The Framing of the 2005 Ethiopian National Election by Privately Owned Print Media Outlets in Ethiopia

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Acronyms

EPRDF- Ethiopian peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front
IREX- International Research and Exchange Board
PMC- Population Media Center
NEBE- National Electoral Board of Ethiopia
EU- European Union
UK- United Kingdom
USA- United States of America
CUD- Coalition for Unity and Democracy
UEDF- United Ethiopian Democratic Force
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Abstract

Media and politics are two sides of the same coin where one can’t exist without the other. The relation between these two concepts attracted the attention of most scholars in our world today. Politicians need the media to further their ideas, and the news media need the politicians to write their stories. These kinds of relations become more visible in special events like elections. Elections are one of the major elements of democracy which allows the citizenry to elect their preferred political candidate. During election campaigns, political parties use different strategies to get media attention which in turn leads them to secure the votes of the electorate. Basing the campaign of contesting political parties as their major bases, different media outlets frame the issue in various ways. As studies indicate, framing of election campaigns is dependent on the social, economic, political and media systems of the country. Hence it is common to see cross-national variation while dealing with some specific issue.

Studies conducted in North America and Western Europe indicates the predominance of game frame while covering election related news. Contrary to this, fewer studies conducted in the developing world indicate the dominance of issue frames in some countries and game frames in few others. The presence of such small amount of studies in the developing world makes it harder for comparative researchers to look outside the developed world. Hence this study was intended to examine how the privately owned print media framed the 2005 Ethiopian national election.

The study employed quantitative content analysis to look at the different frames and the sourcing variables used while covering the election. To conduct the research, two privately owned newspapers, Addis Admas and Reporter, were selected for their high circulation and audience readership when compared with other privately owned Amharic newspapers. The study included newspapers published from the start of the Ethiopian New Year September 11, 2004 (when the election news became the media agenda) until Election Day May 15, 2005.

The results of the study revealed the dominance of issue frames over game frames in the Ethiopian media landscape in general and among the privately owned print media outlets in particular. In addition to this, it was found that Ethiopian media are highly dependent on official sources while covering election-related issues. Furthermore, it was found that the ruling political party ‘Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front’ (EPRDF)
portrayed negative media coverage whereas opposition political parties received more positive coverage which in turn indicates the presence of clear political parallelism in the Ethiopian media landscape.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1- Mass Media and Politics

In our world today, the mass media is playing a pivotal role in composing and transmitting different social, economic and political activities occurring in the different parts of the world. By doing so, it is playing a big role in the globalization process to which the world is heading for. Through the mass media people in different parts of the world can now share information faster than ever before. Thanks to the technological development the world reached, it is now possible to transmit the same message to the mass audience at the same time (McQuail, 2000). Such technological advancements in mass media has enabled the world to share different social, economic and political happenings faster. Furthermore, it has played a great role in the dissemination of different technological and political progresses throughout the world.

Before the introduction of the mass media, people in the per- mass communication era use more of traditional way of communication like interpersonal communication to exchange information about the major happenings in their localities (McQuail, 2001). As a result of poor communication strategy, people in this era were prone to information loss, which is created when the message pass from the sender to the receiver. Currently, all these hindrances are revealed with the emergence of new technological advancements in mass media.

Presently, it is a common phenomenon to see different disciplines using mass media for addressing issues involving the wider public. Among these disciplines, politics is the one which heavily uses mass media. As it has been noted by different scholars, politicians use the mass media for propaganda, election campaigns, and public mobilization purpose (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Meyer & Hinchman, 2002; Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008; Strömbäck & Nord, 2006). In early times, before the emergence of the concept of democracy, most politicians who follow dictatorship political ideology use the mass media for disseminating propaganda. Even today, in times of war it is a common phenomenon to see politicians using the mass media for propaganda purpose (Kumar, 2006). Such use of the media for political purposes, as Strömbäck and Kaid (2008) contend, is referred to as the mediatization of politics.
Mediatization of politics refers to a social change process through which the media has become increasingly autonomous from political institutions and actors while at the same time increasing their influence over political actors, institutions and processes (Kunelius & Reunanen, 2012; Strömbäck, 2011). Nowadays it is common to see people using the term mediation and mediatization of politics interchangeably. In their book titled *The Hand Book of Election News Coverage Around the World*, Strömbäck and Kaid argue that politics could be described as mediated whenever the mass medias are the main channels through which politics is communicated and when, as a consequence, the perception of reality that are conveyed through the mass media presumably have an impact on how people perceive reality (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008). On the other hand, while making a distinction between mediatization and mediation of politics, Mazzoleni and Schulz (1999, p. 249) contend that “[mediatization] is distinguished from mediation, which refers in a neutral sense to any acts of intervening, conveying or reconciling between different actors, collectives or institutions where as mediatization of politics, as it has been defined above, refers to a social change process through which the media become autonomous from political institutions and actors.

At present, most countries that follow democratic ideology use the mass media mainly for public mobilization and electoral purposes. As it has been supported by many scholars in the area of political science, one of the major characteristics of democracy is conducting a regular, free and fair election (Prothro & Grigg, 1960). In order to have an informed voter, politicians use the mass media as their major tool to reach the electorate. Bennett and Entman (2001) in their book titled *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy* contend that "traditional features of politics persist, from old fashioned door-to-door campaigning to party and social movement organizing". Even though such kind of public mobilization is persistent still today, it takes much effort and energy in the side of the candidate. As a result of this, politicians use the mass media as a vehicle in reaching the voters. This is evident in most emerging democracies of the world. As Strömbäck and Kaid argue, election news coverage matters because it is a prerequisite for an informed electorate and because it contributes to how democracy works (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008).

During election campaigns, politicians use different strategies to convince the electorate and to get their vote. In their campaigns, they promise the electorate what they will do if they get elected. While doing this, the politicians use different ways to address their stand on specific issues. Some concentrates on the strategies which they will use to implement the plan that they have at hand, some may focus on current burning issue in their country and other may get involved in criticizing their opponents view (Mimo, 1970).
By taking such different ways of approaching certain problems, the mass media frames the issue in various ways. Based on the type and organizational policies of the media, journalists may use strategic frames, some may use issue frames and other may use episodic frames (Rhee, 1997). These different types of frames influence audiences’ opinions toward the political parties and the election process as a whole.

As it is mentioned above, different media outlets may frame the same topic in different ways based on the type of media, the organizational (editorial) policy of the media, the ownership of the media outlet and the prevailing social, political and economic condition of the country (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008). In order to assess such differences, scholars conducted various studies to investigate how journalists frame election news. The findings of most studies indicate the presence of cross-national variations in the reporting of election related news globally (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008; Esser & Angelo, 2006; Vreese, Peter & Semetko, 2001). The differences become more visible when it comes to the developed and the developing world and among counties which follow different political ideologies. Hence, this study is intended to see how the media frames election campaign in the developing world by taking the framing of the 2005 Ethiopian national election by the privately owned print media outlets in Ethiopia.

1.2- Purpose statement

In today’s world most studies which are done on framing election campaign news were conducted in the United States and in Europe. There are no or limited number of studies done in other parts of the world like that of Africa and Asia. Most countries in Africa and Asia are poor in their socio-economic status when compared with the developed world. Beyond this, the political ideology and the media systems which these two different nations follow differ significantly.

Most developed nations in the Western world, including the USA, follow a liberal democratic type of political system which allows the media to function fully with little intervention from the political institution (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). In other words, they allow full freedom of speech to the mass media. As a result of this, media outlets in these western societies are free to frame any news article as they wish and can expose all the bad doings of politicians. However, when it comes to developing nations, where the political and media setup differs significantly from that of the Western world, we can easily see the media suffering from lack of freedom of speech. Even though some developing nations claim they follow democratic ideology, they hardly implement its principles. This is evident in most of
the reports which come out of the United Nations and Human Rights Watch groups. Most of the reports indicate the presence of the jailing and intimidation of journalists in most of the emerging democracies in the developing world (*OHCHR REPORT, 2012*, 2012; Human Rights Watch, 2012). As the reports from international organizations like that of Reporters Without Borders and Human Rights Watch indicate the intimidation and jailing of journalists in most developing countries is more pronounced during election periods. For this we can take elections which took place in 2005 in Ethiopia and in 2007 in Kenya which resulted in the jailing of journalists and closing of most media outlets as an example. In the presence of such intimidation and jailing of journalists, it is naïve to think the media will operate freely to accomplish their social responsibility role.

Due to the presence of such pressure from the government, the media's frame in developing nations would significantly differ from those of the developed nations. It is crucial to see how the mass media frames election campaigns in the developing world where the social, political and economic condition differs from that of the developed nation. Hence, the major objective of conducting this study is to feel the gap in the existing political communication studies which failed to include more studies from the developing world. In order to feel the gap the study will use the 2005 Ethiopian national election as its major tool and examine the kind of media frame used while reporting election related news.

Conducting this study will benefit comparative researchers to have different aspects of looking at how media frames are shaped by the prevailing social, political and economic conditions in the country. Further to this, the study will play a substantive role in the democratization process which most developing nations are straggling to implement. Beyond this, the study will enable the Ethiopian society to get accurate and up to standard election news which follows the standard way of framing election news articles from the mass media.

**1.3- Objective of the study**

**1.3.1. General Objective**

The general objective of this study paper is to examine how privately-funded print media framed the 2005 Ethiopian national election.

**1.3.2. Specific objectives**

This study paper strives to:

1- assess the type of media frame the private news media employed while reporting the 2005 Ethiopian national election;

2- look how the different political parties were treated in the news stories;
3- look at the extent of the coverage of the print media in terms of frequency;
4- see whether there is a difference in the framing of front page news articles and editorial pages;
5- see the use of sources while covering election related stories.

1.4- Organization of the paper

This study paper is divided into five different parts; the introductory part of the paper contains a general summary of the topic as a whole. The second part of this study paper, is allotted for discussing framing. This part of the paper starts by defining and discussing what frame and framing mean, then it proceeds with discussing the different types of media frames used most often in covering election campaigns in different parts of the world. The next part, in part two of this study paper is totally devoted to reviewing different scientific journal articles which are written on framing election campaign in different parts of the world. In this part of the paper, different types of media frames are identified and discussed thoroughly. Further to this, the media landscape and the use of media for election and political purpose in Ethiopia will be thoroughly discussed. Basing the reviewed studies and the above mentioned information, research questions has been posed on how the media frames election campaign in the developing world by taking the 2005 Ethiopian national election as its major point of departure. The third part of the paper contains information about the research methods, data sources and research tools the author used to answer the research questions posed. Data presentation, analysis and interpretation of results were presented in part four of the paper and the final part contains the conclusion and recommendation part where the major findings of the study are summarized and possible recommendation points are given for future researchers.
CHAPTER TWO

2- Review of Related Literature

2.1- What is framing?

Framing is one of the major tools which politicians and media personals use to address issues to the general public. Many scholars at different times have defined framing in different ways. According to Entman, to frame means to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text (Entman, 1993). On the other hand, Tankard, Silberman, Bliss and Ghanem (1991) define a media frame as “the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration (p3)”. In a notion not that much different from Entman’s and Tankard’s et al. definition of media frames, Gitlin argued that media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse (Gitlin, 1980). On the other hand, Gamson and Modigliani (1987) define frames as the words, images, phrases and presentation styles that a speaker (e.g., a politician, a media outlet) uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience.

On the other hand, Neuman et al. define news frames as “conceptual tools which media and individuals relay on to convey, interpret and evaluate information (Neuman, Just & Crigler, 1992, p60)”. They set the parameters “in which citizens discuss public events (Tuchman, 1978: p IV)”. They are “persistent selection, emphasis, and exclusion (Gitlin, 1980, p7)”. Framing is selecting “some aspect of perceived reality to enhance their salience so that they promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993, p53)”.

Even though frames are defined in different ways, all the definitions given to media frames revolve around one common pillar; which is a silencing of some perceived reality. As can be seen from the above definitions, the specific topic which is being silenced or emphasized is selected by giving special attention for the issue under investigation and excluding those which are out of the major concern. There are different ways of silencing a given topic, as Fisk and Tayler (1991) contend:
“...text can make bits of information more salient by placement, or by associating them with cultural familiar symbols, even a single unillustrated appearance of a notion in an obscure part of text can be highly salient, if it comports with the existing schema in a receiver’s belief systems.”

In the real world situation, events happen randomly with some other minor things following them. These minor events, which come following some major happenings, may have an impact on people’s day to day life, provided they are presented by giving special attention for them. In other words they will impact people’s perception of reality if framed in different ways. By framing certain topics of an issue, politicians or journalists can give varying meaning to the same issue or message and influence the public perception of some reality. This is evident from a series of experiments conducted by the cognitive psychologists Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky on how people’s perception of risky prospects is altered by changing the terms in which equivalent choices are described. On their experiment the researchers find out that when alternative outcomes are defined in terms of potential gains, people follow a risk-averting strategy, but when the equivalent outcomes are described in terms that suggest potential losses, people seek risk (Iyengar 1991, pp. 11, 12). In general framing approach focuses on the process by which thematic or stylistic organizations of news stories emphasize a particular story line (Entman, 1993; Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

Taking all this arguments on media frames into consideration, Scheufele (1999) identified two concepts of framing: media frames and individual frames. According to Gamson and Modliglian (1989) media frame refers to “a central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events… the frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue etc… (p.143)”. Media frames organize everyday reality and it is an essential feature of the news. As it has been contested by Gitlin (1980) media frames also serve as working routines for journalists that allow the journalists to quickly identify and relay to their audience (p7.). On the other hand, individual frames are mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing information (Entman, 1993, p. 53)”. For Entman individual frames are “information processing schemata” of individuals where as media frames are “attributes of the news itself”.

Most scholars in the area political communication assert the importance of combining individual and media frames to make frames very effective. Scholars like (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Shen, 2004) contend that “framing effect is more likely to occur when the media frames comport with the existing belief of audience (individual frame), rendering
related concepts more salient and more cognitively accessible than others". This indicates that frames become more effective when they support the existing beliefs or statuesque in the society. In general, in order to get maximal effect from framing, it is mandatory to use media and individual frames in combination.

Taken all this characteristics of framing, most theories directed towards framing seem to overlap with other concepts like that of priming and agenda setting theories. Even though their seems to be some common characteristics among the three theories, there is a clear difference among them. As Strömbäck and Nord (2006,) contend agenda setting is concerned with the question of what the media reports about and framing is concerned with the question of how the media reports about different issues, events and persons (p. 149). Priming, on the other hand, is considered to be the consequence of agenda setting, which plays a key role in the evaluation of leaders and politicians (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Ansolabehere, Behr, Iyengar , 1991).

2.2- Types of Media Frames used in Covering Election Campaigns

As it has been described in the previous section, politics is among the disciplines which heavily use mass media. One of the major activities which attract the media’s attention in the world political sphere is election. While covering election campaigns, journalists use different frames in addressing the issue to the general public. The use of different story lines for framing election news heavily depends on the type of the media, the prevailing political system and socio-economic statues of the country as a whole (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008).

Different scholars in different times have conducted various studies to see how framing election campaigns differ among different countries. Most of these studies were conducted in the Western world where the political, media and socio-economic systems are different from the developing world. In the majority of the studies, the predominance of four different kinds of media frames were identified. These includes; game frames (Domke et al., 1997; Mantler & Whiteman 1995), issue frames (Woong, 1997), personality-centered frames (Porto, 2001; Braden, 1996) and Episodic frames (Iyengar, 1991; Rhee, 1997). Hence in this study paper the researcher used these four frames to see how frequently they are used while covering the May 2005 Ethiopian national election by privately owned print media in Ethiopia.
2.2.1 Game Frames (Strategic Frame or Horse Race frame).

The game frame, which is often used interchangeably with either strategic frame or horse race, is the most frequently used frame by journalists while covering election campaigns (Domke et al., 1997; Mantler & Whiteman, 1995; Stempel & Windhauser, 1991). Game framing of election campaign presents the election campaign process by using the languages of game or competition. While discussing about game framing of election campaign, scholars contents that game (strategy) coverage for election campaigns focuses on candidates’ strategy, win-or-lose aspect of the campaign and the politician’s selfish interests (Graber, 1993; Jamieson, 1992; Petterson, 1993). In his book titled Is Anyone Responsible? Shanto Iyengar explains that horse race or strategic frames of covering election campaign details the candidates electoral prospects; their poll standing, delegate counts, fundraising efforts, and related campaign indicators rather than the candidates’ policy position or personal characteristics (Iyengar, 1991). All these definitions show that strategic or game framing of election campaign focuses on the strategy which the candidates use while campaigning for election. These kind of frames hardly give attention to the issue which the candidate raise.

Strategic coverage is marked by several features: (1) winning and losing as the central concern; (2) the language of war, game and competition; (3) mention of performers, critics and audience (voters); (4) the emphasis on performance, style and perception of the candidate; (5) great weight being given to polls and positions in evaluating campaigns and candidates. When all these features exist together, they will develop audience cynicism on politicians irrespective of the media outlets used (Josephe et al., 1996). The view that game (strategic) framing would result in audience cynicism is also shared by (Cappella & Jamieson, 1992; Jamieson, 1992; Patterson, 1993); these authors contend that when the news media reduce their focus on substantive issues and focus on strategies and character traits, it is claimed to undermine political information and engagement and activate political cynicism. This as contested by Aalberg, Strömbäck, and Vreese, (2011) happens because the strategic news frames makes politicians’ self-interests more salient and depress knowledge on policy positions (p. 165). In other words, this implies that voters who are exposed to such kind of media framing would be less likely to know about the policy or issue stand of the candidate whom they are going to elect. Because of this reason, it is claimed by most scholars that strategic frames have negative implication for democracy as they depress and reduce a
politically informed citizenry (Aalberg et al., 2011; Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Jamieson, 1992).

Even though strategic news framing has such a negative implication on voters’ voting behavior and democratization process, it is the most predominant form of framing the news in most western Medias. As most scholars contend, since game (strategic) framing of election campaigns provide journalists with the opportunity to frame the campaign news in a much safer way, it is the most commonly used and preferred framing type among journalists (Patterson, 1993; Fallows, 1997). In addition to this, the changes in political systems, news business, rise of television, new technology and commercialism are also credited for the increase in the use of strategic or game frames in election news coverage (Patterson, 1993; Andersen & Thorson, 1989).

In general strategic (horse race or game framing) of election campaign focuses on losers and winners in the competition for the voice of the electorate during election campaign.

2.2.2 Issue Frames

The term issue frame refer to the interpretative patterns that focuses on candidates issue position and proposal. This kind of frame gives a clear idea about the candidates’ position on specific issue. Issue framing emphasizes policy issues, problems and solutions in campaign coverage. According to Rhee this reporting style or frame presents proposals for problems, information about who are advocating which policy alternative and consequences of the problems and proposals (Rhee, 1997). Most of the time, it is common to see this type of frames when politicians introduce their policy issue in some specific topic like economy, education, employment etc… which need a deeper analysis.

Since issue framing of election campaign tends to be interpretative in its style of presentation, it needs lots of space and time to present. As a result, these kind of frames are most commonly used by newspapers than broadcast medias like that of television and radio. Issue framing together with strategic frame can be viewed as two of the prototypical frames in campaign coverage (Ibid) of which strategic frame is the most commonly used followed by issue frame. Issue framing has somewhat a neutral effect (they do not consistently depress cynicism, although neither do they elevate it) on audiences’ cynicism towards politicians (Josephe et al., 1996).
Most studies conducted on the framing of election news coverage in different parts of the world investigated the prevalence of strategic and issue frames in most of their findings. Hence, it is important to put a clear distinction between the two framing types. As Lawrence contends, “the issue frame is defined as stories about policy problems and solutions, description of politicians’ policy stands and implications of different proposals and legislations, while the game frame is defined as stories about winning or losing elections, legislative debates or politics in general, strategies for winning, and stories about how politicians or parties are themselves affected by political processes (Lawrence 2000, p. 100)”.

On the other hand, Strömabäck and Dimitrova (2006) (see also Strömabäck & Aalberg, 2008; Strömabäck & Luengo, 2008; Strömabäck & Shehata, 2007, Strömabäck & Van Aelst, 2010) define the game frame as focusing on politics as a game, personality contest, and as strategies and tactics for winning, while the issue frame is defined as news stories focusing on the substance of political problems, issues, or proposals.

### 2.2.3 Personality-Centered Frames

Personality-centered frames tend to give preference to individual actors and adopt human-interest angles in events, while downplaying institutional and political considerations (Bennett, 1988). While defining the term “human-interest” frame, Porto contends that this kind of frames focuses on the personal characteristics of the candidate and other major actors, including descriptions of their abilities and qualities and voters response to them as persons (Porto, 2001). Personality-centered frames, also known as an ‘Image frame’, may go beyond the presentation of the candidates personal characteristics like candidate’s mannerism, personal speaking style and polling stance. As Braden (1996), Devitt (2002) and Herzog (1998) contend, personality-centered frames can include everything from the candidate’s physical attractiveness, clothing choice, hair color and style to their age, and has been shown to be disproportionately bestowed upon female candidates.

This type of frame seems to predominate in countries that follow a presidential system where the personal character of the candidate is more pronounced than those in parliamentary system. Even though some studies show the decline of such frames in most US presidential elections, still it is common to use such frames especially in elections which involve female candidates (Bystrom, Robertson, Banwart, 2001; Kim, 2008). As findings from some studies show, the way that the media covers or portrays candidate’s image and personal attributes can ultimately be as important as party affiliation and issue stance when voters are deciding who
is closest to their personal preferences (Sullivan, Aldrich, Borgida & Rahn, 1990). From this it seems less likely that such kind of frames will lead to political cynicism.

2.2.4 Episodic frame

In his classic book about how television frame affects attribution of responsibility for different social conditions, Shanto Iyengar defines episodic frames as event-oriented reporting that elicits individualistic rather than social-oriented responses to different topics on the part of audiences (Iyengar, 1991). According to Iyengar, episodic framing involves case study reporting which tends to follow a storyline. On the other hand Porto defines episodic frames as event centered news stories that reported “facts” or actors’ statements adopting a more descriptive mode of coverage (Porto, 2001). Episodic frames focus on individual, single events, keep their focus on the private realm (an individual’s psychology, or behavior within a family), highlight the ways on how someone experiences a problem, approaches the audience as a consumer and give better information as a solution for problems (Benjamin & Robbins, 2007). In both of the definitions, it can be seen that episodic framing is an event-driven frame which follows specific story line about the event.

It is argued by some scholars that telling stories in episodic rather than thematic way is important in changing the public conversation about social issues, and creating support for effective policy solutions to pressing social problems (Ibid). Even though such kind of frame is used in election news, most studies on media and communication reveal that both personality-centered frames and episodic frames are not the commonly used frames when compared with strategic and issue frames which are heavily used in the Western world.

2.3- Literature Review of Framing Election Campaigns around the World

In recent years, framing has grasped the attention of many scholars from different fields of studies. As it has been discussed in the introductory part of this study paper, among the different fields which uses framing, politics is the major one. Scholars engaged in studying political communication have conducted various framing studies. Most of these studies were conducted on how the media frame major political happenings in the society like that of election. In covering election related events, journalists employ different frames in order to grasp audience attention. As it has been claimed by most scholars in the area of political communication, the framing of election campaigns in different ways affect how people think about the event (Iyengar, 1993; Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Douglas &
Benjamin, 1999). Since the major objective of candidates during an election is obtaining the votes of the electorate, they heavily use the mass media to address their programs for the wider public.

Most studies of framing election campaigns were conducted either on framing effect on public opinion or on the types of frames commonly used by journalists while covering election related events. Either way, the goal is to study how the media frames election and how this coverage affects people’s perception about political reality. The way journalists frame politics heavily depends on the countries prevailing media type, socio-economic and political situation (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008; Patterson, 1993). For instance, in *The Handbook of Election News Coverage Around The World*, Strömbäck and Kaid (2008) have discovered the existence of framing variation across countries while covering election. According to them, these variations aroused due to the difference in the socio-economic and political ideology which different countries follow.

In the following section, we will see how different mass media in different parts of the world frame election campaign in their perspective scenarios.

**2.3.1- Framing Election Campaign in Different Parts of the World**

Nowadays, democracy and democratization has become the focus of most political leaders. Emerged in the developed nations, the concept democracy is spreading in an alarming way though out the world and the mass media played a pivotal role in the globalization process of the concept. Among the major characteristics of democracy is conducting frequent and periodic election is the one. As it is commonly known, through elections people elect their political leaders whom they believe will fulfill their needs. For obtaining information about the political leaders, electorates use mass media as their major tool. While discussing about the media’s role in the democratization process, Strömbäck and Kaid (2008) contend that “election news coverage matters because it is a prerequisite for an informed electorate and because it contributes to how democracy works”.

By using different types of approaches in reporting events related to the election process, journalists employ different kinds of frames. It is recalled in the preceding part of this study paper that, four types of frames were identified as the most commonly used frames while covering election, and these include; Strategic frames, issue frames, episodic frames and personality centered frames (Porto, 2001; Trimble & Sampert& 2004; Rhee, 1997; Cappella & Jamieson, 1996; Pfetseh, 2001). These different kinds of frames differ significantly in their style. Some concentrate on the strategies of the campaign, some focus on
the different issues that politicians raise and others give special attention on the personality character of the candidate.

Even though four kinds of frames are identified in different studies, their intensity of usage differs cross-nationally (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008). Most of the time, game frames and issue frames are the two commonly used frames in covering election campaigns.

Most studies conducted on framing election campaign are done in the developed world, particularly in the United States and Europe. The long-standing democratic culture and the current media and technological developments in these parts of the world grasped the attention of many scholars in the field.

The framing studies which are conducted in the United States of America (USA) indicate the prevalence of strategically framed election news articles in most media outlets followed by issue frames (Lawrence, 2000; Angelo, 2006; Rhee, 1997). In his study, Patterson investigated substantive increase in strategically framed election news articles on American mass media since 1960 (Patterson, 1994). While discussing why most media outlets in the United States (US) use game frames rather than issue frames, scholars contend that game framing of election campaign provides journalists with a free hand to write what so ever they want. For instance, the study conducted by Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) indicates that the horse race (Strategic) coverage dominates American election news coverage because it is easier and safer for journalists and media personals to asses candidates campaign strategies than to explain what the candidates issue stand on some specific topic is. According to these scholars, the other reason why US journalists focus on strategic framing is the tradition of journalists to relay on public opinion polls. Beside this, the change in the political system in the news business in the past centuries has contributed its own share for why media personals usually follow strategic framing (Patterson, 1994; Fallows, 1997).

On the other hand, studies conducted in the United Kingdom (UK) and other parts of the Europe indicate the predominance of strategically framed news articles in covering election news. Strömbäck and Kaid (2008) argue that the key feature of electoral news coverage in the UK are leader-focused and are characterized by tendencies towards strategic framing and the widening gulf between party and media agendas. Other studies indicate the existence of similarity between the way journalists frame election news in USA and the UK. In the same token, a study conducted in Sweden and Belgium by Strömbäck and Aelst (2010) indicates the dominance of game farming in both countries media outlets. The same is true for most European countries that follow democratic political systems; in these countries, almost all media outlets use strategic (game) frames while covering election. Even though
there is similarity in the dominant media frames in European medias, their exist to be some differences on the frequencies and strength of the frames (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008). For instance, a study conducted in Hungary indicate the predominance of issue frames on quality national news papers and public electronic medias, while game frames are dominant in political ‘infotainment’ and tabloids (p. 334).

Other studies conducted in the other parts of the world like that of Canada, Australia, and South Africa also indicate the dominance of strategic (game) news frames in both print and electronic news media (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Fletcher, 1981; Fletcher & Everett, 1991; Patterson, 1994; Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008). While arguing on why most media outlets in the Western world use strategic news framing in covering election related news, scholars put commercialization as one of the major antecedents (Patterson, 1993). In addition to this, Strömbäck and Aelst (2010) investigated media types (commercial versus public service and tabloid versus quality newspapers) as another antecedent for the framing of election campaign news in strategic manner. Their findings on Swedish and Belgian media outlets indicates the dominance of game meta frames in commercial TV news than public service news and in tabloids as compared to quality newspapers (p. 55).

On the other hand, few studies conducted in developing countries such as Brazil and Singapore, whose political and media system differs from the developed nation, indicates the dominance of issue frames in most media outlets (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008; Cenite et al, 2008). Cenite et al (2008) contend that the predominance of issue frames in Singapore media outlets is attributable to the development journalism principle which the country applies. The Singaporean case may also be applicable for those developing nations who apply development journalism in their media system.

2.4- Other Aspect of Media Frame

So far we have seen different types of media frames used while covering election related news in most parts of the world. In addition to framing election as a game, issue, episodic and personality centered manner, media outlets might also frame parties involved in an election either negatively (by opposing party political stand), positively (by favoring party political stand), or by selecting a safe play ground which is being neutral for all. Such tendency of the media to favor or un-favor the political ideology of different groups as Beck et al (2002) puts it is called media bias.

Even though journalism is thought to be a neutral profession, it is common phenomenon to see medias being biased to certain groups either positively or negatively.
Such tendency of the media According to Hallin and Mancini (2011) shows the presence of political parallelism in the media.

Mass media long been intertwined with politics ever since its emergence in the 17th century (Martin & Copeland, 2003). In early times one objective of the mass media was disseminating information which are coherent with the ruling class and orchestrating government propaganda to the wider public. According to Hallin and Mancini (2004) politicians can influence media content by ownership, financing and or censoring the media content directly or indirectly. Such kind interventions are still common in many parts of the world, even in those western countries where the practice of journalism is sought to be autonomous profession. The presence of such intervention from politician has an impact on the reporting style of the news media while dealing with issues related with politics.

It is common to see medias using either positive, negative or neutral way of reporting in countries were their is exists to be party centered political press. As their name indicates, party presses are media outlets which belong to some specific party. The major role of such Medias is transmitting information which is coherent with party objective and favoring the political stand of the party. In addition to this such medias find it harder to frame parties who have opposing view with their political stand positively. As Hallin and Mancini (2004) contend such tendency of medias to frame certain group in favorable or unfavorable tone is also evident in party financed medias. In their book the authors contend that media outlets which heavily depend on advertisement revenue would hardly frame the financing institution (group) negatively. The presence of such direct or indirect influence that forces journalists to frame politics either positively, negatively or in neutral bases as Hallin and Mancini (2004) contend indicates the presence of political parallelism in the media.

2.5 Media Sources

Sources in journalism are defined as any person, publication or other record or document which can help the journalist to get credible information to develop its story. A story written without sources is a fictitious story which lacks credibility. Sources add human interest, credibility, color etc... which are very crucial to attract and hold readers attention. The use of source become more important among journalist while they deal with issue related with high sensitive areas like that of politics. This happens because any word which is being said or told by tope officials can affect the lively hood of the general public in one way or another (Miller & Krosnick, 2000). Official sources as Manning (2001) contend includes
various departments of states, leaders and senior figures within political parties, the institution of law and security, interest groups among others. These groups as the author contends are the most likely used sources by journalists for they are claimed to be the most credible. There are several reasons for journalists to use the above mentioned sources as a starting point while developing their stories. Hall et al. (1978, p58) have several reasons for this; first, such institutions are powerful and, therefore, newsworthy; secondly, because journalists view such institutions and personals as owing higher statues in the community which interne force them to use them as a source; thirdly, some sources enjoyed credibility not as representatives but as ‘disinterested’ or ‘objective’ experts contributing expertise and authoritative knowledge. As studies conducted by scholars like (Weaver & Elliott, 1985; Gilbert & McCombs, 1982; Gans, 1980) indicate the use of such prominent news sources, as listed above, can have a major influence on the media agenda, but the selective processes and news judgments of journalists also play a significant part in shaping such agendas. It is due to this reason that most studies conducted on the relation between journalists and their sources revolve around this common pillar (i.e. the relation between politicians and journalists).

According Nord and Strömbäck, (2006), Gans, (1980), Sigal, (1973), the relation between journalists and their political sources is a mutual relationship whereby both need each other to accomplish their duty. The journalist need politician to build their story and the politician need the journalist to reach the wider public. Such relationships are well pronounced in times of hot political periods, like elections, in which the journalist strives to accomplish its social responsibility role by informing the citizenry about the election, polls and the candidate, whereas the politician needs the journalist to deliver their political plans to the electorate(Gans, 1980; Sigal, 1973). Viewing such relationships, scholars such as Strömbäck and Nord (2006) relate it to a tango dance where one leads the dance and the other follows. The findings of the studies conducted to see such relationships reveal the presence of cross national difference when it comes to the question of who leads the dance. For instance, Strömbäck and Nord (2006) find that it is the journalist, not their political source, who leads the tango in the Swedish media landscape most of the time. Contrary to this, the study conducted by Gans (1980) reveal that even though either the journalist or their political source lead the tango, in countries such as the US and UK, it is the politician who leads most of the time. In general, whoever leads the dance, the point here remains that higher political figures and top officials remain on the priority agenda among journalists while dealing with issues related with politics.
2.6 History of mass media in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is a country which is located in the horn of Africa and is one of the most populous countries in the continent. The country is endowed with lots of history which dates back to some three million years and is believed to be one of the oldest sites for early human existence (Hopkin, 2005). This great nation is one of few world countries and the only African country which is never been colonized, and it was one of only four African members to the League of Nations.

Ethiopia was a monarchy for most of its history which dates back to the 2nd century BC (Hayford 1969, p.xxv). In this era, the Kingdom of Ethiopia (formerly known as the Kingdom of Axum), was one of the great world powers, along with the Roman and Persian empires. Through time the Axumite dynasty lost its power, but the country continued to be lead by different monarchs until the late dynasty of Haile Selassie which ended in 1974. Beside its long history, the country is also known for its ancient manuscripts; Ethiopia has its own alphabet and numbering system which makes it to be unique from other African countries (Teshome, 2009).

Even though Ethiopia has an extensive history of literary work, the history of mass media in the country is of a recent phenomenon. In the 19th century during the era of Emperor Menelik II, the first newspaper, A’emro. was published (Pankurust, 1992; Sophia, 2006). This newspaper was published and distributed for the few people who can read and write at that time. Beside the A’emro newspaper, there were other newspapers published in other foreign languages such as French (Pankurust, 1992). As time pass by, different newspapers started their publications to serve the urban elite as their major target. The first printing press institution, Berhanena Selam, which is modern and run by the government was established in 1965 (Shimelis, 2000). The establishment of this printing press during the Haile Selassie I regime aided the print press to develop and increase its circulation. This same trend continued after the replacement of the monarchic rule of Emperor Haile Selassie with the military junta, which led the country from 1974 to 1991. In all these periods, the major objective of the print media was to orchestrate the propaganda of the ruling class (Shimelis, 2000).

Contrary to the history of most Western world, broadcast media in Ethiopia started as a government owned entity. In 1933 the first radio station was opened in the country by Italian company. Even though the radio station was opened during this period, its move was not smooth; it was interrupted by the Italian invasion of the country in 1936. In 1941, and in
the subsequent years, Radio Ethiopia started its operation from three major cities, namely Addis Abab, Harar and Asmara, in six different languages (Teshome, 2009). These radio stations were owned by the government and mostly advanced the interest of the government. In the same vein, the first television station in Ethiopia began its broadcasting in the early 1960s. Like the print press, the broadcast media during this period was under government control and was under absolute censorship, making it nearly impossible to broadcast or print any item which criticized any wrong doing of the ruling class (Shimelis, 2000).

It was in 1991, after the down fall of the military Durg regime and its replacement by the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), that Ethiopia witnessed some progress in its mass media history. It was at this time that the first proclamation granting private media entities to operate was ratified. By using this opportunity, different privately owned print products mushroomed in the country. This period was a period in which the country witnessed a significant amount of newspaper and magazine start-ups in its history. The number of printed materials between 1992 and 1997 reached 385 and out of this 265 were newspapers and the remaining 120 were magazines (press reference, 2007). Beside this, the newly flourished print medias carried different issues which ranges from social and economic to political issues with a relatively free way of criticizing the government (Sahilu, 2008). This phenomenon only stayed for a short period of time due to economic and some governmental intervention and sanctions which followed the country’s war with neighboring Eritrea and the ‘disputed’ 2005 national election (Sahilu, 2008; Skjerdal, 2008). As a result of such intervention in the mass media sector from both internal and external forces, the number of newspapers decreased significantly. As reports from the Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (EBA, 2010) indicate, there are about 83 private and government owned newspapers in Ethiopia in 2010 where as the broadcast media is still dominated by government control.

2.7 The practice of journalism in Ethiopia

The practice of journalism in Ethiopia has started with the publication of A’emro in the 19th century, during the era of Emperor Menelik II (Pankurust, 1992; Sophia, 2006). Journalism in Ethiopia has never been an autonomous profession since its beginning. The profession has been under the influence of different external factors related to the media in one way or another. Journalism in Ethiopia was under the direct influence of external bodies like that of the government. As it has been discussed in the preceding part of this study paper, mass media was used as a major tool for the dissemination of government propaganda, both in Emperor Haile Selasie and the Durg period. Studies conducted during these periods
indicate that journalists, especially those in the military Durg period, were under significant pressure from the government (Shemelis, 2000; Mekuria, 2005). As a result of government pressure, journalists at this time were forced to echo the messages of the ruling class; in other words they lack the autonomy to decide and report events by themselves. Though it has shown some improvements, this trend also continued following the replacement of the Durg regime by the current ruling party EPRDF. After the ratification of the new constitution which granted press freedom in 1995, journalism in the country became a relatively autonomous profession where journalists somehow become free while covering events. This doesn’t mean that journalists after 1995 are almost autonomous; there are still internal and external interventions which jeopardize their ability to function independently. An IREX study on the 2010 Media Sustainability Index indicated that journalists in Ethiopia are forced to self-censor their reporting in part due to perceived or real threats to their safety or to avoid legal problems. The study also points out that, an additional layer of self-censorship comes from the fear of offending incumbent or opposition political parties and powerful business entities which have direct or indirect control on the media organization (IREX, 2010). As a result of this and other factors, journalism in Ethiopia is labeled as Government (Official) said journalism, whereby journalists doesn’t have the privilege to interpret (frame) the news in their own words (IREX, 2010; Skjerdal 2011).

On the other hand, due to lack of good financial support, political parallelism exists among the practicing journalists in the country. Studies reveal that most journalistic work in Ethiopia are more tilted to favoring the political ideologies of those political advertisers and party members who finance them through sponsorship (Skjerdal, 2008). This in turn creates the transmission of biased and one-sided information for the general public.

The other issue which should be raised while talking about the practice of journalism in Ethiopia is the educational qualifications of practicing journalists. In early times and until recently, journalism was treated as a profession not requiring any educational qualification. Even though there is no data which shows the educational qualification of practicing journalists in the country, it is believed that most journalists practicing today never received proper journalism training (IREX, 2010). In order to alleviate this problem, different universities recently started offering journalism courses at both undergraduate and graduate levels in the country.

In order to equip journalists with the knowledge to report fair and balanced information, different international and local non-governmental institutions provide training for journalists on specific topics. For instance the Ethiopian Electoral Board provides training
for journalists in election reporting. In addition to this, it formulates rules and regulations for journalists to follow while reporting election-related events.

## 2.8 Election in Ethiopia

As a result of a traditional monarchy government and the country’s closed foreign policy, elections in Ethiopia are a recent phenomenon. It was in 1956 that the first legislative election in the country was conducted with the enactment of the new constitution in 1956 by Emperor Haile Selassie. Since political parties were not authorized at this time competition for office was reduced to the level of individual competition (Zewde, 2001, p. 207). This trend also continued after the decline of monarchical rule in Ethiopia and its replacement by the Durg regime in 1974. Even though there were elections taking place in various times in the country, they were not competitive since they were non-partisan elections.

Following the down fall of the Durg regime and its replacement by the (EPRDF) the country formulated the first constitution which allowed freedom of speech, freedom of the press and created conducive environment for political parties to freely participate in an election. Despite elections’ rather long history in Ethiopian political history, it was only after 1991 that the country conducted a multi-party and relatively democratic election. Even though the elections after 1991 were claimed to be democratic when compared with previous elections, it was argued by Abbink (2006) and others that the 1995 and 2000 elections were much more controlled by the EPRDF, to such an extent that in those elections ‘free and fair’ voting could not be fully realized. Ever since EPRDF took power in 1991, four rounds of elections including the 1995 and 2000 elections took place. Among these, the 2005 national election was marked as the most competitive and democratic election ever conducted in the country (Skjerdal, 2008). In this election more than 30 political parties participated and among them the major ones are the EPRDF, the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) and the United Ethiopian Democratic Force (UEDF).

Most emerging countries in the third world including Ethiopia are claiming that they are following a democratic rule. Whether these emerging democracies are following democratic rule or not is still something which needs further investigation; it is important here to see what constitutes for a country to be considered democratic. Conducting free and fair elections is taken as one characteristic of a democracy by scholars. According to Kirkpatrick, democratic elections are not symbolic; instead, they are competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive elections in which the chief decision-makers in a government are selected by citizens who enjoy broad freedom to criticize government, publish their criticism
and to present alternatives (Kirkpatrick, 1984). Viewed from the perspective of this definition, the 2005 national election in Ethiopia could be called democratic in many ways. First, the election involved different political parties and it was totally competitive in any perspective. On the second place, the media were somehow free to criticize and comment upon the political ideas and plans of the contesting political parties. On the other hand, voters’ registration was very high and the voter turnout was 80 to 90 percent (News release, 2005). These and other factors made most international observers like that of the European Union (EU) and Carter Center to rate the pre-election process as one of the democratic gains the country’s political history ever achieved

Though assessing the post-election phenomenon which followed the 2005 national election is beyond the scope of this study paper, it worth to mention some aspect of it since it has put some darker shade on the 2010 election which followed it. Following the unprecedented participation by opposition parties and the smooth and peaceful debate among contesting political parties, the electorate elected the candidate of his preference in peaceful way. The disagreement and violence created following the circulation of unofficial result showing the opposition party having the majority seats, while the preliminary result indicates the ruling party controlled the majority seat. Following this, the opposition parties claimed fraud and organized protests which claimed the lives of 40 civilians and the arrest of thousands of youths by security forces (Carter Center, 2005). In December 2005, the government charged 131 opposition politicians (Including 10 elected members of parliament), journalists and civil society leaders for crimes that include treason and genocide (Lyons, 2006). As a result of these charges, many private media outlets were closed and the relatively free media landscape started declining in both quantity and quality of reporting. In addition to this, the government banned any public gathering and demonstrations without permission and drafted new anti-terrorism law, which as some contend, directed to suppress the freedom of press in the country. As a result of this and other factors, the 2010 national election was not that competitive as the first two elections which took place after 1991.

2.9 The Role of the Press in Ethiopian Elections

As it has been discussed above, Ethiopia was Monarch country whereby power was transferred in family bases. As a result of this, the role of the Ethiopian press in an election remained limited for most of its history, due to the absence of multiparty election in the political arena. It was in 1995 that the country conducted its first multi party election which
allowed different political parties to take part and announce their plans to the electorate through the mass media. After 1995 three rounds of elections took place where both privately and governmentally owned media outlets played their role in informing the citizenry about the elections.

Among the three elections the 2005 national election was the one in which extensive use of the media by both the ruling party and the opposition parties was witnessed for the first time. In this election, the government of Ethiopia allotted free air time and newspaper space for political parties to announce their plans and programs for the electorate. In addition to this, there was live transmission of all the debates through the national Radio and Television Channels of Ethiopia.

To make the allocation of free air time and newspaper space fair, the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) together with the ministry of information formulated a rule that governs all contesting political parties in using the governmental media outlets. The rule states that broadcasters defined as both public and commercial services (in the absence of commercial broadcasters, this refers to the state owned medias) are obliged to supply free airtime to the candidates according to the set formula (Electoral Law of Ethiopia, 2007). Further to this, the only daily, governmentally owned Amharic newspaper Addis Zemen was obliged to provide free space to the candidate whereas the remaining newspapers were not obliged to provide free space. Article 17 of the proclamation grants candidates to produce political advertisement in non-discriminatory bases and requires the advertising to be under the price of commercial advertising.

In addition to the above granted right, the country's constitution contains article about election laws and the use of media during election campaign. Article 50 (1) of the national constitution states that “parties and ‘sections of the community’ backing a candidate are entitled to equal access to the mass media (Ethiopian Constitution, 1994)” . Furthermore, it is stated in Article 48, paragraph 1 that campaigning activities of the parties would cease 48 hours before the opening of the polls(Ibid)

It was by these rules and regulations that the contesting political parties debated on major political issues and announced their plans and programs for the electorate. By using the conducive media environment, the newly flourished private print medias together with the exiting press reported the whole electoral process and informed the citizenry about its electoral right and given them the opportunity to decide upon which candidate or political party they should vote for. As it is the case in other parts of the world, the media in Ethiopia used different frames to address the election news to the electorate. It is very crucial to see
the what media frames are used by Ethiopian journalists while covering election related news, since different frames have varying effects on audiences attitude towards politics.

Therefore, research question number one in this study paper asks.

**RQ1.** What is the dominant type of frame used by the privately owned (the independent) media outlet while covering the May 2005 national election in Ethiopia?

It has been claimed by most scholars that there is a difference in the writing style of news stories and editorials (Van, 1987). The media frames used to write news stories may vary from the media frame used to write the editorial piece. The presence of such difference will have different effect on the readers’ attitude towards some perceived reality (Iynger, 1996). In addition to this, the tone, the use of source and frequency of the news allotted to political parties and the election as a whole has an influence on audience voting behavior in general and democratization process in particular.

Hence, the remainder of the research questions are the following:

**RQ2.** Is there a difference in the use of media frames between news stories and editorial pieces while reporting the 2005 Ethiopian national election? If so, what media frames predominate in news stories and editorial pieces?

**RQ3.** What kind of sources were used while covering the 2005 Ethiopian national election?

**RQ4.** To what extent do private print media allot their newspaper space for the election coverage?

**RQ5.** Is there a variation in framing the election news across time?

**RQ6.** How were different political parties treated in the 2005 Ethiopian national election?
CHAPTER THREE

3. Methodology of the study

3.1. Research Method

This study paper uses quantitative research methods to analyze the data sets and to answer the research questions posed. As defined by Cohen (1980), quantitative research is social research that employs empirical methods and empirical statements. While elaborating on what empirical statements mean in the above definition, Cohen contends that empirical statements are about what “is” the case in “real world” rather than what “ought” to be the case (Cohen, 1980) and he suggests the use of quantitative research method for studies directed at investigating cases which are already in the ‘real world’. As it has been discussed in the preceding part of this study paper, the major objective of conducting this study is to see the type of media frame which predominates in Ethiopian print media outlets while covering election- related news. In addition to this, the study tries to find out how different political parties and candidates were treated in the newspapers. In other words, the study’s major objective is to investigate what is already been printed (done) by the journalist while reporting the 2005 Ethiopian national election; it did not go into details of what ought to be the case in reporting election news stories. As a result of this, the researcher decided to use quantitative research method to answer the research questions.

Furthermore, using quantitative research method has an advantage to summarize large set of information and hence making it possible for comparison over time and across categories. It is also used to generate greater accuracy and eliminates bias by avoiding the researcher’s own values and subjective preferences. In this type of research, researchers can view the communication process as concrete and can analyze it without contacting actual people involved in communication (Ting-Toomey, 1984).

3.2. Method of Data Collection

Content Analysis

This study used content analysis to gather the data sets from the selected newspapers. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this study uses quantitative research method to answer the research questions. As a result of this, the researcher uses quantitative content analysis to meet the research objective.

Content analysis is “a research technique for the objective, systemic and quantitative description of manifest content of communication (Berelson, 1952, p74)” . It is a research tool
which focuses on the real content and entire feature of media. According to Busha and Harter (1980), content analysis is used to determine the presence of certain word, concepts, themes, phrases, characters, or sentences within texts and to quantify this presence in an objective manner. Content analysis can be conducted on books, written texts, magazines, newspapers and any printed materials Content analysis has long been used in communication studies and could be detected through Lasswell’s examination of propaganda in 1927 (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010). According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996), media content analysis can be divided into behavior tradition and humanistic tradition; behavior tradition prioritizes the media’s effect by using scientific methods, while in humanity tradition content analysis is conducted by looking into media content and what they wish to deliver to the society and culture in which the media function. For this study, the researcher used the humanity tradition category of content analysis, since it is believed that using this category would help attain the studies objective which is directed at investigating what is already been written on the newspapers.

3.3. Research Subject and Data source

Newspapers

In order to assess the type of frame used in the 2005 Ethiopian national election, the researcher used printed newspapers as its main source. Newspapers were selected because, they are the preferred subjects for studies employing either qualitative or quantitative content analysis than broadcast media (Koenig, 2005; Iyengar, 1991; Entman, 1993). In addition to this, due to the accessibility of newspaper archives, it is easy for interested bodies to cross-check the findings of studies which in turn increase the reliability of the study.

For this study two locally printed, privately owned tabloid Amharic newspapers were chosen. The selected newspapers are a bi-weekly newspaper, Reporter, and Addis Admas, a weekly newspaper. The privately owned newspapers are selected because they have more readers than the governmentally owned broadsheet newspapers in the country (Sahilu,2008).On the other hand the two news papers are the prominent titles in the private news industries in Ethiopia, and they are the most read newspapers in the country. Beyond this, Reporter, and Addis Admas are the only newspapers that continued publication when most privately owned newspapers were shut down for publishing false and unbalanced news stories in the 2005 national election (Sahilu, 2008; Skjerdal, 2008). As a result of this, the
researcher avoided the use of newspapers which stopped publication after the election, since it is believed that the use of such data will not yield a reliable result.

The *Reporter* has a circulation of more than 25,000 per week. It was established in 2003 and covers issues ranging from social, economic, and political coverage to sport and entertainment. It is one of the most read among the privately owned newspapers.

*Addis Admas* is also privately owned, published and circulated mostly in Addis Ababa and around the country. Established in 2000, the newspaper has a circulation of 31,000 copies making the newspaper the leading privately owned newspaper in terms of circulation. The newspaper is among one of the few newspapers “backed by strong private investment (Gebremedhin, 2006) and contains sections like: Local news, international news, the present agenda, readers opinion, among others.

**Unit of Analysis**

The units of analysis used in this study paper are individual news stories and editorial pieces published on the front page of the respective newspapers. A news story was defined as a semantic entity with at least one topic delaminated from another story by a change of topic (Vreese, Peter & Semetko, 2001), and editorials are defined as articles in the newspaper which present the newspaper’s stand on an issue and most of the time published on the second or third page of a newspaper.

News in this study refers to the presentation more of facts by answering the five "W+H" questions while editorials refer to the writer's opinion reflecting the newspapers stand on certain issues by using facts as an argument to support the opinion'. As a result of such characteristics, editorials are sometimes referred as views of the newspaper. According to Bell (1991) editorials are written basing the top agendas among the public and the media organization. They most of the time are written as an extension to explain the news organizations view on top news story in the newspaper. The presence of such relationship between news and editorials (views) drown the attention of researchers to compare the two entities to gage the importance of certain issue or event in the newspaper.

For this study individual stories were selected manually by searching for specific words containing election, campaign, candidates, political parties and the names of all the political parties and candidates taking part in the election on the front page headlines and editorial pieces. By using this mechanism, a total of 50 news stories and 9 editorial pieces were collected from the *Reporter* and 47 news stories and 11 editorial pieces were collected
from *Addis Admas*. Then, content analysis on individual news stories and editorial pieces was conducted by using a prepared code sheet.

The researcher used a number of variables which were used in previous studies to prepare the code sheet and the code book. The coding scheme for this analysis follow prior studies (e.g. Iyengar (1991), Entman (1993) and Strömbäck and Dimitrova (2001)) which identify salient elements in news reporting. By using the code sheet coders were allowed to code individual news stories and editorial pieces by using the code book as their major guiding tool. Coders were allowed to chose between game frame, issue frame, personality centered frame and episodic frame for the framing variables and between positive, negative and neutral for the variable intended to grasp the newspapers orientation towards specific political party or candidate (for a matter of convenience, the authors used two broad categorization of contesting political parties as "Ruling political party" which include the EPRDF and "opposition political parties" which encompass all parties other than the EPRDF). On the other hand, coders were allowed to code the different kinds of sources used in the individual newspaper articles. To decide on the dominant frame, the coder should see the space allotted for the respective frames. If the specific frame occupies larger space, the coder should label that frame as dominant frame. In addition to this coders were informed to give extra weight for headlines and leads. After the news stories and editorial pieces were coded, relevant statistical tools were used and analysis was done to answer the research questions.

**Time frame**

In order to get a reliable result, the author of this study paper used all the newspapers which were published from September 11, 2004 (the start of the New Year on the Ethiopian calendar) to the election date (May 15, 2005). This time frame was selected because it was the time where election becomes the top government, public and the media agenda. A total of 90 newspapers published during this time period were collected and out of them 59 newspapers (28 from *Addis Admas* and 31 from *Reporter*) were systematically selected for content analysis for they contain election related stories.

**Inter-coder Reliability**

Two graduate students from Mid Sweden University, who are also native Amharic speakers, were selected and provided with a brief introduction to the coding procedure. After this, inter-coder reliability test was conducted on a randomly selected sub-sample of 10% of
the news stories and editorial pieces. By using Holist’s formula (Reliability= \( \frac{2M}{N1+N2} \)), where M represents the number of coding decisions with which the two coders agree where as N1 and N2 are the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder respectively) inter-coder reliability test was conducted. The test result shows 89% agreement for the framing variable and 94% agreement for the variable directed at investigating the tone of the news towards different political parties and candidates taking part in the election.

Krippendorff (1980) set a rule of thumb above which inter-coder reliability test is taken as significant. According to him, if an inter-coder agreement is above 80% the coding is considered as good and if it lies between 67-79% the coding result is within acceptable range. On the other hand, Lacy and Fico (1998) advise researchers not to use inter-coder agreement results which are below 70%. Viewed from these two perspectives, the inter-coder reliability test result in this study paper is within the acceptable range.
CHAPTER FOUR

4. Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

4.1. Data Presentation and Analysis

The extent to which media covers or uncovers an event has implication on the importance of the event in the public agenda in general and media agenda in particular. As scholars contend, the more the media covers or give emphasis for certain issue, the more the issue become the public agenda (Price&Tewksbury, 1997; Scheufele, 1999). For events to be high in the media agenda, they need to be more important for the general public and influence its social, political and economic condition in one way or another. In most of the today’s democratic world, election is one of the events which grasp the public and the media agenda. Even though elections are high priority agendas in the political atmosphere of most democratic countries, their coverage and Wight of gaining higher priority on the media’s agenda differs cross nationally (Sröbacka & Kaid, 2008). Therefore, due to this and other reasons, it is always mandatory for the social science researchers to look first at the extent to which how intense media covers the electoral process, since it is naïve to conduct studies on issue which have low priority agenda both in the media and the public mind. For this reason, the author of this study paper tried to see how much the 2005 Ethiopian national election gained attention in the two privately owned weekly and bi-weekly newspapers in the study frame. The following table shows the frequency distribution of the total number of news articles which the respective newspapers published.

Table 1- Frequency distribution of stories published on Addis Admas and Reporter Newspapers regarding the 2005 Ethiopian national election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Addis Admas</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>50.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How much coverage did Addis Admas and Reporter give in the electoral period?

Here, we can start by looking at how much coverage did the newspapers under the study frame gave space for the 2005 Ethiopian national election. As can be seen from Table 1, the two newspapers published a total of 117 stories about the election and the electoral campaign in the period between the celebration of the Ethiopian new year on September 11,
2004 (The time where election became the topic of the media agenda) until the actual balloting day which was May 15, 2005. During this period a total 90 newspapers were published making the average publication of election related news a little bit more than one per publication. When we see the total amount of stories published in the two newspapers we can see that 50.4% of the stories were published by *Reporter* and the remaining 49.6% were published by *Addis Admas*.

On the other hand, the amount and intensity of coverage for certain issue is dependent on time. Media coverage becomes more intense in times where the events gain more public and political attention. This phenomenon becomes more evident in times of election where the real campaign period is more important than the pre campaign period. This was also evident in the 2005 Ethiopian national election. The following bar graph presents the amount of coverage which *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* given for the election related stories at different time.

**Figure 1- Frequency of news stories about the 2005 Ethiopian National Election published by *Addis Admas* and *Reporter* newspapers (September, 11, 2004 – May 15, 2005)**

*The total number of stories equals 117.*

As can be seen from the graph, there is a linear increase in coverage across time. In September there was only one story which gradually increased to 3 in October, 8 in November and reaching its climax in April where 29 stories were published. For a matter of
convenience, the author of this study paper divided the time period into two broader sections as Pre-Campaign and Campaign periods.

The pre-campaign period includes the time from September 11, 2004 (where the election news becomes the media agenda) till January 24, 2005 (the time where official campaigning through mass media started). This period was dominated by the different activities and preparations which the computing political parties and the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) were doing for the realization of the election. In addition to this, the period was characterized by the different accusations which contesting political parties make on each other. On the other hand, the campaign period in this study paper encompasses the time from the official launching of the campaign (January 24, 2005) to the election date (May 15, 2005). This period was the most politically hot period which allowed candidates to address pressing political agendas in live televised debate forums organized by various civic society groups. In addition to this, the government allotted free airtime and newspaper space for contesting political parties on the governmentally owned broadcast and print media. Such intervention both by the government and civic society groups made the campaign period more hot and interactive than the pre-campaign period which was more dormant in relative terms.

The data in this study paper suggests that, out of the analyzed 117 stories, 27% of them were published during the pre-campaign period, while the remaining 73% were published during the campaign period, which included the time from the official campaigning date (January 24, 2005) to election day (May 15, 2005). On average three news or editorial pieces were published per publication by the individual newspapers during the campaign period. Coverage increased in this period due to the different debate forums organized by local and international civic society groups for contesting political parties. Thus from this it is evident that Addis Admas and Reporter provided their readers with good amount of news coverage of the election.
Table 2: Media Frames Used While Covering the 2005 Ethiopian National Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Media Frame</th>
<th>Addis Adams</th>
<th></th>
<th>Reporter</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game Frame</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue Frame</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>64.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality Centered Frame</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episodic Frame</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other type</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above depicts the predominance of issue frame in almost 64.1% of the analyzed stories followed by game frame which occupied 20.5%. Personality centered frame was the third most commonly used media frame holding 4.3 percent and episodic frame being the fourth holding 2.6 percent of the total 117 analyzed stories. The remaining 8.5 percent of the news stories used other kind of frames.

On the other hand, when we see the relative amount of the media frames used by the two newspapers in the study frame, we can see no variation in the use of issue frames by both Addis Admas and Reporter. As can be seen from the table above out of 75 stores which used issue frames both newspapers used this same frame in 64 percent of their publications. Contrary to this, Addis Admas used game frames in 24 percent of its publication while the Reporter devoted only 17 percent of its space for game framing. Personality-centered and episodic frames hold 2 and 3 percent of Addis Admas while the Reporter used these frames in 7 percent and 2 percent of its publication respectively.
Table 3: Frequency distribution of media frames against story type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame type</th>
<th>Game Frame</th>
<th>Issue Frame</th>
<th>Personality Centered Frame</th>
<th>Episodic Frame</th>
<th>Other Frames</th>
<th>Sub Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>News Story</strong></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Editorial</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table, one can see that out of the analyzed 97 news stories which used game frames, 21 percent of them were written in game frame and 20 percent of the editorials used the same frame. When we come to the usage of issue frames, we can see that out of the analyzed news stories, 60 percent of them used issue frames while editorial pieces used this frames in 80 percent of their edition. The remaining frame types-personality-centered frames (5%), episodic frames (3%), and other type of frames (10%) were solely used to frame news stories in both of the analyzed newspapers.

On the other hand, sources like government officials, opposition party leaders, international civil societies and ordinary people were used in varying degrees while framing the Ethiopian national election by the respective newspapers under investigation. As can be seen from the bar graph below, majority of the stories used opposition party leaders as their major source of information followed by government officials (50%). Civil society sources were used in 21 percent of the stories while international sources like officials from other countries and ordinary peoples used in only 11 percent and 6 percent of the stories respectively. From this it can be said that opposition party leaders and government officials were the most frequently used news sources by the selected newspapers.
Table 4 below reveal that, more than two-thirds of the stories published in the analyzed newspapers were written by journalist working for the newspapers while the author of the story could not be determined in 22 percent of the cases. When we come to the tone of the news given to the different political parties, we can see that each received tone that ranges from positive, neutral to negative with varying degrees. As can one see from the table below, the ruling political party (EPRDF) was framed negatively in more than 36 percent of its cases and received a neutral tone in 59 percent of the stories and was framed positively in only 5 percent of the total stories analyzed in this category. Contrary to this, opposition political parties gained more positive and neutral tones with a very slight amount of negative coverage (3%). As it is evident from the table, opposition political parties gained positive tone in 41 percent of the cases and received neutral tone in 56 percent. From this, we can clearly see that opposition political parties gained more favorable tone than the ruling party which received more unfavorable (negative tone).
Table 4: Frequency distribution for author of the story and tone of the story for participating political parties in the 2005 Ethiopian national election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Author of the story</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalist working for the newspaper</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News Wire</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalist and News Wire</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can’t be Determined</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub Total</strong></td>
<td>117</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tone of the Story</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tone for the Ruling Party</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tone for Opposition Parties and Candidates</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub Total</strong></td>
<td>117</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As it is the case in most democracies of the world, when election dates approaches the strategies and methods which contesting political candidates (parties) employ shows a slight difference. In order to get the vote of the electorate, contesting political candidates (parties) use different techniques based on their political philosophy. The presence of such difference would influence the reporting style of the news media, since part of the media’s product is dependent on what the politician says. Hence, it is very crucial to see changes in the media frame, use of sources, and tone for different political parties across period.

In order to see the existence of such differences, the researcher performed separate cross tabulation tests by taking the different campaign periods and the framing, source and media tone variables in to consideration. In doing the crosstab test, pre-campaign period and
campaign periods were treated as independent variables while tone of the stories, major media frames and the sourcing variables were treated as dependent variables. The chi square test for each crosstab is above 0.05 (p>0.05) making all the results obtained significant. For a matter of convenience, the author presents the condensed tabular presentation of the cross tabulation test result for discussion below.

Table 5: The use of Media Frames across period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame Type</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pre Campaign</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game Frame</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue Frame</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality Centered Frame</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episodic Frame</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other type</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>*100%</td>
<td>*100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the above table there is a slight variation in the usage of media frames by the newspapers under investigation. The table reveals that the use of game frame decreased from 25 percent in the pre campaign period to 19 percent during the campaign period leaving a 6 percent difference. Even though the use of issue frames also showed a
decrease in percentage from 66 percent in the pre-campaign period to 64 percent, the variation is not that significant when compared with the use of game frames. Contrary to this, personality-centered frames were absent in the pre-campaign period and were used solely during the campaign period. In the same vein, other types of frames also showed increments during the campaign period, though their amount is not that significant.

Table 6: Tone for the ruling party across period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone for the Ruling party</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pre Campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pre Campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pre Campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Freq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pre Campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 illustrates the newspapers in the study frame framed the ruling party either in neutral bases or negatively. When we see the percentage tone of the stories during the pre-campaign and the campaign period we see a slighter variation. As the table shows, the amount of positive coverage has increased from 3 percent in the pre-campaign period to 6 percent in the campaign period, in the same way the amount of neutral tone for the same party has showed an increment by four percent during the campaign period. Contrary to this, the negative tone which was predominating during the pre-campaign period has showed a substantial decrease from 41 percent in the pre-campaign period to 34 percent during campaign period.

On the other hand, as the election date approaches the positive and negative tone for opposition political parties showed a decrease in percentage while the use of more neutral
words showed an increment. Table 7 illustrates the stories in the pre campaign period used favorable word towards opposition political parties in 50 percent of the time; however, this percentage decreased to 38 percent during the campaign period. The negative tone in this category has also decreased from 6 percent in the pre campaign period to 1 percent during the campaign period while the percentage of stories framed in neutral bases has showed a substantial increase from 44 percent in the pre campaign period to 61 percent in the campaign period.

Table 7: Tone for Opposition Political Parties Across period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone for Opposition Political parties</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre Campaign</td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Freq</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the preceding results, there is a clear variation in the use of media frames and the tone which contesting political parties gained during the 2005 Ethiopian national election. Such variation according to Stömbäck and Kaid (2008) can be attributable to different prevailing political and media factors in the country. These factors will be discussed explicitly in the discussion part of this study paper.

So far, we have seen the results of the frequency distribution for media frames, use of sources, type of stories, tone of the stories and the relations between the use of media frames,
and the tone which contesting political parties gained across time. Now let us see how the source variable shows change across time period.

Table 8: The use of source for covering the 2005 Ethiopian national election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources used</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre campaign</td>
<td>campaign</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government officials</td>
<td>Freq</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposition Party leaders</td>
<td>Freq</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International sources</td>
<td>Freq</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic society</td>
<td>Freq</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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Journalists always depend on sources to write their stories. Potential sources are the backbone for any journalistic piece. Sources give the story life, a human interest element and credibility. A story developed without the use of any sources is no different than factious story.

In events such as election campaigns, the use of sources becomes more important among journalists. The intensity and type of media source is heavily dependent on the story type, time and audience for which the story is directed. Table 8 illustrates the existence such variation or shift in the use of sources across different periods in time.
As can be seen from the above table the use of government officials and opposition party leaders as source was more pronounced in the pre campaign period reaching the level of 53 percent and 83 percent respectively. After the campaign started, the use of government officials and political party leaders as sources decreased in a substantial way reaching 66 percent for opposition party leaders while the use of government sources decreased only by four percent. Contrary to this, international sources, civil society and ordinary people which were not used as a source in the pre campaign period started to be used as a source in the campaign period. Out of the 85 stories published during the campaign period 15 percent of them used international sources such as former Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and other government representatives from different countries. On the other hand, 27 percent of the stories published during the campaign period used national and international civil society organizations such as the Carter Center as their source, while ordinary people were used in seven percent of the stories during the period.

4.2 Discussion

4.2.1 Coverage Frequency

Results of earlier studies show that there is a significant association between the amount of political news and propaganda a voter receives and their understanding of the politics and strategies the parties put forward (McQuail, 1961 cited in Franklin, 2004). As it has been mentioned earlier, audiences perception of certain perceived reality is highly dependent on the quality and intensity of news information which they get from the news media. The more the media covers certain issues, the greater the chance that the issue becomes part of the public agenda which in turn indicates how important the event was for the media, the politicians and the public at large (Iyenger, 1996).

In order to weigh the importance of the 2005 Ethiopian national election, research question number four asked “To what extent do the private print media allot their newspaper space for the election?” The result for these research question indicate that a total of 117 news stories and editorial pieces were published in both Addis Admas and Reporter about the election. When we see the percentage share of the individual newspapers, we can see equal and even distribution among them, but this does not mean that there is no any difference in the amount of coverage among the two newspapers at a given point in time. Literally speaking, the above result shows no difference in the amount of news coverage which the
individual newspapers allotted for the election. However, when we take the newspapers publication nature in to consideration, we can easily infer that the weekly Addis Admas has given more coverage for the election than the bi-weekly Reporter for which the above result might decrease when divided for its two publications per week.

On the other hand, the amount and intensity of coverage has showed a remarkable increase in number across time. The number of stories has increased from one in the month of September to 28 in April. Almost two-third of the analyzed stories were published between January 24- May 15, 2005 which is labeled as the real campaign period. Coverage during this time increased due to the different debate forums organized by local and international civic society groups for the political parties in different issues. In addition to this, this time was the time whereby participating political parties introduced their policy agendas by using the free airtime and newspaper space allotted for them on the governmentally owned media. On average two to three news stories or editorial pieces were published by the individual newspapers during the campaign period. As a general characteristic, tabloids carry three to five news stories in their front page and usually carry one editorial piece per publication (Bell, 1991; Uribe & Gunter, 2004). If we take these values and compare them with the average amount of news stories and editorial pieces on the analyzed newspapers, we can clearly see that the 2005 Ethiopian national election has gained large media coverage among privately owned print media.

**4.2.2 Dominant media Frame used by the Newspapers**

As mentioned earlier, the use of media frames is highly dependent on the countries prevailing social, political and media system (Stömback & Kaid, 2008) as a result of this it is natural to see variation in the use of different media frames among countries that follow different political ideologies and have varying developmental stages. As indicated in the literature review part of this study paper, the game frame is the dominating media frame which most media outlets in the western world use while covering election related events. Contrary to this, fewer studies which are conducted in some developing world like that of Singapore reveal the dominance of issue frame in the Singaporean media outlet.

The way the media frames election related news affects the audience attitude towards politicians either positively; by increasing their political participation or negatively; by creating political cynicism towards the politicians (Cappella & Jamieson, 2003 ). Hence, it is always mandatory to see what kind of frames that media outlets use while covering election
related news. Research question number one asks "what kind of media frames predominate in the private print media while covering the May 2005 Ethiopian national election?"

As the findings of this study paper indicate, the issue frame is the most dominantly used media frame in almost 64 percent of the stories followed by the game frame which occupied 21 percent in the analyzed newspapers. In most of their publications, the newspapers gave special attention to the different issues which contesting political parties’ rise to convince the electorate. Most of the analyzed news articles and editorial pieces focused on the policy issues which party candidates raise as alternative for combating the different social, economic and political problems in the larger public. In addition to this, stories published during the pre-campaign period focused on the elaboration and the various think tank issues which contesting parties rise.

For instance, the Reporter newspaper in its October 29 edition discussed the different education policies which contesting political parties have at hand. While framing different educational policies, the newspaper used the issue frame by giving special attention to the different policies that contesting political parties will use to alleviate the existing educational problem in the countries’ educational system. In this news article, the then-education minister W/ro Genet Zewede was framed as saying that “… as a political party, EPRDF will not resist to amend its educational policy if it believes that its policy has weakness…this could be evident in the Southern Nations and Nationalities People Region of the country, where the old policy which required 7 and 8 grade students to learn in Amharic language was replaced by a new policy which granted them to take their subjects in English (Reoprer, October 29, 2004, translated version)”. Such and other type of stories that focus on the policy issue and pressing political agendas were common grounds of reporting in the majority of the news articles and editorial pieces in the analyzed newspapers. On the other hand, out of the 21 percent of the stories which used game frame, significant amount of them were made up of reports that focus on the claims that contesting political parties make that they will win the election. The newspapers, especially in their editorial pieces, focused on the importance of polls for voters and party activities and consequently for the general atmosphere of the campaign in general; for this we can take the editorial piece published by Addis Admas Newspaper on February 26 and March 5 as an example. In this publication, the editorial piece criticized the different activities that contesting political parties doing by stressing the importance of the polls for the general public and the campaign atmosphere in general.
As it has been discussed above, the game frame is the most predominantly used frame type in most of media outlets in the Western world. Contrary to this, the findings of this study paper show the predominance of issue frames in the news and editorial pieces of privately owned print media outlets in Ethiopia. Different explanations can be given for the dominance of issue frames in the Ethiopian media. As it has been argued elsewhere in this study paper, the reporting style of news media is dependent on the media/political system and socio-economic condition of the country (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008). Hence one possible explanation for the dominance of issue frames in the Ethiopian media can be attributable to the prevailing media policy. Ethiopia has been using the concept of development journalism as its media policy since 2002.

Development journalism as a concept and practice emerged in South East Asia in the 1960s to enable most Asian countries to emerge from poverty. By implementing development journalism in their media reporting, most countries in Asia were able to come out of poverty. It was due to this that Ethiopia started applying development journalism as its media policy. The concept requires journalists to focus on the different issues and policies which can bring about social harmony and development in the country (Hanna, Boyson & Gunaratne, 1996). In order to bring about the required development; the government of Ethiopia decided to include development journalism to the educational curriculum of most higher education facilities offering journalism training. The presence of such kind of training for journalists and the media policy in the country as whole affects the reporting style which journalists follow while reporting on an issue.

Another factor that can be attributable for the dominance of issue frames over game frames could be attributable to the prevailing journalism practice in the country. As it has been indicated in chapter two of this study paper, journalism in Ethiopia has not been an autonomous profession for most of its history. The profession faces internal and external resistance from government bodies which in turn limit journalists from functioning autonomously. In countries where freedom of press is in its infancy stage and the practice of journalism is not that autonomous, the tendency of journalists to depend highly on official sources and orchestrate what their sources say is of common practice. As it is the case in most democracies of the world, those media outlets which found to use more of game frame over issue frames are Western countries which have a well developed freedom of the press that allows journalists to function autonomously. In the absence of freedom of press and professional autonomy in developing world like Ethiopia, it is naïve to expect the media to
use game frame which most of the time requires journalists to inculcate their personal judgments to the news.

As it has been contested by Strömbäck and Kaid (2008) the socio-economic variation among countries can be taken as another factor contributing for the existence of different media frames among countries. Ethiopia is a country known for its poverty. As studies indicate majority of Ethiopians live in abject poverty where per-capital income is less than one US Dollar per day (Bevan, 2000). In addition to this the distribution of infrastructure is in its infancy stage and basic human needs are not fulfilled. In a country where poverty is this rampant and infrastructures are not fulfilled it is natural to see people looking for better political party with better economic and political idea in an election. As a result of this, the issues that political parties raise in debates are more important than the different accusations for the Ethiopian citizenry. This and others factors would force journalists in Ethiopia to use more of issue frames in their reporting, since one of the major objectives of journalism is serving the public interest.

4.2.3- Media Frame Vs Story type

The use of media frames is dependent on the type of the story. Journalists may not frame editorial pieces in the same way as they frame news stories and vice-versa. A media frame which predominate news stories may or may not be reflected on its editorial pieces. In order to assess the presence of such difference in the framing of the 2005 Ethiopian national election, research question number two asks “Is there a difference in the use of media frames between news stories and editorial pieces while covering the 2005 Ethiopian National Election? If so, what media frame predominates in news stories and editorial pieces?

The result for this research question indicates the predominance of issue frames in both news stories and editorial pieces, followed by game frames. Even though there is no variation in the dominant type of media frame used, the result indicates the presence slight difference in the percentage composition which both story types allotted for specific frames. As can be seen from the result, both news stories and editorial pieces used game frame in 20 percent of their content. The use of issue frame was more pronounced in the editorial pieces which used the frame in 80 percent of its content while news stories used the same frame only in 60 percent of the total 97 news articles under investigation. What is more interesting in this result is complete absence of personality-centered frames, Episodic frames and other frame types in editorial pieces and their appearance in news stories.
The presence of such difference in editorial pieces and news stories could be attributable to the nature of the two story types. As it has been contested by Mencher (2010), Agbese, (2008) news stories are principally meant to provide readers with information, education and or entertainment based on the nature of the newspapers characteristics. As a result of this news stories can use different frames to disseminate the information and get readers attention. On the other hand, editorials are story types which most of the time are hard in content and reflect the newspapers’ stand on certain issue, as a result of this it is always harder for editorial writers to use human interest frames which have more of sensational characteristics.

4.2.4 Use of Sources in the 2005 Ethiopian National Election

Information sources are very important for journalists to carry out their responsibility accurately. Without sources, it is harder for journalists to provide credible and reliable information for the public. The use of source becomes very important while dealing with sensitive issues like that of politics. While elaborating on the relationship between the journalist and politicians Strömbäck and Nord (2006) affirm the presence a symbiotic relation whereby the two mutually benefit from each other. Sources can easily influence the tone and the way the journalist frames the news stories. As Tuing and Hussim (2009) note, media can easily manipulate their news framing by only referring to sources that held out the same thought with their agendas. Hence research question number three asks “what sources are used to frame the 2005 Ethiopian National Election? And is there a relation between the use of sources and how contesting political parties treated in the story”?

As it can be seen from the result section, the Ethiopian private news media were very reliant on opposition party leaders and government official sources to frame their news; international sources, civic society and ordinary peoples were barely used as a source when compared with the two dominantly used sources. According to Shoemaker (1996) and McQuail (1994), journalists use multiple and potential sources to write credible and reliable news to the general public. Hence, the heavy dependence of the Ethiopian private print medias on official sources imply that the information which they were providing was reliable since they used more of sources who have a direct connection with the issue at hand.

As argued by Tuing and Hussim (2009), media frames can easily be manipulated by the different source they use. In order to see the existence of such relationship, cross tabulation analysis was conducted. The result indicates the existence of relationship between news source and favorable news coverage which political parties gained. As it can be seen
from the result, the more opposition political party leaders used as a source, the more favorable or neutral coverage they gained with less negative tone in the news. Contrary to this, the ruling party has gained neutral to negative coverage when the journalist uses either of the dominant sources. The presence of such variation in the tone of the news for opposition and ruling political party when the journalist uses them as a source would imply the presence of some kind of political parallelism among the private print media outlets which tilted more to supporting opposition political parties in Ethiopia.

4.2.5 Use of Media Frame Across Time

As studies conducted in Western world indicate, the type and amount of media frame is a time dependent variable whereby the amount and intensity of using a specific kind of media frame varies across time. Such kind of variations most commonly occur in special events like that of election. Studies conducted in the United States of America and some western countries indicate the increase of game frame as the election date approaches (Lawrence, 2000; Angelo, 2006; Rhee, 1997). In order to see the presence of such variation in the Ethiopian media context research question number five asks “Is there a variation in framing the election news across time?”

Contrary to the western world, the result from this study paper reveals a decrease in the usage of game frame by media outlets as election day approaches. Even though it is harder to know the exact reason why such differences occurred, it is still possible to speculate some underlying reasons. One reason for such variation could be the political atmosphere in which the media operates. In most Western democracies, the media has a full freedom of press whereby journalist can freely report on an election and make their own speculation about who is winning or losing vote. Such kind of reporting is hardly exercised by journalist in the new immersing democracies like Ethiopia. As Philip Ochieng (1992, p.20) notes, editors and journalists in Ethiopia always have to hold back from giving their opinion and saying the truth because of direct or indirect reprisals from the government. As a result of this most Ethiopian journalists self-censor their products in fear of being intimidated by the government (Skjerdal, 2008; World Press Freedom Review, 2004). In most parts of the world such kind of firm government intervention are pronounced during politically hot periods like that of election. Hence, this could be one reason why the Ethiopian medias use less game
frames as the politically hot campaign period approach, since the use of game frame in one way or another urges the journalist to use their interpretative aspect.

The other reason could be the media policy and audience test of the news. As it has been discussed above, Ethiopia uses development journalism as its media policy whose reporting style presupposes the use of issue frame. It is harder for journalists who are accustomed to such kind of reporting style to use game frame which give little attention to the issue at hand. Furthermore, the way candidates address their plans varies from countries to countries. As studies conducted in Ethiopia indicate, the different political, economic and social issues are more important for candidates than focusing on insulting and accusing the contesting political parties (Shimelis, 2002; Teshome, 2009). In the presence of such approach by political candidates, it is harder for the Ethiopian media to use game frames which rather focuses on who is winning or losing aspect of the election.

4.2.6 Tone of stories for political parties

The way journalists cover certain group either positively or negatively imply the presence of some kind of political orientation in the media which intern affects the audience perception of politics as a whole. As noted by Halli and Mancini (2004), journalism has long been intertwined with political advocacy which is expressed by the media’s political parallelism aspect. According to Seymour-Ure’s political parallelism refers to the party press parallelism, which is used to evaluate the degree of connection between the media system and the party system (Seymour-Ure, 2000). One of the indicating factors for the presence of political parallelism in the media according to Hallin and Mancini (2004) is the way the media frames politics in general. In order to see the presence of political parallelism in the Ethiopian media landscape and to assess how different political parties treated in the May 2005 Ethiopian national election, research question number six asks “How was different political parties treated in the 2005 Ethiopian national election?”

The answer for this research question implies the existence of a clear difference in the amount of positive, neutral and negative tone which contesting political parties gained in the election. As it can be seen from the result, opposition political parties gained more of positive to neutral coverage while the ruling political party (EPRDF) gained a negative or neutral coverage with little positive tone when compared with opposition political parties. This shows the presence of a clear political parallelism in the Ethiopian private print media directed at favoring opposition political parties. As it has been discussed in the preceding part
of this study paper, the privately owned media outlets in Ethiopia are highly dependent on advertisement and sponsorship revenue which they get from opposition political parties (Skjerdal, 2008) which in turn lead them to favor the political ideologies of the opposition political parties. Furthermore, these findings are also coherent with other similar studies which reveal the presence of political parallelism in the Ethiopia (Ibid).
CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusion and Recommendation

This study was set out to investigate the dominant media frames in the Ethiopian media context while covering election related news. In addition to this, the study explored the use of sources, and how contesting political parties were treated by the private print medias in the 2005 Ethiopian national election. The general theoretical and empirical literatures on the framing of election related stories around the world seems to marginalize how mass media frames election in the developing world like that of Ethiopia. Hence, this study sought to answer the following major research questions in the study.

**RQ1.** What is the dominant type of frame used by the privately owned (the independent) media outlet while covering the May 2005 national election in Ethiopia?

**RQ2.** Is there a difference in the use of media frames between news stories and editorial pieces while reporting the 2005 Ethiopian national election? If so what media frames predominates in news stories and editorial pieces?

**RQ3.** What kind of sources was used while covering the 2005 Ethiopian National election?

**RQ4.** To what extent dose the private print medias allotted their newspaper space for the selection?

**RQ5.** Is their variation in framing the election news across time?

**RQ6.** How was different political parties treated in the 2005 Ethiopian national election?

The theoretical framework for this study paper was framing theory which different scholars have tried to define differently. Despite the presence and importance different theories, the term framing is criticized for its lack of comprehensive and coherent definition. For this study the author used the conceptualization given by previous studies like Iyengar (1991), Entman (1993) and Strömbäck and Dimitrova (2001) that frames in the news can be examined and identified by the presence and absence of key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, source of information and sentence that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments. By using such conceptions from previous studies content analyses was conducted on two selected privately owned print media outlets in Ethiopia (namely, Reporter and Addis Admas)

The finding of the study indicates the dominance of issue frames in both news stores and editorial pieces while covering election related news in the analyzed news media. It is argued
by most scholars that the use of different media frames is time dependent phenomena where the use of more game framing is pronounced as the election dates approaches (Lawrence, 2000; Angelo, 2006; Rhee, 1997). Contrary to such findings, this study found out a decrease in the amount of game frames as the election date approaches. Even though it is beyond the scope of this study paper to explore why such variation is observed in the Ethiopian media context, as Strömback and Kaid (2008) contend the prevailing political, social and economic conditions in the country can be taken as one antecedent for such variation. The other interesting finding of this study is the presence of different kind of media frame which is characterized by the use more event-oriented style of writing with some mix of issue frames. In addition to this it was found out that the 2005 Ethiopian national election gained a substantial coverage by the Ethiopian private print media outlets and it was investigated that media in Ethiopia are highly dependent on official sources while dealing with election related issues. Just like previous studies, this study also affirmed the presence of political parallelism in the Ethiopian media landscape in general and in the privately owned print media in particular.

The lack of comprehensive studies in the area of framing election campaign in the developing world has prohibited comparative researchers from looking at different perspectives while dealing with the issue. The findings of this study would help comparative researchers to have a new insight on how to look into different perspectives while dealing with framing election related issues. Beyond this, the study can be used as a reference material by students of political communication, for that it contains election news farming from the developing world where shortage is observed in the field. Moreover the results of this study would help the ruling and opposition political parties in Ethiopia to examine and evaluate how they were framed by the media and use the insight to improve their performance and get favorable coverage which in turn increase their acceptance among the electorate.

Due to time and data constraint, it was not able to go further and analyze the underlining reasons for why the privately owned media outlets in Ethiopia used more of issue frames than game frames as the election dates approaches and gave negative tone for the ruling party and framed opposition parties in more favorable way. Despite all these limitations, the study has successfully meet its major research objective, which was to see how the 2005 national election, which is thought to be the most democratic and competitive election in Ethiopia, was framed by the privately owned print media outlets.
Further researches need to be conducted to investigate the very reasons why the Ethiopian media use more of issue frames than game frames as election dates approaches. This would help scholars to see clearly why the media in the developing world (Ethiopia in this case) frame election related news in a way different from Western countries. In addition to this, more studies need to be conducted in other parts of the developing world where a shortage is witnessed in the field. Furthermore, future research should focus on all rounded and comprehensive comparative analysis between the developed and the developing world and among the developing world to see whether there is similarity or difference in their use of media frames.
References


*Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 8 December, 1994*


doi:10.1017/S0008423904040028


# Appendices

## Code sheet

### The framing of the 2005 Ethiopian National Election

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### 7. Type of the story

- News article
- Editorial

### Frames

Please check if any of the following frames are used in the news and editorial articles.

#### 8. Does the story use game frames?

- Yes
- No

#### 9. Does the story use issue frame?

- Yes
2. No

10. Dose the story use Personality centered frames?
   1. Yes
   2. No

11. Dose the story use Episodic Frames?
   1. Yes
   2. No

12. Which frame is dominant in the story?
   1. Game frame
   2. Issue frame
   3. Personality centered frame
   4. Episodic frames

   **Tone of the story towards the contesting political parties**

13. How was the tone of the story for EPRDF
   Positive
   Negative
   Neutral

14. How was the tone of the story for opposition political parties in general?
   1. Positive
   2. Negative
   3. Neutral
15. Dose the story use government officials as a source?
   1. Yes
   2. No

16. Dose the story use opposition part leaders as a source?
   1. Yes
   2. No

17. Dose the story use international sources?
   1. Yes
   2. No

18. Dose the story use civic society organizations as a source?
   1. Yes
   2. No

19. Dose the story use ordinary people as a source?
   1. Yes
   2. No
Code book

The framing of the 2005 Ethiopian National Election

1. Article Id Number

Give each news story a unique ID number according to the following system: Newspaper-XX. For instance, the first Reporter newspaper story is identified as RR-001, The second RR-002, The third RR-003, and so on…

2. Name of the coder

Type in the name of the person doing the coding

3. Publication

Type in the name of the newspaper

4. Month of publication

Type the month in which the newspaper was published

5. Date of publication

Type in the date the news story was published in the following way: month: date: year

6. Article Author

Select whether the news story was written by a journalist working for the newspaper, or from wire services in the country. If the article byline includes both the name of a journalist working for the news organization and wire services the coder should select the category “both Journalist and wire services”. The category “Cannot be determined” should be used in situations where it is not possible to decide whether the story is written by a news wire or a journalist working for the news organization.

7. Type of the story

Select the “news story” category if the news story is found in the front page of the newspaper and label it as “editorial” if it is found on the Op-ed page.
Frames

8. Dose the story use game frame?

This variable has two codes: 1 = yes, 2 = No. Coders should type 1 if the news story at least once mentions opinion polls, the standing of political parties or individual candidates, reports or speculates about election results or government/coalition formation, says something about winning or losing parties, and or use any word of sport or war such as battle, competition, winning or fight the only exempted expression her is ‘campaign’. Otherwise coder should to type 2.

9. Dose the story use issue frames?

This variable has two codes: 1 = Yes, 2 = No. Coder should type 1 if the news story focus on issue and issue positions, on real life conditions with relevance for issue positions, and on what has happened or what someone has said and done to the extent that it deals with or is depicted as relevant for the political issue. Otherwise coder should type 2.

10. Dose the story use personality Centered frame?

This variable has two codes: 1 = Yes, 2 = No. coder should type 1 if the story mention at list once the candidates personal characters like his/her mannerism, personal speaking style, polling stance, physical characteristics like clothing choice, hair color and style, age etc… otherwise the coder should type 2.

11. Dose the story use episodic frame?

This variable has two codes: 1 = Yes, 2 = No. coder should type 1 if the news story focuses on individual private realm, narrates some episode of individual, family, or group or focuses on a single event. Otherwise coder should type 2.

12. Which frame is dominant in the story?

Coder should select the frame that dominates in the news story. To decide on the dominance frame the coder should see the space in which the respective frames are applied. If specific
frame hold larger space, the coder should label that frame as the dominant frame. In addition to the story as a whole the coder should give extra weight for headlines and leads in judging what frame dominates the news story.

**Tone of the story towards the contesting political parties**

13. **How was the tone of the story for EPRDF?**

This variable has 3 categories 1 = Positive, 2 = Negative, 3 = Neutral: coder should select 1 if the story shows agreement, support, or affirmation to policies, events or actions taken by the ruling EPRDF party the coder should type 1. If the story shows disagreement, opposition or denial of policies, events or actions taken by EPRDF, Coder should type 2 and if the story doesn’t contain any word of phrase in favor or disagreeing with EPRDF, coder should select category 3.

14. **How was the tone of the story for opposition political parties in general?**

This variable has 3 categories 1 = Positive, 2 = Negative, 3 = Neutral: coder should select 1 if the story shows agreement, support, or affirmation to policies, events or actions taken by opposition political parties. If the story shows disagreement, opposition or denial of policies, events or actions taken by opposition political parties, Coder should type 2 and if the story doesn’t contain any word of phrase in favor or disagreeing with opposition political parties, coder should select category 3. (NB. Opposition parties in this context include any contesting political party in the election other than the ruling political party EPRDF)

**Sources**

In this section, only individual and named sources to be counted. Anonymous sources should thus not be counted, even if the news story says something that might indicate that the anonymous source belong to a certain category. For someone to be counted as a source, a statement, fact or quote must be attributed to him or her.
15. Dose the story use government officials as a source?

Select “yes” if at list one representative of domestic government official is included as a source in the story. Select “No” if otherwise.

16. Dose the story use opposition part leaders as a source?

Select “Yes” if at list one representative of opposition political party is included as a source in the story. Select “No” if otherwise.

17. Dose the story use international sources

Select “Yes” if at list one representative of international official is included as a source in the story. Select “No” if otherwise.

18. Dose the story use civic society organizations as a source?

Select “Yes” if at list one representative of Domestic or international Civic society group or representative is included as a source in the story. Select “No” if otherwise.

19. Dose the story use ordinary people as a source?

Select “Yes” if at list one ordinary Ethiopian person is included as a source in the story. Select “No” if otherwise.