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**A Study on News Framing of the Current Ethiopian Political Reform:
Ethiopian Television (ETV) in Focus**

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Declaration

I, **Hunachew Taye Yigzaw**, hereby declare that this thesis which is entitled “**A Study on News Framing of the Current Ethiopian Political Reform: Ethiopian Television (ETV) in Focus**” is my original work, and has not been submitted for any degree in any other university or institution; and that all sources of material used for the thesis have duly been acknowledged.

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February 2021

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Abstract

The news framing in the current political reform in Ethiopia was one of the most critical issues that attracted the international and local media outlets. The main objective of the present study was, therefore, to analyze the political news articles on the current political reforms in Ethiopia. The research design employed mixed methods to undertake the analysis of primary and secondary data collected from ETV news. A purposive sampling technique was employed to collect news covering the reform period from 02 March 2018 to 02 March 2019 on the political reforms in Ethiopia. Hence, 75 political news were selected for analysis. Content analysis and in-depth interviews were utilized to collect and analyze data. Among the major findings of the study are: political reform theme being the most dominant followed by peace and stability theme, and political reform frame and peace frame being the most dominant frames of the ETV news. The study also indicated that the main ETV news sources were government officials and organizations, which accounted for about 83% of the news articles. The study concluded that ETV's current political reform news theme and frames reflected mainly the interest of government officials and organizations. Therefore, the study recommends that much has to be done to include in the theme and frames of the political reform news to reflect the voices of the public, politicians, intellectuals, and civic societies.

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List of Acronyms

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
E.C	Ethiopian Calendar
EBC	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples` Revolutionary Democratic (EPRDF)
ETV	Ethiopian Television
FBC	Fana Broadcasting Corporate
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
G.C	Gregorian calendar
HPR	House of Peoples` Representatives
NEBE	National Electoral Board of Ethiopia
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background of the study, statement of the problem, objective of the study, basic research questions, scope of the study, significance of the study, limitation of the study and organization of the study.

1.1. Background of the Study

Television service was first introduced to Ethiopia during the 25th anniversary of Emperor Haile Selassie I exhibition in 1948. The exhibition was organized to show the remarkable achievements of the Monarchical regime after Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) then addressed the audience at the exhibition (EBC, 2019). However, it was on the 2nd of November 1964 that the television service was officially inaugurated by Emperor Haile Selassie with the presence of the high-ranking government dignitaries and guests, which became operational during the king's coronation ceremony (Birhanu, 2009).

Ethiopian Television (ETV) is one of the main government-owned media that currently transmits various programs. Notwithstanding all elements of entertainment, ETV has been a socio-economic and political medium with various programs produced in different native and international languages for the last 55 years. Currently, EBC is increasing its media coverage using national and international languages with digital technologies (EBC, 2019).

Recently, Ethiopia had undergone political reforms since Apr 2018 when Dr. Abiy Ahmed was appointed as a new Prime Minister of Ethiopia following the resignation of the previous Prime Minister Haile Mariam Desalegn. The political reforms undertaken within the country attracted the international as well as the local media outlets that were actively taking part in reportage the political reforms starting from the release of political prisoners up to the peace deal with the neighboring State of Eritrea after twenty years stalemate because of the Ethio-Eritrean border conflict (1998-1999). EBC, as one of the state media, in its turn was also reporting the political reforms conducted within the last one-year and a half in Ethiopia, more specifically the reforms

done by the new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. Studying the nature of framing used in the political news during the recent reform agenda would enable us to evaluate political news broadcast to the target audience.

Meron(2016) explained, citing Tamre (2007), that since the commencement, the state-owned media, including ETV, despite changes of regimes, were propaganda machines of government agenda. News, informative, and entertainment programs heralded to target audiences were strictly censored and molded to satisfy the political interests of the respective governments. This has a direct influence on the framing of political news and other programs in favor of the government actors (Birhanu, 2009).

London (1993) argued that in reporting news together with politics, framing might be a central point that organizes relevant events and suggests what an issue is. Iyengar (1991) raised the problem that understanding and using the pertinent sorts of political news framing would forestall the public from confusion, and establish the real causes and solutions to central political problems. If the media do not consider political news transmission without distortion, public confidence in media coverage is weakened.

The knowledge of framing is undeniably crucial for several sectors. Particularly as media remained to be a vital tool to create intact democracy, media researchers notice framing theory useful to research the imbalances and underlying power structures that mediate political issues (Volkmer, 2009). Framing could be a central concept in political communication and a strong political tool. Understanding what frames are used to define specific issues and what general patterns are proved by the evolution of frames over time is vastly vital (Boydston, *et al*, 20 15).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

It is now almost one year and a half since Dr. Abiy Ahmed assumed political power in April 2018 as Prime Minister of Ethiopia after the former Prime Minister Haile Mariam Dessalegn had resigned his post. Since then, the new Premier has introduced political reforms in the country. However, there were various claims about the media coverage of the current political reforms in Ethiopia. The domestic media, the diaspora media, and other international media outlets have been reporting the reforms in their own perspectives. This takes us to the issue of political news framing and its influences on the target audience. The media play a major role in shaping public opinions by framing the events and issues in particular ways. Framing of reports directly affects

the target audience's understanding, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events. The way media frame issues and events, therefore, alter the attitudes of societies and contribute to the development of "social level processes like political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions" (de Vreese, 2005). This becomes prevalent when external forces including political parties sponsor the frames. In the world of politics, framing news in favor of political parties or groups is designed to gain popular support for their policies they attempt to implement upon assuming political powers (Slothuus and de Vreese, 2009). Ashenafi (2012) by citing Parks (2000) also indicated that frames shape the attitude of the public, if exposed to them, which leads to the development of behavior that persists over time.

As Ethiopia is one of the developing countries in Africa, the roles of media outlets are immense and are expected to contribute their part in improving the livelihood of millions of citizens living in poverty. Media outlets are powerful in educating, entertaining, and dissemination of issues and events, as well as raising awareness in the political discourse of having national and international importance. They should also stand to ensure human and democratic rights, and reveal out some critical issues such as abuses and bad governance orchestrators to bring them into justice and ensure the rule of law in the country. ETV as a medium contributed its role in the socio-economic development endeavor of the country. However, as it is a state-owned medium, the political news framing was designed for many years in favor of the government's political preferences and ideologies (Birhanu, 2009).

The media outlets have little knowledge and understanding of how the frames play a pivotal role in influencing the public (Slothuus and de Vreese, 2009). This is evident in ETV where I am now working for, while reporting the political reforms that occurred in Ethiopia as of April 2018 under the leadership of the new Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed. Nevertheless, Luther and Miller (2005) argued that journalists working in the mass media attempt to present news in objective ways. Investigating this political reform news in ETV in terms of framing and framing analysis would play a major role in understanding how the medium narrates and represents events of national and international importance, and influences the general public.

There are a handful of studies conducted in the framing of news and programs in Ethiopia. However, these studies are not free of limitations. One of the limitations of Ashenafi's research (2012) is that the study did not indicate the political news framing coined by electronic media. His research work is limited to print Media news framing in the 2010 parliamentary election.

Meron (2016) attempted to explore the framing of a traffic accident in state media by taking the case of the EBC Guzo Program and Addis Zemen Newspapers that are far away from the general framework of political news framing. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) also conducted a comparative study in framing European politics. The study, however, does not reflect the contemporary socio-political dynamics and political news framing in the developing countries including Ethiopia. In other words, the context of Europe and the developing world is quite different. Furthermore, Gronemeyer Porath (2017) conducted political news farming giving more emphasis on conflict framing in Chilean Press that excluded the political news framing in television and other electronic media.

Assessing ETV political news framing, its major thematic areas, and main sources in the current political reform from 02 March 2018 up to 02 March 2019 in Ethiopia would, therefore, have a paramount significance to understand political news framing in ETV in particular and other media broadcasting in general. It could also serve as an input for further research. This is, therefore, the main reason that initiated this study, which focused on assessing political news farming such as conflict frames; economic consequences frames; human interest frames; responsibility frames; morality frames; diagnostic frames; prognostic and motivational frames while reporting the current political reform news by taking the case of ETV as one of the mediums of the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC).

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The general objective of this research is to analyze the political news framing on the current political reforms in Ethiopian Television.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study, among others, are to:

- identify the major themes of the Ethiopian Television used on the current political reform news;
- examine the political news frame that Ethiopian Television used in the current political reforms; and
- assess the dominant news sources that Ethiopian Television used while reporting the current political reform news.

1.4. Basic Research Questions

The study attempted to answer the following questions:

- What are the major themes of the political news in the current political reform?
- How do the frames of the news look like in Ethiopian Television while reporting the current political reform?
- What are the dominant political news sources the Ethiopian Television used while reporting the current political reform?

1.5. Scope of the Study

ETV is one of the state-owned media, which gave relatively wider coverage in reporting current political reform from 02 March 2018 up to 02 March 2019. Another reason for the focus of the study on ETV and ignore other media outlets was that ETV had better archival resources that could be easily accessed as compared to other media outlets. It was also a convenient media house for the researcher to save the limited cost, time, and energy. The study was, thus, limited to screening out political reform news broadcasted via ETV from 02 March 2018 up to 02 March 2019 during the newly elected PM, Dr. Abiy Ahmed.

1.6. Significance of the Study

The study attempted to explore how ETV framed the current political reform news under the leadership of the new Ethiopian Prime Minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed. It is expected to benefit media houses, media managers, practitioners, journalists, and stakeholders in understanding how ETV, framed the current political reform news, and then take necessary measures ahead of time. The study would also motivate scholars for further researches in the area.

1.7. Limitation of the Study

The study was limited to investigating the political reform news that ETV reported in the first year from 02 March 2018 up to 02 March 2019 under the leadership under the new Premier, Dr. Abiy Ahmed. If the study had included other media outlets, it would have given a wider understanding of the subject considered under the study. Furthermore, Focus Group Discussions were not held due to the spread of COVID- 19 and the resulting lockdown. However, the researcher attempted to address the limitations by conducting in-depth interviews with ETV political news editors, producers, and reporters.

1.8. Organization of the Study

The rest of the chapter is organized as follows: The second chapter focuses on the literature review that consists of an overview of the Ethiopian media landscape media and politics, framing theory, the role of media in framing political news, media versus journalistic framing, factors affecting media frames, and lessons learned from the literature review. The third chapter deals with research methodology which contains research design and method, sampling technique and procedures, methods of data collection, organization and analysis, content analysis, and in-depth interviews. The fourth chapter looks at data presentation and analysis of the study. The final chapter is about conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter describes concept and definition of political news; media and politics; framing theory; role of media in framing political news; media versus journalistic framing; factors affecting media frames; and an overview of the Ethiopian media landscape comprehensively.

2.1. Concept and Definition of Political News

Political news covers all aspects of news that directly or indirectly affects the livelihood of the politicians, citizens, communities, the power of government and its dignitaries, and the civil governmental bodies. Political news, thus, provides facts, perspectives, and viewpoints as per the interests of the media outlets. Political news could be reached to the public using various media outlets. The political actors in the political news making are increasingly shaped by the mass media, either to make it sensational or predictable. In other words, political news could be produced and reported to the audience in the form of constructive or destructive ways for developments and provoking conflicts (K. Brants *et al*, 2011).

2.2. Media and Politics

Media and politics are inseparable components. Consequently, Cook (1998) outlined the media as “a political establishment that plays a very important role in politics in conjunction with several other institutions. Media favors additional sources regarding politicians and political parties more in policymaking and governance of the country that directly involve public interest.” Political processes and outcomes would be informed to the general public via mass media. The voters and the competitive political parties therefore taking part in the election would publicize the election process is democratic and the election outcomes are free and fair. This can be specifically crucial in countries that do not develop democracy. The strict relationship between media and politics is additionally explained by Ha (2003) stating: “Without news media, both the voters and political actors cannot even imagine process participate in and maintain the democratic method.”

The literature on the relationship between media effects and political participation varies significantly, however. According to Entman (1993), media use is positively associated with higher levels of political knowledge and participation (Peer, *et al*, 2003). Similarly, Norris (2000) argued that there is no conclusive proof of a negative relationship between media use and political participation aside from the clear causative link between them. On the contrary, she finds proof to support her theory that active and concerned individuals to the news media are additional to be affected by the media than others (Peer, *et al*, 2003). Iyengar (2005) also noted that strategic political communication is important to election outcomes.

In media politics, there are three principal actors: politicians, journalists, citizens, and these actors have different goals. For politicians, the goal of media politics is to use mass communication to mobilize the general public support they have to win elections and to urge their programs enacted while in office. For journalists, the goal of media politics is to supply stories that attract huge audiences, which emphasize the "Independent and vital Voice of journalists." For voters, the goal is to watch politics and hold politicians responsible support with minimal efforts. Different media are alleged of operating in favor of certain political parties or people. Since journalists are human beings, they will have interests and, hence, may favor that they think would advance their interests. Semetko (2008) argued that journalists might face numerous problems to be lined at the same time so that two or three contenders will be selected for coverage, which is assumed prestigious to the public.

2.3. Framing Theory

2.3.1. What is framing?

The idea of Framing goes back to a social scientist Erving Goffman (1974) who defined it as a "principle of organization that governs events...and our subjective involvement in them." Framing is regarding mental codes of experience about a selected organized mode of cognitive perception and response to complex situations. Frames denote clusters of ideas that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify, and label experiences.

Similarly, Lippmann (1922) who was considered as the initiator of framing theory defined frames by what appears, underestimation of the public's capacity to comprehend situations. Lippman asserts that the mass media helped the general public sense the globe. Lippman wrote that mass media facilitate the general public shaping the images in their minds. This assertion

raises questions associated with audience autonomy. One cannot jeopardize audience independence despite the influence of the frames.

Out of the intellectual disagreement toward what framing suggests that two approaches have emerged in shaping framing. Gamson and Modigliani (1987) conceptualized framing in general terms “central organizing idea or storyline that gives meaning to an unfolding strip of events.” This perspective considers the generalization of events through news or other media texts and this generalization change into perception. Meanwhile, the central idea approach has acknowledged being incapable of providing a sufficient foundation for consistent measurement and theory. The second approach centered on the overall result of frames (Entman *et al.* 2009). According to this perspective, framing involves saliency and selection and by doing therefore, frames define issues, create an ethical judgment, diagnose problems and suggest remedies. He further explains a single text frame might serve quite these four functions, on contrary text might perform none. According to the second version of frames definition, frames are not a straightforward set of text too; rather it is a value-laden process to promote a particular kind of interpretation.

Quoting Graber (1988), Entman (1993) says frames are close to ideas like categories, scripts, or stereotypes that imply mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ information processing. This cognitive-inclined definition sees frames as an illumination of the precise means within which influence over human consciousness is exerted by the transfer of information.

Noriss's (1995) frames reinforce already existing social and universal understanding to define the new event. Therefore, new developments are going to be understood among the present social understanding framework. As a result, frames cannot be delineated as individual schema, however as collectively shared patterns. This interpretation approach might be applicable or not. Norris places it as follows:

“News frames bundle key concepts, stock phrases, and stereotypical images to reinforce certain common ways of interpreting developments. The essence of framing is selection to prioritize some facts, event or development over others, thereby promoting particular interpretation... New developments are understood within regular patterns. Frames represent stereotypes, which slot a particular event in broader interpretative categories.”

Expounding Norris's idea, Rees (2001) argued that framing is that the "basic conceptual and ideological framework through that events are presented" as a result they are going to set one dominant/primary meaning instead of another.

2.3.2. Types of Frames

Dimitrova (2006) identified two types of media frames based on Scheufele's research work. These media frames are **Issue-specific and Generic frames**:

2.3.2.1. Issue-specific frames

These media frames are concerned with specific issues or events happened in particular areas. One of the benefits of these frames is that they play a pivotal role in the investigation of the framing of events in great specificity and detail. Dimitrova confirmed that the issue-specific frames were used in the investigation of the Gulf War and earlier conflicts. Dimitrova indicated the U.S September 9,/11 attack news coverage analysis done in 2003 by Xigen Li and Ralph Izard, that the political and human interest frames were also more frequently employed in print than television coverage.

Iyengar (1991) found that daily news coverage in the USA on social-related issues was dominated by an episodic interpretation in which news depicts social issues as limited to events only. In the same publication, Iyengar noted news organizations reinforce episodic frames, as it simplifies complex issues. However, the difficulty to generalize, compare and use empirical evidence to construct theory, are the defects of the issue-specific analyses, as it focuses too much on details. (Bennett, 2001).

2.3.2.2. Generic Frames

Unlike issue-specific frames, generic frames outshine thematic limitations. Iyengar (1991) in his experiment identified two prime examples of generic frames: **episodic versus thematic frames**.

Episodic news frames refer to the portrayal and presentation of issues through either a specific event that serves as a representative anecdote of the broader issue or the life story of a person who could put a face on the issue (Iyengar, 1991). These frames are much more suitable for isolated news events, focusing on discrete cases or episodes (Dimitrova, 2006).

While episodic framing may achieve some exemplification effects in reaching news audiences, it may also have unintended consequences that potentially hinder issue understanding and responsibility attributions (Major, 2009). In particular, an overemphasis on anecdotal events and personal stories may condition the public to "describe chronic problems such as poverty and crime not in terms of deep-seated social or economic conditions, but as mere idiosyncratic outcomes," causing news audiences to hold individuals responsible for causing and fixing social problems (Iyengar, 1991).

Episodic framing can divert public attention away from systemic flaws in political, social, and economic environments, and downplay the importance of society-level remedies such as policy changes, regulatory efforts, and correction of social inequalities and injustices (Kim *et al.*, 2010).

While the thematic news frames refer to the portrayal and presentation of issues through information about their systemic causes, trends, and consequences (Iyengar, 1991). In covering public health problems, thematic framing often includes expert analyses of contextual conditions, systematic evidence of widespread outcomes, statistical trends of morbidity and mortality, reports on research in disease prevention, intervention and treatment, discussion of risk factors and their social indicators, and presentation of community-level and policy-based remedies (Kim and Willis, 2007; Lawrence, 2004). Thematic frames provide a broader societal context to issues and events. Thematic frames attribute more to look for solutions for governmental policies and other factors than focusing on events affect individuals (London,1993).

It provides background on the causes for actions or events as the result of which the thematic frames are rarely found in the breaking news coverage (Dimitrova, 2006).

Research has shown that thematic framing can influence people's thoughts and feelings about social problems. Health advocates believe that by providing adequate background information, contextual conditions and widespread consequences, thematic framing has the potential to improve public understanding of systemic (versus isolated) risk factors, encourage public support for collective (versus individual-level) solutions, as well as alleviate stigmas that are usually caused by and associated with blaming and demonizing individual sufferers(Iyengar, 1991). Iyengar stated that explanations of issues depend on the reference points furnished in media presentations. However, seminal work on individual differences has shown that some people are

more inclined to perform dispositional attributions, whereas other people tend to prefer external attributions (Kelley & Michela, 1980).

While studying the framing of European politics Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) suggested the following five generic framings: Furthermore, there are three frames, which are designed by Benford and Snow (1988). Those are prognostic, diagnostic, and motivational frames.

Conflict frame: This frame emphasizes the conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest. It's a practice of reporting stories of clashing interpretation and it was found to fit well with news media's 'game.'

Economic Consequence Frame: This frame depicts the possible economic outcome of a specific event, issue, or problem. The wide impact of an event is an important news value, and economic consequences are often considerable (Graber, 1993). Lechler and de Vreese (2012) in their study of 'News Framing and Public Opinion' noted that reference to economic consequence is a relevant opinion formation aspect since it affects the majority of the public.

To expand the research on generic news frames to a cross-nationally comparative setting, the use of the conflict and economic consequences frames in television news in Britain, Denmark, and the Netherlands were investigated. The extent to which news was framed in terms of conflict and economic consequences was investigated during the first-step introduction of the euro in January 1999 and during a routine period. The investigation of the relative emphasis on the conflict and economic consequences frames in the news showed that conflict was more prominent than economic consequences in political/ economic news stories in all three countries. When looking at stories about the introduction of the euro, the opposite pattern emerges: conflict was less important than economic consequences in these stories (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

Human-interest Frame: this frame brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem. Neuman *et al* (1992) identified the responsibility frame as a commonly employed frame next to the conflict frame. Such prevalence is the result of intense competition in the media industry and they are highly engaged in personalizing, dramatizing or "emotionalizing" the news, to retain audience interest. Neuman *et al* (1992) described it as a "human impact frame."

Responsibility Frame: presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group. This is a typical frame that elites use to influence public opinion or understanding. Iyengar (1987) argued that television news coverage disguised the public by framing social problems or issues in terms of individual instance or event (episodically) rather than larger social context (thematically). This approach leads the public to offer an individual-level explanation for the broader social problem. Therefore, a poor woman deepened on welfare held responsible for her fate, rather than government failure or its system.

Morality Frame: it is a type of frame that puts events, issues or problems in religious views or moral prescriptions. Journalists refer to moral frames out Professional courtesy which is objectivity, through quotation or inferences. According to Neuman *et al* (1992), this frame is common in the minds of the audience than in the news content.

The moral values frame referred to the often indirect reference to morality and social prescriptions. This inclusion of certain quotations or inferences could be an example. The conflict frame referred to the journalistic practice of reporting stories of clashing interpretation and it was found to fit well with news media's 'game interpretation of the political world as an ongoing series of contests, each with a new set of winners and losers'. These frames were found concerning different issues which suggest that the frames are more generally applicable than issue specific news frames. (Neuman *et, al*, 1992).

Diagnostic Frame: the diagnostic frame identifies the causes or reasons that create the problem. Hence, this frame provides background on the causes of actions or events (Dimitrova, 2006).

Prognostic Frame: these frames focus on possible solutions, thus offer, justify treatments for the problems, and predict the likely effects that are associated with the issue. Thus, it discusses the consequences of actions or events and specifies what needs to be done (Sheufele, 1999).

Motivational frame: provides a "call to alarms" to engage an ameliorative collective action. This frame is known as "agency component of the collective action frame (Johnston & H, K 1995).

Framing researchers also reflect on how to identify frames in a certain news text. Therefore, some scholars argue that frames could be identified as the framing devices employed and these devices are different from the actual news story. For instance, Entman (1993) suggested that frames in the news can be examined and identified by "the presence or absence of certain

keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.” Gamson and Modigliani (1989) maintained that the frames or “condensing symbols” of news packages as a whole with a deft metaphor, catchphrase, portrayal, or other symbolic devices.”

2.4. Media versus Journalistic Framing

Media has become a powerful framing institution in the modern world. Back in 1920, Lippmann asserts the world is too complex for the public unless the media simplify it using framing.

Media framing is the process by which an issue is portrayed in the news media. Media frames also provide a prescription around a news story and draw lines between what is not newsworthy or notable. So, journalists rely on media frames to decide what to include in a story and what to leave out, a process that may be conscious, instinctive or culture-bound. Media frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring others.

Framing scholars argue that journalists prefer information that is consistent with their journalistic frames (Scheufele, 2006). In times of routine coverage, journalistic frames are applied to incoming information. Consequently, frame-consistent information is more likely to be used for the construction of a news report than inconsistent information. However, key events can shift existing journalistic frames and even replace these frames.

2.5. The Role of Media in Framing Political News

The presence of frames in political news is very important. Majid and Ramaprasad (1998) discussed that, as an institution engaged in framing social and political issues, the news media can significantly affect the success and failure of a social movement. A certain social movement that demands some kind of transformation always accompanies media to communicate its message to the wider public.

Incognizant of the power of media frames, politicians exploit it to strategically shape public discourse or opinion in favor of their advantage Entman *et al* (2009). While assessing how the U.S media frame the shooting down of the Iranian plane by the U.S. in 1983 and Korean air by Russia in 1988, Entman (1991) has clearly shown how the media framed the incidents in favor of the elites. By deemphasizing the agency and the victims the media framed the U. S’s act of

downing Iranian air as a technical problem. While a similar act of Russia on Korean air depicted as moral outrage.

News frames play a paramount role in the exertion of power in the political arena and social movement theorists understand news frames as a strategy to mobilize the public. In this context frames defined as “action-oriented sets of belief and meaning that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization” (Benford and Snow, 2000). Snow and Benford (1991) further argued that effective frames must depict the cause of a problem, suggest a possible solution and inspire action. Therefore, by magnifying certain aspects of a specific issue, while obscuring other aspects the elites probably impose certain kinds of opinion through news frames-dominant frames. The case of the US’s policy toward Iraq during Iraq-Kuwait disagreement is an ideal example to shade light on how dominant elite frames operate. According to Entmann (1993), there was an implicit consensus among elites not to present, negotiation as a remedy to address the problem between the two nations. While the media came up with two remedies, ‘war now or sanction now’. Beyond obviously reinforcing the elites' frame, the media ruptured the basic logic of acceptable discourse.

Quoting Stuart Hall, Griffin (2012) further explained that:

...the mass media maintain the dominance of those already in positions of power. Broadcast and print outlets serve the Warren Buffet's, Michael Bloomberg's, and Bill Gates's of this world. Conversely, the media exploit the poor and powerless.

This indicates that apart from the normal set of media frames, the media houses could serve as a platform to disseminate dominant frames of the elites. Herman & Chomsky (1988) noted that the media behave in that way when they integrate into the dominant political economy. Hence, the media engaged in reinforcing the advantages of the elites, through the frames in their content.

2.6. Factors affecting Media Frames

Media framing of a certain issue can be affected by different factors. Scheufule (1999) states five factors that potentially affect the way journalists frame a certain aspect of an issue or a story. These are 'social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressure from interest groups, and sources, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists' according to Scheufule (1999). Hence, it can be said the factors may arise from internal and external. While the social norms and values, pressure from interest groups and sources are the external factors, organizational pressures and constraints, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists are internal factors. These pressures can sometimes lead to bias or unethical reporting.

Therefore, some argue the way journalists gather information and select sources, the journalist's political beliefs, and the continuing deadlines determine how the event is framed. Hence, while reporters assert that they strive to report the news as free from biases as is humanly possible, their values and ideology may sometimes influence their framing judgments according to Callaghan *et al* (2001).

On the other hand, some argue that it is much more likely that professional and organizational norms dominate any political bias in coverage decisions. In this respect, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) suggest that, in most cases, the power of organizational routines to influence media content is inherently greater than the power of individuals to influence media content.

The researchers also believe that external factors partly affect journalistic autonomy and journalists' interpretations. Hence, beyond the social factors that can affect media framing, governments can also affect news frames when they directly or indirectly own or control the media or when the media news frame relies on the governments' frame.

Generally, due to the above-mentioned constraints within the media organization and outside the media, the media news framing might be affected. Thus, the practical constraints of the newsgathering process, the collective norms of the newsroom and manipulation by external pressure groups all affect media framing.

2.7. An Overview of the Ethiopian Media Landscape

The Ethiopian mass media has remained a watchdog of the government for the last five decades and a half. Throughout Emperor Haile Selassie I, it had been solely mouthpiece and percussionist of the imperial immunity of the social system and was utterly under the direct management of the Monarchical System whose ultimate objective was to ensure and sustain stable government (Ethiopia Mass Media, 2006).

Similarly, all the mass media were expurgated and controlled by the Dergue regime. According to Ashenafi (2012), the most purpose of the mass media at that period was to mobilize the society to strengthen unity, and signify the unity of the country under the umbrella of socialism. It was confirmed that in the past especially journalists' initiative, freedom, and freewriting were not allowed in addition to showing very little respect for the profession and low interest in technical excellence (Ethiopian Mass Media, 2006). Another researcher Skjerdal (2011) maintained that Ethiopian mass media denied journalists' initiative, freedom of expression and free writing. However, the incumbent government constitutionalized free and open media climate in the 1995 FDRE Constitution. Thus, the mass media were liberated to establish private print publications, though this excluded radio and TV. Accordingly, Article 29(3) of the FDRE Constitution assured press freedom as shown below:

“Freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of artistic creativity is guaranteed. Freedom of the press shall specifically include the following elements: a) Prohibition of any form of censorship; b) Access to information of public interest.”

However, it became a usual phenomenon to ascertain government interference in privately owned media outlets, particularly in elections (Skjerdal and Hallelujah, 2009). The government-owned media outlets comprising of Ethiopian Television and National Radio and FM Addis 97.1 were giving wider coverage in the country (Skjerdal, 2011). However, the distribution of newspapers was limited to the most important cities that are indeed a way of information principally for elites.

Skjerdal (2011) stated explicitly the government introduced a developmental journalism policy so that mass media to play an active role in advocating principally the country's development. However, some argued it remains contentious to assign the media such a task because the policy affects the media and press freedom. The private media house owners and opposition politicians

criticize the media policy for not granting democracy and human rights, which are highlighted as major issues within the country about what the media role ought to be. Some researchers argued that the Ethiopian media these days is characterized as a polarized variety of media showing that the government media for their restrictive news content and irresponsible coverage. On the contrary, the private media blame the government for their strict intimidation over the private press and press freedom in general (Skjerdal, 2011).

Generally, the government-owned media have remained the mouthpieces of the government for more than half a century and are continuing as main advocators of government agendas whereas the private media, though little in numbers and strictly controlled by the government, have centered on critics of government policies, violation of human and democratic rights of the public (Birhanu, 2009). What is more, the history of mass media in Ethiopia shows that journalists were directed by the requirements and interests of successive governments and imposed their ideologies on them (Asehanfi, 2012).

2.8. Lessons learnt from the Literature Review

The literature reviewed so far has shown that news frame is fundamentally useful in media outlets. As news frame can influence the public's thoughts and feelings; it requires the art of careful design to reflect what is the reality on the ground. News framing requires balancing not to understate or exaggerate events or causes covered. In political news framing, more specifically, frames are used as strategic tools to mobilize the public to their targeted goals. News framing is profoundly dependent on journalists' level of awareness and understanding of the episodes, the culture of the society in which they grew up, social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressure from interest groups, and sources, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations are a few among others. The news frame in general, the political news frame, in particular, is to impart information to the public and the target audience. It has the power of influencing the thoughts and feelings of the target audience that persist over time.

It further provided the researcher invaluable inputs, knowledge, and skills on data collections, categories, organizations and interpretations of the political news' themes/ frames that ETV broadcasted from 02 March 2018 up to 02 March 2019 (Megabit 24/2010-Megabit 24/2011 E.C) Since the new Prime Minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed, assumed political power on 2 April 2018.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides the overall methods and procedures used for conducting this research project. Accordingly, the research methodology contains the research design; sampling techniques and procedures; methods of data collection and analysis; content analysis; in-depth interviews and data analysis procedure.

3.1. Research Design

To conduct the study, it was essential to collect all the necessary data and then undertook the analysis using the scientifically valid methodology. The study, therefore, employed both quantitative and qualitative methods to undertake the analysis as was confirmed by Wimmer and Dominick (2011). For the qualitative analysis, in-depth interviews were held with ETV editors, producers and reporters of political news to understand a phenomenon instead of predicting or explaining it (Bhatacherjee, 2012). It facilitated the researcher to interpret and understand the complicated reality of a given matter's data implications of qualitative knowledge (Mack, 2005). For the quantitative analysis on quantifying the types of frames, themes and the dominant sources of political news used in the current political reforms in Ethiopia. , which was found useful in how often the given variable is present to communicate this amount (Wimmer and Dominick (2011).

3.2. Sampling Techniques and Procedures

In this study, primary and secondary data were used for analysis. The Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with seven key informants who were actively participating in political news` production, editing, and reporting. The interviews were purposively selected based on their managerial positions and professional duties given in the current affairs news desk of the ETV. The secondary data were collected from books, journals, magazines, newspapers, and scholarly written works of literature.

The researcher also purposively selected the reform period from 02 March 2018 up to 02 March 2019 (Megabit 24/2010-Megabit 24/2011 E.C) as well as the 75 political news (31.25 % of the political news transmitted at the night primetime) within the indicated period for analysis. This was the period on which the new Prime Minister assumed political power and subsequently, reshuffling of cabinets, the release of political prisoners, negotiation with political factions within the country, the return of exiled political parties to home, etc took place. The selection of the political reform year and the news articles was done as per the interest of the researcher, which is acceptable from researchers` point of view (Black, 2010).

3.3. Method of Data Collection and Analysis

About 75 Political reform news broadcasted via ETV during the reform period were screened out from the ETV archive, and in-depth interviews were held with seven ETV editors and reporters for content analysis.

Content analysis is referred to as the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics. It includes the careful examination of human interactions; the analysis of character portrayals in TV commercials, films, and novels; the computer-driven investigation of the word, used in news releases and political speeches; and so much more (Neuendorf, 2002). In his turn, Cole (1988) marked that content analysis is a “method of analyzing written, verbal, or visual communication messages. Content analysis was thus used to the contexts, meanings, subtexts, intentions contained in the political reform news. It is subjective for it depends on the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). We can say content analysis is a message and analyze its meaning. For instance; if a researcher wishes to study whether the Ethiopian Herald promotes peace, one can draw the sample from some important Ethiopian Herald newspapers and analyze the content selected from the newspapers, which is considered as a reliable scientific method (Neuendorf, 2002).

3.4. Content Analysis

3.4.1. Coding protocols

A. Coders

Two coders who got their masters degree in the field of journalism and communication were selected for pilot coding. The researcher gave them orientation regarding the objective of pilot coding of the data readily available for them. The selection of the professionals was made based on their experience in data collection, categorization, and organization, coding, operating, and handling the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) analysis software.

B. Coding

Content analysis is mainly dependent on the coding of both quantitative and qualitative data to develop it into meaningful categories for analysis and interpretation (Erik Blair, 2015). In this case, coding sheet is fundamental to categorize political news into its framing types, major themes, and sources of the political news to analyze them quantitatively, which were presented in the form of frequency tables. Word counting was done to determine dominant news frame used. Researches indicate that there are two coding approaches: Emergent and Priori (Blair, 2015). However, emergent coding was best suited for this study for it gives room to draw codes from the selected political news and in-depth interviews. Furthermore, the coding method is indicated in the works of Wimmer and Dominick (2011). A detailed number of themes and frames were designed and refined through time. The categories were developed after an exhaustive review of the news items with an employment of the emergent coding techniques over one month and two weeks. To ensure an effective coding process and efficient reliability, the news categories were defined as follows:

- Theme categories: the news selected for the analysis mainly contain the following issues: The assignment of the new Prime Minister; the reshuffling of cabinets; political reforms; economic and institutional reforms, a peace deal with Eritrea; release of political prisoners; strengthening economic cooperation and bilateral relations with neighboring countries and beyond; peaceful demonstration in support of the new Prime Minister and the subsequent reforms he took; the call of the new Prime Minister to opposition parties and armed

intransigents to give up their armed struggle and look for peaceful solutions regarding the political fate of the country through fair, free and periodic elections and promoting alternative economic policies and strategies;

- Frame categories: include political reform frame as change of ideology, policies as well as the release of political prisoners; reform frame made on government institutions, judicial organs, democratic and human institutions such as Office of Human Rights and Office of the Ombudsman, the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia.; peace reform -peace deals conducted between (among) governmental bodies and opposition parties, dissidents, normalizing bilateral relationship with neighboring Eritrea; ethnic-conflict frame if conflict exists between ethnic groups, and injuries, death etc.; conflict frame if the news reflects disagreement between parties, individuals, groups, or countries other than the ethnic-conflicts; economic cooperation frame if the news deals with bilateral or multilateral economic cooperation with countries, organizations; attribution of responsibility frame which suggests solutions that should be taken at the government levels, groups, individuals, or organizations to alleviate problems related to peace and stability at community, regional and national level; other frame if none of the above frames is not mentioned;
- Complex categories- if the news composed of more than one frame (theme). If the news is not purely one of the above-stated frames or if it is the combination of two or more frames. For instance, in this study, the researcher came across the news which combined the political, attribution of responsibility, and peace frame together. The percentage share of the word counting in this fame showed that the political frame had a share of 60 percent, and the attribution of responsibility and peace frames took 22 and 18 percent respectively. The word counting of the development, peace, and attribution of responsibility frame shared 36, 34, and 30 percent respectively. The share of the word counting of ethnic conflict and attribution of responsibility frame in its turn was 60 and 40 percent.
- Other frame categories: Some news did not refer to one of the political news frames identified above. These are news that did not have frames related to the current political reform in the reform period selected for this study and labeled as “other frame” for coding.

The major resources of the political news reforms such as government officials and organizations, politicians, intellectuals, Ethiopian Defense Forces, Federal Police Commission, and others were indicated for coding as well. Leading questions for key informants' interviews (ETV editors and reporters) mainly on understanding of the current political reform news, influences of the target audiences, and the types of frames they employ and why? And major sources of the news often used while producing and reporting (Semetko, and Valkenburg, 2000).

3.4.2. Validity and Inter-coder Reliability

A. Validity

Validity refers to “the extent to which an empirical measure reflects what humans agree on as the real meaning of a concept adequately” (Neuendorf, 2002). It addresses the question, “are we measuring what we want to measure?” The objective is to conclude with the high validity of the intended outcome of the research. Furthermore, to ensure the validity of the study, the researcher shared the work with other participants and colleagues (Yin, 2011). Even though there are various measurements of validity, this study considered a content validity approach to measure the extent to which the objectives, research questions, method of the research, themes, frames, and sources of the news were valid (Stephen, 2016). Accordingly, two professionals (ETV journalists) checked the content validity and came up with the result that the content validity index was **0.91** which is valid and acceptable (Appendix I).

B. Inter-coder Reliability

Reliability means the extent to which a measuring procedure yields the same results on repeated trials. According to Matthew *et al* (2010), the acceptable level of the coefficient for reliability should be **0.70** and above. Neuendorf (2002) argued that without acceptable levels of reliability, measuring content analysis will be misleading (Neuendorf, 2002). Having received pilot coding, corrections were made for final coding via SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences-Version 20).

On the other hand, inter-coder reliability refers to the degree of individual coders' agreement on the content by using the identical coding instrument (Yin, 2011). Inter-coder reliability was thus assessed using Holsti's (1969) formula as is indicated in the book of Wimmer and Dominick (2011) as follows: **Reliability** = $\frac{2M}{N1+N2}$ **where,**

M = **Number of coding decisions with which the two coders agree**

N1& N2 = **Number of coding decisions by the 1st and the 2nd coder, respectively.**

The two coders randomly took 15 news (about 27 % of the political news), and coded them where the reliability coefficient was found to be:

Reliability = $\frac{2(13)}{15+15} = \frac{26}{30} = \mathbf{0.87}$, which showed that the result is acceptable and reliable

as per the arguments of Mathew *et al* (2010) and Holsti (1969).

Table 1: Checklist showing the main themes of political reform news

R.No	Theme	Description
1	The assignment of the new Prime Minister(PM)	The House of Peoples Representatives assigned Dr. Abiy Ahmed as the Prime Minister of Ethiopia after the resignation of the former Prime Minister, Hailemariam Desalegn. The predecessor Premier officially delivered the Constitution and the tricolor flag of Ethiopia to the successor at the inaugurated ceremony.
2	The release of political prisoners	The new Primer then undertook various reforms one of which was releasing political prisoners. Adargachew Tsigie(Secretary of Patriotic-Ginbot7), Bekele Gerba, and Merera Gudina(heads of the Oromo Federalist Congress), Andualem Andargie(one of the members and top politicians of Unity Party) were a few among others. Eskindir Nega was also released at that time.
3	The Prime Minister Discussion with people in the country and abroad	The new Premier paid visits to regional states and discussed with public representatives in Somali, Tigray, Amhara, Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples regarding the government reforms in the political, and economic affairs of the country. Further, the premier then traveled to the oversea countries and discussed with international communities and friendly governments in the area of strengthening economic cooperation and bilateral relation. He also discussed the social-economic and political reforms being undertaken
4	The reshuffling of cabinets	The PM set up and reshuffled the old cabinet system. News ministries emerged such as the Ministry of Peace, and the Ministry of Revenues. Some dissolved as Government Communication affairs and the Ministry of Federal Affairs. Some merged with other Ministries. New cabinet members took the Council of Ministers and took the ministerial positions.

5	Political reform	The revolutionary democracy designed by EPRDF as an ideology has been changed. Political prisoners were released. Journalists who detained with false accusations were also set free. EPRDF itself was transformed from the front (a coalition of four ethnic-based organizations) into Prosperity Party. State-owned companies such as Ethiopian Airlines, Ethio-telecom, Ethiopian Shipping & Logistics Services Enterprise, railways, industrial parks, hotels, sugar, and manufacturing industries were decided to partially or fully liberalize to domestic and foreign investors. The Liberal system seemed to be expanding.
6	Institutional reforms	Various measures taken to boost the deteriorated economy due to corruption and inefficient and ineffective performances witnessed mega projects laid down during the Growth and Transformation Plan II(2015-2020) were taken. The measures included revitalizing the stagnated Grand Renaissance Dam, sugar projects, road projects, import and export systems, combating inflation, and rescue the public from skyrocketing price of consumable goods, strict measures on foreign loans, and financial systems, etc. Institutions were also reformed to improve service delivery and boost the economy.
7	The peace deal with Eritrea	The PM created opportunities to come into negotiations and restore the economic and diplomatic relations after 20 years of stalemate between Ethiopia, and Eritrea due to the border conflict (May 1998 to June 2000). The effort ended the “no peace no war” statuesque between the two sisterly countries. This is one of the greatest achievements of the new PM, Dr. Abiy Ahimed, who was nominated and later awarded the Noble Peace Prize Award in 2019.
8	Economic cooperation and bilateral relations with countries	Economic cooperation and bilateral relations between Ethiopia and neighboring countries and beyond widened and deepened after the new PM assumed political power. Investment flows and projects to be implemented ahead from various countries were growing. Relationship with international funding organizations such as the African Development Bank, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund strengthened. Ethiopian citizens detained in various countries were released due to the request of the new PM.
9	The entrance of opposition parties and armed intransigents	Opposition parties residing in the country and abroad and those that resorted to struggle through the barrel of gunpowder such as Oromo Liberation Front, Patriotic-

		Ginbot7, Ogaden National Liberation Front, and several others entered into the country for peaceful struggle.
10	The removal of parties from the terrorist list	Parties such as Oromo Liberation Front, Patriotic-Ginbot7, Ogaden National Liberation Front were removed from the country`s list of terrorist organizations.
11	Amendments of law	Proclamations such as Anti-terrorism, charities and societies', election and various others were amended.
12	National consensus	Various discussions were held with public representatives, political parties, intellectuals, civic societies, trade unions, youth associations, artists and military personnel, etc to identify issues and come up with solutions regarding socio-economic and political improvements. Discussions were also held with domestic and foreign companies to identify and improve the economic bottlenecks and create job opportunities for youths around the country.
13	Peaceful coexistence	Peace and stability was taken as fundamental to Ethiopia`s bright future and development. Accordingly, the new PM was focusing on peaceful coexistence among ethnic groups, religious elements, and sects as well as economic and political interests. As a result, the new PM introduced the philosophical thought of what is called “Medemer”(synergy) and addressing the nation widely to ensure peace and stability throughout the country. The PM emphasized that “Medemer” is fundamental for the socio-economic development endeavor of the country.

Sources: EBC news, 2019

Table 2: Checklist indicating the frames of political reform news

R.No	Frame type	Description
1	Political reform frame	The news or article deals with, among others, are political related reforms such as change of ideology, the Revolutionary Democracy into the more inclusive, liberal and participatory, the “ <i>Medemer</i> ” (Synergy) Philosophy as well as the release of political prisoners and calling the exiled political parties to return home and participate in politics of Ethiopia through peaceful means; and seizing political power via the barrel of gun powder is unconstitutional. Political parties that were labeled as “terrorists” and banned to participate in the political affairs of the country were removed from the red list, welcomed back home with respect, and received warmly by government delegations. It also includes building a democracy; ensuring justice, maintaining law and order, equality of citizens in political participation and creating job opportunities. Hearing the voice of the public at the grass-root level and ensuring the right to life, freedom of expression, and critics of the government, etc. The policy reform was one of the fundamental issues given due emphasis in the reform period. In this context, the government under the new Prime Minister's leadership liberalized the economy. The key economic sectors such as telecommunications, energy, air, and sea transport were open for both domestic and foreign investors.
2	Institutional reform frame	The news or article entertains the institutional reform such as structures made on democratic institutions, security forces (Federal Police and the Ethiopian National Defense Forces), the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia, Office of the Ombudsman, etc. The news or the article deals the government's concerns of restructuring the state institutions (Federal organizations) and new organizations such as the Ministry of Peace emerged. Some were merged such as the Ministry of Construction with the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing, which is currently named as Ministry of Urban Development and Construction. These and other institutional reforms were made to improve public service delivery and sustain the political reform of the country, Ethiopia.
3	Peace frame	The news or article raises the peace deals conducted between (among) governmental bodies and opposition

		parties, dissidents, normalizing bilateral relations with neighboring Eritrea. The news or the article mentions that peaceful negotiations between the government, which runs the state machinery and contending political parties and armed resistance residing in the country and overseas countries. The spectacular actor in this frame cited is the role played by the new PM. The new PM is the main advocator and preacher of peace via the “ <i>Medemer</i> ” Philosophy in Ethiopia, and in resolving disputes between Ethiopia and Eritrea after 20 years. Settling conflict between the two sisterly countries has thus brought significant change in the political scene of the Horn of Africa. The new PM efforts to halt the political crisis in South Sudan, between President Salva Kiir and the rebel leader Rieck Machar, and federate Punt Land with Somalia are a few to mention.
4	Conflict frame	The news or article reflects economic and social conflicts between or among parties, individuals, and groups. There was an ideological conflict between the new leadership of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (Ph.D.) the “ <i>Medemer</i> ” Philosophy versus Revolutionary Democracy mainly on “political ideas, policy issues, ideological issues, and values” substantively. The news or article states border conflicts happened between between Gujji Oromo and Gedio, and personal attacks in a non- substantive way. Researches show that conflict news could depend on the “journalistic intervention in the frame building process.” Meaning journalists could report political news in their styles to make it much more provocative for public attention or not.
5	Economic-cooperation frame	The news or article deals with bilateral or multilateral economic cooperation with countries and organizations. The news or article contains economic cooperation made between Ethiopia and neighboring countries such as Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, South Sudan, and Sudan. It also stated the economic cooperation agreement made with Middle East Countries, the European Union as well as China and Japan. The news or the article even goes to the extent of describing the mutual benefits of the economic cooperation agreement signed.
6	Development frame	The news or article raises the issue of economic wellbeing and quality of life of individuals, communities, and nations as well as the construction and access of social infrastructures schools, health centers, roads, factories, access to electricity, water supplies, job creation, and so on. The news or the article also raises prosperity as the ultimate destiny in the new leadership during the reform period.

7	Attribution of responsibility frame	The news or article suggests solutions that should be taken at the government levels, groups, individuals, or organizations take to alleviate problems related to peace and stability at the community, regional, and national levels. Some news or articles blame that the loose collective attribution and responsibilities taken by governmental bodies, contending political parties, religious leaders and institutions, community leaders, <i>Abba Gedas</i> (leaders of the traditional system of governance in the Oromo People), communities, and even families were the causes for eroding the common cultural and social values that bind us together for centuries. Ignoring social and cultural values as the news or articles describe leads to displacement and loss of life; damage of properties; and abusing societal coexistence. Even the news or article mentions that security forces' responsibility and efforts exerted to secure the public and properties from riots and violence occurred in the country at different times.
8	Political, Attribution of responsibility and peace frames	The news or the article describes the political problems, attributions made at the governmental and societal levels, and responsibilities taken as well as peace-related issues. The political reform brought several consequences (such as displacement, loss of life, and damage of properties) in many parts of country. The same news or article states that this happened since governmental bodies at all levels did not enforce law and order proactively. The communities, elders, religious leaders and institutions, <i>Abba Gedas</i> , opposition parties, etc. did not play their active role in prohibiting the the public especially the youngsters from involving in riots and violence. The same news or article also describes that peaceful coexistence is the value that holds the country for several centuries. Thus, negotiations between the government and other parties should be done to resolve their differences in round table conferences. The three frames- political, attribution of responsibility and peace- are covered in some news or articles.
9	Development, peace and attribution of responsibility frames	The news or the article entertains development, peace, and responsibilities taken either individuals, groups, or/ and organizations. Some article describes accelerating development is the only means to combat poverty and improve the livelihood of citizens. The same news states that development cannot be realized or sustained without ensuring peace and stability in the country. The news or the articles thus suggest the attributions that should be made by the governmental bodies and the public at large to sustain development and peace. The three frames- development, peace, and attribution of responsibility- appear in one news

		report.
10	Ethnic conflict and attribution of responsibility frames	The news or article elaborates on the ethnic conflict between/ among ethnic groups after the commencement of the reform and its consequences as well as responsibilities and accountabilities taken at governmental bodies and societies. Ethnic conflict that happened in West Gujji Zone between Gujji Oromo and in Metekel between Gumuz and Amhara could be taken as a typical example. Whatever it is some article describes the ethnic conflict and collective attributions that should be made and responsibilities taken at government levels. The two frames- ethnic conflict and attribution of responsibility appeared in one news or article covered by ETV.
11	Other frames	If the news or the article does not contain one or more above-stated frames, it is labeled as” other frame.”

Source: Adapted from Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News, 2000

3.5. In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves detailed individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation. It is crucial to have detailed insights on individual thoughts and behaviors towards some specific issues. Interviews are often used to provide context to other data (such as outcome data), offering a more complete picture of what happened in the program and why (Boyce and Neale, 2006).

The interview questions were designed by taking into account the specific objectives and basic research questions that this study attempted to answer. Accordingly, the questions were: What types of news are on the air in ETV? Which types of news are dominant (Economic, political, social, sport, and other entertainment news)? What about the political news? Are they dominant or less common? What political news are made/produced? Can you tell me their features? Can you tell me the gist of their topics? Do you think that the principles of Ethical Journalism are observed? In terms of fairness, objectivity, reliability, balanced, and responsibility? What is your understanding of the political news in ETV in general? How does the media cover the political news in the current reforms? Do you think your political news reports influenced the target audience? (Background related questions). What were the most common themes in your political news in the current reform? (Theme related question). What/ who were the main sources of the political news regarding the current reform? How do you construct your political news on the current political reforms? and Why? (Frame related question).

The interviews were conducted on seven selected editors and program producers (reporters) to come up with detailed information regarding political news framing in ETV. Those editors and reporters were elected based on their managerial position and professional duties among ETV current affairs news desk (Appendix-4). The selected key informants were actively involved in the political news productions and reporting during the reform period. Having interviewed them, the responses were transcribed and grouped into main themes. The findings of the in-depth interviews were thus presented where they were appropriate in an integrated manner to consolidate the quantitative findings either in the form of direct quotations or using qualifiers such as most, significant, a few, key informants (editors and reporters), stated, argued for or against, reacted, and so on.

3.6. Data Analysis Procedure

The quantitative data was organized, summarized and coded using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS- version 20). The quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics in the form of frequency tables. The study applied textual analysis and in-depth interviews of key informants (for qualitative content analysis) to support the quantitative findings of the content analysis.

The data analysis process began by providing the findings of the quantitative content analysis followed by the extracts of the political reform news(translated to English) and in-depth interviews of key informants. Therefore, the analysis of the data was based on statistical evidence, the excerpts of the political reform news and in-depth interviews of key informants. The themes and frames of the political reform news were constructed inductively from the political reform news articles, and discussed properly in separate sections. An attempt was made to avoid scattered findings and create rational associations while presenting the findings of the current political reform news under the newly elected PM of Ethiopia, Dr. Abiy Ahmed.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter presents and analyses data from political news broadcasted via Ethiopian television(ETV) during the reform period following the new Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed came to political power in Ethiopia. The main purpose of the research was to analyze the political news frames on the current political reforms as presented in the ETV and come up with constructive recommendations. A total of 75 articles which covered one year (02 March 2018 up to 02 March 2019) by ETV was selected. Quantitative and Qualitative methods of content analysis were employed to achieve the purpose and explain the ETV characteristic coverage of political news.

4.1. Major themes of the political news

The selected political news aired via ETV (02 March 2018- 02 March 2019)after the new Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed came to power had seven thematic areas: political reform, peace and stability, the PM discussions with public in different parts of the country, institutional reform, bilateral relations, conflict and laws` amendment(Table 3).

Table 3: Themes in political reform news in ETV

Theme	Frequency	Percent
Political reform	20	26.7
Peace and stability	19	25.3
PM discussions with public	11	14.7
Institutional reform	6	8.0
Bilateral relation	5	6.7
Conflict	5	6.7
Laws` amendment	2	2.7
Other	7	9.3
Total	75	100

Source: Researcher`s computation, 2019

4.1.1. Political reform news

Among 75 news, it was found that ETV employed 20(26.7%) had on political reform-related theme. This was relatively larger than other news themes showing ETV gave due emphasis on political reform-related themes in its news coverage during the reform period under the new Prime Minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed. All the seven key informants stated that the political reform theme was on the ruling party and the government's agenda was the dominant in ETV news. One key informant strengthened this idea that even the "other social and economic news were covered when the editorial believes that they have political values." According to the key informants, the political reform news favored the political agenda and policy designed, and disregarded the opinions of opposition parties and the public. Ethiopian journalists, mainly sponsored by the government, were directed by the requirements and interests of successive governments and imposed their ideologies on them (Asehanfi, 2012). Hence, the political reform news as they were undoubtedly supporting the ruling party, the ethical principles of journalism such as fairness, objectivity, reliability, balance, and responsibility were violated as five(71%) of the key informants argued.

Among the political reform news covered was the negotiation undertook among the contending political parties to create a conducive environment for strengthening the multi-party system. The contending political parties were negotiating through the Inter-Party Council to ensure fair participation of all political parties in the political affairs of the country. The negotiation excerpt is indicated as follows:

“እነዚህ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች የፖለቲካ ስራቸውን ለማሳለፍ የጋራ ምክር ቤት በማቋቋም ችግራቸውን እየፈቱ ሲንቀሳቀሱ ቆይተዋል፤ በመንቀሳቀስም ላይ ናቸው። ምንም እንኳን ፓርቲዎቹ በጋራ ምክር ቤት ተደራጅተው ቢንቀሳቀሱም የጋራ ምክር ቤቱ ሁሉምንም የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች የሚያሳትፍ ባለመሆኑ ፓርቲዎችን የሚያሳትፍ የፖለቲካ ድርድር እንዲካሄድ ተደርጓል። ከአንድ አመት በላይ በሀገሪቱ የሚገኙ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ሃሳባቸውን አቅርበው ለመደራደር አደራዳሪ ኮሚቴ በማዋቀር ወደ ስራ ገብተዋል።”

The quotation demonstrates that “political parties [contending parties including Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front] have been working and continue working together, by forming a joint council [Inter-Party Council], to solve their problems and facilitate their political works. Although the parties were organized to work through the joint council, the joint council

was not inclusive and participatory as the result of which negotiations were done for more than a year. The political parties, which brought their ideas, set up a negotiating committee to work with.”

The news focused on political reform conducted under the leadership of the new Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed seems to have created a conducive environment to hear and accommodate the voices of opposition political parties through the established joint council. However, the news mentioned the complaint of the political parties that the joint council was not inclusive, for which a negotiating committee under the joint council was established for a fair participatory approach and democratic negotiations ahead mainly to widen the political space for the multi-party system in the country, Ethiopia. The news blamed the joint council did not function properly before the reform period. Perhaps, the news indicating, even though there were contending political parties during the EPRDF led government for a couple of decades, the established joint council was not working for the interests of all parties on an equal basis. Rather, the news intention indicated that the joint council inclined to ensure the political interests of EPRDF- the then ruling party.

ETV covered that political crisis happened in different parts of the country caused a wide range of repercussions. The news stated that unconscious political thoughts and narrations provoked riots across the country which led to the death of people; damage and burning of properties, infringe the businesses of the public at large through blocking of roads, and people were displaced from their residential areas. The news reasoned out this was partly the failure of the government in enforcing law and order. The following political news theme confirms the above-stated facts:

“በኢትዮጵያ በተለያዩ ጊዜያት በተለያዩ አካባቢዎች በሚነሱ ሁከቶች ምክንያት ክቡር የሆነው የሰው ህይወት አልፏል፡ መኪኖች ተቃጥለዋል፡ ህንጻዎች በደቦ ወድመዋል፡ መንገዶች በተደጋጋሚ ተዘግተው የሰዎች እንቅስቃሴ ተገቷል፤ ዜጎች ለአመታት ያፈሯቸው ቤት ንብረቶች ወድመዋል፡፡ ይህን ተከትሎ ታዲያ በበዙ ሺህ የሚቆጠሩ ዜጎች ለአመታት ከኖሩበት ቦታ በመፈናቀል ለእንግልት ተዳርገዋል፡፡ በተለይም ከቅርብ ጊዜ ወዲህ ወጣቶች በስሜታዊነት በመመራትና በተሳሳቱ ፍረጃዎች በመነዳት የሚወስዷቸው እርምጃዎች የህግ የበላይነትን የሚፈታተኑ ሆነው ታይተዋል፡፡”

The quotation entails that the false political narration and discourse orchestrated triggered riots leading to the loss of precious human lives in various parts of Ethiopia at different times.

Vehicles were set on fire; buildings were destroyed in massive; citizens' homes and properties accumulated for years were destroyed. As a result, thousands of citizens were displaced from their residential areas and exposed to sufferings. Especially, in recent times, the actions of youths, who have been emotionally driven and misrepresented, have challenged the rule of law.

The news described the political reform brought the political crisis. It blamed that the false narrations and discourses orchestrated became the main factors for the political crisis and violation of the rule of law. However, the news did not answer the question who specifically ignited and provoked the casualties and why? i.e. the news did not refer to specific bodies that became a challenge for ensuring peace and stability in the country. Further, the news generally inclined to blame that the youths were accountable for the violation of law and order. This seemed to be quite wrong since the news did not specify which youths were involved in the violence. The journalist(s) who produced this news could be influenced by directly or indirectly controlled the media and the power of organizational routines as was confirmed by Shoemaker and Reese (1996). The researchers also suggested that external factors partly affect journalistic autonomy and journalists' interpretations.

ETV broadcasted that the change of ideology that Ethiopia adhered for the last 27 years, Revolutionary Democracy, into the new form of political thought what is called *Medemer* (synergy) after Prime Minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed, assumed political power. Accordingly, ETV reported the essence of the Medemer political thoughts by directly quoting the Prime Minister's speech as follows:

“መደመደር እኛ እራሳችንን እና ዓለምን የምናይበት መነፅር ነው። ምንም ነገር የተሞላ አይደለም በሚለው ጽንሰ-ሃሳብ ይጀምራል። ሁል ጊዜ በግለሰባዊ ወይም በማህበራዊ ሕይወት ውስጥ አንድ ነገር ይጎድላል። ለምሳሌ፣ ቤተሰብን እንመልከት። ልጆቻቸው ትምህርት እንዲያገኙ ይፈልጋሉ። ሲመረቁ ጥሩ ሥራ ያገኛሉ፣ ከዚያም ቤተሰብ ይጀምራል ፣ ልጆች ይኖራሉ፣ ሁሉም ተቃራኒ ያታ እና የመሳሰሉትን ለመያዝ ይጥራሉ። መጨረሻ የለውም ። ሁል ጊዜ አንድ የሚጎድል ነገር ይኖራል። ከሌሎች ጋር በመተባበር እና በመተጋገዝ ሁል ጊዜ የሚለዋወጡ ፍላጎቶቻችንን ማሟላት እንችላለን። ስለዚህ ሰዎች በመተባበር እና በውድድር ላይ የተመሠረተ ህልውና በመጠበቅ መሥራት አለባቸው።”

The above quotation states that “*Medemer*” is the lens through which we see the world and ourselves. It begins with the idea that nothing is full. There is always something missing in one's

personal or social life. Take, for example, the family. They want their children to get an education. When they graduate, they get a good job, and then they form a family and have children. All try to have the opposite gender and so on. It has no end. There is always something missing. By cooperating with others, we can meet our ever-changing needs. Therefore, people need to work together and maintain a competitive environment.

The above excerpt and the whole body news was dedicated to new political thought, “*Medemer*,” was the only way out for the current political crisis. The news described that any person has an endless interest that could be fulfilled by cooperating with others in the current dynamic and competitive environment. The news showed that it is possible to add values and satisfy the endless needs and interests of individuals and groups through “*Medemer*” where the whole is greater than the sums of the distinct entities. The news, however, failed to justify how the “*Medemer*” political thought could be realized in the current political atmosphere of Ethiopia. It seemed to ignore fundamentally the ethnic-based federalism political landscape exercised for more than two decades and a half where one ethnic group rapaciously attempted to dominate politically, economically, and socially. Callaghan *et al* (2001) confirmed that reporters as human beings could be influenced by their personal values and ideological point of views. A few key informants explicitly described that the principle of “*Medemer*” was one of the main themes in the political reform news is about prosperity is the solution to all problems, and Dr. Abiy is the main actor of the political reform news. Hence, ETV journalists could be influenced and affected by the political reform geared by the government.

It was a surprise that ETV announced the green light that there would be a change of ideology from Revolutionary Democracy to the new form of indigenous political thought, “*Medemer*” at the 11th EPRDF Congress held at Hawassa from 3 – 5 October 2018. ETV news report showed that:

“...የኢህአዴግ ሊቀመንበር ዶ/ር አብይ አህመድ በ11ኛው ድርጅታዊ ጉባኤ ማጠቃለያ ባደረጉት የመዝጊያ ንግግር አገሪቱ የምትከተለው ርዕዮተ ዓለም በመደመር ፍልስፍና ለመቃኘትና አጋር ድርጅቶች በድርጅቱ ውስጥ እኩል የመሳተፍ እና የመወሰን መብት እንደሚኖራቸው ገልጸዋል። ለዚህም የድርጅቱን ፕሮግራም ማስተካከል እንደሚገባ በጉባኤው ውይይት ተደረገበት ከሰምምነት መደረሱንም ጠቁመዋል።”

The above statement indicates that at EPRDF Chairman, Dr. Abiy Ahmed, at the closing remarks of the 11th Organizational Congress, said that the country's ideology will be transformed into the “*Medemer*”[synergy] philosophy and partner organizations [Harari, Somali, Afar, Gambella and Benishangul] will have equal rights to participate and decide as Major EPRDF founding organizations. He said an agreement was reached, through the deliberation undertook at the Congress, to amend the organization's program accordingly.

The news marked a change of ideology from Revolutionary Democracy to the new form of political thought, “*Medemer*,” was real. The news underscored that political reform would be working to ensure fair political representation of all nations, nationalities, and people at the central level, and the dominance of the Major EPRDF founding organizations would be dissolved for once and more. The news highlighted ensuring partner organizations[Harari, Somali, Afar, Gambella, and Benishangul] to have fair representation and political participation in any political decisions at the federal level would lead to the amendment of EPRDF's programs. However, the news assured that it supported the “*Medemer*” philosophy and criticised Revolutionary Democracy that EPRDF adhered to for the last 27 years, this view was indeed supported by the key informants as well. The news stated that the new leadership, under Dr. Abiy Ahmed, was committed to reforming the EPRDF political ideology into “*Medemer*” as the news indicated above.

To sum up, the political reform news was given more emphasis on the political reform news mainly the change of ideology and government policies, and the release of political prisoners. ETV focused that “*Medemer*” philosophy, which replaced Revolutionary Democracy that EPRDF adhered to for the last 27, was the solution to the current political crisis in most political reform news. However, the political reform news lacked fairness, objectivity, reliability, and balance as five (71%) of the seven key informants stated. In the reform period, ETV political news gave due attention to the new Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed, as the main actor of the current political reform.

4.1.2. Peace and stability news

The news reported with peace and stability thematic issues was about 19(25.3%). Since the political reform brought a wide range of repercussions to innocent citizens including the loss of lives and their properties, ETV perhaps emphasized peace and stability news. Six (85%) key informants supported that peace and stability, and the rule of law related news was given large coverage during the reform period. They added that ensuring peace and stability, laws and order covered by ETV significantly witnessed violations of laws in some parts of the country since 2018.

Most peace and political stability news thematized that peace and stability is fundamental to ensure the co-existence of nations, nationalities, and peoples, and religions. They also underscored that peace and stability was not a sufficient condition but necessary. If peace and stability was not guaranteed, economic development and improvement of the livelihoods of citizens could not be realized, and the vision to achieve the status of the lower-middle-income country by 2025 could not be met, the news confirmed. The news added that if the rule of law was not enforced, investments would be halted and companies would suspend their works, hence, the unemployment rate would rise which in turn has a far-reaching consequence on the overall economic development of the country. Even though the news shared the idea that ensuring peace and stability via enforcement of the country's laws, the news seemed to be shallow, not very well investigated and comprehensive enough to provide sufficient information to the target audience who/which body should do what? Most news, for instance, narrated the peace and stability via interviewing a few people or politicians living in Addis Ababa, who were not well aware of the reality on the ground and did not incorporate the voices of people, or communities affected. Hence, peace and stability news lacked objectivity, reliability, and balance. What made worse was that most news did not focus the roles played by the government in ensuring peace and stability in the country proactively. Meaning, most ETV news did not hold the government is accountable to the violation of rule of laws as Iyengar (1987) said a poor woman deepened on welfare held responsible for her fate, rather than government failure or its system. This was presumably right that most key informants agreed news in the reform period lacked credibility and could not influence the target audience.

The peace and stability news was composed of the peace with neighboring Eritrea after 20 years stalemate and several domestic issues since Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed assumed political

power in the country. ETV reported that at the inaugural ceremony made at the House of Peoples Representatives on 2 April 2018, Dr. Abiy Ahmed called the Eritrean government to restore peace and stability and restart diplomatic relations between the two sisterly countries. The Premier`s inauguration speech excerpt is indicated as follows:

“ከኤርትራ መንግስት ጋር ለዓመታት ሰፍኖ የቆየው አለመግባባት እንዲያበቃ ከልብ እንፈልጋለን፤ እንዲያበቃም የበኩላችንን ኃላፊነት እንወጣለን። ለጥቅም ብቻ ሳይሆን በደም የተሳሰሩ የሁለቱ ሀገራት ህዝቦች የጋራ ጥቅም ሲባል ልዩነቶቻችንን በውይይት ለመፍታት ያለንን ዝግጁነት እገለጸኩ፤ የኤርትራ መንግስትም ተመሳሳይ አቋም እንዲወስድ ጥሪ እናደርጋለን።”

The above quotation states that Dr. Abiy` Ahmed`s government sincerely wanted to resolve the years-long conflict with the Eritrean government and do his part to end it. He expressed that the Ethiopian government`s readiness to resolve the differences through dialogue for the mutual benefit of the peoples of the two countries interrelated through the blood. He called the Eritrean government to take on a similar stance.

ETV reported that a few among other were the arrival of Eritrean delegation led by Eritrean Foreign Minister Osman Saleh on 18 June 2018, and Dr. Abi Ahmed`s visit to Eritrea on 8 July 2018. President Isaias Afeworki`s visit to Ethiopia in mid-July 2018 and the subsequent peace agreements signed between the two countries, and the restoration of the formal diplomatic relations as well.

The news coverage of ETV related to the peace deal with Eritrea focused on restoring diplomatic and public-to-public relations between the two sisterly countries in one hand and resolve the border conflicts sustainably on the other hand. The news appreciated the commitment of Dr. Abiy Ahmed`s leadership that the restoration of peace between the two countries would dramatically improve the socio-economic benefits of people residing along Ethio- Eritrea border and peace and stability in the Horn of Africa. The approach and commitment of the new Prime Minister to resolve the border conflict with Eritrea was a surprise to the world as opposed to the predecessor Prime Minister, Hailemariam Dessalegn, who blamed Eritrea`s support of the then anti government protest in the country(Sadat, 2019).

Most news described that the peace agreement with Eritrea would enable Ethiopia to access the Ports of Asab and Massawa as an alternative sea outlet for export and import of goods and services. The news showed that Ethiopia is one of the landlocked African countries, which mostly relied on the Port of Djibouti for import and export purposes since the outbreak of the Ethio-Eritrea border conflict in 1998. The news emphasized that the peace deal had a paramount significance in promoting socio-economic benefits and resolving the political tensions between the two countries.

ETV also reported domestic peace and stability news during the reform period. ETV reported, for instance, the remarks of the new Premier at the House of Peoples` Representatives, at the inaugural ceremony, ensuring peace and stability in the country was one of the core issues given priorities. Accordingly, ETV reported the Prime Minister's speech on peace and stability thematic issues as:

“ኢትዮጵያ የጋራችን የእኛ የሁላችን መሆኗን ተገንዝበን፤ የሁሉም ድምፅ የሚሰማበት ሁላችንም የሚያሳትፍ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርዓት የመገንባቱን ትግል አጠናክረን እንቀጥላለን። ዲሞክራሲ ሲገነባ መንግስት የዜጎችን ሃሳብ በነፃነት የመግለፅ መብት ማክበር አለበት። ዲሞክራሲን ከዜጎች ሰላማዊ እንቅስቃሴና ከመንግስት መሪነት ደጋፊነት እና ሆደ ሰፊነት ውጭ ማዳበር አይቻልም፤ በመሆኑም መንግስት የዜጎች ሰላማዊ እንቅስቃሴ እንዲይስተጓጎል በጽናት ይሰራል። ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ የህግ የበላይነትም እንዲረጋገጥና ሙስናን ለመዋጋት ጥረት ማድረግ ትኩረት የሚሻ ጉዳይ መሆኑንም አንስተዋል።”

The quotation reads that recognizing Ethiopia belongs to all citizens; the premier leadership would continue to intensify the struggle to build a participatory democracy. It continues reporting building democracy must go line with the right of citizens for freedom of expression. Democracy cannot develop without the peaceful movement of citizens, and the support and patience of the government. Therefore, the premier said that his government would work hard to ensure that the peaceful movement of citizens is not disrupted. Ensuring the rule of law and combating corruption are reported as fundamental issues during his tenure.

Most domestic peace and stability news ETV covered were mainly on ensuring the peaceful and harmonious co-existence of nations, nationalities and people and religions. The news emphasized that strengthening internal peace and stability is the core of Ethiopia`s future prosperity and building the solid-state of Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa. The news highlighted ensuring internal

peace and stability would enable Ethiopia to overcome external challenges and threats. In this regard, the news seemed to have considered that the politically volatile region, Horn of Africa, and the current geopolitical issues of Ethiopia. The news might have further considered that efforts of Ethiopia to utilize its water resources-Blue Nile- to its promising future brought Egypt- the traditional belligerent- into political conflict scene, and other Arabian countries to influence and subvert Ethiopia in favor of the Egyptians subtle interests. Significant news reports via ETV confirmed that building democracy and respecting citizens` human and democratic rights would also play a dispensable role in promoting internal peace and stability, unity of nations, nationalities and peoples, minimize the potential inter-ethnic and religious conflicts, and pave the way for combating poverty and protecting the sovereign power of the country.

One of the dominant issues reported was the call and the subsequent entrance of armed organizations into the country for the peaceful political competition via democratic elections. Such organizations include Oromo Liberation Front(OLF), Patriotic Ginbot 7 Movement for Unity and Democracy, Ogaden National Liberation Front, and Tigray People's Democratic Movement (TPDM), were a few among others. ETV reported the return of exiled political parties to Ethiopia from neighboring countries, mainly Eritrea. One news reporting the peace agreement signed between the Ethiopian government and OLF read as:

“በዳውድ ኢብሳ የሚመራው አነጻጽ ከትጥቅ ትግል ወደ ሰላማዊ ትግል ለመግባት የሚያስችለውን ስምምነት ከኢትዮጵያ መንግስት ጋር በአስመራ ከተማ ተፈራርሟል። በዚህም አነጻጽ ለበርካታ ዓመታት ሲያካሂድ የቆየውን የትጥቅ ትግል በማቆም በሀገሪቱ በተፈጠረው መልካም አጋጣሚ ትግሉን በሰላማዊ መንገድ ለመቀጠል ከስምምነት ላይ ደርሷል።”

The quotation describes that the OLF, led by Dawud Ibsa, signed an agreement with the Ethiopian government in [Eritrea] Asmara, which marked a shift from armed to peaceful struggle. As a result, the OLF agreed to cease its armed struggle operated for many years and continue the struggle peacefully.

The above news excerpt showed that peaceful struggle was the preferred means to assume political power in Ethiopia. The news described that OLF agreed with the Ethiopian government to give up armed struggle in favor of a peaceful struggle to demand and satisfy its political interests in the years to come. The news indicated that peaceful struggle is fundamental and a means of widening the political landscape in the country, i.e there is a room for a peaceful

dialogue and resolve differences democratically, and snatching political power by the power of guns should be suspended hereafter. Another ETV report stated that Addis Ababa City Deputy Mayor called for:

“የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት የፖለቲካ ምህዳሩን ለማስፋት የተለያዩ አቋም/ርዕዮተ አለም ያላቸውን ኢትዮጵያውያን ወንድሞቻችን ወደ ሀገራችን እንዲገቡ እያደረገ ነው። በርካታ የአዲስ አበባ ከተማ ነዋሪና ወጣት ተሰልፎ በደስታ ተቀብሏቸዋል። የአነጻ አመራሮችን እንደ ማንኛውም የፖለቲካ ፓርቲ በቅንነት ወጥተው እንደሚቀበሉ ሙሉ እምነት አለኝ።”

The Excerpt shows that the Ethiopian government is receiving Ethiopian brothers with different political point of views or ideologies aimed at expanding the political space in our country. The Addis Ababa residents and youths welcomed them. In the same fashion, the Deputy Mayor was confident that they would welcome the OLF leadership.

The above excerpt demonstrated that peaceful welcoming of the OLF leaders is fundamental to widen the political space regardless of the political ideology they adhere. The news indicated the fear of the mayor that, if the OLF leaders were not welcomed peacefully, the peace and stability of the capital, Addis Ababa, would be jeopardized. The news seemed to consider that peace and stability is fundamental to this country including Addis Ababa.

Generally, ETV peace and stability news mainly showed that ensuring internal peace and stability through enforcing rule of law had a paramount significance for the socio-economic development endeavor of the country and contributing to overcome external challenges and threats of forces. Besides, ensuring peace and stability within the country and a peace deal with Eritrea would bring socio-economic and political benefits not only to Ethiopia but also to the Horn of Africa, and the entire continent of Africa.

4.1.3. Prime Minister`s discussions with the public

The Prime Minister discussed with the public by traveling into different parts of the country soon after he came to power. Among 75 news, ETV covered 11 (14.7%) of news on the Prime Minister`s discussions. The thematic categories were mainly economic, political, peace and stability, and social aspects. There seemed that ETV as the state-owned and supporter of government agendas, the new Prime Minister`s discussions with the public was one of its focus on news coverage. Most key informants) assured that the new PM discussions with the public

were prioritized and decided by the editorial so that crew set up for this purpose, and EBC branches in regional capitals were made standby to work on live transmissions and news reports from the head office, Addis Ababa, in a coordinated way. Therefore, the PM discussions with the public were covered successfully as were confirmed by the key informants. ETV reported that the Prime Minister’s discussion in Mekele city with public representatives. The news incorporated issues, such as peace deal with Eritrea, economic cooperation with regions, job opportunities, infrastructure development, political conspiracy and hate raid waged by media especially social media, and creating a conducive environment for investment. The report quoted the Prime Minister’s address as:

“የእስልምናና የክርስትና ሀይማኖት ... ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ የገቡት በትግራይ ክልል ነው። ትግራይ የመላው ጥቁር ህዝቦች የእኩልነት እና የፍትህ ወዳጅ ለሆኑ ሁሉም ሰዎች ኩራት የሆነውና የነፃነት መሰረት አድዋ መገኛ ነው። ትግራይ ሞትን ተጋፍጠው ለኢትዮጵያ ግንባታ ለፍትህ እና እኩልነት መስዋትነት የከፈሉ ... ጀግኖችን ያፈራች ናት። በሀገራችን ለውጥ እና ዲሞክራሲ እንዲመጣ የታገሉ የተለያዩ የፖለቲካ ሀይሎች ህዝባዊ ድጋፍ ያገኙባት የፖለቲካ ስፍራ ነች። ... የትግራይ ህዝብ ሁሉም ሀገሩን የሚወድ ጨቋኝ ገዥዎች ሲበድሉትና ሲረገጡት በነበረበት ክፉ ጊዜ እንኳን ከሌሎች የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች ጋር ዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርአት ለመገንባት ልጆቹን መስዋት አድርጎ በመስጠት ትግልን የመረጠ እንጂ በኢትዮጵያዊነቱ ፍፁም ሳይጠራጠር ፅናትና እወነትን በደሙ ያኖረ ነው።”

The idea of the quotation clearly states that Islam and Christianity first entered into Tigray. Tigray is the birthplace of Adwa Victory, where the pride of all black people and all human beings struggling for equality and justice. Tigray is the birthplace of heroes who sacrificed their lives for the cause of Ethiopia and justice and equality. It is a political birthplace where the various political forces that fought for change and democracy in Ethiopia had the support of the people. The people of Tigray always sacrificed their children to build a democratic system with other Ethiopians, even in the worst of times, when they were abused and trampled on by the oppressive rulers.

The news excerpt and the whole content of the news focused on the new PM’s praise of Tigray Regional State as the first center of Islam and Christianity in Ethiopia, the birthplace of Adwa Victory as well as the people were committed to building democracy and ensuring human and democratic rights by toppling the Degue Regime through “blood and iron”, were a few among

others. The news covered that the people of Tigray were committed to sustaining the united Ethiopia, as their professors and combatants vowed including the late former Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi. The news incorporated the socio-economic and political related questions raised during the discussions and the peace deal with Eritrea. However, most news covering the PM's golden words and the participants supporting the thematic issues of the PM. The news did not include the issues opposing the reform undergoing. This was confirmed by the key informants which described state owned media mainly propagating the interest of the government agendas and giving little rooms on the interests and demands of the public. Griffin (2012) supported this fact that with this golden statement "mass media maintain the dominance of those already in positions of power."

ETV covered the Prime Minister discussions in Gondar and Bahir Dar cities. The news had almost similar thematic issues with the public discussion held in Mekele. The news focused on peaceful and harmonious coexistence among various ethnic groups; the political participation of the public; struggling for ensuring justice (the rule of law); the demand for overall change of the Region, and development (such as electric power, road, and building of schools, health centers, etc.); and the deaths and displacement of people in different parts of the country (peace and stability issues).

ETV also reported the Prime Minister's discussions with the public at Bale Robe town in Oromia Regional State. The news indicated that the Premier's discussion with the public mainly on the natural gift of the Zone for economic development and the utilization of the Geda System for ensuring the unity of Ethiopia. The news expert reads as:

“የባሌ ዞንና አካባቢው የተለያዩ ቅርሶችና የቱሪዝም ሃብቶች ባለቤት በመሆኑ የአካባቢውን የቀደመ ስልጣኔ እንደሚያመለክትም...አብረን በመስራት የተሻለች ሀገር ለትውልዱ ለማስተላለፍ መረባረብ ይገባናል ...። የገዳ ስርዓት እሴቶች የኢትዮጵያን አንድነት ለማጠናከር ጥቅም ላይ እንዲውሉም ጥሪ አቅርበዋል። በተለይ የጋራ ልማትና ተጠቃሚነት የሁሉም አካል ሀላፊነት መሆኑንም ገልፀዋል።”

The above news excerpt states that Bale Zone and its environs are rich in various heritages and tourism resources. It goes on reading the Prime Minister added that working together is mandatory to pass on a better country to the generation to come. The news cited the Prime Minister's call for the public the values of the *Geda System* to be used to strengthen Ethiopian

unity, particularly, cooperative development and benefit is the responsibility of all parties. One does not come across in most of the political reform news incorporating issues and opinions opposing the government agenda as one key informant called it “safe journalism is a dominant character” witnessing a designed strategy to escape from the responsibility and accountability of what ethical journalism inquired of.

In sum, ETV news on the Prime Minister’s discussions with the public underlined socio-economic improvement, ensuring peace and stability, building democracy, and combating poverty to improve the livelihoods of the people. The news did not provide enough information through supplementing the discussions with professionals and politicians.

4.1.4. Institutional reform news

Dr. Abiy Ahmed took institutional reform on the federal level since April 2018. ETV reported 6 (8%) news regarding institutional reform on government organizations. The news discussed Ethiopia was highly criticized due to the weak democratic institutions and pro-government judicial system and security forces (Information Network Security Agency, INSA) - serving the will of the government. The news outlined that institutions were weak to effectively and efficiently deliver service as well as strengthen democracy as per the expectation of citizens and politicians. Among the institutional reforms, the one that ETV reported was the reform undertaken at the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia. The news described that the reform was done to make the Board independent and serve all parties fairly. The news report reads below as:

“በ2012 የሚካሄደው ሃገራዊ ምርጫ ነፃ፣ ፍትሃዊና ተዳማኒነት ያለው እንዲሆን የሚያስችል የሪፎርም ስራ እያከናወነ እንደሚገኝ የብሔራዊ ምርጫ ቦርድ አስታወቀ። አዳዲስ ወደ ሀገር ውስጥ የገቡ የፖለቲካ ሀይሎች ተሳትፎ በሪፎርሙ እንደሚካተትም ተገልጿል። ይህን ማሻሻያ ለማድረግ የሚያስችል ዝግጅት መጀመሩን የገለጹት የቦርዱ ስብሰባ አምባሳደር ሳሚያ ዘካሪያ የተፎካካሪ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎችም በማሻሻያ ስራው ላይ ተሳትፎ እንዲኖራቸው ይደረጋል ብለዋል።”

The news report entails that National Electoral Board of Ethiopia is carrying out reforms to ensure that the national election to be held in 2012 E.C [2019 G.C] is free, fair and credible. The news states that the participation of new political forces, which entered into the country, would be included in the reform. Preparations were underway to involve contending political parties to

make the reform process a reality by citing the announcement made by the board chairperson, Ambassador Samia Zekaria.

The news emphasized that the Board`s commitment to undertake the reform for which the contending political parties would be invited to participate. However, the news did not include how and what aspects of the Board would be reformed. In another news, ETV reported that:

“ኢትዮጵያ ብሄራዊ ምርጫ ቦርድ በ2012 የሚካሄደው ሀገራዊ ምርጫ የተሳካ እንዲሆን ከባለድርሻ አካላት ጋር ማሻሻያ በሚደረግባቸው ጉዳዮች ላይ በመምከርና ግብአት በማሰባሰብ ላይ ነው። ቦርዱም ከፖለቲካ ፓርቲ አመራሮች ጋር ባደረገው ውይይት ምርጫው ፍጹም ነፃ፣ ፍትሃዊና ታሰማኒ እንዲሆን ሊሰሩ የሚገባቸው በርካታ ጉዳዮች እንዳሉ ተነስቷል።”

This shows that National Electoral Board of Ethiopia was consulting with stakeholders to get inputs on issues that need to be addressed to make the 2012 E.C [2019 G.C] national election successful. Opposition political parties were included in the discussion. The Board noted that there were a significant number of issues to be addressed to ensure that the election is fair, free and credible.

The news raised that the reform would be focusing on structuring the Board to make the coming national election fair, free, and credible. However, the politicians who participated in the consultative meeting were not interviewed, hence, their voices were excluded which showed that the news lacked credibility, balance, and reliability since the news violated the fundamental principle of codes of ethics in journalism. According to the key informants, this seemed to be quite acceptable and relevant.

Another institutional reform news ETV covered was the reform undertaken at National Defense Force of Ethiopia: The news report is indicated as:

“መከላከያ ሰራዊታችን...የሁሉንም ብሄር ብሄረሰቦች ተዋዕኔ የጠበቀ ለማድረግ በርካታ ተግባራት እያከናወኑ ይገኛሉ። ከዚህ በፊት የነበረው አደረጃጀት በርካታ ማነቆዎች የነበሩት። የሲቪልና መከላከያ ቅንብርን በሚገባው ደረጃ ያላከተተ በመሆኑ ሰፊ ጥናት ተደርጎ አዲስ አደረጃጀት ፀድቋል። የፋይናንስ አጠቃቀምና አወጣጥ ስርዓት ዘርፉ የሚጠበቀው ሚስጥራዊነት እንደተጠበቀ ሆኖ በግልጽ መመሪያዎች እንዲመራ የሚያስችል አሰራር ተዘርግቷል።”

The news demonstrates that the defense force of Ethiopia was carrying out various activities to make sure there would be a fair representation of all nations and nationalities. The preceding organizational structure had a wide range of bottlenecks. As the civil and the defense works were not properly aligned, or coordinated, a new organizational structure based on profound assessment was ratified. Furthermore, the news indicates that a system has been put in place to ensure that the financial management system is guided by clear guidelines while maintaining the confidentiality of the sector.

ETV further reported news on the Federal Police Commission and the Supreme Court reforms as well. It reported that the two organizations undertook the reform to be able to go in line with the reform that the country witnessed since the new Premier took office. The news related to showed the new Premier attempted to improve the organizational performances to bring about the desired results ahead of time mainly on development, democracy, and ensuring justice nationwide.

In sum, ETV news showed that the institutional reform conducted was to improve the government's service delivery, sustain economic development, and make them efficient enough to go inline with the current socio-economic and political dynamics of the country. ETV news underscored the government's effort and commitment to ensure rule of law to respect the human and democratic rights of citizens.

4.1.5. Bilateral relations news

The new Prime Minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed, paid visits to neighboring and other countries around the world to consolidate bilateral relationship and economic cooperation with his country, Ethiopia. Accordingly, ETV covered 5 (6.7%) news on bilateral relations and economic cooperation themes. The news described Ethiopia is situated in the politically volatile region, the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia is directly dependent on the Port of Djibouti for imports and exports, that is why the new PM's visit of Djibouti was given high concern. The news described the PM's visit of Djibouti was strengthening the bilateral and economic cooperation between the two countries is the matter of Ethiopia's economic survival, and could not be conditioned by any means possible. This was confirmed by Worku and Ephrem (2020) which stated that the "normalization of relations with Somalia and Djibouti are the unbelievable dramatic achievements of the new PM." The focus of the news in this regard was acceptable since Ethiopia's economic development survival must be protected and sustained through strengthening

bilateral ties and economic cooperation. Thus, ETV reported that the Premier`s first official visit to Djibouti reads as follows:

“ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶክተር አብይ አህመድ ሚኒስትሩ የመጀመሪያውን የውጪ ሀገር ይፋዊ የስራ ጉብኝት በጅቡቲ እያደረጉ ነው። ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ኢትዮጵያና ጅቡቲ የጋራ እጣ ፋንታ ያላቸው በመሆኑ ለትብብራቸው መጠናከር እንዲሰሩ ጥሪ አቀረቡ።”

The news stipulates that Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed made his first official visit to Djibouti. The Prime Minister said that Ethiopia and Djibouti share a common destiny and called on work together to strengthen economic cooperation.

The above news described that the economic interdependence between Ethiopia and Djibouti is inevitable so that economic cooperation is necessary, which highlighted neither Ethiopia nor Djibouti could survive independently- their destiny was intertwined together forever. By quoting the address of the premier, the news continues stating that:

“በዚህ ጉብኝት የነበረንን የሁለትዮሽ ግንኙነት ወደ አዲስ ከፍታ ማሳደግ እንፈልጋለን። ኢኮኖሚያዊ ትስስራችንን እና ስትራቴጂካዊ አጋርነታችንን የሚያሳድጉ አዳዲስ እድሎችን በጋራ መሻት ይኖርብናል። ጅቡቲያውያንና ኢትዮጵያውያን በአፍሪካ ኢኮኖሚ ግንባር ቀደም ተሳታፊዎች ለመሆን ሰፊ እድል አላቸው። በታሪክ፣ በባህል፣ በመልካምድርና በወዳጅነት የተሳሰሩ ህዝቦች ስለሆንን የጋራ እጣፈንታችንን በጋራ እየገነባን እንገኛለን...”

“We want to take our bilateral relations to new heights. We must jointly look for new opportunities to grow our economic ties and strategic partnerships. Djiboutians and Ethiopians have a great opportunity to be the leading economies in Africa. We are building our common destiny together for we are people connected by history, culture, landscape, and friendship...”

As the excerpt above and the whole body of the news indicated, Ethiopia and Djibouti are endowed with huge development potentials to be the leading economies in Africa. The potentials would be supplemented by people of the two countries having similar culture, agro-climatic zones, and fraternity, for common growth and development. This news asserted that the two countries thereby inevitably create an economic partnership that takes them to the new heights of development. The news underscored that the fate of Ethiopians economic development interconnected with Djiboutians` economic development. This is presumably true that news might consider Ethiopia is a landlocked country, getting sea access via Djibouti. And also, the news

considered Djibouti`s economy is highly dependent on Ethiopia. Furthermore, ETV report regarding the Prime Minister`s flight to Eritrea deals with economic cooperation and utilization of Eritrean ports. It reads as:

“[ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር] ዶ/ር ዐቢይ በኤርትራ የአሰብና የምጽዋ ወደቦችን ጎብኝተዋል። በጉብኝታቸውም ኢትዮጵያ በቅርቡ የአሰብና የምጽዋ ወደቦችን መጠቀም የሚያስችላት ቁመና ላይ መሆኗን ገልጸዋል። ኢትዮጵያ ወደቦቹን በአማራጭነት ለመጠቀም የሚያስችላት ቅድመ ዝግጅቶች እየተጠናቀቁ መሆናቸውን የገለጹት ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ በቅርብ ቀናት ውስጥም የኢትዮጵያ መርከቦች የኤርትራን ምድር ይረግጣሉ ብለዋል። የኢትዮጵያ ቴክኒካል ኮሚቴም በቅርቡ በወደቦቹ ተገኝቶ ያደረገው ግምገማ ወደቦቹ አገልግሎት ለመስጠት በሚያስችላቸው ቁመና ላይ እንደሚገኙ ማረጋገጡን ከጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ጋር ወደ ስፍራው ያመራው የመንግስት የልዑካን ቡድን ገልጿል።”

This shows that Prime Minister Dr. Abiy visited the ports of Assab and Massawa in Eritrea. During his visit, the Premier said Ethiopia was in the right position to use the ports of Assab and Massawa soon. The news states that preparations were underway to enable Ethiopia to use the ports as an alternative. Ethiopian ships would sail into Eritrean in the coming days.

The news described that, following the restoration of the diplomatic relationship between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the Prime Minister's visit of Eritrean ports glimpse that Ethiopia is interested to look for an alternative sea outlet. The news assured that Ethiopia`s resort to the ports of Assab and Massawa would have a better comparative advantage to northern Ethiopia, than that of the Port of Djibouti. ETV covered the visits of the Premier into Sudan and Kenya which were mainly on building regional economic integration and strengthening public-to-public relations. The news demonstrated that Prime Minister`s visits of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, European countries, China and Japan were to strengthen economic cooperation and diplomatic relations. ETV, for instance, report on the Prime Minister discussion in Abu Dhabi, the capital of the United Arab Emirates, is indicated as:

... ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ በአቡዳቢ በነበራቸው ቆይታ ሀገራቱ ያላቸውን ግንኙነት ይበልጥ ለማጠናከር በመስማማት ኢንቨስትመንት፣ ጤና፣ የሀይል ልማትና ቱሪዝም ላይ በጋራ ለመስራት ከስምምነት ደርሰዋል። የልማት ፋይናንስ ድጋፍ ሌላው የጉብኝቱ አላማ ነበር።”

The report excerpt shows that during his stay in Abu Dhabi, the Prime Minister agreed to further strengthen bilateral ties and work together on investment, health, energy development, and tourism. Development finance was another purpose of the visit. Apart from bilateral ties and economic cooperation, the news supplemented that the PM visit of Abu Dhabi was to look for development finance from the United Arab Emirates.

To sum up, ETV news mainly stated that economic cooperation and bilateral ties with neighboring countries and countries around the world is a matter of ensuring Ethiopia's economic survival and could not be conditioned by any means possible. The news focused that Ethiopia is a poor landlocked country that requires sea outlets for imports and exports, and external financial mobilization, aids, and loans from friendly countries around the world for its economic development.

4.1.6. Conflict news

Some conflicts happened around the country even after the new Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed was elected on 2 April 2018. ETV news reports show that the conflicts had mainly two facets. The first one was the conflict that seemed to have had ethnic orientation. The other one was border conflict within the country and with neighboring country, Sudan.

Accordingly, ETV covered 5(6.7%) news which had conflict theme, seemed to be small in terms of coverage. This showed conflicts continued in the aftermath of the new Premier came to power. According to Worku and Ephrem(2020), the political reforms in Ethiopia affected 2.2 million people, half of whom were displaced since January 2018. This is an indication that ETV missed or ignored the conflict news coverage in the reform period. Perhaps, ETV, as a state owned media, did not commercialize the conflict news to get lucrative profits as online media do (Bartholomé *et al*, 2017). What makes it surprise was that the key informants did not include a list of conflict news covered by ETV while they were interviewed. This evidenced ETV had less concern on conflict news unlike the above-mentioned thematic news in the reform period. The following news indicated below could be an example of news reports having conflict issues.

“ሰሞኑን በምዕራብና ማዕከላዊ ኅንደር ዞኖችና አንዳንድ ወረዳዎች የተከሰቱ ግጭቶች የአካባቢውን ማህበረሰብ በመከፋፈል ክፍተት እንዲፈጠርና አብሮ በኖረው ህዝብ መሃል ቅራኔ እንዲኖር ለማድረግ ባለሙሉ አካላት ቀስቃሽነት የተፈጠረ መሆኑን የአማራ ክልል መንግስት

ኮሙኒኬሽን በሰጠው መግለጫ አስታወቀ።... በየጊዜው የሚገኙ ለውጦች ለማደናቀፍና በሀዘብና አመራሩ መካከል መከፋፈል እንዲኖር እንዲሁም ህብረተሰቡ ወደ ስርአት አልበኝነት እንዲገባ የማድረግ እንቅስቃሴዎች ግን ፈተና መሆናቸውን መግለጫው ጠቅሷል።”

The news states that the Amhara Regional State Communication[Bureau] said in a statement that the recent clashes in West and Central Gondar zones and some Woredas[Districts] have created divisions among the local community and created tensions among the people living in the area. "But the incitement to violence is a challenge," the statement said.

The news portrayed that there was an ethnic conflict between people (Amhara versus Qimant) in Gondar, which showed the conflict was triggered to create a gap between the communities - Amhara and Qimant- and the leaders in the seemingly ethnic based clashes and to incite violence. The news added the conflict caused significant deaths, damage of properties, and displacement from their inhabitants, and efforts exerted to rehabilitate and return the displaced ones to their respective locals. However, the news did not indicate the main reason for the ethnic conflict. It also did not highlight the role of the stakeholders such as elders, religious organizations and leaders, and the government in resolving the conflict and negotiating the conflicting parties- Amhara and Qimant- to ensure peace and stability in the area and bring them back to normal life.

In another news report, ETV stated that Amhara born people in Metekel town, in Benishangul Gumuz Regional State, were killed, and a significant number of people were displaced due to ethnic conflict happened between Gumuz and Amhara. The news excerpt is:

“በቤኒሻንግል ጉሙዝ ክልል መተክል ከተማ በሚኖሩ የአማራ ተወላጆ በጉሙዝ ብሄረሰብና በመተክል ከተማ ነዋሪዎች በማካከል በተቀሰቀሰ ግጭት 13 የአማራ ተወላጆች መገደላቸውንና በርካቶች ከመኖሪያ ቀያቸው መፈናቀላቸውን የአማራክልል ኮሚዩኒኬሽን ቢሮ አስታወቀ ።... ተፈናቃዮች በበኩላቸው ከዚህ በፊት በተመሳሳይ ችግር መዳረጋቸውን ገልጸው በወደመጣቸው ሀብትና ንብረት ምትክ ካሳ እንዲሰጣቸውና መንግስት እንዲያቋቁማቸው ጠይቀዋል።”

The above excerpt tells us that the Amhara Regional Communication Bureau announced that 13 Amhara born people were killed and many were displaced by clashes between the Gumuz and Amhara communities in the town of Metekel in the Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State. ... The

displaced on their part said they had suffered similar problems in the past and demanded compensation and the government to rehabilitate them.

The news demonstrated that ethnic-based conflict happened between Gumuz killed the Amhara people in Metekel. The news stated that the consequence of the clashes led Amhara people displaced. It also raised the ethnic clash was recurrent, and the victims` quest for the government to compensate for the damaged properties. However, the news did not indicate the main cause of the ethnic clash. It was a shallow report without substantiating it with further evidence who triggered what. ETV news in September 2018 had a conflict theme:

“በሶማሌና ኦሮሚያ አዋሳኝ አካባቢ በቀጠለው ግጭት በርካቶች ለሞትና ለአካል ጉዳት ሲዳረጉ በርካቶች ደግሞ ከመኖሪያ ቀያቸው ተፈናቅለዋል። የወሰን ግጭቱ በሂደት ወደ ኅሳ ግጭት እየተቀየረ እንደሆነ አንዳንድ የአካባቢው ነዋሪዎች ይናገራሉ። የኦሮሚያ ክልላዊ መንግስት በሰጠው መግለጫ በግጭቱ ዜጎች ህይወት ከመቀጠፉ በተጨማሪ ለአመታት ያፈሩት ሀብትና ንብረታቸው መድሟል፤ መኖሪያ ቤታቸውም ተቃጥሏል። እስካሁን ደርስ [መስከረም 10 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም] ከ7 መቶ ሺህ በላይ ነዋሪዎች ተፈናቅለው፤ በመጠለያ ካምፕ ውስጥ እንደሚገኙ ተገልጧል። ግጭቱን ለመቀረፍ የሁለቱ ክልሎች አመራሮች፣ የሃይማኖት አባቶችና የኅሳ መሪዎች ጥረት እያደረጉ ነው ተብሏል።”

The news stipulates that many people were killed and injured in the ongoing conflict on the border between Somali and Oromia, and many have been displaced. Some locals say the border conflict is slowly turning into ethnic conflict. In a statement, the Oromia Regional State assured that the conflict has not only claimed the lives of citizens but also destroyed the wealth and properties they accumulated over the years; and their houses were burned. So far, [September 2010] over 700,000 people who were displaced settled in refugee camps.

The above news described that there was a conflict erupted along Somali and Oromia border. The conflict brought significant casualties on people, damage of properties, and displacement, as the news described, which later turned into ethnic conflict. Here, the news indicated that the involvement of stakeholders and the efforts exerted to resolve the conflict. The report affirmed the conflict continued and then indicated the efforts to to halt the conflict ahead and settle peace between Somali and Oromia border. However, the news did not incorporate the voices of the victims to make the news much more objective, reliable, and credible, and balance. Hence, the fundamental ethical codes of journalism were violated. The overall news portrayed that the

occurrence of conflict and its consequences. Little attention was given to the involvement of the stakeholders to bring solutions about the crisis caused by the conflict along the Somali-Oromia border.

The news finalized the report by indicating the leaders of the two regions, religious leaders and tribal leaders are working together to resolve the conflict. ETV reported that the conflict happened along the Ethio-Sudanese border in December 2018[2011 E.C] as follows:

“ በመተማ በተደጋጋሚ በኢትዮጵያና በሱዳን አዋሳኝ ድንበሮች በሚፈጠሩ ግጭቶች ሳቢያ በአካባቢው የተሰማሩ አርሶ አደሮች በተገቢው መልኩ የግብርና ስራቸውን ማከናወን እንዳልቻሉ ተገለፀ። በግጭቱ የሰው ህይወት ከመጥፋት ባሻገር በርካታ የቤት እንስሳት እንደተወሰዱም የአካባቢው ነዋሪዎች አመልክተዋል። ግጭቱ በሱዳን ወታደሮች የሚደፍ በመሆኑ መንግስት ግጭቱን በማወቅ መፍትሄ እንዲሰጠን ሲሉም የአካባቢው ነዋሪዎች ተናግረዋል። ”

The news stated that due to the ongoing conflicts in Metema on the border between Ethiopia and Sudan, farmers in the area were not able to carry out their agricultural activities properly. The report continues stating, by citing the residents as evidence, in addition to the loss of lives, many domestic animals were also taken away. The news also stated that the government [of Ethiopia] should be aware of the conflict was backed by the Sudan army, and the residents of the area want a solution for the conflict.

The news showed that there was a recurrent border conflict in Metema along Ethio- Sudanese Border. The news quoted the farmers who became victims of the conflict. Even though there was no evidence describing why the recurrent conflict occurred; it mentioned the consequences of the conflict. The news, however, did not indicate the main cause that triggered the conflicts along the Ethio-Sudanese border since it lacked balance and objectivity.

In sum, ETV conflict news coverage indicated that conflict happened in the different parts of the countries brought a wide range of casualties. Even though ETV covered conflict, several conflict episodes were missed or ignored since the political reform in 2018. In most cases the conflict news covered did not indicate the main causes that triggered the conflict, be it community, border, or ethnic.

4.1.7. Laws` amendment news

One of the thematic issues that ETV reported was of the laws amendment issues. ETV thus reported 2 (2.7%) news that had laws amendment themes. The coverage of the laws` amendment news was minimal because the amendment of the laws occurred rarely as compared to other events during the reform period. ETV reported the law's amendments were one of the political reform agendas that the new PM Dr. Abiy Ahmed vowed during the ceremony held at assembly hall of the HPR on 2 April 2018. The news stated the laws amendment would improve the human and democratic rights of citizens, widen the political landscape, sustain the fast economic development and improve the livelihoods of youths, and ensure the prevalence of justice in the country. ETV broadcasted that the amendment of the Anti-terrorism proclamation on 2 January 2019 as:

“የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት የፀረ- ሽበር አዋጅ ለማሻሻል የቀረበውን ረቂቅ ምርምር አፀደቀ። የተሻሻለው አዋጅ የጋዜጠኞችንና ፖለቲከኞችን በቁጥጥር ለማዋል ጥቅም ላይ ሲውል የነበረን አንቀፅ ጨምሮ በርካታ ጉዳዮች መሻሻሉን ተመልክቷል። ይህም ሀገሪቱ የጀመረችውን ለውጥ ወደላቀ ደረጃ ለማሸጋገር፣ ፍትህና ዲሞክራሲን ለመገንባት የጎላ ሚና ይኖረዋል ተብሏል። የቀድሞው አዋጅ[2001 ዓ.ም የፀደቀ] በበርካታም የህግ ምሁራንና ፖለቲከኞች የመንግስት ተገዳዳሪ ድርጅቶችና ግለሰቦችን ለመወንጀል ሲጠቀምበት እንደነበር በምክር ቤቱ የህግ -ጉዳዮች ቋሚ ኮሚቴ ማብራሪያ ተሰጥቷል።”

This shows that the House of Peoples' Representatives approved the amended the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation. The amended proclamation showed much improvement, including the article used to arrest journalists and politicians. The news states that the amended Anti-Terrorism Proclamation would play an important role in taking the country to the next level and building justice and democracy. According to the House Standing Committee on Legal Affairs, many legal scholars and politicians argued that the government used it as an excuse for prosecuting opposition organizations and individuals in the previous proclamation adopted in 2009.

The news demonstrated that the amendment of the anti-terrorism proclamation would ensure the politicians and journalists exercising their rights without being accused of terrorists arbitrarily and the amendment would improve the undergoing reforms in the country one-step further. It also blamed the former proclamation (endorsed in 2009) for prosecuting opposition

organizations and individuals. However, the news appreciated the reform, but did not include the voices of the public.

In another news, ETV reported that the amendment of the Civil Society draft proclamation referred to the Legal, Justice and Democracy Affairs Standing Committee on 26 April 2019 as follows:

“የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት አባላት የሲቪል ማህበረሰብ ድርጅቶችን አዋጅ ለማሻሻል በተዘጋጀው ረቂቅ ላይ ተወያዩ። ከዚህ ቀደም ተግባራዊ የተደረገው አዋጅ ከውጭ ሀገራት የሚደረገውን የገንዘብ ምንጭ የሚገድብ እና ሲቪል ድርጅቶች ያላቸውን ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ ያካላሽ እንደነበር ተመልክቷል። የማሻሻያ ረቂቁ ሲዘጋጅ ጉዳዩ የሚመለከተው ባለድርሻ አካላት የተሳተፉበት መድረኮች ተዘጋጅታቸው እንደነበር ምክር ቤቱ ገልጧል። የማሻሻያ ረቂቅ አዋጁ ለዝርዝር እይታ ለህፃ፣ ፍትህና ዲሞክራሲ ጉዳዮች ቋሚ ኮሚቴ መመራቱን የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት አስታውቋል።”

The news demonstrates that Members of the House of Peoples' Representatives discussed a draft amendment to the Civil Society Proclamation. The House noted that the previous proclamation had not only limited foreign funding, but also undermined the political participation of civil society organizations. According to the House, forums were set up for the participation of stakeholders and collecting inputs to consolidate the draft. The House announced that the draft proclamation was referred to Legal, Justice and Democracy Standing Committee for detailed consideration.

The news was dedicated to the amendment of the civil society proclamation, which aimed to improving citizens' political participation through mobilizing financial resources from abroad and within the country. However, opposing issues regarding the amendment were not included. This was a clear indication that the news was not balanced and reported in favor of the government in power since one key informant dubbed ETV as it is the “watchdog of the government.”

To sum up, even though the coverage of the laws` amendment news seemed minimal, the laws amendment news highlighted the laws` amendment would improve the democratic system by promoting the participation of citizens in politics and the observance of human and democratic rights through the prevalence of justice in the country. The news stated that laws amendment would ensure citizens' political participation far better than the previous one.

4.2. News frame

This section focuses on news frames and analyzes perspectives on which they were broadcasted to the target audience during the reform period. Table 4 summarizes frames employed in the ETV broadcast. As can be seen in the table, ten frame types are identified.

Table 4: Frames employed in ETV political reform news

Frame Type	Frequency	Percent
Political reform frame	20	26.7
Peace frame	15	20.0
Attribution of responsibility frame	8	10.7
Economic cooperation frame	6	8.0
Political, attribution of responsibility and peace frame	6	8.0
Ethnic-conflict and attribution of responsibility frame	5	6.7
Institutional reform frame	5	6.7
Development, peace and attribution of responsibility frame	4	5.3
Conflict frame	2	2.7
Development frame	2	2.7
Other frame	2	2.7
Total	75	100

Source: Researcher's computation, 2019

4.2.1. Political reform news frame

The political reform frame mainly discussed the political reform that the new Premier, Dr. Abiy Ahmed, brought to reality after a couple of years of political resentments mainly in Oromia and the Amhara Regional States. Accordingly, Table 4 above showed that about 20(26.7%) of the news broadcasted had a political reform frame. Hence, ETV significantly covered political change that happened in the country after the TPLF/ EPRDF government was removed from power. All key informants stated that most political reform news was framed in due respect of government reform agendas mainly as per the directions of the editorials. According to the key informants, most political reform news were framed to reflect the political agenda underway, policy and programs of the government. One key informant further said the political reform news were “framed as a cult building mechanism- all the change fruits were first given to the change maker the so-called Team Lemma, composed of mainly high ranking government officials playing a vital role in the current political reform. Now it is given to the [new] PM only.” One of the political reform frame news that ETV reported on 26 May 2018 is:

“የፌዴራል ጠቅላይ ኅቃቤ በልዩ ሁኔታ ታይቶ አቶ አንዳርጋቸው ጽጌን ጭምር በተለያዩ ወንጀሎች ተከሰው በፍርድ ቤት ውሳኔ ተሰጥቷቸው የነበሩ 576 ታራሚዎች ይቅርታ እንደተደረገላቸው ገለጸ።”

Meaning, “the federal attorney general released Mr. Andargachew Tsige, who was the Secretary of Ginbot 7 Movement for Justice, Freedom and Democracy, with special attention and concern, including other 576 prisoners who were charged with various crimes.”

The news portrayed that Mr. Andargachew Tsige was given much more emphasis, presumably he was a famous politician who was arrested at Yemen during ex-PM, Hailemariam Desalegn, and charged with the act of terrorism, than that of the majority 576 prisoners who became the beneficiaries of the political reform of Dr. Abiy Ahmed’s government. The body of the news reported the positive change that the reform brought such as a significant number of political prisoners and journalists were released to widen the political landscape and build democracy in the country. On 21 June 2018, ETV framed the announcement made by the Patriotic Ginbot 7 Movement for Unity and Democracy in support of the political reform undergoing as:

“የአርበኞች ግንቦት 7 ባወጣው መግለጫ በጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶ/ር ዐቢይ አህመድ የቀረበው የሰላም ሃሳብ እንደሚቀበልና ለተግባራዊነቱም የበኩሉን እንደሚያደርግ ባወጣው መግለጫ አስታውቋል። ዶ/ር ዐቢይና የለውጥ ቡድናቸው ከኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ጎን በቆም በሚያደርጉት ትግል አብሯቸው መሆኑንም ገልጿል። “የሰላምነ ፖለቲካ” የምንመርጠው፣ የምናውቀውና የምንመኘው የትግል ስልት ነው” ... ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ የኢህአዴግ መንግስት የፀጥታና የደህንነት ሀይሎች፣ የአሸባሪነት ተግባራትን የሚፈጽሙ መሆኑን በይፋ ከመናገራቸውም ባሻገር ፓርቲና መንግስት ተቀላቅለው ነጻ ተቋማት እንዳይኖሩ መደረጉንና የዳኝነት ስርአቱ ከፍተኛ ችግር ያለት መሆኑን መግለጻቸውን አድንገዋል።”

Meaning, “the statement issued by Patriotic Ginbot7 showed that they would accept the peace proposal designed by Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed, for building democracy in this country and would be part of the implementation. As far as Dr. Abiy and his team siding with the Ethiopian people, Patriotic Ginbot7 would support them. “Civilized politics” is a strategy that Patriotic Gibot 7 chooses, knows, and aspires it. ETV report narrated that Patriotic Ginbot7 was in the support of the Prime Minister’s assurance that the EPRDF government’s security forces committed terrorist acts as well as merged the party and the government resulted in the absence of independent institutions and creating problems on the judiciary system.”

The report showed that Patriotic Ginbot7 appreciated the initiatives taken by PM Abiy Ahmed and his Team for building democracy and ensure the genuine multi-party system in Ethiopia. ETV recalled the inauguration ceremony held on 2 April 2018, on which the new Premier addressed HPR that new government was committed to building democracy, to widen the political space and, ensure human and democratic rights. ETV quoted the speech of the Premier, which showed building democracy and respecting human and democratic rights of citizens is fundamental and necessary in Ethiopia. For instance the ETV reported the new PM address HPR:

“ኢትዮጵያ የጋራችን የእኛ የሁላችን መሆኗን ተገንዝበን የሁሉም ድምፅ የሚሰማበት ሁላችንም የሚያሳትፍ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ስርአት የመገንባቱን ትግል አጠናክረን እንቀጥላለን። ዲሞክራሲ ሲገነባ መንግስት የዜጎችን ሃሳብ በነፃነት የመግለፅ መብት ማክበር አለበት። ዲሞክራሲን ከዜጎች ሰላማዊ እንቅስቃሴና ከመንግስት መሪነት ደጋፊነት እና ሆደ ሰፊነት ውጭ ማዳበር አይቻልም። በመሆኑም መንግስት የዜጎች ሰላማዊ እንቅስቃሴ እንዲያስተጋግድ በጽናት ይሰራል።”

Meaning, “Ethiopia belongs to all of us; the government would continue to intensify our struggle to build a participatory democracy. While building democracy, the government must respect the right of citizens` freedom of expression. Democracy cannot develop without the peaceful movement of citizens and the support and generosity of the government. Therefore, the government would work hard to ensure that the peaceful movement of the people is not infringed.”

The extract news above was mainly dedicated to expressing the need for building participatory democracy that accommodates the voice of everyone - the commitment of the government to realize it in patience. The news highlighted that the PM`s commitment to enfocing the rule of law to sustain the safety of the business of the people as well. ETV reported that:

“በዲሞክራሲያዊ አስተዳደር ውስጥ የህግ የበላይነት መስፈን ይገባዋል። የህግ የበላይነትን ለማስፈን በምናደርገው ትግል መርሳት የለሌለብን ቁም ነገር ህዝባችን የሚፈልገው የህግ መኖርን ብቻ ሳይሆን የፍትህ መረጋገጥንም ጭምር ነው። ገበታው ሰፊ በሆነበት ሁሉም ሰርቶ መበልጸግ በሚችልበት ኢትዮጵያችን አንዱ የሌላውን ለመንጠቅ የሚያስገድድ ይቅርና የሚያሳስብ ምንም ምክንያት የለም። ይልቁንም ወቅቱ የፈጠረልንን ልዩ አጋጣሚና ሀገራዊ አቅማችንን አቀናጅተን የእጥረት እና እጦት አስተሳሰብን በማስቀረት ለጋራ ብልፅግና እንትጋ።”

ለወጣቶች የሥራ እድል ይፈጠራል ያሉት ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ የዜጎች ከቦታ ቦታ ተንቀሳቅሶ የመስራት መብታቸው ይረጋገጣል ብለዋል።”

Meaning, “in the democratic administration, the rule of law must prevail. The important thing that should not be forgotten in the struggle for the rule of law, people of Ethiopia aspire not only the respect of the rule of law but also to the prevalence of justice. In Ethiopia where there are wider opportunities that everyone can work and prosper, there is no reason to worry and force others to snatch one`s properties. The Prime Minister marked jobs would be created for the youths and the rights of citizens to work in the areas they like would be guaranteed.

The above news focused on the political reform under the new Prime Minister Dr, Abiy Ahmed was a good opportunity to create enough wealth leading to development that benefits all including youths. The news stipulated the right to freedom of expression must be protected while the government attempted to building democracy. It kept indicating the rule of law and freedom of citizens` movement across the country must be guaranteed for a united growth and development.” It also revealed that building democracy was not sufficient by itself, but ensuring the prevalence of justice was necessary. As ETV is the main advocator of the political change of the country, as most key informants stated, “it was the editorial which framed the political change news.” ETV, in most cases, quoted and broadcasted the speeches of the new PM, which supposed to have positive repercussions to the country as a whole. This reflects that ETV framed the speech of the new PM as per the interest of the government reform agenda. Framing news in favor of the government in power is most prevalent in the state-sponsored media including ETV as Menychle (2019) confirmed in his study.

The 11 EPRDF Congress (3-5 October 2018) was organized in Hawassa city where Dr. Abiy Ahmed officially declared the ideology of EPRDF, Revolutionary Democracy, would be replaced by the new political thought, *Medemer*. ETV thus reported the headline of the news as:

“ለሁሉም የምትሆን ውብ አገር በመደመር መገንባት እንደሚገባ የኢህአዴግ ሊቀመንበርና የኢፌዴሪ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶ/ር ዐቢይ አህመድ ገለጹ።”

Meaning, “EPRDF Chairman and Prime Minister of the FDRE, Dr. Abiy Ahmed stated that a beautiful country must be built for all through *Medemer*.”

The ETV news headline gave clue PM’s intention to change the ideology that EPRDF adhered for the last 27 years and looked for better solutions via the alternative political thought what was dubbed as “*Medemer*.” The headline referred Revolutionary Democracy as repressive and undemocratic by its nature; and hence, creating political anarchism in the country. It blamed the previous political ideology, Revolutionary Democracy, and praising the new political thought, “*Medemer*,” and supported the direction of the change set out by the new PM. ETV news continued:

“...ዶክተር አብይ አህመድ አሁን ያለው ትውልድ ውብ ሀገር መገንባት አለበት ብለዋል። አሁን ላይ ያለን መሪዎች ኢትዮጵያን መቅረፅ ይገባናል ያሉ ሲሆን ይህንን ለማድረግ ደግሞ ዝርፊያና መጠላለፍ የበዛበትን ፖለቲካ ማስቅረትና ማስወገድ አለብን ብለዋል።”

Meaning, “Dr. Abiy Ahmed said that the current generation must build an attractive country. Our current leaders need to shape Ethiopia, and to do that, we need to put an end to the politics of robbery and interference.”

The news extract outlined that through implementing “*Medemer*” Philosophical thought, the current leaders must build Ethiopia that would accommodate the demands and interests of all citizens. To that end, the news stated that political conspiracy must be removed, by translating the new political thought, “*Medemer*.” According to the key informants, ETV political news were framed, taking into account thr “*Medemer*” Philosophical thought. Worku and Ephrem (2020) demonstrated that in the post-2018 in Ethiopia, “*Medemer*” became dominant agenda framing in the media outlets. At the closing remark of the Congress, ETV also reported through implementing “*Medemer*” Partner organizations [Harari, Somali, Afar, Gambella, and Benishangul] would have equal rights to participate and decide as Major EPRDF founding organizations. This is a clear indication that ETV framed, Revolutionary Democracy was repressive, undemocratic and dominating the politics under the banner of the four EPRDF founding members, excluding others as the name of “partner organizations.” The news supported the ruling party under the new PM, and blaming TPLF/ EPRDF political orientation.

In sum, the news attempted to portray the political reforms undertaken by the new Prime Minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed, such as the release of political prisoners, and change of the political ideology from Revolutionary Democracy into the new political thought what was dubbed as “*Medemer*.” ETV asserted that the “*Medemer*” political thought is a means of resolving the

long-entrenched conflict of interests, building democracy, and ensuring the prevalence of justice in the country.

4.2.2. Peace news frame

The second-largest news that ETV employed was the peace frame during the reform period. The peace frame used here mainly discussed the peace deal made with neighboring Eritrea after 20 years of stalemate. ETV used the peace frame for about 15 (20%) of the news as shown in Table 4 above. One key informant assured that unity, peace, and security, and rule of law were one of the news frames given large coverage during the political reform year. This is presumably true, which was observed in ETV news on peace deal with Eritrea and exiled political parties return to home.

ETV portrayed that settling the border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea was fundamental to brough peace and stability in the Horn of Africa as well. The news described the peace deal would end up the “no war no peace” status quo and create relief to military forces along the Ethio-Eritrea border for the last two decades, and communities of the two countries. The news highlighted the commitment of Dr. Abiy Ahmed’s government which seemed to have been irreversible during the predecessors` PMs of Ethiopia, Hailemariam Desalegn, and Meles Zenawi. It announced the government readiness to fully accept and implement the Algiers Agreement (signed by both sides in December 2000), and the decision of the Boundary Commission was a surprise to the international communities. Sadat (2019) described the peace deal as an “unprecedented move of PM Abiy Ahmed to end the tension that lasted for two decades, and it also hinted at the new Prime Minister’s foreign policy approach.” Another ETV news headline on 5 June 2018 explains as:

“የኢ.ህ.ዴ.ግ ስራ አስፈፃሚ ኮሚቴ የአልጄርሱን ስምምነትና የድንበር ኮሚሽንን ውሳኔ መሉ በመሉ ለመቀበል ዝግጁ መሆኑን ዛሬ በሰጠው ጋዜጠዊ መግለጫ አስታወቀ።

Meaning, "The EPRDF Executive Committee is ready to fully accept the Algiers Agreement [signed on December 12, 2000 G.C] and the decision of the Boundary Commission in a press release issued today."

The headline was framed to portray the approach and commitment of the government to restore peace and stability between the two countries by implementing the Algiers` Agreement. The news was framed in the manner to show the weaknesses of predecessors` Prime Ministers` and appreciated the readiness of the new Prime Minister to restore peace and ease the border conflict afterward. ETV concluded its report that:

“በሁለቱ ሀገራት መካከል ላለፉት ዓመታት ያለውን ቅራኔ በመፍታት ሰላም ማስፋን ብቸኛው መፍትሄ ነው ያለው መግለጫው የኤርትራ መንግስት ያለምንም ቅድመ ሁኔታ ተመሳሳይ እርምጃ እንዲወስድ ኮሚቴው ጥሪ አቅርቧል።”

Meaning, “The only solution is to resolve the conflict between the two countries and build peace,” the statement called on the Eritrean government to take similar action unconditionally.”

The extract indicated ETV used the peace frame approach that fitted with the call of the new Prime Minister during the sworn ceremony held on 2 April 2018. In another news on 16 September 2018 ETV reported that with the headline:

“ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶ/ር ዐቢይ አህመድና የኤርትራው ፕሬዝዳንት ኢሳያስ አፈወርቂም ስምምነቱን ለመፈራረም ጅዳ ገብተዋል። ስምምነቱ ከሰዓታት በኋላ እንደሚደረግ ይጠበቃል።”

Meaning, “Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed and Eritrean President Isaias Afewerki are in Jeddah[Saudi Arabia] to sign the agreement. The agreement is expected to be finalized in a few hours.”

The headline of the news was mainly framed in the way that showed Dr. Abiy Ahmed`s effort to settle the long rival conflict with Eritrea and restore peace and stability in the region. The new also framed in a way that showed the peace deal between Ethiopia and Eritrea would be conducted with the presence of the Saudi government. However, the news also slightly touched, to use economic cooperation frame, which described that “Dr. Abiy Ahmed would hold discussions with the Saudi government to strengthen bilateral ties and economic cooperation.” ETV also reported the news on 9 October 2018 that the government established an organization ,Ministry of Peace, to facilitate and ensure lasting peace in the country which was framed in a manner to show strengthen peace and stability in the country by implementing the shared cultural values that Ethiopians used for over the years.

Generally, ETV news was framed in the manner that reflected the effort of the government under the leadership of the new PM, Dr. Abiy Ahmed to bring peace and stability in the Horn of Africa -of which one was resolving the long rival border conflict with Eritrea. The peace frame used by

ETV appreciated the commitment and approach of the government under the new PM in ensuring lasting peace with Eritrea and other neighboring countries. The news also showed that as peace is fundamental, the government made it institutional by establishing the Ministry of Peace to create lasting peace and stability in the country.

4.2.3. Attribution of responsibility news frame

The third-largest frame exhibited in ETV news coverage was the attribution of responsibility frame. It discussed mainly the responsibility and the possible solutions to be taken at the government, organizations, groups, and individual levels to curb the political crisis in the country. Under this, it was found that ETV employed an attribution of responsibility frame on 8 (10.7%) of its news. The news was framed mainly to reflect that the responsibilities that should be carried out by governmental bodies, political parties, organizations, groups, individuals including religious leaders to alleviate the violence in the different parts of the country. According to Worku and Ephrem (2020), due to various factors, the current political crisis was exacerbated, which brought a wide range of consequences. To ease the political tension, and create peace and stability in the country, there were news reports that contained attributions of responsibilities. The news (reported on 10 February 2019), for instance, indicated below was framed to show the call of religious leaders for the government to conserve cultural and religious values, and develop a curriculum for students. The news also portrayed the government should create job opportunities for youngsters to ensure lasting peace in the country.

“በሀገሪቱ የተለያዩ አካባቢዎች የሚፈጠሩ ሁከቶች የባህላዊና ህይወጥታዊ እሴቶች መመናመን መሆኑ ተገለፀ።

ላለፉት በርካታ ዓመታት የሃይማኖት አባቶችና ተቋማት ወጣቱን በግብረ ግብ እንዲያደግ፣ የመቻቻልና አብሮ የመኖር እሴቶችን በማስገንዘብ በኩል ክፈተት በመኖሩ የሁከቶች መፈጠር፣ ንብረት መውደምና የህይወት መጥፋት መንስኤ መሆኑን አቲቪ ያነጋገራቸው የሃይማኖት አባቶች አስታወቁ። በመሆኑም ችግሩን ለመፍታት ሃይማኖታዊና ባህላዊ እሴቶችን ከማጠናከር ባለፈ በመንግስት ደረጃም የግብረ ግብ ስርዓተ-ትምህርት ተቀርቦ ተማሪዎችን ስለመቻቻል፣ መፈቃቀድና አብሮነት እሴቶችን ማስተማርና በሂደትም እንዲገለብቱ ይገባል ብለዋል። ከዚህ በተጨማሪም ሁሉም አካላት በየደረጃው ህግና ስርዓት እንዲከበር ከማድረግ ጀምሮ ሌሎች ተጨባጭ መፍትሄዎችን መሻት አስፈላጊ እንደሆነ ተመክቷል። የሀገሪቱ መንግስት በተለይ

የሰራ እድል በመፍጠር ወጣቶች ለሀገራዊ ግንባታ በኩላቸውን አስተዋፅኦ እንዲያበረክቱ ከማስቻል በተጨማሪ አስተማሪ የእርምጃ እርምጃ መውሰድ እንደሚገባው አሳስበዋል።”

Meaning, “the occurrence of violence in different parts of the country is a result of the loss of cultural and religious values. Religious leaders interviewed by ETV said that there is a gap in the teaching and the development of morals, tolerance, and coexistence among religious leaders and institutions over the past several years led to damage of properties and the loss of lives. Therefore, to solve the problem, in addition to strengthening religious and cultural values, a curriculum should be formulated at the government level to teach students about tolerance, consent, and solidarity values and develop them in the process. Further, it is important to seek other concrete solutions, starting with ensuring the law and order at all levels. They [Religious leaders] urged the government to create job opportunities, especially for young people, to contribute their part for the nation-building process.”

The news extract above was framed mainly to show the recommendation of religious leaders about the teaching of religious and cultural values to the youths. The news thus glimpse strengthening religious and cultural values must be the duties and responsibilities not only to religious institutions and leaders but also to the government to incorporate them into the curriculum. The news also showed that the government must ensure peace and stability by translating the laws of the country on the ground, as well as creating jobs for youths. The news was framed to show the causes that triggered the involvement of youths in the political crisis, and proposed solutions mainly on teaching of cultural and religious values.

ETV news on 18 December 2019 by citing the Inter-religious Council of Ethiopia demonstrated that “peace is the gift from the Creator, which requires proper attention from the government and the public at large. Religious leaders; therefore, should be responsible to teach and due care of their children to have a sense of humanity, and ensure peace and safety of their communities and the country. The government should secure peace and stability and curb the suffering of the public and the community due to the consequences of violence.” The report indicated that to ensure peace in the country, the religious leaders, and the government must take their respective responsibilities. The news was framed in a manner indicating government and religious leaders should teach about humanity and the coexistence of the communities and ensure peace and safety of the country as a whole.

Another example of the attribution of responsibility frame was ETV's report (on 12 October 2019) on the call of the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia to strengthen the multi-party system in the country. The report confirmed that the opposition political parties' participation to strengthen the multi-party system is crucial. The headlines of News stated that:

“ለመድብለ ፓርቲ ስርአት ግንባታ መጎልበት ተፎካካሪ ፓርቲዎች ተሳትፎአቸውን እንዲያጠናክሩ የኢትዮጵያ ብሄራዊ ምርጫ ቦርድ ዕህፈት በት ጥሪ አቀረበ።”

Meaning, “the Secretariat of the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia has called on opposition parties to strengthen their participation in building a multi-party system.”

The news was framed to show the degree to which the participation of opposition political parties was fundamental to consolidate the multi-party system in the country. The the news framed the Board was under reform to accommodate the demands and interests of the political parties. Before reform period, the Board was one of the government institutions highly criticized for favoring the ruling party, EPRDF, and carried out the interests of the few political elites (Worku and Ephrem, 2020). The news indicated that it is the duties and responsibilities of the Board to widen the political landscape for the political parties. The body of the news stated:

“ምርጫዎችን ነጻ፣ ሰላማዊና ተአማኒ ከማድረግ አኳያም የተፎካካሪ ፓርቲዎችን ተሳትፎ የላቀ መሆኑን ገልጸው ለመድብለ ፓርቲ ስርአት መጎልበት በቀጣይም ይበልጥ የተጠናከረ ተሳትፎ እንዲያደርጉም ጠይቀዋል።”

Meaning, "The participation of opposition parties is crucial in making the elections free, peaceful and credible.”

The above-extracted news portrayed it is the duties of the Board to ensure the participation of political parties in a transparent and accountable manner. The news concluded (citing the statement of opposition parties) that the government and the Board are expected to do more to widen the political space:

“የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎቹ በውይይቱ ላይ እንደገለጹት ህገ መንግስቱም ሆነ የምርጫ አዋጁ ግልፅ ቢሆንም በአፈጻጸም ላይ የሚታዩ ችግሮችን በመፍታት የፖለቲካ ምህዳሩን ለማስፋት መንግስትና ምርጫ ቦርዱ ብዙ ስራ እንደሚጠበቅበት አሳስበዋል።”

Meaning, "although the constitution and the election proclamation are clear, the political parties have said that the government and the election board will do a lot to solve the problem of implementation.”

The story was framed to show the complaint that the Board did not work as per the expectation of the political parties even though the enabling environment was created. As a result, it needs to do assignments given to it. The responsibilities of the opposition parties on one hand, and the responsibilities that should be taken by the incumbent government and National Electoral Board of Ethiopia to widen the participation of the political space and strengthen the multi-party system following the political reform undertaken. According to the key informants, the news reported by ETV was produced by the direction of the editorials and channel managers; there was no room that the news could not be provocative.

To sum up, the attribution of responsibility frame mainly discussed responsibilities to be taken at government, political parties organizations, groups, and individual levels to curb the existing political crisis in the country. The news was framed to show the duties and responsibilities that should be carried out by the governmental bodies, political parties, organizations, groups, and individuals to resolve the political crisis. Most news was not, however, provocative, and attempted to present them smoothly.

4.2.4. Economic cooperation news frame

The economic cooperation news frame mainly pointed out the economic connection between Ethiopia and friendly countries around during the reform period. Accordingly, in ETV news, the economic cooperation frame was found on 6 (8%) news during the reform period. If we look at the news produced on 04 December 2018 regarding the PM's first foreign visit, Djibouti, it was framed to indicate the economic cooperation between Ethiopia and Djibouti was inevitable. Since the news took into account that Ethiopia is one of the landlocked countries in the Horn of Africa that relied on Port of Djibouti for sea access to imports and exports. The headline of the news thus stated that:

“ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶክተር አብይ አህመድ ኢትዮጵያና ጅቡቲ የጋራ እጣ ፋንታ ያላቸው በመሆኑ ለትብብራቸው መጠናከር እንዲሰሩ ጥሪ አቀረቡ።”

Meaning, "Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed called on Djibouti to work together to strengthen their cooperation as they have a shared destiny."

The extract news demonstrated that the call of the PM there should be economic cooperation between Ethiopia and Djibouti. The news was framed the two countries have been intertwined together inseparably, which might have assured that one cannot survive without the involvement of the other.

The body of the story confirmed that Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed was committed to strengthening economic cooperation with Djibouti. The news demonstrated the leaders were desirous to create economic integration between the two countries. The excerpt of the main body of the news is indicated below:

“የጋራ እጣፈንታ ያለን ህዝቦች በመሆናችን ለህዝቦቻችን ተጠቃሚነት ከፍተኛ ያለ ስራ በጋራ መስራት አለብን። እኔ እንደ ኢትዮጵያ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትርነቴ ትስስራችን ይበልጥ እንዲጠናከር ያለብንን ሃላፊነት በሙሉ በመወጣት ዘላቂ እድገት እንዲኖራቸው የበኩሌን እወጣለሁ የኢትዮጵያ እድገት ውሰን አይደለም የኢትዮጵያ እድገትና ልማት በአጠቃላይ ከቀጠናው ጋር በተለይ ደግሞ ከጅቡቲ ጋር የተሳሰረ ነው። ...ኘሬዝዳንት ኢስማኤል ኦማር ጌሌ በበኩላቸው ጅቡቲ ከኢትዮጵያ ጋር ያላትን ኢኮኖሚያዊ ትብብር አጠናክሮ እንደምትቀጥል አረጋግጠዋል።”

Meaning," as a people with a shared destiny, we must work together for the benefit of our people. As Prime Minister of Ethiopia, I will do my part to strengthen our ties and ensure sustainable development. Ethiopia's growth is not only limited [to its boundary] but also it is linked to the [East African] region in general and Djibouti in particular... President Ismail Omar Guelleh on his part reaffirmed that Djibouti will continue to strengthen its economic cooperation with Ethiopia.”

The news extract above was framed to show the commitments of the leaders of Ethiopia and Djibouti to work in cooperation to strengthen the economic cooperation for mutual benefits and sustainable growth and development. The news appreciated and supported the economic cooperation between the two countries. It further depicted the PM’s asseration Ethiopian Economic growth is linked to East Africa, which showed the economic integration to all countries of East Africa.

ETV report on 07 May 2018 also was framed mainly to portray economic cooperation with Kenya:

“ኢትዮጵያውያን በሚኖሩበት አገር መብታቸው ተከብሮ እንዲኖሩ ለማድረግ እየተንቀጣቀሱ ያሉት ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶክተር አብይ አህመድ በኬንያ በተለያዩ ምክንያት በእስር ላይ የሚገኙ ኢትዮጵያውያን እንዲፈቱ ያቀረቡት ጥያቄ በፕሬዝዳንት ኡሁና ኬንያታ ተቀባይነት አግኝቷል።”

Meaning, "Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed's call for the release of Ethiopians detained in Kenya for various reasons was accepted by President Uhuru Kenyatta."

The news showed Ethiopia and Kenya agreement to establish a joint business center along Ethiopian Kenyan Moyale. The news described the Ethiopian government's readiness to share the experience of Ethiopian Airlines to Kenyan Airways to work together and learn each other. ETV news also asserted the Prime Minister's visit to Europe and China mainly focused on economic cooperation, which indicated the employment of economic cooperation frame. Most key informants stated, that in ETV news, the economic cooperation frame was employed especially while the new premier paid visits to neighboring countries and beyond, during the reform period.

Generally, in ETV, most news was framed to show that the efforts of the new Premier in consolidating the economic cooperation with neighboring countries, and friendly countries around the world since Ethiopia is mainly in need of sea outlets, as it is a landlocked country, and financial resources to its economic development.

4.2.5. Political, attribution of responsibility and peace news frame

One of the findings of the coding practice was emergence of what is known as complex categories of frames in the political news of the ETV broadcast. Accordingly, this is a frame having combination of political, attribution of responsibility, and peace frames in some of the ETV news. The frame on 6 (8%) news as shown in the Table 4 above. The news on the PM's discussion in Mekele on 14 April 2018 can be taken as an example:

“የምንገነባው ፖለቲካዊ ስርዓት የኢትዮጵያን አንድነት የሚያጠናክርና የህዝቦችን የዲሞክራሲና የመልማት ጥያቄ የሚመልስ መሆን አለበት። ለትግራይ እውቅና መስጠት፣ ለአማራ እውቅና መስጠት፣ ለኦሮሞ እውቅና መስጠት በጣም ተገቢ እና የትግላችን ፍሬ ነው። ነገር ግን ትግራይነት ጠንክሮ ጠንክሮ ኢትዮጵያዊነት ካጠፋ... ከአንድ ችግር ወደ ሌላ ችግር እንሄዳለን ማለት ነው። ትግራይ በቋንቋው ለመናገር፣ ባህሉን ለማክበር፣ ማንነቱን ማወቅ የጠየቀው ኢትዮጵያዊነቱን ለማጣት አይደለም። ኢትዮጵያ ነች፣ ከዛ በመለስ ደግሞ ቋንቋ አለች፣ ማንነት አለች፣ እሱ ይከበርልኝ የሚል ነው። ይህ ሁለቱ ጉዳይ ሳይጋጭና ታርቆ መሄድ አለበት።”

Meaning, “the political system we [Prime Minister's leadership] are building should strengthen Ethiopia's unity and the people's demand for democracy and development. Recognition of Tigray, Amhara and Oromo is the right thing to do and the fruit of our struggle. However, if the strength of Tigray - to know its identity, speak its language, respect its culture- loses its

Ethiopianness, we will shift from one problem to another. Apart from Ethiopianness, the quest is that there are my language and identity and shall be respected. The two issues [Ethiopianness and identity quest] must be reconciled without conflict.”

The news extract above was framed to show the PM’s discussion regarding strengthening Ethiopian unity and responding to the demand of the people for democracy and development. The news demonstrated that the quest for identities and exercising them should not affect Ethiopianness. The news stated that if Ethiopianness is affected, the political crisis inherited would not be resolved. The news attempted to show that the PM discussion focused on the need for reconciling the quest of ethnic identities practiced during EPRDF with Ethiopianness and Ethiopianism through negotiations and discussions in the political system being built. The news supported the idea of the new PM, which showed that ethnic-based federalism became a chronic disease on the unity of the country and the inclusiveness of nations, nationalities, and peoples. In short, the political quest for democracy, identity, and development should not be an obstacle for the unity of Ethiopia and Ethiopianism. The same news was also incorporated the attributions of responsibility frame as:

“የኢትዮጵያዊነት ባህልና እሴቶችን ለወጣቶች ለማስተማርና ለማሳወቅ የላቀ ትኩረት እንዲሰጥ የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶ/ር አብይ አህመድ አሳሰቡ። በዚህ ረገድ የሃይማኖት አባቶች፣ የሀገር ሽማግሌዎች፣ መንግስታዊና የመንግስታዊ ያልሆኑ ተቋማት በመሳተፍ ድርሻቸውን መወጣት ይጠበቅባቸዋል...።”

Meaning, "Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed called for greater attention to educating and informing the youth of Ethiopian culture and values. Religious leaders, elders, governmental and non-governmental organizations are expected to play their part in this regard.”

The extract pointed out that due attention should be given to Ethiopian cultural and religious values. The news noted that religious leaders, elders, governmental and non-governmental organizations should carry out their respective duties and responsibilities in educating youths in Tigray, which focused on Ethiopianness and Ethiopians.

The same story below employed the peace frame, which showed that conflict, is an outdated fashion and backward in the 21st century, which showed that conflicts should be resolved through peaceful means. The news discussed peaceful resolution mechanisms benefit not only Ethiopians but also the whole East Africa. Thus, the news was produced to show how peaceful

dialogue was fundamental to ensure peace and stability in the country. The same news extract reads as:

“በኢህአዴግ በኩል ከኤርትራም ከሌሎች በማንኛውም በጠላትነት ከሚታዩ ሀይሎች አሁን ጊዜ አልፎበታል ብሎ ያምናል። አሁን መገዳደል ጊዜ አልፎበታል። ለጥይት ገንዘብ ማባከን ጊዜ አልፎበታል። የሚያጨቃጭ ጉዳይ ካለ ተቀምጠን እንነጋገር። ተቀምጠን ተነጋግረን ዛሬ የማይፈታ ከሆነ ቀጠሮ እንያዝ፣ ሳምንት እንገናኝ። በዛ መካከል ግን ጥይት ይቅር፤ ደም መቃባት ይቅር፤ ኢያስፈልግም የሚል አቋም አለን። የሄ ለኢትዮጵያ ጥቅም ብለን ብቻ ሳይሆን ለኤርትራ ህዝብም፣ ለሱዳን ህዝብም፣ ለጅቡቲ ህዝብም አጠቃላይ ለምስራቅ አፍሪካ ህዝብ ሰላም ያስፈልጋል።”

Meaning, “on the part of the EPRDF, there is a belief that hostility with other forces including Eritrea is an outdated fashion. Now it is not a time to kill. It is too late to waste money on bullets. If there is a dispute, let us sit down and talk. If that does not work today, let us make an appointment. In the meantime, leave the bullet and suspend the bloodshed, we [EPRDF] say no. This benefits not only [the people of] Ethiopia, but also the people of Eritrea, the people of Sudan, the people of Djibouti and the people of East Africa in general.”

In sum, ETV framed the political news to strengthen Ethiopian unity and respond to the demand of the people for democracy and development. The news emphasized the teaching of Ethiopian cultural, religious values for citizens especially the youths are fundamental to ensure peace, and stability for it benefits not only Ethiopia but also the whole East African region.

4.2.6. Ethnic-conflict and attribution of responsibility news frame

Ethnic-conflict and attribution of responsibility frame was another complex category of news frame characterized by a report and explanation of the existence of ethnic conflicts, and attribution of responsibility at government and societal levels for the same problem. The complex category of frame accounted for about 5(6.7%) news. ETV news on 11 August 2018 had to report the following for example:

“በምዕራባዊ ዞን በጉጂ[አሮሞ]ና በጌዲዮ መካከል በተቀሰቀሰ ግጭት በሰዎችና በንብረት ላይ የሚደርሰው ጉዳት እንደቀጠለ መሆኑ ተገለፀ። ከአራት ወር በፊት በተቀሰቀሰው ግጭት ምክንያት በርካቶች ቀያቸውን ለቀው ወደተለያዩ አካባቢዎች በመሄዳቸው ለከፋ ችግር መጋለጣቸው ተመልክቷል። እናቶችና ህፃናት የህክም እና የአልሚ ምግብ እጥረት

ያጋጠማቸው በመሆኑ የተለያዩ ድርጅቶች የድጋፍ እጃቸውን እንዲዘረጉ ጥረት እየተደረገው ተብሏል።”

Meaning, “conflict between people in Guji [Oromo] and Gedio communities in the West Gujji Zone continues to cause death to people and damage of properties. As a result of the conflict erupted four months ago, many left their homes, and are exposed to various problems. It is said as mothers and children are facing medical and nutritional deficiencies, efforts are being made to reach out to the issue to different [humanitarian] organizations for assistance.”

The news mainly discussed ethnic conflict that happened between Gujji Oromo and Gedio in the west Gujji zone, and the consequences followed. The news evidenced that ethnic conflict happened between Gujji Oromo and Gedio, even if it attempted to broadcast it softly. At any time while reporting ethnic conflict, ETV tried its best not to make it provocative, as most key informants state agreed. The same news employed the attribution of responsibility frame to suspend the ethnic conflict between Gujji Oromo and Gedio, and efforts taken to rehabilitate them:

“መንግስት በሁለቱ ወንድማማች ማህበረሰብ መካከል የተፈጠረውን ግጭት ለመፍታት ጥረት እያደረገ መሆኑን የሰላም ሚኒስትር ወ/ሮ ሙፍሪያት ከሚል አስታውቀዋል። የሁለቱ ማህበረሰብ ሽማግሌዎች በተለይ አባገዳዎች፣ አመራሮችና የሃይማኖት አባቶች ሃላፊነታቸውን በአግባቡ እንዲወጡ ወ/ሮ ሙፍሪያት አሳስበዋል። ወ/ሮ ሙፍሪያት አክለውም የተፈናቀሉትን ህብረተሰብ ክፍሎች ወደ ቀያቸው ለመመለስና ለማቋቋም መንግስት ጥረት እያደረገ ቢሆን ሁሉም ዜጋና ድርጅቶች ሃላፊነታቸውን እንዲወጡ ጥሪ አስተላለፈዋል።”

Meaning, "the government is working to resolve the conflict between the two fraternal communities," said Minister of Peace, Muffriat Kemil. Mrs. Muffriat urged the elders of the two communities, especially *Abba Gedas*, government and religious leaders, to fulfill their [social] responsibilities. Mrs. Muffriat added that even if the government is making efforts to repatriate and rehabilitate the displaced, it is also the duties and responsibilities of all citizens and humanitarian organizations.”

The news extract was framed mainly in a manner to show the call of Mrs. Muffriat, Minister of Peace for the elders of the two ethnic groups, especially *Abba Gedas*, government and religious leaders to resolve the ethnic conflict and play their role in return the displaced ones to their residential areas. The news portrayed that the call of Mrs. Miffriat that all citizens and

humanitarian organizations to carry out their duties and responsibilities in the rehabilitation program. Another example of ETV news (30 September 2019) employed both the ethnic-conflict and attribution of responsibility frames was the ethnic conflict between Qimant and Amhara in Gonder in the Amhara National Regional State. For instance, the conflict between Qimant and Amhara reads as:

“የራሳቸውን ፖለቲካዊ ጥቅም ለማሳካት ሲሉ በአንዳንድ ራስ ወዳድ ግለሰቦች በተፈጠረ ትንኮሳ ለዘመናት አብሮ በኖረው የቅማንትና አማራ ማህበረሰብ መካካል ግጭት በመቀስቀስ በሁለቱም ማህበረሰብ በኩል የበርካታ ህይወት መጥፋትና የንብረት መውደም መከሰቱን የአማራ ክልል መንግስት ኮሙኒኬሽን ገለጠ። ሰሞኑን በምዕራብና ማዕከላዊ ጎንደር ዞኖችና አንዳንድ ወረዳዎች የተከሰቱ ግጭቶች የአካባቢውን ማህበረሰብ በመከፋፈል ክፍተት እንዲፈጠርና አብሮ በኖረው ህዝብ መሃል ቅራኔ እንዲኖር ለማድረግ ባለሙሉ አካላት ቀስቃሽነት የተፈጠረ መሆኑን የአማራ ክልል መንግስት ኮሙኒኬሽን በሰጠው መግለጫ ያስታወቀው።”

Meaning, “Amhara Regional State Government Communication stated that many lives were lost and properties were damaged due to the conflict occurred between Qimant and Amhara communities, which have been coexisting for centuries due to by some selfish individuals for their own political gain. According to a statement issued by the Amhara State Government Communication, the recent clashes in the West and Central Gondar Zones and some Woredas were designed by individuals to divide and create rifts between the two communities which coexisted in harmony for centuries.”

The news was framed to show the occurrence of ethnic conflict between Qimant and Amhara in Gondar. The news demonstrated that some self-centered individuals triggered the ethnic conflict resulted in the deaths, displacements, and damage of properties, created the division between Qimant and Amhara. The same news employed attribution of the responsibility frame as well:

“... የቅማንት የማንነት ጥያቄ ህገ- መንግስቱን በመከተል የክልሉ ምክር ቤት በመመለስ ብሄረሰቡ የራሱን አስተዳደር እንዲመሰርት መብት በመስጠት ክልሉ የቅማንት ህዝብ በብዛት በሚኖሩባቸው ቀበሌዎች የህብረተሰቡን አስተዳደር ለመመስረት እንቅስቃሴዎችን መጀመሩን ገልጿል። ሰላም ለማረጋገጥ የሁሉም ህዝብ ተሳትፎና ርብርብ አስፈላጊ በመሆኑ ህብረተሰቡ ለዚህ ክፍተኛ አስተዋጾ ማድረግ እንደሚገባውም መግለጫው አሳስቧል።”

Meaning, “in response to the quest of Qimant identity, the Regional Council recognized the right to establish its own administration, as the result of which the Region started activities to establish the Qimant administration in the Kebeles where the Kemant people live. The Statement also called on all public participation is crucial to make a significant contribution to the peace process.”

The extract portrayed actions taken by the regional government regarding the self-administration of Qimant. The news was also framed in a way to show the response of the regional government and its call, which requested the participation of the public to the peace process. The news was framed to indicate the ethnic conflict occurred between the two ethnic groups in a soft way- an attempt not to make provocative. The news framed in support of the actions of the regional government and excluded the voices of the victims on the ground. Most news was framed to underscore the efforts taken by the governmental bodies to resolve the issues and rehabilitate the displaced ones.

Generally, during the reform period, the news reported mainly on ethnic conflict, and government and society are presented as responsible actors to resolve the problems through various intervention mechanisms. Most news emphasized that ethnic conflicts that happened in the country brought a wide range of causalities, which required pertinent solutions.

4.2.7. Institutional reform news frame

The reform frame shows the news focus on institutional reform during the reform period. The ETV news thus had employed the stated frame on about 5(6.7%) of its news articles. It focused on the institutional reforms conducted under the new Premier Dr. Abiy Ahmed such as the reform on NEBE. The news showed that the incoming 2012 E.C [2020 G.C] national election has to be free, fair, and credible. It also described that political parties would be invited to participate in the reform process of the Board. The excerpt of the news indicates the same:

“በ2012 የሚካሄደው ሃገራዊ ምርጫ ነፃ፣ ፍትሃዊና ተፃማኒነት ያለው እንዲሆን የሚያስችል የሪፎርም ስራ እያከናወነ እንደሚገኝ የብሄራዊ ምርጫ ቦርድ አስታወቀ። አዳዲስ ወደ ሀገር ውስጥ የገቡ የፖለቲካ ሀይሎች ተሳትፎ በሪፎርም እንደሚካተትም ተገልጿል። ይህን ማሻሻያ ለማድረግ የሚያስችል ዝግጅት መጀመሩን የገለፁት የቦርዱ ስብሰባ አምባሳደር ሳሚያ ዘካሪያ የተፎካካሪ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎችም በማሻሻያ ስራው ላይ ተሳትፎ እንዲኖራቸው ይደረጋል ብለዋል።”

Meaning, “NEBE has announced that it is carrying out reforms to ensure free, fair and credible national elections to be held in 2012 E.C [2020 G.C]. The participation of new political forces entered into the country will be included in the reform. Preparations are underway to make the amendment, said Ambassador Sami Zekaria, NEBE`s chairperson. She added that contending political parties will be involved in the reform process.”

The extract was framed to indicate NEBE undertook the reform, which showed that the returned political parties from abroad would be incorporated in the reform process. This might be since NEBE was one of the government organizations, which was highly criticized for favoring the ruling party, EPRDF. Worku and Ephrem (2020) stated that right on the 2005 national election, illegal and clandestine harassment of the opposition political parties under the cover of anti-terrorism, media, and civil society deteriorated the human rights situations. Therefore, ETV news frame demonstrated the new government was determined to building the image of NEBE via the reform it undertook. The same news described that the implementation of the technology system was part of the NEBE reform in the coming 2020 national election:

“ምርጫው ነጻና ፍትሃዊ እንዲሆን የሚያስችል የቴክኖሎጂ የመርጃ ስርዓቶችንም በ2012ቱ ምርጫ ተግባራዊ ይደረጋልም ብለዋል።”

Meaning, “Ambassador Sami Zekaria said that technology based information system will be implemented in the 2012 E.C [2020 G.C] national election to ensure free and fair election.”

The body including the conclusion of the news was framed that NEBE`s reform such as amendment of laws, implementation of technologies, and organizational setup would incorporate pertinent stakeholders and opposition political parties. In another news reported on 13 February 2019, ETV discussed Ethiopian National Defence Force reform:

“የኢትዮጵያ መከላከያ ሰራዊት ጠንካራ እና ሙያዊ ጦርን ለመገንባት የሚያስችላቸውን ጥልቅ ተቋማዊ ማሻሻያ መጀመሩን የጦር ሃይሎች ኢታማገር ሹም ጀኔራል ሰዓረ መኮንን ገለፁ ። ጀኔራል ሰዓረ በአዳማ በተካሄደው የፓናል ውይይት ላይ እንደተናገሩት ጠንካራ ጦርን ለመገንባት ወታደራዊ ማሻሻያ ማድረጉ በኢትዮጵያ የተካሄደውን ሪፎርም ተከትሎ ትኩረት ተሰጥቶታል። ሪፎርሙ ለህገ-መንግስቱ ታማኝ የሆነ ገለልተኛ ሰራዊት መገንባት ፣ ሰራዊቱን በአቅም ግንባታ እና በዘመናዊ እና በቴክኖሎጂ የላቁ መሳሪያዎችን ማስታጠቅ እንደ አንኳር ጉዳዮች ቅድሚያ ሰጥቷል።”

Meaning, “Commander of the Armed Forces, General Seare Mekonnen, said the Ethiopian Defense Forces has embarked on a deep institutional upgrade to build a strong and professional army.” The news body stated that the reform was part of the political reform undertaken nationwide. “General Seare said in a panel discussion held in Adama that the reform to build a strong army was given priority following the reform in Ethiopia. The reform was building an independent army loyal to the Constitution; building capacity of the army as well as equipping the army with modern and technologically advanced weapons.”

The extract was framed to show the remark of General Seare Mekonnen, the then Commander of the Armed Forces, Ethiopian Defense Forces was under the reform to enable the army to undertake any operations successfully. The news added that the institutional reform was made to build independent army loyal to the Constitution and people. Other Institutional reform news on the Supreme Court, Federal Police Commission, and other government institutions were framed to demonstrate the reform was part of the overall political reform of the country to improve the existing performance and service delivery to the pertinent stakeholders and the public.

In short, ETV in its institutional reform frame portrayed the efforts of the government to improve institutional performance, more service delivery efficiently and effectively. The news was framed in support of the government's commitment to improving the organization's service delivery and performance to realize the ongoing political reform.

4.2.8. Development, peace, and attribution of responsibility news frame

This is another complex category of new frames which is coded as development, peace, and attribution of responsibility frame. The news entertained economic development and growth, peace and stability in the country and measures that must be taken to resolve conflicts and sustain development in most cases, and who should do what to realize the reform successfully and lay a foundation stone for building democracy in the years to come with one news article. Accordingly, ETV employed the development, peace, and attribution of responsibility frame on about 4 (5.3%) news. The political reform process under the new Premier, Dr. Abiy Ahmed, encountered challenges such as the “prevalence of media extremists, ethnic and communal conflicts, political uncertainty, mob justice, high living conditions and money laundering, partial judicial institutions, and security crisis” (Worku and Ephrem, 2020). Settling all these issues might be critical for the government, which might have been one of the basic reasons for

combining three frames in one news for transmission to the target audience. The news reported on 18 February 2019 was framed, for instance, to show the development, peace, and attribution of responsibility frames. The development frame aspect of the news was described below:

“...ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶ/ር አብይ አህመድ በተለያዩ የሀገራችን ክልሎች እየተገነቡ የሚገኙ መሰረተ ልማቶች የሀገራችን ህዝቦችን እኩል የመልማት ተስፋ የፈነጠቀ ነው ብለዋል። ከዚህ ባለፈ ህዝባችንን በኢኮኖሚ ማስተሳሰርና አብሮ የማደግ እድል ለማሰፋት እድል የከፈተ ነው ብለዋል። አብዛኛው የሀገራችን ክልሎች ለማስተሳሰር እተገነቡ ከሚገኙ ፕሮጀክቶች መካከል የባቡር መንገድ ግንባታ እንዲሁ ነው ያሉት ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶ/ር አብይ ሌሎች መሰረተ ልማት ግንባታዎች ህዝቦችን ከማስተሳሰርና ተጠቃሚነት ባረጋገጠ መንገድ ለመከወን ጥረት እየተደረገ ነው።

Meaning, “Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed said the infrastructures being constructed in different regions of the country gives hope to the people of our country. Prime Minister stated it has opened the door to economic integration and shared growth of our people. He added that the construction of the railway is one of the projects being built to connect most of the regions of the country.” Peace is the first and foremost precondition to bring about the desired development and prosperity, and the roles played by youths thereof:

The news extract was framed to show the development effort of the government under the new PM. It portrayed that the infrastructure under construction would create hope for the people to economic integration and shared growth. The news quoted the remark of the PM in an attempt to demonstrate peace is fundamental to ensure development ahead of time. Using this frame, ETV depicted that the new PM since coming into power, there were measures taken to encourage the economic development in the country, of which one of them was on infrastructure development projects including the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. As a whole, the above extract news indicated that construction projects just like railways would be the focus of the government to ensure economic integration within the country for equitable economic growth and development. The same news used peace frame, as it is a precondition to development indicated below:

“ኢትዮጵያ የጀመረችቸው የልማት ግቦች እንዲሳኩ መንግስት በሰላምና መረጋጋት ዙሪያ በቁርጠኝነት መስራት እንደሚገባው ተገለፀ። ...የአዲስ አበባ ኑሞሪዎች በሰላም ዙሪያ ጉብረሰቡን በማሳተፍ መስራት አሁን የሚታዩ የሰላም ችግኝን ለማስወገድ አይነተኛ መንገድ ነው ብለዋል። ልማት ያለ ሰላም፣ ሰላም ደግሞ ያለ ህብረሰተሰብ ትብብርና ተሳትፎ ሊረጋገጥ

ሰላማይችል ያሉት ነዋሪዎቹ መንግስት ለዚህ አስፈላጊውን አደራጃጀት በመፍጠር ወደ ተግባር መግባት ይገባል። ”

Meaning, “Addis Ababa Residents said government must work hard for peace and stability to achieve Ethiopia's development goals. The residents added that working with the community on peace is a great way to end the current crisis. Residents said that development without peace and peace without the cooperation and participation of the public cannot be achieved.”

The news quoted above demonstrated that peace is the precondition for the economic development endeavor of the country. ETV quoted the Addis Ababa Residents in a manner to show that the community participation in the peace and security issues would end the crisis. It further stated that organizational structure should be created to participate in the communities in the peace and stability affairs of the country. Some key informants agreed that the peace frame was employed on news to bring about peace and stability nationwide. The same news pointed out the attribution of responsibility frame mainly in connection with ensuring peace and stability in the country:

“... ሰላም ለሀገራችን ብልፅግና ዋናና መተኪያ የሌለው በመሆኑ መንግስት ሰላም ለማስፍንና ህግና ስርዓት ለማስከበር ከሚሰራው ስራ በተጨማሪ የሀገሪቱ ህዝቦች በየደረጃው የበኩላቸውን አስተዋጽኦ ማበርከት ይገባቸዋል ብለዋል። የሀገራችን ወጣቶች ሰላምን ማስፈን ለስራ እድል ፈጠራና ልማትን ለማረጋገጥ አንኳር ጉዳይ በመሆኑ በየአካባቢያቸው የሚፈጥሩ ሁከቶችን ለማስቆም ሚደረገውን ጥረት በመደገፍ በኩል ዋና ተዋናይ መሆን እንዳለባቸው ዶ/ር አብይ አሳስበዋል። በየጊዜው የሚፈጠሩ ሁከቶችን በማስቆምና ፀረ ሰላም ኃሎች ከደገሱልን የጥፋት ማህበል ውስጥ ባለ መግባት ሀገራችን የጀመረችውን የሰላም፣ የልማትና የዲሞክራሲ ግንባታ ስራዎች በማፋጠን እንደሚገባም ጥሪ አቅርበዋል።”

Meaning, “He [Prime Minister] said in addition to the government's efforts to ensure peace and maintain law and order, the people of the country should contribute their own share at all levels. Dr. Abiy urged, as peace is the key to job creation and development, the youth should be proactive in supporting the efforts to stop the violence in their respected areas. He also called on the country to accelerate the peace, development and democratization process by tackling the ongoing violence and not by joining the anti-peace forces.”

ETV quoted the remark of the new PM to demonstrate the responsibilities that must be taken by the peoples of the country to ensure peace and stability apart from the government efforts. The

news mainly depicted that the youths should be the main actors in curbing violence since peace and stability is a precondition for job creations. It further stated that the PM called the public at large to contribute their part in the nation-building process by prohibiting them from joining the anti-peace forces. Above all ETV attempted to portray using attribution of responsibility frame that peace does not have any options to prosper our country. The same news extract gave responsibility must be taken:

“[ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ] በዚህ ዘርፍ የሀገር ሽማግሌዎች፣ የሃይማኖት አባቶች፣ ወጣቶች፣ በጎራ ቃዶች፣ መንግስታዊ ያልሆኑ ድርጅት ስለሰላም፣ ልማትና እድገት በርትተው እንዲሰሩ ጥረት ማድረግ ለነገ ሚተው ጉዳይ ሊሆን አይገባም ብለዋል።”

“The Prime Minister said that efforts should be made to ensure that elders, religious leaders, youth, volunteers and non-governmental organizations work hard for peace, development and prosperity in this sector.”

In the same token, ETV showed that community elders, religious leaders youth, volunteers, and non-governmental organizations should take the responsibility of actively participating in the peacebuilding process. The news quoted the speeches of the PM in demonstrating peace is the first and foremost issue of the government to sustain the socio-economic development endeavor of the country. All the news categorized under development, peace, and attribution of responsibility frame showed that governmental bodies, youths, community elders, religious leaders, and non- governmental organizations' involvement could bring substantial changes in development, peacebuilding process and averting the political crisis in the country.

Generally, the ETV news article has a complex category of frames identified as development, peace, and attribution of responsibility frame. ETV showed the development effort of the new PM to ensure fairly distributed economic development This could therefore be achieved so long as there is peace and stability in the country, which required the active participation of citizens at all levels especially the youths.

4.2.9. Conflict news frame

The ETV news articles also had conflict frame which shows economic and social crisis/ conflict in two of its news articles. Accordingly, ETV employed a conflict frame on about 2(2.7%) news, which showed that the conflict frame in ETV news coverage was used rarely. This is presumably true for the fact that ETV, as a state media outlet, was highly influenced by the government and ruling party's political elites. Guus Bartholomé *et al* (2018) assured the type of media outlets that produced such frames and the political context within which a conflict frame emerges could influence conflict frame. Bartholomé *et al* (2018) further stated that conflict frames could be influenced by journalistic interpretation style and approach, which gave more emphasis on the clash of political ideology. One of the news was produced on conflict frame (on 4 July 2018) which indicated the clash occurred between the woreda administration and dwellers of Addis Ababa in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-city, Hanna Mariam area:

“ጉዳዩ የተከሰተው የአካባቢው የወረዳ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት በህገ ወጥመንገድ ተግንቦተዋል ተብሎ የተለዩ ቤቶችን ለማፈረስ ሲሞክር ከነዋሪዎቹ ጋር በተፈጠረው ግጭት ነው ተብሏል። በዚህም ግጭት 3 የወረዳ አመራሮች ህይወት መጥፋቱን የአዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር ገልጧል። የሃናማሪያምና ለቡ አካባቢ ነዋሪዎች በበኩላቸው በዚህ ክረምት ወቅት ያለምንም ማስጠንቀቂያ መኖሪያ ቤቶችን በመፈረስ ሳቢያ ለከፍተኛ እንግልትና ችግር ተጋልጠዋል። ለዓመታት ባፈራነው ጥሪት የገዛናቸው ቤቶች መፍረሳቸው ለጎዳና ተዳዳሪነት መዳረጋቸውን የገለጡት ነዋሪዎቹ መንግስት ጉዳዩን ትኩረት በመስጠት መፍትሄ ሊሰጣቸው እንደሚገባ አሳስበዋል። የከተማ አስተዳደሩ በበኩሉ ህገወጥ ቤቶችን ስርዓት ለማስያዝ የሚደረገውን ጥሪት አጠናክሮ እንደሚቀጥል ገልጾ በሰው ህይወት ላይ ጉዳት ያደረሱ ግለሰቦች ተገቢውን ህጋዊ እርምጃ ለመውሰድ እየሰራ መሆኑን አሳውቋል።”

“The casualties were reportedly sparked by a clash between the Woreda Administration Office and residents trying to demolish houses that were allegedly built illegally. The Addis Ababa City Administration stated that three *Woreda* [district] leaders lost their lives in the conflict. Residents of Hanamariam and Lebu areas argued, on their part, due to the demolition of their homes this summer without warning, were subjected to severe problems. Residents said the demolition of houses, bought through accumulation of wealth over the years, has led them to street dwellers and urged the government to address the issue. The city administration on its part will continue to intensify its efforts to bring law enforcement to justice, and he was aslo working to take appropriate legal action against those responsible for the death of the leaders.”

ETV discussed the conflict that happened between the *Woreda* leadership and residents in the locality known as Hanna Mariam. The news attempted to identify the cause of the conflict-demolishing of the houses that were considered illegal. The news depicted that the economic and social consequences of the conflict which claimed the lives of three *Woreda* leaders and created street dwellers because of the demolition of houses. Using the conflict frame, ETV portrayed that the conflict happened due to the conflict of interest (economic conflict) between the *Woreda* leaders and the community, and tried to incorporate the voices of the victims. The key informants did not mention the conflict frame employed during the reform period, which showed that the conflict frame was given less emphasis. This might be because ETV is a state owned media outlet focused more on politically sensitive issues than that of economic and social conflicts.

In brief, the news articles organized into the conflict frames portrayed the social and economic consequences following the conflict that happened between the government (*Woreda* leaders and citizens). Even though the conflict news frame was softened which might be influenced by journalistic interpretation style and approach (Bartholomé *et al* 2018) s. Above all, in ETV, the conflict news frame was given less emphasis as compared to other news frames indicated above.

4.2.10. Development news frame

The ETV news articles reported economic-related activities conducted by the government during the reform period. The development frame characterized the news report which accounted for 2(2.7%) news. This might be because development frames did not exist independently of other frames in ETV i.e. several development frames appeared in joint with other news frames such as peace, attribution of responsibility, and political reform. Key informants also agreed that the development frame was employed to show the extent to which the government exerted its efforts to improve the livelihoods of citizens through the engagement of megaprojects. The news reported on 24 September 2018, for instance, mainly employed economic development frame:

“ባለፈው ዓመት ኢትዮጵያ በፖለቲካዊ አለመረጋጋት ውስጥ ሆና ብታሳልፍም የኢኮኖሚ ዕድገቷን ግን ማስቀጠል መቻሏን የአለም አቀፍ የገንዘብ ተቋም አይ.ኤም.ኤፍ የአፍሪካ ዲፓርትመንት አማካሪ ጄ.ሊ.ዮ ኢኮኖሚ ገለጹ። ... ይሁን እንጅ የሀገሪቱ ያለበት የዕዳ ጫና የውጭ ምርት በሚፈለገው ደረጃ አለማደግና የውጭ ምንዛሬ ዕጥረት ለኢኮኖሚው ተግዳሮት ሆኗል ብለዋል የአይ. ኤም. ኤፍ ከፍተኛ ሃላፊ።”

Meaning, “Julio Escolano, an Adviser to the International Monetary Fund's Africa Department said that Ethiopia has been able to sustain its economic growth even if it is under a state of political turmoil over the past year. However, he [Julio Escolano] said the country's debt burden [such as]: lack of export products and the shortage of foreign exchange have posed a challenge to the economy.”

The extract news employed the development frame to demonstrate Ethiopia has sustained economic development until this day overcoming the political crisis. ETV quoted Julio Escolano, an Adviser to the International Monetary Fund's Africa Department, in an attempt to portray that country's debt burden might impose challenges to economic growth and development. The frame raised a lack of export products and the shortage of foreign exchange as challenges, which would affect the economic development of the country. The news depicted the reform being undertaken would resolve the economic turmoil and ensure sustainable economic growth. The news emphasized that the efforts of Dr. Abiy Ahmed`s government would resolve the economic development setbacks and ensure sustainable development.

In brief, the employment of the development frame was employed to show the extent to which the government exerted its efforts to improve the livelihoods of citizens through the engagement of mega projects and the reform being undertaken. The new frame was designed to demonstrate Ethiopia has sustained economic development overcoming the political crisis.

4.3. Political news sources of Ethiopian Television

ETV cited and accredited various news sources as summarized in Table 5 below:

Table 5: News sources quoted by ETV political reform news

News Sources	Frequency	Percent
Government officials and organizations	62	82.7
Intellectuals	4	5.3
Ethiopian Defense Force	3	4.0
Politicians	3	4.0
Ethiopian Inter-religious Council	1	1.3
Ethiopian News Agency(ENA)	1	1.3
Federal Police Commission	1	1.3
Total	75	100

Source: Researcher's computation, 2019

As shown in Table 5 above, the main sources of news in ETV were government officials and organizations, which accounted for about 62 (82.7%) news. This might be partly because ETV is a state-owned media outlet giving much more emphasis on government officials and organizations, which was confirmed by the key informants. One key informant reasoned out “government officials, especially the top leaders of the country are the newsmakers [sources] of ETV dominantly.” Another reason might be the main actors of the political reform were government officials and organizations. Berger (1985) stated that in “a public broadcaster, the government can act either as a speaker or as a censor.” Ashenafi (2010) showed that the main sources of information on print media were government officials. Therefore, the finding of the study in this case was found quite relevant and pertinent. This confirmed that government officials and organizations used ETV as “a propaganda machine” of pro-government agendas. According to Birhanu (2009), ETV is a state-owned media, which became the main advocator of government agendas for more than half a century. This presumably true that ETV's main sources of news are government officials and organizations showing it is still pro-government and gives less emphasis to public issues and ideas as opposed to the government propaganda.

The intellectuals as sources of news during the political reform were found much lower than that of the government officials and organizations. Intellectual sources of news in this regard were accounted for about 4 (5.3%) news. This might be since intellectuals were reluctant to offer their professional point of view and intellectuals themselves could not be direct sources of political news production.

Ethiopian Defense Force as sources of the political reform news accounted for about 3 (4%) of the news articles. This is lower than the intellectual sources of news. Ethiopian Defense Force has Television Program and ETV gave less attention to use as news sources unless there were issues contain the national issues. Like the Ethiopian Defense Force, the politicians as sources of news shared about 3 (4%) news. Today, politicians are reluctant to provide their point of view on one hand and might have multiple access to several media outlets.

Ethiopian News Agency (ENA), Federal Police Commission and Ethiopian Inter-religious Council were found the lowest each of which shared 1 (1.3%) news as sources of ETV. ETV suspended the contractual agreement with ENA some years ago could be one reason to use it as a significant news source. Federal Police Commission has its Television Program just like Ethiopian Defense Force making the lowest ETV news sources during the political reform initiated by the new Premier Dr. Abiy Ahmed since April 2018.

In short, the ETV news sources mainly relied on government officials and organizations and did not explore political news from other sources of the spectrum.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Summary

The general objective of the present study was to analyze the political news articles on the current political reforms in Ethiopia. The study employed mixed methods to undertake the analysis of primary and secondary data collected from ETV news. A purposive sampling technique was employed to collect news covering the reform period from 02 March 2018 to 02 March 2019 on the political reforms in Ethiopia. Hence, 75 political news were selected for analysis. Content analysis and in-depth interviews were utilized to collect and analyze data.

Major findings of the study:

- The major themes of the political news articles on the current political reforms were political reform, peace and stability, PM discussions with the public, institutional reform, bilateral relations, conflict, laws amendment, and others. The political reform theme was the most dominant followed by the peace and stability theme.
- The frames employed in reporting the current political reform were political reforms frame, peace frame, attribution of responsibility frame, economic cooperation frame, political, attribution of responsibility and peace frame, ethnic conflict and attribution of responsibility frame, institutional reform frame, development, peace and attribution of responsibility frame, conflict frame, development frame, and other frames.
- The dominant sources of the Ethiopian Television used while reporting on the current political reform were government officials and organizations. They accounted for about 83% of the news articles.

The political reform thematic news was found dominant which accounted for about 26.7% of news. It was followed by the peace and stability news which had about 25.3%. Prime Minister's discussions with the public took the share of 14.7% of the news and the institutional reform 8% of the news as well. The bilateral relation and conflict news each of which possessed 6.7% and the lowest percentage share (2.7%) was taken by laws' amendment. The news theme mainly

discussed issues on the ruling party and the government. The social and economic news was covered when the editorial believes that they had political values. The ETV news, in most cases, favored the government political agenda and policy whereas it disregarded the voice of opposition political parties and the public.

Likewise, the political reform frame was the highest frame, which accounted for about 26.7% of the news. The peace frame, which took 20.7% of the news, was the second-largest frame, while the attribution of responsibility frame shared 10.7% of the news. The economic cooperation frame; and the political, attribution of responsibility and peace frame each of which shared 8% of the news, whereas the ethnic conflict and attribution of responsibility frame and the institutional reform frame received 6.7% each. The development, peace, and attribution of responsibility frame took the percentage share of 5.3%. The rest conflict frame and development frame each of which shared 2% of the news was found the lowest. The finding revealed that most news was framed to portray the efforts of the government to successfully realize the reform to improve the livelihoods of citizens, build democracy, respect human and democratic rights, sustain the overall economic development of the country. It was found that news was framed to depict the efforts of the new Prime Minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed, especially through the PM new political thought, Medemer, to resolve internal political differences peacefully as well as neighboring countries including restoration of diplomatic relation with Eritrea after 20 years stalemate.

The dominant sources that ETV quoted and accredited were government officials and organizations, which accounted for about 83%. This confirmed that government officials and organizations used ETV as “a propaganda machine” of government agenda. ETV is a state-owned media, which became the main advocator of government agendas. Hence, ETV a pro-government media outlet and gives less emphasis to public issues and ideas. The second-largest news sources were intellectuals, which occupied about 5.3%, while the Ethiopian Defense Force and politicians received 3% of each. However, the Ethiopian Inter-religious council, Ethiopian News Agency, and Federal Police Commission were found the lowest news sources each shared 1.3% news articles.

5.2. Conclusion

As per the findings of the analysis on selected 75 ETV political news (02 March 2018- 02 March 2019), it was found that ETV gave much more emphasis on reporting on the political reforms undertaken under the leadership of the new Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed. The study found that the ETV news theme mainly discussed issues on the ruling party and the government and ignored the voices of the opposition elements and the public. Most news was framed to portray the efforts of the government to successfully realize the reform to improve the livelihoods of citizens, build democracy, respect human and democratic rights, and sustain the overall economic development of the country. Most frames depicted the new Prime Minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed, as a “personality cult” especially through the PM new political thought, *Medemer*, to ensure peace and stability within the country as well as neighboring countries mainly the restoration of diplomatic relation with Eritrea.

The study revealed that ETV was the main advocator of government reform, which was confirmed by the fact that around 83% of its news sources were government officials and organizations. Hence, other sources of news were given low priorities and attention.

Generally, the thematic issues and the frames employed in the political reform news reflect the interest of the government's basic reform agendas. ETV political reports showed that issues drifting from the interest of the government were not given much attention. Public opinions and complaints were ignored. The new Prime Minister, Dr. Abiy Ahmed, speeches and remarks were given special attention. Hence, the themes and the frames employed favored the government reform agenda. What is more, ETV news sources mainly relied on government officials and organizations indicating the media outlet did not carry out its responsibility in serving the public diligently.

5.3. Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following innovative recommendations were given:

- ETV should conduct an assessment on the framing of the current political reform news and how it is perceived at the grass-root level, the public, the contending political parties, and civic societies;
- ETV political reform news framing should portray not only the interests and sayings of the governmental bodies and ruling parties but also the voice of the opposition elements and the general public; in this way, it is possible to build the credibility of the media and improve the profession of journalism;
- ETV political reform news framing should not mainly be crafted on the speech of the newly elected Prime Minister and his entourages; it should be framed as per the reflections of politicians, the intellectuals, civic societies, and professional associations;
- The major themes of the current political reform news should incorporate the ideas and sayings of the public as most themes are focusing only on spectacular of the government actors and changes took place at federal levels and regional government;
- Relying mainly on the government officials and government organizations would affect the credibility and competitiveness of the media outlet, and violate the ethical codes of journalism such as fairness, objectivity, balance, reliability, and responsibility. Therefore, much attention should be given to widening its news sources to some other spectrums especially the public at large and carrying out its responsibility in serving the public diligently.

5.4. Implications for future studies

The researcher recommends that further studies would be useful in the areas of political news image and video, and appropriateness of their uses. As the news frames were mainly on pro-government that would affect the credibility and competitiveness, there should be further investigations to have better framing approach of ETV news. It is also important to undertake a comparative study between ETV news frames versus FBC, Walta, etc, and come up with better recommendations. It is also important to conduct researches on ETV political news frames versus privately owned media outlets. The researcher firmly believes that the study would be a point of departure for the framing approach of ETV news to be one of the vibrant media outlets in the years to come.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Content validity index relevance rate outcome

Rating scale: (1). the item is not relevant; (2). the item is somewhat relevant; (3). the item is quite relevant; and (4). the item is highly relevant.

R.No.	Items	Level of relevance			
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	The objectives of the research is clearly stated	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
2	The research questions are clear and derived from the specific objectives of the research	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
3	The methodology of the research is stated clearly	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
4	The meaning of every item in the research is clear	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
5	The themes of the articles/news are clearly indicated	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
6	The frames of the news are clearly identified and differentiated	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
7	The sources of the news are clear and free of ambiguities	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
8	The measurement scale used for here is appropriate	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
9	The word counting of the articles/news is clear for analysis	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

Theme	Professional 1	Professional 2		Professionals in agreement	I-CVI	UA (100%)
The assignment of the new Prime Minister(PM)	1	1		2	1	1
The release of political prisoners	1	1		2	1	1
The Prime Minister Discussion with people in the country and abroad	1	1		2	1	1
The reshuffling of cabinets	1	1		2	1	1
Political reform	1	1		2	1	1
Institutional reforms	1	1		2	1	1
The peace deal with Eritrea	1	1		2	1	1
Economic cooperation and bilateral relations with countries	1	1		2	1	1
The entrance of opposition parties and armed intransigents	1	1		2	1	1
The removal of parties from the terrorist list	1	1		2	1	1
Amendments of law	1	1		2	1	1
National consensus	0	0		0	0	0
Peaceful coexistence	1	1		2	2	1
				S- CVI/Ave	0.92	
Proportion relevance	0.92	0.92		S-CVI/ UA		0.92
Average proportion of items evaluated by two professionals			0.92			

Frame	Professional 1	Professional 2		Professionals in agreement	I-CVI	UA (100%)
Bilateral relation	1	1		2	1	1
Conflict	1	1		2	1	1
Institutional reform	1	1		2	1	1
Peace and stability	0	0		0	0	0
PM discussions with people of different parts of the country	1	1		2	1	1
Political reform	1	1		2	1	1
Attribution of responsibility	1	1		2	1	1
Economic cooperation	1	1		2	1	1
Development	1	1		2	1	1
Institutional reform	1	1		2	1	1
Complex categories	1	1		2	1	1
Other	1	1		2	1	1
				S- CVI/Ave	0.91	
Proportion relevance	0.91	0.91		S-CVI/ UA		0.91
Average proportion of items evaluated by two professionals			0.91			

Appendix 2: Coding guide sheet

A. Frame Category

1. **Political reform frame-** if the news deals with political related reforms such as change of ideology as well as well as the release of political prisoners.
2. **Reform frame:** if the news entertains the institutional reform such as changes made on for instance on democratic institutions, security forces, national electoral board of Ethiopia, office of the ombudsman, etc.
3. **Peace reform:** if the news focused on the peace deals conducted between (among) governmental bodies and opposition parties, dissidents, normalizing bilateral relationship with neighboring Eritrea.
4. **Ethnic-conflict frame:** if the news is about the conflict between ethnic group after the commencement of the reform.
5. **Conflict frame:** if the news reflects disagreement between parties, individuals, groups, or countries other than the ethnic-conflicts.
6. **Economic cooperation frame:** if the news deals with bilateral or multi-lateral economic cooperation with countries, organizations
7. **Development frame:** if the news or article raises the issue of economic wellbeing and quality of life of individuals, communities, and nations as well as the construction and access of social infrastructures schools, health centers, roads, factories, access to electricity, water supplies, job creation, and so on.
8. **Attribution of responsibility frame:** if the news suggests solutions that should be taken at the government levels, groups, individuals, or organizations take to alleviate problems related to peace and stability at community, regional and national level.
9. **Other frame:** if the news comes up with none of the above thematic areas or frames.
10. **Complex frame:** If the news is a combination of two or more the above stated frames

B. Theme Category

1. **Assignment of the new Prime Minister (PM):** The House of Peoples Representatives assigned Abiy Ahmed (Ph.D.) as the Prime Minister of Ethiopia.
2. **Release of political prisoners:** The new Primer released political prisoners.
3. **PM discussion with people in the country and abroad:** The new Premier discussed with public representatives in Somali, Tigray, Amhara, Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples regarding the government reforms in the political, and economic affairs of the

country. He also discussed with international communities and friendly governments in the area of strengthening economic cooperation and bilateral relations.

4. **Reshuffling of cabinets:** New ministries such as the Ministry of Peace, and the Ministry of Revenues emerged. Some dissolved as Government Communication affairs and the Ministry of Federal Affairs. Some merged with other Ministries. New cabinet members took the Council of Ministers and took the ministerial positions.
5. People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) over the Dergue Regime.
6. **Political reform:** Political prisoners were released. Journalists who detained with false accusations were also set free. EPRDF itself was transformed from the front into Prosperity Party. State-owned companies were decided to partially or fully liberalize to domestic and foreign investors. The Liberal system seemed to be expanding.
7. **Economic and institutional reforms:** This included revitalizing the stagnated Grand Renaissance Dam, sugar projects, road projects, import and export systems, combating inflation, and rescue the public from skyrocketing price of consumable goods, strict measures on foreign loans, and financial systems, etc. Institutions were also reformed to improve service delivery and boost the economy.
8. **Peace deal with Eritrea:** Negotiations were undertaken between Ethiopia and Eritrea to restore the economic and diplomatic relations.
9. **Economic cooperation and bilateral relations with countries:** Economic cooperation and bilateral relations between Ethiopia and neighboring countries and beyond widened and deepened. Investment flows and projects to be implemented ahead from various countries growing. Relationship with international funding organizations such as the African Development Bank, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund strengthened. Ethiopian citizens detained in various countries were released.
10. **Entrance of opposition parties and armed groups:** Opposition parties residing in the country and abroad and those that resorted to struggle through the barrel of gunpowder such as Oromo Liberation Front, Patriotic-Ginbot7, Ogaden National Liberation Front, and several others entered into the country for peaceful struggle.
11. **Parties erased from the terrorist list:** Parties such as Oromo Liberation Front, Patriotic-Ginbot7, Ogaden National Liberation Front were removed from the country's list of terrorist organizations.

- 12. Amendments of law:** Proclamations such as Anti-terrorism, charities and societies', election and various others were amended.
- 13. National consensus:** Discussions were held with public representatives, political parties, intellectuals, civic societies, trade unions, youth associations, artists and military personnel, etc to identify issues and come up with solutions regarding socio-economic and political improvements. Discussions were also held with domestic and foreign companies to identify and improve the economic bottlenecks and create job opportunities for youths around the country.
- 14. Peaceful coexistence:** Peace should be ensured among ethnic groups, religious elements, and sects as well as economic and political interests. The new PM thus introduced the philosophical thought of what is called “Medemer”(synergy) and addressing the nation widely to ensure peace and stability throughout the country.

C. Source Category

1. **Government sources:** This includes office of the Prime Minister, public relation offices of regions and city administrations.
2. **National Defense Force:** Only considers sources obtained from the Federal Defense Forces of Ethiopia.
3. **Federal Police Commission:** only considers sources obtained from Federal Police Commission of Ethiopia.
4. **Ethiopian News Agency (ENA):** Articles or news produced by ENA.
5. **Intellectuals:** news or articles produced by experts residing both in Ethiopia and abroad who were interviewed regarding the socio-economic and political.
6. **Politicians:** news or articles released by politicians.
7. **Inter-Religious counsel of Ethiopia:** news releases or conferences obtained from inter religious counsel of Ethiopia.

Appendix 3: Leading questions for key informants` interview

Background

- What types of news are on the air in ETV?
- Which types of news are dominant (Economic, political, social, sport and other entertainment news)?
- What about the political news? Are they dominant or less common?
 - What political news are made/produced?
 - Can you tell me their features?
 - Can you tell me the gist of their topics?
- Do you think that the principles of Ethical Journalism are observed? In terms of
 - Fairness?
 - Objectivity?
 - Reliability?
 - Balanced?
 - Responsibility?
- What is your understanding of the political news in ETV in general?
- How does a medium cover the political news in the current reforms?
- Do you think your political news reports had influence on the target audience?

Themes

- What were the most common themes in your political news in the current reform?
- How much relevant do you think are the selected themes for the audiences regarding the political issues you covered.

Sources

- What/ who were the sources while producing political related news?

Frames

- How do you construct your political news on the current political reforms?

Appendix 4: List of key informants

R. No	Full Name	Sex	Level of education	Position	Place of work
1.	Abayneh Tilahun	M	MA in journalism	Editor- in- chief	ETV
2.	Demisie Mekuriaw	M	BA Degree	Reporter	ETV
3.	Seid Muhie	M	MA in Journalism	Channel Manager	ETV
4.	Tigist Yeshaneh	F	MA in Journalism	Reporter	ETV
5.	Asmamaw Ayenew	M	MA in Journalism	Reporter	ETV
6.	Ermias Getachew	M	MA in Journalism	Executive Officer	ETV
7.	Solomon Tsegaye	M	BA Degree	Senior Editor	ETV

Appendix 5: Results of inter coder reliability

Directions for coders

My name is Hunachew Taye. I am a postgraduate student at Addis Ababa University School of Communication and Journalism conducting my research entitled *A study on News Framing of the Current Political Reform: Ethiopian Television(ETV) in Focus* in partial fulfillment for the requirements of Master of Arts Degree in Broadcast Journalism. I therefore kindly request you to code the 15 news or article that is randomly selected out of 75 news selected for the analysis. Your coding consists of two categories- themes and frames. Please, see the attached coding guide: Rating scale: 1 if you agree, 0 if you disagree. Discussion is allowed between the coders, and reaches an agreement.

Article themes and frames	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Agreement N1	Agreement N2	Coding decision agreement of the two coders (M)
Coding decision of coder 1(N1)	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	7	6	13
Coding decision of coder 2(N2)	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1			
Number of articles coded(N1)															15			
Number of articles coded(N2)															15			
Total(N1+N2)															30			
Coefficient of Reliability= 2M/N1+N2	2(13)/ 15+15= 26/30= 0.87																	

Appendix 6: Screenshot from SPSS Version 20

The screenshot displays the SPSS interface with a data table. The table has 19 rows and 21 columns. The first seven columns are labeled: Date, Theme, Frame, Source, Pages, Wordscounting, and Wordpercent. The remaining 14 columns are labeled 'var'. The data is as follows:

	Date	Theme	Frame	Source	Pages	Wordscounting	Wordpercent	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var
1	2-Mar-18	Political ref...	Poli reform	govt	3	459	90													
2	14-Apr-18	PM discus...	Poli+att+pea	govt	4	527	60													
3	19-Apr-18	Political ref...	Poli reform	govt	2	213	85													
4	21-Apr-18	PM discus...	Poli+att+pea	govt	2	387	56													
5	29-Apr-18	Bilateral re	Economic ...	govt	2	246	100													
6	1-May-18	Other	Attri of respo	govt	1	76	75													
7	5-May-18	Political ref...	Poli+att+pea	govt	3	329	60													
8	6-May-18	Bilateral re	Economic ...	govt	1	112	95													
9	21-May-18	Political ref...	Other frame	d.force	1	52	90													
10	26-May-18	Political ref...	Poli reform	govt	2	194	100													
11	29-May-18	Political ref...	Poli reform	govt	3	426	86													
12	5-Jun-18	Political ref...	Poli reform	govt	3	367	100													
13	7-Jun-18	Bilateral re	Economic ...	govt	1	120	90													
14	12-Jun-18	Institutiona...	Reform frame	govt	2	215	100													
15	15-Jun-18	Other	Other frame	d.force	3	440	100													
16	20-Jun-18	PM discus...	Poli+att+pea	govt	4	479	60													
17	22-Jun-18	PM discus...	Dvt+pea+att	govt	3	384	36													
18	26-Jun-18	Other	Other frame	f. police	1	127	100													
19	30-Jun-18	Political ref...	Other frame	govt	1	180	100													
20	2-Jul-18	Peace and...	Peace frame	govt	3	314	90													
21	4-Jul-18	Institutiona...	Reform frame	govt	2	263	100													
22	10-Jul-18	PM discus...	Dvt+pea+att	govt	2	307	45													
23	14-Jul-18	PM discus...	Dvt+pea+att	ENA	3	395	33													
24	20-Jul-18	Political ref...	Other frame	govt	1	129	100													
25	24-Jul-18	Peace and...	Peace frame	govt	4	444	100													
26	28-Jul-18	Conflict	Ethn.conf+...	govt	1	185	100													
27	7-Aug-18	Peace and...	Peace frame	govt	2	159	100													
28	27-Aug-18	Institutiona...	Reform frame	govt	2	287	100													
29	28-Aug-18	Peace and...	Peace frame	govt	4	612	100													

The interface also shows a menu bar (File, Edit, View, Data, Transform, Analyze, Direct Marketing, Graphs, Utilities, Add-ons, Window, Help), a toolbar with various icons, and a status bar at the bottom indicating 'IBM SPSS Statistics Processor is ready'.

