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POLITICAL NEWS REPORTING IN ETHIOPIA: COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF STATE AND PRIVATELY- OWNED AMHARIC NEWSPAPERS

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MA THESIS ADVISOR JEMAL MOHAMMED (PhD.)

JUNE/2019

BAHIRDAR, ETHIOPIA

Declaration

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

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Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator

Abstract

This study has been conducted to investigate the political news reporting of Adiss Zemen (government owned) and reporter (the privately owned newspaper), before and after the reform. Quantitative content analysis was used to count frame, themes, sources, tones, the representation of opposition parties by the newspapers and newspapers reporting on the relationship between ethnic based and unionist politics. The coded data were analyzed and interpreted with relevant theoretical frameworks such as the political economy of the mass media, media ownership theory and framing theory. The result of the finding assured that Adiss Zemen political news reporting was significantly changed following the new reform. Prior to the reform its major frame was law and order but after the reform solution frame dominated much of its framing. Government and party issue was by far the principal theme of the newspaper; however, after the reform its theme automatically converted to democracy. Before the reform Adiss Zemen represented opposition parties as enemies, but after the reform it made them partners. Previously, Adiss Zemen set ethnic politics and unionist against each other but after the reform its observation on the relationship between ethnic based politics and the unionist was not against. In two of the most critical coding categories, tone and source of the news, Adiss Zemen was the same before and after the reform. This certifies the fact that the newspaper has not get out of being the propaganda machine of the government. After the reform reporters political news reporting has basically continued in the same pace as it had been before. Both before and after, it dominantly employed solution framing, made democracy as its principal theme, showed neutral tone for the incumbent government and its representation of the opposition parties was as a partner. Though there was change in source usage, it was not significant. In general, it can be said that though there seen some change in Adiss Zemen following the reform, the changes are only government officials driven, and not professional and ethical.

Key words: reform, tone, frame, editorial, reporter and Adiss Zemen newspaper

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Acronyms

- CPJ-Committee to Protect Journalist
- ENN-Ethiopia News Network
- EPDRF-Ethiopian People Democratic Republic Front
- ESAT- Ethiopian Satellite Television
- IMS –International Media Support
- LTV- Life Television
- OMN- Oromiya Media Network
- UNDP- United Nations Development Program
- UNSESCO – United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
- US- United States

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CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

After the new prime minister Dr.Abiy Ahmed (regarded by many as the reformer), Ethiopian media has rushed to a dramatic change. The level and direction of this change is, however, the subject of the argument for media scholars and politicians. Some said Ethiopian media landscape tends to be democratic and independent; some others are skeptical of the change. Of course, changes are undeniable by many measures. Internationally recognized journalists such as TemesgenDesalegn and EskenderNega are released from jail. Lots of bloggers and activists are also set free by the government political decision. The Ethiopian government also allows access to 264 websites, including news outlets and blogs that were blocked in the past. Diaspora media like Ethiopian Satellite Television (ESAT) andOromia Media Network (OMN) are discarded from the terrorist list. The freedom of speech is even realized at the individual level, this is something which we didn't expect to happen at this very short period of time (CPJ, 2018).

Moreover, the government promised to neutralize the state media from partisanship. As a result, Ethiopian News Network (ENN) television which was supported by the ruling party lost the financial support which it enjoyed from the ruling party. Later, this media closed a result of financial crisis. Today no one fears to speak their heart. A lot more is done by the Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed new reform agenda. In an effort to support such positive changes, The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

(UNESCO) announced that the 2019 World Press Freedom Day will be celebrated in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia on May 2-3, 2019. The united nation said that for the first time since World Press Freedom Day began to be celebrated in 1993, there is no journalist prisoner in Ethiopia, and this drastic change is welcomed by the international community (the guardian, 2018). Standing from the perspective, some people state that Ethiopian media landscape is changing and changing for the better.

 Some others argued that the framework of Ethiopian media is not fundamentally changed. These people come to say that the media after the new prime minister are seen to be the servant of his government and his reform agenda. As a result, they concluded that Ethiopian media are always the instrument of the ruling class. With the freedom they possess, the Ethiopian media begin to report their wish, not the interest of the public. Even the state media seems polarized. The media couldn't get rid of party's political affiliation. Such reports of the media drive people to conflict, and many fears that such move could have potential devastating role.

 In relation with the state politics and the media Aadland and Fackler (2009) further noted that it is fair to say that while the makeup of Ethiopia's government has frequently changed during the twentieth century, the printing press's function, as well as that of radio, television, and news agencies, has remained the same: to serve the government in power. Media have consistently and primarily promoted government policy and activities. Consequently, Ethiopia has little or no indigenous tradition of thinking about the press as a free commercial enterprise, or as a watchdog or critic of the government.

 The inefficiency of the media has been observed not only in the government owned but also with the so called 'independent' media. Since the state owned media are mouthpieces of the governors, the privates' failed to serve the people because of internal (i.e. being sensational, partisan, 'polarized' and so on) (Shimelis, 2006) and external factors (i.e. systematic government repression, censorships) (Aadland and Fackler, 2009 and Yetenayet, 2008).

 Mulatu (2018) in his research entitled with the "political economy theory –in understanding the current media in Ethiopia" further stipulated media in Ethiopia from the inception to this time are under strong political domination. Media are absolutely the direct reflection of the political atmosphere of the state. He strongly emphasized that the politics of the state is the dominant factor for the functioning of the government. Like other sectors in the nation, the media is not institutionalized. It is functioning with the well

of the ruling body. All the changes are brought with the political decision of the prime minister. Mulatu asked what if Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed ousted from power. This is very critical question which invites all stake holders to find a lasting solution for the genuine development of media in Ethiopia.

It is much fair to argue that Ethiopian media practitioners, of government or private, are not playing the ethical role the profession demands. Unethical writings of newspapers and their partisanship either with government or opposition group compromised the profession. After getting the new prime minister in 2018, Ethiopia has undergone new political culture. The political atmosphere has influenced the media landscape of the nation. Recently, Ethiopian media both private and state are enjoying certain degree of freedom. Utilizing this freedom for the sustainable public interest ,and staying independent seems the critical-historical juncture which the media are confronting with .Thus, it is of great importance to examine the state of state and private media-newspapers- political reporting a year before and after the new reform in Ethiopia.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Many argue that Ethiopia is experiencing new direction in the media environment. The private and the state media are coinciding with ideas. They begin reporting the same agenda with identical sprit and framing. The private and state media in the country have long stayed opposite. To begin with, their agenda was quite different and unmatched. Given the agenda setting role of the mass media, this is something amazing and unexpected. Private and state media were studied by many researchers as polarized.

Gebremedhin (2006) pointed out that there is noticeable partisan tendency in newspapers, with private papers promoting opposition groups and state papers predictably supporting the government. Similarly, report by SJC (2005) commented that the public print media were highly favorable towards EPRDF and critical to opposition parties while the private print media were highly critical of the EPRDF and its activities and pro opposition parties. The Ethiopian private and state media had worked in high level of parallelism because of many and complex factors. The state media were encircled with lots of problems and pressures. According to Solomon (2005) journalists of the state media hosted high level of political control. They can never report stories which could challenge people in power. Government officials directly and indirectly interfere in the editorial independence of journalists working in the Ethiopian Radio.

On the other hand, Befrdu (2012) argues that the government media has advocated development journalism, while the private media claimed to exercise watchdog journalism with all its challenges. Another politics-related challenge is restrictions imposed by government officials. As stated in some research works, the government is often observed while indirectly restricting the contents of newspapers and taking actions

against journalists. The government of Ethiopia is quite intolerant to criticism and had frequently imposed restrictions on the country's private media (Ishiyama, 2007).The government officials acted as if they didn't realize the role and responsibilities of state media. They felt as the media is their mouth piece.

Yasha (1999) noted that state-owned newspapers have been required to observe the principles of equality in their reporting of campaigns. If the funding is secured from public sources, the concurrent obligation to represent the views of the public as a whole is justifiable. But in Ethiopia, it is the opposite. As Loukeris (2004) explained, the public media is fully controlled by the government. Absolute control of electronic media and some control of written press is the most serious problem for Ethiopian politics.

The private press is also not serving the profession, and this has many causes. The demand for making high profit, political affiliation with the opposition parties and irresponsibility are some of the reasons. Gudeta (2008) said that the practice of the profession in Ethiopia indicates that there are irresponsible journalists who do not contribute to the welfare of the society. Some of the private newspapers appear to develop habit of merely opposing the government's policies without putting forward alternative policy options. The agenda set by such newspapers are not predicated upon the public interest; rather they are loaded with certain selfish political or other interests. He further noted as there was a north-south dichotomy in the press. Some of the private presses were serving as a mouthpiece for certain opposition political parties while others were highly affiliated with the incumbent government. Still others were established to promote parochial ethnic politics. The government press was also serving as a conduit to the government propaganda.

As Voltmer (2010) noted the media (both the private media and the public media) partisanship is one of the most important reasons which made media unprofessional. Since biased media present political issues from a particular point of view, while ignoring, or even dismissing opposite views, partisanship is seen as an impediment for the media to fulfill their responsibilities to provide reliable information. The audience of a biased newspaper or television channel learns only half of the truth and hence might be less equipped to make informed and effective choices. Moreover, according to Hallin and Mancini (2004, p.38), where political parallelism is very high, with media organizations strongly tied to political organizations, and journalists deeply involved in party politics, professionalization is indeed likely to be low. Journalists are likely to lack autonomy, except to the extent that they enjoy it due to high political positions, and journalism is likely to lack a distinct common culture and distinct sense of social purpose, apart from the purposes of the political actors with which media are affiliated.

Media and politics couldn't be separated. Some researches even noted that the media is created for political agenda. As Tuing and Hasim (2009) noted, parties and politicians are considered to be items of high news value, and politicians need the media for publicity and for informing the people of their activities. Black (2006) argued that a symbiotic relationship exists between public officials and the media. The media want information from officials to produce available product, and the officials need the media to distribute their messages to the constituency. However, the inseparable nature of relation between the media and politics shouldn't imply that politicians shall use the media for their personal interest. Media should responsibly act to bring about genuine politics where the general public makes their decision thereby assuring their sovereignty. This is the case in developed and democratic states.

Ethiopian history of media is showing change. This change was very fast and dramatic when the EPRDF party comes to power by removing the military regimes. With the free press and other legal frameworks, many newspapers were able to be established. But that didn't stay long. Particularly, after the 2005 national election, the government had closed several newspapers. Moreover, the government drafted serious press law and regulation which seriously damaged the growth of the press.

The EPRDF government had reached a stage where it sent its military to individual homes and watched what is being watched and heard. This was a very dangerous move not only towards the free press, but people's human right. However, the political violence which was erupted in different parts of the country threatened the then administration. As the then ruling party leader (Prime Minister HailemariamDesalegn) resigns from power, the party elected new leader who automatically became the prime minister of Ethiopia, Abiy Ahmed. The prime minister made lots of political and economic. His reform visited one of the most key sector, media. As a result Ethiopian media landscape registers new way. Those changes are being seen as opportunities and threats.

In spite of the many challenges which Ethiopian media are facing, polarization between private and state media is guessed to be minimized. The scenario might have the power of changing the old argument that the private media are blind opposition of the government; and the state media are the mouthpiece of the ruling party, and the absolute enemy of opposition parties. The current media status could attract the attention of the media researchers. Cognizing the situation, the researcher is going to investigate state of state and private media-newspapers- political reporting a year before and after the new reform in Ethiopia.

1.3 Objective of the Study

General Objective:

The major objective of this study was to investigate the political news content of AdissZemen and reporter, before and after the new reform.

Specific Objectives:

✓ To distinguish the extent of private and state presses tone of coverage concerning the neutrality of the political reporting before and after the reform in Ethiopia

✓ To identify the feature of framing political issues in private and government press in Ethiopia.

✓ To compare the contents of political reporting in government and private press before, and after the reform in Ethiopia.

1.4 Research questions

➢ To what extent do the private and state presses differ in their tone of coverage concerning the neutrality of the political reporting before and after the new reform in Ethiopia?

➢ What kinds of frames were dominantly used in private and state presses political news in Ethiopia before, and after the reform in Ethiopia?

➢ Is there any similarity or difference between the private and state presses in their political reporting before and after the reform in Ethiopia?

1.5 Significance of the study

The study is going to be conducted taking very critical observation of the state of the current Ethiopian media landscape in to account. The researcher believes that the things we are realizing in Ethiopian media are rather surprising and confusing. The change in the media landscape might bring good or bad to the nation as a whole and to the development of media in particular. In the process, identifying the kind of change in the media environment with a concrete research is a fundamental issue to the growth of media .Above all, identifying those potential forces which put the media landscape to such position and formulating those issues for sustainable media change should be the task of responsible media persons.

Responding to the above question demands a lot more dedicated research. This research will undoubtedly contribute for such tough task. This research will be useful for the following areas.

• The research will bring important ideas on the relationship between Ethiopian politics and media. Even though the inseparable nature of media and politics is clear, this study will look in to the specific realities of the issue.

- The study will show the factors which make the Ethiopian private and state media similar and different. This alerts the government and other responsible bodies to make sound media policy which in turn contribute for the development of media industry in the nation.
- The study will benefit the media organization under study since it will investigate their problems and strengths. It will also enrich the knowledge and concept of media professionals which will assist them in discharging their professional responsibility.
- The research will also be served as a base line for other interested researcher in the field. As the foundation of the study is new Ethiopian political and media environment, future researchers will devote their time in researching such a new area. As a result, this study will be of great importance.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study was conducted on sample news story items of reporter and Addis Zamen Newspapers. The former is privately owned while the latter is state owned newspaper. The current media state is characterized by rapid change and expansion of media out lets. Both the print and broadcast media are increasing. Therefore, covering these media outlets in the study could have additional importance to the Ethiopian infant media industry. However, those media out lets are left untouched by this research. Using as many methods as possible is believed to increase the credibility of the findings, however, comparative content analysis was the sole method employed to investigate the issue.

1.7 Limitation of the study

This study is the first of its kind. The political reform which has begun in April 2018 was unseen in the modern Ethiopian history. The move has drastically impacted the media environment. The wave of change in the industry was come to be spectacular. However, this is not well studied and documented. Research done on political news reporting of the media during political transition (reform) was none. One of the biggest challenges of this study was, therefore, not being able to find latest research works related to the title of this research. The data frame of the study covered two years. The sample newspapers were also two. As a result, investigating the political news of such samples with the given time frame was time taking. Lack of time was also appeared to be the other major limitation of this work.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review literature and theoretical framework

2.1 Review Literature

2.1.1 Media and politics

The development of the media has passed several socio-political and economic ups and downs. Countries might have experienced different history of media development, but no country has achieved media growth with one shot. As Campbell (2004) noted Journalism in Europe and elsewhere developed amidst revolutions,

be they political (playing a key role in both the US war of independence and the French revolution for example), or economic (first in the industrial revolution and later in the emergence of information technologies). Amid all these, the media have brought about or at least catalyzed social, political and economic reform processes in many parts of the world.

Even though many elements are appeared as challenges or opportunities, politics is the dominant factor which has been shaping and reshaping the functioning of media. Politicians never hope power without utilizing media at their level best. Street (2001) said that in order to preserve their power and keep the status quo, the elites believe that control of the flow of information about what the authorities are doing, keeping the public in ignorance, provides a way of preventing political protest. The motive to keep the public in ignorance has agitated the elites in several countries to exert utmost efforts in compromising or totally curbing the activities of the media. Scannell and Cardiff (1991) said that the struggle to establish an independent press both as a source of information about the activities of the state and as a forum for the formation and expression of public opinion was an important aspect of the long battle for a fully representative system of democratic government.

Currently there is a widely held certainty that no single political party or government can pursue its functions without securing the assistance of the media. Mac Nair (2003) underscores the growing role of the media in global polity and the attitudinal change of political actors towards the media as dictated by the principle that in this age of universal suffrage and digitization governments and politicians realize that it is not sufficient to govern their own citizens well and to assure the people that they are acting whole heartedly on their behalf. They (political actors) understand that the public opinion of the entire world is important to their welfare.

The media do not operate in a vacuum, but are extensively dependent on how the political system at large is constituted" (Hyden, 2002). And the devices of state (political) machinery used to muffle media operations are tailored in accordance with the social, political and economic realities of a country. Some of the major tools used political actors to influence the independent operations of the media include: monopolization of the media; strict control on the free flow of ideas (official secrecy, censorship, imposing self-censorship, etc); denying access to inputs and audiences debilitating draconian media regulations (such as laws of secrecy, criminal libel charges, sedition and absence of information act); violation of their premises and equipment; physical harassment (threats) and their real implementation; banning private news media from operation; confiscation of their properties and the like. Depending on the type of political system a country follows, all

or some of these political constraints can be found as impediments on the operations of the media (Nyamonajah, 2005).

The first and foremost technique of political interference in media operations comes in the form of media ownership. (Hyden, 2002) pointed out that Securing ownership of the means of communication is an important aspect of what happens in the political domain. It is a factor that tends to work in a linear direction; access to communications through ownership provides a great advantage in politics. It provides political actors the capacity to disseminate their propaganda; create their positive image; attack opponents; conceal or misinform issues of public concern so that they "will have the upper hand in the public sphere, the free flow of ideas and subsequently attain the consent of the electorate" (MacNair, 2003).

The freedom of the early media organizations in Europe and other older democracies was based on the principle of independent economic organization (MacNair, 2003). The development of capitalist society, the dominance of democratic principles and liberal market economy has contributed to the private ownership of the media. In some democracies media institutions are owned by public owned corporations that are supervised by an independent board answerable only to parliaments.

Media organizations in several "undemocratic" countries can be categorized under the "Authoritarian" form of media ownership. Furthermore and contrary to the leap the world is making to democratization and digitization, media institutes in some countries are still monopolized by the state. The political camouflage politicians use "in opting for state ownership and control" as Nyamonajah writes by citing several post-colonial African countries, is the claim that "centralism was necessary for successful nation-buildings.

In contrast to the state media, John Street (2001) defines the private media as a medium which allows for a diversity of ideas and opinion; it is not an agent of a single view or of state propaganda. The media are free precisely in the sense that they are not subject to centralized control. Emanating from their apparent independent, probing and adversarial character in serving as the "voice of the people", the private media are in an unending conflict with the government in several countries of the world. Hence till very recently, in most of the "undemocratic" countries private media was seen as a serious threat to the political process. The politicians, thus, were unwilling to liberalize the media sector. Private newspapers in these countries, if they existed at all, were few in number. The broadcast media in particular was not allowed to operate.

2.1.2 Historical Development of Print Media in Ethiopia

As the focus of this research is to investigate the political news content of AdissZemen and reporter, before and after the new reform, it is much supportive to take a look at the rough high light of Ethiopian print press history. Ethiopia is said to be the pioneer of ancient civilization. Like other fields of civilization, Ethiopia is the one which has its own alphabet system. However, due to lots of historical fortunes, it failed to keep its historical hegemony. Today, Ethiopian printing press is recognized by almost all international organization as the most back ward and the undemocratic press. Where were today has much to do with where were we been in the past. Hence, the researcher would like to see the brief history of Ethiopian literature, giving much emphasis to the modern newspaper.

Markakis (1974) noted that traditional Ethiopia was a literate society, possessing its own highly developed written language and body of literature, comprising religious and historical works. Though the art was practiced mainly by the clergy, it was not unknown among the nobility and was utilized in the administration of the state. However, the collapse of Aksumite Kingdom shadowed Ethiopian literature. Nevertheless, it begun to revive in 1310's again, and the period between 1314 and 1344 become to be known as a literary Renaissance in Ethiopia: the 15th century was the flowering and culminating point in Ethiopic/Geez literary activity (Ullendorf, 1960, cited in PMC, 2006). In this period, different spiritual books were translated into Geez, and different books such as liturgical prayers of Duggua, the Arganone Mariam Dinghil, some stories of St. Mary's Miracles and AnnalesRegum were also written.

The question of When did the first Ethiopian newspaper get published has not documented well. Some historical evidences suggest that the first Amharic newspaper is a hand written sheet produced by an Eritrean patriot by the name BlataGebreEgziabher around 1900. Fifty copies of his newspaper were printed, and the paper emphasized the need for unity, strength, and it aroused considerable interest in court circles. 1902 was important historical juncture for Ethiopia in the field of Newspaper. It was the time that the first Amharic newspaper, 'Aemro', was issued by a Greek business man Andreas E. Kovadia. It was published weekly with 25 copies, but later it rose to 200 copies. In 1921, TeferiMekonen founded a printing press in GeneteLeul palace, which is now the campus of the Addis Ababa University. This was named as TeferiMekonen Press, but later it was changed to BerhanenaSelam Printing Press, which is still functioning. At that time Aemro was under publication, and another weekly French newspaper, 'Courier d' Ethiopie' was being published.

The history of Ethiopian newspaper might be seen from the times of four governments called Monarchy, Military Government, FDRE Government, Abiye's government (controversial to name. It is regarded by many as transitional, the past government, the new government...)

Monarchy/ Emperor Haile Slassie I

The reign of Haile Slassie saw considerable growth of newspaper. However, it was with the support and interest from the western powers of the time. Some had supported the establishment of the sector; others had contributed for the failure of the newspaper. During World War I, with the help of the allied powers, he disseminated the news to counter the German propaganda through an Amharic newspaper called 'Yetor Wore' (War News). BerhanenaSelam an Amharic newspaper was also founded in 1923 with a circulation of 500 copies, and the first monthly magazine consisting of different European Languages, and an Amharic section was founded by Mr. Weizinger.

Until the invasion of Italy, many small hand presses continued to be imported from various countries of Europe. The government press published at least 30 books in Amharic. 'L' EthiopieCommercial, a French business weekly, was established in 1932. In 1935 two newspapers were established, a quarterly KasateBirhan (The Light Giver) and a political weekly AtibiyaKokeb (The Morning Star) but it was short-lived.

The second Italian invasion of Ethiopia had disrupted the newly emerged newspaper. However, a number of weeklies, monthlies and periodicals started being published in Addis Ababa and Asmara. As a result, Newspapers such as Addis Zemen, and SendekAlamachen were launched in 1941. Publication of other two popular papers, the Ethiopian Herald and Yezareyitu Ethiopia were started in the subsequent years. Even though modern means of communication (newspapers) were developed to some extent, free flow of idea or the general concept of free press was not started.

During the monarchical regime, information was transferred from the king or the ruling class to the people, and running the mass media in general was the responsibility and function of the government. Basically Newspapers of this age were published to celebrate the monarchical administration. Their main target was to portray in a way that people could accept him and his rule as the only way of administration-asserting it as it had divine power.

Military Government /Derg

Seventeen years of president Menigstu's military regime rule had brought the expansion of the government and party-owned publications, "Meskerem" (September), "SertoAder" (Worker) and 'Yezareyitu Ethiopia'

(Ethiopia Today) were published in addition to the previously mentioned 'Addis Zemen' and the 'Ethiopian Herald' (Oadland and Fackler, 2003). Proclamation number 26/1967 that was issued by the military regime had the effect of leaving the country without any media outlets that can serve the society in an independent and professional manner (MoI6).

The political ideology of the Derg regime, which was soviet- communism, much influenced the media philosophy of the country. "The ideas of the ruling classes are the ruling ideas" was much augmented in the practice of the then Ethiopia media. All media were under the fierce control of the government. No alternative voice was allowed. Simply, the media was the mouth piece of the military regime.

Ethiopian media under primer ship of MelesZenawi, HailemariamDesalegn and Abiy Ahmed
The Ethiopian media in the time of EPRDF government has seen three steps, up and downs. The beginning of the party's rule was favorable for the growth of free press. Laws starting from the constitution have asserted the prevalence of the free press, and practically the government seems keen enough for the development of media. The printing medium was the one which showed rapid and dramatic improvement. Private newspaper and magazines were mushroomed. This stage was really golden time in the history of Ethiopian press. It was welcomed by the international organizations and western countries.

Above all, EPRDF enshrined press freedom in the 1995 constitution under article 29(3) "freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of articles as guaranteed" (The House of Peoples Representatives, 1995). Besides, the 1992 press proclamation can be considered as a landmark to press freedom in the country. Freedom of the press implies, among other things, the proliferation of alternative sources of information for the public.

Following the EPRDF government measurement lots of privately owned newspapers were established. Numerous periodicals including party/government papers are also published (Shimelis, 2000). These private newspapers have contributed a lot for the growth of media. In fact, the people were able to get alternative media source. As Gebremedhin (2006) noted, Private-sector ownership and control has risen in the print sector in recent years, but the radio and TV sectors are still state/ party-dominated. Though there are differences in figures, according to the Ministry of Information, the Department of Press License and Supervision, 760 publications were registered between October 1992 and February 2005, of which 630 were

newspapers and 130 were magazines. At any given time, there were probably about 20 different newspapers for sale in the capital, Addis Ababa.

Although the numbers vary from time to time, about eighty newspapers, on average were published and circulated monthly. For instance, in February 2005, about eighty three newspapers were published. According to the Department, among these newspapers, five belonged to the government, four were political party papers, eight were owned by religious institutions, and the remaining sixty-six were published by private individuals. The distribution of the most read newspapers, Reporter (9,767 copies), Tobia (2,325 copies), Et'op (1,280 copies), Menelik (10,875 copies), Addis Zena (2,050 copies), Nation (6,250 copies), Addis Admas (31,000 copies), continued until the government took measure against members of Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party(CUD) and other journalists, following the disputed election of 2005. In fact, newspapers such as Reporter and Addis Admas are still in print.

The second stage was not good for journalists and the general media industry. Even though EPRDF government maintained free press in the constitution; it was not committed enough to see the reality in the ground. Particularly, under the leader ship of the party's longtime leader, MelesZenawi, Ethiopian media environment was one of the darkest. Certainly the Government is not above persecuting individual journalists and newspapers. It has generally failed to cooperate with the independent media, normally excluding their journalists from official events – within the last ten years the private press has yet to be invited to one of Meles's press conferences. In 2000, Ethiopia had more imprisoned journalists than any other African country (an achievement that has subsequently been eclipsed by its neighbor Eritrea).

In its 2008 Human Rights Report, the US State Department expressed concern on Government harassment and threatening of both local and international journalists for critical reporting. It also reported incidents of harassment and arrest over a controversial hit-and-run trial of a pop artist famous for his political lyrics. Freedom House reported in 2007 that "…the Government monitored e-mail, and starting in 2006, access to some websites and blogs was blocked, including news websites run by members of the Ethiopian Diaspora who were critical of the Government." http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4871f602c.html.

The primer ship of HailemariamDesalegn hadn't seen any remarkable change in the media landscape of Ethiopia. Harsh rules and practices against the media which had been started during the time of MeleseZenawi had gone unchanged in Hailie Mariam's time. However with the course of time, Ethiopian government couldn't prevent free flow of information with its prior media laws and regulations. The social

media threatened it much. Even though bloggers, journalists and other activists lose hope on the mainstream media, they begun continuous struggle through the social media. EPDRF party under Haile Mariam underwent serious and harsh measure to crub such social media wave. The human rights watch report entitled "journalism is not a crime" clearly expressed Ethiopian media atmosphere in this time.

 The third stage of Ethiopian media under EPRDF party leadership is the time of Abiy Ahmed, regarded by many as reformer. The political reform of the Prime Minister Abiy directly and indirectly impacted the media environment. One of the serious focuses given by the prime minister administration is ensuring freedom of expression. Laws, regulations and decrees which hampered the development of media were discarded. . Internationally recognized journalists such as TemesgenDesalegn and EskenderNega are released from jail. Lots of bloggers and activists are also set free by the government political decision. The Ethiopian government also allows access to 264 websites, including news outlets and blogs that were blocked in the past. Diaspora media like ESAT and OMN are discarded from the terrorist list. The freedom of speech is even realized at the individual level, this is something which we didn't expect to happen at this very short period of time (CPJ, 2018).

 Following such realistic measures, lots of Newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations get opened. The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) announced that the 2019 World Press Freedom Day will be celebrated in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia on May 2-3, 2019. The united nation said that for the first time since World Press Freedom Day began to be celebrated in 1993, there is no journalist prisoner in Ethiopia, and this drastic change is welcomed by the international community (the guardian, 2018).

 However, those changes in the media are not believed to bring positive outcomes. There are some signs of uncertainty and negative impacts. Not all media are using this opportunity in the right way. It is always said that media is double edged sword. If we use media for dividing people and agitating violence among societies, the end is disasters. The tendency which our media are broadcasting their content needs serious improvement and regulation. Even though there is no well researched fact on the progress of Ethiopian media after Prime Minister Abiy, the voice of scholars, politicians and the general public asserts the idea that some Ethiopian media are not in favor of democracy and togetherness, rather they are doing to erode such values.

 Here is my fear; the current state of Ethiopian media might not persist for long. They are welcomed by the people as long as their outcome is for the benefit of the people. The government will not tolerate such jobs of

the media which creates further tension and chaos in the country. The government of Ethiopia, be dictator or dictator, will not allow all voices of Ethiopian media. Logically, if the government is dictator, it will not allow voices other than its interest. There are lots of interests in Ethiopia. If the government is democrat, at least it will work to avoid media voices of divisive politics. Therefore, all sensible human being could understand the fact Ethiopian current state of media will not last long.

Reminding the past could also wake us. When the EPRDF party controlled the central government of Ethiopia, the private press was developed. This had enabled the party to receive warm welcome by the western government. In fact, prime minister MeleseZenawi was labeled by these powers as the symbol of eastern African democracy. This positive atmosphere by the government invited the creation of transparent and accountable state. This was red line for the party's future plan, which later proven to be corruption and human right abuse. As a result, the party systematically controlled the free press, and gradually the party made Ethiopia to be one of the most censored states in the world. This past history might be repeated in Abiy's primer ship. All he is doing might be to have the support of the western power… my fear.

2.1.3 Challenges of the Press

Ethiopian media has passed through many stages. But it failed to reach where it should be. Several scholars have given their research based suggestion for the question of why Ethiopian media couldn't play decisive media role in state building and development. Those suggestions could fail under the umbrella of the following major problems.

Politics-Related Problems

Ethiopian media industry is hampered by various factors, one of which is the influence coming from political authorities. The constitution of the country has clearly enshrined freedoms of speech and of the press. However, on the ground, these freedoms have not been translated the way they are provided for in the constitution.

Some of the major tools used political actors to influence the independent operations of the media include: monopolization of the media; strict control on the free flow of ideas (official secrecy, censorship, imposing self-censorship, etc.); denying access to inputs and audiences debilitating draconian media regulations (such as laws of secrecy, criminal libel charges, sedition and absence of information act); violation of their premises and equipment; physical harassment (threats) and their real implementation; banning private news media from operation; confiscation of their properties and the like. Depending on the type of political system a country follows, all or some of these political constraints can be found as impediments on the operations of

the media (Nyamonajah, 2005; Tettey, 2006; Okigbo and, 2004 ,Hyden et al, 2002; MacNair, 2000; MacNair, 2003; Street,2001)

The first and foremost technique of political interference in media operations comes in the form of media ownership. Securing "ownership of the means of communication is an important aspect of what happens in the political domain. It is a factor that tends to work in a linear direction; access to communications through ownership provides a great advantage in politics" (Hyden 2002: 17). It provides political actors the capacity to disseminate their propaganda; create their positive image; attack opponents; conceal or misinform issues of public concern so that they "will have the upper hand in the public sphere, the free flow of ideas and subsequently attain the consent of the electorate" (MacNair, 2003).

One of the critics given to the EPRDF government was the fact that it systematically and legally the media environment. In fact Ethiopia is identified by international press organization as one of the most censored state in the world. Even though the constitution of the country guaranteed the freedom of press, the government binds it in other laws and regulation (Desalegn and Meheret, 2004, Gudeta, 2008).

Tracy (2010) further noted that the aim of the Freedom of the Press and Access to Information Proclamation is to suppress the mobilizations and criticisms against the government. According to the research made by Freedom House (2004, p.94) the research expressed the level of press freedom by saying that: "In view of government's influence, while a 1992 law guarantees freedom of the press, the government restricts this right in practice." The study stated that: "Throughout 2003, laws concerning publishing false information, inciting ethnic hatred, libel, and publishing articles offensive to public morality were used to justify the arrest, detention, prosecution, and fining of journalists."

Here, it would be a thorough discussion, if we include also legal accusations forwarded outside of governmental bodies. For instance, investigative journalists could be accused and intimidated by individuals and companies for written defamation and violation of privacy. This is a challenge faced by the private owned journalist although rarely seen in state owned press journalists.

KifleMulat, former chairperson of the Ethiopian Free Journalists' Association, alleges that the 1992 repressive press law that severely punished these flourishing press products under the guise of defamation, dissemination of false information and threat to national security has contributed to the disappearance of some press products (speech by KifleMulat, October 21, 2003 cited in Gudeta, 2008).

Yasha (1999) noted that state-owned newspapers have been required to observe the principles of equality in their reporting of campaigns. If the funding is secured from public sources, the concurrent obligation to represent the views of the public as a whole is justifiable. But in Ethiopia, it is the opposite. As Loukeris (2004) explained, the public media is fully controlled by the government. Absolute control of electronic media and some control of written press is the most serious problem for Ethiopian politics.

Another politics- related challenge is restrictions imposed by government officials. As stated in some research works, the government is often observed while indirectly restricting the contents of newspapers and taking actions against journalists. The government of Ethiopia is quite intolerant to criticism and had frequently imposed restrictions on the country's private media (Ishiyama, 2007).

Economic problems

Media industry has much to do with economic strength. The economic independence of the media much determines the objectivity and continuation of a certain media. This is said to be the bottleneck problem for most Ethiopian media. Gebremedhin (2006) noted that high poverty levels, low reading levels and the high cost of distribution outside the capital Addis Ababa have not produced a climate conducive to investment and growth in the media.

Higher profits from advertising allow newspapers to break their alliance with political parties and to declare themselves independent (Petrova, 2009), but Ethiopian newspapers are suffering from luck of advertisers. Gebremedhin (2006) stated that low advertisement base is one of the problems the print media is facing. In addition to the above problems, the ever increasing publishing price and stationery materials is challenging the print media in Ethiopia. According to Shimeles, (2000), a large number of papers went out market due to competition, limited sales and low levels of advertising revenue.

Lack of Professionalism

Lack of professional is also the critical problem of the Ethiopian press. Due to multiple factors, most Ethiopian journalists are not graduates of the field. Journalism is a noble profession which must be done by professionals. Like doctor is to cure, engineer is to construct, teacher is to teach, and journalist should do the profession of journalism. This is not the case in Ethiopia. As a result, Ethiopian press (both the private and state owned) are not governed by journalism ethics, conducts and standards.

Birhanu(2018) said that due to lack of professionalism, most of the Ethiopian media are not working for truthfulness and objectivity, which are pillars of journalism. The state-owned newspapers usually tend to

report only positive sides of the incumbent government. Most of the time, they do not even proposing constructive comment against the activities of the incumbent government. The privately owned newspapers on the other hand, tend to report what is critical of the incumbent government by exaggerating and making it sensational in their front pages.

Many private newspapers also blamed by the people and by government that they do report news out of their context by taking only some part of the news of their interest and leaving the rest. Lots of cases was repeatedly broadcasted on the media that there are journalists both from the state and private newspapers who accept freebies, which do really hurt the credibility of news they produce. Defamation and violating the right to privacy (invasion of privacy) is also believed to be common problem in private as well as in state-owned press organizations. There are also widespread problems on reporting balanced, accurate and fair news. Although, limited information access could be the main reason in speak of the private newspaper. Generally speaking, most of the journalists in the country do not consider journalism as a profession like that of a lawyer or a medical doctor and are not willing to abide by the ethics of the profession (Ashenafi 2010).

Lack of sufficient and up-to-date training is one of the very serious problems in both the state owned and the privately owned newspapers. Most of the press organization staff members or journalists are not in line with the advancing technology. As an example lack of sufficient know how concerning the unitization of computer and related ICT machines could be counted in this regard. Disrespecting the codes of ethics of the profession is one of the commonly told and to some extent visible characters of the journalists in the country be it private or state owned press journalists. There are cases that journalists themselves suppress press freedom and discourage development activities in the country.

2.1.4 State Owned and Private Media in Ethiopia.

Since the beginning of mass media in Ethiopia, media researchers and the general public are complaining about their independence and objectivity. Ethiopian and state and private media are accused of being partisan. The former are seen as the mouth piece of the government political agenda, while the latter are ironically accused by the incumbent governments as the mouth of the opposition parties. Particularly,post-election 2004 history lead to suspicion of private and state owned media.

Things get worse and worse because the government officials see the private media as affiliates of opposition parties and closed their doors for information. According to Birhanu (2008) "Government-owned or affiliated media get better access to information than the privately-owned media." Private media journalists endeavour to access information by establishing linkage with insiders and Government officials to

initiate critical reporting. However, given the daunting task to establish sources of this nature, their news reporting is often event-based whereby they go to events to which they are invited to cover. Some, however, boast of using these invitations only as a starter which they investigate more to come up with critical reporting (Zewge, 2010). This further investigation of the journalists is also considered as defamation by the government.

Another reason that leads to polarization of state owned and private media is the suspicion of each other of journalists themselves. Zewge (2010) clearly stated the condition as; the two journalists, one by a private media journalist and another by a Government journalist, generally represent the polarized views that journalists in the two categories (Government vs. private) entertain to cancel out each other. The private press journalists in Ethiopia are generally of the opinion that the Government press is a mere propaganda tool preoccupied with uncritically lobbing for the Government agendas by always adopting a positive frame for stories devoid of critical assertions. The Government media journalists, on their part, seem to perceive the private media journalism as none other than one that is deliberately framed into destructive and negative reporting on even positive political developments in the country.

The focus of the private and the state owned media is different. State owned media reporters would usually serve their owner through positive reporting with little critical reflections on socio-political challenges. In the process, the journalist in the Government media tends to work within the limited space for creativity and ease to do news reporting and analysis. The private media generally work towards covering issues that could be appealing for the general readership due to the relative ease and freedom they are allowed by their employers and editors to inhale for newsworthy events and situations as well as to criticize political groupings, particularly the Government(Zewge, 2010).

State owned media house editors mainly through their decisions towards addressing agendas set by the Government. Most of the centre of attention areas is directed to them from governmental officials. The role of the Government journalists in deciding media content and their freedom to choose news events for coverage are, therefore, very limited. To the contrary, the private media seem to emphasize a broad agenda of criticizing Government policies and initiatives (not necessarily through critical reporting). In relative terms, the private press journalists enjoyed a better say in choosing content through discussions during editorial meetings (Ibid).

Ethiopian media is not run by professionals. Professionals always worry about their profession. As many say profession is like religion which one can dedicate his life for. However, in Ethiopia people (from any field) join the profession as such they lack the motive and enthusiasm to improve professionalism in journalism. There is no strong journalists' union in the country. Ethiopian professional associations are very weak, and journalists tend to avoid the national umbrella associations such as the ENJU, in favour of the smaller, club-like special interest or "thematic" associations (Birhanu, 2014). Even those who joined the association witnessed as the current state of Ethiopian journalists' professional associations as a "North-South" battlefield, in which ideological opponents are at war with each other.

The most damaging rift is the intense hostility and antagonism between journalists working for the government and the private mass media. This sentiment also aggregates the polarization of media too (Ibid, 2014). State owned media and private media are not interested in one another's institution as a source. Their interest areas of programs and reports are unlike too. The state owned media house reporters call private media journalists as "pathetic and obsessed with negative reporting" while the private media call the report of the state owned media as "mere propaganda with little back up with facts on the ground" (Zewge, 2010).

2.2. Theoretical framework

Media ownership, the framing, polarization and political economic theory are the four theoretical frame works used to analyze and discuss the findings. The former will focuses on the impact of the media owner on the selection and reporting the political news of the selected samples, while the framing theory will be applied to identify the directions and stands of the newspaper's report. As the private and state owned Ethiopian media are studied to be stand in extreme points, the polarization theory will be used to examine the collected data. Finally the political economy of the mass media will critically be employed to discuss the gathered data. The detail of these theories is elaborated as follow.

2.2.1 Media Ownership Theory

Media ownership is a very wide concept. The principal idea behind media ownership is that media tends to reflect the ideas and interest of the media owners. Altshcull (1995) noted that the content of the news media inevitably reflects the interest of those who pay the bills. Parenti(1986) asserted that the independence of the media to publish any material is as far as it does not contradict the interest of those who finance the media

When the media is commercially owned the contents of the media reflect the interest of advertisers and consumers who are the major financers of most private press.

Supporting Altschull's theory of media ownership and expand the concept, McQuail (2000) recognized media institutions as big businesses that give priority to profit generation. In the words of McQuail, from the very nature of commercial enterprises, it is inevitable that they should aspire for profit. This, McQuail noted, is the way by which they can secure their livelihood. However, this is not without any cost. Rather, the contents of the media will be driven in a way to attract more readers and advertisers who are the major financers of most privately owned media (McQuail, 2000).

McQuail (2000) stipulated that though the hand of media owners is critical in the works of media, other stake holders like advertisers and the audiences have direct involvement in daily activities of the media rather. As McQuail (2000) noted, commercially owned media generate their income from direct sales and advertisements. This financial factor pressures the news media to reflect the views and interests of audiences. This in turn attracts more advertisers, because advertisers want to advertise on a news media, which have more readers.

William (2003) stated that Owners could directly intervene to insure their views prevailed and media practitioners, regardless of direct intervention, are constrained in what they can report or represent by the economic parameters laid by capitalist production. Siegel (1996) discussed money as a determinant factor in media performance. Accordingly, money has the power to define and shape the role of media as well as their content. Consequently, the content of the media echo ideas and interests of advertisers and audiences, who are the source of the money. Nonetheless, he noted, when government owns and runs the press, the final product ultimately shows government priority and agenda. This is because government finances government media in the form of subsidy (Siegel, 1996).

All information that news reporters collect or receive does not get published. It will be filtered to include some and omit others with reference to the interests of owners. Owners also involve in hiring and firing to select journalist that comply with their wishes (McQuail, 2000). Furthermore as Graber (2002) pointed out that to ensure news stories to go in harmony with the prevailing political environment/system people and events outside the dominant system or remote from the center of power are generally ignored.

In a market based economy media should compete in order to survive and make profit. Thus, to make more money and stay in the market the activities of media, mainly that of commercial, needs to promote the interest of the source of its income (Gans, 2004). Okigbo (1994) stated the economic factor as a main reason for many African media to run out of the market.

2.2.2 Framing Theory

Framing is one of the key theory and practice in almost all media. The media get lots of information to be treated as news, but they select and transport very few of the information. Each and every media report has to pass through the selection process. The selected information will also be transmitted in certain way and context to the audience. This process of giving meaning to the information could be regarded as framing. The definition for framing is controversial. Many media scholars try to give their own definition for the word determined by the media persons.

Entman (1993) provided the most widely cited definition of framing. According to the author to frame means "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for treatment for the item described"(Entman, 1993). Giltine (1997) noted that media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual.

According to Wolfsfeld (1997) the news media are central agents in the construction of social frames about politics. This is done by ways of giving due emphasis on certain features of an issue while downplaying the other side. This shows the media act as political agenda setters for the public (Wolfsfeld, 1997).

News selection is made with regard to what information to include and exclude, what kind of tone a story should have and how actors in an event are described (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002). Besides, the selection of words that build up the news has great impact in the construction of meanings. For instance, using descriptive words give different sense of the news to the one "adverbial" and "adjective words" are used (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002) .The latter is loaded with pre- determined judgment. Many people believe that framing can be one means of news bias since it is related with selection. This is based on the assumption that selections presuppose choice and preference. In addition, the process of presentation, selection of actors, tone and words could lead to bias since interest consideration might be involved.

To be able to identify framing in the news, (Entman, 1991) identifies five popular ways for framing news stories:

Conflict – conflict between parties can be prioritised, as opposed to the actual decision made. This type of frame is the most employed frame by the media in times of covering disputes and controversial issues (Gibbs and warhover, 2002).

Human Interest/Personalization – presenting a story with human face, personality is promoted over more important aspects. Media people use this type of frame to describe individual and groups who are likely to be affected by an issue. What is different in here is that journalists try to give a 'human face' for the story by ways of giving human examples (personification) rather than the direct words of the victims. Media contents employ terms loaded with adjectives to incite feelings of sorrow, empathy, and compassion from the public (Neuman, Just and Crigler, 1992:70).

Consequence – consequences can be wide ranging. Pursuing a policy may be unwise in terms of unity within a party or coalition or in terms of the status of a nation globally. According to Neuman, Just and Crigler the economic frame fits well with media's propensity to cover news from the standpoint of official sources (pp.63).

Morality – media coverage can often moralize, sometimes due to the indiscretions of political actors; or alternative, policies can be seen as morally questionable. E.g Michael Moore's editorializing of the US Patriot Act, worldwide critique of US foreign policy all takes a moral tone. This is also concerned with right or wrong judgments of issues.

Responsibility – attributing responsibility, either for a cause or a solution. In the wake of Asian Tsunami one frame was "global responsibility" for find solutions as well as blaming the lack of preparedness on the local governments.

Types of Frames

a)   Specific – For instance, reporting the Asian Tsunami was linked to consequences, how many further deaths there could be if aid was not received, and issues of responsibility.

b)   Generic – For example, conflict and the game of politics as opposed to frames of values.

Levels of Framing

a)   Frame in communication – consist of communication from different actors, sources of the news. This could be positive or negative.

b)   Framing in thought – consist of mental representation, interpretation, simplification "and if not manipulation" of reality.

Focus of News framing

a)   To establish a cognitive shortcut

b)   Oversimplified news

c)   Distracts public from important issues

d)   Limits the ability of audience to think outside the box

Though the effect of framing is natural at every level and in every circumstance, its impact in the political news is very significant. It can favor one candidate over another. Journalists' unavoidable bias towards politics is revealed. Enteman(2010) said that despite journalists' best efforts, framing often favors one side over another in political disputes. Slanted framing results from the interaction of real world developments, cultural norms, and journalistic decision rules with the sometimes proficient and other times maladroit efforts of competing elites to manage the news. A case study of 2008 presidential campaign coverage focusing on Republican vice Presidential nominee Sarah Palin illustrates how slanted framing can shift over time with changes in these interactions. The findings imply that, contrary to many critics' contentions, unbalanced news does not arise from the presumably stable personal ideologies of journalists (Enteman, 2010).

2.2.3 Polarization

Polarization is literally defined as extreme divergence between two elements. Polarization encompasses both a process and an attitudinal state; it is "the strengthening of one's original position or attitude" or rather "the circumstance in which members of a group hold strong, or even more extreme, and contrary attitudes about an issue" Beak (2011) said that Polarization is conceptualized across a duality of individual and group opinion formation, where "an initial tendency of individual group members toward a given direction is enhanced following group discussion" (Ibid). In such a state, what counts is not the credential of an opinion rather the perception of individuals or groups to a given source. Along with group identification, perception of group opinion also plays an important role, where individual opinions may become polarized to match perceived group opinions.

Matthew (2013) states Partisan or polarized media are opinionated media: media that not only report the news, but offer a distinct point of view on it as well. These shows also engage in a biased story selection, reporting more heavily on topics that favour their sides and downplaying stories that harm their points of view. There is no room for argumentation in polarized media. Partisan news programs are not primarily about conveying facts; they are about helping people make sense of the world given particular

predispositions (Ibid). In polarized media, ideas are not presented for argument, the argument is already done, they simply present the result at least where is found in the host. Polarization, in the world of politics, occurs when public opinion goes to two extremes, and there is no real middle ground or moderates. Polarization in the world of media occurs when contents of state owned and privately owned media house ideas go to two extremes. Media polarization means a more fragmented media with media outlets holding fewer beliefs in common. As the media views become more polarized as it becomes more difficult for people to get the accurate information.

2.2.4 Political Economy of the Mass Media

The term political economy was first used by a French writer Monchretien de Wattevile, in 1615 when he used the term "political economy" to describe the science of wealth accumulation in the state and in the family (Willams, 2003). But political economy as we know it today was formally established at the end of eighteenth century. For Mosco (1996, p.24) political economy is "the study of social relations, particularly power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resource".

When it comes to journalism, political economy studies "the conditions and constraints under which journalism is practised (Street, 2001, p.103). It is interested in the structure of ownership and control over media institutions that consequently influences the content. Winseck argues that "Political economies of media take it as axiomatic that the media must be studied in relation to their place with the broader economic and social contexts" (Winseck, 2011).

As far as McQuail (2005) is concerned the consequences of the political economy are seen in the increasing concentration of media, less investigative reporting and the focus on light issues and in the reduction of independent news. Political economy is interested in macro level analysis of media ownership and control in contrast to cultural theorists who focus on individual level micro analysis.

Adam smith and David Ricardo revealed that economic organizations are determinant in shaping the activities of other sectors. Consequently, they suggested that capitalism or private ownership is the best mechanism to bring prosperity (ibid, 2003). At the time where Smith's theory was forwarded, there were no big media corporations. Rather media were owned by individuals who owned the newspapers with little cost. But later, the process of press industrialization increased the cost of entry to the press market and pushed out small businesses and created large industries which continued to swallow small ones. It was during this time

that many critics raised their concerns about private ownership's failure to serve the purpose of journalism instead; it was accused of being a barrier for its healthy function.

The worry of the critics was indeed reflected in the work of Karl Marx (cited in Williams, 2003) who fiercely criticized capitalism for its alleged creation of unequal distribution of wealth that in turn affects all aspects of life (ibid, 2003). According to Marx (cited in Williams, 2003) the fact that media is controlled by capitalists means that alternative voices will remain isolated and the opinion or stand of the capitalist class will dominate the society. It looks as if the capitalist's opinion is the opinion of the people because there is no alternative media that disseminates dissents.

In his article entitled Opinion of the Press and Opinion of the People, Marx revealed that the opinion of the British newspapers and the opinion of the people have contradicted during the period of the American civil war (Murdoch, 1982 as cited in Williams, 2003). According to Marx, while many of the British press demanded for British intervention in support of the south, popular opinion showed that the support tilted towards the north. He explained the cause as the involvement of the ruling class in the press industry that led the press to reflect the ruling or the owner's opinion.

Such scenarios are actually well documented by Golding and Murdoch and Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman later. Golding and Murdoch (1982 as cited in Williams, 2003) argued that five top companies have controlled the whole media industry in the United Kingdom. In the same way, Chomsky and Herman (1988) revealed that the American media system is controlled by a handful of transnational corporations that determine or filter what is to be published, in their path breaking book: Manufacturing consent: the political economy of mass media. They pointed out that the American mainstream media, which are controlled by the elite supports and of course, are the propagandists of elite interests. They have applied the propaganda model which deals with how the media is used to mobilize support for America's foreign policy and elite interests. They argued that there are five filters used by the mainstream media before a story appear in the newspapers. The five filters are the following.

1. Size and concentrated ownership, owner wealth and the profit orientation of the dominant mass media firms. Many of the media firms during the early days of journalism were established with little amount of money and they were owned by working class groups. Because the papers were radical, they were highly criticized by the elite groups. The elites blamed the newspapers for bad social behaviors. Consequently, they

put various controlling mechanisms in place. But still governments were unable to control them until the market by itself controlled the papers.

Because of the gradual increment of press entry costs, those media firms that once enjoyed the prestige of owning media were ousted by big firms. Chomsky and Herman pointed out the "start up cost of a newspaper in New York city in 1851 was $ 69,000: the public sale of the St. Louis democrat at 1872 yielded $ 456,000, and city newspapers were selling at from $ 670 $ 18 million in the 1920's (Chomsky & Herman, 1988 p. 4).

This process has continued for long and now the media system has reached to the stage of media conglomeration. Only a handful of companies have controlled the media industry worldwide. As a result, joining the market and disseminating alternative view point is difficult. In a media system where big companies have widespread coverage and massive capacity, it is again difficult to join and stay in the market let alone be successful. That is the first filter.

2. Advertising license to do business Media companies which receive a huge amount of money from advertisers more likely reflect their advertiser's interest in their publication (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). They are also able to remove other competitors that have less revenue from advertising and run their paper through the sale of newspapers. While the later tries to cover its costs from newspaper sales, the former relies on advertisers. Because of the large revenue of the latter, it is difficult for the former to survive the competition that makes closure inevitable. Consequently audiences with money are the ones who use the media as they wish because they attract the attention of advertisers.

Corporate media ownership that favors the affluent and forgets the ordinary citizen is criticized for its role in weakening democracy. Chomsky and Herman (1988,p.16) wrote "the idea that the drive for large audiences makes the mass media "democratic" thus suffers from the initial weakness that its political analogue is voting system weighted by income". Their concern is shared by many scholars including McChesney and Entman who wrote "Rich media Poor democracy and Democracy without citizens," respectively.

McChesney, who demands new form of structuring for the media argues that corporate media have become antidemocratic in United States of America (McChesney, 1999) where the media environment is dominated

by only a handful of capitalists, the owners primary concern is not public service rather it is the accumulation of wealth by using the free press or the first amendment of the American constitution as a pretext.

Contrary to those "internet utopians" that hold the view that internet will diminish corporate or big media firms' control and increase individual power, McChesney (1999) believed that the coming of the internet has increased the revenue of the corporate. He states "in the United States , the media industry (and the largest media firms) is growing much faster than the overall economy, experiencing double digit growth in consecutive years in 1997 and 1998 for the first time since the 1980's" (McChesney, 1999, p.140).

Entman (1989) claims that the press in America is very far from the press freedom ideals. He adds the media do not have the ability to hew to the ideals of free press and they should not be criticized for it. He goes on to note that the press doesn't have autonomy to fulfill the demands of free press ideals because of two reasons (ibid, 1989). On one hand, the public is less interested in political news; rather, it wants entertainment and life style stuff. On the other hand, the press is dependent on advertising revenue to increase its profit margin.

Advertisers have no interest in complex political programs; rather they are interested in life style programs that enhance the sale of their commodities. In addition, the economic demands of the owners push the media to generate more profits and to minimize expenses that made them dependent on easily accessible sources such as elites, who in turn shape the news or manipulate journalists according to their interest. Caught up in the two paradoxes, the free press in the United States is unable to stick to the same principles that it claims to hold dear.

3. Sourcing mass media news because of the heavy reliance of the news media on the elites, finding an alternative source in reports is often tiresome. This heavy reliance is defined as symbiotic relationship between the elites and the media. While the first provides well-furnished raw materials that fulfil the demand of the media to fill the air time, the latter gives a wide coverage and promotes the works of the elites. Otherwise, media could not afford or they do not have the willingness to incur costs to cover many other events. Whilst the need for raw material is the basic need for the media, it is not the only reason that the media choose to rely on elite sources (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). Journalists consider officials as legitimate and credible sources who know their work.

Moreover, by relying on these legitimate and credible sources, journalists claim that they are portraying the events as what the legitimate and credible sources say instead of their own interpretations. However, research

has revealed that by propagating the voice of the elite, journalists are isolating alternative voices. In addition, because of the same business and political interest of the media and the elites, the elites are always welcomed in the media in contrast to other voices that struggle to receive coverage and find it hardly (ibid, 1988).

4. Flak and the enforcers

The elites not only dominate the media landscape of the American mass media, they have also organized a system to control the media when it deviates from their interest. Severe criticism or as it is called by Chomsky and Herman (1988) flak is applied on the mass media through institutions that are organized and funded by corporations and indeed, government, for this purpose. Fearing the flaks and the consequent legal processes and expensive damages, media remain in the circle of the elite or the status quo.

5. Anti-communism as national religion and control mechanism

The memories of communism are fading away but still it has been broadened and modified to refer to dominant ideologies. Herring and Robinson (2003) contend that "Whilst there may be grounds for questioning the specific content of this filter following the collapse of most Communist states and the internal transformation in the direction of capitalism of many of those that remain, alternative ideological mechanisms, such as the current 'war on terrorism' have broadly the same effect upon news output".

According to Chomsky and Herman (1988) news stories that pass through the five filters succeed to be told while those that fail remain silenced. Consequently, the passers are news stories from the elites that satisfy the owner's interest; support their cause and their pocket plus the status quo. In contrast, alternative voices that deviate from the status quo built by the elites are unable to transcend even one of the five filters. While the focus of Western scholars have been big media firms and corporations and their consequent influence on media products, it is safe to say that the state has more or less the same influence in countries where state influence is huge.

According to Chomsky and Herman (1988, p.61), "in countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media makes it clear that the media serve the ends of dominant elite".   State is one factor that influence or shape how events are portrayed in the media by constraining media content production and distribution.

Though there are many who claim the state doesn't have big role in capitalist societies, the argument has been challenged by the renowned media scholar McChesney (1999) who noted that the state role is larger

than ever. He explains that important decisions about digital communication and internet are being decided by the government and those decisions will affect which company will succeed in the internet sphere and which will not.   According to Street (2001), state influence on media institutions can be seen through censorship, secrecy, regulation and propaganda.

Censorship

Censorship can be direct or indirect. When it is direct, governments take various measures to suppress the media. Self-censorship is an indirect form of censorship where journalists' censor themselves fearing the consequences should their stories be published. Perhaps there are evidences all over the world that self-censorship is the most frequent censorship experienced by journalists (Street, 2001). According to Herman & Chomsky (1988), Censorship is largely self-censorship, by reporters and commentators who adjust to the realities of source and media organizational requirements, and by people at higher levels within media organizations who are chosen to implement, and have usually internalized, the constraints imposed by proprietary and other market and governmental centres of power (p.lx).

Street (2001) also agrees with the above claim and further mentions examples of self- censorship in various countries. He wrote how Chinese government led media outlets to censorship without direct influence but by providing incentive for those media outlets that support it and by ignoring the others. As a result, those media outlets which are unable to get the incentives end up in self-censorship (Street, 2001).

While Ethiopia formally declares in its constitution that censorship is prohibited, researches indicate that self-censorship is prevalent especially in the government owned media outlets. While the government owned media have been a mouthpiece from the start, self-censorship in the private media is even more prevalent after the 2005 election that led to the imprisonment of journalists (Ross, 2010).

Secrecy

Instead of censoring journalists, which is very vulnerable to condemnation, governments practice other form of control over journalists, i.e., secrecy. In the United States and in many other countries, it has been declared that journalists have access to official information.

Propaganda

Governments can use the media to promote their own interest by delivering information selectively. Perhaps in the early days of journalism, media were explicitly the tools of propaganda. Propaganda, however, is not always negative. It can also be used to good ends like to warn people about disaster and to let them take necessary measures.

Regulation

According to Street (2001), the last, but not the least, options that governments use to influence the media is regulation. Governments all over the world have drafted laws which control the daily practices of journalism. Though the degree might vary, every state, starting from liberal states to those that are ruled by authoritarians, there is a regulation that defines the activity of all forms of mass communication.

It is, in fact, the responsibility of a state to put in place various laws and regulation that in turn is assumed to create a favorable environment for actors. The rules and regulations which states apply not only differ among countries; they also differ according to the medium. Whilst many states have less regulation over print medium, broadcasting is more regulated. Since broadcast air waves are scarce public goods, they are subject to regulation in any state with a degree of variation.

Not all regulations are, however, acceptable by all journalists alike. For example, the law of privacy has created division between those who support and those who do not While the former group believes that individuals should be protected from invasion of privacy, the latter group argues that it restricts investigative journalism (ibid, 2001).

2.2.5 News values

Which story/event could be news is still controversial. Media scholars of different time have tried to give their understanding of news criteria/news value. Galtung and Ruge (1965) have provided the most detail aspect of news value on the basis of years of scientific research in the field. They listed these news values as threshold, negativity, frequency, unexpectedness, unambiguity, personification, meaningfulness, reference to elite nation, reference to elite persons, consonance, continuity and composition .Media scholars and journalists have continued to comment on few of the news values given by these researchers. Almost every scholar could, including Galtung and Ruge could agree on the following eight news values.

Impact

These events affect many people – the more people, the better the story. For instance, a rise in income tax may, at first sight, seem the basis of a dull and depressing article. But it has impact because it will affect many people's pockets. Information that has a big impact on everyday issues such as health, welfare, transport or national security have a big impact and generate much public interest.

Timeliness

The word news means exactly that - things which are new. Topics which are current are good news. Consumers are used to receiving the latest updates, and there is so much news about that old news is quickly

discarded. A story with only average interest needs to be told quickly if it is to be told at all. If it happened today, it's news. If the same thing happened last week, it's no longer interesting.

Prominence

Well-known people (politicians, celebrities, actors, musicians, athletes) can make the news even when their actions are trivial. Because of their media prominence, people feel a personal connection with them.

Proximity or closeness to home

Stories which happen near to us have more significance. The closer the story to home, the more newsworthy it is. For someone living in France, a major plane crash in the USA has a similar news value to a small plane crash near Paris. Proximity doesn't have to mean geographical distance. Stories from countries with which we have a particular bond or similarity have the same effect. For example, Australians would be expected to relate more to a story from a distant Western nation than a story from a much closer Asian country

Conflict

Conflict and disagreement add excitement to a story. News about people or organizations at odds with each other arouses curiosity. People want to know what lies behind the conflict. The story could be about banal events such as the falling-out of two celebrities. Or it could be about more serious issues, such as a labor dispute. Conflict adds drama. Drama generates interest.

Unexpectedness

Something out of the ordinary has more news value than an everyday event. The unexpected, strange or wacky story deviates sharply from what you would expect. The unusual entertains.

Human interest

Human interest stories are a bit of a special case. They often disregard the main rules of newsworthiness; for example, they don't date as quickly, they need not affect a large number of people, and it may not matter where in the world the story takes place.

Human interest stories appeal to emotion. They aim to evoke responses such as amusement or sadness. Television news programs often place a humorous or quirky story at the end of the show to finish on a feel-good note. Newspapers often have a dedicated area for offbeat or interesting items.

Unambiguity

Events that are easy to understand are more likely to be newsworthy. The clearer they are, the greater their news value. Stories with a complex background that depend on specialist knowledge tend to be ignored. Journalists prefer the simpler and more straightforward events.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Methodology of the study

Methodology of the study is a very wide and critical section in a research by which the researchers' way of addressing the research questions is going to be addressed. Consequently, the techniques of collecting data, sampling strategies (techniques) are to be discussed.

3.1 Design of the Study

As Grix (2004) defined research design refers to the overall strategy chosen to integrate the different components of a study in a coherent and logical way, thereby ensuring that the work effectively addresses the research problem. It constitutes the blue print for the collection, measurement and analysis of data.

The major aim of this study was to investigate the political news content of AdissZemen and reporter newspapers, before and after the new reform. These sample newspapers were believed to represent the rest private and state press operating in the nation.

Consequentially, the other newspaper could be entertained in these sample newspapers. The study tried to distinguish the difference which had been registered between the two newspapers political orientation and presentation of the nation. Comparison of the newspapers based on ownership was one central focus of the study. As Ethiopia has rushed to new political reform, investigating the reporting of politics under the two contexts; before and after the reform was the principal point in the research.

To this end, the study adopted content analysis as its sole method of addressing the study problem. The fundamental reason for making use of content analysis was to investigate the research problem was that, it provides an opportunity to examine, relatively objective and quantitative manner. Riffeet (2005) defined quantitative content analysis as systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which had been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods. The study was designed to discern what the news production process actually produced and determine whether patterns varied among the different ownership categories. Some of the measures, for instance, indicate the degree to which the newspapers exhibit loyalty or disloyalty to the government, and the extent to which they represent and include non-official voices.

3.2 Sampling

Sampling technique is almost part of human "Just as sampling is an integral element of social life, so it is at the heart of all scientific activity, whether in the human or natural sciences…" (Deacon, 1999: 40). As a result, the researcher employed purposive sampling. AdissZemen (state owned) and reporter (privately owned newspaper) were samples of this study. The two newspapers were selected using a sampling technique called purposive sampling. In cases where a researcher is familiar with the problems s/he is dealing with or the purposes of her/his research, purposive sampling, which presupposes best guess based on the researcher own experience, is more appropriate than any other (Budd and Dominick, 2006).

The two newspapers were selected taking lots of issue in to account. Being prepared in Amharic language (national language and widely spoken in the country), covering series of political issues and staying long in the media industry, they are believed to have sustainable influence in the public.

Addis Zemen is a government owned newspaper and one of the major outlets for the government. It is the oldest newspaper established in 1941. According to the 2005 report of the Ministry of Information it had average daily circulation of 19,514. It is a daily newspaper. Only Addis Zemen was considered from the government side because the researcher supposed that other government newspapers have similar contents and differ merely in language.

Reporter is published both in Amharic and English languages. For this research the Amharic version was selected as a source of data. Reporter is currently a Bi-weekly private newspaper. Average daily circulation counts to 14,363 copies. Since the purpose of this study was to investigate difference in news coverage

based upon the difference in ownership, the selected samples of newspapers is assumed to provide a good combination from the private press and the government.

The researcher purposely selects dates on two partitions. The first covers dates from oct/2016-oct/2017, whereas the second starts from April 3/ 2018 and ends in April 3/2019. Daysin between the two paeriodsare jumped purposely because those days are days of state of emergency. The state of emergency is believed to have influence in showing the exact state of the sample media status. With the time frame given above, political news which appeared on Sunday and Wednesday were coded. Those days were selected since the privately owned Bi-weekly newspaper (reporter) is published on those specific days. The sample included a total of 1656 stories; 804 (384 before and 420 after) from Addis Zemen, and 851 (420 before and 431after) from reporter.

In addition, the sampling unit consists of the stories that appeared in the two sample newspapers on those days which refer to the political news in Ethiopia. Accordingly, the study adopted key-word strategy as qualifying criteria to identify stories that specifically refer to the politics for the purposes of investigation. Moreover, the researcher tried best to select news contents and items which are covered by the two newspapers in common. This was to have fair investigation of their difference in understanding and treatment of the political issues.

3.3 Unit of Analysis

News which explicitly covered about the political events of the country was considered as the unit of analysis for the content analysis. By far, written texts were the focus of the study. While conducting content analysis, the researchers' personal bias might influence the reliability and validity of the study. Consequently, two independent coders fluent were presented with a detailed coding guide and trained for approximately three weeks. Inter-coder reliability pre-testing were checked Scott's Pi levels—according to the guidelines set forth by Shoemaker (2003)to be "good" (.7) or "very good" (.8) on most variables and at least "adequate" (.6) on all others. Adjustments were made to some of the coding instructions during the training period.

3.4 Coding Categories (Variables)

Coding on the actual final sample of articles was begun at the conclusion of the training period. Inter-coder reliability was tested formally on a portion of the final sample using three separate measures: straight percentage agreement, Scott's Pi, and Krippendorf's Alpha. In general, no measure of inter-coder reliability

was considered sufficient by itself (Riffeet al., 2005). Percentage agreement is not an appropriate stand-alone measure of reliability because it does not account for chance agreement; while on the other hand, Scott's Pi and other stricter measures have been shown to produce excessively conservative results (see Holsti, 1969; Lombard, et al., 2002; Schiff, 2004). Scholars (see Riffeet al., 2005) advise content analysts to use multiple measures to account for the weaknesses associated with individual measures. Researcher DeenFreelon's web-based "Reliability Calculator" system will be used to compute inter-coder reliability.

The following were selected, counted, measured and determined in order to examine the extent to which the two sample newspapers had covered the neutrality of the political news coverage.

1.	The name of the newspaper: this refers to either of the two sample newspapers (Addis Zemen or reporter)

2.	Coder: this refers to the name of the person who coded the story item.

3.	Article Date: Refers to the date the news story appeared in the newspaper.(dd/mm/yy)

4.	Number of page: This of refers to the number of page the relevant subject is collocated in (1,2,3---)

5.	Page category: This refers to the type of page that the relevant subject has appeared is (Front page, Editorial, Inside page)

6.	Actor: this refers to the direct reference of the story item to the political beats.

Tone of coverage: This refers to whether the stories are favorable or unfavorable towards the actor.

Key coding categories and definitions

The major objective of this study was to investigate the political news reporting of the two newspapers. The governmentownednewspaper (AdissZemen) and the privately ownednewspaper (reporter) were the sample of the study. The goal was to determine whether the two newspapers, having owner ship difference, have clear and recognizable difference in reporting political news. As kind of political transition is occurred, the study give considerable focus in identifying the newspapers stand and orientation of politics in relation to the transition and the political reform.

Five major coding categories were selected for analysis. Story frame, story source, story tone for the incumbent government, representation of opposition parties by the newspaper, newspapers stand on ethnic based politics visa -vise the unionist.

Source categories

To code the source of the news story two main categories were identified: official and unofficial sources. Official sources fall under what Gans refers to as "known" (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005:178). These categories included those officials from any level of the government that is from federal to state and local officials. For the purpose of this research, official sources included any member from the government side and any official statements and documents referred by the journalist. For example, if news story sourced public relation or high government officials like the Prime Minster it was coded as official source. Official documents included written statements released from government offices, for instance, from the Ministry of justice.

Unofficial Sources included those sources, which Gans identified as "unknowns"(Bertrand and Hughes, 2005:178). Under this category, protestors and rioters, strikers, victims and participants in unusual activities are included.

For the purpose of this study, unofficial sources were identified in the following ways,

Government officials: these are peoples who work in the government offices. The category includes peoples like the public relation officers, officials in the regional government and Federal minister.

Opposition parties: included members of opposition parties, such as, a news story written based upon interviews with higher officials or members from opposition parties

Experts: these people include analysts (politicians, economists, sociologists and lawyers).

International organizations: if the news story is comprised based on the document from international organization like the human rights watch report, America congress, African union and other.

Framing categories

The way the newspapers frame the political stories was also one of the relevantcategory in this study. This study used six coding category as elaborated below.

Conflict frame: in this category news stories particularly that have controversial and conflict issues were presented as competitions between actors. Before and after the reform, there were different controversies which arose from different context. For example, before the reform there registered mass protest in different Part of the region where as after the reform there saw mob justice and controversy between the federal and regional government which has not been the case since the federal system has been installed in the country.

Morality frame: in cases where media covers events in terms of moral and ethical aspect, stories are said to be framed using morality frame. That is, journalists will emphasize on the right and wrong judgments of an

issue. For instance, the governments' brutal measure towards the public protest is coded under morality frame. After the reform, morality frame is coded like when opposition parties are abusing their acceptability.

Solution: this category is made based on the newspapers tendency of suggesting solution to the problems. For example the newspapers recommendation for sustainable peace and stability is coded under solution frame.

Responsibility Frame: Responsibility frame was used as one framing category. According to (Kensicki, 2004) –this frame is usually employed when a journalist wants to present news so that as to make actors responsible form causes of problems. Khudiyev (2005) found that in times of political protests two types of frames, namely, responsibility to opposition frame and government responsibility frame are widely used. The same types of framing categories were used in this study. However, this study split the responsibility frame in to two as responsibility to the government and responsibility to the opposition. Responsibility to the government is when the newspaper believes and writes in a way that the problem is from the government said whereas responsibility to the opposition is if the newspaper makes the oppositions responsible for the problem.

Law and order frame: Wolfsfeld (1997) said that this type of frame is commonly used in news when it is needed to give positive justifications of government measures towards divergent groups.

Theme –theme is another key coding category which is used to understand the major agendas entertained in the newspapers. The agendas of the media tell the aspiration and interests of the media. I.e. if the media speaks more about the economic development and speaks nothing about freedom of the people in the absence of freedom, it is regarded as government say so journalism. In the contrary if the media always tell the audience about the mistake of the government and refrain from presenting stories which benefits the society, it could be refereed as media for seizing power in the name of public interest. Accordingly four categories such as democracy, freedom, corruption as well as government and party issues are identified. Consequently, the coding is made according to those concepts, i.e. if they talks about democracy, it will be coded under the category of democracy.

Tone of voice for the incumbent government

This categorywas included to get a critical insight about the newspapers alignment to the incumbent government. This is based on the assumption(hypothesis) that media usually serve the government in power. Thenewspapers tone for the incumbent government before and after the reform was therefore very vital to identify their level of rationality. Thus, coders coded story tones as positive, negative or neutral.

Positive:this labeling was when the story favors the government. It might be manifested in varieties of ways. Forexample, if the newspaper published its story by justifying the government action of dispersing a certain public protest, it is considered as positive tone.

Negative: this tone was basically the antonym of the positive tone, and it was when the tone of the story expresses the government's unlawful and unacceptable job. For example, if the newspapers tone for the government's action of protest is against the constitution, the tone is coded as negative.

Neutral:if the newspaper conveyed facts in a straightforward manner without taking any side or if it presented both sides or without clearly showing tendency to favor or disfavor a single actor, the tone is coded as neutral.

Representation of opposition parties:the newspapersrepresentation of opposition parties before and after the new reform was taken as a major coding category to identify the position (the objectivity or subjectivity) of the newspaper. Newspapers dependency towards the government stand and ideology was going to be proven. Ethiopia, after the coming of the new prime minister, experience completely new outlook towards the opposition parties. Particularly, Prime MinisterAbey Ahmed comes to call these parties competitors rather than opposing parties. Therefore, this specific coding category is conducted whether the newspapers ideology is changed dueto the change in government's ideology. Accordingly, if the newspaper showshatred, prejudice and disagreement towards these parties, it is going to be coded as enemy. If the opposite is true and the newspapers look the ideas of thee parties as ideas useful for nation building, it is coded as partner. If the stories of the newspaper don't lay in one of the above two coding, it is registered as neutral.

The condition of ethnic based and unionist:this was also included as the governments understanding of ethnic politics seems changed after the new reform. Before the reform, thegovernments stand towards ethnic politics was absolutely positive. Besides, ethnic politics was the area which was untouchable. The place given for ethnicity starts from the preamble of the constitution which creates the federal system. However, other political parties and think tankers (the so called the unionist) the ethnic based politics was a clear danger for Ethiopian unity. Before the reform, these people, the unionist, were seen as the danger for the federal system. However, after the reform, the government is determined to work with these people. Therefore, this category is set to identify the newspapers alignment with the government. Based on

this conception three coding category are made such as yes no and neither. Yes is if the newspapers present stories in a way that shows the disagreement between the unionist and ethnic based politics. No is if these two forces are presented as supportive of each other or forces having their own independent idea. Neither is if the stories are not fall in either of the above categories.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Data presentation and Discussion

4.1 Data presentation

In this chapter; the findings of the study and their interpretations, discussions and explanations are presented. The selected newspapers story were coded for, story frame, story source, story tone for the incumbent government, representation of opposition parties by the newspaper, newspapers stand on ethnic based politics visa -vise the unionist and overall story tone. The finding of each coded category is presented below.

4.1.1 Framing results

As indicated in the table below; before the reform, the major focus of AdissZemen (42%) was law and order whereas reporter gave much emphasize for solution frame (45%). The implication of this finding is very important. Since AdissZemen was state owned media, it works to defend the government interest by voicing more on law and order whereas the reporter accepts the idea that there is a problem, hence it was forwarding

more solution. Conflict and morality framings are almost equally represented in both newspapers. With regards to responsibility framing, AdissZemen made the opposition parties more responsible (24%) while saying no to the government (0%). In comparison, reporter didn't responsible the opposition parties more responsible (3.5%), and it made the government more responsible (14.5%).

After the reform results indicated that the two newspapers didn't show basic difference in five frames given such as conflict, responsibility to the opposition, responsibility to the government, morality and solution framings. The only difference was registered in law and order framing. The framing accounts for 28.7% in reporter and 17.8% in Adisszemen. Regarding the reporter newspaper, it almost shows almost similar pattern before and after the reform. The only surprising difference is that the reporter emphasizes for law and order framing increased from before the reform (11%) to after the reform (28.7%).

The two periods framing of the two newspapers could be concluded in that Adisszemen newspaper shows major difference after the reform. In particular, Adisszemen framing of solution and responsibility to the government highly increased after the reform. The attention which it gave for solution frame meaningfully increased after the reform (12% before and 32.6 after). It also increased responsibility to the government frame from scratch to 13.8%after. Before the reform, law and order was its basic framing which accounts for 42% of its coverage, but after the reform it goes down to 17.8%.

Table 4.1.1Major framings used by the Newspapers

Frame	Adisszemen		Reporter	
	Before	After	Before	After
	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.
Conflict	55(14.3%)	58 (13.8%)	69(16.4%)	64(14.8%)
Law and order	161(42%)	75 (17.8%)	46(11%)	124(28.7%)
Morality	38(9.8%)	46 (11%)	38(9%)	43(10%)
Responsibility to the government	0(0%)	58 (13.8%)	61(14.5%)	60(14%)
Responsibility to the oppositions	92(24%)	46 (11%)	15(3.5%)	51(11.8%)
Solution	38(9.8%)	137 (32.6%)	191(45%)	129(30%)

4.1.2 Tone of voice for the government

Table 4.1.2 depicted that, before the reform, AdissZementone of voice for the incumbent government was mainly positive, 83.3%. It was never been negative for the government, while few times it was neutral, 16.6%. Reporter was much of the time, neuteral-63%, 37% negative and never been positive.

After the reform result indicate that Reporter's tone of voice for the incumbent government was 61% neutral, 17%negative and 22% positive. AdissZemen tone of voice for the incumbent government was said to be continuing sustainably after the reform. 71%positive, 29% neutral and 0% negative.

The tone of voice for the incumbent government was one of the key categories which brought surprising findings. Particularly, reporter newspaper, which was totally negative before the reform (0%), came to be 22%positive after the reform. Concerning AdissZemen newspaper, there is no tone difference (always positive, nothing negative and sometimes neutral to the government) before and after the reform.

Table 4.1.2 Newspapers tone of voice for the incumbent government

Tone of voice for the incumbent government	AdissZemen		Reporter	
	Before	After	Before	After
	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.
Positive	320 (83.3%)	298 (71%)	0 (0%)	95(22%)
Negative	0(0%)	0(0%)	155(37%)	73(17%)
Neutral	64(16.6%)	122(29%)	265(63%)	263(61%)

4.1.3 Theme

The table below shows that, before the reform, the major theme of AdissZemen was government and party issue, accounting 63.8%. For reporter, the major them was democracy, 50%. Corruption gets almost similar attention in newspapers, reporter (25.2%) and AdissZemen (28.3%). So far, freedom gets no attention in AdissZemen (0%), while reporter covered some 7.8 %.

After the reform the major issue of AdissZemen was democracy (40.7%). Reporters theme was also democracy (46.8%). Government and party issue received the lowest attention in AdissZemen (16%). Corruption (17%) and freedom (26.4%) were also the theme of AdissZemen. After democracy, Reporter gave attention for freedom, government and party issue and corruption, 21.5%, 20.4% and 11% respectively.

The themes of the two newspapers show basic difference, before and after the newspapers. The government owned newspaper, AdissZemen, shifted its agenda from government and party issue to democracy. This was surprising finding. Before the reform, government and party issues accounted for 63.8%, but it went down to 16%after the reform. Democracy obtained little attention before the reform (7.8%), but it was boosted to (40.7%) after the reform. Freedom was not the vocabulary of AdissZemen (0% -before the reform), however it went to (26.4%) after the reform.

The reporter moves sustainably in its agenda. For example democracy was its prior agenda before the reform (50%). It was also its agenda after the reform (46.8%). The other agendas like freedom, government and party issues and corruption were almost equivalently represented before and after the reform.

Table 4.1.3 Major themes employed by Newspapers

Theme	AdissZemen		Reporter	
	Before	After	Before	After
	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.
Corruption	109(28.3%)	71 (17%)	106(25.2%)	48(11%)
Democracy	30 (7.8%)	171 (40.7%)	210 (50%)	202(46.8%)
Freedom	0(0%)	111 (26.4%)	33(7.8%)	93(21.5%)
Government and party issue	245(63.8%)	67 (16%)	71(17%)	88(20.4%)

4.1.4 Sources usage across news papers

Before the reform, the major sources of AdissZemen were government officials (36.4%). Unspecified, experts, international organizations and opposition parties covered 30.2%, 26.8%, 3.4%, and 4.6% respectively. The major source of reporters' political news was unspecified bodies, 36%. Experts,

government officials, international organization and opposition parties covered 21%, 15%, 15%, and 13.5% respectively.

After the reform result indicates that AdissZemen government officials were the main source of the political news, measured 30.2%. Experts, opposition parties, unspecified and international organizations account 25.4%, 23.5%, 18% and 3 % respectively. Oppositions were the main source for reporter, accounts 34%. Government officials, experts, international organizations and unspecified sources covered 27%, 26%, 7% and 5.8% respectively.

The usage of sources was one of the categories which showed difference before and after the reform. There are amazing findings. With respect to AdissZemen, the opposition parties covered only 3% before the reform, but it increased to 23.5% after the reform. In relation with reporter newspaper, unspecified source covered 36% before the reform and went down to 5.8% after the reform. The representation of opposition parties was also increased from 13.5% before the reform to 34% after the reform.

Table 4.1.4 Source usage by the Newspapers

	AdissZemen		Reporter	
	Before	After	Before	After
	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.
Experts	103(26.8%)	107(25.4%)	88(21%)	112(26%)
Government officials	140(36.4%)	127(30.2%)	63(15%)	117(27%)
International organizations	13(3.4%)	12(3%)	63(15%)	30(7%)
Opposition parties	18(4.6%)	99(23.5%)	57(13.5%)	147(34%)
Unspecified	116(30.2%)	75(18%)	151(36%)	25(5.8%)

4.1.5 Representation of opposition parties other than EPRDF

Before the reform finding revealed that AdissZemen and reporter newspapers representation of opposition parties was basically different. The former mainly threated them as enemy 46.3%. It represented them as partner only 8.5 % and as neutral 45%. However, reporter never represented opposition parties as enemy, 0%. It mostly saw them as partner, 68%. Opposition parties were also been seen as neutral (28%) by the reporter.

After the reform finding revealed the fact that AdissZemen observation of the opposition parties was totally converted; 86.6% they were represented as partner, 13.3 % neutral and were never been represented as enemy, 0%. Regarding reporter, statistics showed that 76.8% opposition parties were regarded as partner, 23 % as neutral and never been seen as enemy,0%.

The result of the finding for before and after the new reform testified the fact that AdissZemen newspapers eye towards the opposition parties significantly changed due to the reform. Before the reform, the oppositions were seen as enemies (46.3%), whereas after the reform, 86.6% of its report considered them as partners. On the contrary, reporter newspaper never saw considerable difference in its tone for oppositions due to the new reform. It appreciated the opposition as partner before the reform (68%) and it continued to recognize them as partner after the new reform, 76.8%.

Table 4.1.5 Newspapers representation of opposition parties

Representation of opposition parties	AdissZemen		Reporter	
	Before	After	Before	After
	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.
Enemy	178(46.3%)	0(%)	0 (%)	0 (%)
Neutral	173(45%)	56 (13.3%)	134(32%)	99(23%)
Partner	33(8.5%)	364 (86.6%)	286(68%)	331(76.8%)

4.1.6 Are ethnic based politics and unionist set against each other?

Table 4.1.6 revealed that before the reform, Ethnic based politics and unionist were seen as contrary and antagonistic by AdissZemen, 91.4%. Reporter observed the two as not against, 44%. The reporter was also in the middle of saying whether the two forces are antagonistic or not, 36%-it was neither of the two labeling.

After the reform result said that AdissZemen thought of ethnic based politics and unionist was converted. It came to say that the two forces are not against each other, 62%. 12 %. It was setting the report that the two forces are against each other, and 26% of its report is supporting neither of the two thoughts. For reporter, the idea of whether the ethnic politics and unionist are against each other was not defined precisely, 56.8% of the

report were neither yes nor no. It is little on setting them as against, 5%. 38% of its coverage was not reflecting the idea that the two forces are against each other.

Table 4.1.6 Newspapers stance on ethnic based versus unionist politics

Are ethnic based politics and unionist set against each other	AdissZemen		Reporter	
	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.	No. of stories/ Percentages.
Yes	351(91.4%)	50(12%)	84(20%)	22 (5%)
No	0(0%)	261(62%)	185(44%)	164 (38%)
Neither	33(8.6%)	109(26%)	151(36%)	245(56.8%)

4.2 Analysis and Discussion

This section discusses the findings obtained in the previous section. As the discussion and analysis needs critical outlook and correlation with review literatures, efforts are exerted to bring sound, realistic and meaningful analysis. As the major objective of this study was to investigate the political news reporting of the two newspapers before and after the reform, great effort is made to include latest literatures and relevant documents.

Six basic coding categories were presented so as to answer the basic research questions. Newspapers framing of the political news, their source, themes, tone for the incumbent government, tone for opposition parties, stand on the relation/war between ethnicity and unionist were coded. So many surprising findings were gained which satisfies the basic hypothesis of the researcher.

1.   Tone of voice for the government

McCombs (2000) argued that the content of mass media messages including the tone of the messages influence the pictures of the world in our minds. Therefore, this section of coding category is believed to show how much the two newspapers objectively report the political stories.

The finding of before the reform indicate that AdissZemen was most of its part positive to the government and never been negative. This might be because state owned media fear to criticize the government. Solomon (2005) quoted one journalist saying "Ethiopia radio, let alone, news, even programs that attempt to criticize the government officials or exposure the weakness of the government will not be tolerated". Reporter was said to be neutral much of the time. So far, reporter was never been positive to the government. According to

Nyamnjoh (2004), most privately owned newspapers in Africa are often critical to the government with the assumption that what is anti-government is pro-public. The argument of Nyamnjoh was observed in reporter newspaper. Altshcull (1995) further strengthened this view in his theory of media ownership as the private/commercial press tends to support and promote the interests of the public because they are the major sources of its money.

Reporter's tone of voice for the incumbent government saw some remarkable difference after the reform. AdissZemen tone of voice for the incumbent government was said to be continuing sustainably after the reform.

The tone of voice for the incumbent government was one of the key categories which brought surprising findings. Reporter, which was totally negative before the reform, came to show some positive tone after the reform. This implies that the reform made by the government suited this newspaper. Concerning AdissZemen newspaper, there is no tone difference (always positive, nothing negative and sometimes neutral to the government) before and after the reform.

The finding has critical implications. Firstly, it emphasizes that AdissZemen newspaper is blindly supporting the government irrespective the government failure to serve the public. Such shameful practice of this media out let is clear for one who remembers Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed first parliamentary speech as prime minister. On June 18, the prime minister spoke to the nation and apologized on behalf of the government for decades of mistakes and abuse he said amounted to terrorist acts (Human Rights watch, 2018). The government abuse of power was a hard fact which the government admit, but AdissZemen newspaper never been negative to the government. It was simply supporting the government. This might be related with the government's strict control of the state media. Birhane (2002) and Getachew (2003) also believe that the government keeps an eye on the media because there is no confidence about the media's accountability.

3.   Newspapers framing of the political news.

One influential way that the media shape public opinion is by framing events and issues in a particular way, for frames in communication shape how individuals process and store relevant information and understand politics. Since media and democracy are indispensable, they have the ability to downplay and play up a certain issue while portraying the images of politicians and their parties, and this can have an effect on the public opinion.

Framing essentially implies selecting and emphasizing some aspects of an event /reality while down playing others. Consequently, the frame selected to tell a story has great influence to drive attention towards certain aspects of an event, which also could mean to divert attention away from the other aspects of the same event (Entman, 1993).

Under this category six framing types were given which could match with the researchers question and interest are of investigation. Conflict, Morality, Solution, and Responsibility to the government, Responsibility to the oppositions and Law and order were the framing types prepared for coding. Before the reform, Solution framing was the major framing employed in reporter newspapers. This framing was given little attention by AdissZemen newspaper. This signifies that the private owned newspaper, reporter, perceived there is a problem so that the media needs to show the way out. On the contrary, the government owned newspaper, AdissZemen, didn't appreciate the existence of a problem. As a result, it was not in the position to bring recommendations with the application of solution frame.

Before the reform, AdissZemen's major framing was law and order while reporter gave very little attention for such framing. This could signify the fact that the government media tends to report stories which could prevent disorder and lawlessness. This is might be because either the government wants to preserve law and order as it is its duty or because it wants to suppress the public voice in the name of law and order. In relation with this finding, Altschull (1995) noted that those media whom the government controls promote the interests and priorities of the government. This is for the economic reason that the media promotes the interests of those who finance them. As a result, the government owned media (Addis Zemen), which is largely financed by government subsidies, promotes government interest and no one else's.

After the reform finding revealed that AdissZemen newspapers framing of the political news was based on the focus of the government. Its major framing, law and order (before the reform) were at the bottom level after the reform. After the coming of the new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, the door for freedom was quite open. Following this, the government's attention towards protecting law and order was minimized. The prime minister himself advocates the idea of freedom. This seems to be the reason for AdissZemen newspaper to forget law and order framing. Surprisingly enough, reporter newspaper move the reverse direction. Its law and order framing was doubled after the reform. This indicates that the privately owned newspaper, reporter, understood law and order are part of the great democracy. Anarchism couldn't benefit any one. The other basic finding was that the framing of the reporter didn't change with the reform. This

could show that its media philosophy and ethics are in line with journalism ethics and didn't align with some group.

3 Theme

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) pointed out that framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by the audience. This characterization is the central idea/ theme of the story.Democracy, freedom, corruption and government and party issues were the four themes which were employed to assess the newspapers major focus of the political reporting. As the theme of the media concedes with their agenda, this category is seen as the key to dictate the philosophy and stands of a certain media. Accordingly, surprising findings were registered.

The government owned newspaper, AdissZemen, shifted its agenda from government and party issue to democracy. Democracy obtained little attention before the reform, but it was boosted after the reform. Freedom was not the vocabulary of AdissZemen, however, it obtained significant attention after the reform. The shift could mainly be associated with the government's reform. Ethiopian political reform lead by Abiy Ahmed gave due attention for widening democracy and freedom. As the government owned one, AdissZemen might have the responsibility (obligation) to work for such government ambition.

Supporting this assumption, International Media Support (2018) which is based in Denmark, Copenhagen revealed that state-owned media in Ethiopia have got a space to cover controversial issues more openly. These changes in media confidence on its role need to be balanced by professional capacity development, so that the media acts ethically and professionally and becomes platforms for positive social dialogues on various issues affecting Ethiopia. Media actors and the government agree that media professionalism remains a key issue, more so the skill capacity of journalists. It is also important to note that media professionalism can only flourish in an environment of media freedom. In this regard the ongoing media policy underway in Ethiopia must be supported and seen through. The prime minister has pledged to reform repressive laws and has on various occasions acknowledged the role of media in the anti-corruption drive. Media reforms are part of the reform agenda proposed by the prime minister. Consultations on the media reform process have been initiated by the government and UNDP (International Media Support, 2018).

However, the finding showed that this media is the instrument of the ruling elites. Before the reform, Ethiopia was in the state of tense political situation on which the system didn't allow the improvement of democracy and freedom. It might be such state of the government that limits AdissZemen to refrain from voicing for such crucial citizens' right, freedom and democracy.

On the contrary, the reporter moves sustainably in its agenda. For example democracy was its prior agenda before the reform. It was also its agenda after the reform. The other agendas like freedom, government and party issues and corruption were almost equivalently represented before and after the reform. Such figure clearly shows that reporter is out of power interest. I.e. had it been antigovernment elites instrument, its agenda could have showed difference with the reform. Regarding this, the director of Ethiopian Satellite Television (ESAT), AbebeGelaw noted in an interview with LTV show (2018) that "his media was working to dismantle and down the government. As a result, ESAT was reporting more about corruption, violation of freedom and other essential human rights. However, ones Ethiopia rushed to reform, his media turned to nation building through protecting anarchism." Therefore, it can be said that reporter was not in the position of neither the support nor hostile act. This is very essential value of media which can protect them from bias-cancer of objectivity and credibility.

3. Source

The selection of the new source can have paramount significance in the output of the news product. The media which continuously use oppositions as a source have a tendency to attract oppositions and hatred audience for the government. Tuing and Hassim (2009) noted that Media can easily manipulate their news framing by only referring to sources that held out the same thought with their agenda.

The findings of before the reform revealed that the government owned media out let, Addis Zemen mainly used government officials as source of news. This absolutely favors the government officials .Graber (2002) said that over use of official sources give them the opportunity to slant the news to favor the government or to omit information that does not. The study took this as one major factor that might have contributed to have more favorable stories to the government and unfavorable to the oppositions

The privately owned newspaper, reporter, used many source as possible. Here, it can be noticed that reporter have more chance for objectivity, whereas Addis Zemen loose this important chance as it depends on government officials source. Media critic Leon Sigal who analyzed nearly 3000 news stories that appeared in the New York Times and the Washington Post between 1949 and 1969 found that nearly four out of five of the stories involved official sources. This reliance on officially provided information is, as Tom Wicker of the New York Times has described it, "The biggest weakness" (London, 1993).

The other point is that journalists should verify their news from different sources, if not the news can be distorted or tilted to one side. Reliance on official sources for news affects the social reality depicted by the media. Journalists usually rely on sources for news, but these sources can have their own personal or

organizational interests, and they will protect their vested interests while giving the information to the reporters (Riaz 2003).

After the reform finding showed considerable degree of source usage for both newspaper, but for Addis Zemen in particular. Firstly, it can be said that Addis Zemen moved in the same pace as it was in before the reform phase. It principally used the government officials in number one. This shows the fact that the media is still the advocate of people in power. After the reform, opposition parties were the major source for reporter. After the reform, AdissZemen has shown considerable improvement in including members of the opposition members. This is highly associated with the government's reform agenda. Again the move signifies the assumption that the state owned media is servant of people in power. Abiy's assumption of office was followed by positive changes in the human rights climate. The government decriminalized political movements that had been accused of treason in the past, invited opposition leaders to return to the country and resume political activities, allowed peaceful rallies and demonstrations, enabled the formation and unfettered operation of new political parties and media outlets, continued steps to release thousands of political prisoners, and undertook revisions of repressive laws (Human rights, 2018).

However, both newspaper needs to include other sources as their reliance on politician might not observe the real demand of the mass, because politicians are running for power through entertaining the public interest. In relation with this, Nelson et al.(undated, cited in Shen 2004) stated that journalists' common reliance on politicians, interest groups and other experts for quotes and analysis means that the news media may serve as conduits for individuals and interest groups eager to protect their perspectives.

The other surprising finding of after the reform regarding source usage is that Addis Zemen used opposition parties massively. Opposition parties covered only 3% before the reform, but it increased to 24% after the reform. This could be due to the reform principle of looking such parties as partners rather than antigovernment elements. Even Prime Minister Abiy, the key person in the government reform, appreciates the parties in the parliament by saying that you are not opposing parties, rather you are competitors. Saying so, the premier welcomes all the parties to participate in the affairs of their nation. The positive face of the government could positively enforce the government owned media, AdissZemen to invite the opposition parties in its political news.

4. Representation of opposition parties other than EPRDF

For every functioning democracy, the existence of opposition is vital. They have the right to use the media and be threated accordingly. Ethiopian media representation of opposition parties mainly depends on who

owns the media. If the media is government owned, opposition parties are represented as enemy. Privately owned media, (reporter) however, represent opposition parties as more than partner.

Before the reform, AdissZemen mainly threated the opposition parties as enemy. According to Ballinger (1994) the national media (in our case the government media) primarily serve the interests of the ruling power. They do this by less positively covering the protesters, condemning their actions as well as by misreporting their voices. The justification Ballinger gave for such negative treatment of protesters was that, protests by their nature challenge the dominant political system. This is because protests are usually conducted for social and political changes. Thus, in order to culminate such threats the media, which is owned by the government, acts as one protector of the interests of the government (Ballinger, 1994).

AdissZemen might refrain from supporting the opposition since the government was labeling such media as instrument of terrorist. In fact, those who support the opposition parties and criticize the government wrong doing were thrown to jail and faces harassment. Bent N (2018) said that the existing media related laws have in practice been interpreted so as to limit journalists' and media's right to expression. Ethiopian laws and proclamations directly or indirectly regulating the freedom of expression, media and journalists have been used to restrict journalistic freedom significantly and impose harsh and arbitrary sentences on media and journalists for many years. This is confirmed in numerous interviews and international analyses carried out byCPJ, IMS and others.

However, reporter never represented opposition parties as enemy. It mostly saw them as partner. This supports the old narration that Ethiopian private media supports the oppositions. Gudeta (2008), for example, noted that there was a north-south dichotomy in the press; some of the private presses were serving as a mouthpiece for certain opposition political parties while the government press was also serving as a conduit to the government propaganda.

The result of the finding for before and after the new reform testified the fact that AdissZemen newspapers eye towards the opposition parties significantly changed due to the reform. Before the reform, the oppositions were seen as enemies, whereas after the reform, the majority of its report considered them as partners. On the contrary, reporter newspaper never saw considerable difference in its tone for oppositions due to the new reform. It appreciated the opposition as partner before the reform and it continued to recognize them as partner after the new reform.

5. Are ethnic based politics and unionist set against each other?

The party that has ruled Ethiopia for their decade has one peculiar characteristic which differ it from the previous administrations. Before the coming of EPRDF (the current ruling party), Ethiopian rulers (governors) never organized the government in ethnicity. This party has introduced unseen federal approach. As a result, for the past three decades the core of argument amongst politicians was the necessity of ethnic based government. Many opposition parties have been challenging the incumbent government in an effort to reject ethnic based politics and install their own.in supporting such ethnic politics; EPRDF was advocating the necessity of this system starting from day one. On the contrary, the opposition parties were trying their best to denounce ethnic politics. This debate represented much of Ethiopian politics for the past there decades. However, such narration of the government showed some fluctuation after the coming of the new prime minister, the reformist.

Therefore, this coding category was principally added to the prior list due to the fact that the Ethiopian government after the reform showed some different sign from its previous thought of ethnic federalism. Particularly, the new prime minister concept of 'medemer'-was song by various media in a way that can unify all Ethiopians with the motto of 'Ethiopiawienet'. Before the reform, AdissZemen newspaper set the ethnic based politics and the unionist against each other whereas after the reform it didn't set the two forces (ethnic based and unionist as against each other). This could be the result of the reformists' word of unity. Concerning ethnic based politics, reporter newspaper seems in confusion. Particularly, after the reform, the statistical data showed that the majority of its reports are in between the two, neither saying that the two forces are against or not.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Summary, conclusion and recommendation

5.1 Summary

Investigating the political news reporting of Addis Zemen and Reporter; before and after the reform, was the principal target of this study. While lots of research had been conducted about the Ethiopian private and state owned media reports related with politics, this paper tried to overlook findings beyond the old assumption and research based argument that Ethiopian media and private media are polarized. To mean that the private media are mouthpiece of the opposition and the state owned are guns of the government.

This study specifically investigates the two newspapers portrayal of political stories before and after the reform. The Ethiopian new reform which has stayed for more than a year brought significant change in the media land scape of Ethiopia. This was spectacular victory for Ethiopia which also received international recognition (CPJ, 2018). The wave of change is guessed to have influence in the political news report of both state and private owned media. Starting from such hypothetical thinking, this study was conducted raising the following three questions,

➢ To what extent do the private and state presses differ in their tone of coverage concerning the neutrality of the political reporting before and after the new reform in Ethiopia?

➢ What kind of frames were dominantly used in private and state presses political news in Ethiopia before, and after the reform in Ethiopia?

➢ Is there any similarity or difference between the private and state presses in their political reporting before and after the reform in Ethiopia?

Quantitative content analysis was performed to count frame, themes, sources, tones, and the representation of opposition parties by the newspapers and newspapers understanding of the relationship between ethnic based and unionist politics. Framing theory, the political economy of the mass media and media ownership theory were the theoretical frameworks. Besides, the researcher used latest study and documents to develop the findings so as to reach relevant, realistic and meaningful conclusion.

The result revealed that the government owned media (AdissZemen) has experienced considerable political news reporting before and after the reform while the reporter continued in similar pattern in both phases; before and after the reform. AdissZemen has followed the footsteps of the government. Before the reform; its framing was law and order, its theme was government and party issues, its sources were government officials, its tone for the incumbent government was positive, its representation of opposition parties was as enemy, its observation of ethnic based politics and unionist was against each other.

After the reform such political news reporting was remarkably changed as: its frame from law and order to solution frame; its theme from government and party issue to democracy; its representation of opposition from enemy to partner and its observation of the relationship between ethnic based politics and the unionist were not against after the reform. However, AdissZemen source and tone of news were the same before and after the reform. This assured the fact that the media out let is usually serving people in power and its tone for the government is positive irrespective of its fault. It can be concluded that Addis Zemen is not objective, still it can be deduced that Addis Zemen is the mouth piece of the government, and not the public.

Reporters political news reporting has not significantly changed due to the reform. The finding from before and after the reform revealed that; reporter, employed solution framing, made democracy its theme, was showing neutral tone for the government and its represented opposition parties as partner. The difference in political news reporting was seen in the area of source (before the reform unspecified sources were the major sources and after the reform opposition parties, experts and government officials were used as a source) and its observation of the relation between ethnic based politics and unionist (reporter didn't set the two forces against before the reform, but after the reform it was in between –didn't set them against or not).

In conclusion it can be said that AdissZemen is the propaganda machine of the government. It never showed negative tone to the government and it always follow the agenda of the government. On the contrary, reporter was objective in much of its political news report. It didn't blindly support the governmental and hate the oppositions. It also supported the government if the need be (for example after the reform its tone for the government was 20% positive from scratch in before the reform) and it didn't refrain from criticizing the opposition in times it believe necessary (for example, it made oppositions more responsible than the government, after the reform).

The other surprising finding of this paper is that the government owned Newspaper (AdissZemen) and the privately owned newspaper (Reporter) became the same in agenda, might be a new phenomenon in recent Ethiopian media history. For example, before the reform AdissZemen major theme was law and order whereas after the reform its major agenda was democracy. Reporter agenda was the same before and after the reform. Therefore, it can be said that, after the reform, they are becoming the same in agenda.

5.2 Conclusion

The conclusion to which the findings lead us is to say that government owned media (AdissZemen) is serving as the propaganda machine of the government. It is operating as per the interest of the ruling elite. Its tone never changed while its framing, themes, labeling of opposition and understanding of ethnic politics are changed signifies the hard fact that AdissZemen is doing its best to please people in power. Because those changes are registered due to the political reform made by the reform group, by which Abiy Ahmed is at front.

The reporter founding media philosophy and ethics have been transferring from one political event to other. Its basic routines and interests have not been influenced by individuals and groups. From the findings obtained, it can be noted that its tone of voice for the government was slightly changed after the reform. This is a clear indication that this newspaper has stand on truth and rationality. The political reform (including human and democratic rights) brought by the reform were much admired by almost all international right group.

Generally, it could be said that the new political reform which has started in April/2018 saw some changes in Ethiopian media industry. The polarization between the state and the private media has also been narrowed down. After the reform, the two types of media showed some similarity in their agenda (theme), framing and source usage. This is one of the finest finding of this study where the private and state owned media were researched by many scholars as much polarized. However, with regards to AdissZemen, the basic journalism

ethics are not changed with the new Ethiopian reform. Reporter has continued to maintain its prior stand on the respect of basic journalism ethics like objectivity and fairness.

5.3 Recommendations

The political news reporting of the two newspapers called AdissZemen (government owned) and reporter (private owned) were investigated. Most importantly, the newspapers line of reporting before and after the new Ethiopian reform was tested using various political measurements. The investigation of these all revealed that the government owned newspaper,AdissZemen showed large fluctuation in terms of representation of opposition parties, understanding of ethnic politics and unionist, story frame and theme. The fluctuation was absolutely the result of the new reform. The tone (positive to the government) and source (government officials) of the newspaper were; however, always the same. This again signifies the fact that media are working to satisfy the interest of those who finance them.

Reporter was by far the same in before and after the new reform. Much objectivity was registered here. Both before and after the reform, the theme of reporter was democracy, it represents opposition parties as partners, and it used different framing considering the context of the nation and tried to use as many sources as possible. Cognizing these all, the researcher would like to recommend the following.

This study has showed that the types of media ownerships have impact on the media content. More specifically, it had revealed that the lack of objective reporting was due to the fact that the newspapers promoted the interest of their sources of income. Particularly, AdissZemen was voicing people who are in power. There were also differences between the coverage of the private media and that of the government media that revealed bias. Therefore, the Ethiopian media needs support in developing business models that enhance financial sustainability and hence more editorial independence.

Even though there is reform, AdissZemen couldn't bring professional and meaningful change. It is using the governments' permission to report societal issue. It is always the echo of the government. Therefore, the government must responsibly intervene to bring structural change in the media. Actually, the government is always saying as it is in the path to present media reform. However, up to the completion of this study, there is no such move. The government mustn't forget to consider more transparent and broader representation and ownership of the media reform agenda by the media sector and civil society including public awareness on media and freedom of expression policy reforms

Media advocacy groups needs to work to enable the media to better influence the process of change. For journalist, it was a great shame when the premier asked apology for his government abuse of power in a condition that they never tried to report it. Therefore, media like AdissZemen newspaper need not be the recipient of government voice rather they need to professionally and ethically investigate such public issues.

As the country is in reform so does the media sector. Reform in the media has double goal. One is to make media vibrant and professional. The second is ones the media are organized in a way that can ethically and professionally practice their duty, they can play decisive role in the nation building process. Therefore, independent associations need to be established. An advisory board should be established with representatives from the media sector itself to determine the needs, strategies, and training provisions in all Ethiopian media.

Finally, it is the researches due recommendation that further research needs to be conducted in this area. Most of the time, Ethiopian state media are studied to be the mouth piece of the government while the private ones are lungs of the oppositions or serving some related agenda. The problem is mainly identified as political influence and media ownership. However, this study suggests that the problems for Ethiopian media are not only these. For example, Ethiopian are enjoying considerable amount of freedom after the reform, people begin to criticize their government, academicians begin to freely write and discuss about hot issues. However, media like AdissZemen are always serving the incumbent government; why this?

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Appendices

Coding sheet

1Name of the newspaper………………………………………………

2. Date of publication……………………………………….…

3. Page ………………………………………………………….

4. Location ………………………………………………………

5. Frame

 Conflict …………………………………………….

  Law and order ……………………………

  Morality…………………………………………

 Solution…………………………………………….

  Responsibility to the opposition…………………………………………

 Responsibility to the government………………………………..

6. Theme

Democracy…………………………………………………………..

Freedom……………………………………………………………

Corruption…………………………………………………………..

Government and Party issue………………………………………..

7. Sources

 Government officials ……………………………………………

Opposition parties………………………………………..

Experts…………………………………………………………

Community members………………………………………………

International organizations……………………………………….

Unspecified…………………………………………………………

8. Tone of voice for the incumbent government

Positive………………………………………………..

Neutral…………………………………………..

Negative…………………………………………………..

9. Representation of opposition parties other than EPRDF

Enemy…………………………………………………………..

Partner ……………………………………………………………..

Neither……………………………………………………………..

10. Are ethnic based politics and unionist set against each other?

Yes……………………………………………..

No……………………………………………………………….

Neither…………………………………………………………