cartoons are a significant medium for the formation of public opinion on important social issues. The Jyllands-Posten’s Muhammad cartoon controversy in Denmark which resulted aggressive protests around the world is one of a good example of the power of editorial cartoons as a medium of political communication (Veteran, 2010). As the scope of this research was including editorial cartoons, the researcher tried to find the message portrayed by editorial Cartons. However, surprisingly, no editorial cartoons in both newspapers.

4.3 Comparative Analysis of coverage of the Unrests or Conflicts and the Change

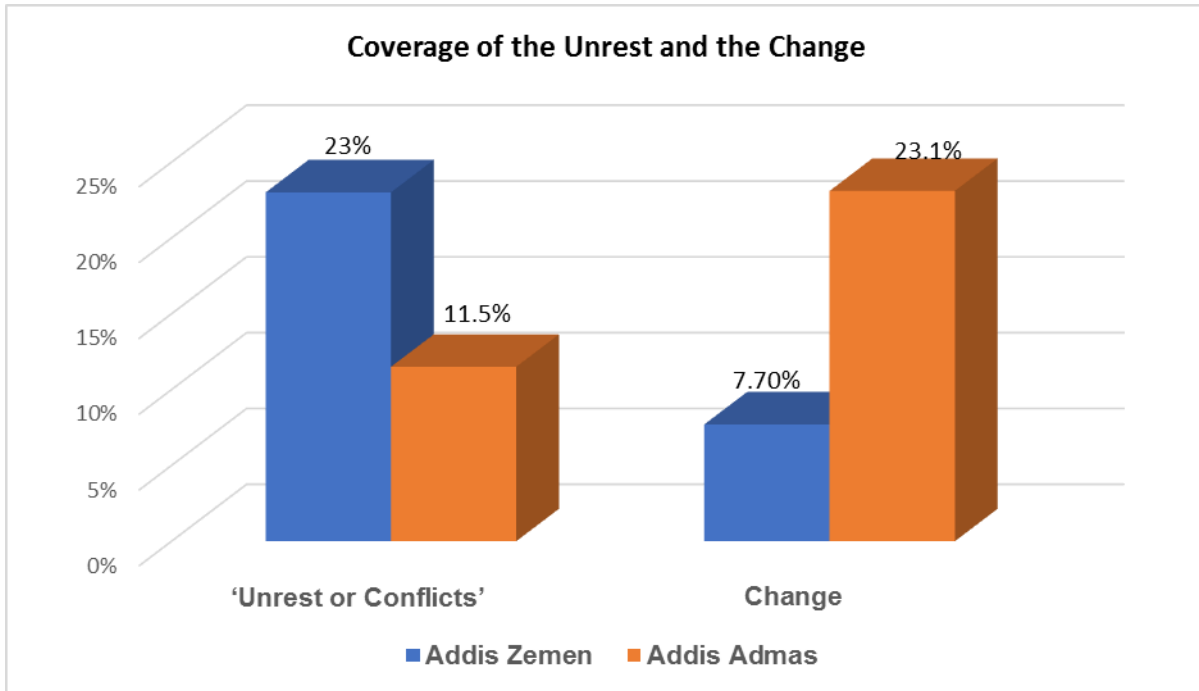


Fig.4: Coverage of Unrest/conflict and change

The two newspapers have touched the issue of ‘unrest/conflicts in different editorials. On the other hand, the newspapers have published some editorials which were mainly dedicated to the issue of ‘unrest/conflict’ and ‘change’ in the country. As we can see from the table, Addis Zemen has given better number of editorial coverage for unrest (23.1%), whereas; Addis Admass has less coverage (11.5%). The issue of ‘Change’ in the country during the selected period has got better coverage by Addis Admass (23.1%) than Addis Zemen (7.7%).

When we see the framing strategies of the two newspapers, the issue of ‘unrest/conflict’ has been publicized in different ways. In the editorials of Addis Zemen unrest/conflict was openly addressed. The newspaper illustrated the crisis caused by the unrests/conflicts in various areas of the country. As an illustration, conflict has been publicized in the editorial of the newspaper as follows:

In the last two years the country has been disturbed by the unrests followed by unauthorized mass rallies. These unrests have been causing destruction of properties, human physical injuries and loss of lives.

Besides, the investment has been obstructed (Addis Zemen, Yek. 13, and 2010 E.C.).

In the last two years, there have been unrests and chaos in some areas of the country which have been terrorizing citizens; people have been killed and properties have been destroyed. Most importantly, there has been a threat against the constitution which is the law of laws and the source of citizens for democracy and equality (Addis Zemen, Yek.27, 2010 E.C.).

On the contrary, Addis Admass used poems, theoretical assumptions and tales to disclose both the ‘Unrest/conflict’ and the ‘change’ in the country.

**ዘመን እና ዘመን እየተባረረ፤
ከምሮ እየናደ ንድ እየከመረ፤
ይሄወ ጅምሩ አልቆ ማለቂያው ጀመረ ።**

(Addis Admass, Megabit 1, 2010 E.C.).

As we can see from this poem, it tried to point out that things were getting worse during that time. The central point discussed in the editorial was that the government had been reluctant for the demands of the people. It implied that the problems started to emerge unless it is managed well. That is, the government seems to lose administering the country following clear strategy.

In order to triangulate the analysis, an interview was held with selected personnel who are involved in the organization of the editorial page of this newspaper.

‘As we give value for art, we present the editorial integrating it with the life style of the society. Accordingly, we integrate the current situation with the folklore to organize and publish the editorial. We believe that the themes conveyed within folklores were very powerful. The folklores helped readers to see things in a wider perspective’ (Ad-Ad, Interviewee-1).

As we can see from the response of the interviewee, the use of folklore in the editorial has been justified. They presented the editorials using literary works to contextualize the issue and enhance wider reader perspectives.

The editorial of Addis Admass did not openly disclose the crisis caused by the ‘Unrest/conflict’ during the six months’ period, the problem was indirectly touched. In fact, it states how difficult it was for the people to move safely. ‘*If our environments are surrounded by threats, we will not get stability*’ (Addis Admass, Megbait 1, 2010 E.C.). The editorial tried to point out the cause of the unrest indirectly. ‘*When people are totally blocked not to say anything, they will start to find ways*’ (Addis Admass, Megbait 15, 2010 E.C.).

In the editorial published on Yekatit 10, 2010 E.C. pointed out that the government had not responded to questions on time and citizens, especially the youth were hopeless to deliver their questions peacefully.

**ተግሳጽም ለፀባይ ካልሆነው አራሚ
መናገር ከንቱ ነው ካልተገኘ ሰሚ!**

(Addis Admass Yekatit 10, 2010 E.C.)

The poem goes like, though people comment, criticize and suggest for the problems committed by the government, it could not take them for improvements. This implies that the government needs to listen for the comments, criticisms and suggestions of the people. In this edition, the newspaper suggested urgent measures to be taken before things get out of control.

During the face to face discussion, the participants were asked why they choose not to focus on the daily events during the crisis. One of the participants stated;

‘We do not focus on unrests and aggravate situations just as some newspapers do. We give priority for professionalism. We give coverage for serious situations even after the unrests/conflicts are over. We are not event focused and that is why we have stayed in the industry for long. Some newspapers disclose ‘loud titles’ but we are cautious to get deep information from reliable sources’ (Ad-Ad, interviewee 1).

‘Daily events are primarily covered in the news column. Issues that need special attention and detail discussion are selected as editorial themes. While we organize the editorial, we do not focus on a single incident that happened in the week. Rather, we put the case into the general context and convey the crisis. In the editorials, we promote cautiousness and thoughtfulness and for better

solutions for the problems. We, therefore, forward possible roles of the government and point out planning new approaches' (Ad-Ad, Interviewee 2).

As we can see from the responses, the newspaper presented issues in a comprehensive manner. In most cases, the single issues are not directly focused. Rather, the problems are put into the general political contexts and then possible recommendations are forwarded.

In order to compare the two newspapers' editorials in terms of 'stance', the editorials published in the six months have been analyzed using the following codes.

Newspaper	Supporting the Government	Blaming the government	Supporting oppositions	Blaming the Opposing groups	Neutral
Addis Zemen					
Addis Admass					

Table-3: Standpoint of the newspapers on their editorials

Addis Zemen has disclosed many editorials supporting the government. For example, the editorial published on *Yekatit 13, 2010 E.C* under the title “*Asking and demolishing development*” states as follows:

It is true that the public has questions of good governance. However, there are 'anti-development' and 'anti-peace' forces who use this as a mask to put the country into chaos. Damaging the nation's image, destructing properties and killing people and asking for democracy and development are two contradictory acts. As these unrests could not stop even though the government disclosed its commitment to take improving measures, the government declared state of emergency so as to control the situation (Addis Zemen Yek. 13, 2010 E.C.)

Similarly, the newspaper supported the state of emergency during the unrest as follows.

There are people who are not governed by law. As a result, it has been very difficult for the government to exercise rule of law under the normal procedure. Consequently, the council of ministers declared state of emergency on February 16, 2018 to protect the constitution and enable citizens safely (Addis Zemen Yek. 27, 2010 E.C.)

As it can be seen from the paragraph of the editorial, the newspaper has shown full support for the government to declare the state of emergency during the unrest.

There have been big transformations in Ethiopia in the last 27 years. However, there have been lots of complaints from the public as a result of 'lack of good governance'. Gradually these complaints of good governance have begun to turn into 'colour revolution' motivated by some anti-peace forces. It is clear that the main challenge of the country was the oppression of nations and nationalities for a long time and this is the base for the establishment of the EPRDF (Addis Zemen, Megabit 11, 2010 E.C.)

In this editorial Addis Zemen approves that there has been development in the country in the last 27 years and states that the causes of the unrest/conflicts was 'lack of good governance' which have been changed to 'colour revolution' by some 'anti-peace groups'.

Some opposition political parties have moved extremely and have been acting against the constitution of the country. As a result, the government has taken measures based on the law to alleviate this illegal movement (Addis Zemen, Tir 1, 2010 E.C)

As we can see from this paragraph, the newspaper has boldly supported the measures of the government, which have been taken against the opposition parties earlier. The newspaper also supports the moves of the governing party-EPRDF.

The fact that EPRDF has evaluated itself deeply and disclosed its commitment for improvements based on the complaints of people regarding lack of good governance shows us that the party has strong inspiration for change. The party has started to widen the political sphere and work with other political parties. This points out the hope for political change in our country (Addis Zemen, Meg.11, 2010 E.C.)

Using the second criterion, analysis has been made whether the editorials of Addis Zemen criticized the government. The newspaper related the causes of the unrest/conflict to 'lack of good governance' and the criticisms are based on 'governance'.

Recently, the complaints of the people of Ethiopia have been increasing as the result of lack of good governance and corruption. The government has disclosed repeatedly that it is determined to alleviate these problems. Nevertheless, the government has not been as such effective. As a result, there have been unrests/conflicts in different areas of the country (Addis Zemen, Tir 22, 2010 E.C)

In this paragraph the newspaper advised the government to put all the promises on improving good governance and fighting corruption into practice to stop the unrests/conflicts.

There has been a controversy about the federal system of the country. In fact, some people argue that the main cause of the unrests/conflicts in the country is the Ethnic Based Federalism of the country. Addis Zemen has acknowledged the fact that people were unable to move in different regions freely. The newspaper blamed the government for failing to teach citizens about it.

Some people argue that the federal system of the country is the main cause of the unrests. However, the Ethiopian nations and nationalities have gained a lot of advantages such as, developing and governing their own region by their own, using their own languages and promoting their own culture. The problem is that the government has not worked hard to teach people about the benefits of the federal system. People do not have clear knowledge about it. Thus, the government has to exert much more effort to create awareness about the federal system (Addis Zemen, Ginbot 14, 2010 E.C).

With regard to the opposition parties, Addis Zemen has not published any single supporting editorial. Rather, the newspaper related the unrests/conflicts to ‘external forces’. The newspaper used specific words and phrases to describe these ‘external forces’. The common words used to describe these ‘undefined groups’ include: ‘*anti-peace forces*’, ‘*anti-development forces*’, ‘*extremists*’, ‘*threats of the constitution*’, ‘*chauvinists*’ ‘*Ethiopian enemies*’, etc...

In most cases, the newspaper used hostile words to relate the causes of the unrest/conflict for undefined groups. However, in some cases, the newspaper blamed the opposition party members.

'There are 'anti-development' and 'anti-peace' groups who use this as a mask to put the country into chaos (Yek. 13, 2010).

Some opposition political parties have moved extremely and have been acting against the constitution of the country. As a result, the government has taken measures based on the law to alleviate this illegal movement (Addis Zemen, Tir 1, 2010 E.C).

Similarly, Addis Zemen has published articles which have been selected deliberately. The stances conveyed in each article under the 'agenda' column of Addis Zemen all support both government and the ruling party-EPRDF and stand against the opposition parties.

The ruling party disclosed to the public that it has identified its weaknesses and has planned to alleviate these problems. The party has shown commitment to prepare itself and create smooth conditions for the upcoming election. On the contrary, parties such as Semayawi, cannot do like this. These parties cannot solve the country's current problem as long as they stick to their current stances. These parties do not recognize and accept the reality that there are nations and nationalities that have their unique identities. The parties like Semayawi undermine the nations and nationalities calling them 'minorities'. They do not fit for these realities; they are just fans of the old 'unitary government system' (Addis Zemen Tir 8, 2010 E.C).

All in all, the newspaper did not publish the editorials in a neutral manner rather it used biased framing strategies. As we have seen from the sample texts, the editorials of Addis Zemen were not presented using a balanced framing strategy. This was raised during the interview.

We have gaps in portraying unrests/conflicts in a balanced manner. It is true that there is a difference in framing the situation when one gathers information at the actual place and gets information from authorities via telephone. We usually do not go to the unrest/conflict sites. This is our weakness. Hence, I feel personally that because of this method of information gathering there is a gap of portraying balanced public voices. There is always a tradition to relay on authorities' information. There are different reasons for this. It can be self-censorship or the weakness of the editorial strategy of the newspaper (Ad-Z, interviewee 1).

As we can learn from the response of interviewee, the editors knew that they were not presenting a balanced and comprehensive editorial. This supports the inferences made

from the content analysis that in most cases, the newspaper presented pro-government stances. In fact, the issues to publish on the editorial page have to be endorsed by the editorials board members who were definitely assigned by the government.

'It is better to gather information about the unrest/conflict at the actual cites. But we do not go to conflict cites by our own. For example, we covered the case of Gedeo conflict and displacement when the Prime Minister visited the area. This is the problem in which our media follows the footsteps of the government officials. We may plan to do by our own but it can be cancelled. The problem is that the officials in our organization are afraid of accountability and avoid risks. Hence, the media does not investigate crisis by itself (AD-Z, interview 2).

On the contrary, Addis Admass conveyed the editorials differently. In most cases, the newspaper used a neutral strategy in the editorials. During the unrest, critics against the government were not clearly stated. Rather the comments and suggestions were forwarded indirectly.

“በመስከረም የሚቆስል በሰኔ ያሳክከዋል!”

This saying suggests that one has to analyze the situation and anticipate what may occur in the future. It tries to tell the government to be proactive rather than trying to ‘extinguish the fire’ after occurring.

We may think that we have strong support by the majority today. But we should not forget that this support will be an accusation against us when we fall one day. Oppressed people will never forgive us until they make us pay for what we have done against them. They may keep quiet temporarily. But when things get worse, they will refer back all our sins and avenge. Thus, one way to be safe is to confess and ask excuse right today. We might have won the battle not the war as the war inside the heart of the people (Addis Admass, Yek. 3, 2010 E.C.)

We can infer from this paragraph that the newspaper was trying to criticize the government for being reluctant to the uprising/conflicts. The newspaper used the pronoun ‘we’ to be more polite criticize the acts of the government. The newspaper tried to point out the wrong moves

of the government, despite the problems using Amharic idiomatic expression as the title of the editorial.

Throughout different changes our country has passed, we noticed the government asks time to accomplishes what has been planned' on the one hand, and the governed complain about unfulfilled services. Meanwhile, time has been wasted. Then we regret for the missed time. Still now, the executers have not handled the problems so far. They are irresponsive despite repeated complaints. As the saying 'one cannot wake some who has gone to sleep intentional'. It will be a blind walk if we keep avoiding all the advice (Yek. 10, 2010 E.C.)

We can only move forward only if we are honest to our consciousness. We need to avoid being biased. We need to get out of the habit of discriminating people who criticize us. We should stop fragmenting people into 'ours' and 'not ours' based on their stance towards us. Let us look into ourselves. People need rationality not just guesses. Unless we work on transparency, we will fall into obscurantism (Addis Admass Megbait 1, 2010 E.C.)

As we can see from the above data, the newspaper tried to criticize the government for being negligent for public complaints. However, the critics were not presented for specific government bodies on specified cases. They were just disclosed generally.

Addis Zemen justified that the causes of the unrests/conflicts were just lack of good governance. Conversely, Addis Admas criticized the government's defensiveness for complaints related to policy issues.

How far can we proceed by only justifying "This is because our democracy is at its infant stage! "It is just lack of good governance!" "It is just a problem of execution not the policy!"? We cannot control the problems once we are too late. We need to open our eyes and observe. We need to solve the causes before we fall into chaos. Our country cannot forbear other problems anymore. Unless we are careful, our country is fragile just like humans! (Addis Admass Yek. 10, 2010 E.C).

During the interview held with selected editorial personnel of Addis Admass, the question related to ‘stance’ when editorials are publicized was raised. As it has been learned from the interview, they did not apply polarized approach.

‘We do our work based on the principles of journalism. We do not focus only on blaming the government. We appreciate the government for doing good and pointing out better ways. When we notice that there are wrong doings of the government, we highlight those wrong actions to be taken as lessons and recommend the better ways’ (Ad-Ad, interviewee 2).

With regard to oppositions, Addis Admass has not openly criticized nor supported in the editorials published during the selected period.

So far there has been a belief that the right or left ideology brings the change and the public in the middle has been ignored. Hence, people have to be into either of the ideology but the big ideas from the larger public have never been considered. Now, we need to create conscious action group that know the need and interest of the public critically (Addis Admass Sene. 23, 2010 E.C).

In this editorial, the newspaper tried to criticize the practices of politicians. According to this text, political parties debated on theoretical assumptions which were not based on the realities of the country.

However, most of the editorials related to the unrest/conflict in the country have been displayed in a neutral manner. The newspaper used tales and poems and reflected neutral stances and forward ‘recommendations’ or ‘advice’ for just all stakeholders. For example, in the editorial published on Tir 19, 2010 E.C, the newspaper disclosed a balanced article. This shows that the newspaper avoided an affiliation to one side. Thus, the newspaper forwarded general recommendation for both government and all the citizens.

Transforming a nation and improving people’s lives has never been a short and an even journey. We pay taxes deducting from our salaries and our incomes so that we can get appropriate roads, power and water supply, schools for our children, hospitals and benefits and changes in general. In fact, we should ask ourselves not only “What can my country do for me; rather, what should I do for

my country?” For this, we need to think forward and proceed cautiously. That is why people say “Not emotionality, rather, maturity”. It is good to take time and settle rather than rushing to disclose laws and declarations that might initiate and push emotionality, anger and unrests again and again. We all citizens in either side need to move find ways with maturity not with emotion (Addis Admass, Tir 19, 2010 E.C).

Based on Galtung, (2003) model of Peace/war journalism, the editorials of Addis Zemen and Addis Admass have been evaluated whether the published editorials were conflict oriented or war oriented. For this end, the following criteria were selected to assess the editorials. Generally, based on the Galtung, (2003) criteria, the two newspapers were categorized as follows.

Addis Zemen	Addis Admass
Violence /war oriented	Peace/conflict oriented
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partisan- biased and Prejudiced for one side • Visible effects-of the conflicts • Uses victimizing language • Uses -demonizing language – describing as evil • “Us-them” journalism, propaganda, voice, for “us • See “them” as the problem, focus on who prevails in conflicts • Good and bad guys labeling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invisible effects of the conflicts • Non-partisan-avoid affiliation • Highlight peace initiatives, to prevent more crisis • Avoid labeling of good and bad • Proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs • Avoid demonizing language • Avoid victimizing language and Reports • Solution-oriented • non-violence + creativity

Table-4: Orientation of Editorials as per Galtung’s (2003) model.

As it has been learned from the analysis of the editorials published in the selected period, Addis Zemen can be placed into the ‘*conflict oriented*’ category. In the first place, the editorials supported the government and the ruling party openly. The newspaper has shown support for the ruling party stating that ‘EPRDF has evaluated itself deeply and disclosed its commitment for the improvement of good governance and in widening political situation’ (Meg. 11, 2010 E.C). On the other hand, the newspaper justified the appropriateness of the measures taken against the oppositions parties.

Some political parties have moved extremely and have been acting against the constitution of the country. The government has taken measures based on the law to alleviate this illegal movement (Addis Zemen, Tir 1, 2010 E.C).

From the very beginning, the newspaper boldly dictated that the government and the ruling party have brought tremendous developments. ‘*There have been big transformations in Ethiopia in the last 27 years (Meg. 11, 2010 E.C).*

Though some people criticize the federal systems of the country, the Ethiopian nations and nationalities have gained a lot of advantages such as developing and governing their own region by their own, using their own languages and promoting their own culture (Ginbot 14, 2010 E.C).

This downgraded the question of many people who were part of the unrest/conflicts as they opposed the systems not only the governance. This ‘downgrading’ strategy of the editorial increased grievance and might aggravated the unrest. The newspaper also openly described the crises caused by the conflicts.

These unrests have been causing destruction of properties, human physical injuries and loss of lives (Yek. 13, 2010 E.C). People have been killed and properties have been destroyed (Yek. 27, 2010 E.C). There has been a threat against the constitution which is the law of laws and the source of citizens for democracy and equality (Addis Zemen, Yek.27, 2010 E.C).

The details and frequencies of these editorials without balances might be caused frustrations among people which might lead to panic and unrest states.

The other important criteria of Galtung which can help us put the newspaper’s editorial under ‘Conflict oriented’ column is the use of ‘*demonizing language*’ and applying

'US-Them' reporting. As an illustration, Addis Zemen used words and phrases such as 'anti-peace forces', 'Ethiopian enemies', 'anti-development forces' 'chauvinists' and 'extremists'. Besides, the newspaper applied 'US-them' journalism. 'There are 'anti-development' and 'anti-peace' groups who use this as a mask to put the country into chaos (Yek. 13, 2010). This statement shows there is a practice of grouping people into 'pro-government' (us) and 'anti-government' (them). The 'demonizing language' using the above words and grouping people cannot enhance peace rather they create hostilities among people and heighten the conflicts.

On the contrary, Addis Admass conveyed editorials differently. As per the model of Galtung, the editorials of Addis Admass can be said 'peace oriented'. Firstly, the newspaper has not described the conflict crises openly (avoids vivid descriptions of crisis). The editorials presented general recommendations and advice. All these suggestions and recommendations have been presented in integrated ways in poems and idiomatic expressions.

**“... አሁን የት ይገኛል፣ ቢፈልጉ ዞሮ
መስማት ከማይፈልግ፣ የባሰ ደንቆሮ!”**

As we understand from the above idiomatic expression, still, the public need to be listened by the concerned bodies. The newspaper also explained that the dilemma of our country starts from the attitude on taking responsibilities by saying “የአብዩን እከክ ወደ እምዬ ልክክ” ስንል ነው (which means ignoring responsibilities and accountabilities). This is oppressing the people which lead us to regretting finally (Tir 12, 2010 E.C). In this editorial, the newspaper portrayed the reluctance of the government for the questions of citizens.

With regard to balance 'Non-partisan', the newspaper avoided 'affiliation' to either the government (ruling party), or to the opposition parties. Instead, the newspaper highlighted 'peace initiatives' to prevent more crises. Moreover, there were no editorials published in labeling of people as 'good and bad guys' and 'us-them' grouping in Addis Admass newspaper during the selected study period. In fact, Addis Admass used the pronoun 'We' in the suggestion and advice forwarded to be fair and ensure balance. Furthermore, the editorials of Addis Admas did not focus on the cases occurred at that time or earlier. The advice forwarded were future oriented. The editorials suggested possible measures before

Our life tomorrow is determined by the situations today. What is status of the complaints of the people? Does our economic system consider the daily bread of the public? Are the political questions raised still suspended or answered? Is democracy improving or deteriorating? Is justice fair or not? We expect better improvements. We need to contribute for better conditions (Yek. 3, 2010 E.C)

The newspaper editorials were solution oriented as the newspaper used non-violence languages supplemented by creative poems. Hence, we can deduce from the samples that Addis Admass applied peace oriented strategies in the editorials published during the study period.

4.4. Discussion

This study aimed at examining how the Ethiopian political unrest of 2018 was covered and framed in the editorial pages of two selected newspapers-Addis Zemen and Addis Admass. The study has analyzed print media coverage of Ethiopian political unrest and changes in the editorial pages of the *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass* newspapers in order to obtain descriptions about the common practices. Besides, selected editorial personnel were interviewed in order to triangulate the data gathered. The data gathered have been analyzed in the previous chapter. In this chapter, the findings have been summarized based on the research question identified for this study. Accordingly, the summary of the findings have been discussed using each research question as guiding question.

RQ#1: How often do Addis Zemen and Addis Admass newspaper cover the issues of political unrest and the change in their editorial pages?

As it has been learned from the data (Table-1), the editorial of Addis Zemen gave more emphasis for issues related to *economy* (27%) and *unrest* (23%). Governance and social issues have got the second level of coverage followed by or politics and change. On the contrary Addis Admas has given much coverage for ‘*governance*’ (42.3%) and ‘*Change*’ (23%). The issue of Unrest/conflict has got less coverage (11.5 %) compared to Addis Zemen. From this analysis we can see that the two newspapers have given different coverage both the political unrest/conflict and the change. Addis Zemen has dedicated better coverage (23%) for the political unrest/conflict whereas; Addis Admass has given less coverage for this issue (11.5%) which is half of the coverage of Addis Zemen. On the hand, Addis Admass has publicized

many editorials on the issue of 'Change' (23%) which is a double of the coverage Addis Zemen.

RQ#2: *How do the two newspapers frame the Ethiopian political unrest and the change in their editorial pages?*

As it has been depicted in table-2, the coverage of the unrest/conflict and the change in the editorials of the two newspapers is not similar. Addis Zemen has given better number of editorial coverage for the *unrest* (23.1%), whereas, Addis Admass has less coverage (11.5%). The issue of 'Change' in the country during the selected period has got better coverage by Addis Admass (23.1%) than Addis Zemen (7.7%). This shows that there was a difference in covering issues in the editorials. This finding is similar with the finding of a study by Fong (2013) which compared the coverage of inter-ethnic conflict in different Malaysian Newspapers and came up with differences in framing the conflicts. The newspapers had their own editorial routines and principles that made them focus on specific issue. As it has been learned from the interview, Addis Zemen focused on issues which the government has given priorities.

'Based on the editorial policy of the newspaper, the central issues, plans, policies and their accomplishments of the country are raised in the editorial page. Each daily editorial is organized picking up issues from these policies and priorities of the government. These editorials are endorsed at the regular meetings. As a government media outlet, all the focuses are based on the directives given' (Ad-Z, interview 1).

'The editorial conference which is held with authorities is very influential to decide on the daily editorial topic. These authorities are politicians. Thus, they evaluate each topic from the political angle and give their recommendations,' (AD-Z, interview 2).

As we inferred from these response, the contents of editorials of Addis Zemen followed the direction of the government. Each editorial topic to be publicized has to be evaluated at the editorial conference which involves politicians and editors. This shows that the newspaper has intentions to influence people to give attention for the issues that the government focused as Cohen (1963) states that the media do not reflect the reality; they may filter and shape it by concentrating on few issues and subjects and lead the public to perceive those issues as

important as others. In principle, as the editorial writer is free to write what they want as long as it fits inside the ideological and political framework that signifies the papers point of view (Nord, 2001). However, the editors who participated in the interview confirmed that they were influenced by the politicians during the editorial conference.

In this regard, Shoemaker & Reese (2014) and de Vreese (2005) state that journalists decide if and how to report about political conflict. They may seek out political conflicts, amplify political conflicts for the attractiveness of the story, or even actively arrange and manufacture conflict frames. However, besides the agency of individual journalists, other aspects such as media routines and external, political, influences obviously shape how journalists frame conflict.

On the contrary, Addis Admas has its own '*principles*' that have been used as bases to select a focal issue for their editorial.

'Daily events are primarily covered in the news column. Issues that need special attention and detail discussion are selected as editorial themes. While we organize the editorial, we do not focus on a single incident that happened in the week. Rather, we put the case into the general context and convey the crisis. In the editorials, we promote cautiousness and thoughtfulness and for better solutions for the problems. We, therefore, forward possible roles of the government and point out planning new approaches' (Ad-Ad, Interviewee 2).

As it has been noticed from the textual analysis, issues such as political unrests/conflicts were not portrayed openly in the editorials of Addis Admass. The issues were presented in a comprehensive manner. As it can be inferred from the responses and the texts analyzed, editors of Addis Admass were not influenced by their bosses or other external bodies. However, it has been learned that they refrained from conveying issues such as conflicts, openly. In fact, they said that it is their editorial policy to use literary texts to portray sensitive issues in wider political and cultural contexts for deeper understanding.

RQ#3: *What are the similarities and differences in the ways of presenting the editorial page content of Addis Zemen and Addis Admass newspapers?*

As it has been learned from the analyses of the texts, the two newspapers used different framing strategies to portray the unrests/conflicts in the country. In the editorials of Addis

Zemen unrest/conflict was openly disclosed in the published editorials. The newspaper illustrated the crisis of caused by the unrests/conflicts in various areas of the country. For example, in the editorial that was published on *Yek. 13, 2010 E.C*, the newspaper depicted the crisis caused by the unrest/conflicts as *'These unrests have been causing destruction of properties, human physical injuries and loss of lives. Besides, the investment has been obstructed'*. As per Entman's (1993, 2004) model of framing analysis, Addis Zemen has defined the problem and the actors involved openly and clearly. Besides, the problem has been displayed as if it has been initiated by the 'some groups' whom they described as 'anti-peace' or 'anti-development' forces. This has fulfilled the 'casual attribution' of Entman's framing analysis model.

Addis Admass did not openly disclose the crisis caused by the 'unrest/conflict' during the six months period; the problem was indirectly touched. The poems and literary arts were used to portray the problems related to the unrest/conflicts. On the other hand, Addis Zemen has focused on the crisis caused by the unrest/conflicts ignoring the root causes. In fact, the newspaper denied other causes and downgraded the causes attaching all to lack of '*good governance*'. But, Addis Admass has touched the causes, pointed out in the discussion of the editorial. For example, on *Megbait 15, 2010 E.C.*, Addis Admass stated *'When people are totally blocked not to say anything, they will start to find ways'* to point out that the cause of the unrests is lack of free political sphere which can allow all citizens equally to have their say. As per Entman's model, the framing strategy of Addis Admass fulfills one criterion which is 'moral evaluation'. The newspaper presented the crisis as the result of violation of 'common values' of the society rather than attaching it to individuals or to the government.

In order to compare and contrast the stances of the two newspaper editorials, the codes: 'supporting/blaming the government', supporting/blaming the opposing groups 'neutral' were identified as evaluating criteria. As it can be seen from the findings of the analysis, Addis Zemen supported the government blaming opposing groups, whereas; Addis Admass stayed neutral. Addis Zemen did not try to convey the possible political causes for the problem. It just disclosed the destructions and portrayed as if the complaints of people were related to 'good governance'. The editorial of Addis Zemen supports the government, for example, by legitimizing the actions taken against the oppositions (*Tir 1, 2010 E.C*). This is similar with the

study finding on ‘Israeli/Palestinian conflict on New York Times’ of Ross (2003) in which Israeli actions are framed as an overreaction or excessive reliance on force to advance a legitimate cause rather than as unjust oppression of innocent Palestinians. Of course, the editors who participated in the interview confirmed that the newspaper editorial topics have to be approved by the members of the editorial conference in which politicians and authorities participate. In this regard, Shoemaker and Reese, (2013) stated that aspects such as media routines and external, political, influences obviously shape how journalists frame conflicts.

Moreover, the editorials of the two newspapers were compared and contrasted vis-à-vis the models of Galtung (2003) peace and war journalism. As per the analysis made on the texts published, Addis Zemen is ‘Conflict oriented’ whereas Addis Admass is ‘peace oriented’. The editorials of Addis Zemen newspaper supported the government and the ruling party openly. The newspaper boldly disclosed that the current ruling party has brought tremendous developments and there were no gaps in the systems other than lack of ‘good governance’. This is similar with finding of Ross (2003) which found out that ‘New York Times’ focused on U.S. strategic interests, pointing readers’ attention to the “diplomat balance” needed in the region’. This downgrading ‘framing strategy’ may trigger anger among the opposing groups. Most importantly, the newspaper used ‘*demonizing language*’ labeling people with negative words such as ‘*anti-peace forces, anti-development forces, ‘extremists’ and ‘chauvinists’*. The strategy could not enhance peace rather it created hostilities among people and heightened the conflicts.

On the contrary, Addis Admass conveyed editorials ‘neutrally’ in a ‘balanced’ manner by avoiding *demonizing languages*. Moreover, all the critics and suggestions were presented using the pronoun ‘WE’ to be fair both sides. This strategy can create positive attitudes and enhance discussions. Thus, we can say that the editorials of Addis Admass were ‘peace oriented’.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

The main purpose of this study was to assess editorials' framing strategies of the unrest/conflicts and change of Ethiopia in 2018. The study aimed at examining the similarities and differences of the two newspapers in prorating the unrest/conflicts in their editorial pages in six months time (from Tir 1, 2010 E.C to Sene 30, 2010 E.C.). For this end, the texts were gathered and analyzed using content analysis method. Besides, selected personnel were interviewed in order to triangulate the findings. Prorate

As it has been learned from the findings, Addis Zemen gave better coverage for the unrest/conflicts and economy. The editorials of the newspaper described the crisis of the unrest/conflicts openly listing out the loss of human lives, destructions of properties and blockage of investments. On the other hand, the newspaper proved its affiliation to the government since it openly approved the 'big successes' of the ruling party and the government, and it deliberately downgraded the root causes of the unrest/conflicts as 'lack of good governance'. Hence, the editorial of Addis Zemen lacked neutrality in portraying the conflicts. In fact, the participants in the interview pointed out that they were regularly under influence as each editorial topic has to be approved through the regular 'editorial conference' in which politicians participate and exert their influence.

On the contrary, Addis Admass devoted better coverage for the 'change' and 'governance' during the study period. This newspaper did not focus on individual incidents of the unrest conflict. It rather presented the crisis in the wider context of the political sphere. Moreover, the newspaper stayed neutral in publishing the unrest/conflicts. It neither supported nor blamed the government or opposed groups separately. Instead, the newspaper put responsibilities on all citizens and called for cooperation and listening each other.

When the editorials of the two newspapers are evaluated using Galtung's, (2003) model of peace/war journalism, Addis Zemen can put into conflict oriented as: 1) it openly backs the government legitimizing the actions against the opposing groups 2) downgrades the questions

of the opposing groups; relates the causes to just lack of ‘good governance’ 3) portrays opposing groups using demonizing language such as ‘anti-peace’, ‘anti-development’, extremists’ and chauvinists’. Conversely, the editorials of Addis Admass published on the selected period can be placed into the ‘peace oriented’ category. Firstly, the newspaper did not focus on reports of the individuals crises. It put the problem in a wider political context for detail understanding of the issue. Secondly, the newspaper portrayed the problems using folktales and poems. Third, the newspaper avoided labeling and grouping people. It also avoided using negative words and presented the issues neutrally.

5.2. Recommendations

This study has limitations as it focused on only two newspapers and covered limited period of time. Thus, it is very difficult to generalize the findings as the general practices in all the media outlets in Ethiopia. As a result, the researcher suggests further studies to get the complete picture. However, based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made by the researcher to be taken as remedies to improve unrest or conflict coverage of the media. In the first place, it is obvious that media exerts both positive and negative impacts on audiences in perceiving and interpreting news released. The editorial page is the section which portrays the stance of media organization and its editors. Hence, the messages, especially unrest or conflict issues, in section have to publicized carefully. Based on the findings, the following possible recommendations were forwarded.

- The media are expected to give due concern towards the coverage of unrests and conflict in their editorials since these issues have a great deal of impact in every aspect of human life;
- In addition to give more attention and coverage, they need to disclose complete and comprehensive messages;
- Media also need to frame and present the conflict issues using standardized and consistent strategies;
- Moreover, media outlets need to establish standards which can guide the journalists how to select and frame conflict issues.
- Furthermore, continuous trainings and awareness have to be given to all stakeholders with regard to the role of media frames.

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Appendix A:

A coding sheet for the comparative content analysis of newspaper editorial pages in reporting Ethiopian political unrest: the case of Addis Zemen and Addis Admass

1. Coder Name-----
2. Type of newspaper-----
3. Date of publication-----

Elements of editorial page	Unrest/ conflict	Politics/peace and stability	Change	Governance	Economy	Social issues

Main Categories	Sub Catagories
Unrest	Violence and chaos, measures, instability, emotionality, protest, loss of life and material ,destruction of infrastructure, internal displacement
Politics/peace and stability	Enhancing unity in a diversity, discussion to bring peace listening public voice, Pro activeness, expanding political sphere, Mass moves, rationality, stands for forgiveness, love and common values, resolving political problems
Change	New systems, democracy, assigning authorities, participation, arranging platforms for discussion, peaceful power transfer
Governance	Good governance, corruption and justice, accountability, responsibility, equal accessibility, fair payment, bureaucracy, commitment
Economy	Ethiopian economic growth, development, electric power, industries, investment
Social issues	Health, education, protecting youth

Appendix B:

Newspaper * Topic Cross tabulation

		Topic						Total
		Unrest	Peace	Change	Economy	Governance	Social	
Newspaper	Count	6	3	2	4	7	4	26
	% within Newspaper	23.1%	11.5%	7.7%	15.4%	26.9%	15.4%	100.0%
	% within Topic	66.7%	42.9%	25.0%	26.7%	87.5%	80.0%	50.0%
	Count	3	4	6	11	1	1	26
	% within Newspaper	11.5%	15.4%	23.1%	42.3%	3.8%	3.8%	100.0%
	% within Topic	33.3%	57.1%	75.0%	73.3%	12.5%	20.0%	50.0%
Total	Count	9	7	8	15	8	5	52
	% within Newspaper	17.3%	13.5%	15.4%	28.8%	15.4%	9.6%	100.0%
	% within Topic	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Newspaper * Topic	52 ^a	50.0%	52	50.0%	104	100.0%

a. Number of valid cases is different from the total count in the crosstabulation table because the cell counts have been rounded.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.710 ^a	5	.026
Likelihood Ratio	13.642	5	.018
N of Valid Cases	52		

a. 10 cells (83.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.50.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.494	.026
	Cramer's V	.494	.026
N of Valid Cases		52	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Appendix c:

Analysis of Addis Admass Newspaper Editorials

Date	Title	Central Topic	Core concepts
05/05/10		<p>Peace-Care and tolerance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We need to care for each other • care and love are back bones for development • we need to avoid partiality • we need to strive to build a nation for all of us 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mutual care • tolerance • alliance and love
12/05/10		<p>Governance-Patience and responsiveness</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government has to be tolerant • The government has to respond to the questions for the public • The government should not be negligent for any move • The government has to be proactive • The voice of each citizen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tolerance • Responsiveness • Negligence • Reactiveness • Public voice

19/05/10		<p>Governance-Wisdom not emotion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government has to utilize the open criticism from the public • The measures have to be taken wisely not in a rush • The voice of each citizen has to be considered on time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feedbacks • Critics • Cautious measures • Public voice
25/05/10		<p>Political unrest-Ignorant Intellectuals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All educated are not knowledgeable and all uneducated are not ignorant • Education is not gained only from schools; the society, culture, environment, beliefs can shape our thinking • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ignorant intellectuals • Societal norms • Culture

<p>3/06/10</p>		<p>Politics-populism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Politicians need to be careful; they should not rely on their popularity • The mass support now may turn into mass opposition one day • The government should not be tricked by temporary supports • The government has to plan ahead before problems occur 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Populism • Mass support • Real situations
<p>10/06/10</p>		<p>Change- inactiveness</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government has to be quick to give response for demands • Proactive plans for problems ahead • Unnecessary measure after things get worse may cost much more • The public needs changes that are real in their day to day lives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reluctance • Reactiveness • Rush measures • Real changes
<p>17/06/10</p>		<p>Governance- Transparency</p> <p>-the government needs to tell the truth</p> <p>-the country has a long to go in justice, democracy, good governance</p> <p>-the government has to keep the</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tell the truth • Politics and truth • Corruption • Honesty

		promises and be determined for real change	
24/06/10		<p>Governance-Accountability</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Nothing is hidden from the public; what the authorities do is visible to the public ➤ Dictators will one day be exposed ➤ Power cannot safeguard one authority form being accountable to what he/she has done ➤ Those who are conscious of this fact are always cautious; they do things responsibly ➤ Each politician should be independent and free from submissiveness. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accountability • Power and the public • Submissiveness
1/07/10		<p>unrest Illusion/uncertainty/rationality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • we need to be governed by our consciousness • we have to avoid partiality and negativism • transparency is necessary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attitudes and experiences • Impartiality • Partiality • Partiality and prejudice • Instability • Emotionality vs rationality
8/07/10		<p>unrests-PLAN</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Careful move and measure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flexibility • Pro-

		<p>for sudden problems</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We need to set multiple plans 	<p>activeness</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cautious measures • Sustainability
15/07/10		<p>Governance-submissive</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A problem left for others will definitely come to us one day • Problems are not solved only by top officials • Everyone at each level needs to contribute for solutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reluctance • Decentralization
22/07/10		<p>Governance-Commitment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouraging civic associations so that they can contribute alternatives • Opening door for all alternatives from various stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusiveness • Commitment • Cooperation • Enthusiasm
29/07/10		<p>Change-Government advisories</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government needs to assign good advisors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consulting •
6/08/10		<p>Economy-Ethiopian economy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economical

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government needs to review the Ethiopian economy • 	<p>challenge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Politics and economy
13/08/10		<p>change-assigning authorities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power is not for ever • The government has to open public forums • The authorities have to work to sustain the country not for their power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reshuffling • Power • Sustaining power vs sustaining the country
20/08/10		<p>Education-Education quality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor education is a signal for weakness of the government • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education quality • Equity versus quality
27/08/10		<p>Peace-Participation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Every citizen has to contribute • We need to avoid undermining each other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation • Diversity • Tolerance • Cooperation
4/09/10		<p>Change-The Change</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We need to listen each other • Everyone should contribute 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involvement • Real change •

		for the change	
11/09/10		Governance-Judiciary <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Top officials need to be investigated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption and justice • Investigating all officials
18/09/10		Governance-Bureaucracy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The changes need to be up to the bottom • All the door need to be open • The judiciary service has to be improved 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bureaucracy • Accessibility • Lower level changes
25/09/10		Governance-Cautions for doing things <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Listen to advices • The authorities have to listen to the comments advice and voice of the public • Transitions have to be smooth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Listening the public • Feedbacks • Power transitions
2/10/10		Peace-Bystanders <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We cannot get reliable change unless we participate • We should not be just bystanders; we have to be involved and contribute for the change to be real 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bystanders • Participation • Involvement •

9/10/10		<p>Change- new human resource with new methods and skills</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change cannot be real on the old one • The government should not waste time on those that cannot change • Policies and strategies have to be reviewed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Real change • New systems
16/10/10		<p>Peace- stand for, forgiveness love, and peace</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We need to stop selfishness, violence and revenge and move forward for peace and love • We have been boned together with our common culture and history • We have to leave love and forgiveness for our children • A revengeful heroism has to stop 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forgiveness • Love • Common values, culture and history • Revenge
23/10/10		<p>Peace- patience</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government has to be aware that everything cannot stay the same; consider the changing environment • Consider all voices; stop grouping and labeling • We need to build a government that can investigate the needs and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patience • Public voice • Pro-activeness

		thoughts of the public and perform proactively.	
30/10/10		Politics--change <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change is not just simply replacing people • Citizens need to stop moving in mass and evaluate the changes carefully • Being overexcited and following just individuals may result in chaos 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mass moves • rationality

Appendix-D

Additional messages in the Op-ed page of Addis Admass

No.	date	Category	Text	Theme of the text
1.	Tir 5	Change	ካልዳስስኩ አለምንም። (I believe only what I see practically)	<p>-we all need to contribute for the success of the change</p> <p>-the change needs to be authentic to the lives of the people</p>
2.	Tir 12	Politics	“ያልተደራጀ ሃይል፣ ሃይል አይደለም”	-we have to listen each other and stand for a common goal

			(Struggle is nothing without organized moves), former PM of Ethiopia	
3.	Yek.17	Politics	Details of the state of emergency	-reminder on the procedures of executing the state of emergency
4.	Meg. 15	economy	‘When economic and political problems affect people, there is a need for cure better than a temporary relief	-there are economic problems that aggravate the political crisis. -Thus, a meaningful solution is required
5.	Gin.25	Politics	Political prisoners	Tigray region’s political prisoners should be released
6	Sene 16	Politics	‘I just landed on my home country after I have been thinking in my sprits’	-The amnesty granted by the government is a real sign if the change
7	Sene 16	Change	Rapid change within two monthes in Ethiopia	Appreciating the new prime minister, Dr. Abbiy Ahmed for his initiatives to bring changes within short period of time

Appendix-E

Analysis of Addis Zemen Editorial and op –eds coverage in 6 months

Date	Editorial		Agenda	
	Category	Content	Category	Content
Tir 1/2010	Politics	Expanding the political sphere	Governance/	Good governance
Tir 8/2010	Social issue	Unnecessary Surgery for child delivery	unrest	The current unrest can be resolved

Tir 15/2010	economy/ Development	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD)	Politics	The press release of EPRDF
Tir 22/2010	Unrest	National Consensus for Unity	Politics	PM visits Egypt
Tir 29/2010	Good governance	Contraband/smuggling	Peace	The society has to stand together to resolve problems

Date	Editorial		Agenda	
	Category	Content	Category	Content
Yek 6/2010	economy/ Development	GERD	Politics	Release of prisoners to widen the political sphere
Yek 13/2010	Violence/unrest	Destruction and killings	Governance	Hiding evidences as a danger for national unity
Yek 20/2010	governance	Accountability for Unfulfilled of Plans	Politics	EPRDF has to evaluate itself
Yek 27/2010	Unrest	Ensuring Democracy and protecting human rights	Politics	The danger of Populism

Date	Editorial		Agenda	
	Category	Content	Category	Content
4/07/2010	Social issues	Protecting the youth from addiction for the development of the nation	Politics	The status of EPRDF is falling down
11/07/2010	Unrest	Conserving common social values for national unity	Politics	Foreign relations
18/07/2010	Economy/ development	Alternative electric power source	Politics	Press release of EPRDF
25/07/2010	Change	Peaceful power transfer	Politics	Resolving political problems

Date	Editorial		Agenda	
	Category	Content	Category	Content
2/08/2010	Unrest	A Peaceful visit of the PM	Politics	Demand of AMNESTY to revise or cancel Anti-terror and civic association law
9/08/2010	Peace	Enhancing unity in diversity	Change	Changes in all sectors
16/08/2010	Economy/ Development	Inputs supply for industries	Peace	PM's Discussion with communities in different regions
23/08/2010	Good governance	<i>Fair Pay for appropriate work</i>	Good governance	Fair pay for workers in industrial parks
30/08/2010	Good governance	<i>Appropriate Training for an Appropriate Trainee</i>	Good governance	Attention for workers' rights

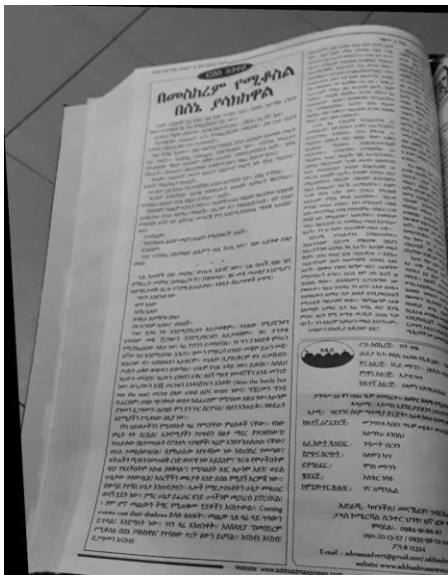
Date	Editorial		Agenda	
	Category	Content	Category	Content
7/09/2010	Good governance	Attention for the safety of workers at construction cites	Change	Commemorating Ginbot 20 in new sprit
14/09/2010	Unrest	Filling the gaps of the Federal System and Sustaining the good sides	Economy/ development	Renovation of the walkways in Addis Ababa as a good model
21/09/2010	Economy/ Development	The flourishing direct foreign investment	Economy/ Development	The economical transformations in the last 27 years
28/09/2010	Social issues	Sustaining the support for Safety net program	Good governance	Attention for water supply especially for communities living in condominium houses.

Date	Editorial		Agenda	
	Category	Content	Category	Content

5/10/2010	Economy/ development	Privatization of government owned institutions/organization	Good Governance	The untested road safety law of the country
12/10/2010	Economy/ Development	Speeding up Transportation of fertilizers	Change	Hopeful inspirations and consensuses in different sectors
19/10/2010	Change	Enhancing the change by accomplishing duties and responsibilities	Social issue	The rising of the living costs as obstacle for the change
26/10/2010	Politics	Widening the political sphere	Good Governance	Lack of information from public relations

Appendix F

Addis admass newspaper



Appendix G

Addis Zemen newspaper



Appendix H

Interview Questions

Name of Interviewer-----

Date-----

Name of Interviewee-----

Position in the newspaper organization -----

This interview is being conducted to gather data for my Masters degree. The aim of this interview is to compare the Addis Zemen and Addis Admass newspapers editorial pages in reporting the Ethiopian political unrest from January 1-June 30/ 2018. I believe you are in a position to provide the necessary information because you are the editor/editor in chief in the newspaper organization and you participate in preparing the editorial page contents.

1. How much coverage was given to the Ethiopian political unrest from January to June 30/2018?

1. በሃገሪቱ ላሉ የፖለቲካ አለመረጋጋቶች እና ለውጦች ምን ያክል ሽፋን ሰጥተው ዘገቡ?

2. What are your principles of designing the editorial? Why?

2. እርስዎ ርዕሰ አንቀጽ ሲፅፉ መነሻዎት ምንድን ነው? ለምን?

3. How do you select issues? What are your criteria and procedures?

3. ለርዕሰ አንቀጽ ገፅ የሚሆኑ ፀሁፎችን እንዴት ይመርጣሉ? መምረጫ መስፈርቶችና ቅደም ተከተላቸው ምንድን ነው?

4. What do add to the editorial page to supplement your editorials?

4. በርዕሰ አንቀጽ ገፅ የሚካተቱ ፀሁፎች ወይም ኢጋዥ ፀሁፎች ምን ምን ናቸው?

5. How much independent are you? Do you think you are free from any influence to plan and publish your editorials?

5. ርዕሰ አንቀፅ ሲፅፉ ምን ያህል ነፃነት አለዎት? ከአቅድ ጀምሮ እስከ ህትመት ድረስ ከማንኛውም ጫና ነፃ ነኝ ብለው ያስባሉ?

6. How did you cover the ‘unrest/conflict’ on your editorial before and after the new PM came to power? Did you collect information by yourself?

6. ጠቅላይ ሚኒስቴር ዶ.ር አብይ አህመድ ወደ ስልጣን ከመምጣታቸው በፊት ሶስት ወር እና በሁዋላ በሃገሪቱ ያለውን የፖለቲካ ሁኔታ እንዴት ዘገቡት? መረጃዎችን በግል በማግኘት ዘገበዋል ?

7. How did you frame the unrest/conflict? Did you openly disclose the crises? Did you criticize the government/others? Why?

7. በሃገሪቱ ያለውን የፖለቲካ ሁኔታ እንዴት / ከምን አንግል/ዘገቡት? ችግሩን በግልፅ አሳይተዋል? የችግሩን ተጠያቂ አካል በግልፅ በዘገባዎት አሳይተዋል?

8 .How do you select and cover the supplementary issues of editorial pages?

ለርዕሰ አንቀፅ ገፅ የሚሆኑ አጋዥ ፀ-ሁፎችን እንዴት ይመርጣሉ ወይም ያዘጋጃሉ?

Thank you very much for your time and consideration

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my original work and all the sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

*Name*_____

*Advisor*_____

*Signature*_____

*Name*_____

*Date of Submission*_____

*Signature*_____

*Place of Submission*_____

*Date*_____