

# **Framing of the Ethiopian drought 2015/16: Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) vs British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)**



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**Thesis for the Master's Programme in Global Journalism at  
NLA University College, Kristiansand, Norway**

**Course Code: GJ322**

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**May 2019**



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## Abstract

This study is intended to analyse how the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC), representing the national media, and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), representing the international media, framed the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought. What types of frames, sources, themes and tone were used by the two media are studied by using an adapted version of previously used framing typologies in climate change and drought studies. The framing of drought and the process through which the EBC journalists went through in reporting the 2015/16 drought are also studied using qualitative in-depth interviews. The findings reveal that EBC and BBC used significantly different types of frames, sources, themes and tone in framing the drought. EBC is found to focus more on solution-oriented stories, which deal with how different actors addressed the drought problem (prognostic frame); and on the rationale for engaging in action to avert the drought (motivational frame). EBC rarely reported stories that are related to the impact of the drought on the environment, health, food supply and agricultural products (symptomatic frame) and the effect of countermeasure activities (after-effect frame); and hardly any of the news story presented the feeling of drought victims (empathy frame). BBC, on the other hand, focused more on revealing the feelings and emotions of drought victims (empathy frame) and the impact of the drought (symptomatic frame). Prognostic frames are rather rare at BBC. While EBC is found to rely dominantly on government sources, BBC is found to concentrate more on the drought victims. Also, while EBC mainly focuses on themes related to the activities and policies of the Ethiopian government, BBC amplifies the magnitude of the drought in terms of affecting the environment and people. The drought is also found to be reported by the two media with different tones - EBC highlighting the impression of improving drought problems and BBC accentuating negative impression to the situation of the drought. The in-depth interviews reveal that drought reporting is systematically manipulated in a way that EBC journalists are guided to frame drought as a normal and natural phenomenon. Thus, the journalists seem to lack the courage to report drought if it transforms into hunger and starvation causing complicated health problems and loss of human life. They seem to do so in order to preserve the public morale, national image and government legitimacy.

## **Acknowledgements**

First, I thank the source of life and power - God - for giving me the strength and patience to finish this research work. I also thank my hard working and inquisitive advisor Terje S. Skjerdal for his encouragement, effective advising and contribution to this work. Due to his punctual, quick and understanding advising approach, I have learnt a lot more than what I could gain in an MA thesis advising. I am also indebted to my beloved, kind and understanding husband Sileshe for his encouragement and for being with me through all the ups and downs I have gone through during the completion of this work. He has covered all the household and outside activities throughout the study period. I am also grateful to my daughters Bethel, Peniel and Salem whose presence served as engine of my energy whenever I feel tired and whose patience allowed me to take time and finish this work.

## **Acronyms**

BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation

DPPC - Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission

EBC - Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation

NDRMC - National Disaster Risk Management Commission

RRC - Relief and Rehabilitation Commission

# Chapter one

## Introduction

### 1.1. Background of the study

How different media report about drought incidents is an important area of study. In areas that are repeatedly hit by drought, drought reporting is not a simple humanitarian matter. It is rather a complicated and politicized subject that needs deep investigation. It is thus worthy to examine how the media deal with the causes, the degree of severity, the level of preparedness and the remedies taken in a drought situation.

Drought is considered one of the most severe environmental disasters that recurs and thereby affects life, the environment and agricultural productivity compared to other environmental hazards, such as flood, earth quake and other threats (Tannehill, 1947; Hagman et al., 1984). Drought occurs in different regions of the world irrespective of variations in socio-economic and political status. To a different extent, both the developed and the developing world suffer from the disaster of drought.

Generally, drought is associated with scarcity of water supply in a certain area due to below average precipitation for an extended period of time (Wilhite, 2000). It is, however, tricky to only associate the existence of drought with such natural aspects as shortage of atmospheric, surface or ground water or with the prevalence of high temperature. Rather, the presence of a larger amount of people compared to the existing water resources and inappropriate use of land in a given area can also cause drought. Drought could also exist in areas which may have sufficient rainfall but reduced agricultural productivity due to unfortunate timing of rain. Such drought incidents are called 'green drought' (Wilhite, 1993).

Obviously, the impact of drought is an important international agenda. However, its legacy has been higher in Africa for a long period of time, because most African

countries base their economy on rainfed agriculture which is easily affected by drought. Hence, in Africa, droughts “continue to incur a heavy toll to people, animals, environment and economy” (Masih et al., 2014: 3645). Particularly, the semiarid regions of Africa are repeatedly hit by severe drought episodes (Glantz, 1987). The severity and impact of drought are even greater in Sub-Saharan Africa than in any other part of the world. In this part of the globe, droughts are frequent, and their effects are reflected by “deep rural poverty, limited government capacity, and exposure to additional political, economic, and health shocks” (McHugh et al., 2007: 134). Drought, in this part of the world, is mainly an issue of famine and food insecurity. Wilhite (2005: 39) puts it like this:

The populations of many countries in sub-Saharan Africa suffer from chronic malnutrition, with frequent famine episodes. Achieving food and water security will remain a development priority for Africa for years to come. Even in a nation that is food secure at the national level, household food security is not guaranteed (Wilhite, 2005: 39).

Ethiopia is one of the sub-Saharan African countries which have repeatedly been affected by drought. As agriculture is still the economic base of the majority of the population and due to the poor timing of rainfall and because of increased warm temperature, the country is under the threat of drought and poor agricultural productivity (McHugh et al., 2007). According to Wilhite et al. (2014), agriculture is the most affected sector by drought compared to the other sectors, such as tourism and recreation, energy production, and transportation. Due to this, Ethiopia is facing scarcity of food production and the people are moving in/out from the country to seek a better life (Ezra and Kiros, 2001).

In the effort of identifying the causes and effects of drought disaster and in educating the masses on the possible remedies and in explaining the social, economic, political and cultural implications, mass media play a crucial role. Since drought concerns everyone in a given area, every medium - irrespective of ownership, political orientation and market interests - is expected to work on its prevalence and



management at individual, local, national or international level (Carvalho and Burgess, 2005).

The media are considered to be providers of information (Anderson, 2011: 535) and forums for discussion (Schmidt et al., 2013) about issues of climate change. They are also avenues where “the public draws most of its knowledge” (Cabecinhas et al., 2009). During diversified positions pertaining to issues of climate change, the media play a significant role in making the positions transparent and open for the wider audience (Peters, 2008). The media take priority in terms of strategizing the planning and mitigation of drought (Singora and Loss, 2013). How the journalists define, discuss and explain the specific crisis in question determine people’s response towards the problems (Cottle, 2009). According to Shiras (1996), media attention remains to be one of the key elements in shaping the level of support to victims in a certain humanitarian crisis situation. Cate (1996: 18) argues that the presence or absence of media coverage is equivalent to the “question of life or death” for the people in a crisis situation.

Since 1973, severe drought incidents were covered up for political reasons in the Ethiopian context (Clay and Holcomb, 1986). Until the Western media picked up and reported some drought related stories, both the national and international audiences were not aware of the real situation on the ground (Habtamu and Eisen, 2016). It has to, however, be reckoned that the Western media’s focus on the negative aspects of the drought situation alone sends a negative image of the general picture of Ethiopia in particular and nations in the developing world in general (Fair, 1993; Harper, 2003). Hence, the media have to strike balance in between providing the real problem in the ground and in avoiding exaggerated and deceiving portrayals of problems and events.

Research reveals that neither the international nor the local media have given proportionate and sufficient attention to drought with respect to the extent of the problem in different parts in the world. For example, in 2015, while drought affected such parts of the world as Africa, Australia, Latin America and Asia in a very severe

way, the international media singled out and gave much emphasis for the Californian drought as if it were special (Cole, 2015). This implies that the media cover the issue with some level of bias. The media give space or airtime to issues based on the political configuration of the world. According to Cole (2015), “drought’s media gravitas can be a matter of politics”. The media give less emphasis for climate change related issues as per the seriousness of the problems in the world. It is becoming increasingly evident that although man made global warming gets greater attention and consensus among scientists of global warming, the mainstream media and the public seem sceptical (Weaver et al. 2006; Mickwitz et al. 2009; Chuku 2010; Lyytimäki, 2011).

The Ethiopian media are in a similar situation. Neither the state media nor the private ones give ample attention towards environmental issues as the print (Degsew, 2010) and broadcast media (Azeb, 2014) rarely cover subjects related to the issue at hand. Considering the degree of the problem in the country, the issue of environment and climate change are even new ways of reporting for journalists and editors and hence seem neglected in the Ethiopian mass media (Taddese, 2015; Degsew, 2010).

The fact that the country went through an El Nino inflicted drought incident in the year 2015/16 invites further research. As Ethiopia is a country where millions of people suffer from the effect of drought (Gray and Mueller, 2012), the researcher is interested in studying how the international and local media framed the issue of drought. The way the media frame and contextualize the issue has an impact on the audience as well as policy makers in the country. To study this, the researcher used BBC, representing the international media, and EBC, representing the national media, as research samples.

## **1.2. Research objective**

The main objective of this research is to assess the framing of the 2015/2016 Ethiopian drought by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC).

### **1.3. Research questions**

This research is intended to answer the following questions:

- 1) What types of frames did BBC and EBC use in reporting the 2015/2016 Ethiopian drought?
- 2) What major sources were used by the news reports of both media channels?
- 3) What were the major themes presented in the news reports of the two media channels?
- 4) In what tone did the BBC and EBC frame the drought?
- 5) How did the Ethiopian journalists report the drought with regard to addressing the drought issue to the audiences?

## Chapter two

### Review of related literature

This part of the study deals with the occurrence of drought, the attention of the mass media to the phenomenon of drought and the theoretical perspectives that encompass and frame this area of study. A brief overview of the meaning, history, type, impact and societal and environmental implications of drought are put in the first part of the review. Following is a brief account of drought in Ethiopia, emphasizing its intensity and impact. Then, a review of the mass media's attention and focus towards drought is presented. This is done by considering media framing and agenda-setting studies from different parts of the world and especially Ethiopia. Doing so, this part both indicates the most important research activities in the area and locates the research gap that is intended to be filled by this research.

#### 2.1. Drought: meaning, extent and implications

##### 2.1.1. Defining drought

Drought is a multifaceted phenomenon which is often considered to be the most serious of natural hazards in terms of its impact on the loss of life and the production and economics of agricultural productivity (Hagman, 1984). It is a recurring environmental experience which is triggered when precipitation is below average for an "extended period of time" causing shortage of water supply in a given area (Wilhite, 2000: 7).

Defining drought further is difficult as it is hard to easily arrive at consensus on what accounts "below average" precipitation and what precisely means an "extended period of time" in different regions (Wilhite, 2000). Hence, there remains confusion among the scientific and policy community on what essentially characterizes drought (Wilhite, 2000; Redmond, 2002). This is mainly because the nature, intensity and characteristics of drought are very specific to regions and climatic zones. Depending on the specific parameters used to indicate the phenomenon, therefore, drought may

have different meanings to people from different disciplines and regions (Humphries and Baldwin, 2003).

After analysing 150 definitions in their frequently cited article, Wilhite and Glantz (1985: 13) concluded that “there cannot (and should not) be a universal definition of drought”. Drought rather has disciplinary diversity as it affects so many economic and social sectors in all parts of the globe, irrespective of the varied economic, political and ideological contexts. Yet, it is important to note that the degree of the impact of drought depends heavily on the societal context where it occurs (Wilhite and Glantz, 1985). Hence, arriving at a single and all-inclusive definition for drought that has a universal applicability in different regions appears to be a “fruitless endeavour” (Wilhite and Glantz, 1985: 3).

Wilhite and Glantz (1985), however, point out that the existing definitions of drought can be categorized as either conceptual or operational. The conceptual definitions are formulated with general terms to draw the boundary of the concept of drought; and, hence, these definitions “provide little guidance to those who wish to apply them to current (i.e., real-time) drought assessments” (Wilhite and Glantz, 1985: 4). The operational definitions, on the other hand, try to identify the onset, severity and termination of drought episodes and these definitions can be used to measure the possibilities of drought based on their intensity, duration, and spatial characteristics in a given context (Wilhite and Glantz, 1985).

A study of the definitions of drought by Wilhite and Glantz (1985) further reveals that there are four distinct types of drought: meteorological, agricultural, hydrological and socio-economic. Meteorological drought, which is defined based on solely the degree of dryness and the duration of the dry period, is said to be the most prevalent (Wilhite and Glantz, 1985). Agricultural drought, on the other hand, links the various characteristics of meteorological drought to their corresponding impacts on agriculture and agricultural products. This type of drought concerns the degree of susceptibility of crops to varying meteorological conditions at different stages of crop

development (Wilhite and Glantz, 1985). Hydrological drought is concerned with the effects of the dry spells on the surface or subsurface hydrology; it does not focus on the meteorological explanation of the occurrence (Wilhite and Glantz, 1985).

Socio-economic drought is concerned not only with the impact of dryness over the agricultural or hydrological situation in a certain area but also with the effect of the abnormal interaction of humans with natural resources in causing or worsening a drought situation. Problems in humans' agricultural activity (Heathcote, 1974), poor uses of land (Gibbs, 1975) and the creation of more water demands by humans (Hoyt, 1942) may all cause or worsen drought. In other words, drought situations can either be caused or worsened through the symbiosis between drought and human activities. As such, the dust bowl years in the US Great Plains in the 1930s, the Sahelian drought in West Africa in the early 1970s, and the 1984 Ethiopian drought are examples caused and worsened by the interaction of human and natural activities (Wilhite and Glantz, 1985).

A simple definition which contains the common elements of most definitions of drought is possible, though Redmond (2002: 1144) maintains that the simple and ideal definition is the one that has "the most universal range of application, the one that works in the largest number of circumstances". To bring that preferred definition, he uses the demand-supply analogy whereby the existence or inexistence of drought is marked depending on the availability and extent of the supply in line with the corresponding demand. In his analysis, while the supply involves the physical climate system (water balance, more specifically), the demand entails to the biological world, including humans. According to Redmond (2002: 1114) there is drought in a certain context when there is "insufficient water to meet needs". Drought could, therefore, happen when there is either a reduced water supply with relatively constant demand or when there is constant water supply with increased demand in a certain context (Redmond, 2002).

### **2.1.2. Global extent of drought**

Drought is a global phenomenon. It affects the developed and the less developed, the capitalist and the communist, the democratic and the authoritarian countries alike; of course, with varied societal impact. Various researchers who have used modern, scientific drought measurement instruments in their attempt to reconstruct and simulate drought occurrences all over the world to reveal that large-scale droughts have occurred during the past millennium affecting many parts of the globe (Dai, 2010). The “mega droughts” of North America is one example (Herweijer et al., 2007). Unprecedented in persistence (20-40 years), these droughts “occurred during a 400-yr-long period in the early to middle second millennium A.D” (Herweijer et al., 2007: 1353).

Yet, mega droughts are known to be “similar in year-to-year severity and spatial distribution to the major droughts experienced in today’s North America” (Herweijer et al., 2007: 1353).

Other studies have shown that North America (Cook et al., 2004; Cook et al., 2007), Mexico (Méndez and Magaña, 2010; Seager et al., 2009) , Asia (e.g. Davi et al., 2006; Zhang, Gemmer and Chen, 2008), Africa (Touchan et al., 2008) and Australia (Nicholls, 2004) have been hardly hit by famous drought incidents which lasted for many decades at different times in the past 1000 years or more.

Compared with the ancient times, drought seems to be more prevalent in the contemporary world. This is due to an increasing global temperature observed since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A study by the Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change (IPCC) (2007), for example, indicated that since 1750 the globe has experienced rapid increase of surface temperature and atmospheric carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. The study further revealed that a large part of the recent warming is due to such human induced problems as improper agricultural activities and misuse of fossil fuel and land, all of which add the possible occurrence of drought in the world (IPCC, 2007). However, recent droughts are different from the multi-decadal droughts of the

early years in that in the modern time (1930s and 1950s) drought incidents had relatively shorter time span but with similar intensity (Dai, 2010). Studies have also revealed that the intensity of the problem has exacerbated as the speed and extent of the global aridity increased substantially and more rapidly from 1950 to 2008 (Dai, 2010). As a result, drought episodes have become more prevalent and prolonged with increased socio-economic and environmental impacts over the past decades in many parts of the world (FAO, 2017).

### **2.1.3. Impact of drought**

The impact of drought on the livelihood and resources of humans and on the ecological situation is devastating. Overall, 15% of the world's natural disasters by the year 1993 were estimated to originate from drought (Burton, Kates and White, 1993). It is also reckoned that drought has affected food security and livelihoods of more than two billion people that reside on the world's dry areas which constitute 41% of the global land surface (Solh and Ginkel, 2014).

The impact of drought is explained in terms of its spatial and time dimensions and its degree of severity. The geographical extent (spatial dimension) where drought happens could be an important indicator of the impact that it causes. Drought may happen either in narrow, regional or wider, intercontinental geographical contexts. Yevjevich (1967), for example, identified a kind of drought called a *point drought*, the small area drought and the large continental drought referring drought occurrences in small, regional and continental levels respectively.

Depending on the onset and termination of drought times, drought may have differing environmental and social impact. Drought could range from the ancient North American "megadroughts" (20-40 years) to one to a few months of dry season whereby a certain area is devoid of average precipitation. Usually, drought requires a minimum of two to three months of precipitation fall below normal to become established (Wilhite, 2000).



Its degree of severity refers to “the degree of the precipitation shortfall and/or the severity of impacts associated with the shortfall” (Wilhite, 2000: 12). Several indices are developed to measure the degree of severity of drought (e.g. Gibbs, 1967).

#### **2.1.4. Drought management**

Human intervention, in both pre and post stages of a drought occurrence, can reduce the vulnerability and the degree of the impact of drought. In order to properly manage drought, people from different disciplines participate and tackle the complex activities associated with detecting, responding to, and preparing for future happenings. So far, the majority of drought management activities in most parts of the world have focused largely on reacting to the impact of drought in a given area, i.e. crisis-oriented management (Wilhite, Sivakumar and Pulwarty, 2014).

A prior focus has to, however, be given to other activities that involve protection and rehabilitation/recovery (Solh and Ginkel, 2014; Wilhite, Sivakumar and Pulwarty, 2014). Doing so, actually, requires capacity. As such, managing drought is not an easy task. It heavily depends on what Dai (2010) calls the “coping capabilities”. Illustrating the point, Dai (2010) writes:

For example, people living in regions with advanced irrigation systems, such as those in developed countries, can mitigate the impacts of drought much better than farmers in Africa and other developing countries who often have limited tools to combat droughts and other natural disasters. As global warming continues, the limited capabilities in developing countries will become an increasingly important issue in global efforts to mitigate the negative impact of climate change (Dai, 2010: 46).

The impact of drought, therefore, largely depends on the capacity of governments and others to anticipate and react over the episodes of drought. It is, for example, noted that in many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa - which is one of the least developed territories in the world - drought is amongst one of the most contributing factors to malnutrition and famine (Bekele et al., 2014).

## **2.2. A brief account of drought in Ethiopia**

A quick tour in the long history of Ethiopia provides substantial evidence that the country has frequently suffered from the phenomenon of drought. In Ethiopia, recorded history of drought dates back to 250 BC (Webb, von Braun and Yohannes, 1992).

Even though it happens in all climatic regions all over the world, drought by itself does not necessarily lead to disaster in many countries. It only does in countries with limited coping capabilities. Ethiopia is one of those countries where drought remains to be the leading cause of disaster and human suffering “in terms of frequency, area coverage and number of people affected” (Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC), 2005: 1). As such, drought is more or less synonymous with disaster in the Ethiopian context (DPPC, 2005). This is reflected in the focus and policy attention of the country’s Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) – now DPPC – which was established in 1973 (DPPC, 2005). The main themes of the national policy today are also that of drought and food insecurity and on averting drought-induced famine (DPPC, 2005).

Drought and famine are so interwoven in the Ethiopian context that the historical records interchangeably use the two terms (see for example in Ferris-Morris, 2003; Tsegaye, 1997; in Webb, von Braun and Yohannes, 1992). In between the first recorded drought (in 253-242 BC) and the 1990-92 drought, 39 drought episodes are identified by historians, chroniclers and other scholars (Webb, von Braun and Yohannes, 1992). The longest drought episodes are the ones that happened for 30, 19, 14 and another 14 years during 1314-44 throughout Ethiopia, 1543-62 in Hararghe, Eastern Ethiopia, 1131-45 throughout Ethiopia and 1454-68 throughout the country, respectively (Webb, von Braun and Yohannes, 1992). The severity of all these droughts remained unrecorded, though (Webb, von Braun and Yohannes, 1992).

Webb, von Braun and Yohannes (1992) have also identified the drought episodes with recorded severity. They identified seven more recorded drought episodes that caused

heavy human mortality and loss of livestock. The 1800 drought that caused large human and livestock death toll throughout the country is the first drought with recorded human mortality and loss of livestock. The 1828-29 drought had also caused much human mortality in Shewa, central Ethiopia. The 1835-38 drought throughout Ethiopia, mainly in Tigray, where drought and cholera epidemic caused high human and cattle loss is also notable here. The 1864-66 drought in Northern Ethiopia (Tigray and Gondar) also caused heavy human death toll. The 1888-92 drought and pest throughout Ethiopia triggered the loss of nine tenths of the cattle and one third of the human population. The 1971-75 drought again throughout Ethiopia where sequence of rain failures caused an estimated death of 250,000 people throughout the country and loss of 50 percent of livestock in Tigray and Wollo is also one of those severe droughts. Finally, the famous 1984-85 drought throughout Ethiopia due to sequential rain failure is recorded as a cause that affected 8 million people with the death of an estimated 1 million persons and loss of much livestock (Webb, von Braun and Yohannes, 1992).

The magnitude, frequency and effect of drought have increased in recent years in Ethiopia (DPPC, 2005). Since the 1970s, drought has no more been managed by the communities' own coping mechanisms and international support was sought to mitigate drought related disasters and the area coverage of drought was extended from its heavy presence in the Northern and Eastern parts to almost all parts of the country (DPPC, 2005). The frequency of nationwide droughts that have caused severe food scarcity once in every ten years in the 1970s and 80s have increased and happened once in three years in the beginning of the 2000s (DPPC, 2005). The number of people dying of drought and drought induced famine has also increased substantially during those years (DPPC, 2005). Overall, 25 recorded drought incidents were identified between 1970 and 1996 in Ethiopia where drought and drought related food insecurity and famine affected 60,880,064 persons and caused the death of 1,200,367 (Ferris-Morris, 2003).

Drought still affects the Ethiopian people. A study of drought episodes between 1986 and 2013 indicates that there were five El Niño induced drought episodes globally after 1996 (i.e. 1997/8, 2002/3, 2004/5, 2006/7 and 2009/10); and, all of them severely hit Ethiopia (Rojas, Yanyun and Cumani, 2014). Yimer et al. (2017) detect that drought tendencies are increasing in Ethiopia. The authors identify the years 1999, 2003/2004 and 2007/2008 to be amongst the worst drought years in the history of Ethiopia where meteorological drought caused drastic problems in wider geographical areas.

The two latest drought episodes in Ethiopia happened in 2011 and 2015/16. Both had devastating effects on pastoral and agro-pastoral livelihoods (FAO, 2017). The 2015/16 drought, which was El Niño-induced, particularly affected the agricultural sector causing the loss of 50 to 90 percent of the farmers' crop production, dwindling incomes and soaring food insecurity (FAO, 2017). The drought continued even during 2017, impacting on the availability of pasture and water for cattle and human beings. The drought caused death of over 150 million livestock, accounting for an estimated economic loss of over USD 350 million in the southern and south-eastern areas of the country (FAO, 2017).

The focus of this research is on how the international (with BBC as a case) and national (EBC) mass media framed the 2015/16 El Niño-induced drought.

### **2.3. The role of the media in reporting climate change, drought and other humanitarian crises**

The mass media play significant roles in presenting the socio-economic and political aspects of climate change in general. They also provide people with the understanding of the extent, impact and coping mechanisms of specific climatic occurrences. Cabecinhas et al. (2009) note that the news media are the main providers of information regarding climate change. Anderson (2011: 535) reckons that "the public draws most of its knowledge" about climate change issues from the media.

The media play important roles in publicizing drought disasters and in calling governments and stakeholders for action in reducing the effects. According to Singora and Loss (2013), the media have to be a priority in strategies of planning and mitigating the effects of drought disasters. In a drought situation, “media could have extraordinary relevance as a mechanism to establish the levels of awareness on sustainable use of resources” (Singora and Loss, 2013: 709).

The media also serve as forums for discussion where governmental and non-governmental organizations, business associations and individuals take part regarding climate change issues (Schmidt et al., 2013). During diversified positions pertaining to issues of climate change, the media play a significant role in making the positions transparent and open for the wider audience (Peters, 2008).

Cottle (2009) points out that how we understand and respond to different crisis situations including environmental disasters and poverty relies heavily on how the journalists and their sources define, discuss and explain the specific crisis in question. Information about a certain climate change induced environmental crisis is gained either through direct human experience or through the media. Due to its reach to a wider audience instantly, the media become important components of crisis reporting globally (Cottle, 2009). They also call for the necessary intervention during environmental crisis and for future action.

According to Shiras (1996), media attention remains to be one of the key elements in determining the extent of intervention and emergency assistance in a humanitarian crisis situation. Shiras (1996) identifies three important components where the media make nexus in its role of curtailing or reducing the impact of a given humanitarian crisis. They include, the media-public nexus, the media-relief agency nexus, and the media-policy maker nexus. According to Shiras (1996), the media can guide what the public thinks by only selecting and emphasizing on certain aspects of the crisis and by omitting others. Similarly, the media influence the actions and policies of relief agencies and policy makers (Shiras, 1996).

As Cate (1996: 18) notes, “the presence or absence of media attention may mean a question of life or death” for the affected people in a humanitarian crisis. Some Ethiopian drought episodes were, for example, unnoticed by the general Ethiopian public and the international community until the mass media picked up stories in relation to the drought situation and reported them (Habtamu and Eisen, 2016). Fearing the political consequence the drought crisis could induce, successive governments since the 1973 Ethiopian drought prefer to conceal the impact on the livelihood of the people at risk using different mechanisms (Clay and Holcomb, 1986). The intervention, particularly by the British and American media, however, significantly changed the course of humanitarian relief. According to Cate (1996: 18), “the media do not change the importance of humanitarian crises, but they significantly affect their impact”. The infamous BBC documentary about the Ethiopian famine entitled “The Unknown Famine” in 1973 by Jonathan Dimbleby and the prominent footages by Michael Burek and Mohammed Amin of the 1984 famine in Wollo and Tigray, for example, provoked the British public and government and the international community for action (Cate, 1996). Moeller (1999: 97) reckons that during the 1984 drought, “the television coverage of the famine in Ethiopia [...] had galvanized the American public”. After the broadcast of the 1984 famine situation through the prominent footages of Michael Burek and Mohammed Amin by BBC, the general Western public became alarmed with the deaths of thousands and contributed to “the largest outpouring of humanitarian contributions in memory” (Clay and Holcomb, 1986: 2).

Mass media’s involvement in the discourse of the global climate change debate is an important case in point where the role of mass media is evident in shaping or influencing policy at both local and global level. For example, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change – which comprised of top climate scientists from around the globe – long ago stressed that human intervention significantly affects the environmental ecology and hence demands for a concerted international move towards curbing the problem (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2007). However, the United States has repeatedly refrained from joining concerted international efforts such as the Kyoto

Protocol. According to Boykoff and Boykoff, (2007: 1190) the US print and broadcast media “constitute key influences” in shaping policy decisions among a set of different factors in this politicised context.

However, the media can negatively impact in the context of an environmental crisis due to a slanted position in their coverage of certain problems. The Western media commonly portray famine as a natural phenomenon ignoring other important aspects such as the political problems and conflict situations (Harper, 2003). The study of famine coverages by the US media of the Horn of Africa by Fair and Chakravatty (1999) reveals that the 1984 Ethiopian drought was situated within the “Cold War frame” under which many questioned the provision of humanitarian aid to a nation with a Marxist government. The Somali famine in 1992 was also found to be framed under the “Americans’ bravery and benevolence” in the situations of crisis and humanitarian activities (Fair and Chakravatty, 1999: 156).

Even though the Western media’s presentation of famine, drought and other humanitarian crisis in the developing world help to raise a quick humanitarian relief, the fact that the media stress on the negative aspects of life also draws a negative picture to the general Western public. The Western public’s “stereotypical, negative and often condescending descriptions” about the continent of Africa is, for example, induced by the media’s portrayal (Fair, 1993: 5). A study of the coverage and discourse of famine on the Horn of Africa by the Western media reveals that there is “imposition of a narrative structure through the use of standard rhetorical techniques to construct famine as an ideological parable” (Sorensen, 1991). In their coverage of the 1984 Ethiopian drought, the Western media also overlooked the internal conflict and the political crisis which played a critical role in creating and sustaining the famine (Harper, 2003).

Sources with certain intentions could also affect the reporting of environmental problems in the media. A study conducted on the accountability framing of climate change in Australia – where climate change is one of the most important political issue

- by the government and opposition, for example, reveals that the frames that were used by sources in the national Australian Broadcast Corporation were found to have significant impact on the framing of climate and drought issues (Olsson and Paglia, 2008). In their study, the researchers develop three different types of themes that define the nature of influence by sources (politicians and journalists): labelling, linking and coping. While labelling refers to the act of politicians labelling themselves (and their opponents) on a certainty/uncertainty scale in terms of the climate change threat, linking is their attempt to relate the drought and water crisis to the general climate change problem (Olsson and Paglia, 2008). Coping, on the other hand, means the types of policy solutions that are adopted to curb climate change effects (Olsson and Paglia, 2008).

The way information is presented and framed in a certain text also impacts the attention other media outlets gives to the issue at hand. For example, Tutt (2009) showcases how the framing of a technical report about climate change - i.e., the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's "Summary for Policymakers" - affected the framing of the issue by other newspapers and news releases. According to Tutt (2009: 53), the technical report is also successful in galvanizing public support and government action since it is framed in a way that "encourages readers to accept the evidence presented in the report or to support government action based on the report".

All of the studies above indicate that media play an important role in the public understanding of climatic conditions in general and drought in particular. It is, however, important to ponder that the media should strike a balance in playing out their responsibility and in providing appropriate coverage and framing to their reports in any humanitarian crisis.

#### **2.4. Reporting drought in Ethiopia**

Similar studies have been conducted in the Ethiopian context. A study of the framing of the 2002-03 Ethiopian drought in four Ethiopian newspapers, *The Ethiopian Herald*,



*Reporter, Fortune and Addis Admass*, by Bethelhem (2006) shows that the newspapers' coverage focused on relief and recovery measures. The newspapers were found to largely frame the drought situation as "natural phenomena that require urgent short-term solutions" (Bethelhem, 2006: vi).

Relatedly, Degsew (2010) studied how climate change is reported in the national Ethiopian Radio and Television station. He found that most stories lack clarity and proximity and that climate change is not a priority compared to other issues in the media. The majority of journalists were also found to engage official sources rather than people from the grassroots levels in their reports of climate change.

A study on the type and theme of frames by two widely circulated Ethiopian newspapers by Azeb (2013) shows that most of the news stories about climate change deal with the means of responding to climate change and the results of implementation of countermeasures. The dominant themes of the study were found to focus on conservation of natural resources and mitigation of climate change (Azeb, 2013).

A study on the media and awareness to environmental issues in a specified geographical area, Kembata Tembaro, indicates that the media programs in the area do not provide ample coverage to different environmental issues (Tesema, 2012). Tesema (2012) found that environmental reporting mainly focused on events and on positive achievements and heavily relies on governmental sources. He further found that the journalists' limited knowledge and training on environmental reporting and on the profession of journalism were factors affecting the quality of environmental reporting by the media.

Another study on the coverage of environmental issues in the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) by Tadesse (2015) pinpoints that environmental issues are generally given limited coverages in the programs and news packages of EBC. The

study reveals that the journalists who report about environmental issues lack the necessary professionalism and skills of reporting the environment (Tadesse, 2015).

A study on the coverage of environmental issues by the Ethiopian state media - Ethiopian Radio and *Addis Zemen* newspaper -concludes that the media generally give less priority to environmental issues (Gezahegn, 2015). While Ethiopian Radio gives more coverage to foreign environmental issues than the domestic ones, almost all of the environmental stories in *Addis Zemen* were found to report on domestic matters (Gezahegn, 2015). The study further found that the environmental stories heavily relied on government sources and were event oriented. The study also shows that the capacity and resources news frame were the dominant environmental news frames, followed by the political frame (Gezahegn, 2015).

## **2.5. Theoretical framework of the study**

The study deals with the coverage and framing of the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought as reflected in the national Ethiopian broadcast media, EBC, and the international broadcast of BBC. In an effort of making sense of the issue, agenda-setting and framing theories are used as main theoretical frameworks of the study.

### **2.5.1. Agenda-setting theory**

Historically, Walter Lippmann is considered as the intellectual father of agenda-setting theory (McCombs and Renholds, 2002). In the introductory chapter of his book entitled *Public opinion*, Lippmann (1922) highlighted that our knowledge of the world outside our direct experience is determined by the news media. He pointed out that the media play a palpable role in constructing pictures of reality in our mind about the outside world which is “out of reach, out of sight, out of mind” (Lippmann, 1922: 29). Lippmann (1922) argued that public opinion is, therefore, a result of the pseudo environment depicted by the news media, not to the actual environment.

This notion of the mediated view of the world is based on the assumption that our knowledge of the world is principally based on what the media decide to tell us.

More specifically, this means that “the priorities of the media strongly influence the priorities of the public” and that “elements prominent on the media agenda become prominent in the public mind” (McCombs, 2002: 2).

Following Lippmann’s theory of the role of the media in the construction of reality, McCombs and Shaw undertook the first research work that tested the theoretical concepts of agenda-setting during the 1968 US election (McCombs and Renholds, 2002). In their study, they hypothesized that the mass media set the agenda of political campaigns, thereby influencing the salience of voters’ attitudes toward the political issues (McCombs and Shaw, 1972: 177). To examine this, they considered media content and a survey of registered voters in a specific region of North Carolina. They compared what the respondents say are the most important issues in the campaign and what was considered salient in the mass media’s coverage. Analysis of the data indicates that salience was transferred to the mind of the public from the contents of the mass media in the selected area. In other words, issues which were emphasized in the media were actually found to be considered important by the selected voters in the study confirming the agenda-setting role of the media (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). According to Griffin (2012), in the prism of the theory, the media were thought to be causes of direct correlation in transforming the media agenda to the public agenda.

Generally, agenda-setting can be viewed based on two closely related propositions. The first is about the media’s control of the agenda through the selection of broad issues for prominent coverage (McCombs and Renholds, 2002). Secondly, prominence of the issues presented in the media then determines the issues that are considered important by the audiences (e.g. McCombs and Shaw, 1972; McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver, 1997). From these, we can infer that agenda-setting is the media’s ability of influencing people about the issue to deal and think about. According to Cohen (1963), while the news media may not succeed in telling what to think to the people, they are successful in telling them what to think *about*. This implies that the theory presupposes the ability of the mass media to set the agenda for public thought and deliberation.

Accordingly, McCombs and Shaw (1972) defined agenda-setting as the media's power to transfer the agenda of the media to the public's agenda as people take what the media present as important. Similarly, Ghorparde (cited in Nayyar 2007: 100) define agenda-setting as a relational concept that specifies a "transfer of salience from agenda primers (media) to agenda adopters (consumers)."

Agenda-setting is highly related to the frequency of coverage of an issue and to the corresponding prominence the issues are given in the media. Coleman et al. (2009) notes,

Agenda-setting is the process of the mass media presenting certain issues frequently and prominently with the result that large segments of the public come to perceive those issues as more important than others (Coleman et al., 2009: 147).

It is also important to see the weakness of this theory so that its gap can be curiously handled. Sometimes, for example, the media may entertain issues that the public had already talked about. In such circumstances, it becomes the public's agenda which sets the media, contrary to what the theory says. Thus, a genuine agenda-setting theory must be able to show that the public agenda has come next to the media agenda which is accepted as the cause (Griffin, 2012).

This research uses agenda-setting as a theoretical foundation to see how the BBC and EBC report on the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought.

### **2.5.2. Framing**

In any communication context, a lot of things come together in the minds of the one who is supposed to communicate (send) message to a destination (receiver). Among them, what to communicate (message or content) is one thing; and, how to communicate it so that it is understood in a certain way is another. The selection of both the content and of the elements to represent the content is an important role played by the communicator or the journalist. In doing so, communicators frame an issue or event from a certain angle.

According to Moy, Tewksbury and Rinke (2016: 7), a frame can be “a phrase, image, analogy, or metaphor that a journalist uses to communicate the essence of an issue or event”. Frame summarizes the basic essence of a story to the audiences. Frame also simplifies the writing process of the news to the journalists and easily conveys its gist (Moy, Tewksbury and Rinke, 2016). Tankard et al. (1991: 3) defines frame as a central organizing idea which provides a context and indicates what the issue in a news story is through the uses of “selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration”. This implies that a frame does not only involve selection and salience, but also exclusion and elaboration.

Generally, framing is about the selection of the content as portion of a certain reality and the way it is depicted so that it gives a certain sense at the receiving end. In the words of Entman (1993), to frame is,

to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993: 52).

The framing process basically involves two primary stages (Scheufele, 1999). They are frame building and frame setting. Frames could be built in at least four different locations: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture (Entman, 1993). Communicators involve politicians, other elites or other sources who play palpable roles in the construction of frames. These personalities could consciously or unconsciously construct frames by selecting, highlighting or excluding portions of reality in what they say to the media.

Frames could also be constructed in the text. The journalists are key to construct meaning within the text (Entman, 1993). They decide on what to include or exclude in the text. The receivers of messages from the mass media are not passive recipients. They rather play active and important roles in the construction of frames. Receivers have also the option of taking or ignoring the constructed frames by the journalists or

other sources. Their previous understanding or perception of the issues or cases being presented in the mass media play a great role in the process of building frames. The information processing and interpretation of meaning by the receivers are basically determined by the pre-existing meanings or schemata of those involved (Scheufele, 1999; Goffman, 1974; Entman, 1993). The cultural context under which issues are framed also highly affect the frame-building process (Entman, 1993; Iyengar, 1990).

Generally, frame-building refers to the factors that affect the framing of a news story. The process of frame-building involves how frames construct social discourse about an issue and how the journalists adopt different frames in the mass media. According to Scheufele (1999), the framing of a news story can be influenced by organizational or structural elements within the whole media system or by individual characteristics of journalists. The framing of news is commonly influenced by the ideological, attitudinal and professional norms of individual journalists (Donsbach, 1981). Hence the selection and salience of content and its respective attributes operate under the influences of the overall media system and the individual values of the journalists involved.

The socio-political and cultural context under which the mass media operate or the nature of the mass medium itself are also potential sources of influence in the selection of frames in news reports (Gans, 1979). Such external actors as interest groups, political figures or other elite groups could affect the framing of news in the mass media. The degree to which these three factors (i.e. individual journalists, organizational or mass media systems, and external actors) are present or absent in the framing of news stories is quite relevant in this study. Hence, the influence of these factors in the framing of the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought in both media channels (i.e. BBC and EBC) will be closely scrutinized.

Frame-setting, on the other hand, refers to the way the frames influence a particular audience. This is seen in terms of the salience of issue attributes (McCombs, 1997) or the perceived importance of specific frames among audiences (Nelson et al., 1997). As

explained above, in addition to the effort from the sides of communicators or journalists or the existing cultural context, the audiences pre-existing schemata has a lot to say in determining the framing effect.

This study is limited only on the process of building frames and the perspective from the sides of the communicators and journalists. It does not go into the effect of media frames on audiences.

### **2.5.3. Functions and typologies of frames**

Frames provide diversified functions. Gamson (1992), for example, identifies that frames could play roles of diagnosis, evaluation, and solution prescription. Entman (1999) similarly identifies four main functions which could be served by one or more frames in news stories. These functions include: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgements or suggesting remedies. Each of them is defined by Entman as follows (1999: 52):

- *define problems* - determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values;
- *diagnose causes*-identify the forces creating the problem;
- *make moral judgments* - evaluate causal agents and their effects; and
- *suggest remedies* - offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects.

Generally, the news media entertain two types of frames based on the selection and presentation of issues; episodic and thematic (Iyengar, 1994). Episodic frames deal with specific, case or event-oriented presentation of issues and depict public issues in terms of tangible instances. Frames in this category are applied only in specific contexts. An investigation of media agendas and frames in the 2014 Californian drought situation, for example, identifies seven dominant frames in the news reports that are specific to the context of the study area (Ishida and Bledsoe, 2015). They

include: sense of urgency, conservation efforts, linkage to climate change, long term solutions, short term solutions and updates on current conditions.

- Sense of urgency – frames that call for urgent or immediate response or intervention.
- Conservation efforts – this frame calls audiences (residents of California in the case of the study) to conserve water as a remedy of the drought crisis.
- Blame game – these frames blame individuals or groups who are assumed to have involvement in the drought situation.
- Linkage to climate change – these frames link the drought situation with larger environmental problems that involve climate change.
- Long term solutions – these frames focus on legal and societal remedies that contribute to the lessening and management of drought in the long run in the specified area.
- Short term solutions – these frames provide immediate remedies to the drought problems with no proven and future plans.
- Updates on current conditions - these frames have updates on the ongoing drought situation. This frame may also provide comparison with previous drought facts and figures.

Thematic frames, on the other hand, are applicable to a broad range of issues in a more general and abstract context and provide background reports which focus on “general outcomes or conditions” (Iyengar, 1994: 14). The general frames developed by Neuman et al. (1992) and Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and Benford and Snow (1988, 2000) and Yun et al. (2012) are just some examples that represent thematic frames. In the studies of Neuman et al. (1992) and later by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), five major types of frames that can have general applications are identified, for example. They include: economic, conflict, human interest, morality and attribution of responsibility frames.



Economic frames are dominant types of frames in the media and they frame an issue based on its economic consequences on individuals, groups, institutions and nations (Neuman et al., 1992; Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Conflict frame involves disagreement or competition among individuals or groups in a news story in order to capture audience attention (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Human interest frames select individuals from a certain problematic context and use them to showcase the intensity and extent of the problem. These kinds of frames in the media generate feelings of outrage, empathy, sympathy or compassion from the audience (Neuman et al., 1992). According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000: 95) human interest frame “brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem”. Morality frames deal with the media’s reference to the societal norms, values and religious perspectives directly or through the use of sources in their reports (Neuman et al., 1992). Attribution of responsibility frames are about the identification and attribution of the causes and consequences of problems in a given story. This frame serves as “a way of attributing responsibility for cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group” (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 96).

Benford and Snow (1988, 2000) and Yun et al. (2012) in their studies of climate change coverage have also developed five major types of frames that can have general applications across disciplines: diagnostic, prognostic, symptomatic, motivational and after-effect. The frames developed by Benford and Snow (1988, 2000) and Yun et al. (2012) are used in this study and are clarified further in the methodology chapter in sub-section 3.3.

## Chapter three

### Methodology

This part addresses the selected research methods, samples, coding guidelines, data analysis, validity and reliability and some limitations that the researcher encountered during the data collection process.

#### 3.1. Methods of the study

This research involves a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. Using both methods together in one study helps the researcher to be effective in exploring a variety of ideas, combining elements and concepts from both qualitative and quantitative methods (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

The quantitative part involves content analysis of news stories regarding the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought by the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Content analysis refers to analysis of texts, images and expressions within the context of their uses (Krippendorff, 2004). Content analysis is used in this research mainly because it focuses on news contents of the media or with large data that need quantification or measurement. According to Kothari (2004: 110) content analysis specifically suits to analyse documentary materials within the context where the materials are produced. Even though after 1950 content analysis has mostly been used as a quantitative research method relating to the general message of existing documents, it was used as a quantitative research method of data gathering tool for a long period of time in social science studies before (Kothari, 2004). In this research, quantitative content analysis is mainly used to study the contents of news about the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought in the two broadcast media (BBC and EBC). Thus, what types of frames the media used in their reports of the drought, which sources the media use in their respective framing, what major themes (topics) and tones the media entertained pertaining to the drought incident are mainly studied quantitatively.

The qualitative aspect involves in-depth interviews with four experienced journalists in drought reporting from the Ethiopian state media. In addition to providing answer to what processes the Ethiopian journalists go through in their reporting of the drought, the qualitative data that are gathered from the in-depth interviews are used in triangulation with the quantitative data. According to Jensen (2002: 268) triangulation involves the combination of “several analytical perspectives on the same empirical context”. The in-depth interviews also provide support to the findings of the quantitative data. This is done by asking the experienced journalists about the process the journalists go through in selecting, emphasizing and presenting news stories in relation to the drought reporting.

### **3.2. Samples of the study**

In this study, the EBC and the BBC are selected - representing the Ethiopian media and the international media, respectively. The reason is that the selected media are thought to provide both national and global perspectives in terms of framing the Ethiopian drought situation. The EBC is a result of a merger between the two oldest and largest broadcast media companies in the country - Ethiopian Radio and Ethiopian Television. Ethiopian Radio and Ethiopian Television were both state owned and were functioning independently of each other before they merged in 1995 into one agency which was called Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency (ERTA). In 2014, this name changed into the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC). EBC is still state owned and is the largest media organization in Ethiopia with its radio and television broadcasts nationally; and with its international reaches via its website – [www.ebc.et](http://www.ebc.et). Its programs are mainly broadcast in Amharic which is the working language of the Ethiopian federal government. It has, however, transmissions in other local languages (e.g. Oromiffa, Tigrigna, Somaligna and Afar) and international languages (English and French). EBC has generally a large audience reach, and wider geographical coverage compared to other media in the country (Gezahegn, 2015).

Originally British, the BBC is also an international broadcasting station that gives wide coverage to issues that happen in other parts of the world such as Africa. The BBC is

known to give coverage during severe crisis situations such as the drought incidence in Ethiopia (Anteneh, 2014).

For the purpose of achieving the objectives of this study, the researcher took news stories about the 2015/16 drought from the news reports of both the Ethiopian Radio and Television (i.e. EBC) and from the BBC's website reported between 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2015 and 31<sup>st</sup> of April 2016. In framing studies, news stories are very important elements. According to D'Angelo and Kuypers (2010: 2) news is "the most prominent discursive site in which communication researchers strive to understand what framing is and how framing works".

During the time frame indicated above, the drought was a hot topic in the media. Although it is difficult to identify the exact start and end date of the drought, the time span is when many people and cattle were severely affected.

In line with the techniques of selecting the samples, the researcher selected all the news content which dealt with Ethiopian drought in both media channels during the stated time frame. The researcher went physically to Ethiopian Radio and Television and gathered the scripts of all available drought related stories from the EBC's archives. From EBC's news scripts, the drought related stories were identified using search words such as "drought", "climate change" and "famine". The researcher also selected all website news stories from BBC in the specified time frame related to Ethiopia using the search word "Ethiopia". Then, using the same search words, stories that do not deal with drought were filtered out.

For the in-depth interview, experienced journalists in reporting drought and related climate disasters were selected from the Ethiopian state media; namely from Ethiopian Radio (2) and Ethiopian Television (2). These journalists have been reporting drought for two to three years and have also closely worked with the issue, either as a reporter on the spot or as an editor during the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought. All of them have journalistic experience of at least six years. The interviews were

sampled from the Ethiopian media because the drought happened in Ethiopia and the researcher wants to explore more on the reporting process of the issue in the context where it happened.

### **3.3. Coding guidelines**

According to Crano and Brewer (2008), in any study that involves content analysis as its method, coding guidelines must be determined in advance of the analysis. Hence, the framing of the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought is studied by using coding guidelines (see appendix 1). These guidelines serve as criteria through which the selected news stories from both EBC and BBC are analysed. The guidelines help to analyse the types of frames, the themes of the stories and the nature of sources used in each of the selected stories. These guidelines were developed by Benford and Snow (1988, 2000) and further developed by Yun et al. (2012) and Semetko and Valkenberg (2000). The guidelines were also used previously by other researchers; e.g. Benford and Snow was used by Azeb (2014) and Asplund (2014); and Semeteko and Valkenberg was used by Bethelehem (2006). The guidelines are designed in a way to be appropriate for this study. In this study, mainly six different types of frames are identified as criteria to assess the news stories. They include: empathy, diagnostic, prognostic, symptomatic, motivational, and after-effect frames, and other. Empathy frame is about the presentation of the issue of the drought in a way that has a feeling of outrages, empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion in news reports. Diagnostic frame deals with the cause and nature of the drought situation. Prognostic frame is concerned with the means of addressing or resolving the drought issue. Symptomatic frame deals with the various ecological, health and social changes caused by the drought calamity. Motivational frames call on solutions to prevent or mitigate drought. After-effect frames are about the results of implementing climate change countermeasures.

The themes of the stories refer to the central message of the news stories the media convey about the drought to the audience. Similar to the other coding lists to study the approach of reporting an issue on the media, the theme of the story is vital to be included in the coding sheet. The theme classification of the story for this research is

developed based on the classification of Bethelehem (2006). The themes are classified into government action or policy, non-government organizations (NGOs) activities, appeal, donation, drought magnitude and other.

Government action or policy refers to news stories that deal with the policy or activities of the government, including lower to top administrative levels. Non-government organizations' (NGOs) activities refer to the activities of non-profit organizations in the provision of support to drought victims. Appeal is about aid requests made by the government or any other agent in order to be able to provide long or short-term support to the drought victims. Donation refers to articles that deal with provision of support to the victims directly or to the rehabilitation activities made by different organs, including the government. Drought magnitude refers to articles that deal with the extent and impact of the drought in the geographical coverage, in the loss of human life and cattle, and in people's migration. All of the other stories that do not involve the above thematic classifications are categorized as "other".

Similar to the types of frames and the themes of the stories, the sources of the stories are essential to study how the two media frame the news reports on the media. The source of the story refers to the mainly used sources in the news reports. Bethelehem (2006) identified government, NGOs, opposition parties, experts, victims, media, donors and other as source categories. Government as a source refers to government offices, individuals or groups of people under the different managerial levels of the Ethiopian government. NGOs refer to local, national or international non-profit organizations or individuals who provide information in news stories about the drought representing NGOs. Opposition parties refer to opposition political party members who serve as sources in news stories that deal with drought. Experts refer to individuals or groups of people who have expertise knowledge about the issue they are used as a source for in drought stories. Victims refer to individuals who provide first-hand information on the drought situation because they are affected by the drought directly. Media refer to news agencies, journalists or other media stated as sources in drought reports. Donors are individuals and groups who are affiliated with

aid organizations or organizations that provide donations to drought victims. All other types of sources are coded as “other”.

In agenda-setting and framing studies, tone is also an important element (Sheafer, 2006). Tone could be positive, negative or neutral. Tone reveals the feeling or attitude of the journalist or the media organization towards the issue it is reporting about. In this study, an item is coded as positive when drought is presented to be better managed with improving tendency (Sheafer, 2006). Conversely, if the drought is presented as worsening rather than improving, the item is coded as a negative element (Sheafer, 2006). It is coded as neutral when the media address the issue as it is, providing facts without added editorial commentary (Sheafer, 2006).

#### **3.4. Data analysis**

In this research, there are two types of data: quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative data are entered into SPSS software and are analysed using descriptive statistics and independent sample T-test, when necessary. The qualitative data that come from the in-depth interviews were coded independently and are discussed and interpreted together with findings of the quantitative data.

#### **3.5. Validity and reliability**

The researcher was cautious of the relevance of validity and reliability in the overall quality of this study. In order to address the issues of validity and reliability, the researcher was supposed to undertake a pilot study before administering the data collection and coding (Wimmer and Dominick, 2008; Krippendorff, 2004).

Validity refers to the quality of the measurement in gauging what it is supposed to measure; and considers whether the findings are actually emerging from what is claimed in the research (Krippendorff, 2004). One of the mechanisms employed by the researchers is to adapt previously used coding categories in similar studies. In that case, codes were adapted from other researchers who employed content analysis in

their studies. Coding categories developed and used previously by other researchers to measure the types of frames, sources, themes and tone of stories are used in this study (e.g. Benford and Snow, 2006; Yun et al., 2012; Semetko and Valkenberg, 2000; Bethelhem, 2006). An expert is also given to see and comment on the adapted coding categories before the coding. Based on the comments, minor improvements were made.

Reliability, on the other hand, is about the degree to which “members of a designated community agree on the readings, interpretations, responses to, or uses of given texts or data” (Krippendorff, 2004: 212). In order to check the level of agreement of the coding sheet during the pilot study, two coders (post-graduate students) each were given news articles that deal with drought from the selected media and were asked to code them based on the provided descriptions to each of the coding categories. This mechanism is called intercoder reliability. Intercoder reliability shows the level of agreement among two or more coders who are provided with the same items (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006). As such, the average score of the two coders was .92 showing that the coding sheet is highly reliable with reproducibility level of 92%.

### **3.6. Limitations of the study**

In this research work, there are certain limitations that need to be clearly addressed. The first relevant limitation is lack of access to the drought related news stories that were broadcast between the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2015 and the 31<sup>st</sup> of April 2016 by the Ethiopian Television’s Amharic news department. According to EBC personnel, the server of the station was under maintenance and therefore not accessible during the time of the field work. Hence it was not possible for the researcher to be able to secure the scripts from the Ethiopian Television’s Amharic news department. As a mitigation, compensation is made by taking scripts of drought related news stories from the Ethiopian Television’s English news department. The researcher encountered no problem of accessing the available drought related news stories from EBC’s radio section (Amharic department) and the contents of the radio and television sections of



EBC are believed to be related. The data are, thus, believed to be sufficient to achieve the research objectives.

A second limitation which is worth mentioning here is that the scripts of the drought related news stories from EBC's English department were chosen by the journalists themselves since the researcher could not get direct access to the news archives. At EBC's radio department, however, it was possible to get access to the server and the researcher was able to select the data by herself from there.

## Chapter Four

### Data presentation, analysis and interpretation

In this part, the quantitative and qualitative data are presented, discussed and interpreted. First, the qualitative data comprising the type of frames, sources, themes and tones of the drought related stories are presented. Then, the qualitative data, which comes from the in-depth interviews, are presented. Finally, both types of data are discussed, analysed and interpreted together.

#### 4.1. Presentation of quantitative data

In this part, the quantitative data are presented in the form of tables together with their corresponding descriptions. As indicated in table 1 below, the two media channels presented a total of 201 news stories regarding the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought. Of the total news stories, 184 (91.5%) were broadcast through the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) between 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2015 and 31<sup>st</sup> of April 2016. On the other hand, 17 (8.5%) were broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) during the same time. As stated in section 3.2. of the methodology chapter, the available news stories from EBC were taken from the radio and television news broadcasts of the station by taking the scripts from each of the stations. As for BBC, the analysis tried to include all available news stories - text, audio, and video - about the 2015/16 drought published on the BBC website.

*Table 1. Distribution of Ethiopian drought related news stories by type of media between May 1, 2015 and –April 31, 2016.*

Media channel	No of news stories	Total %
EBC	184	91.5
BBC	17	8.5
Total	201	100

The other important issue that is needed to be addressed in this study is the type of frame used in each story by the corresponding media. As shown in table 2, slightly

more than half of EBC's drought related news stories (57.1%) were found to carry prognostic frames that are concerned with reporting about what was done to address the drought issue. The second most widely used frame by EBC in reporting the drought was the motivational frame which calls for solutions and actions so as to avert the drought related problems. This frame accounted for 29.3% (54 news stories) of the total drought related stories by EBC. After effect and symptomatic frames accounted for 6.5 % (12 news stories) and 4.9% (9 news stories), respectively. Only 1.1 % (2 news stories) were found to be diagnostic, dealing with the cause of the drought. Those frames that are not categorized in either of the identified frames take 1.1% of the total stories. It is also noted that none of the EBC news stories had empathy frames.

*Table 2. Distribution of drought related news stories in EBC and BBC by type of frame between May 1, 2015 and April 31, 2016.*

Type of frame	Media channel			
	EBC		BBC	
	No	%	No	%
Empathy	0	0	8	47,1
Diagnostic	2	1,1	2	11,8
Prognostic	105	57,1	1	5,9
Symptomatic	9	4,9	3	17,6
Motivational	54	29,3	2	11,8
After effect	12	6,5	1	5,9
Other	2	1,1	0	0,0
Total	184	100,0	17	100,0

For BBC, on the other hand, the empathy frame was found to be the dominantly used type of frame. Almost half of the total drought related news stories reported by the BBC (47.1%) were found to emphasize the empathy frame which deals with the feelings and emotions of victims affected by the drought. 17.6 % (3 news stories) were

found to carry symptomatic frames. Motivational and diagnostic frames accounted for 11.8 % (2 news stories) each. Prognostic and after-effect frames each accounted for 5.9% (1 news story each) of the total news stories.

When the results of the two media channels are compared in terms of the type of frames they entertain, they are found to be significantly different. The independent sample t-test results (see Appendix 3.1. for detailed results) show that the EBC and BBC use significantly different types of frames at  $p < 0.5$ .

Table 3 below shows the distribution of sources used by EBC and BBC in their respective drought related news stories. Over half of the total 2015/16 Ethiopian drought related news stories by EBC (58.7%) used sources from different offices of the government. Victims used as sources take up 28.2% (78 news stories) of the total share of drought related news stories by EBC. Donors, individuals or groups who are affiliated with organizations which provide donation to drought victims, were used as sources of the news stories in 4.4% (12 stories) of the total news stories. Other media, opposition parties, experts and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are quoted as sources by 8.7% of the total news stories by EBC altogether.

*Table 3. Distribution of sources in the drought related news stories of EBC and BBC between May 1, 2015 and April 31, 2016.*

Source of frame	Media channel			
	EBC		BBC	
	N	%	N	%
Government	163	58.7	7	17.9
NGOs	3	1.3	0	0
Opposition	7	2.6	0	0
Experts	4	1.5	2	5.1
Victims	78	28.2	13	33.3
Media	9	3.3	3	7.7
Donors	12	4.4	12	30.8
Others	2	0,0	2	5.2
Total	278	100,0	39	100,0

The BBC, on the other hand, gave its highest share of sources to the victims of the drought incident. 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the total drought related news stories by the BBC (33.3%) used victims as sources. Donors were used as sources in 30.8 % (12 news stories) of the total drought related news stories by BBC. The Ethiopian government was also used as sources by 17.9% of the total drought related news stories by the BBC. The rest (18%) of the stories used other news sources. The BBC did not use opposition parties and non-governmental organizations as sources in its drought related news reports. T-test results show that the two media channels, EBC and BBC, use significantly different types of sources in reporting the drought (see Appendix 3.2.). The t-test results reveal that the p value is less than 0.5, indicating that the difference is statistically significant.

Table 4 below shows the distribution of the drought related news stories in terms of the theme of the story. The main theme of most of EBC's news reports was found to be government action or policy. News stories that deal with government action or policy takes about 3/4th (72.3%) of the total share of the drought related news reports presented by EBC. Donation is the second highest theme taking 12% of the total share. Stories about NGO activities, drought magnitude and appeal account for 6.5%, 3.8% and 0.5 % of the total share of news reports in EBC, respectively.

*Table 4. Distribution of the drought related news stories in EBC and BBC by theme between May 1, 2015 and April 31, 2016.*

Theme of the story	Media channel			
	EBC		BBC	
	No	%	No	%
Government action/policy	133	72.3	1	5.9
NGO activities	12	6.5	0	0
Appeal	1	0.5	0	0
Donation	22	12	6	35.3
Drought magnitude	7	3.8	10	58.8
Other	9	4.9	0	0,0
Total	184	100,0	17	100,0

As indicated in table 4 above, the major themes of the drought related news stories of BBC were, on the other hand, donation and drought magnitude. Together they account for over 93% of the total share on the channel. BBC news stories that deal with the drought magnitude alone took 58.8% of the news stories by BBC. Government action and policy was presented as the main theme of the story in only 1 (5.9%) of the BBC's news stories.

When EBC and BBC are compared in terms of the themes they use, a significant difference is found from the t-test results (see appendix 3.3.). As shown in table 5, over 3/4<sup>th</sup> of the total drought related news stories by EBC were found to have a positive tone, stating that the drought is being addressed and managed well. News stories with neutral tone, presenting the facts without adding editorial commentary, accounted for 16.8%. Only 4.4 % of the news stories by EBC were found to contain a negative tone, providing a negative picture that can be expressed through worsened drought situation with editorial commentary.

For BBC, on the other hand, slightly over half of the total drought related news stories had a negative tone. 35.3% of the total news stories had a neutral tone. The rest (11.8%) of the total drought related news stories by the BBC were found to have a positive tone. The t-test results concerning the tone of the story by EBC and BBC reveal that there is a significant level of difference with regard to the tone of the stories (see appendix 3.4.).

*Table 5. Distribution of the tone of the news stories in EBC and BBC by theme between May 1, 2015 and April 31, 2016.*

Tone of the story	Name of the media			
	EBC		BBC	
	No	%	No	%
Positive	145	78.8	2	11.8
Negative	8	4.4	9	52.9
Neutral	31	16.8	6	35.3
Total %	184	100,0	17	100,0

## 4.2. Presentation of qualitative data

In this section, data from the in-depth interviews are presented. The in-depth interviews were made with four experienced EBC journalists on how they reported the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought. Respondent 1, a senior reporter who worked for over seven years in EBC, confirms that the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought was covered widely by EBC. According to him, because the government of Ethiopia is the single most powerful partner in terms of managing the drought calamity, and because EBC is close to the government, all drought related reports of EBC are considerate of the say of the government. Respondent 2, who is currently a senior editor in EBC where he has worked for over 12 years, does not, however, think that the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought got enough coverage by EBC. He highlights:

There are a lot of things that the media do not report about during drought. People sometimes die during drought, for example; yet, reporting that might harm the people's morale; that could also put the commitment of the government under question mark. We do not report those issues. Hence, the reporting does not show the full picture of the drought (Respondent 2, personal interview, 22 August 2017).

Respondent 3, a senior reporter at EBC in the research, also points out that he does not think the coverage is ample compared to the extent and impact of the drought in the country. He states:

Reporting of the 2015/16 drought started quite late by EBC, after it had already received attention by other international media like the Voice of America [VOA] and by the social media and after the government had already admitted that it really happened. Once we started reporting the drought, there had been a series of interruptions in reporting the progress. This is because we do not have enough human resources to cover the issue and because we should also focus on other agendas in the meantime as well. Therefore, drought is reported like a campaign whereby it becomes continuously reported for a month and then another issue comes, and drought gets forgotten (Respondent 3, personal interview, 14 September 2017).

Regarding how the reporting is made, the journalists have clear procedures to follow. According to respondent 4 - a radio news editor who worked in EBC for over 10 years - the reporting of drought primarily depends on what the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC) of Ethiopia gives to the media. According to the respondent, the commission identifies the places where the drought happen, and the reporting is based on this information. He claims that the reports of the journalists do not emphasize the extent of the problem of drought. Instead, Respondent 4 adds, the journalists focus more on solutions. According to Respondent 4,

the media have to support the effort of letting no one die in connection with the drought. We, the journalists, try to provide information to the government and other concerned bodies so that they help those affected by the drought. The media, together with other government offices, have to locate the places where urgent support is needed. The focus should also be on providing sustainable solution to drought related issues (Respondent 4, personal interview, 18 September 2017).

Respondent 2 explains that the first thing the journalists do when reporting drought, is to identify the location of the drought. Similar to Respondent 4, respondent 2 pinpoints that the identification of the place is made in consultation with the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC) office of Ethiopia. After identifying the places, respondent 2 says:

We, then, check how severe the drought is considering the amount of harm the drought induced over the livelihood of people and animals and the production of crops. We also consider the planned rehabilitation and support activities from the government and other bodies (Respondent 2, personal interview, 22 August 2017).

According to respondent 2, the journalists then select some sample areas and go to those places together with people from the government and the National Disaster Risk Management Commission. Similarly, respondent 1 points out that the journalists work in the field being embedded with government officials, donors and other supporting



agents. When reporting from the drought affected areas, the journalists also receive directions from officials and editors in the media, according to respondent 2. Respondent 1 stresses that the journalists distance themselves from other actors and report the drought independently. "Even though we go to drought affected areas being embedded with people from the government", he adds, "it does not mean that the journalists do not take independent account of the situation."

According to respondent 2, most of the time the focus of the reporting during drought situation is on the provision of quick support to the affected people by either the government or the international community. In reporting the drought incident, thus, the EBC journalists focus on the support and rehabilitation activities, he adds. "We, the journalists, follow up the distribution of donations and check on the spot if the people get appropriate support", respondent 2 says. According to this respondent, the impact of the drought on animals and crop production is also given emphasis. "Most of the time", he adds, "the drought is reported from the perspective of the support the government is providing to the affected areas".

During drought reporting, the journalists point out, more attention is given to present solutions rather than stressing the extent of the calamity. The respondents agree that even though there is delay in identifying drought affected areas and in reporting about them by EBC, there is no intention of hiding the situation. The journalists also think that the government acknowledges drought as a natural phenomenon and that it is normal to have it. The respondents, however, stress that they have to demarcate a clear line between drought and poverty.

According to respondent 3, journalists are given training and editorial briefing before they report drought. "While the training is given by the Government Communication Affairs Office", he adds, "the editorial briefing is given by higher officials and editors of EBC". "We are told ahead of our travel to the affected areas on how to report the drought", respondent 3 adds. He also states that he was one of the trainees in the reporting of the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought by the Government Communication

Affairs Office. According to the journalist, the Government Communication Affairs Office has already taken a stand that there is drought, not famine, in the country. "In the training", he says, "a direction is given that there is no famine in Ethiopia, but drought." Hence, the reporting of the journalists has to be under this framework. The journalist pinpoints that "the journalists fear to go and report by themselves. Hence, journalists should always receive some direction before they report any drought related issue".

According to respondent 1, EBC journalists in their reports include drought and related factors, but not famine. This is because there is editorial consensus on the presence of drought, but not on the presence of famine. According to respondent 1, famine happens when shortage of ground water and rain harms production in a given area leading to excessive drought that causes people to be in a situation where they have nothing to drink, lack safety and are not able to get daily food subsistence. If no support is provided to the victims during such time, they will have no option than just dying.

Respondent 1 says the reporting is made from the perspective that people are not starving and dying; but still, he says, animals could have lost their lives. Similarly, Respondent 4 states that journalists try to avoid sensational reporting. He highlights that the media rather pay attention to keeping the image of the country and maintaining balance in the reporting by allowing the voice of the government to be heard in addition to the people in the drought situation. Hence, respondent 4 pinpoints, none of the EBC reports involves stories of drought that jeopardize the life of human beings and no story has dealt with the death of people. Respondent 4 says, "at least, the journalists have not come across such stories". Respondent 2 states that the media do not usually focus on the death of human beings in connection with drought. "Neither do we report about the transformation of drought into poverty", respondent 2 adds.

According to respondent 1, the drought reports are not intended to expose the government in its failures as such. "The issue is, however, reported without exaggerating or undermining the drought situation", respondent 1 adds. According to the respondent, the journalists see the situation and the depth of the problem on the spot and make records of the problem from the area and go to the political leadership to balance the issue.

Respondent 1 points out that the state media (EBC) stress more on solution-oriented stories pertaining to the drought situation than emphasising on the negative side of the impact of the drought situation on the livelihood of those affected. He accentuates, however, that EBC tries to keep a balance between the influence of the drought and the solution provided to the existing problem.

Regarding who serves as source of information to the drought related issues, the interviewed journalists identify reporters on the spot, government officials at different managerial positions, donors, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and foreign media. According to respondent 1, the dominant source of information during drought reporting is the reporter on the spot. He suggests that information is taken from foreign media in two situations. One is when the foreign media take a positive tone on the management activities in the effort of tackling the drought situation. Second, it is when the foreign media raise a negative side of the drought situation in a way that can spoil the image of the country, which in turn prompts a reaction from the official media in Ethiopia. According to respondent 1, by considering the reality in the ground, EBC works to reverse the potentially negative impact of the foreign media. He uses a report of BBC on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 2015 as an evidence to how EBC works to redress the negative image of the Western media. The report is about the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought and the story was titled "Can Ethiopia cope with worst drought in decades?" The BBC's report involved a woman named Birtukan Ali who buried her son a few days ago. The woman is seen crying before the burial ground of her son carrying her other child. Sitting in between her three other sons she explains about the situation. Birtukan expresses how tough life is for her and her remaining children for they have

so little to eat because there is no harvest during the season. After this report was aired via the BBC, some EBC journalists went to the spot and met the woman and did another report. According to respondent 1, the journalists from EBC found that Birtukan's son did not die due to the drought. This issue was, however, controversial by the time because there were also claims that the woman was intimidated to speak otherwise in order to cover up the drought (Fasil, 2015).

Respondent 2 states that the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC), the Government Communication Affairs Office, victims on the spot, donors and the politicians in the nearby areas of the drought are the main sources of information. Members of the political opposition sometimes join the journalists to visit the affected areas and they provide their impression on the situation and the support being provided in the areas. In addition to what the journalists obtain from the environment through observation, respondent 4 notes, the victims of the drought and the government officials from the smallest administrative body (i.e. on kebele level) to the federal institutions serve as major sources of information. Respondent 3 claims that EBC's drought reports involve direct observation of journalists on the spot, the directions given by editors and other officials from the media, briefings and documents provided by the Communication Affairs Office and the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC) about the drought.

In addressing drought related issues, the media in general and the journalists in particular have some limitations. According to respondent 3, facility is the major bottleneck for providing a wider and more effective coverage about the drought. Most of the places where drought happens are not accessible by car. "That makes door to door visit and observation by journalists very difficult", he says. Respondent 4 agrees that logistics is a major hurdle in providing wider coverage. Respondent 3 thinks that a lot more can be done to avoid unnecessary delay in the reporting of drought before the situation escalates. EBC waits for a long time until the government confirms the presence of drought, according to respondent 3. He adds that EBC has to provide consistent coverage about the drought situation rather than giving only a temporal

coverage whereby drought becomes a prominent agenda already by other media and international relief organizations. Even though other issues become prominent, the drought agenda should stay visible in the media since it calls people to take action in the effort of tackling the situation and providing support. In addition, the mass media should provide consistent reports about drought and drought management prior to the drought situation, not in a campaign approach only whenever the problem happens, argues respondent 4.

Respondent 2 underlines that drought reporting is challenging in Ethiopia. Drought typically happens in a wider geographical area of the country. The journalists, however, take only a few sample areas for their reporting. Due to this, respondent 2 thinks, a lot of important issues are not getting reported in the media. According to the respondent, in addition to the problems of logistics, lack of a clear strategy in reporting crisis in general and drought in particular makes the reporting task difficult for the journalists. Respondent 2 states that the journalists have no clear guidelines on how to report on drought beyond the daily discussions and the directions they receive from editors and officials. According to respondent 2, the fact that the journalists completely rely on the government in the identification of drought-stricken areas and that they work embedded with people from the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC) make the reporting incomplete. The journalists do not have the chance to independently investigate the drought and its related impact, respondent 2 explains.

#### **4.3. Discussion of findings**

This research is intended to address how the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought is framed by the national Ethiopian broadcasting station, EBC, and the international broadcasting station, BBC and how the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) reports drought. The types of frames used by the two media channels to report the drought and the sources, themes and tone of the stories presented in the two media are the major issues that are addressed here. Additionally, the reporting practices of journalists in the Ethiopian state media, EBC, are assessed. In this section, the findings of the

quantitative and qualitative data which are presented in the preceding section are discussed in conjunction.

For people who are under a crisis situation – not to mention drought crisis - getting media coverage is a question of life or death (Cate, 1996: 18). In this regard, both EBC and BBC gave coverage to the issue - though to a different extent. For this study, a total of 201 available news stories were found from EBC and BBC altogether (184 from EBC and 17 from BBC). It is actually not surprising to see EBC having much more coverage than BBC, since BBC is an international media channel with focus on other issues as well. However, it is also reckoned that the BBC revealed the hidden secrets of the harm induced in the 1973 and 1984 devastating drought episodes which transformed in to poverty and starvation due to improper government management (Clay and Holcomb, 1986; Cate, 1996; Franks, 2006).

Regarding the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought, the EBC journalists claim that there is no intention by the government to hide drought and that drought. Drought is reported as long as it is presented as a natural happening, though. Yet, there is both editorial consensus and direction from the editors, higher officials in the media and Government Communication Affairs Office that the drought situation does not result in poverty and that it does not cause starvation and death of people. Hence, the journalists are careful in their report not to focus on issues of starvation and poverty.

Even though the drought was not hidden away, EBC did not dare to report about the impact on average people and the reports were not also intended at exposing bodies who fail to provide the necessary support to the people at risk. The EBC journalists who are assigned to the areas that are hit by drought rather take directions from the governmental offices, officials and editors in the media on what to focus on and what not to. The journalists also completely rely on government offices in identifying the drought affected areas and it takes them a long time to go and report from the field. Other media, such as the Voice of America and the social media, typically report the drought situation first while the state media get delayed. Drought is also reported by

journalists at EBC in the form of a campaign whereby the journalist becomes active to go and report from the spot with a desired objective of addressing the public's quest of knowing about the drought once the drought situation has already reached the public. The reporting is not taking place on a regular basis; it is rather until the issue of drought becomes obsolete and another agenda occupies the public's attention.

This reporting process and concession of the journalists before they travel to the drought affected areas show that there seems to be strategic manipulation of the drought reporting. Actually, in order to report about drought, EBC has to wait for information and direction from the government. Information about drought is ordinarily provided by the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC) of Ethiopia. The Commission identifies the drought-stricken areas and provides information to the media on the overall situation. Based on this information, the media assign journalists to go and report. The journalists are then given direction by editors and higher officials on how to do the reporting. According to respondent 2, the first task of the journalist is to check the magnitude of the drought and to see if the government and other bodies are engaged in some rehabilitation and support activities in the drought affected areas. Then, the journalists select cases and go to affected places with government officials, donors and other supporting agents. The journalists also receive direction from editors and higher officials while reporting from the field.

Corroborating this, research findings in different fields show that similar to EBC's drought related reporting, issues such as climate change (Degsew, 2010; Azeb, 2011), disaster (Mulatu, 2013), environmental issues (Gezahegn, 2015) and drought (Bethlehem, 2006) are not properly and sufficiently reported by the Ethiopian broadcast and/or print media.

Coming to the issue of how the media framed the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought, EBC focused on how different actors provided solutions and addressed the drought problem and on the rationale for engaging in action to avert the drought problem. As

such, EBC's drought related news stories that specifically deal with solution-oriented reports (i.e. prognostic frames) accounted for slightly more than half of EBC's news stories. Motivational frames that focus on why it is important or not important to take certain measures against the drought problems account for about 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the news reports. This implies that most of the drought related news reports by EBC concentrated on stories about activities that were made to tackle the drought situation. Stories that deal with results of countermeasures that are implemented to tackle drought problems (i.e. after-effect frame) and those that deal with the impact of the drought on the environment, health, food supply and agricultural products (symptomatic frame) together take only 1/10<sup>th</sup> of the total news reports on EBC. It is also noted that hardly any of the EBC drought related news stories involves the emotion and feeling of victims (empathy frame) who suffer from drought.

The highest share (47.1%) of the news stories by BBC, on the other hand, deals with the feeling and emotion of drought victims (empathy frame). The impact of the drought on the environment and on people (symptomatic frame) is given second widest coverage by the BBC (17.6% of the stories). Motivational and diagnostic frames (i.e. stories mainly about the causes of the drought) account for 1/10<sup>th</sup> of the news stories reported by the BBC each. Unlike EBC's drought related news reports, stories that deal with remedial activities (prognostic frame) and drought countermeasures (after-effect frame) together accounted for 1/10<sup>th</sup> of the total drought related news stories by BBC. As revealed by the t-test results (see appendix 3.1.), the types of frames used by the two media channels are thus significantly different.

The qualitative data from EBC journalists confirm that EBC, in reporting the drought, focuses on the solution side of the story rather than on the impact on the livelihood of the people in the affected areas. The journalists mostly present the support the victims are getting from the government, donors and other groups. The journalists also consider the problems that affect the provision and distribution of support. The journalists claim that they present balanced reports by involving different actors in the story. If a problem is stated, for example, on the provision of support for the



victims, the journalists say they also involve those who provide the support, including government officials from the smallest level to the federal structure - as necessary.

Accordingly, no drought related story from EBC provides with death of victims and even the emotion, feelings and hardship of those victims whose life may be jeopardized. The journalists do not also independently search, find and report about the drought by themselves. They also receive directions from the editors and higher media officials to be careful to report on the issue of death due to the drought. Plus, there is editorial consensus ahead of their reporting that there is no poverty.

This implies that the reporting process is hampered by a sophisticated, systematic and organized manner so that the journalists do not break the rules and go in their own way independently to find out what is actually happening on the ground. This complicates the problem of the drought affected people and hampers the provision of the necessary support which is considerate of the magnitude of the problem.

Findings of other studies reveal that prognostic frames are the dominantly used types of frames by selected Ethiopian media (Azeb, 2013). Similar to the findings in this study also, drought the 2002/4 Ethiopian drought was found to be framed “as natural phenomena that require urgent short-term solutions” (Bethelhem, 2006: vi).

The types of sources used by the two media in reporting the drought calamity were also found to be significantly different (see t-test results from the appendix 3.2.). EBC’s news stories about the 2015/16 drought heavily relied on government sources. Government sources accounted for over half of the total sources on EBC. Victims are the main source in 15.2% of the stories. Donors, other media, opposition political party members, experts and NGOs were used as main sources in 13.1% of the stories on EBC. BBC, on the other hand, relied heavily on victims as main providers of information, making up 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the sources. Donors are the second most important source for BBC, with 30.8% of the stories making use of them. The Ethiopian government was also used as a source in 17.9 % of the news stories by BBC. Opposition

parties and non-governmental organizations were found to be unused as major sources by the BBC in the reports of the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought. Other media, other sources and experts were also rarely used by the BBC broadcasts.

Interviews with practitioners in EBC reveal that reporters on the spot, government officials at different managerial positions, donors, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), foreign media and political parties are major sources of information. According to the journalists, all drought related stories are considerate of the say of the government since it is a key actor in managing drought related crisis.

According to the respondents, drought is mostly covered by EBC using reporters on the spot. The journalists, being embedded with other concerned bodies, report about the drought situation from the areas where victims are found and where support is provided. According to respondent 1 (a senior reporter), foreign media are used as sources by EBC when the cited foreign media raise something positive about the drought management activities or when the foreign media report something negative that may affect the image of the country. When the foreign media report negatively, journalists from EBC follow the story and they redress the negative impact such stories might cause in the national and international community.

This implies that the state media, represented by EBC, are concerned more on keeping the balance of the story and on preserving the image of the nation. It is actually important to keep both elements in the drought reporting process. EBC, as a national media channel, is expected to balance any story. However, it is equally important to approach the victims and show the actual situation, thus the reporting has to strike a balance between keeping the balance of the story and getting the reality presented before the audiences. There seems to be a gap in doing so from the side of EBC. The dominant use of the government makes the story to be reports of what has been done. Involving independent sources, such as experts and NGOs, would have made the reporting sounder and fairer.

It is actually common to find in other studies as well that the government is dominant as the source in the Ethiopian media (Bethlehem, 2006; Degsew, 2010; Azeb, 2013; Gezahegn, 2015). EBC and BBC are also significantly different in terms of the theme they raise regarding the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought (see appendix 3.3.). Government action or policy was found to be the most widely reported theme by EBC (close to 3/4<sup>th</sup> of the total share). In comparison, 12% of the stories concern donations, and the remaining 15 % are about NGOs activities, drought magnitude and appeal and other themes.

As for BBC, drought magnitude and donation account for 93% of the total share of the drought related news stories. BBC news stories with drought magnitude as their main themes alone take close to 60% of the total news stories. BBC news stories that mainly deal with government action or policy account only for 5.9% of the total news stories. None of the BBC's drought news stories has NGOs activities as its main theme.

Similar to the quantitative findings, the informants from EBC confirm that the government is the major development partner and almost all of the reports contain facts about the activities, the policy and say of the government.

Unlike the findings in this research, research into a wider range of the Ethiopian media found that selected Ethiopian state and private print media dealt more with relief, donation and appeal in reporting the 2002/3 Ethiopian drought (Bethlehem, 2006).

Regarding the tone of the drought related news stories by EBC and the BBC, there are differences as well. The tone of the story, in this study, refers to the feeling and attitude of the journalist towards the drought issue and is conveyed through words. Over 3/4<sup>th</sup> of the total drought related news stories by EBC were found to have a positive tone. Only 4.4% were negative. On the other hand, while slightly over half of the total news stories by BBC were found to have a negative tone, 11.8% of them were found to contain an overwhelmingly positive tone. Both EBC and BBC provide related percentages of stories in terms of neutral tone.

The qualitative data support the findings in that informants at EBC report that the main focus of the drought related reports is not at exposing anyone, but at identifying the nature and appropriateness of the support; and, mostly the reports are positive. This is because EBC works closely with the government and others who are supposed to play active roles in the drought management. The government officials at different levels in the government structure present the level of the government's involvement in the drought management programs. Stories collected from the victims are balanced by taking the voice of the government officials into consideration.

## Chapter five

### Summary and conclusion

In this part, the summary and conclusion of the study are presented.

#### 5.1. Summary

This study intended to address how the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought was framed by the Ethiopian state media, represented by Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC), and the international media, represented by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Specifically, it intended to assess the type of frame, the theme of the stories, the sources used and the tone of the stories by the two media channels in reporting the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought. This drought is caused by El Niño, a climatic phenomenon explained by an unusual warming of the Atlantic sea surface (Sun, 2000). Drought easily affects Ethiopia since its economy is hugely dependent on rainfed agriculture. Shortage of rain causes shortage of agricultural products which in turn could lead to lack of food to people to eat. The 2015/16 Ethiopian drought occurred as a result of shortage of rainfall to cultivate crops for two consecutive seasons (Fasil, 2015). In 2015 alone, the UN estimated that 8.2 million people in Ethiopia needed immediate relief assistance (Fasil, 2015).

In order to study how the drought was reported and framed, the researcher employed both quantitative and qualitative methods. The research mainly employed quantitative content analysis. Yet, in the course of analysing the framing of the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought by the national media, EBC, and in studying the reporting processes of the journalists, qualitative methodology is also employed. Thus, in addition to the quantitative content analysis, four experienced journalists from EBC were interviewed.

All available drought related news stories that were reported between the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2015 and the 31<sup>st</sup> of April 2016 by the two media channels were considered in the study. A coding sheet involving the typologies of frame, theme, sources and tone of

the stories was developed by drawing on similar previous studies (appendix 1). Each story was coded and analysed using SPSS.

The findings reveal diverging coverage in the two media channels. Of the total 201 drought related news stories, 91.5% (184) were reported by EBC and the remaining 8.5% (17) by BBC. For BBC, it is not surprising to find fewer reports since it is an international media channel with focus on other international issues as well. If all news stories were collected and saved in an organized manner by both the TV and radio sections of EBC, more stories could have been found, however. Yet, the available news stories are believed to sufficiently address the research objective in this study.

The qualitative data from the informants, i.e. experienced journalists at EBC, indicate that even though there is no intention by the Ethiopian government to hide drought as a natural phenomenon, the reports do not show the full picture of what is going on during the drought. This is because the journalists are systematically controlled and that they do not search, find and report the drought affected areas independently. Before the journalists went to the field to report about the drought, they arrive at editorial consensus on the presence of drought – not poverty. For the journalists and the media, drought is believed to happen everywhere, and it is a normal and natural environmental phenomenon.

It is clear that the mass media play a pivotal role in revealing the possible impact of drought to the livelihood of people and their environment and in garnering support and philanthropic activities to drought related victims. Hence, the mass media are supposed to provide direct, truthful and fair information prioritizing the possible harm a drought might induce in a given place. It might not need to be sensational to do so. Rather, the media should provide a view of the reality of the victims on the ground, including people who are starving and those who lost their loved ones due to the drought.

According to Franks (2006), media coverage determines people's perception and understanding of a certain disaster. In the context of drought problems that happen in repressive societies, however, doing so can be difficult. In this regard, BBC's broadcast on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October 1984 regarding the 1984 Ethiopian drought is considered to be one of the ground breaking media reports in terms of its "immediate consequences and also as a model example of the impact news can have on audiences" (Franks, 2006: 291). After the broadcast of the 1984 famine situation through the prominent footages of Michael Burek and Mohammed Amin, the general Western public became alarmed with the deaths of thousands and contributed "the largest outpouring of humanitarian contributions in memory" (Clay and Holcomb, 1986: 2). According to Franks (2006), this footage was broadcast via 425 different television channels and was viewed by 470 million potential audiences following its broadcast on the BBC. Overall, the BBC footage regarding the drought in Ethiopia in 1984 did not only garner public support but also significantly affected "public opinion, the nature of charitable giving, the scale of operation of aid agencies and upon relations between aid agencies and the media in the coming years" (Franks, 2006: 291).

The most important question here is whether the government and other responsible bodies in Ethiopia managed the drought properly. If drought transforms into starvation, poverty and death of human beings, then it is considered management failure. The BBC broadcast of the 1984 drought was made when one of "the most secretive" governments, the Dergue, was in power (Franks, 2006). How far that situation changed now is thus an important issue.

In this research, thus, it is found that the journalists are advised by the media managers to report about the drought, but to be careful in framing it from the angle of the impact the problem is inducing over the livelihood of the people. The journalists state that they were given directions by the Government Communication Affairs Office and higher officials and editors in the media to be careful in the reporting for the sake of keeping the morale of the public and to preserve the national image of the country. As such, the journalists do not focus in reporting about poverty, starvation

and death of people in relation to the drought since they think these issues put the legitimacy of the government and the national image of the nation in question. Hence, in this regard, there seems to only be a change in approach. Drought is yet not being reported directly, truthfully and fairly. The intention of hiding the report of drought is still there.

EBC, as a national media channel, is expected to identify drought-stricken areas and to report them independently, consistently and continuously. There is, however, limitation in this regard. Drought is often reported by EBC after it is already identified by the National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC) of Ethiopia and usually after it is reported by other media, such as the Voice of America and social media. The EBC journalists do not identify drought-stricken areas and go to the areas by themselves. The journalists rather wait for the commission and the government offices and then travel with people from the commission and the government. Drought related stories also frequently get neglected when other stories come in the front. There is thus limitation in providing consistent and continuous coverages of the drought situation.

The other important point which is addressed in this study is the type of frame the two media channels used in their drought related news stories. EBC and BBC were found to report the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought differently. This is indicated by independent t-test results (see appendix 3.1.). The difference is explained in terms of the types of frame the two media channels used the type of sources used, the choice of themes, and the tone of each drought related story.

Coming to the types of frames, EBC's drought related news stories were found to mainly focus on how different actors provided solutions and addressed the drought problem (prognostic frame) and on the rationale for engaging in action to avert the drought problem (motivational frame). Slightly over half of the total number of drought related news stories by EBC were found to be solution-oriented stories (prognostic). 1/3<sup>rd</sup> were found to deal with why it is important or not important to



take certain measures against the drought problems (motivational). Stories that deal with the effect of taking countermeasure activities (i.e. after-effect frame) and stories that are about impact of the drought on the environment, health, food supply and agricultural products (symptomatic frame) together accounted for only 1/10<sup>th</sup> of the total news reports by EBC. No story from the analysed EBC stories involves the emotion of victims (empathy frame) who suffer in the drought problem.

The empathy frame, which involves the feelings and emotions of drought victims, on the other hand, account for the majority of the stories that were reported by BBC concerning the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought. It accounted for 47.1% of the total stories. 17.6% of the total BBC stories dealt with the impact of the drought on the environment and on the people (symptomatic frame). Motivational and diagnostic frames accounted for 1/10<sup>th</sup> of the total BBC stories each. Prognostic and after-effect frames, together, made up 1/10<sup>th</sup> of the total drought related news stories by BBC.

Interviews with EBC journalists confirm that they focus on possible solutions and activities being done to manage the drought calamity. The journalists try to keep balance in their reporting by considering the voices of the victims together with officials and representatives from the government at different administrative levels.

The EBC journalists frame drought as a natural disaster and phenomenon. Yet, its impact and management aspect seems to be overlooked. For the sake of keeping the legitimacy of the government, the image of the country and the morale of the public, the informants say, EBC does not concentrate on hunger and poverty related death, if there is any. However, the journalists also claim that they report about the failures and problems related to addressing the support provision activities. Before they go to the drought affected areas, the journalists discuss about the reporting with higher officials and editors in the media and also with the Government Communication Affairs Office. They say that there is editorial consensus on the presence of drought, not poverty, and the reporting is based on that.

There are also differences concerning the types of sources the two media use to tell their stories. Over half of the total drought related stories by EBC use the Ethiopian government as a dominant source. For BBC, on the other hand, 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the total news stories use victims as their major sources. In EBC, victims are quoted as major sources by only 28.8 % of the total drought related stories. Donors, other media, opposition party members, experts and NGOs were also used as major sources by 12.7 % of the total drought related news stories in EBC altogether. The BBC used donors, experts and the Ethiopian government as major sources in 30.8%, 5.4% and 17.9% of the total drought related stories, respectively.

The qualitative data reveal that EBC uses reporters on the spot, government officials at different managerial positions, donors, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), foreign media and political parties as major sources. However, according to the respondents, the journalists on the spot and the government are the two mostly used sources as far as reporting the drought is concerned. The journalists go to the drought affected areas together with workers from concerned government offices and work 'embeddedly' with them. The journalists report to EBC about what is going on from the spot. Almost all of the stories are considerate of the say of the government as the journalists consider it as a key development partner in the drought management process.

Foreign media are used as sources by EBC in circumstances when the foreign media present a negative portrayal that may harm the image of the nation or when the foreign media give witness for the positive activities being made in order to tackle the drought problem.

Generally, the fact that the reporting centers around the government seems to affect the balance and fairness of the overall reporting. The fact that EBC uses only a few relatively independent sources, such as experts and NGOs, that can help to keep the balance of the story seems to also affect the reporting process.

Concerning the theme of the story, while about 3/4<sup>th</sup> of the total drought related news stories by EBC mainly focuses on government action or policy as their main theme, 60% of the total drought related stories of BBC are about drought magnitude. The qualitative data confirm that almost all of the drought related stories by EBC involve the activities, policies and voice of the government. In the BBC, government action or policy account only for 5.9% of the total news stories. Donation is the second most presented theme by both EBC and BBC. However, it is more visible in BBC than it is in EBC. While it accounts for 12% of the total drought related news stories by EBC, it accounts for 33% of the total news stories by BBC. In EBC, the remaining 15% of the total share of drought related stories are about NGOs activities, drought magnitude, appeal and other themes. None of BBC's drought related news stories deals with appeal and NGOs activities.

EBC and BBC were also found to give different tones in framing the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought. While EBC shows positive tone towards over 3/4<sup>th</sup> of its drought related news stories, BBC gave only 11.8% of its stories a positive tone. On the other hand, while slightly over half of the total drought related news stories by BBC were found to convey a negative tone, only 4.1% of the total news stories by EBC have a negative tone towards the stories. The qualitative data from EBC support the findings of the quantitative data in that EBC gives positive tone to stories and EBC works closely with development agents, including the government, who provide the media with the activities being done and the support being provided to the victims.

## **5.2. Conclusion**

In this study, the types of frame, the sources, themes and tone of the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought related news stories were studied by considering the national media, represented by EBC, and the international media, represented by BBC. The process through which the EBC journalists go through in reporting drought was also studied. The findings reveal that:

- The Ethiopian Broadcast Corporation (EBC) is found to report drought in a systematically controlled manner. While there is no formal restriction on the journalists to report drought, the process through which they go through demands them to focus on certain aspects of drought and to disregard others. As long as drought is reported as a natural phenomenon, there is no problem to report about drought. The journalists, however, do not go to the drought affected areas independently and they seem to have no intention of exposing the weaknesses of the government or anyone involved in the management of the drought. The journalists seem to avoid giving attention to drought related deaths and the transformation of drought into poverty and starvation. The journalists justify this saying that such reports affect the morale of the public and put the legitimacy of the government in question. The journalists are given directions from the Government Communication Affairs Office, as well as by editors and higher officials in the media on how to do drought reporting. The journalists also concede with an editorial consensus that the drought has not transformed into poverty.
- EBC and BBC were found to report drought in significantly different manner in terms of the types of frame, the sources, the themes and the tone of the stories.
- Most of EBC's news stories were found to be set within prognostic and motivational frames. In EBC, prognostic frames, which are about drought related solutions and provision of support, alone account for slightly over half of the total drought related news stories. The motivational frame, which is about why it is important or not to take action against drought related problems, account for 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the total news stories. After-effect (effects of taking drought related countermeasures) and symptomatic frames account for 1/10<sup>th</sup> of the total EBC news stories. Symptomatic frames refer to stories that deal with the impact of the drought on the environment, health, food supply and agricultural products. None of the drought related news stories by EBC involves the emotions of the victims in the drought situation (empathy frame). The in-depth interviews support the findings of the quantitative data. The respondents point out that the focus of their reporting is usually to present solutions. Support provision activities and failures in relation to this are also presented. Problems forwarded by victims in drought situations are balanced by support providers, including government officials.
- Empathy and symptomatic frames take the majority of the share of the total drought related news stories by BBC, on the other hand. While 47.1% of the total share of the

BBC's drought related news stories were found to be empathy frame, 17.6% of them were found to be symptomatic. Prognostic and after-effect frames make up 1/10<sup>th</sup> of the total drought related news stories together.

- The sources used by the two media were found to be different in the two media. While the EBC drought related news stories are found to be government focused in terms of sourcing, BBC stories are found to be victim focused. Over half of the total EBC drought related news stories used the government as their major source. Victims account for 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the total drought related stories by BBC. In EBC also, 28.2% of the victims are quoted as major sources by 15.6% of the total drought related news stories. The remaining 13% is shared by the other types of sources (i.e., donors, other media, opposition political party members, experts and NGOs). In the BBC, donors were used as major sources in 30.8% of the total drought related news stories. The BBC has also used the Ethiopian government as their major sources in 17.9% of the total drought related stories each. The in-depth interviews from EBC confirm that journalists on the spot and the government are the two mostly used sources and other media are used when those media report something that can affect the image of the country and when those media report something constructive or positive in the effort of addressing the drought problem. The fact that the reporting centers around the government as a major provider of information and that it involves only a few independent voices seems to affect the balance and fairness of the reporting.
- The theme of the news stories is found to be different by the two media. While EBC mainly presents about the government policy or activities, EBC is found to have a major take on the magnitude of the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought. 3/4<sup>th</sup> of EBC drought related news stories are found to be about the activities and ideas of the government in the management of the drought. The in-depth interviews confirm this. The government activities take the lion's share in the reporting process, generally. In BBC, 3/5<sup>th</sup> of the total drought related stories are also found to be about the drought magnitude. Government action and policy accounts for only 5.9% of the total BBC news stories. Donation accounts for 33% and 12% of the total drought related news stories by BBC and EBC respectively. NGOs activities, drought magnitude, appeal and other themes take the remaining 15% share of the total EBC news stories. None of BBC's drought related news stories deal with appeal and NGOs activities. Appeal and NGOs activities are found not to be major sources of news in the BBC.

- The tone of the stories is different in the two media. While stories with positive tone accounts for 3/4<sup>th</sup> of the total share of stories by EBC, such stories account for only 11.8% of the total stories in the BBC. On the other hand, slightly over half of the total BBC news stories were found to carry a negative tone. Stories with negative tone account for only 4.1% of the total news stories by EBC.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Coding sheet for the quantitative data entry

<b>Media channel</b>		
	1. EBC	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
	2. BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)
<b>Type of frame</b>		
	Empathy	Feeling of outrages, empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion in news reports
	Diagnostic	Cause and nature of the drought situation
	Prognostic	Means of addressing or resolving the drought issue
	Symptomatic	Various ecological, health and social changes caused by the drought calamity
	Motivational	Solutions to prevent or mitigate drought
	After effect	Results of implementing climate change countermeasures
	Other	Other than the aforementioned ones
<b>Source of frame</b>		
	Government	Government offices, individuals or groups under different government managerial levels
	NGOs	Local, national or international non-profit organizations or individuals
	Opposition	Opposition political party members or leaders
	Experts	Individuals or groups of people with expertise knowledge about the issue they are used as a source for
	Victims	People who are affected directly by drought and provide first-hand information on the drought situation
	Media	News agencies, journalists or other media that are cited as source
	Donors	Individuals, groups or organizations which are affiliated with aid organizations
	Others	All other sources
<b>Theme of the story</b>		
	Government action/policy	Policy or activities of the government
	NGO activities	Support to drought victims by NGOs
	Appeal	aid request made by the government or another agent to provide long or short-term support to drought victims
	Donation	Provision of support to victims
	Drought magnitude	Extent/impact of drought on the geographical area, livelihood and cattle
	Other	All other themes
<b>Tone of the story</b>		
	Positive	Drought is presented to be better managed with improving tendency
	Negative	Drought is presented as worsening rather than improving
	Neutral	addresses the issue as it is, providing facts without added editorial commentary

## Appendix 2

### Appendix 2.1. Interview guideline (Amharic)

1. የ 2008/2009 የኢትዮጵያን ድርቅ እንዴት ዘገባችሁት?
  - 1.1. የድርቁን መረጃ ከየት ታገኛላችሁ?
  - 1.2. ድርቁን እንዴት መዘገብ እንዳለባቸው የሚገለጽ መመሪያ ካላችሁ ቢብራራ?
  - 1.3. የድርቅ ዘገባዎቻቸው በሚዲያ ለመቅረብ ምን ምን ሂደቶችን ማለፍ ይጠበቅባቸዋል?
  - 1.4. የናንት ሚዲያ ድርቁን በተመለከተ ትኩረት የሚሰጣቸው የድርቅ ዘገባዎች ምን ምን ናቸው?
  - 1.5. በ2008/09 የተከሰተው የኢትዮጵያ ድርቅ በሚዲያቸው በበቂ ሁኔታ ከማቅረብ አንጻር ምን ሰራቸው?
2. ድርቁን ከቦታው ስትዘግቡ ያለው ሁኔታ ምን ይመስላል?
  - 2.1. ድርቁ ወደተከሰተበት ቦታ ሂዳችኋል? እንዴትና መቼ ሄዳችሁ?
  - 2.2. ድርቁን በተመለከተ በመስክ ሥራ የገጠማቸውን ሁኔታ በሚዲያቸው በግለጽ ከማቅረብ አንጻር የምትጫወቱት ሚና ምን ይመስላል?
  - 2.3. ድርቁ በተከሰተባቸው አካባቢዎች እንደሌላ መረጃዎችን ከማግኘት አንጻር ያለው ሁኔታ ምን ይመስላል?
3. ድርቅን ለመዘገብ ወደ ቦታው መቼ ትሄዳላችሁ? መቼ ስትመጣላችሁ?

### Appendix 2.2. Interview guideline (Translation)

1. How did you report the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought?
  - 1.1. Where do you find information about the drought?
  - 1.2. How do you explain the written or unwritten editorial rules of EBC in reporting drought?
  - 1.3. What processes has a drought report pass in order to get aired via your media?
  - 1.4. What aspects of the drought does your media give priority regarding the Ethiopian drought?
  - 1.5. What roles did your media play in terms of presenting the 2015/16 Ethiopian drought sufficiently?

2. How is the situation of the drought reporting when you from the spot?
  - 2.1. Have you visited drought-stricken areas? How? and when?
  - 2.2. How open and direct is your media to let you entertain what you personally encountered in the due course of reporting the drought?
  - 2.3. How sufficient are sources in the spots where you report the drought from?
3. At what stage of a drought situation do you go to the drought-stricken areas?  
And how long do you stay in those areas for reporting purposes?

### Appendix 3

#### Independent sample T-test results

##### Appendix 3.1. Independent sample T-test results of the type of frame by the two media channels.

Group Statistics

	Media channel	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Type of frame	EBC	278	3,86	1,120	,083
	BBC	39	2,53	1,772	,430

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Type of frame	Equal variances assumed	20,190	,000	4,440	199	,000	1,335	,301	,742	1,927
	Equal variances not assumed			3,050	17,201	,007	1,335	,438	,412	2,257

##### Appendix 3.2. Independent sample T-test results of source by the two media channels.

Group Statistics

	Media channel	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Source	EBC	184	2,20	2,009	,148
	BBC	17	5,65	1,730	,420

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Source	Equal variances assumed	1,970	,162	6,847	199	,000	-3,451	,504	2,457	4,445
	Equal variances not assumed			7,757	20,210	,000	-3,451	,445	2,524	4,379

**Appendix 3.3. Independent sample T-test results of the theme of the story by the two media channels.**

Group Statistics					
	Media channel	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Theme of the story	EBC	184	1,83	1,522	,112
	BBC	17	4,41	1,004	,243

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Theme of the story	Equal variances assumed	4,857	,029	6,846	199	,000	2,580	,377	1,837	3,323
	Equal variances not assumed			9,627	23,426	,000	2,580	,268	2,026	3,134

**Appendix 3.4. Independent sample T-test results of the tone of the story by the two media channels.**

Group Statistics					
	Media channel	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Tone of the story	EBC	184	1,38	,759	,056
	BBC	17	2,24	,664	,161

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Tone of the story	Equal variances assumed	,268	,605	-4,487	199	,000	-,855	,191	,479	1,231
	Equal variances not assumed			-5,013	20,066	,000	-,855	,171	,499	1,211