



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION

Frame Analysis of Abiy Ahmed's Premiership and Reform:

Aljazeera and BBC in Focus

By Sadat Mohammedsani

**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School of Journalism and Communication
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of
Art in Journalism and Communication**

Addis Ababa University

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

June 2019

Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Sadat Mohammedsani entitled Frame Analysis of Abiy Ahmed's Premiership and Reform: Aljazeera and BBC in Focus and submitted and Presented in Partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality. Signed by the examining Committee:

Examiner Signature.....Date.....

Examiner Signature.....Date.....

Advisor Signature.....Date.....

.....

Chair of department or Graduate Coordinator

Abstract

This research attempted to analyze how Aljazeera English /AJE/ and British Broadcasting Corporation /BBC/ framed Abiy Ahmed's premiership and his reform agendas. Informed by Framing theoretical framework, the study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods to gather and analyze the data. About 79 online news articles are gathered from both media websites. The quantitative content analysis helped identify frames used in discussing Abiy Ahmed's ascendance to power and his reform agendas in AJE and BBC; while the qualitative content analysis provided grounds to explain why the specific frames are selected. Purposive sampling was used to select the media and the news items for this research. The study revealed that both AJE and BBC used 6 individual frames in their news narratives about Abiy Ahmed's appointment as Prime Minister and his reform agendas. The analysis shows that these global media used the frames with different level of prominence and emphasis of angles in their news narratives. AJE and BBC have also expressed the interest of their owners through these frames. While the peace frame was predominantly used by both AJE and BBC. The study also revealed that four major themes across both media's online articles: Ethiopia and Eritrea peace deal, reform, refusing the reform and Oromo PM. The extent these themes covered is also different. Similar issues also framed in different by the two media. In general, Abiy's ascendance to power is framed as an outcome of the Oromo peoples struggle and coupled with the Amhara. The premier reform agendas also portrayed as way to move the country forward and clean previous administrations mess up. When it comes to regional interest both media are influenced by their origin and the orientation of their respective nations towards Ethiopia in particular and East Africa in general.

Acknowledgments

My sincere gratitude goes to the Almighty whose infinite power and wisdom guides my life and forgives my many transgressions. Next, I would like to extend my gratefulness to my Advisor Dr. Hailu Gutema who in all the times we meet showed me his fatherly care and most importantly thought me what research means afresh.

The help I got from my mother Zehabu Adem throughout this research process was exceptional as usual. Her unconditional love and care were intact all the way through the very tiresome process of the study, so my respect and love go to you as well. My two Sisters Hayat Mohammedsani and Meriyem Mohammedsani are the other champions whose positive impact in my life shines deep and wide. So, thank you all. My colleagues at EBC deserve my gratitude for understanding my late deliveries at work. All stakeholders contributed to this thesis, thank you.

List of Tables

Table 1: Major Themes Reported by Al-Jazeera.....	31
Table 2: Major Themes Reported by BBC.....	40
Tables 3: Major Frames in Al-Jazeera.....	45
Table 4: Major Frames in BBC.....	58

List of Acronyms

AJE	Al-Jazeera English
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCTV	China Central Television
CNN	Cable News Network
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
IDP	Internally Displaced People
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
PM	Prime Minister
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN	United Nations
USD	United States Dollar

Table of Contents

Contents	Pages
Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
List of Tables.....	iii
List of Acronyms.....	iv
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	2
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	3
1.4 Scope of the Study.....	4
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	5
1.6 Limitation of the Study.....	5
1.7 Organization of the Study.....	5
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.....	7
2.1 What is Framing.....	7
2.2 Types of Frames.....	9
2.2.1 Issue Specific Vs Generic Framing.....	9
2.2.2 Strong Frames and Weak Frames	12
2.2.3 Framing in Communication Process	13
2.2.4 The Role of Media in Framing Political News.....	13
2.3 Media Vs Journalistic Framing	15

2.4 Framing Process.....	15
2.5 Approaches to Identify News Frames.....	16
2.5.1 News Frames.....	17
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	19
3.1 Research Design	19
3.1.1 Content Analysis.....	20
3.1.2 Qualitative Content Analysis.....	21
3.2 Sampling Techniques and Procedures.....	22
3.2.1 Selection of the Media	23
3.2.1.1 About Al-Jazeera English.....	23
3.2.1.2 About BBC.....	24
3.3 Unit of Analysis.....	25
3.4 Developing Content Categories.....	25
3.4.1 Pilot Coding.....	26
3.5 Issues of Validity and Reliability.....	28
3.6 Data Analysis Procedure.....	29
3.7 Time Frame of the Study.....	28
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS.....	30
4.1 Reported Major Themes.....	30

4.2. Major Themes Reported by Aljazeera.....	31
4.2.1. Ethiopia and Eritrea Peace Deal.....	31
4.2.2. Oromo PM Narrative.....	34
4.2.3 Reform Issues.....	35
4.3. Major Themes Reported by BBC.....	40
4.3.1 Ethiopia and Eritrea Peace Deal.....	40
4.3.2 Oromo PM Narrative.....	42
4.3.3 Reform Issues.....	43
4.4. Frames Used by Aljazeera to Report Abiy Ahmed’s Premiership and Reform.....	45
4.4.1. Peace Frame.....	45
4.4.2. Political Reform Frame.....	49
4.4.3. Reform Retraction Frame.....	50
4.4.4. War Frame.....	52
4.4.5. Ethnic Conflict Frame.....	54
4.4.6. Reform Frame.....	55
4.5. Frames Used by BBC to Report Abiy Ahmed’s Premiership and Reform.....	58
4.5.1. Peace Frame.....	58
4.5.2. Political Reform Frame.....	61
4.5.3. Reform Retraction Frame.....	62
4.5.4. Reform Frame.....	64

4.5.5. Ethnic Conflict Frame.....	66
4.5.6. War Frame.....	67
4.4 Aljazeera Vs BBC: Framing Similar Incident Differently.....	68
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION	71
5.1. Summary.....	71
5.2. Conclusion	72
5.3. Implication for Future Studies	74
Reference.....	I
Appendices.....	VII

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Ethiopia has experienced an unprecedented wave of popular mobilization since November 2015. The government responded to the protests with a heavy hand, resulting in thousands of casualties and tens of thousands of people being arrested and charged with terrorism offenses. As the years go by the situation escalated and the country appears to be at the brink of collapse. And this has led to the resignation of the country's Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn. (Pinaud & Raleigh, 2017)

On April 2, 2018, Abiy Ahmed, 43 appointed as the country's prime minister. Abiy, 41 a former lieutenant colonel in the army and head of Ethiopia's science and technology ministry, has a reputation as an effective orator and reformer. Unlike his party's trend, the new prime minister is apologetic for the mistakes committed by the party.

The young Ethiopian leader shook up the old guards and the traditional ways of doing things. In a few months, Abiy ordered the release of thousands of prisoners, lifted the state of emergency and allowed dissidents to return home. He also ended the state of war with neighboring Eritrea normalizing the relation. Economically it is also a moment the country allowed semi-liberalization to some state-owned sectors. (Terresa, 2018)

But all are not smooth, in June the prime minister targeted in an explosion attack, which killed two people at the rally held to show support for him. This incident followed with ethnic violence at different parts of the country, including the capital Addis Ababa.

The global community attaches great geopolitical importance to Ethiopia. Ethiopia a seat of AU, the continental organization, the rest of the world considers the country as get way to Africa. This country is at the critical juncture because of the political crisis erupted since 2015. The Ethiopian parliament appointed Abiy Ahmed as a prime minister following the resignation of his predecessor at this critical moment. (Michael, 2018)

Abiy's ascendance as a leader of strategically significant Africa's country has attracted attention from across the world. Particularly the radical and fast reforms employed by the prime minister were widely reported by the global media outlets. However, these global media also differ in how they frame the move of the new prime minister. They chose different angles while reporting the appointment of this new leader and his reforms.

Some of the global media that covered this phenomenon in Ethiopia also known for influencing global issues as well as situations in different countries. That means they would have a role in determining how the world percept happenings at different places. Mainly framing is the main tool for the media houses to reinforce their influence on certain kind of happening or issue. So, this study mainly triggered with the inspiration to investigate how the global media (BBC & AJE) presented the critical situation in Ethiopia.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Thanks to globalization, our world is becoming smaller by the minute. With various media of communication available, information travels faster than ever. Mainstream media, now with the help of new media technologies, extend their dominion of representing the world according to their world view. Especially the political arena is the influence of the media is immense.

In fact, the media reflect the political economy of their countries or owners. According to McPhail (2006) media are the means for nations to obtain soft power and run their policies and strategy across their region and beyond. Specifically, when these media cover other nations, they tend to frame issues from their core nations perspective or national interest.

The unexpected resignation of Prime Minister Hailemariam in February 2018 ushered the most significant reordering of political power since 1991 when EPRDF toppled Mengistu Hailemariam (Michael, 2018). The moment has also brought a new prime minister- Abiy Ahmed, which is 41. Among many radical reforms, the new prime minister also announced to implement the peace deal signed back in 2000 with Eritrea, ending the longest war in Africa. The move considered as an approach to reshaping the country's foreign relation (Yafai, 2018). Beyond the new diplomatic move, the PM vowed to partly privatize the economic sectors monopolized by the government (telecommunication, airline, electric power projects). The new prime minister came at a moment

the country stood at the critical juncture and his reform is to reverse the possible crisis the nation would face. It's too early to judge what the new Prime Minister's reform agenda will bring, but the instant is very significant for Ethiopians to make things right. Despite the hope, many Ethiopians attached to the new leader and the moment, the conflicts are yet happening among different ethnicities and students of higher learning institutions. So the country is at the crossroad.

As a socially constructed product (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), the content global media houses can be influenced by a host factor including political, economic and ideological factors and open to cognitive simplification known as framing. Moreover, media have the capacity to influence social movements (McCombs, 2002) like the one Ethiopia is experiencing by establishing salience. The media could not simply employ frames for the sake of journalistic purpose. In fact, framing is inevitable in news production, but the media are also a tool for nations or states to assume "soft power" and increase their influence (Majid & Ramaprasad, 1998). After all global media present nothing more than the core perspective of their country (McPhail, 2006).

Now, Ethiopia, a country with great geopolitical importance for the Arab world and the Western is in what seems reform and crisis. This perplexing situation could change Ethiopia's diplomatic approach toward these regions. This would change how the media from these regions represent the critical situation Ethiopia is into. This possible chain of effect is among factors triggered the researcher to conduct this study.

So this paper focuses on researching on how Aljazeera English and BBC framed Abiy Ahamed's premiership and his reform. Founded on framing theory this study conducted depth analysis of both media, extracts were used to confirm the authenticity of their report and other techniques of news framing regarding critical issues communicated by the two media will be dealt in this study.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study is to analyze how the BBC and Aljazeera framed Abiy Ahmed's premiership and reforms in the coverage from April 2 to November 30, 2018.

More specifically the study aims to:

- find out the thematic coverage of BBC and Aljazeera on Abiy Ahmed's reform.

- find out major frames used by Aljazeera and BBC to report Abiy Ahmed's appointment as a prime minister and his reform agendas.
- compare the BBC and Aljazeera in terms of the frames they used to report the prime minister's reforms.

To address these purposes the study guided by the following research questions:

- What are the major themes reported by the BBC and Aljazeera while reporting Abiy Ahmed appointment and his reform agendas?
- What are the major frames used by BBC and Aljazeera to report the appointment of Abiy Ahmed as prime minister and his reform?
- How are similar issues framed by the media houses?

1.4. Scope of the Study

Western media like BBC, CNN, EURO NEWS and others have the lions share in representing various 'world affairs' and even 'shaping news definition' on other continents too (Ginneken, 1998). These media and their growing counters in the southern hemisphere, like AJE, report news from around the world from their respective regional orientation: political, social and/or economic.

Under the British royal charter, BBC is one of the Western media giants dominating global information flow, with 270 million homes viewership according to Thusu (as cited in Ireri, 2012). This media also engaged in reporting happenings at different nations from UK's perspective. Beyond countering the western media narratives, Aljazeera English owned by the Qatar Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani is also known in extending the influence of its owner. For instance, these approaches of the two media are widely observed during the 2011 crisis in Libya. Both media had been engaged in justifying the stand of their owner (Ireri, 2012).

These two media also engaged in covering the political crisis erupted in Ethiopia since 2015. Ethiopia has repeatedly on the headlines of the Africa section of these two-giant media. AJE and BBC have been selected for this study because of millions of global audiences they have as well as the coverage they have provided for the situation in Ethiopia.

This study focuses only on two international media outlets: BBC and Aljazeera. These two global media outlets are selected for their active engagement in reporting the current political trajectory in Ethiopia. Moreover, these two media represent two different blocks: the Western and Arab world. Aljazeera has been chosen as a leading Arab world media. This region attaches great geopolitical importance to Ethiopia, while Ethiopia does the same. BBC has been selected for analysis from the western side of media and ideology.

The study particularly focuses on the online materials of these two media houses that published between April 2-November 30, 2018. This moment ushered intense violence that forced the government to declare the second-round emergency rule. It is also during this period of time PM Abiy Ahmed ascended to power and announced reform agendas.

1.5. Significance of the Study

The study will attempt to explore how BBC and Aljazeera frame Abiy Ahmed, the new Ethiopian prime minister and his move toward reform. It is expected to benefit practitioners in the media houses in understanding how the foreign media try to portray the situation in Ethiopia after the coming of the new prime minister. It would also incite additional research in the area.

1.6. Limitations of the Study

This research is only limited to materials obtained from BBC and Aljazeera. There are also some other media outlets that have been covering the issue, which is not included in this study. The inclusion of additional media would have given a wider understanding of the subject. However, the researcher has decided to study the approach of the two media houses.

1.7. Organization of the Study

This thesis will contain five chapters. Chapter one presents the introduction, background of the study, statement of problem, research objectives, significance of the study, research questions, scope, limitation and organization of the study. Also, the second chapter discussion about the theoretical framework and the review of literature related to the study. Then the third chapter talks the design of the study i.e. the methodology. Chapter four deals with data presentation, discussion and analysis. Finally, chapter five, comprises the summary and conclusion of the study. The major

findings are presented in this particular chapter. Suggested recommendations relying on the findings of the study are forwarded.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This part of the study presents a review of issues related to the topic under investigation. Accordingly, topics on frames and framing, the process of framing and types frames are part of this chapter. This chapter also presents framing theory as the theoretical framework of the study.

2.1. What is Framing?

The concept of framing perhaps goes back to Erving Goffman a sociologist who defined it as a cognitive structure that guides representation of the everyday event (Entman, Matthes, & Pellicano, 2009). Frames denoted by Goffman (1974, p. 10) as a “principles of organization which govern events...and our subjective involvement in them.” In other words, all human experiences and documentation are subject to framing. Framing is about mental codes of experience in relation to a particular 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, Walter Lippman (1922) who is also 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 public to make sense of the world, which is otherwise very complex. Lippman wrote the mass media help the public shaping the pictures in their mind. This assertion raises questions related to audience autonomy. One can’t jeopardize audience independence despite the influence of the frames.

Out of the intellectual disagreement toward what framing means, two approaches have been emerged in defining framing. Back in 1987 Gamson and Modigalian conceptualized framing in general terms “central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events”. This perspective considers the generalization of events through news or other media texts and this generalization develop into perception. Meanwhile, the central idea approach has found out to be incapable of providing sufficient foundation for consistent measurement and theory.

The second approach focused on the general effect of frames (Entman et al. 2009). According to this perspective framing essentially involves *salience and selection* and by doing so, frames define

problems, make a moral judgment, diagnose problems and suggest remedies (Entmann, 1993). He further explains a single text frame could serve more than these four functions, on contrary text may perform none. According to the second version of frames definition, frames are not a simple set of text too, rather it is a value-laden process to promote a certain kind of interpretation.

Quoting Graber (1988), Entman (1993) says frames are close to concepts such as 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 way in which influence over human consciousness is exerted by the transfer of information.

Noriss (1995) frames reinforce already existing social and universal understanding to define the new event. Therefore, new developments will be interpreted within the existing social understanding framework. As a result, frames cannot be represented as individual schema, but as collectively shared patterns. This interpretation approach could be appropriate or not. Norris put it as follow:

News frames bundle key concepts, stock phrases, and stereotyped 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 (P. 358).

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

What frame can do to the audience, particularly in shaping perception, reality or opinion is at that center of the successive definitions offered by framing scholars. In fact, in today's media industry, framing plays a significant role in shaping public discourse and understanding as per the prescription of the elite.

The knowledge of framing is undeniably crucial for a number of sectors. Especially as media remained to be an important tool to build intact democracy, media researchers find framing theory

helpful to analyze the imbalances and underlying power structures that mediate political issues (Volkmer, 2009). Framing is a central concept in political communication and a powerful political tool. Understanding what frames are used to define specific issues and also what general patterns are evidenced by the evolution of frames over time is hugely important (Boydston, Gross, & Smith, 2013).

Therefore, the researcher finds framing theory to analyze the frames employed on Abiy Ahmed's reform and his premiership by the international media.

2.2. Types of Frames

The media uses a number of different frames while covering issues at hand. According to scholars, these varieties of storytelling and structuring mechanisms can be identified and categorized as certain distinctive characters (de Vreese, 2005).

2.2.1. Issue Specific vs Generic Frames

de Vreese (2005), Entman (2000 (Iyengar, 1991) suggested two general typologies referring to content and nature of frames.

Issue-specific frames are relevant to a specific issue or event. This type of frame defines most of the day to day activity of journalism and emerges out of standard news values and news events. That means every event/issue has a different issue-specific frame. While analyzing the 1983 KAL and Iran Air incidents, Entman identified issue specific frame adopted by US media- the KAL attack'. In 19983 Russian fighter jet shot Korean airlines and in 1988 Us navy also shot down Iranian air. In both situations, the military officials identified the passenger aircraft as possible hostile. But reporting both situations the US media reported the first incident as 'moral bankruptcy. While the second happening depicted as a technical problem as well as guilt. In a comparative analysis of both happenings, Entman identified issue specific frame developed by the US media- the KAL attack. (Entman, 1991)

In studying news frames employing issue specific analysis approaches allow the researcher to deal with a profound level of details and specifics of the issue under investigation. While studying the coverage of social issues in US Iyengar (1991) found that daily news coverage was strongly

dominated by an episodic interpretation in which news depicts social issues as limited to events only. In the same publication, Iyengar noted news organizations reinforces 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)

Generic Frames are kind of frames that operate and recognized across different issues. Hence, unlike issue-specific frames, these types of frames, outshine thematic limitation. Iyengar (1991) in his experiment identified two prime examples of generic frames: *episodic and thematic frames*.

Whenever episodic frames employed on the news, individuals and specific instances are at the center of social issue construction. (Entman, Matthes, & Pellicano, 2009) There is no broader context, so the public can't see the big picture. For instance, a poor performance student at school will not be linked to government education policy failure, rather it goes to student's effort or just lack of family's support. Therefore, more likely the attribution goes to individuals or specific instance.

On the contrary **thematic frames** tell the stories more broadly from a societal perspective using abstract concepts instead of case studies or exemplars (Hallahan, 1999). These frames reveal the root cause of the problems by exposing the broader social, economic, or historical context. Thematic frames are types of frames that can be recognized across different culture, topics and time context (de Vreese, 2005). Again, the analysis of the KAL and Iran air incident is typical can serve as an example for the thematic frames. The reason behind the US media to frame the KAL incident as moral bankruptcy and Iran air as technical failure is the effect of the Cold War between Russia and the US. So, any moment or situation that involved Russia would be depicted in regards to 'Cold War frames.

While studying the framing of European politics Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) suggested five generic framings:

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). Lecheler & de Vreese (2012) in their study of ‘News Framing and Public Opinion’ noted that reference to economic consequence is 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 & 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, Just, & Crigler (1992) identified the responsibility frame as 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, in order to retain audience interest Neuman et al. (1992) described it as “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 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's a type of frame that puts event, issue or problem in religious views or moral prescription. Journalists make reference 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 in relation to different issues which suggest that the frames are more generally applicable than issue specific news frames. (Neuman et al. 1992)

2.2.2. Strong Frames and Weak Frames

Depending on its persuasiveness a frame can be strong or a weak one. However, according to Chong and Druckman (2007), measuring a certain frame is difficult, since the reception among individual is different. (ibid) The relative strength of a frame depends on various factors such as their frequency, accessibility, and relevance. Frequency is defined as the number of times and the number of media companies in which a frame is repeated: the greater the frequency, the greater the force.

The strength of a frame tends to be greater when it focuses on considerations that are accessible to individuals, who have already been exposed to the frame and have understood it earlier before. Another factor that is related to the strength of a frame is its relevance: a frame that speaks of the core of the matter will be stronger than those that speak of peripheral issues. (Chong & Druckman, 2007)

Strong frames strike opinion leaders and audiences as being more compelling than alternative arguments. The typical political strategy is to connect a proposal to a positive idea or value that is widely available in the population. For example, conservation organizations have found they can garner support for government programs to buy land from private interests by associating the program with universally supported goals such as "clean drinking water." Therefore, their

campaigns often suggest that conserving land from the development will improve water quality (Chong & Wolinsky-Nahmias 2005). Unlike Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) generic frames, strong frames developed around a particular value do not work on every issue. So strong frames have a limitation of operating across different themes. The environmental frame is a strong frame when used in local debates over regulating growth, but it has been of secondary influence in presidential elections. The same frame is not necessarily judged applicable across issues and contexts. (Chong & Druckman, 2007)

2.2.3. Framing in Communication Process

Entman (1993) identifies framing in at least four "locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture" (p. 52). First of all, for communicators, their thought process influences what they say thus enabling them to consciously or unconsciously frame or represent the world around them. Then, framing in texts is demonstrated by "the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences" that imply a certain theme or aspect of a "factor judgment" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Thirdly, framing with the receiver implies how the audience perceives and interprets i.e. decode issues discussed over certain media content; their frame of reference may be subject to their own point of view or influenced by the frames of the communicators and the text. Finally, the culture frame refers to what is usually expressed as right or wrong, good or bad, acceptable or unacceptable in the discourse and thought process of a group of people in a certain domain which is the audience. In all four communication processes framing is about what is being selected and frequently discoursed. As Entman (1993) puts it; "Framing in all four locations includes similar functions: selection and highlighting and use of the highlighted elements to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation and/or solution." (p. 53).

2.2.4. The Role of Media in Framing Political News

The presence of frames in political news is very important. Majid & 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 U.S media frame the shooting down of 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 also 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 & Snow, 2000, p. 614). Snow and Benford (1991) further argued that effective frames must depict the cause of a problem, suggest a possible solution and inspire for action. Therefore, by magnifying certain aspects of a specific issue, while obscuring other aspects the elites probably impose certain kind 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 Gateese's of this world. Conversely, the media exploit the poor and powerless. (P. 344)

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 they the media engaged in reinforcing the advantages of the elites, through the frames in their content.

2.3. Media Vs Journalistic Framing

Media has become a powerful framing institution in the modern world. Back in 1920, Walter 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 provide also provide 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.

A professional journalistic frame is a “schema or heuristic, a knowledge structure that is activated by some stimulus and is then employed by a journalist throughout story construction” (Dunwoody, 1999). 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. As a consequence, 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.

2.4. Framing Process

As issues are often complicated and require the processing of a great deal of information from a variety of perspectives, frames provide a shorthand understanding of a situation, by focusing only on those features deemed important. In the normative case media commonly work with news frames to “simplify, prioritize and structure the narrative flow of events” (Norris, 1995, P. 357). Therefore, news frames appear to be an inevitable step in the process of news production.

According to Entman (1993, 2004), frames process could occur at four points: culture, communicator, text, and receiver. These components are an integral part of the framing process which consists of different stages. Scheufele (2000) and de Vreese (2002) have discussed these stages as follow.

Frame Building: refers to internal and external factors that can impact the framing of news. Gans (1979) and Shoemaker and Reese’s work suggest three factors that can affect news frames.

Journalists are the first source of influence, as they are actively engaged in constructing frames to make sense of incoming information. Despite the moderating variables, such as ideology, professional norms and attitudes (Donsbach, 1981) news frames eventually reflected in the way journalists frame the news coverage. The second factor that affects frame building is the political orientation of the medium or what is known as “organizational routine” (Scheufele, 1999). This can be referred to as the core beliefs of the medium (editorial policy). External factors such as authorities, political actors, interest groups and other elites are the third aspect that influences news frames. In this approach the journalists serve as a reflector, they just replicate what the influencer come up with. The journalists use soundbites of the elites to reinforce the frames suggested by the external factors (Scheufele, 1999).

Frame Setting: denotes the interaction between news frames and individual’s earlier knowledge and tendency. Frames in the media content perhaps affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of the issue and these consequences can prevail at individual and societal levels (Scheufele, 1999). The societal level consequence could be used to shape issues that require the engagement of the mass (politics, decision making, collective action) while the individual level consequence may result in a change of attitude toward specific issue based on the degree of exposure to the frames.

2.5. Approaches to Identify News Frames

Earlier researchers share little conceptual ground on news frames, hence working or operational definitions are designed only for a particular study. In other words, there is little consensus on how to identify frames in the news. Despite the disagreement, there are two approaches to content analyzing frames.

Deductive Approach: this approach commends investigating news frames by establishing and providing a working definition before the study is carried out (de Vreese, 2005). Scholars like Cappella and Jamieson (1997) are the pro-deductive approach. Establishing a frame prior to an investigation may be ideal to reproduce the research under different variables. Yet Cappella and Jamieson (1997) argue that there needs to be a set of criteria in establishing the frames because otherwise they may be based on mere hunches and imaginations which might turn up too broad and even overlap. They propose the following criteria;

1. A news frame must have identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics.
2. It should be commonly observed in journalistic practice.
3. It must be possible to distinguish the frame reliably from other frames.
4. A frame must have representational validity (i.e. be recognized by others) (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95)

Quoting Tankard (2001) de Vreese (2005) also noted that frames can be identified from textual clues that can be identified from different components of news discourse. Tankard (2001, p. 101) suggests headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics and charts, and concluding statements and paragraphs, all components of news that will help identify and analyze frames.

Inductive Approach: according to de Vreese inductive frames researches depend on the news contents to establish the dominant frames of the discourse. During the course of analysis, the researcher establishes the frame he/she believes is common in the news. However, according to Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), since the research depends on the researcher's subjectivity, the study scarcely relies on what the sample data could bring to the table. They also criticize the approach for being difficult to replicate for the same reason of subjective. Accordingly, in inductive research, the strength of the analysis, the depth of the results and the sensibility and applicability of the recommendations are as good as the knowledge, academic experience, analytical skills, and world views of the researcher; none of which guarantee replicable research in the exact same way.

2.5.1. News Frames

For Entman (1991) News frames are identified from and expressed in the “keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images emphasized in a news narrative” (p. 7). Framing in news can be identified by looking for words or pictures that are repeatedly used to convey some sort of monotonous theme. Every news organization is bound to practice a certain framing style influenced by its organizational structure, ideologies, owners and subscribers, audience or all. For Mellese & Muller (2012) due to the reasons above framing is an “inevitable step in news production” and crafting “audience perception” (p. 195). Implementing framing in the news is a way of making some idea prominent, others less significant and even some totally irrelevant: “...

through repetition, placement and reinforcing associations with each other, the words and images that compromise the frame render one basic information more readily discernable, comprehensible, and memorable than others.” (Entman, 1991, p. 7). This practice leads to “predictable and recurring motifs” (Mellese & Muller, 2012) or an identifiable design which is usually implemented and can be understood by analyzing contents of a certain period. Such kind of research is called a media frame research—which is actually the focus of this study. Media frames and individual frames are the two types of news frames research that apply to two different components of the communication process i.e. the media and the audience respectively. For Gamson and Modigliani (1987) media frame is the dominant and recurring discourse in a news story that explains an event as it happens by defining conflicts or interactions and what the real implication of the issue is (as cited in Scheufele, 1999). According, to Littlejohn and Foss (2009) these frames is a “macro level” components that focus on how issues are presented in the media and resonates to agenda-setting theory because it is about how certain aspects of an issue are selected and presented on the media to influence audience interpretation (p. 408). For Tuchman (1978) news frame is an essential feature of the news; it organizes everyday reality by turning “meaningless and no recognizable happenings into discernible events” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 106). The second type of frames i.e. individual frames or audience frames are the “micro-level” component of research in political communication. Individual frames also known as audience frames are defined as “mentally stored clusters of the idea that guide individuals’ processing of information” (Entman, 1993 as cited in Scheufele, 1999, p. 107). They are cognitive level frames used by the audience to comprehend the world. As (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009) puts it individual frames

... relate to the way the audience uses this information as they develop attitudes toward certain issues that overlap with priming processes. Priming refers to the way media offer a prior context by which an audience will interpret subsequent information, thus creating frames of reference for audiences. (p. 408)

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology of the study and related topics including research design, research methods, data sources, sampling technique and procedure, data collection tools and method of data organization and analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The main objective of the study is to examine how AJE and BBC covered the premiership of Abiy Ahmed and his reform agendas. To meet these objectives, this study employs a mixed method, a qualitative approach as a major research method accompanied by a quantitative one. It is a frequently used and a suitable approach for looking at the media framing research. Further, it is assumed that supporting qualitative method with a quantitative approach will provide a deeper understanding of the problem since the two approaches address different aspects. Moreover, when we blend qualitative and quantitative methods both neutralize each other's weakness. (Creswell, 2012).

According to Muijs (2004), a quantitative research method is essentially about collecting numerical data to explain a particular phenomenon, particular questions seem immediately suited to being answered using quantitative research techniques like the content analysis. As this approach provides a good statistical result, though it lacks the interpretative aspect, which is crucial while studying media content. The end result is an analysis of how often particular entities occur, together with some additional information about their media location. Hence, as this study focuses on the media content, the quantitative method has been complemented with the interpretative aspect of qualitative method.

On the contrary, the qualitative research method is used to explore a problem and develop a detailed understanding of a central phenomenon. Through this approach, the data analyzed for description and themes using text analysis and interpreting the larger meaning of the findings. (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

Also, the qualitative research method involves the interpretation of data, whereby the researcher analyses, usually a few in number, in their social and cultural context over a specific period of time. And it emphasizes tracing the process and sequence of events in specific settings. And the researcher is not detached from, but positively interacts with, the object of study (Grix, 2004). Therefore, the use of qualitative method particularly for text analysis is part of the study that has served for the purpose of triangulation of data. As qualitative approach offers information about the context and setting, however, it lacks generalizability. Hence the quantitative approach has been used to address this limitation.

Thus, quantitative approach content analysis was used to collect quantitative data from the news about sources, frame and theme frequency, etc. Whereas, for this study qualitative approach was used to find out quality information of articles. The attempt is, therefore, to understand not one, but multiple realities.

3.1.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis is one of the methods employed in this research to analyze the framing of Abiy Ahmed's premiership and reform agendas by AJE and BBC. As the main interest of this thesis is to investigate stories of the new PM and his reform, content analysis becomes vital in assessing the manifested texts on AJE's and BBC's websites. The analysis is mainly carried out to collect data about media content such as topics or issues, volume of mentions, 'messages' determined by keywords in context (Abiy Ahmed, Reform), circulation of the media and frequency.

Content analysis as Kerlinger (2000) (as cited in Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 156) defines it as "a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables.". It required the establishment of guiding rules applied identically to all study entities, with the researcher's subjective analysis and the interpretation put aside. The results are bound to be quantified for reasons related to precision, generalization and interpretation and analysis (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p. 157). The statistics will help make more precise data conclusions.

Quantitative content analysis has several advantages among which a reliable measurement technique and longer shelf value are listed (Riffe et al., 2005). It follows an unmistakable step that

can be replicated and guarantees a purposeful result backed by sufficient statistics. Also, it can outlive the time it was conducted thus making longitudinal studies possible “by using archived materials that may outlive the communicators, their audiences, or the events described in the communication content” (Riffe et al., 2005, p. 38). According to Babbie (2007) content analysis has additional advantages that make it favorable for research: in relation to other data gathering methods, it is safe in case the researcher is required to repeat the investigation and it has limited or no effect on the subject being studied. In addition, since the researcher applies objective analysis during the course of his study, the content analysis doesn’t directly affect the text or image by inflicting some sort of analysis and interpretation.

On the other hand, content analysis has its shortcomings. A content analyst depends on an oral or written text, image, etc., to make an analysis. Accordingly, content analysis is limited to examining recorded communication only (Babbie, 2007). Therefore to fix this gap the researcher has employed textual analysis to further denote the underlying meaning of articles under this study.

3.1.2 Qualitative Content Analysis /Contextual Analysis

The primary focus of the content analysis in the previous section was to carry out the quantitative collection of data from the large texts in the selected media websites. However, as content analysis mainly examines the manifested text in the newspapers, it gives no further chance to look at what the text does really mean, according to the socio-politics and other discourses. This makes textual analysis different from the quantitative content analysis. The latter only focuses on the manifested texts, whereas, the former goes beyond the manifested text. In other words, the textual analysis is generally a type of qualitative analysis beyond the manifested content of the media, and it focuses on the underlying ideological and cultural assumptions of the text (Fürsich, 2009, p. 240)

In the application of qualitative content analysis, there are three distinct approaches: conventional, directed and summative. The major differences among the approaches are coding schemes, origins of codes, and threats to trustworthiness. In conventional content analysis, coding categories are derived directly from the text data. With a directed approach, the analysis starts with a theory or relevant research findings as guidance for initial codes. Summative content analysis involves counting and comparisons, usually of keywords or content, followed by the interpretation of the underlying context (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Since there was no pre-defined category through which to process and analyze the text, the researcher employed a conventional approach. This is because, in analyzing the text, there were no predefined categories. The study focused only on the text and on giving meaning to the text, based on the context. Moreover, as discussed in the theoretical framework (framing as theory) earlier, since the study employed inductive and issue-specific approaches, the analysis approach could directly fit with the conventional textual analysis.

When measuring the news documents that will be used in this research, the authenticity and credibility would not be questioned since almost all news documents are collected from their original possessors.

3.2 Sampling Techniques and Procedures

Purposive sampling was used for the purpose of attaining the aims of this research. For Babbie (2007), it is a form of sampling where samples are selected based on the researcher's judgment about which ones will be the most useful or representative. Riffe, Lacy & Fico (2005) suggest judgemental sampling when “particular studies of publication or particular or particular times may be of interest because these publications were important or the time played a key role in history”. When it comes to this particular study, the researcher is dealing with the historical moment of Ethiopian politics, hence using purposive sampling is appropriate to research the topic.

The data collected with this sampling method will be examined through quantitative and qualitative methods complimentarily. The quantitative content analysis helped identify frames used in discussing Abiy Ahmed's reform and his premiership in AJE and BBC. On the other hand, the qualitative content analysis that required analyzing the textual component provided a ground to explain why the specific frames are selected. It also supported the argument by comparing and contrasting news frames between AJE and BBC. Blessing & Chakrabarti (2009) state that, this strategic mix of qualitative and quantitative methods to identify similar data through different means to strengthen the evidence and verify the finding is referred to as Triangulation.

3.2.1. Selection of the Media

The purposive sampling also used to pick the two global media. i.e Aljazeera a none-western media and BBC which is western. The criteria set to pick these news providers were primarily popularity and distinctive world views and representation. Moreover, these media houses are owned by their respective states and believed to practice ideology loaded journalism in a bid to enforce the interest of their government (McNair, 2009). Ethiopia is a country with high geopolitical importance for the Arab world as well as a diplomatic gateway to Africa for the western. Hence the major change in Ethiopia will obviously attract these two regional blocs, so their media.

3.2.1.1 About Al-Jazeera English

The coming of Al-Jazeera back in 1996 has dramatically changed the media landscape of the Arab world. McPhail (2006) said, “the Arab viewers had never seen anything like it.” The Qatari’s Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani is behind the establishment of Aljazeera by injecting 150 million USD.

Not only changed the Arab media scene but also for the first time, challenged the monopoly of Western media on the traditional North-South flow of information (McPhail, 2006). Back in 2006 Aljazeera English launched to address the international audience and the channel became a key global broadcaster.

Unlike the tradition of the Arab world media, Aljazeera criticized leaders in the region, including the monarch. The Arab world leaders didn’t like how Al-Jazeera is handling topics related to them, so they strike back and a number of countries expelled Al-Jazeera journalists and closed the bureaus. Despite the rebuke from the Arab world, AJE remained influential.

Despite the success across the glob AJE failed to maintain fair journalism when it comes to Qatar and its leader i.e its owners. Some even said beyond the Emir’s interest to embrace democracy and freedom of speech, Aljazeera is a tool to advance the influence of Qatar and execute its interest in the middle east and across the world (Bedri, 2015).

McPhail (as cited in Bedri, 2015) compare Aljazeera’s establishment with the invitation extended to the U.S. military to establish a command center in Qatar.

“...He did it for the same reason he invited the US military to move its Gulf central command (from Saudi Arabia yet to become a bitter foe of Qatar) to Qatar, to make himself a player in the region...Al-Jazeera gave the Emir the power to drive public opinion.” (p. 35)

So, beyond its journalistic task, AJ is a rhetorical strategy of Qatar to boost its influence and interest. Mostefa Souag (as cited in Bedri, 2015) who is currently Director General Al-Jazeera Media Network also admitted that AJ is a means to pursue Qatar’s soft power. He further noted it’s a media that help the country to drive its policies and strategies across the region. This means Al-Jazeera could run into national bias frame whenever Qatar involved or interested in other nations aspect.

Aljazeera English is one of the global media that intensively reported the political crisis in Ethiopia. Apart from broadcast coverage, its popular website was actively engaged in reporting the situation in Ethiopia. Between April and September, 2018 AJE posted more than 59 articles directly related to the current political trajectory in Ethiopia.

3.2.1.2. About BBC

Established by the royal charter, the broadcast media in Britain started in 1922 and after four years this ushered the establishment of BBC radio (McNair B, 2002). According to Seymour-Ure the broadcasting believed to be a “legitimate field of public policy and its development was shaped by periodic government inquiries” (as cited in Ileri, 2012 p. 4). According (McNair, 2002) BBC launched television service from 1936 until September 1, 1939, before resuming service in 1946. Informing, entertaining and educating Britons are the target of BBC.

The coming of ITV following the 1954 Television Act, has ended the BBC’s monopoly in the sector. Unlike the BBC’s license fee, its financial source directed toward advertisement (McNair, 2002).

In 1991 BBC launched World Service⁰ Television News (WSTN) to reach out to the global audience and compete with CNN and Sky News.

The British broadcast media has encountered several regulations since its inception. Though the “commercial and regulatory environment was in great flux between 1985 and 2000,” BBC has

remained independent from the state control (Hampton, 2003, p. 1011). Curran and Seaton (as cited in Ireri, 2012) noted the royal charter has enabled BBC to be objective and impartial.

However, Crissel (as cited in Ireri, 2012) completely disagree with the above notion. Crissel stated that BBC has never been entirely free as the state provides fixed period license, appoint board members and set the cost of the license fee. Financial issues are among the factors that expose media for the external influence (McQuil 1992), the case of BBC could be the reflection of this scholarly assumption.

BBC has been also among the media that engaged in reporting the political situation in Ethiopia. During the frame time of this study, the BBC's website posted about 29 news articles that are directly related to the current political trajectory.

3.3. Unit of Analysis

A unit of analysis is the smallest element of a content analysis but also one of the most important. Based on the interests of research that make a comparison about, or analyses, the unit of analysis varies from one research to another. It can be a word, a sentence, a paragraph, or an entire document. For this research, a single story from AJE and BBC was taken as a unit of analysis examine dominant themes and frames. Other educational and documentary programs are not to be analyzed. About 89 news articles collected from AJE and BBC website were used in this study.

3.4 Developing Content Categories

After identifying the units of analysis in the content analysis, the next step was establishing and defining the categories under which the texts are organized. There are two ways of establishing categories in content analysis: Emergent coding and prior coding. Emergent coding involves establishing categories after studying the text—it is the coding mechanism implemented in this research. On the contrary, prior coding required establishing the categories before the data are collected and studied. Prior coding required “some theoretical or conceptual rationale” to define the categories.

In this study the researcher employed emergent coding, taking a story as a source for the coding. Categories are established after preliminary examination of the data gathered from AJE and BBC.

This has created a greater chance for the researcher to look into the text, some words, or phrases in the story. The resulting category system is constructed based on common themes that emerge from the data themselves.

The researcher has defined and categorized variables and their categories in order to code stories. In order to test the frequency of themes and frames the researcher categorized the content based on the date of publication, types of frames, reported issues and reported media. These categories were used because they were very important to identify dominantly reported issues and frames in general as well as how specific issue is framed. The selected stories were analyzed inductively, without predefined categories at hand. While reading the text to analyze and construct the framing of the stories, the researcher considered Entman's (1993) framing function and Kothari's (2010) cluster analysis. This process was completed manually. The main themes and tones of the stories were analyzed against the backdrops of Entman's and Kothari's frameworks. Then, the stories classified by their themes and later by their frames.

As noted, the main focus of the research is to analyze how BBC and AJE framed Abiy Ahmed's appointment as PM and his reform agendas, thus all of the stories on the issue that were reported in the selected media during the study period were included.

3.4.1. Pilot Coding

Before beginning the full-scale data coding, appropriate training was given to two data coders including the researcher. The coders piloted samples which are 20 % of 88 news articles in both AJE and BBC website. This pilot test helped the researcher to reveal inconsistency and inadequacies in the category construction. The two coders first discussed on the coding instruction carefully and coded 18 news related to issues under study to check inter coder reliabilities. The agreements of the two coders were 15 on the content categories of the issues. Applying the intercoder reliability formula suggested by Holsti (1969), cited in (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011), which suggested a method of computing inter coder reliability by calculating a coefficient of reliability. It is calculated by dividing the number of stories placed in the same category by dividing the number of units coded.

Accordingly:

Number of units in the same category

Coefficient of reliability = _____

Total number of units coded

$$R = \frac{2M}{N1+N2}$$

Where M is the number of coding decisions, on which the two coders agree, and N1 and N2 are the total number of coding decisions made by the first and the second coder respectively. Thus, the two coders judged a sample of 18 stories about PM Abiy Ahmed and his plan to reform and agreed on 18 of the categories, the calculation is,

$$R = \frac{2(15)}{18+18} = \frac{30}{36} = 0.83$$

Therefore, intercoder reliability is 0.83. This means, according to Holsti (1969), cited in (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011) it is reliable and acceptable.

The other purpose of test coding is to check whether the categorization fitted all the elements that have to be measured as well as the possible values to be assigned to them. Based on the sample of the data some slight change was made regarding the categories developed earlier. There were four frame categories before piloting process conducted. However, the researcher has been convinced to increase the frame categories into six by splitting the reform frame into two: reform frame and political reform frame. The researcher has found the political is reform frame is added to the categories. The main reason the new frame category added is that political problem is one of the founding reason for the crisis in the country and it accounts for a large stock of stories. Therefore, the newly developed frame category which is political frame is worth to be treated in a separate category.

3.5 Issues of Reliability and Validity

Reliability is a matter of whether a particular technique, applied repeatedly to the same object, yields the same result each time (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011) it is employed. In other words, if the technique failed to yield the same result on the same object the technique is unreliable.

To insure, the reliability of this study the researcher has provided the necessary training for the coder. Including the researcher, two coders had taken part in the coding process.

In this study, the researcher has measured the inter-coder reliability applying the formula suggested by Holsti (1969), after conducting pilot coding. Holsti indicates that the minimum reliability coefficient must be 0.75 or above. Accordingly, the inter-coder reliability of this study is 0.83, which is acceptable and reliable. After pilot coding, the content categories also revised and slight change was made.

As mentioned previously the study employed both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The researcher has tried to make these methods compatible with the study approach as much as possible. Quantitative analysis was done through the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) that could be even replicated later.

Similarly, the issue of validity must be maintained. Validity refers to the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). Validity is also related to ensuring reliability. Regarding this study, the researcher has tried to maintain reliability through systematic and objective approaches. But more importantly operational definitions adequately established and efforts are exerted to make the content categories exhaustive. This has helped to ensure that categorizations fitted all the elements that had to be measured. Plus Entman's (1993) framing function and Kothari's (2010) deconstruction of a message has been referred as a backdrop to identifying major frames and themes.

3.6. Data Analysis Procedure

The quantitative data was properly coded, organized, summarized and cleared through Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Finally, the quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics such as percentage and frequency. Tables were used to present the numeric data.

Furthermore, the study implemented textual analysis (qualitative) in order to provide supporting arguments for quantitative findings of identified frames in the prior content analysis.

The data analysis process of this study began by providing the findings of the content analysis (statistical data) supported and accompanied by textual evidence (qualitative) and substantiating remarks identified through textual analysis. Therefore, the analysis of this study is based on both textual and statistical evidence. The frames and themes which are inductively constructed from the news reports were discussed, to show the extent of both aspects. Then an umbrella frame category was established to make rational associations and avoid scattered findings. Lastly, the researcher tried to show how various assumptions of the theory of framing are actually in effect when discussing how the mainstream news media used the identified frames to cover the Prime Minister's appointment and his reform agenda's.

3.7. Time Frame of the Study

Purposive sampling also applied in selecting news items for the study. Ethiopian have been protesting for years demanding political and economic changes. As civil unrest continued the country's prime minister Hailemariam Desalegn announced his resignation on February 15, 2018. And After Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the ruling coalition elected Abiy Ahmed on April 2, 2018, both Aljazeera and BBC have widely reported various aspects including the ascendance of the new leader and his reform agendas. There are, over 91 AJE and 67 BBC news published online. This number is only the number of news stories for the year 2018—between April 2 and September 30. Due to time limitations, for the purpose of this research, the researcher has considered analyzing news articles up to three pages, related to the ascendance of the new prime minister and his reform agendas. Opinion articles and online posted videos are not part of the analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This research is set out to identify how Abiy Ahmed's premiership and reform agendas are represented by Al Jazeera English and British Broadcasting Corporation, two global mainstream media from the Arab world and the West respectively. In order to fulfill this aim data were collected using both quantitative and qualitative instruments. This section primarily analyzed the extent of coverage of the issue under investigation by identifying and examining major themes and frames these media used to cover Abiy Ahmed's ascendance to power and his reform agendas. To this end, the study uses an inductive approach to identify major themes and frames employed by both BBC and AJE. It is limited to examining how AJE and BBC framed and developed themes related to the coming of the new PM in Ethiopia and his reform plans, between April 2 (When Abiy elected as PM) and November 30, 2018.

In the process of this research every news piece, i.e., the headlines and sub-headlines as well as the spoken discourse was analyzed. This initial analysis was made by implementing emergent coding to establish system categories to catalog similar-toned news. The presentation and analysis of data are made with the help of the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS).

Then, in the second step, textual evidence was identified using the qualitative analysis. Finally, overarching categories, which were broad enough to include all textual sub-frames, were established. This helps to reduce data to a manageable size and come up with a concentrated finding.

4.1 Reported Major Themes

After analyzing about 59 online news articles from AJE and similarly 29 from BBC on Abiy Ahmed's Premiership and Reform agendas the following 3 major thematic categories were identified. These major themes are widely mentioned and covered across the online articles of both media's official website.

4.2 Major Themes Reported by Al-Jazeera English

Themes	Frequency	Percent
Ethiopia and Eritrea peace deal	20	33.9
Reform in Ethiopia	18	30.5
Oromo PM	20	33.8
OTHER	1	4.3
Total	59	100.0

Table-1 Major themes reported by AJE

4.2.1. Ethiopia and Eritrea Peace Deal

Ethiopia's acceptance of terms of the 2000 peace agreement with Eritrea has been a surprise move for Al-Jazeera English. Out of the 59 AJE news articles about 20 (33.9 %) has dealt with the new rapprochement of the two countries. In fact, the decision was a complete surprise for the whole world. The 2000 agreement is a ruling of UN-backed boundary commission, however, following Ethiopia's refusal to accept the decision, it has never been implemented.

This dominant issue is not only reported from the peace advancement perspective. Every time follow up stories related to the peace deal published on the AJE website the damage caused by the war is always there. For instance, on June 5 (the day Ethiopia announced that it accepts the 2000 agreement) Al-Jazeera published article with the heading "Ethiopia Accepts Peace Agreement with Long Time Rival Eritrea" on its news website. About half this article dominated by the outcome of the border war that happened back in 1998 between the two nations. Particularly the news article emphasizes the number of people killed and displaced during the war. The following cited an article published under subheading "Bloody War".

Ethiopia became landlocked in 1993 after Eritrea, which comprised the country's entire Red Sea coast, voted to leave.

But the neighbors were soon at war over the demarcation of their shared border, a conflict that would leave 80,000 people dead and degenerate into a stalemate.

Hundreds would die in subsequent years in periodic border clashes after Ethiopia's refusal to accept the ruling ...

The way this news approached in this article could undermine what supposed to be the core point, which is Ethiopia's acceptance of the peace agreement. These very facts are also placed in more than 16 online articles published on the peace agreement.

As Al-Jazeera went on reporting the progress of the peace agreement, new sub-thematic issues are started popping up. How 'Ethiopia ended up landlocked' is one of the issues that repeatedly mentioned across news report related to the peace agreement. On June 26 Aljazeera reported the arrival Eritrean high-level delegation in Addis Ababa with the heading "Eritrea delegation arrives in Ethiopia ahead of landmark talks". After pointing out how the progress made toward peace, the article mentions Eritrea as the only way for Ethiopia to access the sea. The article reads, "Eritrea, which comprised of Ethiopia's only access to the sea, broke off from its larger neighbor in 1993 leaving Addis Ababa landlocked".

At this part of the article, AJE is trying to emphasize the importance of Eritrea's port for Ethiopia, capitalizing it as the only option to access the sea. However, this statement has undermined the region's (East Africa) potential regarding the port. Most of the countries in the region have ports, which can be utilized by Ethiopia, while Djibouti is already rendering most of its service to Ethiopia. Therefore, Eritrea cannot be presented as the only gateway to the sea for landlocked Ethiopia. Moreover, the has become in 1993 when Eritrea voted to secede from Ethiopia in 1993, not because of the 2000 agreement.

The peace agreement further covered by AJE website, by recalling Ethiopia's refusal to implement the terms of the 2000 agreement as a reason for two decades animosity between the two nations. On June 20 AJE posted on its website Eritrea's decision to send a delegation to Ethiopia for further peace talk. After discussing the delegation, the story jumped in to listing previous disagreements and mentioned human casualties around the border after Ethiopia refused the border commission ruling. "Hundreds would die in subsequent years in periodic border clashes after Ethiopia's refusal

to accept the ruling of an UN-backed boundary commission that divided up the contested territory between the two countries.” This paragraph of the article inclined to blame Ethiopia’s refusal for the death of hundreds around the border. AJE prefer to left out the major battle fought for two years before the agreement, which actually caused the animosity between the nations rather than Ethiopia’s refusal of the aftermath agreement. Similarly, AJE kept on mentioning on other reporting that Ethiopia’s rejection of the agreement as an immediate cause for the two decades diplomatic blockage. What is illogical with this assertion is the expectation of immediate friendship after Ethiopia and Eritrea engaged in a ‘bloody war’ that claimed eighty thousand lives. This notion is widely entertained across AJE’s online news articles about the peace process.

The issue of Ethiopia and Eritrea peace process is attributed to Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and repeatedly mentioned as part of the ‘sweeping’ reform of the premier by AJE.

The visit comes a month after Abiy surprised people by fully accepting a peace deal that ended a two-year border war between the two countries.

Last month's decision to fully accept the deal was the biggest and most surprising reform yet announced by Ethiopia's prime minister, who took office in April and quickly set off a wave of reforms, freeing journalists and opposition figures from prison, opening up the state-run economy and unblocking hundreds of websites after years of anti-government protests demanding more freedoms.

Al-Jazeera also depicted the importance of Ethiopia and Eritrea peace deal for the horn of Africa. The easing tension among the horn of African countries following the two nations thawing relation also reported on the AJE website.

Tensions over the border burned on after the fighting ended until Abiy offered to end the military standoff this year as part of a package of reforms that has reshaped the political landscape in the Horn of Africa and beyond.

The United Nations has lifted its sanctions on Eritrea, nine years after they were imposed by the international organization.

Wednesday's decision, made during a meeting of the UN Security Council, follows a rapprochement between Eritrea and neighboring Ethiopia in recent months.

The Security Council welcomed the improved relationship between the two countries but added that Eritrea needs to strive for closer ties with its other neighbor, Djibouti.

AJE further reported the advancing diplomatic relation across the region after the two-nation resume relation. AJE's article on July 30 reads, "Eritrea and Somalia agree to restore diplomatic relations. The move comes weeks after Eritrea and Ethiopia signed a historic peace deal, establishing relations between the two."

The peace deal has not only attached to the positive effects. On July 26 AJE come up with article demanding similar reform as in Ethiopia. The articles heading reads "Wary Eritreans say Ethiopia deal 'means nothing' without reforms. With peace being made, expectations are rising that transformative reforms will be introduced, but many remain cautious." The article quotes some Eritrean and also assert the undemocratic situation in Eritrea. The article inclined toward undermining the peace agreement between the two neighboring countries, implicitly demanding regime change or more democratic space in Asmara.

4.2.2. Oromo PM Narrative

Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed referred by Aljazeera and other global news outlets as a leader from the Oromo Ethnic group. This theme covered in about 20 (33.8 %) news articles of AJE. Following Prime Minister, Hailemariam Desalegn's unexpected resignation on February 2018, has created political uncertainty in Ethiopia. To fill the power gap the ruling coalition, EPRDF has held a closed session meeting for a number of days. Perhaps Al Jazeera started referring to the ethnicity of the upcoming leaders.

On January 26 Al Jazeera publishes a news article titled "Who will be Ethiopia's next Prime Minister? Under the same article, AJE put subheading read "Oromo candidates". Unlike the Oromo candidates, other nominees' ethnicity is not emphasized. Under this subheading, by citing analysts, the article tries to justify why the Oromo Prime Minister needs to be elected.

“But since "the engine of the protest movement" has been the marginalization of the country's largest ethnonational group, the Oromo, Hussein said that not appointing an Oromo would have a devastating effect.

"If somebody from another [ethnic] group is installed, I think people will interpret that as, 'Well, there you go again.' It will be *deja vu*," he told Al Jazeera.

Mass anti-government protests have been ongoing in Ethiopia's Oromia region, home to the Oromo, since 2015.

Now after the ruling coalition appointed Abiy Ahmed as a Prime Minister the Oromo candidate has evolved to the ‘first Oromo Prime Minister’. On March 28, AJE published article breaking the election of Abiy Ahmed as a chair of the ruling coalition, EPRDF (by default the chair of EPRDF will become PM). The subheading of this article reads “EPRDF picks Abiy Ahmed as its chairman, paving the way for the Oromo leader to become Ethiopia's prime minister.” The subheading overemphasized the premier’s ethnicity rather than the post he is elected for. Before the closing paragraph, this very article states “Abiy will be the first Oromo prime minister in the 27 years EPRDF has been in power.” The day he has sworn as Prime Minister (April 2) AJE come up with the article that indicates the new Prime Ministers ethnic background. This time AJE mentioned the ethnic profile after a couple of attributions. “Abiy was sworn in on Monday shortly after his election to become Africa's second-most populous country's 16th prime minister and the first Oromo to hold Ethiopia's top seat.”

Later on, in more than 15 news article AJE sustained in mentioning Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s ethnic background.

4.2.3. Reform Issues

The changes happening in Ethiopia after the election of the new prime minister has received a fair amount of coverage relative to other major thematic areas identified by the researcher. About 18 (30.5 %) news articles dedicated to this category. The release of ‘political prisoners’ including the opposition leader British citizen Andaregachew Tsige is reported by AJE on May 26 as a first move by the government toward widening political space.

“Thousands of prisoners, including several senior opposition leaders, have been freed since January having been accused of charges such as "terrorism" or incitement to topple the government.

The pardons are part of reforms that the government has pledged to undertake after violent unrest broke out three years ago,...

The article inclined toward implying that the government is trying to respond to the demand of the people, that has been going on for a couple of years. But the article focusses on Andargachew Tsige, who is British and also opposition leader in Ethiopia. The release of this individual appears every moment Aljazeera reports political reform in the country. The article's heading also dedicated to him reads “Andargachew Tsige pardoned by Ethiopia.” Further, AJE quotes the wife of the Briton about her reaction. On the contrary out of the released inmates, there were political figures worth mentioning in the article. But this is not to undermine Andargachew's prominence in Ethiopian politics.

AJE also reported about the lifting of the state of emergency on June 5 indicating the relative peace in Ethiopia. “Parliament approved a bill on Tuesday to end the emergency rule two months earlier than planned, state-affiliated Fana Broadcasting reported.” After mentioning why emergency rule declared, the article states the improvement in the country regarding stability, after Abiy Ahmed assumed power.

“Abiy has traveled to several areas of the country, promising to address grievances and strengthen a range of political and civil rights.

In addition, several thousands of prisoners have been released and tensions in restive areas, notably Oromia, have dramatically declined.

AJE approached this issue of the reform more fairly and positively despite some violence narrative in the article.

The change in the Ethiopian political arena is among reform topics widely covered by Aljazeera through its online outlet. The removal of exiled opposition and rebel group from the terrorist list, granting amnesty for the politician charged with terrorism, enhancement of human rights

protection and the positive reaction from opposition group had been reported through a number of Aljazeera's online articles.

“Ethiopia's parliament has passed an amnesty for thousands of political prisoners, thousands of whom have been freed in recent months. Since assuming office in April, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed has introduced a series of unprecedented reforms and has overseen the release of jailed dissidents...

... Abiy this month sacked the head of the prison service and other senior prison officials' hours before a Human Rights Watch report detailed torture at one notorious prison and urged the government to hold officials to account.

The parliament also ruled that the Oromo Liberation Front and the Ogaden National Liberation Front, two secessionist groups, and the Ginbot 7, an exiled opposition movement, were no longer terrorist groups.

Abiy has been applauded for his moves to shake up the status quo in a nation long criticized by rights groups for the brutality of its security forces, the jailing of dissidents and its narrow political space...

... Ethiopia's government has signed an agreement to end hostilities with the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), which it had previously labeled a "terrorist movement.

The deal signed in the Eritrean capital, Asmara, on Tuesday appeared to be another step by Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed to improve security and diplomatic relations, reform institutions and open parts of the state-controlled economy...”

Despite the domination of topics related to political reforms, Abiy Ahmed administration's decision to open up the government-controlled economic sector (liberalization) was also among the issue repeatedly mentioned by this media. In contrary Aljazeera disengaged itself from diplomatic issues of Ethiopia in the horn, except the advancement with Eritrea. However, after his election, the new Prime Minister has traveled across the East African countries with the new diplomatic approach. But on July 30, 2018, AJE reported the agreement signed between Eritrea and Somalia resume diplomatic relation. The diplomatic agreement of the two nation is reported

in the article as an outcome of Ethiopia and Eritrea peace agreement. Further AJE underlined through analysts comment on the importance of Ethiopia and Eritrea peace agreement rather than the later one.

"Eritrea and Somalia have had poor relations because of Eritrea's support for groups like al-Shabab and other opposition groups in Somalia," Bryden told Al Jazeera.

"That support has diminished in recent years, and there really hasn't been a confrontation between the two governments," he said.

"It's a thawing of relationships, but it's not as direct or as important as the Ethiopian-Eritrean truce."

After mentioning the intention of restoring relation between Eritrea and Somalia, the article stated the dilemma Somalia will face because of its political relationship with the Gulf countries, quoting the same analyst. The article further stated the aligns of these three East African countries have with the two rivalry camps in the Gulf (Saudi Arabia-UAE lead camp vs Qatar-Iran lead camp).

Bryden also raised the issue of the political relationship Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia have with Gulf countries.

"Eritrea and Ethiopia both have fairly close ties with the United Arab Emirates and Eritrea hosts a UAE military base which is actively involved in the conflict in Yemen."

Somalia, on the other hand, has a very poor relationship with the UAE, according to Bryden.

"Mogadishu is more closely aligned with Qatar, so it's not clear how Somalia is going to walk this tightrope between these two camps and where it's going to take Somalia next."

The above excerpt of AJE categorized Ethiopia with the UAE lead camp alike Eritrea who official pledged support to the group. In fact, Ethiopia would have more relation with Saudi Arabia and UAE, however, the aftermath of his election the new Ethiopian Prime Minister has also visited and

signed various agreements with Qatar, as he did with Saudi Arabia and UAE. Moreover, Ethiopia has never officially announced its support for either of the camps. Perhaps Saudi Arabia's involvement in Ethiopia and Eritrea peace deal could be a factor to associate Ethiopia with UAE's camp. (on September 17, 2018, Ethiopia and Eritrea have signed the agreement at Riyadh at the presence of King Salman.

Quoting the same expert AJE further asserted about the possible retraction Somalia would face from the camp it has already aligned with, particularly Qatar, for restoring relation with Eritrea. This story has also implied that the strategic importance of the horn of African countries for the nearby Gulf countries. On the other side, the story inclined in depicting the rich Arab countries as a boss to their fellow friend East African countries.

The appointment of women to higher government authority is among reform issues reported by Aljazeera. Particularly on September 17, 2018, when parliament approved Abiy Ahmed's new cabinet which women make up 50 percent, Aljazeera's report compared the move with a handful of African and European nation. The article titled "Ethiopia: Women occupy 50 percent of new cabinet" attributed the change to the new Prime Minister.

Women have been assigned key ministerial portfolios, including ministries of peace, trade and industry, and defense.

... The Horn of Africa nation joins a handful of countries, mostly European, where women make up 50 percent or more of ministerial positions, according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union and UN Women.

The shake-up is the latest in a series of dramatic reforms implemented by Abiy since he took office in April...

The appoint of Sahel-Work Zewodie as Ethiopia's first female president has also received a wide range of attention. On the articles published on October 25 and 27, Aljazeera emphasized two major issues. Firstly, the issue of women inclusive political reform widely thematized across the articles and also dubbed as positive toward fixing gender disparity. The other issue raised related to the first female president is the power of the presidential position. The article stated the role of the president is 'ceremonial and social influence' comparing with Prime Minister's Power.

4.3. Major themes Reported by BBC

Themes	Frequency	Percent
Ethiopia and Eritrea Peace Deal	10	33.3
Reform	11	36.6
PM From ethnic Oromo	9	30
Total	30	100.0

Table- 2 Major themes Reported by BBC

4.3.1. Ethiopia and Eritrea Peace Deal

Ethio-Eritrea's peace deal is believed to be a be one of the major political development in the East Africa region. Ethiopia's acceptance of the 2000 agreement and later peace advancement between the two nation has received wide range attention from the global news outlets including from the British Broadcast Corporation. Of the total articles collected from BBC 10 (33.3 %) articles have dealt with these issues.

Between February and November 2018 BBC published about 30 online news articles about the change in Ethiopia. Out these articles, the coverage given to the peace settlement between the two nations accounts about 22.6%.

At his swearing ceremony on April 2, 2018, Abiy Ahmed announced Ethiopia's readiness to address the disagreement with Eritrea. At the same day, BBC's website published an article with its heading reads "Ethiopia PM Abiy Ahmed wants to resolve Eritrea disputes". After quoting the PM on his call toward Eritrea, the article followed by the quote of Eritrea's information minister Yemane Gebre-Meskel, demanding the withdrawal of Ethiopian troops or the issue cannot be resolved. The later quote appears to be a retraction of the prior.

"...Speaking on state television after his swearing-in ceremony, Mr. Abiy called for an end to "years of misunderstandings". "I call on the Eritrean government to take the same stand," he said.

... But Eritrea's information minister Yemane Gebre Meskel told the BBC relations cannot be resolved until Ethiopia withdraws "from the occupied territories".

This article thematized the issue as an approach of the new Prime Minister toward long rival Eritrea. To further justify this notion BBC mentioned in this article the fact that Hailemariam Desalegn (Abiy Ahmed's predecessor) used to accuse Eritrea. "Mr. Hailemariam, while in power, had accused Eritrea of backing anti-government protests in the country."

On June 5, 2018, Ethiopia's announcement to accept and implement the outcome of the 2002 border commission ruling was another development. BBC reported this decision as a means to end the war footing status of the two countries. BBC again published an article on June 26, 2018, following Ethiopia's decision to withdraw from the occupied territories. The article's heading reads "Ethiopia offers Eritrea chance to end Africa's longest war". The heading inclined toward depicting Eritrea as more advantageous from Ethiopia's decision or the peace deal. It appears that Eritrea is the one who could suffer more even if Ethiopia continues rejecting the ruling of the border commission. As it goes down the article mentions the forced conscription in Eritrea, which Asmara always used the situation with Ethiopia to justify it. It seems the issue of forced conscription in the news has been set in the article to signify the dictatorial situation in Eritrea rather than the advantage it will gain from the deal.

"The ball is now in Eritrea's court," Tesfalem Araia from the BBC's Tigrinya service says.

"Eritrea has been on a war footing and the justification for forced conscription into the army has been the conflict with Ethiopia," he adds.

That forced conscription is the reason given by most of the thousands of Eritreans who flee the country, making the perilous journey to Europe."

Apart from the multidimensional advantages of the two nations, the new rapprochement of Ethiopia and Eritrea is also discussed from a regional perspective in a couple of articles.

The rivalry affected the whole region with each country normally taking opposite positions whatever the question. They also took rival sides in Somalia's long conflict - Eritrea was accused

of backing Islamist groups, while Ethiopia, a US ally, supported the internationally recognized government

4.3.2. Oromo PM Narrative

Whenever BBC came up with the political crisis in Ethiopia its online news articles mostly swing between mentioning the Oromo and Amhara ethnic groups. This theme almost prevailed across 9 (30 %) news articles out the total articles collected from the BBC for this study. On April 2, 2018 (Abiy Ahmed's inaugural) BBC's article has picked two main issues. The Prime Minister's announcement to resolve the issue with Eritrea is the first point widely discussed across the article and then the article mentions the fact that the new PM is from majority ethnic group, which is the Oromo. "Mr. Abiy is Ethiopia's first Oromo leader - an ethnic group which has been at the center of anti-government protests since 2016."

The PM's ethnic reference is being developed with the notion of majority ethnic group, but marginalized. On June 24, 2018, following the bomb attack at a pro-Abiy rally in Addis Ababa, BBC published a news article about the attack. After explaining the situation, BBC started listing about Abiy Ahmed by stating that he is the first Oromo Prime Minister, an ethnic group which is the core of all the anti-government protest. This further assert that the ethnic group Abiy Ahmed came from is part of the deprived Ethiopian people and these people have on the streets demanding economic and political inclusion,

He (Abiy) is also the country's first leader from the ethnic Oromo group, which has been at the center of nearly three years of anti-government protests that have left hundreds of people dead.

Since taking office he has begun passing a series of reforms, including unblocking hundreds of websites and TV channels.

... An ethnic Oromo, Mr. Abiy is believed to have huge support among the Oromo youth as well as other ethnic groups.

One of the Oromo's main complaints is that they have been politically, economically and culturally marginalized for years, despite being the country's largest group...

BBC further noted Abiy belongingness to the majority ethnic group as a helping factor for the PM to implement his reform agendas.

Apart from the articles this thematic issue has been reinforced where BBC listed key facts about Abiy Ahmed at the sideline of the main article.

4.3.3. Reform Issues

Apart from the peace deal with neighboring Eritrea, Ethiopia's move to reform its domestic affairs, is among repeatedly reported issue by BBC. BBC reported many of these reform activities by directly attributing to with Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. About 10 (33.3 %) news article collected from BBC thematically inclined toward reporting the reform ushered by the new leader.

The change in the political arena is among the issue that widely reported by the BBC's online news articles. The other aspect thematized as reform is the lifting of the state of emergency on June 5, 2018, two months earlier than anticipated time. Quoting one of its editors, BBC dubbed the action as an improvement made after Abiy Ahmed ascended to power in April.

The move to lift the state of emergency two months early shows how far Ethiopia has come since the new Prime Minister, Abiy Ahmed, came to power, says BBC World Service Africa Editor, Mary Harper.

The new Prime Minister's announcement to partially liberalize government controlled economic sector was one of the recurring issues across BBC's article. Beyond hammering this issue sometime BBC publishes what appears to be urging tone for privatization. For instance, on June 26, 2018, BBC posted a news article about set reforms being announced by the Ethiopian government, particularly related to the economy. The excerpt of the article reads:

...Investments in the telecommunication sector could help improve mobile and internet services which have not seen the same rapid expansion as in the rest of the world.

Until now, a state firm has had a monopoly on internet access, which remains costly and slow...

In the above extract, the BBC is recommending privatization to improve the telecom sector in Ethiopia. In the same article, BBC quoted analysts who criticize the government's semi liberalization program. analysts criticize the program as a lazy plan to rescue the economy and it will also hand the economy to private tyrants. As we can observe from the following extracts of the article, the BBC used the closing paragraph to defend the liberalization program.

Hallelujah Lulie, an analyst on Horn of Africa affairs observes: "As things stand now, there is a fine line between buying state enterprises and buying the state in Ethiopia. We don't want a transition from an authoritarian state to a private tyranny. The decision to partially privatize some of the commanding heights is unwise, to say the least."

Despite these reservations, it seems as though there is a real chance that Ethiopia, Africa's second-most populous country, could be about to change from a tightly-controlled state under the permanent threat of war, to a place where citizens may be able to enjoy more freedom on a number of different levels.

This theme of the reform further deliberated across different articles that reported the change in Ethiopia.

Women's appointment to higher government post is also reported as a surprising move of the prime minister. Particularly the appointment of women as the country's president and defense minister were point raised now and again by the BBC.

And if anyone thought there had been enough surprises, in October, Mr. Abiy appointed women to half of all cabinet posts.

If that does not sound impressive enough, there were other changes. Ethiopia now has a female president (Sahle-Work Zewde), a female head of the Supreme Court (Meaza Ashenafi), a female head of the electoral commission (Birtukan Mideksa), and the official spokesperson of the government is a woman (Billene Aster Seyoum).

As BBC published a number of articles about the reform in Ethiopia, most of the article attach what reported as major change with the new prime minister, Abiy Ahmed.

The pace of change in Ethiopia has been so fast since Abiy Ahmed became prime minister in April that it is almost like observing a different country.

The reforms he has introduced were unthinkable not so long ago...

BBC also repeatedly set a separate section or part of articles to list out Abiy's profile that ranges from his childhood to his current status.

4.4. Major Frames Used to Report Abiy Ahmed's Premiership and Reforms by Aljazeera

TYPES OF FRAMES	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Reforms	9	15.3	15.3
Reform Retraction	11	18.6	18.6
Ethnic Conflict	5	8.5	8.5
The Peace Frame	14	23.7	23.7
Political Reform	9	15.3	15.3
War Frame	6	10.2	10.2
Others	5	8.5	8.5
Total	59	100.0	100.0

Table- 3 Major Frames on AJE

4.4.1. The Peace Frame

The peace frame is used by Aljazeera to depict unprecedented Ethiopia and Eritrea peace deal as well as the positive advantages the deal will offer for the two nations and the region at large. About 14 (23.7 %) of the 59 online news articles of AJE accounted to this frame. The news items fall under this category discuss the thawing relationship of the two nation, both nations leaders visit,

the reunification of families separated after the 1998 war and the importance of the peace deal in pacifying East Africa. About 14 (23.7 %) of the 59 online news articles about the change in Ethiopia, reported the peace deal between Ethiopia and Eritrea as a surprising and an important move by Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. The peace deal dubbed as a tool to unlock the economic potential of the two nations. It is further depicted as a means to end the suffering of separated families and people reside around the militarized border areas of the two nations. Moreover, it was an important move to pacify the fragile security of the horn of Africa. An online article published on June 5, 2018 (the day Ethiopia announced its acceptance of the 2000 agreement) with heading “Ethiopia accepts a peace deal with longtime rival Eritrea” reads

Ethiopia announced it will fully accept the terms of a peace agreement with neighboring Eritrea in a major step towards calming deadly tensions with its decades-long rival.

The news comes hours after Ethiopia lifted a state of emergency on Tuesday in what had been the most dramatic reform yet under new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, who has promised change...

However, it is the prospect of peace with reclusive Eritrea that has come as the latest, and largest, surprise.

In this story, Ethiopia’s announcement is depicted as the largest surprise of the newly elected prime minister. AJE showed the fact that Ethiopia won’t let go easily the issue with Eritrea considering two-decade-old animosity. Moreover, AJE capitalizes the fact that the new prime minister is behind Ethiopia’s decision. Following Ethiopia’s announcement to accept the 2000 agreement AJE tried to show the significance of the peace process for the region at large.

...the hostilities extended beyond their borders. The two Horn of Africa countries has also supported various groups in the conflict in neighboring Somalia.

Observers now believe that the thawing of tensions will help bring about more stability in the region.

Another online article published on June 29, 2018, under the banner “Ethiopia, Eritrea and the hope for lasting peace”. Under this article, a young man speaks about his family, deported during

the border war. Now the news shade light the fact that many separated families could reunite and end the suffering of both people.

"I have not seen my family for 20 years," added Yonas, who is Ethiopian but his family are Eritreans and were deported when the conflict started.

Like many on both sides of the border, he has welcomed the effort to resolve the conflict - and eagerly awaiting for relations to normalize to visit his relatives.

"I'm Ethiopian, but also feel Eritrean. When it is sorted out, I will go to Asmara to see my family for the first time in 20 years," he said.

The above extract also indicates the existing blood relation between the people of the two nations, which is maneuvering to resume the distorted diplomatic relation and settle the two decades of tension.

Aljazeera employed these facts and others to show the effect of the advancing peace starting from the broader regional security to the grass root level family.

But AJE has not only dealt with the positive outcome of the peace deal. On July 20, 2018, AJE published an article titled **“Ethiopia or Eritrea? Border Community Fears Split.”** The article states the side effect of Ethiopia’s acceptance of the 2000 agreement, which leads to the disintegration of the Irob community. A priest quoted in the article, denying peace if the border community is to face split.

... Haisie's minority ethnic Irob community, spread across the region, could be rent in two, with some ending up in Eritrea while others remain in Ethiopia.

"This decision will divide the population," Daniel Hagos, a Catholic priest in Alitena, an Irob town 10km northeast of Engal, told AFP news agency.

"If brothers are divided, that will be a problem. I don't think peace will come."

Despite the peace overture’s advantage to the larger population, the above article capitalized the possible side effect of the peace deal. In this case, the side effect is only attached to the Irob

community, whereas there are other communities from the Eritrean side, who would face the same fate. In fact, the split of community around the border was the main concern. However, undermining the current progress, to polarize cases like Erob is appeared to be another approach toward the peace deal. Similarly, on July 26, AJE described the peace deal as nothing quoting Eritreans. This article's heading reads "Wary Eritreans say Ethiopia deal 'means nothing' without reforms" to further enforce this assertion, AJE quoted Eritrean human right activities in exile demanding change.

...for Eritreans, peace also holds the possibility of something many in the country and the diaspora have long yearned for.

"Mothers are out on the streets of Asmara celebrating because they think their children finally are coming back home," said Meron Estefanos, a human rights activist based in Sweden who is in constant contact with fellow Eritreans in the country's capital.

"Everyone is now expecting Eritrea to change; for national service to end, prisoners to be released and the constitution to be implemented."

Then this quotation followed by another exiled Eritrean journalist saying "There is no promise to change anything whatsoever - nothing has changed... And if this peace agreement won't solve any of our problems, it means nothing to us."

The above extract of the article is a manifestation that AJE has continued capitalizing what appears to be a retraction aspect of the peace deal. The extract is set to undermine the agreement the two nations have reached to avert a two-decade-old tension. This article collected a set of quotation that asserts the irrelevance of the peace deal if the internal situation in Eritrea cannot change. To farther enforce this frame the individuals quoted in the article are Eritreans living in exile. If the people in Asmara were included in the article, the notion would have been different. The first thing that needs to be considered is the fact that the peace deal is not to change Eritrea's internal problem. Rather it is about mending the relation of the two countries by ending the animosity.

4.4.2 Political Reform Frame

Political reform frame is about the changes made in widening political space including the homecoming and the release of political prisoners. About 9 (15.3 %) news items fall under this category out of the total collected AJE news articles about Ethiopia.

As part of the effort to widen political space, on May 26, 2018, the Ethiopian government announced the release of 575 political prisoners including Andargachew Tsige, the general secretary of Ginbot 7. The same day Aljazeera English published an article with heading “Andargachew Tsige pardoned by Ethiopia” and subheading “Attorney general says decision for Andargachew Tsige's pardon was part of moves intended to 'widen political space'.” The heading and subheading of this article have not mentioned any of the other 575 inmates released with the British Andargachew. And almost half of the article is about him. In fact, he is a popular politician after being extradited from Yemen and sentenced to death. There were politician worth mentioning in the article among the released 575 inmates, but none were mentioned. The others were deemphasized while Andargachew has been depicted as face of the changing political space. Perhaps the news emphasized Andargachew because he is a Briton. However, only the release of Andargachew can't be a manifestation of the widening political space in Ethiopia.

Similarly, on June 15, 2018, AJE reported another round of prisoners' release, this time the issue framed as a response from the government to the violent protest, that has been going on in Ethiopia for the last three years. And the change is attributed to the new prime minister Abiy Ahmed.

...The move is part of a raft of reforms pledged by authorities after violent unrest broke out three years ago...”

...More than 1,000 prisoners have been released or slated for release since Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed came to power in April.

Another development in the political arena was the ratification of an amnesty law for the crimes committed against the constitution and for taking part in armed struggle. Reporting about the passing of the law, one article of Aljazeera on July 21, 2018, reads:

The law is expected to enable hundreds of exiled opposition activists and groups to return home from countries such as Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, and the United States and pursue peaceful political careers in Ethiopia.

The parliamentary approval comes two weeks after the cabinet approved the bill on July 5. Every legislator in the 547-seat parliament is from the ruling EPRDF coalition.

In this story apart from discussing the importance of the law in widening political space, the article makes a list of countries where Ethiopian politician lives in exile. This is to give emphasis that how much the situation used to be tight, as a result, a large number of politicians forced to run away to a number of countries. So, this is to depict how much undemocratic the situation was. Moreover, to show the footprint of the autocracy, the article noted that all the seats are occupied by the member of the ruling coalition EPRDF. In other words, it is very difficult to find a different idea in the chamber.

The return of Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) lead by Dawud Ibsa on September 15, 2018, marked the end of armed struggle in Ethiopia. Aljazeera kicked off its report about the homecoming of OLF, by mentioning the number of people went to the street to set the tone of popularity for OLF.

Hundreds of thousands of people have gathered in the capital of Ethiopia to welcome leaders of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), the latest members of a formerly-banned rebel group to return home following a string of political reforms in the country.

If hundreds of thousands are welcoming OLF, that means OLF is a heavy political stake that could challenge others.

4.4.3. Reform Retraction Frame

Next, AJE used reform retraction frame, which deals with activities against reforms commenced by the new prime minister. About 11 (18.6 %) news stories categorized under this frame, portraying incidents like grenade attack on the pro PM rally, the march of armed soldiers toward PM office, the dissatisfaction of some community with some actions related to the reform as retraction to the reform.

After being elected as Ethiopian prime minister Abiy Ahmed named 16 members of his cabinet on April 19, 2018. AJE reported the news focusing on members of the cabinet that also served during the premiership of Hailemariam Desalegn.

Ethiopia's new prime minister has named a cabinet that includes the former mining minister as defense minister and retained the finance and foreign ministers from his predecessor's cabinet.

... The 16-member cabinet includes six names from the previous government of his predecessor Hailemariam Desalegn who resigned in February.

Hailemariam resigned following months of protests in the Oromia and Amhara region that led to the deaths of hundreds of people.

The six members of the cabinet have remained in their position they used to serve during the previous premier. AJE always hammer the fact that Hailemariam resigned after or because of anti-government protest. On the other word, Hailemariam and his government failed the public and resulted in sporadic protest across the country. Therefore, Abiy's decision to retain six officials from the previous government is framed as a retraction to the reforms he intended to conduct. Particularly the positions are given (ministry of defense and Foreign Affairs to the 'remnants' of the previous administration believed to be part of the sectors that need deep reform. So, keeping these people to this sector will hamper the required change.

On June 23, 2018, a grenade explosion struck the pro PM rally, killing two people and wounding hundreds. AJE reported the incident as an 'attack' on the PM and its supporters. The heading of the news article about the incident reads: " Ethiopia: Grenade attack caused blast at rally for PM Abiy Ahmed" and the sub heading elaborate the situation with the same intention "One person killed; scores wounded after grenade attack hits large rally of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in Addis Ababa."

As the issue evolved through time the explosion directed toward the pre Abiy Ahmed administration's 'hardliners'. AJE reinforced this perspective mentioning the arrest of police officials. Quotations were also used to justify the fact that explosion is a rebuff from the 'hardliners'.

"Abiy's effort to move the country forward has angered those who for a very long time maintained a stronghold on the country's politics and economy," Mohammed Ademo, political commentator... told Al Jazeera.

"The incident is going to unite the people more and put the hardliners who want to obstruct his changes in a more difficult position." Ademo added.

The above news stories framing is started with the selection of commentator. Mohammed Ademo is known for advocating changes commenced by the new PM on his news website Opried.com. So, beyond his expertise, perhaps Ademo is picked for his comment's alignment with AJE's narrative on the subject matter.

Apart from the previous administration's hardliners, AJE also framed members of the security force as a retraction to the PM's reform agenda. On October 10, 2018 members of special security force marched to the PM office demanding pay rise and structure review. This is also another major incident that is reported as move against the reform.

...He(Abiy) has pledged to reform the security forces and promote multi-party democracy.

These changes are a shock to the system in Ethiopia, a country of more than 100 million people that has been led with an iron fist since the EPRDF coalition that Abiy belongs to took over power in 1991.

The above article indirectly refers to the breach of line between the state and party affairs. If the reform is a shock therapy for the security force, there must be a deteriorating situation in the security force, which EPRDF suffering from. in another word the security force was a tool for the party to rule Ethiopian people with 'iron fist,'.

4.4.4. War Frame

AJE uses this frame while discussing the advancing peace process and the cause of previous conflicts between the nation. Stories with this frame category mainly discuss Eritrea's struggle for independence, the 1998 war, the effect of Ethiopia's rejection of the 2000 agreement with Eritrea and the port issue. About 6 (10.2 %) articles fall under this frame category.

Aljazeera goes back to the time before the year 1993, in most of the time it discusses about the current peace deal between Ethiopia and Eritrea. This approach of telling story helped AJE to Ethiopia as an aggressor. On July 9, 2018 AJE published article about the resumption of diplomatic relation between the countries. This very article developed subheading to discuss the conflicts that happened between Ethiopia and Eritrea back in the days.

...Once a province of Ethiopia that comprised its entire coastline on the Red Sea, Eritrea voted to leave in 1993 after a decades-long, bloody independence struggle...

Now Ethiopia is portrayed as a loser for being landlocked following Eritrean decision to secede. In another expression Ethiopia annexed Eritrea for its coastlines. So, the news article emphasized on what Ethiopia lost. In fact, Eritrea's port is important for Ethiopia, but Eritrean port has got no client as crucial as Ethiopia. The first reason is that all neighboring countries has got their own coastline to access the sea, so obviously they are not looking for Eritrea's port. Second Ethiopia is a country with more than hundred million people, hence it's an ideal country to rent a port. But after the 1998 border war Eritrea has also lost this opportunity.

AJE also portrayed Ethiopia as a cause for the two decades animosity and tension flared around the border. And sometimes as a reason for the death of the people.

The Horn of Africa nations remained at loggerheads since Ethiopia rejected a United Nations ruling and refused to cede to Eritrea land along the countries' border following the 1998-2000 war.

Hundreds would die in subsequent years in periodic border clashes after Ethiopia's refusal to accept the ruling of an UN-backed boundary commission that divided up contested territory between the two countries.

AJE article undermine the role of the 1998 border war, which actually caused the animosity between the nations, rather than Ethiopia's refusal to accept the 2000 agreement. Moreover, it's difficult to expect immediate friendship after Ethiopia and Eritrea engaged in a 'bloody war' that claimed eighty thousand lives.

4.4.5. Ethnic Conflict Frame

AJE mainly used this frame to discuss the conflict between Oromo and Somali, Benishangul, Gedeo. About 5 (8.5 %) news articles presented with ethnic conflict. The conflict along borders, the displacement of specific ethnics and the death of specific ethnic group are the issues discussed within this frame. Mainly these issues are depicted as a challenge for the newly elected prime minister. On August 14 AJE published the killing in Oromia region by the paramilitary from Somali region. The article identified those who killed are Oromos, quoting the officials from the region.

"We still do not know why Liyu forces raided the areas on Saturday and Sunday," he said, referring to the paramilitary soldiers. "But we know that all the victims were ethnic Oromos. At least 40 were killed in the attacks."

To further illustrate the frequency of violence and lawlessness, similar occurrences outlined across the article. This farther portray the flaring anarchy across the nation as challenge for the new administration, despite the reform commenced.

The violence is said to be the biggest domestic challenge facing reformist Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, who took office in April. Abiy has ushered in a number of reforms, including ending a military stalemate with neighboring Eritrea and extending an olive branch to dissidents overseas.

This notion farther developed by AJE, relating the ethnic violence with the coming of Abiy. On August 25, 2018 AJE reported about the displacement of one million people following the conflict erupted between the Oromo and Gedeo ethnic groups.

Nearly one million displaced in Ethiopia ethnic violence

Age-old ethnic tensions boiled over after Abiy Ahmed became prime minister, threatening to undermine his sweeping reforms aimed improving relations between Ethiopia's more than 80 ethnic groups.

Despite the portrayal of Abiy as a reformist, AJE also depicted Abiy as a factor for the boiling ethnic violence. This notion also coupled with the Prime Minister's ethnic background. This

combination has been used following the eruption of ethnic violence at Burayu town, on September 17, 2018.

Outbreaks of violence in the south between Oromos and other groups escalated since Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed - the first Oromo leader in Ethiopia's modern history - assumed office in April.

... In the Oromia region, the largest in the country, there are at least four separate conflicts along ethnic lines in addition to a border dispute that risks erupting into new violence, aid groups say.

Apart from framing the new prime minister's ascendance as a factor for the increasing conflict, AJE tried to show the conflicts that the premier's ethnic group involved in. AJE published five news articles about the ethnic violence in Ethiopia between March and September 2018. All of the reported incidents are the one that involved the Oromos. In these five news articles the Oromos are referred as the majority and the country's highest leadership power is being held by one of them (Abiy Ahmed). This could probably lead to wrong framing which is, the Oromos are aggressive because of their large number and authorities in the government. This notion somehow contradicts the fact in the ground. According to the Central Statistics Agency the Oromos are the second in terms of IDPs.

4.4.6. Reform Frame

AJE published about 9 (15.3 %) news articles with reform frame. AJE presented the reform employed after the coming of Abiy Ahmed in contrast to Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn. In most of the news AJE attached Hailemariam with chaos and political crisis in Ethiopia. While Abiy Ahmed is depicted as new reformist who came to fix the discrepancy Hailemariam faced.

One of the first changes Abiy has embarked on is to lift the state of emergency imposed during Hailemariam. AJE reported this issue since Abiy Ahmed's cabinet sent a proposal to lift the state of emergency to the House of Peoples representatives.

Ethiopia's cabinet has approved a draft law to lift a six-month state of emergency two months early after assessing that "law and order" has been restored in the country.

Authorities imposed the emergency rule in February after Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn abruptly resigned, citing ongoing "unrest and a political crisis" in the country as major factors in his decision.

He was later replaced as prime minister and chairman of the ruling coalition by Abiy Ahmed.

This paragraph has been used to justify the positive change came after the new PM and the troubles of his predecessor. The news mention that lifting of the emergency rule is two months early before planned time. This is to salience the pace of the emerging change with the new PM. Moreover, the news tries to underline that Hailemariam was not in control of the situation. To rationalize this idea, the article cites the 'unrest and political crisis' as a reason to for the abrupt resignation of Hailemariam. Therefore, the replacement of Hailemariam is also part the reform in the country, whereas the plant to lift emergency rule is the effort of the new leader coupled with resignation of the predecessor.

Two days after publishing the news about the cabinet's proposal to lift the state of emergency, AJE posted a news about the parliament's approval of the proposal. This time also AJE followed the same approach to frame the issue, what is different is additional instances were cited in bid to salience Hailemariam's crisis moment and Abiy's reform activities. For instance, the article explicitly indicates the fact that two state of emergency were declared in less than two-year period. Both were happened while Hailemariam was in charge, including the lifted one. The article reads "... In August 2017, Ethiopia lifted a 10-month state of emergency imposed after hundreds of people were killed in anti-government protests demanding wider political freedoms..." Beyond the emergency rule this line of the article farther noted the brutality during Hailemariam. When it comes to Abiy, the article's closing paragraph listed out reforms that has been done and planned for execution.

Abiy has travelled to several areas of the country, promising to address grievances and strengthen a range of political and civil rights.

In addition, several thousands of prisoners have been released and tensions in restive areas, notably Oromia, have dramatically declined.

The appointment of women to higher government posts were the other issue that framed with the reform frame. On October 25, 2018 AJE published the appointment of Sahle-work Zewde as the first female president of Ethiopia. The appointment of female president treated by AJE as a move to assert Abiy Ahmed's reform agendas.

Zewde's appointment to the presidency is not an isolated phenomenon.

The administration of reformist Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, which assumed office in April, has appointed numerous women to influential positions that have been traditionally reserved for men.

Earlier this month, Abiy filled half of his cabinet with women, including Ethiopia's first female Defense Minister Aisha Mohammed.

Muferiat Kamil was appointed to lead the newly-created Ministry of Peace, responsible for the police and domestic intelligence agencies.

AJE, farther reiterated the appointment quoting appraisal from international community. Unlike other posts given to women, the presidential sit has been portrayed as less significant in terms of politics. Rather Sahel-work's role has been pictured as limited to social activities. Particularly her role been attached with the women's right and empowerment. AJE said: "While the position of president is largely ceremonial, it carries important symbolic weight and social influence." Most the section AJE published two articles about the new female president and large part of these articles deliberated on what she can do in improving women's social status. However, the president's constitutional roles like forming coalition at the absence/dissolution of the house as well as in forming constitutional inquiry council.

4.5. Major Frames Used to Report Abiy Ahmed's Premiership and Reforms by BBC

A type of frame employed	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Reforms Frame	6	20.0	20.7
Reform Retraction Frame	5	16.7	17.2
Ethnic Conflict Frame	2	6.7	6.9
PEACE Frame	7	23.3	24.1
Political Reform Frame	5	16.7	17.2
War Frame	2	6.7	6.9
Others	2	6.7	6.9
Total	30	100.0	

Table 4 Major Frames on BBC

4.5.1. Peace Frame

In the peace frame BBC portrayed the peace deal between Ethiopia and Eritrea as unprecedented move of PM Abiy Ahmed to end the tension that lasted for two decades. Moreover, it also hinted the new Prime Ministers foreign policy approach. AJE employed this frame on 7 (23.3 %) online news articles. News articles categorized under this frame discuss about the advancing relationship of the two nations, the visit of both nation leaders, reunion of families separated for two decades and the political implication of the peace deal in East Africa.

On April 2, 2018 Abiy Ahmed sworn in as Ethiopia's Prime Minister, replacing Hailemariam Desalegn, who served since 2012., Addressing the disagreement with Eritrea was among the key points of his inaugural speech. At the same day BBC's website published an article with its heading reads "Ethiopia PM Abiy Ahmed wants to resolve Eritrea disputes". After quoting the incoming PM on his call toward Eritrea, the article followed by the quote of Eritrea's information minister

Yemane Gebre-Meskel, demanding withdrawal of Ethiopian troops or the issue cannot be resolved. The later quote appears to be retraction of the prior.

“...Speaking on state television after his swearing-in ceremony, Mr. Abiy called for an end to "years of misunderstandings". "I call on the Eritrean government to take the same stand," he said.

... But Eritrea's information minister Yemane Gebre Meskel told the BBC relations cannot be resolved until Ethiopia withdraws "from the occupied territories".

This article framed the issue as an approach of the new Prime Minister toward the long rival Eritrea. To further justify this notion BBC mentioned in this article the fact that Hailemariam Desalegn (Abiy Ahmed's predecessor) used to accuse Eritrea. “Mr. Hailemariam, while in power, had accused Eritrea of backing anti-government protests in the country.” This further clarify that stand of the previous administration toward Eritrea, which is animosity.

On June 5, 2018 Ethiopia's announcement to accept and implement the outcome of the 2002 border commission ruling was another development. BBC reported this decision as a means to end the war footing status of the two countries.

BBC again published article on June 26, 2018 following Ethiopia's decision to withdraw from the occupied territories. The articles heading reads “Ethiopia offers Eritrea chance to end Africa's longest war”. The heading inclined toward depicting Eritrea as more advantageous from Ethiopia's decision or the peace deal. It appears that Eritrea is the one who could suffer more even if Ethiopia continue rejecting the ruling of the border commission. As it goes down the article indicate that fact that, the situation with Ethiopia over last two decade is presented by Eritrean government as a justification to employ forced conscription.

"The ball is now in Eritrea's court," Tesfalem Araia from the BBC's Tigrinya service says.

"Eritrea has been on a war footing and the justification for forced conscription into the army has been the conflict with Ethiopia," he adds.

That forced conscription is the reason given by most of the thousands of Eritreans who flee the country, making the perilous journey to Europe.”

It seems the issue of forced conscription has been set in the in the article to signify the dictatorial situation in Eritrea rather than the advantage Asmara will harness from the deal.

As the peace process progressing Abiy Ahmed and Isais Afwerki declared the end the state of war between the two nations in Asmara on July 9, 2018. BBC try to depict the what actually the normalization would mean for both people, quoting individuals reaction.

Ethiopian journalist Shishay Wores was contacted by his sister in Eritrea. "For a moment my heart stopped beating, my voice was shaking and I was struggling for words. It took me a while to calm down and talk to my sister."

Asmara resident Mela Gebre Medhin also said on Twitter that she had "goosebumps" thinking about what happened.

The agreement has also been portrayed from regional perspective. In the same article BBC noted, the declaration of peace is highly important in mending the fragile security of the region. After end of the 1998 border war both countries are engaged in a proxy in Somalia.

The rivalry affected the whole region with each country normally taking opposite positions whatever the question. They also took rival sides in Somalia's long conflict - Eritrea was accused of backing Islamist groups, while Ethiopia, a US ally, supported the internationally recognized government.

That means the neighbors would take the fragile situation in the region to weaken one another. Now the peace declaration of the two nations will ease the security burden in east Africa.

In another edition, on July 10, 2018 BBC published about possible challenges for the advancing peace between the neighbors. The publication framed Isais Afwerki internal administration style as problem for the peace deal. The articles heading reads "Can Ethiopia's Abiy Ahmed make peace with 'Africa's North Korea'?" After praising Abiy Ahmed's reform effort, the article discusses the dictatorship of Isais Afewerki as possible hiccup for the current trajectory. BBC even dare to call Isais as 'paranoid' and 'secretive' comparing him with his Ethiopian counterpart.

Mr. Isaias needs investment and financial aid and this probably explains his willingness to respond to Ethiopian overtures. But he is 30 years older than Prime Minister Abiy and

represents an idea of politics rooted in the totalitarian ideas of a different era. So far, he has given no indication that he plans to liberalize in the manner of his Ethiopian counterpart. That may change if Mr. Abiy can sustain the momentum of his reform program.

The article portrayed Abiy's reform performance as factor that would change the internal situation in Eritrea. In fact, Ethiopia could be a maneuver for Eritrea reach out some global player as it has been isolated for long. So according to the article Isais has entered the peace agreement to repair the economic deficit at home. But for Isais to receive financial and investment support, global players require to liberalize the politics and most likely Isais is not ready for that. So, it's obvious that as liberal world media, BBC is reinforcing the idea of democratization for the western democratization.

4.5.2. Political Reform Frame

The political reform frame is second widely used by the BBC to report the political change in Ethiopia. BBC covered the change of Ethiopian politics in about 5 (16.7 %) online news articles out of 30 online news articles published between April 2018 and January 2019. Using this frame BBC is depicted how the new PM is trying to bring democracy by changing the autocratic system installed by the previous administrations. The return of exiled Political group, the release of political prisoners, the election of the new PM and rebel groups ceasefire are among items under this frame categories.

On May 26 2018 Ethiopian government released 575 political prisoners in bid to widen the political space. After three days BBC published an article about the happening and the article's heading reads "Ethiopia frees abducted Briton Andargachew Tsege on death row". The article capitalized Andargachew's case, while the whole issue of the released politicians has been relegated.

Moreover, the news quoted UK Foreign Affairs Minister (Boris Johnson) and human right organization that have been campaigning for Andargachew's release. Both quoted in the article commending the release of the individual (Andargachew). In fact, Andargachew could be a popular politician, but his citizenship (Briton) is perhaps a reason why he dominated the BBC's

news. After this round, the government has released thousands of prisoners, including prominent politicians, none appeared as a news on BBC's online articles.

BBC portrayed the political reform in the country as a tool to clean up the previous administration's mess. On June 22, 2018, BBC reported Ginbot 7's cease-fire announcement in support of the new prime minister's reform agenda. In this article, BBC explicitly framed Ginbot 7 as a group that deviated to armed struggle because of the previous autocratic administration. While the group's later announcement depicted as an outcome of the new leader's reform plan.

Ginbot 7 said Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's reforms had given it hope that "genuine democracy" may be "a real possibility". Earlier, the government said it had unblocked 264 websites and TV channels. This is the latest of numerous changes made since Mr. Abiy came to office in April, relaxing the state's previously tight grip on power. Ginbot 7, which is based in neighboring Eritrea, had been designated a terrorist organization by previous governments.

The notion of the wrongdoing of the previous administration is mainly portrayed in connection with the resignation of prime ministers Hailemariam Desalegn. Hailemariam resignation always comes first whenever the political reform of the new premier is a point of discussion. For instance, while reporting about the change commenced regarding media freedom BBC's article reads:

Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn resigned unexpectedly in February, saying he hoped to end years of unrest and political upheaval. Mr. Abiy has announced a flurry of sweeping reforms since taking office in April. He has pledged to open up the airwaves, even calling on foreign-based opposition TV broadcasters to open offices in Ethiopia.

Most of the news articles categorized under this frame repeatedly mention the fact that Hailemariam resigned after violent protest against the autocracy. Then it followed by Abiy's ascendance and political reform he commenced.

4.5.3. Reform Retraction Frame

The grenade attack on the pro PM rally and the march of protesting soldiers to the PM office are among the incidents framed as retracting force commenced by the new prime minister. Out of the collected 30 news articles, 5 (16.7%) of them reported on the activities that believed to be against the reform.

On June 23, 2018, the grenade explosion at a huge political rally for the new prime minister Abiy Ahmed, has killed two people while dozens are injured. After stating the causality BBC has tried to predict why the grenade attack occurred. BBC started by mentioning the duration since he assumed office (It is almost three months from the day explosion occurred) and the reforms he launched.

...Mr. Abiy only became prime minister after his predecessor Hailemariam Desalegn unexpectedly resigned in February...

...Since taking office he has begun passing a series of reforms, including unblocking hundreds of websites and TV channels.

He has also said he is ready to implement in full a peace deal with Eritrea that was signed in 2000 after a two-year war.

So, the above extract is trying to frame the attack as a reaction to one of the above issues or other reform aspects. After a couple of lines, the article tries to predict where the attack comes from.

Eritrea has condemned the attack on Mr. Abiy's rally. Its ambassador to Japan Estifanos Afeworki said on Twitter the rally had been a "demonstration for peace", which he called the first of its kind "in history of Ethiopia"...

...On Friday an Ethiopian rebel group suspended its armed resistance against the government. Ginbot 7, based in Eritrea, said Mr. Abiy's reforms had given it hope that "genuine democracy" may be "a real possibility".

After reminding Ginbot 7's suspension of armed struggle, the article quoted Eritrea ambassador condemning the attack. Therefor Eritrea and Ginbot 7, as well as other rebel groups harbored in

Asmara, are most likely out the equation. These stakeholders used to be a primary suspect of such attack in the administration before the new PM. Hence, the article is trying to point toward unidentified domestic reform retractor.

On October 10, 2018, an armed special force of the army marched toward the PM's office and closed roads demanding salary raise. BBC has framed the situation as a failed coup on the new PM. BBC have used two analysts to show how much the situation is serious.

A former brigadier general told BBC Amharic that the security breach was "dangerous" and "an event which exposed the weakness of the military intelligence"... The general speculated that this was not a spontaneous protest. It might have been orchestrated by a group, he (Abiy) said.

The speculation of the general further denote perhaps the soldiers were not there just to demand pay raise, rather the whole situation is organized by a force working against the new leader's reform agenda.

The general's quotation followed by the legal experts who noted that part of the intelligence and the military as the retraction force to the reform the prime minister represent. This a direct reference to the security apparatus as reform retractors.

"This shows that the military and intelligence apparatus are not willing to serve the new commander-in-chief or the reform he represents," he said. He believes this was a message from a group resisting the many changes introduced by the prime minister since he came to power.

4.5.4. Reform Frame

In the reform frame, BBC portrayed the new PM's reform plan as a response for the three years anti-government protests. In this frame, the broadcaster attributed the massive anti-government protest to the Oromos and Amhara- the two largest ethnic groups in the country. Early lifting of emergency rule, reconciliation, change on security forces and cabinet. In terms of frequency, this frame appeared on 6 (20 %) news articles.

After being rocked by anti-government protest Ethiopia lifted the state of emergency on June 5, 2018, two months earlier than planned. BBC reported the lifting, as an improvement made regarding stability after the ascendance of Abiy Ahmed. Particularly the article attributes the three years protest to the Oromo and Amhara people.

The three years of deadly protests by the country's two largest ethnic groups - the Oromo and the Amhara - appear to have come to an end...

...The move to lift the state of emergency two months early shows how far Ethiopia has come since the new Prime Minister, Abiy Ahmed, came to power, says BBC World Service Africa Editor, Mary Harper.

In the above excerpt, the BBC portrayed all the demands and the three years protests have been from the two ethnic groups.

Ethiopian Government stated that peace and order had been restored and that is the reason for lifting the emergency rule. However, BBC claims that the situation remains 'precarious' unless the demand of the two largest ethnic groups is met, particularly the question of status quo. In other words, the BBC framed both the Oromo and Amhara are the crucial stakes that determine the situation of the country.

But the situation remains precarious....

Many Oromos feel that despite being the country's largest group, they have been marginalized politically, economically and culturally for years. Additionally, some from the Amhara community have raised concerns over the dominance of the small Tigrinya group.

Apart from lifting emergency rule, BBC capitalized the demand of the Oromo and the Amhara peoples as a significant part of the reform.

The new prime minister's reform is also depicted from regional perspectives. Following Abiy Ahmed's announcement to launch a navy, BBC published an article titled "Why landlocked Ethiopia wants to launch a navy" on June 14, 2018. Despite the premier's reform notion, Ethiopia's ambition to build a navy is depicted as a reaction to the presence of foreign power in the region.

These foreign powers military base is concentrated at Djibouti, through which Ethiopia conducts more than 90 % its foreign trade.

The return of the exiled patriarch Abune Merkorios was another incident that reported as reform activities toward reconciliation. While reporting the homecoming, of BBC portrayed Abune Merkorios as a representative of the diaspora and oppositions. In other words, the patriarch at home is in favor of the government. To further justify this BBC mentioned that “ Bishop Merkorios was forced to abdicate after the EPRDF overthrew the Communist regime...” The BBC’s article highlighted the two-patriarch elected after Merkorios, Abune Paulos and Abune Mathias- which both are from Tigray. So, the article is trying to depict the involvement of EPRDF, particularly the involvement of the dominant TPLF in the appointment of the last patriarch as well as for the forced abdication of Abune Merkorios. So, mending the split between the orthodox church patriarchs is also about realizing reconciliation with the opposition and diaspora.

The reunification of the Church signals that Mr. Abiy, who become prime minister in April, is succeeding in his efforts to promote reconciliation among Ethiopians...

4.5.5. Ethnic Conflict Frame

In the ethnic conflict frame, the BBC portrayed the violence among the ethnic group as an old and deep-rooted problem challenging Abiy Ahmed’s administration. Relatively this frame has not much used in BBC’s articles. Within this frame conflicts among ethnicities around the border and central part of the country and the displacement of people are the issue categorized under this frame. This is the list dominant frame being used on 2 (6.7 %) online news articles.

Unlike Aljazeera, BBC portrayed the conflict among the ethnic groups as a lingering problem for years and intensified during the premiership of Hailemariam. BBC indicated the profound division among more than 80 ethnicities in the country is pausing challenge for the new premier.

Ethiopia has more than 80 different ethnic groups. The divisions are old and deep-rooted, but they flared up with a new intensity in the first half of last year when 1.4 million people were forced to flee ethnic conflict in the west of the country, according to the UN.

Overall, some 2.8 million people have been uprooted from their homes in recent years. The other major concern is the fighting on the borders of the Oromia and Somali regions.

BBC has portrayed Abiy, as leader inherited ethnic conflict from his predecessor and struggling to address. The way situations handled by EPRDF in the last 27 years has been described as a cause for the current overboiling ethnic violence.

Over the decades, the central government used force and a whole battery of repressive legislation to quell ethnic unrest.

Predictably, this merely gave an impression of national cohesion while unaddressed grievances festered. They erupted into protest in 2016.

4.5.6. War Frame

The war frame is the least employed frame by the BBC. The war frame is used to portray the current peace deal from the perspective of the 1998 war and the long struggle for independence before 1993. The outcome of the 1998 war and Ethiopia's denial to accept the 2000 agreement are points of discussion within this frame. Similarly, the war frame is also employed on 2 news articles (6.7 %)

When Eritrea responded to Ethiopia's call and sent a delegation led by its Foreign Minister Osman Saleh on June 26, 2018, the first paragraph of BBC's article about the arrival of the delegations reads

Eritrea won independence from Ethiopia in 1993 after a 30-year conflict- but a border war five years later killed tens of thousands.

Despite the prevailing peace and reconciliation, the article brought the unpleasant history of the two nations. In a similar style, the past animosity of Ethiopia and Eritrea repeatedly mentioned by BBC whenever the recent peace deal issue is on the news.

Similarly, the consequence of the 1998 border war is mentioned in the article. Particularly the number of death and the two decades animosity that would resume the deadliest war at any moment is capitalized over the current development between the nations.

Diplomatic ties have been cut between the two countries for almost 20 years.

...The effect of the continuing dispute has been that both nations remained prepared for war for almost 20 years.

Border skirmishes - involving both national forces and rebel groups - have continued sporadically ever since, while Badme has remained under Ethiopian administration.

The coming of Eritrean delegation to Addis Ababa, after almost 20 years is undeniably a major diplomatic in the region. But BBC prefers to deal with the past history of the nations' rather the current development.

4.6. Aljazeera Vs BBC: Framing Similar Incident Differently

BBC and Aljazeera differ on the extent they covered the political trajectory in Ethiopia, after the ascendance of Abiy Ahamed. Between April 2 and November 30, 2018, Aljazeera published about 59 online news articles, while BBC published 30 online news articles. That means Aljazeera has been following closely the pattern of Ethiopian politics than BBC. These two global media do not only differ on the extent of coverage but also on how they framed similar incidents related to Abiy Ahmed's Ascendance and his reform agendas. Two similar incidents are selected to explain how the two media differ on framing.

Soldiers Demanding Pay Rise

On October 10, 2018 members of a special force of the army went to the prime minister office demanding a pay rise and restructure of the army. The soldiers went to the PM office while returning from duty at Burayu town. The soldiers have closed roads and demanded to enter the premises if the PM's office.

Despite the tension across Addis Ababa Aljazeera focused on the demand of the soldiers and solution. The article framed the incident by de-emphasizing the possible danger.

Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed has reached an agreement with several hundred soldiers who marched to his office to demand pay rises...

The meeting between the soldiers and Abiy ended with "an agreement", but there were no immediate details of what the deal included...

Moreover, the soldiers depicted as ordinary members of security forces, whereas they were among the few special forces with snipers and Kalashnikov. The march of the soldiers to the PM office is also portrayed as retraction to the shock therapy administered by the new reform.

While BBC represented an issue as the failed coup. Starting from the type of weapon and closure of the road, the BBC has tried to show the tension. The article picked experts to elevate the level of danger and to indicate that the incident is a message from groups who want to maintain the previous status quo.

Experts are speculating that the protest was not as innocent as it first looked. A former brigadier general told BBC Amharic that the security breach was "dangerous" and "an event which exposed the weakness of the military intelligence"... The general speculated that this was not a spontaneous protest. It might have been orchestrated by a group, he(Abiy) said.

...Legal expert Dereje Zeleke agrees (with the general's idea). "This shows that the military and intelligence apparatus are not willing to serve the new commander-in-chief or the reform he represents," he said. He believes this was a message from a group resisting the many changes introduced by the prime minister since he came to power.

This further denotes the disobedience of the security apparatus. And the quotations of the experts also noted that the groups who are trying to reverse the ongoing change. Plus, it is a recommendation that the reform should embrace the security apparatus, particularly the elites.

The Eritrean Delegation Visit to Addis Ababa

After Abiy Ahmed announced Ethiopia's acceptance to the 2000 agreement, Eritrean high-level delegation arrived at Addis Ababa on June 26, 2018. The visit of the delegation is considered as a major step for the peace process of the two nations. So, the arrival of delegation to Addis Ababa after almost two decades of diplomatic deadlock was a point of discussion across different media outlets.

Reporting the happening Aljazeera capitalized the multi-dimensional effect of the visit. The advancing relation of the two countries also perceived as an instrument to elevate the peace and security of the region. Particularly AJE's article quoted analyst to reinforce the notion that the visit will end conflict and enhance friendship.

Abebe Aynete, an Addis Ababa-based analyst, said the visit could mark the end of the political deadlock between the East African countries. "This visit is very significant and when the agreement is fully implemented it will mean the people of the two countries can finally have friendly relations. It will also improve the security of the region. The proxy wars between the two countries will also end," Abebe told Al Jazeera.

The extract also depicts the nations has engaged in destabilizing the fragile security of East Africa. Beyond supporting one another's oppositions, Ethiopia and Eritrea known for interfering in Somalia's civil war- supporting the government and Al-Shabab respectively.

This very issue has been presented with different frame by the British Broadcaster, BBC. BBC emphasized on listing the scar of conflicts which happened between the two nations and the outcome of the conflicts. Despite the newly evolving landmark incident the, article started by noting how Eritrea seceded from Ethiopia after thirty years of war.

Eritrea won independence from Ethiopia in 1993 after a 30-year conflict- but a border war five years later killed tens of thousands. Diplomatic ties have been cut between the two countries for almost 20 years...

...The deal, agreed by a border commission in 2002, had never formally been accepted by Ethiopia.

In fact, the welcoming assortments were in place in the article, but not accentuated as the outcome of the 1998 border war. BBC has attributed the recurring border war to Ethiopia's rejection of the 2000 agreement.

The effect of the continuing dispute has been that both nations remained prepared for war for almost 20 years. Border skirmishes - involving both national forces and rebel groups -

have continued sporadically ever since, while Badme has remained under Ethiopian administration.

BBC is likely focusing on the previous unpleasant relation and the catastrophic outcome of the conflicts while de-emphasizing the diplomatic relation resumed almost after twenty years of animosity.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Summary

This research was designed to analyse frames used by BBC and AJE while reporting Abiy Ahmed's premiership and his reform agenda's. The study has examined dominant frames and themes used by BBC and AJE to report the issues under study. The way similar issues are reported by both media are also investigated in this thesis.

The study was conducted on AJE's and BBC's website news articles from April 2-November 30, 2018 where news articles selected purposely for analysis. The research employed quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze the contents of the news samples. The findings of the study revealed that three dominant themes across both media's online news articles: Ethiopia and Eritrea Peace deal, Reform in Ethiopia and Oromo Prime Minister. However, both media differ in what they prioritize. Out of 59 AJE analyzed articles almost 33.9 % dominated by the Ethiopia and Eritrea Peace deal. While the issues of Oromo Prime Minister and Reform accounted for 33.9 % and 30.5 percent of the articles consecutively. Whereas in BBC the issue of reform accounted for 36.6 % of the total 29 articles. And this followed by Ethio-Eritrea peace deal 33.3 % and Oromo Pm 30 %.

The finding indicates that both media employed about six major frames. The peace frame is one of the highly used frame categories by Aljazeera English (23.7 %) and the BBC (24.1 %). Next, reform retraction frame is the second most employed frame (18.6 %) by AJE. Regarding BBC the retraction frame (17.2 %) is the third in terms of frequency. While the reform frame is the second most employed frame in BBC's articles.

5.2. Conclusion

This research was conducted to explore how international mainstream media framed Abiy Ahmed's premiership and reform agendas. In light of this, two global media outlets were selected from both the southern and western media hemispheres: Al Jazeera English /AJE/ from the Arab

world to represent non-western media and British Broadcast Corporation /BBC/ from the western hemisphere to represent western media. The news contents of both media outlets were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitative content analysis was first applied to identify and establish frames used by each news media outlet. Then, the qualitative context analysis (textual analysis) was used to identify textual evidences and supportive arguments for the news frames.

Based on the analysis, it was found out that Abiy Ahmed's ascendance as the Prime Minister of Ethiopia framed as a response to the anti-government protest that lasted for three consecutive years. Particularly the violent mass protest in Oromia and Amhara regions portrayed as significant factor in bringing the new PM to the throne. The people of these two regions usually mentioned as marginalized by the previous leadership. Similarly, the protest of the two people is also depicted as a factor that forced Hailemariam to resign.

In reporting the current Ethiopian political trajectory AJE published about 59 online news articles while published 30 online news articles. This gap probably indicates the interest of the respective countries of this media. AJE has closely followed the situation in Ethiopia since East Africa is a competition ground for nearby Gulf countries, which recently hit by diplomatic crisis.

While reporting the new premier's agendas the peace frame was the most predominant frame used by both AJE and BBC. Both the media outlets have tried to look in to the advantage both nations will harness from the peace agreement as well as its contribution toward pacifying east Africa. Aljazeera presented the new found peace won't be much affective as much as the current regime is in power. In this assertion AJE is reflecting the stand of its owner-Qatar. The relation between Qatar and Eritrea is unhealthy after Eritrea pledged its support to the Saudi block, during the gulf crisis. However, BBC depicted the peace deal as nothing without reform in Eritrea. This is a routine demand of the global community toward Eritrean government.

In general, Abiy's ascendance to power is framed as an outcome of the Oromo peoples struggle and coupled with the Amhara. The premier reform agendas also portrayed as way to move the country forward and clean previous administrations mess up. When it comes to regional interest both media are influenced by their origin and the orientation of their respective nations towards Ethiopia in particular and east Africa in general.

5.1. Implications for Future Studies

The researcher recommends future studies to consider televised news, images and videos presented with the textual news stories of this study. In addition, short news reports were not the only means of framing issues in both AJE and BBC. There are special programs, documentaries, panel discussions, news features, speeches, interviews with authorities, news commentaries, etc. prepared around the changes Ethiopia is going through which the researcher didn't consider bound by the scope of the study. All of these program formats are as important as the news in this study to gather concepts, ideologies or thoughts and further understand the framing of the changes and situations in Ethiopia. They require the attention of researchers with the exploration and application of additional conceptual frameworks in media and communication research. In other aspects, to really explore polarized global media practice in the case of covering the ongoing political trajectory in Ethiopia, it would be wise to study how other western and non-western transnational media like Press TV, China Central Television [CCTV], CNN etc. contribute to the discourse.

Reference

Al Jazeera Media Network. (2018, January 26). Al Jazeera English . Retrieved from Africa News : <http://www.aljazeera.com>

Al Jazeera Media Network. (2018, June 5). Eritrea News | Al Jazeera. Retrieved from Al Jazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/ethiopia-accepts-peace-deal-longtime-rival-eritrea-180605201.html>

Babbie, E. (2007). *The Practice of Social Research* (11th ed.). Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.

Barnhurst, K. G., & John, N. (2009). Journalism History . *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, 17-28.

Bedri, M. N. (2015). *Aljazeera Between Serving Qatar, an Advocate of Arabism and Political Islam or Democratic Values*. Cardiff.

Bennett, L. w. (2001). *News: The politics of illusion* . New York : Longman.

de Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology . *Information Design Journal + Document Design*, 15-62.

Entman, R. (1987). Toward Clarification of Framing. *Communication Journal*, 20-58.

Entman, R. (1991). Framing U.S. Coverage of International News. *Journal of Communication*, 6-27.

Entman, R. M., Matthes, J., & Pellicano, L. (2009). Nature, Sources, and Effects of News Framing. *Hand Book of Journalism Studies*, 175-191.

Entmann, M. R. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 51-58.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis*. Boston : Harper & Row .

- Griffin, E. (2012). *First Look at Communication Theory*. New York: MacGraw-Hill.
- Hallahan, K. (1999). Seven Models of Framing: Implications for Public Relations. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 205-244.
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Ileri, K. (2012). *News From Tripoli, Benghazi, Brega and Misrata*. Chicago .
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lecheler, S., & de Vreese, C. H. (2012). News Framing and Public Opinion. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* , 185-204.
- Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion* . London : Transaction Publisher .
- Majid, A. R., & Ramaprasad, J. (1998). Framing and Ideology . *Mass Communication and Society* , 131-152.
- McCombs, R. (2002). News Influence on Our Pictures of the World. *Media Effects*, 1-18.
- Al Jazeera Media Network. (2018, January 26). Al Jazeera English . Retrieved from Africa News : <http://www.aljazeera.com>
- Al Jazeera Media Network. (2018, June 5). Eritrea News | Al Jazeera. Retrieved from Al Jazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/ethiopia-accepts-peace-deal-longtime-rival-eritrea-180605201.html>
- Babbie, E. (2007). *The Practice of Social Research* (11th ed.). Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Barnhurst, K. G., & John, N. (2009). Journalism History . *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, 17-28.
- Bedri, M. N. (2015). *Aljazeera Between Serving Qatar, an Advocate of Arabism and Political Islam or Democratic Values*. Cardiff.

Bennett, L. w. (2001). News: The politics of illusion . New York : Longman.

de Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology . Information Design Journal + Document Design, 15-62.

Entman, R. (1987). Toward Clarification of Framing. Communication Journal, 20-58.

Entman, R. (1991). Framing U.S. Coverage of International News. Journal of Communication, 6-27.

Entman, R. M., Matthes, J., & Pellicano, L. (2009). Nature, Sources, and Effects of News Framing. Hand Book of Journalism Studies, 175-191.

Entmann, M. R. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of Fractured Paradigm. Journal of Communication, 51-58.

Goffman, E. (1974). Frame Analysis. Boston : Harper & Row .

Griffin, E. (2012). First Look at Communication Theory. New York: MacGraw-Hill.

Hallahan, K. (1999). Seven Models of Framing: Implications for Public Relations. Journal of Public Relations Research, 205-244.

Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). Manufacturing Consent. New York: Pantheon Books.

Ileri, K. (2012). News from Tripoli, Benghazi, Brega and Misrata. Chicago .

Iyengar, S. (1991). Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues. London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lecheler, S., & de Vreese, C. H. (2012). News Framing and Public Opinion. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly , 185-204.

Lippmann, W. (1922). Public Opinion . London : Transaction Publisher .

Majid, A. R., & Ramaprasad, J. (1998). Framing and Ideology . Mass Communication and Society , 131-152.

McCombs, R. (2002). News Influence on Our Pictures of the World. *Media Effects*, 1-18.

Mcleod, D., Kosicki, G., & Mcleod, J. (2002). Resurveying the Boundaries of Political Communications Effects. *Media Effects Advances in Theory and Research*, 215-268.

McNair, B. (2002). *News and Journalism in the UK* (3rd ed.). New York: Taylor & Francis.

McNair, B. (2009). Journalism and Democracy . In T. Hanitzsch, & W. J. Jorgensen, *Hand of Journalism Studies* (pp. 237-249). New York : Routledge.

McNair, B. (2009). Journalism and Democracy. *Handbook of Journalism Studies* , 237-249.

McNair, B. (2009). Journalism and Democracy. *Hand Book of Journalism Studies*, 237-249.

McPhail, T. L. (2006). *Global Communication* (2nd ed.). London: Blackwell.

Michael, W. (2018, November 17). Can Ethiopia's Reform Succeed? *The Foreign Affairs*, pp. 1-14.

Neuman, R. W., Just, M. R., & Crigler, A. N. (1992). *Common Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Norris, P. (1995). The Restless Search Light: Network News Framing of the Post-Cold- Cold War World. *Political Communication* , 357-370.

Pamela, J. S., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the Message* . New York: Longman.

Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. G. (2005). *Analyzing Media Messages* (2nd ed.). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Runde, D. (2018, July 12). Trump Needs to Close the Deal in the Horn of Africa. *Foreign Policy*, pp. 1-5.

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a Theory of Media Effects. *Journal of Communication* , 103-122.

Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News. *Journal of Communication*, 93-109.

Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the Message*. Melbourne: Longman Publisher.

Volkmer, I. (2009). Framing Theory . *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*, 407-409.

Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2011). *Mass Media Research*. Boston : Dominickwadsworth.

Yafai, F. A. (2018, June 20). How Ethiopia's New Leader is Reshaping Relations with the Middle East and East Africa. *Syndication Bureau Opinion* .

Appendices

Appendix A

Coding Sheet

Name of the news channel_____

Publication Date (date/month/year)_____

Title given to the news on the website_____

Analytical Category

Types of frame

- Reforms_____
- Reform retraction_____
- Ethnic-conflict_____
- Political reform_____
- Port interest_____
- War_____

Appendix B

Coding Guide

1. **REFORMS**- If news talks about the change of policy, laws commenced after the election of the new prime minister and the reconciliation.
2. **REFORM RETRACTION**- if the news discusses activities against the ongoing major reforms
3. **ETHNIC-CONFLICT**- if the news explains about the conflict between ethnic group in the country after the coming of the new prime minister.
4. **THE PEACE FRAME**- if the news talks about the normalizing relationship of Ethiopia and Eritrea as well as the benefit of the peace process.
5. **POLITICAL REFORM**- if the news deals with the changes made in widening political space including the home coming of exiled dissidents as well as the release of political prisoners.
6. **War Frame**- If the news traced back Ethiopia's rejection of the Algiers agreement as a reason for the animosity of Ethiopia and Eritrea as well as conflict between the two nations discussed.
7. **Other**- if the news come up with none of the above thematic areas or frames.

Appendix C

SPSS CODING FOR BBC NEWS ARTICLES SCREEN SHOT

BBC FRAMES.sav [DataSet1] - IBM SPSS Statistics Data Editor

File Edit View Data Transform Analyze Direct Marketing Graphs Utilities Add-ons Window Help

Visible: 3 of 3 Variables

	Date	MAJOR THE MES	Frame_Types	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var
1	16-Mar-2018	Reform	Political Reform													
2	02-Apr-2018	Ethiopia an...	PEACE FRAM													
3	29-May-2018	Opposition...	Political Reform													
4	02-Jun-2018	Reform	Reforms													
5	05-Jun-2018	Reform	PEACE FRAM													
6	14-Jun-2018	Reform	Reforms													
7	14-Jun-2018	Opposition...	Political Reform													
8	22-Jun-2018	Opposition...	Political Reform													
9	24-Jun-2018	Reform Ret...	Reform Retraction													
10	26-Jun-2018	Ethiopia an...	PEACE FRAM													
11	26-Jun-2018	Ethiopia an...	PEACE FRAM													
12	26-Jun-2018	Ethiopia an...	2000 Agreement													
13	08-Jul-2018	Ethiopia an...	2000 Agreement													
14	09-Jul-2018	Ethiopia an...	PEACE FRAM													
15	10-Jul-2018	Reform Ret...	PEACE FRAM													
16	14-Jul-2018	Ethiopia an...	PEACE FRAM													
17	01-Aug-2018	Reform	Reforms													
18	14-Sep-2018	Reform	Reforms													
19	25-Sep-2018	Reform Ret...	Ethnic Conflict													
20	28-Sep-2018	Reform Ret...	Reform Retraction													
21	11-Oct-2018	Reform Ret...	Reform Retraction													
22	18-Oct-2018	Reform Ret...	Reform Retraction													

Data View Variable View

IBM SPSS Statistics Processor is ready

BBC FRAMES.sav [DataSet1] - IBM SPSS Statistics Data Editor

File Edit View Data Transform Analyze Direct Marketing Graphs Utilities Add-ons Window Help

Visible: 3 of 3 Variables

	Date	MAJOR THE MES	Frame_Types	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var
16	14-Jul-2018	Ethiopia an...	PEACE FRAM													
17	01-Aug-2018	Reform	Reforms													
18	14-Sep-2018	Reform	Reforms													
19	25-Sep-2018	Reform Ret...	Ethnic Conflict													
20	28-Sep-2018	Reform Ret...	Reform Retraction													
21	11-Oct-2018	Reform Ret...	Reform Retraction													
22	18-Oct-2018	Reform Ret...	Reform Retraction													
23	16-Oct-2018	Reform	Reforms													
24	15-Oct-2018	Reform	Others													
25	15-Nov-2018	Reform	Others													
26	16-Dec-2018	Reform Ret...	Reform Retraction													
27	26-Dec-2018	Reform	Reforms													
28	03-Jan-2019	Reform	Ethnic Conflict													
29	09-Jan-2019	Reform	Political Reform													

