



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION

**MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF ETHIOPIAN PRIME MINISTER ABIY
AHMED: A COMPARATIVE STUDY AMONG ALJAZEERA ONLINE,
ETHIOPIAN HERALD AND REPORTER AMHARIC NEWSPAPERS**

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Media representation of Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed: A comparative study among Aljazeera online, Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic newspapers

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A thesis submitted to the graduate School of Journalism and Communication to Addis Ababa University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication

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Statement of Declaration

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Date

Media representation of Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed: A comparative study among Aljazeera online, Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic newspapers

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Abstract

In the recent years representations of issues by media outlets are one of the most researched topics in the field of journalism and communication. Representations in the media have a very strong influence on how societies formulate their knowledge, attitudes, stands and practices. Thus, this study was conducted to examine the representation of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in the three selected media outlets. Accordingly, Aljazeera online, Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic newspapers were deliberately selected. Aljazeera online represented the international media while Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic newspapers would give a representative image of local media. Moreover, comparisons were made based on local versus international media outlets. To this end, so as to meet the objectives of the study, both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis were employed. The study was also supported with the media representation and framing theories as its theoretical frameworks.

The period of study (March 2018- December 2018) was also chosen reasonably as it was time that Ethiopian political situation opportune to see new chapter in peaceful power transition and extraordinary attentions from different corners was given for the Prime Minister. Likewise, by using systematic random sampling seventy-five articles (news stories and editorials) were selected for analysis. Thirteen from Aljazeera, forty-six from Ethiopian Herald and sixteen from Reporter Amharic, of which fifty-three of articles are news whereas twenty-two are editorials. Furthermore, content analysis came into play and gave a quantitative perspective to illustrate the data plainly tableau and graph was used. In addition, the qualitative data that obtained from frame analysis was presented by descriptive narration.

After thoroughly examining the selected articles from three media outlets finding revealed that six dominant frames emerged. The list goes on value/morality frame, conflict frame, human interest frame, attribute frame, economic frame and attribution of responsibility frame. Besides, major attributions emerged about Abiy Ahmed. These are ethnic, nationalist, change agent, peacemaker, open-minded, populist and indecisive. The findings from the study demonstrated that representations of Abiy Ahmed by the selected three media outlets are polarized. The international outlet Aljazeera-online mostly used value and conflict frames. Whereas, the two local newspapers Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic employed the other four frame types. But, both the international and local media outlets also shared some common frames.

Even if the focus of this study was to examine the representation of Abiy Ahmed by the selected media outlets, which was portrayal and frame, a wider perspective has emerged to study about the representation of high public figures like Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. Having examined the comparative representation of Abiy Ahmed by the three selected media, the study authoritatively concluded that there was disharmony between international and local media outlets. Yet, in some ways, the two were mutually complimentary. At the concluding remark, this researcher is of opinion that many similar studies must come to the fore; so that future researchers would have a good starting point and solid related literatures.

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A note on the names and the calendar

The names of Ethiopian authors under this study are addressed in line with the Ethiopian naming tradition which uses the first name as the primary reference. However, all foreign authors in this study has referenced according to the American Psychological Association (APA) citation principle. Similarly, the researcher referred years according to Gregorian calendar. If needed, it is mentioned the Ethiopian date in the bracket next to the Gregorian date.

Dedication

This piece of work is dedicated to those who lost their invaluable lives by the accident of Ethiopian airplane crash on 10 March 2019, the Boeing 737 MAX 8 aircraft. Besides, for the Ethiopians who lost their lives, displaced and suffered during the last three years unstable political crash throughout the country.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFP	Agence France-Presse (French press agency)
ANDM	Amhara National Democratic Movement
ANDP	The Afar National Democratic Party
AP	Associated Press
APA	American Psychological Associations
APDO	The Argoba People Democratic Organization
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BGPDP	The Bensishangul Gumuz Peoples Democratic Party
CNN	Cable News Network
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ETV	Ethiopian Television
GERG	Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
GPUDM	The Gambela People's Unity Democratic Movement
HNL	The Harari National League
INSA	Ethiopian Information Network Security Agency
METEC	Metals and Engineering Corporation
NEBE	National Electoral Board of Ethiopia
OPDO	Oromo People's Democratic Organization
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
RVOG	Radio Voice of Gospel
SEPDM	Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement
SPDP	Somali People's Democratic Party
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
TV	Television
UN	United Nations
VORE	Voice of Revolutionary Ethiopia

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Chapter One

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

The first-year master program class of this researcher ended in June, 2017. However, the researcher went to Norway for another one year scholarship before this study began. After few months, an idea that caught the student researcher's attention happened in Kristiansand, located in Southern Norway. The cold and foggy weather condition was a little challenging for some days. In order to get out from that cold mood, the researcher started looking through Facebook pages as usual. Then, the student researcher contemplated by the screenshots of different local media outlets about the new Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. The contents were shared by one of the Ethiopian journalist, Getu Temsegen on Facebook. However, clear differences were as well observable in the media reports.

The student researcher, therefore, has wondered why such differences had been seen. This might be because the trend of Ethiopian media shows that the state media gives more voice to government and the private media as to oppositions (Mulatu, 2017; Fekadu, 2019). In view of those differences on the report of Abiy Ahmed both in the state and private media representations are something needed to conduct this study.

Furthermore, as the researcher's knowledge and past experience, the foreign media coverage was also greater than the other times in regards to the new leadership appointments. In this regard, one may not be surprised looking how much attention was given for leaders in media, but the point is how did the media represent and what were the reasons behind representation in regards to the appointment of the Prime Minister and his leadership.

Moreover, in this dynamic world things are changing fast. Technology, education, health, eating habits, dress - there is hardly anything in life that is not changing. One of the greatest changes that have taken place lies in the political sphere (Ramamurti, 2018). It is, therefore, the need for conducting this study to come up with an up to date media and political system that has been occurring in the Ethiopian politics. This might help the academic society by providing the latest record of media representation in a certain way.

As a result, the above motives inspired the researcher to study the media representation of international and local media outlets on Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed.

According to the Ethiopian Constitution which is the supreme law of the land, it is clearly stated in article 72 and 74 that the highest power holding is the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers. Both articles deal about the powers of the executive and power and functions of the Prime Minister respectively.

The Highest executive powers of the Federal Government are vested in the Prime Minister and in the Council of Ministers (article 72, p. 120). The Prime Minister is the chief executive, the chairman of the council of ministers, and the commander-in-chief of the national armed forces, the Prime Minister shall submit for approval to the house of peoples' representatives nominees for ministerial posts from among members of the two houses or from among persons who are not members of either house and possess the required qualifications, he shall follow up and ensure the implementation of laws, policies, directives and other decisions adopted by the house of peoples' representatives, he leads the council of ministers, coordinates its activities and acts as its representative. Etc... (Article 74, p.121-122).

The above point of views clearly illustrate that the Prime Minister has ultimate power in the country's power division.

As many political scientists argue media and politics are inseparable. The discourse of Ethiopian politics and media relationships are interdependent. They usually have close connection throughout the times. The bad experience of Ethiopian media especially the state owned servers as propaganda tool whereas the private stands to the opposition (Zewge, 2010). Hence, during the imperial, the Derg as well as in the current administration media (state owned) give more voice to the rulers. For instance, during His Majesty Hailesele administration, the media were caring about the king's reputation and it is long-lasting in power. To spectacle some representations of the king, The Ethiopian Herald newspaper in 1974, July 10 and 23 on its front page revealed as “ Armed forces express loyalty to emperor” and “Nations observes His Majesties 82nd Birthday anniversary today” respectively.

After the end of monarchy system, in the military regime, the administration was totally controlling the media freedom and free flow of information. Many agree that, the media represented the then president Mengistu as determined, zealot, patriot and vehemence. For example in September 11, 1989 the Ethiopian Herald newspaper on its front page revealed

the president`s political activity as, “Establishment of popular power at each level an additional victory, president underscores”.

Conversely, even though there were great changings at the beginning in terms of media expansion and free flow of information, things were not continued under the current ruling party Ethiopian People`s Revolutionary Democracy Front (hereafter EPRDF) as shown in the beginning. The media situation is still at crossroad where the state owned media strongly affiliated with the ruling party and highly criticised for their role of political patronage (Asmert, 2013). For instance, both the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and his successor Hailemariam Desalegn were paramount examples for the patronage of the political consumption. In the name of protocol news or other forms their reputation is declared primarily. Meles Zenawi was represented as great leader, the best leader of the 21st century, inspirational spokesperson for Africa, exceptional leadership, etc. To support this point, The Ethiopian Herald newspaper in August, 20 2015 wrote on legacy of Meles Zenawi. “Meles was a person with world-class mind; He was brilliant; he was a relentless negotiator and an excellent debater” p. 3. Whereas, Hailemariam Desalegn even if many criticize him for his limited power exercise he was represented as technocrat, new hope, optimist, model for peaceful power transition etc.

Here we can understand that the media and Ethiopian leaders have been intersected. Throughout the time leaders have been mostly represented in positive way, but it does not mean that they were free from critics and all their actions were right. There were and still are media organizations which represent the flip sides of the reality. For instance, the role of the Ethiopian private media (opposition print media, and lately Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio) in demonizing and tarnishing the personality of former Meles Zenawi and Hailemariam Dessalegn can be considered as good example.

At all, it is tolerable to say that the leaders in Ethiopia were represented in the media as per their political ideology and interests of the ruling party. The past tradition clearly shows that the media have the practice of admiring leaders throughout their administration.

However, recently Ethiopia experienced mass political unrest and there were and still there are anti-government movements. The decline of law and order in various regions of the country and its subsequent impact led the country to modification the policy and leadership. Many agree that following these turbulent political situations which are considered as reason

for the resignation of the former Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn and coming of new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. This part is discussed in chapter two in detail.

Several scholars underscored the importance and impact of media in different ways. For instance, Holbrook, Andrew and Timothy (2005) emphasise media as the important element of society and every part of the specific society rely on media for information seeking. By informing general public, media has to play a vital function not only to inform but also to make consensus amongst public on certain issues. This is also the formation of public opinion and perception through media, thus media is providing information at one end and making public opinion and perception on the other hand by providing the complete information on any story. This illustrates that, the media has a potential power to inform and even shape the audiences thinking in their daily life.

Another scholar Denis McQuail (2010) states the media provide with their audience with a supply of information, images, stories and impressions, sometimes according to anticipated needs, sometimes guided by their own purposes, and sometimes following the motives of other social institutions (e.g., advertising, making propaganda, projecting favourable images, sending information). Standing from the above diversity McQuail précises that, the gate keepers are in charge to select and construct the reality; which means, the reality is always be to some extent selected and constructed and there will be certain consistent biases. Thus, the reality could be about people, places, objects, events, cultural identities and other abstract concepts.

The media play an essential role in the construction of social reality and consequently knowledge of what is reported in the media is essential to understanding social attitudes towards significant issues. The assumption here is that more and/or better information fosters a clearer understanding of several issues like: political, economic, ecological issues, environmental awareness in society, and contributes to a transformation of values, attitudes and behaviour (Maria, 2012).

As stated earlier, different print and online media outlets were focusing on Abiy's new leadership within the ruling party in different ways. Wide range of attention in social media, public sphere, and the main stream media were given for the Prime Minister. Why he got such extraordinary attention and coverage unlike, his counterpart former leaders? This question warrants considering this study to be conducted.

Therefore, this study tries to look how those media outlets were representing the Prime Minister, what kind of tones were used to represent the Prime Minister, the major frames used to construct stories about the Prime Minister and comparison between local and international media are aims of the study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Media are at the heart in a political arena. History can be evidence to show the vital role of media either destructively or constructively. The genocide in Rwanda, propaganda of first and second world wars, the Syrian conflict, and other related incidents can be taken as the result of destructive role of media (Tesfagebriel, 2017, Asmaret, 2013 and Zenebe, 2012). To the contrary, media played a decisive role in educating, entertaining and informing diverse people around the world. After having the powerfulness of media in mind it is agreeable to look at what media representation is and what is the atmosphere behind the productions of the media. Media representation refers to the idea that everything we see, hear or read in the media has been constructed. It takes many forms such as radio segments, newspaper articles, photographs, films etc. Everything we see in the media is a representation of something. It could be ideas, events and people (Lamb, 2013).

With regard to pervious researches on media representations most studies associate the notion of representation with marginalized groups like: (Sant, Carey & Mason, 2013), minorities: (Timsina, 2018), disabilities: (Emma, 2012), gender: (Agaredech, 2013) and (Graff, 2016), blacks: (Dixon & Azocar, 2007), immigrants: (Lawlor, 2015). These are some of the previous studies that are concerned with media representation. But, it doesn't mean that there are no some other studies. In this research the researcher is aimed at examining how a prominent (public figure) individual the Prime Minster is represented in the media.

Even though a large amount of research into both media coverage of politics as well as political leadership has been done, surprisingly little research has been devoted to the ways political leaders are discussed in media (Vliegenthart & Aaldering, 2016). This can clarify that, there is gap that should be filled by the researchers. For that reason, this study is aimed at examining how the new Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed is represented in media.

The newly appointed Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, who came to power after the unexpected resignation of his predecessor Hailemariam Desalegn, has shown himself to be an astute politician with remarkable academic and military credentials (BBC, 2018). Starting from the resignation of the former Prime Minister both local and international media

organizations give due attention about the overall political situation and the future fate of the country.

The Prime Minister in few months after his coming to power had lifted state of emergency, released thousands jailed of activists and journalists, allowed dissidents to return home and unblocked hundreds of websites, TV channels, and signed a peace deal with Eritrea. Just to mention a few. Many agree that, not so long ago, these reforms would have been unthinkable.

The above happenings may led us to think about *Abiymania*¹, which is coexisting matter that can be taken as burring issue in the country's political arena. Different people, media organizations, and intellectuals have different belief towards the new Prime Minister. For instance: Ethioexplorer referring CNN (2018) publicized, '*why Ethiopians believe their new prime minister is a prophet?*' and they described the Prime Minister as the young, democratic and preaching peace, he is the leader the country has been waiting for. TRT World (2018) portrayed the Prime Minister as Ethiopia's young leader, charming, ambitious and outspoken. However, they underline the question, is he implementing what he has promised before? As published in Ethiopiaobserver (2018) Mesay Kebede writes an article titled: 'Where to be, on the Right or Left of Abiy?' The same scholar writes analysis for Addis Standard (2018) which deals about: 'The Rise of Abiy Ahmed and The Janus-Faced Nature of "Abiymania"'. Another writer Rene Lefort criticizes the Prime Minister on his article titled: 'Ethiopia: climbing Mount Uncertainty' which is published on (OpenDemocracy, 2018). Rene Lefort states that, "Abiy Ahmed has already gone down in history for addressing the pressing demands of the vast majority of Ethiopians ... But Abiy Ahmed made three mammoth strategic errors."

Moreover, Ethiopia has experienced different political leaders throughout time and there was an intersected linkage among the leaders and the media. The historical trends indicated that the media represented the rulers in a way that they need and as per the wish of the ruling authority.

All the above mentioned variety points of views can be the circumstantial outlooks for this study and in order to bring the study into empirical way, the study tries to concentrate on mass media content especially newspapers and online outlet. Different media both local and international, have reported about the new Prime Minister differently but as far as the researcher's knowledge is concerned there is no empirical study which addressed how the

¹ *Abiymania* is a personality cult of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed coined by Mesay Kebede.

media have covered and represented the situation of the on-going political atmosphere in the country; specifically about the new Prime Minister. Therefore, this study is intended to look at how the new Prime Minister is represented in the media, which is the up-to-date political phenomenon and the student-researcher is expected to show the existing media trend.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study has the following general and specific objectives.

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study is to examine how local and international media represented the new Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

1. To explore the portrayal and tone of the Prime Minister in the selected media outlets;
2. To identify the dominant frames used by the selected media outlets to construct stories about the Prime Minister;
3. To explore whether there were similarities and /or differences between local and international media in portraying the Prime Minister.

1.4 Research Questions

1. How did the selected media outlets portray the Prime Minister with what tone?
2. What were the dominant frames used by the selected media outlets to construct stories about the Prime Minister?
3. Where there similarities and /or differences between local and international media in portraying the Prime Minister?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study provides latest records about how the selected media outlets represented the new Prime Minister of Ethiopia. The study also found essential to show perspectives of local and international media representation in reportage about the Prime Minister. It tries to identify what has been said by the selected media institutions and the implication of their reportage. Consequently, the discoveries of this study will have paramount significance for the students of journalism and for the selected media organizations.

The study has an immense benefit for the student-researcher. As a beginner sage, the student-researcher will take part in various footsteps of learning through this study. And also the

student-researcher believes that it will broaden his knowledge scope regarding the whole research doing demands. Beyond the above claim, this study will also contribute for the academic accounts in the scientific knowledge.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study focused on three media institutions—one from state-owned (The Ethiopian Herald Newspaper), (The Reporter—Amharic) a private newspaper, both local newspapers, and Aljazeera (online) from international media. The timeframe to select the stories was from March 2018 to December 2018, ten consecutive months since the appointment of the new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and the subsequent time of his leadership was time frame for this study. This time is selected because it was the period of time that the Ethiopian political situation timely to see new chapter in peaceful power transition. Moreover, extraordinary attentions from different corners was given for the Prime Minister and also the new Prime Minister has come up with lots of ideas and actions in the country's political atmosphere. Besides, news and editorials are the entities that are to be examined in this study.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

Since the subject of the study Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and the issues related with him was new during the study period, it was quite difficult to find prior researches done on the area. This is one of the challenges the researcher faced. Thus, the study had some limitations. However, the major limitations are classified into two.

First, due to time and financial constraint the researcher only chose three media outlets Aljazeera online, Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic newspapers as a sample of the study. Consequently, the research cannot give a representative image of all major media outlets. Plus, this researcher could not augment the arguments initiated herein the research. Further studies in other online outlets, newspapers and the broadcast media will be quite useful in the future to support findings in this study.

Second, the study focused only on analysing the written texts. The visual contents, pictures of the newspapers and online outlet were not part of the study. Future studies should focus on semiotic analysis by taking images as an object of analysis in order to complement the findings of this study.

1.8 Operational Definitions

Representation: Media in all forms represent some combination what has been, what is, and our vision of what could be. Under this study representation refers how the subject of the study Abiy Ahmed is represented in the media.

Media representations: are the ways in which the media portrays particular groups, communities, experiences, ideas, or topics from a particular ideological or value perspective. In this study the subject is individual (the current Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Abiy Ahmed).

1.9 Organization of the Study

This study is organized into five chapters. Among the sections, the first chapter brings the topic into discussions by highlighting the nature of media and its relations with the state apparatus. It also discusses the reasons for studying the issue.

The second chapter deals about the related literature reviews. Here, the researcher try's to address literatures related to the topic under study and puts the research theoretical frame work.

The third chapter is about the research methodology. In this chapter, the researcher try's to give details of information how the research was conducted; the technique how samples selected, how the data gathered and finally how the collected data were presented, analysed and discussed in this chapter of the study.

The fourth chapter is data presentation and analysis. Here, the collected data were presented and analysed accordingly.

The summary, conclusion and recommendations parts of the study are placed in the last chapter, which is chapter five.

Chapter Two

2. Review of Related Literatures and Theoretical Frameworks

2.1 Introduction

The main goal of this chapter is to provide literature reviews which helps as to grasp the overall scenario of the study. It mainly addresses basic notions of media representation in relation with framing and media representation theory, which the student-researcher selected to hold up findings of this study. The chapter begins by providing a general overview of media and politics in accordance with Ethiopian political and media system. Then, it provides imperative view on media and social movements, the role of media in the current Ethiopia's political dynamism, the existing affairs related to current political system, public protest and the coming of Abiy Ahmed as new Prime Minister. Finally, news, theoretical framework and historical background of the selected media outlets are amalgamated.

2.2 Media and Politics

Media and politics always have close connection (Zielonka, 2015). In the contemporary world no government or particular political party can pursue its functions without having the patronage of the media. To support this point of view Fourie (2004, p. 463) states "governments are the most important of these institutions". The media have been the predominant source of political information for citizens in any society. Mass media has a massive influence both on people and politics, since it shapes public opinion, and its role becomes more powerful especially during elections when political parties are sensitive in terms of how the media shows their public appearances. Therefore, whether the ruling government is democratic or undemocratic the media plays a decisive role to accelerate their political agenda and influence the society's perception towards them.

In order to illustrate the inseparable relationship between media and politics scholars affirm that, the media should fulfil the political role by disseminating the full range of political opinions, enabling the public to make political choices and enter the national life (Chabanion, 2015). Other scholars (Tiung & Hasim, 2009, p. 11) state the relationship of media and politics as, "Politicians need the media for publicity and to inform the people about their activities". In democratic societies, the media are a communication channel which ensures the exchange of thoughts both in power and general public, governments and political parties (Zielonka, 2015). To the contrary, these days, there are several problems that we are

witnessing around the world. In undemocratic states it is not easy task for mass media to play the expected role in the political arena.

It is believed that the mass media should be free and they must never ever be influenced by any organization or authority. They have to supervise the events and presenting the reality because press is defined as the fourth estate (Curran & Seaton, 2003). The same scholars underline the important functions of media in any free country as it helps to inform, to discuss, to mirror, to bind, to campaign, to challenge, to entertain and to judge the ideas of salient disputes in order to perceive the society.

After all, the linkage between media and politics is inseparable and no matter how a certain government or ruling party snatch power, the media are at the heart starting from the beginning, during and after the control of power in order to play the role of being bridge between the government and the public.

2.3 Media and Politics in Ethiopia

Similar to many African countries, Ethiopian politics and the country's media system have always been a close relationship. In Africa, colonial rule, followed often by one-party rule, resulted in the creation of authoritarian press systems (Gregory, 2000). In fact, Ethiopia is the subset of Africa; her politics and media system is not far apart from the rest of African nations.

Media and politics are the two most decisive bodies in a given nation. Both of them can be used either to construct or destruct a society (Zielonka, 2015). In many of the cases these two crucial bodies are intertwined. One can understand from the experiences of different nations is that, sometimes the politics of a given nation can be guided by its media and on the flip side of it, the media institutions of countries might be guided by their political systems (Skjerdal, 2012; Dagim, 2013). Here, one can come across with one important question. That is, the question of priority. Is the politics driving the media or is the media driving the politics? Or are they subordinating each other? What is really applying in the context of Ethiopia is that, the politics is driving the media institutions. Whatsoever, the types of their ownership is Ethiopian media houses are blowing according to the direction of the ruling parties which came to power at different times of the country's history (Getachew, 2003; Kemal, 2013).

2.3.1 Politics and Mass Media in Ethiopia: *Overview*

In fact, it is not easy and enough chores to deal about the history of politics and media in Ethiopia by using the following few subsections; But, at least it can lead to remember and catch the previous political and media atmosphere in a certain extent in order to inspect with the current situation. Therefore, this part tries to show the gross picture political and media systems in the country during the monarchy meaning, Emperor Menelik II and Emperor Haile Selassie I, military Derg regime and the Current EPRDF.

As the country holds different rulers over years each of the rulers have their own impact on the press of the country in light with their own political and ideological philosophy. The number of media outlets increased with the major changes and developments that took place in the country.

2.3.2 Media during Monarchy: *Emperor Menelik II and Haile Selassie I*

The history of Ethiopian journalism during the time of Menelik II can be seen along with the other contributions the Emperor accomplished while he was on power (Shimelis, 2000, p.7). It is true that Ethiopia has introduced a number of changes that the outside world was testing during the time of the emperor. The same thing has happened in relation to the development of the media as well (Engedawork, 2015). “The first Amharic 4-page weekly newspaper, *Aemero* (Intelligence), was established in 1902 (alternatively 1895, 1900 or 1901) owned and edited by a Greek merchant, Andrea E. Kavadia” (Engedawork, 2015, p.8). Even the name of the newspaper was chosen by the Emperor himself, Menelik II. The first volumes of *Aemero* had a circulation of only 24 handwritten copies. It was distributed to the king and to his aristocracy and gentry by horsemen.

The primary goal of the then newspaper, which is *Aemero* was to foster the agenda of the emperor. Anyone can easily understand that, the relationship between the Ethiopian politics and media history can go back to the time of emperor Menelik II. Based up on the above point of view, we can understand that the emperor established the newspaper with a hope that it will foster his agenda of creating a sovereign and united Ethiopia.

Emperor Menelik’s attempt to modernize the country was further strengthened by his successor, imperial Haile Selassie I. “As compared to the preceding governments, the Ethiopian Press got its real growth during this reign. As part of Haile Selassie’s endeavour, the media in this regime had grown to a better position— a number of newspapers came into existence” (Nigussie, 2014, p.81). In 1923, Emperor Haile Selassie I had established the first

printing press, *Berhanena Selam* (referred to- Light and Peace) Printing Press (Engedawork, 2015). Right after this printing press, still the largest printing press in the country, was established, the first official Amharic newspaper, also called *Berhanena Selam* appeared in print. This can be taken as a decent hope to forward the history of press and politics in the country.

During the Italian occupation of five years period, the political atmosphere had also played a role in advancing the country's media system. A number of newspapers were being published and radio programs were broadcasted, by Italian fascists in Ethiopia, to propagate their war in Ethiopia and about the Second World War (Nigussie, 2014). In the course of the post Italian occupation and subsequent years, a number of press related developments were observed. Several quarterly and yearly departmental journals and publications, such as those of the State Bank of Ethiopia, Ministry of Education, Commerce and Industry etc. also appeared. Magazines too were published during this period.

Addis Zemen (referred to- New Era) appeared in Amharic on May 5th, 1941 and later in 1942, the Press and Information Department was established under the then Ministry of Pen. In the same year, while *Sendek Alamachin* (referred to- Our Flag) appeared in Amharic and Arabic, the *Negarit Gazeta* appeared in Amharic and English. In the following year, in 1943, *The Ethiopian Herald* started as a weekly English newspaper. *Ye-Eritrea Demts* (referred to- The Voice of Eritrea) was being published in Amharic and Tigrinya by the Ethio-Eritrean Unionist Association. In 1946, the two monthly papers, *Ethiopian Review* (in English) and *Berhanena Selam* (in Amharic) were published. In 1947, major press development took place in Ethiopia and three newspapers: *Zena Bete Kristyan* (referred to- News of the Churches), *Nuro Bezeday* (referred to- living Wisely), *Tekle Haimanot* (referred to- Saint Tekle Haimanot) and one English Newspaper- the Daily News Bulletin were came into being (Ellene, Mesfin & Alemayehu, 2003 cited in Nigussie, 2014, p. 81).

To sum-up, Press in monarchial regime really grew, but it had less public outreaching due to poor infrastructure, very low level of literacy, and the inadequate number of the copies of the newspapers. Most of the products of the press were accessible mainly for royal class, elites and literate city dwellers (Nigussie, 2014). Moreover, the main purpose of most of the newspapers, radio and television was to eulogize the monarchial rule, praises the Emperor and tell his greatness, kindness, wisdom, leadership, and his unparalleled benevolent rule. The mass media in general was the responsibility and function of the government (Meseret,

2013). As stated in the background part the media were always committed to serve the leaders.

2.3.3. Media during Military Government: *the Derg Regime*

A military group, the Derg, took power from Emperor Haile Slassie in September 1974 and arrested emperor. The then, leader and master of the regime Colonel Mengistu HaileMariam, established his own leadership within that organization in February 1977. Following this, Mengistu declared himself chairman, and began his military rule in 1977 (Ashenafi, 2013).

Ethiopian media history literatures show that, during the first two or three years of the Derg regime there were some hopes and promises on the freedom of the press (Meseret, 2013). During these times, journalists were free of criticizing their government; there were discussions between different political groups on media. During the first 18 months of the regime (1974-1975) the *Derg* “allowed people to express their views freely among themselves as well as through media” (Meseret, 2013, p.185). Nevertheless, that luxuries time of the Ethiopian media industry didn’t last long. The regime became skeptical of these media circulation. Shortly, the country has witnessed a total control of the media institutions and the flow of information. The Derg regime came up with a proclamation that can help it to regulate the flow of information and to control the circulation of newspapers and magazines which was already on circulation.

The period of the military dictatorship from 1974 to 1991 was one of the total government control of the media and the flow of information. This was in line, for instance, with Proclamation No. 26/1967, which was issues to regulate the operation of the media (though it failed to specifically stipulate the possibility of establishing a private press); “neither did the government's control of the media ease despite a provision for freedom of expression in the 1987 constitution” (Engedawork, 2015, p.15).

The ideology of the Derg regime led it to make alliances with socialist governments and movements elsewhere around the globe, in politics as well as in media-related issues (Ward, 2011). Mass media institutions were reorganized as instruments of propaganda under the centralized control of the party. The media, operating under the then new Marxist-Leninist ideology, primarily served as a mouthpiece of the government and implemented a harsh censorship rule. Besides, the media had targeted at mobilizing the society to strength unity and stand for the development of the country under the umbrella of communism.

Mostly the Derg used all the state media for political strategy, as an arm of government propaganda in political, economic and social spheres. These nationalized media were dissolved under the press division of the *Ministry of Information*, losing their budgetary and internal affairs autonomy (Meseret, 2013, p.186). “During the 17 years of Mengistu's rule, the government and party-owned publications *Meskerem* (referred to- September), *Serto Ader* (referred to- Labourers), and the pre-Derg *Yezareyitu Ethiopia* (referred to- Ethiopia Today) were published in addition to the previously mentioned Addis Zemen and the Ethiopian Herald” (Engedawork, 2015, p.18).

Beyond the print media the Derg regime assumed the importance of broadcasting media both television and radio. Radio had got special attention in order to reach the mass Ethiopians. After naming it *Voice of Revolutionary Ethiopia* (VORE), the *Derg* restructured radio into two organs: National Service and External Services. While the national service worked to mobilize the public for revolution, the external service handled the nationalized radio which formerly belonged to *Radio Voice of the Gospel* (RVOG). This organ targeted international listeners from Africa, Middle East, and Europe by transmitting in six languages English, French, Amharic, Arabic, Afar and Somali (Menychel, 2017).

To sum-up, press during the *Derg* regime was filled with maximum level of censorship which put journalists into fear and pressure. The bond between politics and media were strongly intersected and the idea of socialism was highly witnessed in the media content. Moreover, the representation of the president was possibly positive as a result of maximum level of censorship.

2.3.4 Media in the Current EPRDF Regime

The coming of Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) to power has helped the country to enjoy a comparatively free media platform (Zewge, 2010). The party’s adaptation of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and freedom of the press and of speech has contributed a lot for the country to see some privately owned newspapers on circulation. A censorship department which was operated under the then ministry of information has been closed following the coming of EPRDF (Kemal, 2013). These and other measurements taken by the new government, paves a road of opportunities for the private sector to be part and parcel of the country’s’ media development, particularly the print sector. During this time, even the state media were free to invite different opposition political party leaders so that they can discuss about any matters that they think is important for the country.

Ethiopia got significant liberalization and media independence in the new regime. This was witnessed by a growing number of private media houses being opened until 1996. However, the situation began to change as the government started to use the 1992 press law to intimidate journalists. This was followed with the demise of newly established media outlets and wave of journalists in exile. Later on, a number of these media folded for different reasons such as financial challenges and government pressure (Shimelis, 2002). Some of the most stable newspapers in Ethiopia were established around year 2000.

To support the above point of view the popular Amharic *Addis Admas* (December 1999) and the two English- language financial newspapers *Capital* (December 1998) and *Fortune* (May 2000) were founded. In addition, *The Reporter*, which has both an Amharic (1995) and English (1996) edition, must be mentioned. *The Reporter* was started by Amare Aregawi, who, still being the owner of the newspaper, for many years has been the most famous personality in the private news industry in Ethiopia. With a past as TPLF fighter and general manager of ETV 1991–95, plus a year as general manager for Ethiopian News Agency, Amare began *The Reporter* as an EPRDF- friendly newspaper to balance the strongly oppositional press at the time. However, the outlet turned highly critical to the government in 1997 over a disagreement on policy towards Eritrea. Since then, *The Reporter* has played an ambivalent role as critical supporter of government policy (Engedawork, 2015).

The private print media landscape, however, was found to be volatile. The number of Newspapers and Magazines in print was 180 (134 newspapers and 46 magazines in 2004/05) (*ibid*). Nearby the year 2005, the private media sector showed another round of vibrancy with unprecedented openness of outlets for opposition political parties (Menyechel, 2017). However, this did not last long, “following repressive measures in the aftermath of the election. Severe forms of repressions were common experience for journalists in the post-election period; it resulted in long term detention of several journalists and opposition politicians” (p.53).

Years before many private print media are closed down by the government magazines like *Enku*, *Lomi*, *Fact*, *Jano* and *Addis-guday* and weekly newspaper *Afro-Times*. They were accused of encouraging terrorism, endangering national security, repeated incitement of ethnic and religious hate, and smears against officials and public institutions (Kemal, 2013). Besides, according Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ, 2015) Ethiopia was the second worst jailer of journalists in Africa, after Eritrea. Still recently, press freedom in Ethiopia

bounces ideally. There are proclamations which support the press freedom and free expression starting from the constitution the country. But those proclamations are pillared by some excuses that protect the governments will and advantage over their outstanding. If the government is uncomfortable with private media the first measure is terminating those media under the mask of anti-terrorism law or by tying it with the rights of nations, nationalities and people's right.

These days, based on the reforms and some modifications are lunching by licensing new private broadcasting media both in Television and radio. This may create opportunity to exercise free press freedom. But it does not mean that only private media can play role in promoting free press the government media institutions are also expected to be neutral and serve the citizens beyond filling governments will by giving room for the free expression.

2.4 Media and Social Movements

If there is one thing that both media and political scholars agree upon, is the strong relationship between media and politics is undeniable. One affects the other in one or another way. When we come to media and social movement there is the same routine that both entities go inline. In order to show the tied linkage among media and social movements Rohlinger & Vaccaro, 2013 give details that: "Mass media are relevant to the study of social movements because they carry movement ideas to a broad audience and give activists leverage in institutional and political processes" (p.1). More specifically, mass media are important to social movements because they legitimate movement issues, provide social movements an opportunity to shape public understandings of political problems, and mobilize a broader public to action. Mass media coverage legitimates movement issues and claims. News media, for instance, set the public agenda by, first, choosing what events and social problems are relevant to the citizenry and, then, focusing public attention on these events and problems. Media coverage of social movement ideas and organizations is legitimizing because it indicates to the broader public that a movement represents credible claims (*ibid*).

Social movements are one of the basic manifestations of politics that represent all manner of political beliefs, and aim to achieve their political objectives by influencing a particular target group's opinion (Barker, 2008). To strengthen this point of view Herbert Blumer underlines:

Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises to establish a new order of life. They have their inception in the condition of unrest, and derive their motive power

on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other hand, from wishes and hopes for a new scheme or system of living (Blumer, 1939, p. 199).

Social movements have been occurring for centuries, and still occurring in many parts of the world. They have most often been connected with political, social and economic changes. After all, the aims of social movements are establishing a new order of life. “Mass media constitute an institutional arena that is governed by rules, norms, and relationships, and subject to economic pressures; both affect media content” (Rohlinger & Vaccaro, 2013, p.1). After underlining the above notion, they deal about research on mass media and a social movement generally takes one of two approaches. The first approach focuses on the institutional logics guiding mass media operations and examines how these logics influence the diffusion of movement messages. That means, how journalistic norms and practices biases when and how social movement protest events are covered in a news media outlets. The second approach is to understand the media– movements’ relationship examines the ways in which social movement groups contend with the challenges of inherent to mass media and try to use mass media for their own purposes.

2.5 The Role of Media in the Current Ethiopia’s Political Dynamism

As discussed earlier media and social movements have a strong relationship to bring the fruits of the movement. Ethiopia has made leadership and policy reforms recently as a result of the struggle made by the general public especially from two ethnic groups Oromo and Amhara at the front. The major factor for the resentment is discrepancy between promise and actual reality created by EPRDF which includes violation of rule of law, joblessness, lack of democracy, bad governance and violations of human rights (Getent, 2018b).

Even though the youth took initiative to sacrifice itself to bring this change, it is not possible to carry out countrywide protest without the proper media of communication. Even if the lion share of the protest is fostered by the social media the mainstream media are also part of the communication ways to feed the public about what is going on the country’s politics.

In Ethiopia main stream media can be said to have failed to serve the public interest as intended to set agendas, initiate goals, organize and guide the people. But, this is not actually to say that these media have not contributed anything to the current reform. Recently the former Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn revealed that after EPRDF evaluation, he deliberately notify the public that the government has failed to provide good governance, democracy and fair economic benefit and called the general public to step in to

fight corruption and bad governance. When this news spread repeatedly it aroused hidden interest of the people to fight the system itself.

This being a rare example of the public media to contribute to the countries overall development, generally it is preoccupied by legitimizing the policies and actions of the government even if it deviates from the constitution and culture of the country. Whatever the public media says or play any role it is not its own but it belongs to the government, it is servant of the government than Ethiopian people.

Even after the current new administration come to power, the media still continued to play its traditional role. Here it is worth to mention few examples. Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed made a speech to the parliament that government has violated human rights. After this speech many TV channels and print outlets were found to expose violation of Human rights by government especially in prisons. The other example we can refer is about the critics and revealing poor performance on the Metals and Engineering Corporation (METEC) and construction of Great Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERG) by the new prime minister. After this, Media came with documentary films to expose corruption and mal-administration of mega projects of the country. The problem is not why they expose that secrete but, why they wait until the prime minister or other minster initiate the truth.

It is clear that these huge corruptions, violation of human rights and other related problems were secreted (Fekadu, 2019). How many more hidden corruptions, human right violations, secret deals etc. are to be awaited until to be directed by high officials is not known yet. What is known is Ethiopian media are tools of government interest than the public which lack institutional sovereignty to discharge its responsibility.

2.5.1 What are Behind Ethiopia's Wave of Protests and Political Unrest?

The Ethiopian protests are the culmination of a long-building series of grievances. “After the disputed 2005 elections in which the EPRDF resorted to brutal violence to maintain power, the party embarked on a developmental state model, characterized by active state intervention in the economy as a way to boost its political legitimacy” according to spotlight by, ‘African Centre for Strategic Studies’ (2018). But this effort was accompanied by a heightened muzzling of critics and the media as well as controlling access to information. It also meant the institutionalization of the instruments of repression (*ibid*).

The major actors for the massive protest and anti-government movement goes to the two major ethnic groups Oromo and Amhara plus strong opposition from all direction of the

country takes the lion share for the wave of the protest and political unrest (Abera, 2017: Getnet, 2018b).

As Awoll (2016) explains, the Oromo protests began in November 2015 when the government introduced the Addis Ababa City Integrated Master Plan, effectively expanding the territorial limits of capital Addis Ababa into neighbouring Oromo towns and villages. He also underscored that, after the integrated master plan, youths, students, local communities, Oromo political leaders and activists argued that the plan, as designed, would displace millions of Oromo farmers from their ancestral lands and would threaten to eventually cleanse Oromo culture and identity from the area. Moreover, “Corruption, poor administration, injustice, lack of equal economic benefits and losing their land in the name of investments are some of the causes that triggered the movement” (*ibid*). The government’s violent response to peaceful demands has led protestors to demand more radical and systemic change too.

Likewise, Abbnik (2016) emphasises, beyond, the deep-rooted corruption in the country, human rights violations and lack of equal economic benefits, the opposition has been accepted by most protesters, the *Irreechaa* incident had another great soreness for the Oromo people. There was an annual Oromo religious festival called *Irreechaa*, a festival where people from the entire Oromia region come and give thanks to their God in a city named Bishoftu. Bishoftu is approximately 50 km (30 miles) from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital. During this festival people all Oromo people come to give thanks to their god. In this event, people started shouting and showing different signs and protesting the government. Police fired tear gas into a crowd of people protesting the government at this festival, which was attended by approximately two million people; this resulted in a stampede and more than 50 deaths.

In order to show the historical grievances about the Oromo people Africaargument explicates:

The Oromo are the largest ethnic group both in Ethiopia and East Africa, consisting of more than a third of Ethiopia’s 100 million people. However, the group has been marginalised and discriminated against by subsequent Ethiopian governments. Oromo culture and identity have been stigmatised and pushed into the periphery of country’s national life, while Oromo history has been filtered out of public memory (Africaagument, 2016).

The Tigrayan Peoples Liberation Front (hereafter- TPLF) framed longstanding Oromo demands for equality and justice as the greatest threat to Ethiopia's unity and regional stability, and it used historic antagonisms between Oromo and Amhara as a political instrument to legitimise, justify, and consolidate its political and economic hegemony. The "Oromo question" became the quintessential Ethiopian problem. With the above frame, "Oromos are presented as narrow-minded, extremist, and exclusionary while the Amharas are presented as chauvinist and violent" (*ibid*).

Besides the Oromo protest it is believed that Amhara uprising is a result of immense grievances and deep-rooted causes were accommodated during the past 27 years, after EPRDF came into power (Getnet, 2018b). As per the 2007 Population and Housing Census, Amhara is the second largest ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Most of the Amhara population lives in Godner, Gojjam, Wollo and Shewa provinces (Walda, 2018). Amhara's confrontation is frustrating genuine political participation as it led to repeated identity based attacks on the Amhara living in large numbers in different parts of country.

In the 2016, the uprising of Amhara and anti-government protests erupted in Ethiopia's Amhara region, when thousands took to the streets of Gondar and Bahir Dar to protest over the administration of disputed territories. Members of the Welkait-Tegede community, who identify themselves as ethnic Amhara people, are demanding their lands be administered by the Amhara region, instead of the Tigray state. "These territories used to be part of Amhara, until the political coalition known as the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) introduced a federal system and restructured the region, including those areas, into the Tigray region" (Laccino, 2016. p. 1).

Beyond the two regions, Konso, Gurage, Somali, Gedeo, etc. and other parts of the country anti-government movement and massive protests have been witnessed within the last three years in shocking way. Among the manifestation of the protests: major roads, transport hubs and business centres, schools, public offices have been closed, different factories burned, due to the massive protests and anti-government standpoint throughout the country.

After all, it is undisputable to wind up that, the reason for the wave protests and anti-government standpoint are: dissatisfaction towards governance system, violation of human and democratic rights, deaths and displacements of thousands of people, deep-rooted corruption, poor administration, injustice and other related factors can be taken as major manifestation the political unrest throughout the country.

2.5.2 Why the Former Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn Resigned?

Ethiopia has been governed by EPRDF since they captured the capital and ended the Ethiopian Civil War in 1991. Members of the Tigrayan ethnic group constitute a minority of Ethiopia's population. However; “members of this ethnic group dominate the senior positions in the country's military and political system while the majority of Amhara and Oromo people are marginalized” according to a report by, ‘The Rift Valley Institute’ (2016).

Hailemariam Dessalegn is from the Wolayta ethnic group, which dominate the politics of Ethiopia’s southern region. As Ethnic Tigray, Amhara and mixed people of Ethiopia have traditionally dominated the politics of the country for the last 200 years, Hailemariam would be the first fully non-Tigray and non-Amhara head of government in the history of the nation (Ethiotribune, 2016). The former Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn formerly served as the country's Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister from 2010 until August 2012. Following the death of Meles Zenawi, his predecessor in 2012, the Council of Ministers appointed Hailemariam as the country's temporary successor and He served the country as a Prime Minister from 2012 to 2018.

According to analysis of Kalkidan Yibeltal, BBC Amharic Service correspondent, since coming to power, Mr Hailemariam has been seen by the political elite as weak and lacking in leadership (BBC, 2018). She highlights the reason for his resignations are visible is the tension between the TPLF, which has seen its dominance and influence wane, and the Oromo People's Democratic Organisation, which is becoming increasingly more assertive.

The anti-government protests and anger with the ruling EPRDF coalition takes the loins share for the resignation of the former Prime Minister Hailemariam (The Guardian, 2018) in a report contributed with *Associated Press (AP)*, *Reuters* and *Agence France-Presse (AFP)*. The report reveals: starting from December 2015 the country’s largest ethnicity, the Oromo, began mass protests. Months later the next largest ethnicity; the Amhara, and other ethnic groups rose up too. Moreover, a 10-month state of emergency declared in October 2016 quelled the worst of the violence, but only after hundreds of deaths and tens of thousands of arrests that were condemned by rights groups. Still, anti-government protests continue to occur and a separate spate of clashes between the Oromo and Somali ethnicities displaced a million people late last year. "The situation is getting out of control right now, so he might have decided to resign by himself," (*ibid*).

To sum-up, the reason behind his resignation was the mass protests and the population's grievance from the different corner of the country especially Oromia and Amhara. Besides, His weak and lack of proper power leadership, unrest and a political crisis, loss of lives and displacement of many failed to keep promises, problems related with social, economic and human rights forced him to leave both the premiership and his own party.

2.5.3 Who is Abiy Ahmed?

These days the Ethiopian politics is changing; as discussed earlier, massive protests and political unrest shakes the Ethiopian politics and many people agree that the massive protests and public grievances take along the lion share for coming up of the prime minister Abiy Ahmed. This part deals about the main subject of the study which is about the current Prime Minister of ruling EPRDF.

Following three years of protests and political unrest the former Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn, announced his resignation from the ruling party EPRDF. Subsequently everyone was asking the same and repeated question which is, who will be the next Prime Minister? The EPRDF basically a coalition of four ethnically based political organizations. These are, the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), and the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (SEPDM) meet in order to deal about the whole political situation and in route to select who will be the next prime minister. After time consuming and monotonous meeting the parliament appointed Abiy Ahmed as new Prime Minister.

BBC summarized key facts about Abiy Ahmed on 14th of September 2018, as Born in Agaro to an Oromo Muslim father and Amhara Christian mother. As a teenager in 1990, he joined the armed struggle against the Marxist Derg regime. He has a doctorate degree in peace and security issues from Addis Ababa University and a master's degree in transformational leadership from the University of Greenwich, London. He can speak fluent Afan Oromo, Amharic and Tigrinya, as well as English. In the year 1995 he served as a UN peacekeeper in Rwanda. In 2007 founded the Ethiopian Information Network Security Agency (INSA) and served as a board member of Ethiopian Telecommunication, Ethiopian TV. In 2010 entered politics as an ordinary OPDO member before joining the party's Executive Committee in 2015. In 2016 briefly served as minister of science and technology. Finally in 2018 he became Prime Minister.

As BBC report, (2018) “Abiy Ahmed is the country's first Oromo leader - the ethnic group at the centre of nearly three years of anti-government protests, which left many dead following clashes with security forces and thousands arrested”. Many agree that, one of the protesters main complaints was that they have been politically, economically and culturally marginalized for years - despite being the country's largest community.

Starting from his inauguration speech to his current doings Prime Minister Abiy has come up with several ideas and actions. During his inauguration speech he delivered a very promising discourse including the political reforms, realization of democracy and basically about the sense unity and love. Many agree that, that speech is the turning point to make him popular and being agenda for the coming days.

Days counted, weeks passed and months came; Prime Minister Abiy is still in the mind of the mass people. A lot has been said about him. In order to review his journey it is reasonable to look some actions done by his leadership after he took power. Domestic policy has been modified by releasing jailed political prisoners, giving room for opposition political parties (including those who exiled before), coming up with reasonable debate and avoiding the sense of marginalization. Moreover, security sector reform, cabinet reshuffle can be taken as his major doings.

The Economist on 18th of August 2018 put their fear about the new Prime Ministers personality cult. They figured out that, “Anything that’s about Abiy Ahmed is popular” and there are groups who consider Abiy as “Moses”, compare him to the prophet. Moreover, the two most popular were written under a pseudonym by himself and the book titled “The Stirrup and the Throne”, his meditation on leadership, sold out abundantly in the capital Addis Ababa and other regional states. To strengthen about his personality cult, centring on what he did like: released thousands of political prisoners, apologised for police brutality and abuse of human rights, his standpoint about democracy and unity and other related stuffs, he has get much appreciation and love from the mass public. Following his approach and career songs with titles like “He Awakens Us” ring out on the airwaves, street boys hawk stickers, posters and T-shirts that featuring Abiy.

Nevertheless the prime minister has public patron, trust and hope on him, there are also another group of thinking that are cautious and raise many question towards his overall approach. Ethiopiaobserver (2018), argue how the new prime minister would be free from

the sphere of influence TPLF dominant and deep rooted oldies political system which lasted over two decades.

Here, we can understand that there are different viewpoints towards the prime minister. The intention of this study is to examine how the prime minister is represented in media and what kinds of tones are used to portray the prime minister.

2.6 The Current Political System

The political landscape of Africa dramatically changed in the early 1990s as the wave of democratization (aka. *Third Wave of Democratization*) removed the old one-party authoritarian regimes and replaced them with multi-party systems (Huntington, 1991; De Walle & Butler, 1999). Conversely, the development and nature of party systems in Africa has been quite different from relevant experiences of established democracies (Manning, 2005, as cited in Menyechele, 2017).

The Ethiopian political system seems to fit to (De Walle & Butler 1999) and Manning's (2005) characterization of African party systems. Even though post 1991 Ethiopia saw significant political institutional building and emergence of a public ethos of democracy, it has a "high ingredient of rhetoric not backed by practice" (Abbink, 2006, p. 174). The country undertook a major political change to ethnic federalism in 1991 following the fall of the communist government.

Unlike the previous regimes, the incumbent government favours 'ethnic identity' as a basis of politics. Ideologically, the new system is informed by a neo-Leninist political model called *revolutionary democracy* (Abbink, 2011; Stremlau, 2014; Vaughan, 2011). The ideals of revolutionary democracy revolve around its emphasis on key role of the central part to set policies and agendas.

It is conceivable to say that Ethiopian political system has three types of political parties. To list out: parties of the EPDRF coalition incorporating (Tigrayan Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF); Amahara National Democratic Movement (ANDM); Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO); and Southern Ethiopia Peoples' Democratic Movement (SEPDM).), EPDRF affiliated parties incorporating (The Somali People's Democratic Party (SPDP); The Bensishangul Gumuz Peoples Democratic Party (BGPDP); The Afar National Democratic Party (ANDP); The Gambela People's Unity Democratic Movement (GPUDEM); The Harari National League (HNL); and The Argoba People Democratic Organization (APDO).) and opposition parties (Menyechele, 2017).

In order to show the unequal treatment of political parties in Ethiopia (Pausewang, Tronvoll & Aalen 2002, p.13) shared George Orwell's popular expression, 'all animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others'. Beyond this, the state of opposition parties is weak and deeply divided and they face increasing suppression such as restriction of political space, intimidation of members and supporters and routine surveillance by government (Dessalew, 2014).

To strengthen the above points it is reasonable to reveal the 2015 general election incident. According to the report of National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE), "A total of 47 political parties participated in the 2015 election in a surprising situation where the ruling EPRDF (together with affiliated parties) won 100% of all the 546 parliamentary seats" (Menyechel, 2017, p.44). Because of their strength, which sometimes is more than the judiciary, journalists have limited options for legally questioning executive organs of the government. The fact that the incumbent government come with fierce armed struggle could be one factor for the ruling party's skewed outlook towards opposition political parties, (Stremlau & Gagliardone, 2015).

Therefore, the above mentioned political governing problems from the base plus the public grievance, sequential oppressions on protestors broke up three years long public protest that forced higher government officials including former Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn to resign. Following the nomination of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in April 2018, the changes make clear the extent of the government authoritarian leadership unveiled the world witnessed the release of media practitioners and political prisoners, lifting up of the state of emergency and amendment of oppressive laws such as the anti-terrorism law.

It was widely reported that Abiy's nomination can enable the country to decisively shift from autocracy to stride on the right line of democracy. His optimistic outlook and decision to nominate women on top governmental positions and comparable cabinet adjustments with equal gender share enabled him to enjoy recognition of the world. Similarly, the premier diplomatic success, economic amendment and legal revision on various civic societies' establishment and judicial systems are also additional tools that bought him the appreciation from influential leaders and experts across the globe (BBC, 2018). Therefore, it is everybody's wish to see what will be the next fate of the Ethiopian politics by its new captain Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed.

2.7 News

2.7.1 Basics of News

Journalism is a form of writing or broadcasting that tells people about things that really happened, but that they might not have known about already. People who write journalism stories are called “journalists.” They might work at newspapers, magazines, and websites or for TV or radio stations (Niles, 2007). Journalism comes in several ways, among its means news can be considered as the basic one. It may appear in forms of news or opinion (*ibid*).

News can be breaking which emphasizes on telling about an event as it happens, it could be feature story which looks at something interesting that is not breaking news and also it could be Enterprise or Investigative stories the stories that uncover information that few people knew. With regard to opinion it could be editorials which reveal unsigned articles that express a publication's opinion, it could be columns which are signed articles that express the writer's reporting and his conclusions and also it could be reviews such as concert or movie reviews.

Diverse scholars define the term news differently. News defined by (Tuchman, 1978) as timely, noteworthy information about a recent incident, important finding, notable opinion, or upcoming events. Reah (1998) defined news as information about recent events that could call the interest and also affect the lives of a sufficiently large group. Whereas (Strentz, 1989) news is viewed as information that fulfils the criteria of newsworthiness. (Keeble, 2005) defines as the word news originates from the Latin nova and it means new things. ‘News’ is defined as a “product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories” (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, & Roberts, 2013, p. 54).

To sum-up, the above mentioned definitions are featured based on the individual scholar’s level of understanding. Nevertheless, it is defined in different angles, almost all scholars touch and agree up on that news is news is something that is about people, events, and issues which is interesting, current and presented via print, broadcast or internet; news is a timely report of any accurate facts or opinion that holds interest or importance or both for a considerable number of people.

2.7.2 Rudimentary News Values

Basic news values are considered when determining what should or should not become part of today’s news or news values are entities that a news media puts in consideration while

making and selecting its news to its audience (Walsh, 2017). He identifies the following fundamental news values. These are, Timeliness: an event is more newsworthy the sooner it is reported, Proximity: events are more news worthy the closer they are to the community reading/watching or listening about them, Impact: events are more newsworthy when they affect a greater number of people, Prominence: events are more newsworthy when they involve public figures, Oddity: events are more newsworthy the more the ordinary they are, Relevance: events are more newsworthy when they involve an issue that is top of mind in the public and Conflict: events are more newsworthy when they involve disagreement.

The same news stories can be approached from many different perspectives. In this study the student researcher wants to show how different news outlets represented the prime minister in their news. As news is at the heart of journalism (Mencher, 1989; Keeble, 2005; Walsh, 2017) the student researcher used news to get the tangible data from the selected media outlets.

2.8 Theoretical Frameworks

In order to cope up this study the student researcher used the combination of representation theory with framing. At the core of both theories lies the constructionist approach, which is derived from the phenomenological approach and serves as their point of origin. The basic idea of social constructivism is that the world is socially constructed. The social order in which we perceive the world, what is right and/or wrong, is in a constant state of change. Meaning is constructed through interaction between different people and their relation to objects and other people. Definitions and concepts are also constantly changing, depending on the current culture, and it is also varying from situation to situation (Bryman 2012, p. 32-36). What this means is that meaning is created through language depending on how people use concepts and what the meaning of these concepts are.

Both theories are influenced by the input of social-political reality, as well as symbolic reality and the interaction between the two. Moreover, framing is the outcome of modes of representation, and vice-versa. Both theories are fundamental parts of a process whereby meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture in these two realities (Avraham & First, 2010).

2.8.1 Media Representation Theory

Media Representation theory: “Representation refers to the construction in any medium (especially the mass media) of aspects of ‘reality’ such as people, places, objects, events,

cultural identities and other abstract concepts” (Griffiths, 2010, p. 1). Such representations may be in speech or writing as well as still or moving pictures. The term refers to the processes involved as well as to its products. For instance, in relation to the key markers of identity - class, age, gender and ethnicity (the 'cage' of identity) - representation involves not only how identities are represented (or rather constructed) within the text but also how they are constructed in the processes of production and reception by people whose identities are also differentially marked in relation to such demographic factors (*ibid*).

According to Croteau and Hoynes (2003), media may not plainly put or multiply realities or happenings as they are in the real world. Instead, they deal with giving the reality different meaning or image desirable to them. And the process of doing this is known as representation. Representation in contrast to reflection, is possible through selecting and reporting so that things mean what is intended as contrast to reflection which is direct transmission of meaning of actual world or events already there. Media representation refers to the idea that everything we see, hear or read in the media has been constructed. It takes many forms such as radio segments, newspaper articles, photographs, films etc. Everything we see in the media is a representation of something. It could be ideas, events and people (Lamb, 2013).

Wallis, in 2012 underscores a question, what does representation means in media? He then, emphasizes on how the production of the mass media are presented for the audience. As example, TV program is underlined; the easiest way to understand the concept of representation is to remember that watching a TV programme is not the same as watching something happen in real life. “All media products re-present the real world to us; they show us one version of reality, not reality itself” (Wallis, 2012, p. 1). Subsequently, the theory of representation in media studies means thinking about how a particular person or group of people are being presented to the audience. Therefore, representations in the media have a very strong influence on how societies formulate their knowledge, attitudes, stands and practices. Many have argued that the produced images and constructed messages of the mass media productively allow society’s dominant forces to further establish attitudes and behaviour.

For the sake of this study it is parallel with representation theory to look how the selected news outlets represented the prime minister and it has room to frame the subject accordingly.

As discussed earlier, the nature of this theory plus its linkage with framing theory which is discussed in the next section used as a lens in order to examine how news outlet represented the Prime Minister.

2.8.2 Framing Theory

As stated in *journalism and mass communication quarterly*, one of the most fertile areas of current research in journalism and mass communication involves the concept of 'framing' (Matthes, 2009). Framing can be used as a paradigm for both understanding and investigating communication and related behaviour in a wide range of disciplines (Rendahl, 1995; Fortunato, 2005). De Vresse & Nisbet states, "frames simplify complex issues by lending greater importance or weight to certain considerations and arguments over others" (p.47). Regardless of its specific application, framing provides a means to describe the production and 'power of a communicating text' (Entman 1993, p. 51), and research is conducted within a wide range of paradigmatic perspectives. Thus, by stipulating that to frame a communicating message is to promote certain sides and make them more prominent in a way that endorses a specific problem, interpretation, evaluation and/or recommendation.

Diverse scholars have defined framing differently. Goffman was the first to concentrate on framing as a form of communication and defined "framing" as a "schemata of interpretation" that enables individuals to "locate, perceive, identify and label" occurrences or life experiences (Goffman, 1974, p.68). Gamson & Mogdliani (1987) conceptually defined a media frame as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of event and suggests what the controversy about the essence of the issue" (p.143).

Robert Entman is also one of the most cited scholars in framing research. In the application of framing theory for media analysis, Entman's (1993; 2010) study are important to mention. He defines framing in terms of selection and salience. According to Entman (1993, p. 55), "to frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." For instance, when an issue is reported on, the media selects an aspect of the perceived reality to make the issue more salient in communication text (such as a newspaper article).

Media presents issues or events by shaping them in a certain way. This particular way of presenting issues is framing. Media frames also serve as working routines for news producers that allow the journalists to quickly identify and clarify information and "to package it for

efficient relay to their audiences” (Gitlin, 1980, p.7). Since the news frame organizes everyday reality, it is essential feature of the news media and the journalists. (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) conceptualized that this notion of media framing include the intent the sender but the motive also unconscious.

2.8.3 Framing as a Process

One of the important parts of framing is its process. In which it focuses on communicative processes. These processes of framing consists frame building, frame setting, and individual and societal level consequences of framing. Frame building refers to the factors that influence media institutions or journalists in the process of creating news frames. These factors can be internal or external to journalism. Factors internal to journalism can be journalists’ ideology and organizational culture (Fortunato, 2005; Lerouge, 2017). Factors external to journalism, for example, the continuous interaction that journalists form with elites may influence journalists’ judgment in constructing frames (*ibid*). Frame setting refers to the interaction between media frames and individual’s prior knowledge and tendencies.

Frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events. The consequences of framing can be conceived on the individual and societal level (De Vreese, 2005; Entman, 2010; De Vreese & Nisbet, 2010). On the individual level, the consequences may be altered attitudes about an issue based on exposure to certain frames. On the societal level, frames may contribute to shaping society’s political actions and decision making processes.

2.8.4 Types of Media Frames

Based on their contents and nature, the most widely used classification of frames are issue specific and generic frames. Issue specific frames are frames which deal with limited topics or events whereas; generic frames treat various topics in various time and cultural context (De Veerse, 2005). Generic frames are applicable to different topics at different times and even with different cultural contexts. Additionally, generic frames are used at two levels of study. One group of study contains coverage of politics, particularly election campaigns. A second group focuses on generic news frames that are basically related to journalism profession (*ibid*).

According to Littlejohn and Foss (2009) there are two kinds of generic news frames, which are episodic frame and thematic frame. Another scholar Iyengar (1991) also confers about the types of these frames. He discusses episodic frame as a concrete or specific events that are

the result of actions by individuals; while the thematic one discussed as public issues as abstract instances and put responsibility on abstract society.

Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) discuss five dominant news frames that have been identified in earlier studies: conflict framing, human interest framing, economic framing, morality framing, and attribution of responsibility framing. In addition other frames like diagnostic and prognostic are commonly used frames (P. 95-107). Both scholars defined each frames as:

Frist, The Conflict frame is the one whose central idea is about disagreements/conflicts which may occur among individuals, groups of people, organization or countries so as to attract audience's interest. Second, Human interest frame: brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem. Third, Economic framing: presents issues or events focusing on their economic consequences on an individual, group, institution, or country. Fourth, Morality frame presents issues or events from the morally acceptable situations. This type of frame usually appears in religious context or gives moral prescription from this perspective. Fifth, Attribution of responsibility frame: presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving either to the government or to an individual or to a group. The rest two, that means, Diagnostic framing emphasizes identifying a problem and attributing blame and causality and similarly, prognostic framing which sometimes called predictive framing can be described as a solution frame which specifies what needs to be done. Ann and Gower (2009) separated two frames that mean attribution and attribution of responsibility. Therefore the researcher used six frames for this study.

To sum-up, framing theory is used to show how media sources frame news stories using the evidence they do have to cast their narratives in a certain way. Framing involves "selecting a few aspects of a perceived reality and connecting them together in a narrative that promotes particular interpretation" (Entman, 2010, p. 391). Moreover, media framing gives the ability of the news to construct reality by explaining an event in a variety of ways and from different angles that influence how the audience may look at an event in a certain light, thus altering their mind-set of an issue (De Vresse & Nisbet, 2010).

To this end, the student researcher designated both theories in order to examine the media representation of the prime minister, which aimed at how the framing approach go in line with representation and the intersection of the two theories can enhance this study to deliver

better understanding. Furthermore, both theories supplement each other mean that within framing there is representation and vice-versa (Avraham & First, 2010).

2.9 Historical Background of the Selected Media Outlets

2.9.1 The Ethiopian Herald

Ethiopian Herald is a state owned English language newspaper founded in 1943 by the Ethiopian Press Agency. The newspaper served as the main official press organs of the state and as the main source of information for literate people. Therefore, the establishment of the Ethiopian Herald was intended to serve the state as the only way to give information and propaganda for foreign readers. This newspaper usually carries the English version of the Amharic daily newspaper, Addis Zemen, (Mihret, 2015).

For the most part, these print media were controlled by the country's government, subject to official censorship. Articles that appeared in these two governments controlled newspapers were usually full of exaggerations of the activities of the emperor in internal and international affairs. The newspaper was devoted to capitalize the Emperors effort to establish a personal favour and a national feeling in the minds of the people and the international communities (Kemal, 2013). On the other hand, what dominate the history of Ethiopia in the twentieth century have been the history of Emperor Haile Selassie I and his efforts to centralize power, legitimize his power, and get popularity (*ibid*). The regime being a traditional monarch, the newspaper for most of its life hardly enjoyed freedom. The golden age of journalism was enjoyed in Ethiopia during transitional periods between the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie I, Mengestu Hailemariam and the incumbent (Meseret, 2013).

Meseret's assessment represents the behaviour of the media in normal circumstances. But his assessment may not represent the approach of state owned media in popular political occasions. Like the yearlong controversial protest that took place in almost all Ethiopian regions, of which the Oromia and Amhara protest was the widest and consequential.

Based on this argument the student researcher may roughly question if and how the state medium followed certain pattern of slant that would either support the status-quo or the movement and what techniques might have been used to frame the protest and basically the new prime minister Abiy Ahmed.

2.9.2 Reporter Amharic

The Reporter newspaper was launched in 1995 as a private weekly, owned by a former EPRDF member Mr. Amare Aregawi. It is one of the few private newspapers survived from

the closure of many newspapers during and after the 2005 Ethiopian election. Even though its circulation is limited to a few areas of the country, its online version is accessible to many people and intellectuals in offices and higher institutions across the country. Taking Amare's background into consideration, some assume his newspaper stands in support of the party's key stances. Regardless of such assumptions there are evidences to prove that The Reporter Amharic sometimes criticizes the government (Mihret, 2015).

Amare Aregawi, Chief Editor of the newspaper was charged several times for lots of causes related to reporting on poor administration and corruption. However, in all cases he was set free for proving that his newspaper's report was up to the standard objectivity and journalism ethics (Abbink & Hagmann, 2013).

Regardless of the fact that these court scenarios could show us that Amare, a man assumed have a masked affiliation with the ruling party, was being able to reveal mismanagements in some government institutions, some still assume his newspaper is not yet free from political influence. Whatever the case, studying the narrative of Reporter Amharic towards the representation of the new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed will help to partly disclose its political positions in the process of the actual analysis of this study.

2.9.3 Al-Jazeera

Aljazeera, is a Doha based Broadcaster funded by the government of Qatar. Authors such as Bedri (2015) and Alhassans (2004) have discussed the fact that the launching of Aljazeera as an Arab television network and its transformation into a powerful worldwide. Multilanguage channel was caused by astonishing historical moments. These historical moments had forced many to assume that Aljazeera is a relatively independent, though many scholars who asserted so were also disputed by many other Middle East authors.

With its motto "The Opinion and The Other Opinion", Aljazeera shocked Arab viewers when pictures of Israelis start to appear on Arab TV for the first time (Bedri, 2015). Because Aljazeera emerged out of a region of conservative political society (Arab), it was unexpected that it followed "policy of expressing various opposing views".

Through its interactive website, the station is able to reach out millions of readers around the world operating in more than 80 bureaus placed in different corners of the globe. Launching its website in English in March 2003, the station has publishing stories of Africa.

The student researcher makes a pilot study that the Oromo and Amhara protest in Ethiopia was influenced among others by information on internet in general and social media in

particular. The Aljazeera's website being part of that and the station having a relatively extensive coverage of Ethiopian affairs in a yearlong political unrests and the aftermath situations which is seize of power by the new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed.

Chapter Three

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This study attempted to examine media representation of Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed between local and international media. The aim is to spectacle on how he is portrayed, what type of frame used with what tone to represent the premier and comparison is also amalgamated. So as to manage the study clearly, the methodology part incorporates the following sub-sections.

From the sub-sections the second subsection discusses the research design. The third deals about data sources and media selection. The fourth sub-section discusses data management instruments. From five up to ten the unit of analysis, time frame, sampling protocol, data analysis procedure, reliability and validity and finally ethical considerations are enclosed respectively.

3.2 Research Design

Research design can be seen as like a blueprint of a building. The same thing works in research design as well. With the purpose of getting answers to the research questions that this study strived to answer throughout this thesis, the researcher employed both quantitative and qualitative approaches. As it is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted and at all it constitutes the blueprint for the whole methodological research process. Thus as indicated in the introduction part this chapter the methodological sections are stated accordingly.

There are three commonly known research methods: qualitative, quantitative and mixed approach. As Creswell (2014), states, “qualitative research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (p. 32). This study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods. While the quantitative method employed content analysis and the qualitative method used frame analysis. The central premise is that, the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches in combination provide a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone.

Mixed method of research explained by John Creswell (2014), as an approach to inquiry involving collecting both qualitative and quantitative data, integrating the two forms of data and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical

frameworks. As he explicates, the core assumption of mixed method of inquiry is that the combination of the two: qualitative and quantitative approaches provide a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach alone. Moreover, (Creswell, 2014; Bryman, 2016) underlined the reason for using mixed method for: triangulation, facilitation, complementarity, aid interpretation, study different aspects, offset, completeness, diversity views and extra. Applying both research methods creates synergy and addresses issues that would have been neglected by using only one of the approaches.

Considering this, quantitative content analysis and qualitative frame analysis was made. While the first helped to analyse the portrayal and the tone of the research subject (Prime Minister) and the later helped to identify the dominant frames used to construct stories about the Prime Minister. Based on these, all of the approaches utilized in this study are clearly stated in the following sub-sections in detail.

3.3 Data Sources and Media Selection

In order to examine media representation of newly appointed Ethiopian Prime Minister the researcher used one from state-owned The Ethiopian Herald newspaper, The Reporter Amharic a private newspaper, both local newspapers, and Aljazeera online from international media. Newspapers are selected because; they are the favoured subjects for studies employing either qualitative or quantitative content analysis than broadcast media (Kellner, 2005; Iyengar, 1991; Entman, 1993). In addition to this, due to the accessibility of newspaper archives, it is downhill for interested bodies to crosscheck the findings of studies which in turn increase the reliability of the study. With regard to the online outlet the researcher accessed the production published on Aljazeera and pilot study has shown that the Aljazeera online has covered the chosen subject extensively.

The following arguments are the main reasons to select the three media organizations. The Ethiopian Herald is the English counterpart of Addis Zemen newspaper which is a daily newspaper with the highest circulation in the nation working with local language (Abera, 2017). In fact The Ethiopian Herald is published daily except Mondays. So, in terms of area coverage or accessibility, it is assumed that it would have wider influence than any other newspaper being published in Ethiopia.

The Reporter Amharic is one of the privately-owned newspapers with the highest circulation dedicating more of its pages to political issues. Besides being one of the largest private weeklies in Ethiopia, it is known for its wider coverage of political and economic issues

(Menyechel, 2017). Even though its circulation is limited to a few areas of the country, its online version is accessible to many people and intellectuals in offices and higher institutions living in all regional states.

Aljazeera is also an international media that extensively covered the appointment of the prime minister with follow up stories. It is also thought by many Africans to be a relatively independent media in covering issues of Africa (Abera, 2017). Besides, a pilot study has shown that the Aljazeera had an extensive coverage about the Prime Minister both in broadcast and online version of its report.

How Newspapers with Online media?

Their entities (mainly news): the study used news as its main source.

The influence of Aljazeera: Aljazeera has Multilanguage channels and its interactive website able to reach out millions of readers around the world operating in more than 80 bureaus placed in different corners of the globe.

Relative pilot assay: the researcher tries to look other popular news websites; unlike other media like (CNN, Washington post, BBC, LA Times, NY Times, etc.). Aljazeera had extensively covered the appointment and subsequent leadership period of the Prime Minister both in broadcast and online version of its report.

Moreover, Aljazeera's website being found to represent the international media and the station having a relatively extensive coverage of Ethiopian affairs in a yearlong political unrests and the aftermath situations which is seize of power by the new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed.

3.4 Data Analysis Techniques

3.4.1 Content Analysis

Starting from its historical account, content analysis has been defined by several scholars from different field of studies. For instance, content analysis is “a research technique for the objective, systemic and quantitative description of manifest content of communication” (Berelson, 1952, p.74). It is a research tool which focuses on the real content and entire feature of media. Barcus (1959) “content analysis is the scientific analysis of communications messages and while being catholic in nature, it requires that the analysis be rigorous and systematic” as cited in (Bryman 2014, p.289). Another scholar Holsti 1961 defined content

analysis as, “content analysis is any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages” p.14. Content analysis is used to study a broad range of ‘texts’ from transcripts of interviews and discussions in clinical and social research to the narrative and form of films, TV programs and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines (Macnamara, 2005). Krippendorff and Bock (2008), content analysis refers to the systematic interpretation of textual, visual, or audible matter, such as newspaper editorials, television news, advertisements, public speeches, and other verbal or nonverbal units of analysis.

These days content analysis can be applied in any piece of writing or occurrences of recorded communication, used in many different fields of studies, useful to detect international differences, detect propaganda, identify main focus of communication used in behavioural and attitude responses, detects psychological or emotional state of groups or individuals (Kager, 2015).

Wimmer and Dominick (2011) identified five main purposes of content analysis: 1) Describing patterns or trends in media portrayals 2) Testing hypotheses about the policies or aims of media producers 3) Comparing media content with the real world 4) Assessing the representation of particular groups in society 5) Drawing inferences about media effects (p.160). Moreover, There are five purposes to conduct content analysis: to describe patterns and development in media content, to detect choices and work methods by the media/journalists, to compare media content to the real world, to analyse how the media portray various groups in society and establish a starting point for studies of media effects (Moore, 2017). Thus, quantitatively, content analysis helped this researcher to examine media representation of of newly appointed Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in one way or the other in the study period.

Quantitative content analysis is a research method in which features of textual, visual, or aural material are systematically categorized and recorded so that they can be analysed (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p.167). Quantitative content analysis collects data about media content such as topics or issues, volume of mentions, ‘messages’ determined by key words in context (KWIC), circulation of the media (audience reach) and frequency. In this study quantitative content analysis analyzed discourses occurring at a micro level by driving key words in from the context.

3.4.2 Frame Analysis

In a broad sense, frame is to construct by fitting and uniting the parts of skeleton to give a structure support and shape. To contextualize this to frame means to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text (Entman, 1993). This illustrates that, frames are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little silent concepts about what exists, what happens, and what matters. Moreover, frames are an information-processing schema that operates by selecting and highlighting some features of reality while omitting others. To support the above idea, it is better to notice the process of news making in the media. For instance a reporter can make an interview, read lots of documents, may take many pictures and some others background research for making single news. Here, even if the reporter has many data in hand he/she must select and omit the raw data in order to show the issue, event or people to show the reality.

When we come to frame analysis, it is a multi-disciplinary social science research method used to analyze how people understand situations and activities. The concept is generally attributed to the work of Erving Goffman and his 1974 book *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience* and has been developed in social movement theory, policy studies and elsewhere. According to him, framing defined as a “schemata of interpretation” that enables individuals to “locate, perceive, identify and label” occurrences or life experiences (Goffman, 1974, p.68). Moreover, frame analysis is a careful study of different frames to learn about its parts, what they do, how they are related to each other and a process of breaking frames into meaningful parts so as to gain a better understanding.

In frame analysis language is examined in terms of construction and function; that is, language is considered a means of constructing, rather than mirroring, reality (Merrigan, Huston, & Johnston, 2012). Language is also considered a form of social action; people use language to achieve certain interpersonal goals (e.g. attribute responsibility, refute blame etc.) in specific interactional contexts (*ibid*). In addition, a basic assumption underlying frame analysis relates to the constructive aspect of language, which is the assumption that texts construct the objects to which they refer; that is to say, they create specific versions of the phenomena and processes they set out to describe (Wetherell, Taylor, & Yates, 2001).

Therefore, based on the above point of views frame analysis parallel with discourse examines the organization of language at a level of analysis beyond the clause or the sentence. It could be (written, spoken and visual images), their relation with other texts, the contexts in which

language is used and the role these texts play in society. Consequently, frame analysis is also concerned with how language is used in social contexts and how people make sense of one another's messages and media frames encourage those who perceive and think about events to elaborate particular understandings of them, audience members also develop their own frames (the audience frames).

In media and communication studies frame analysis is used as a method to examine how media texts are composed; means that, it can help us to examine what was said and what was omitted. Entman (1993) states that “most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include, and the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience” (p. 54).

Therefore, this researcher employed frame analysis qualitatively because; its nature has ability to scrutinize the frames used to construct stories about the Prime Minister. Alongside, this researcher is of interested that how the selected media outlets employed news frames on the subject of the study.

3.5 Units of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this study are individual news stories and the editorials excluding contents like photographs, illustrations, charts, commentaries or letter to editor. A news story is defined as a semantic entity with at least one topic delaminated from another story by a change of topic which informs the public about current events, concerns, or ideas. (De Vreese, Peter & Semetko, 2001). Besides, editorials are the voice of the paper and are unsigned, even though they are usually written by one person, the opinions expressed in represent the majority those journalist staff members designated as the editorial board (Keeble, 2005). The news stories and editorials can be taken as unit of analysis if they explicitly covered about the Prime Minister. The study focuses on the content and written texts. Therefore, both news stories and editorials are the two genres in this study. Since the theoretical framework of this study is the framing and representation theory, coding sheet is prepared by the researcher to identify different frames and portrayals in the view to answering the research questions.

3.6 Time Frame

The study have focus looking at three media institutions one from state owned The Ethiopian Herald newspaper, another from privately owned The Reporter Amharic incorporates local media and Aljazeera online from international media. For the sake of obtaining a reliable

upshot, the researcher used the production of outlets includes the period from March 2018 to December 2018, ten consecutive months since the appointment of the new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and the subsequent time of his leadership was time frame for this study. This time is selected for the reason that it was the period of time that the Ethiopian political situation timely to see new chapter in peaceful power transition. Moreover, extraordinary attentions from different corners was given for the Prime Minister and also the new Prime Minister has come up with lots of ideas and actions in the country's political sphere.

3.7 Sampling Protocol

Samples are very important segments of the entire population that are selected for investigation. In a given study it is not feasible for a researcher to study the whole population. Therefore, samples can be remedies in order to manage the study on hand. The method of selection could be based on a non-probability or a probability approach (Brayman, 2016). For this study both non-probability and probability approaches are applied. The first one is for the selection of the media and the second one for the selection of intended news stories and editorials.

The type of media products deliberated for the study is print and online media. In fact, there are a number of print media both in newspaper and magazine formats and online media. Since it is practically impossible and logically inconceivable to use all the print media and online products, the researcher decided to select two newspapers from local and one online from international media.

Selection of Media Outlets: by using purposive sampling the student-researcher chose three media outlets The Ethiopian Herald, Reporter Amharic newspapers and Aljazeera online because of their readership, wide coverage, proximity, language, popularity, ownership and their nobility in covering political, economic and social issues.

Story Selection: A total of three hundred eighty two (382) publications and news stories that were published or posted within the period of March 2018 to December 2018 ten months on these media outlets were selected for the study. From three hundred eighty-two (382) total publications two hundred thirty (230) publications from Ethiopian Herald, eighty (80) publications from Reporter Amharic and seventy-two (72) number of news stories from Aljazeera online were taken.

After having the total number of publications and news stories the researcher applied systematic random sampling so as to manage the intended data. Consequently, forty-six (46)

publications from Ethiopian Herald, sixteen (16) publications from Reporter Amharic and thirteen (13) news stories from Aljazeera identified. Totally seventy-five (75) news stories and editorials are taken as a sample in this study.

3.8 Data Analysis Procedure

The researcher deliberately selected news stories and editorial articles published on Aljazeera online, Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic newspaper. Aljazeera provided international news while Ethiopian Herald and Amharic reporter gives local perspective. In terms of geography and time frame, all the three selected media outlets published issues related with the subject on hand. Moreover, regarding readers, again all the three outlets entertain a great deal of numbers. In the same vein, the selected media outlets can be found both in hard and soft copy versions. Yet, for this specific study this researcher only used the soft copy version which retrieved from the internet. To make the data manageable and to deal specifically about the subject, the researcher deliberately selected news stories and editorials as a genre since Abiy Ahmed became a Prime Minister of Ethiopia.

The focus of the research is to analyze how different media outlets framed stories to represent Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. Knowingly, media stations tend to incline towards their ideology they want to pursue. That is why; audiences (referring to all kinds of media consumers) forced to see different perspectives about one individual or event. To ensure the validity of the analysis this researcher categorized the articles into news stories and editorials. Indeed, news stories follow a factual approach, whilst editorials focused more on commentary and messages to the readers.

On the basis of time frame which is from March 2018 to December 2018, since the nomination of the prime minister to ten consecutive months the researcher retrieved a total sample of seventy-five (75) articles; Thirteen (13) from Aljazeera, forty-six (46) from Ethiopian Herald and sixteen (16) from Reporter Amharic. Of the articles retrieved, fifty-three were news articles and the remaining twenty-two were editorials.

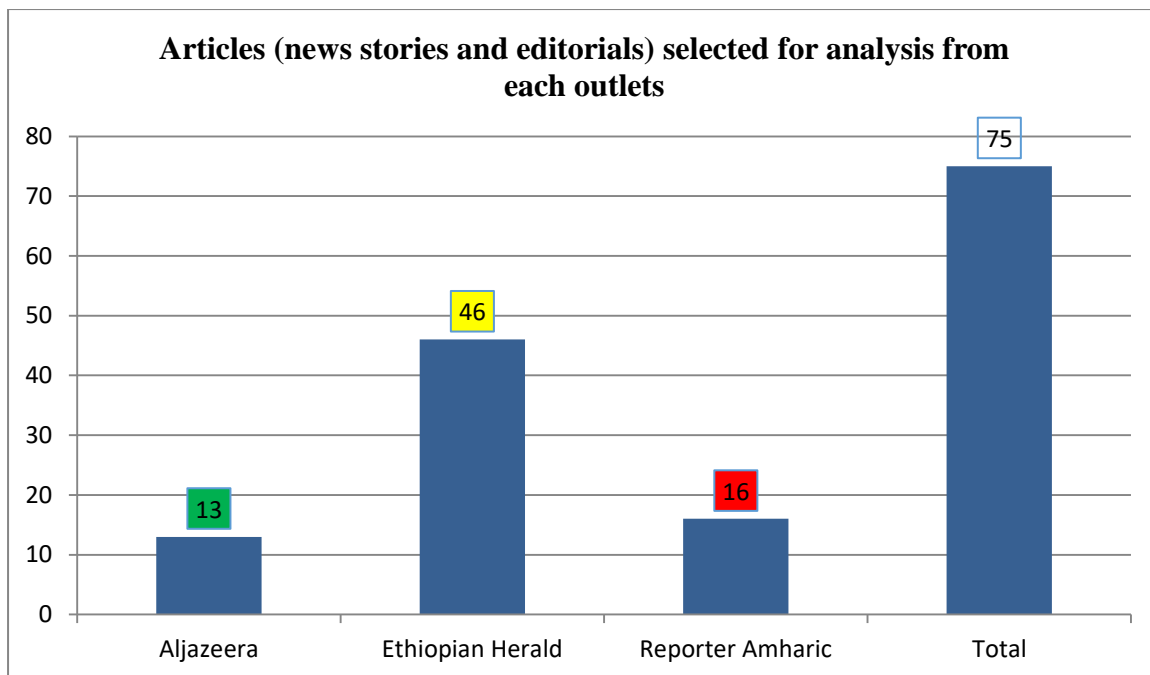


Figure 1 Articles (news stories and editorials) selected for analysis from each outlets

In addition, to present the findings in understandable way the researcher purposely select articles written only either in Amharic or English languages. Plus, to deliver the findings both from quantitative and qualitative aspects, the analysis passed through two phases. The quantitative part is treated by content analysis and the qualitative aspect by frame analysis.

Phase 1: Content Analysis

Before classifying the issues pointed in the articles, this researcher thoroughly read through all the selected articles (N=75). Then, came up with descriptors appeared for Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (ethnic, nationalist, change agent, peacemaker, open-minded, populist, superficial and indecisive). Many Journalism scholars agreed on the point that, lexical word choices and labels are an essential part of news construction. But, it is not that much important for editorials which mainly constructed from opinions. The descriptors mentioned above helped this researcher to enhance the possible connections found between the articles and between the writers. The researcher employed an Excel spreadsheet to organize the articles by media outlets, date, news headline and descriptors (ethnic, change agent, nationalist, peacemaker, open-minded, populist, superficial and indecisive). After that, this researcher examined the patterns how often each description used and compared the results for each media outlets.

Phase 2: Frame Analysis

After completing the content analysis part the researcher did a frame analysis. The content analysis helped to see the most important words and expressions repetitively used in the selected articles. Said above, content analysis part gives a glimpse of quantitative aspect whereas frame analysis figure out the qualitative perspective. Schmuhl in his edited book titled “The responsibilities of Journalism” gave an important remark. He said:

The questions that frame the discourse for analysis of specific cases most commonly revolve around such matters as: was the coverage accurate and complete? Was the reporting fair and balanced? How was the information gathered? What was the motive of the information? What were the consequences of the coverage? (1989, p.11).

Specifically, the language used in the articles and the way how the languages frame the subject.

As a starting point, once again the researcher carefully read all the articles (N=75) to look for common words or phrases dominantly used in the articles that created common thematic area. Having this understanding in mind the researcher deliberately select eight (8) news articles to study analytically. But, before that the researcher took notes while reading through the articles. The researcher purposely excluded editorial articles from frame analysis due to the fact that editorials do not have similar structures and values to select articles based on certain criteria's.

The eight (8) news stories selected for frame analysis were helpful in representing the major themes existed on the subject of the study. Content analysis gives a micro perspective, while frame analysis focuses on general or a macro-analysis of each article. Among the eight (8) chosen news stories for detail analysis two (2) news stories were chosen from Aljazeera, four (4) from Ethiopian Herald and two (2) from Reporter Amharic (look on the Pie chart and figure 2).

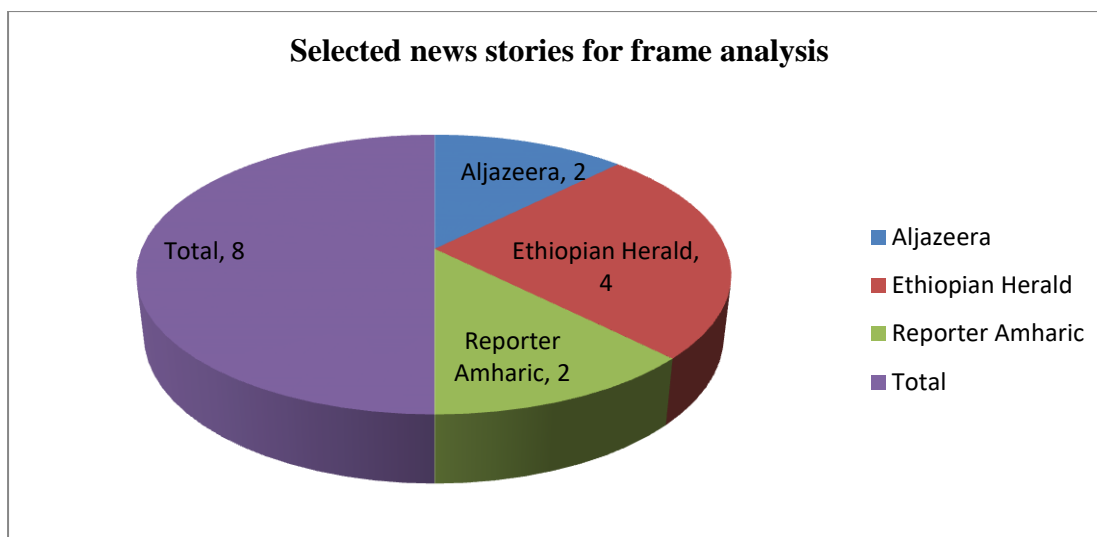


Figure 2 News stories selected for Frame analysis

In order to select stories for frame analysis the researcher used four criteria as follows: (look the details in table 1 below).

Table 1. The selected eight (8) news stories for frame analysis with criteria's

Publication/headline/date	Criteria
Publication: Aljazeera Headline: Abiy Ahmed sworn in as Ethiopia's Prime Minister Date: 2 April 2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The primary focus is Abiy Ahmed • Common news source: Office of Prime Minister. • It at least has one interviewee • It enables to compare and contrast themes among the three media outlets.
Publication: Aljazeera Headline: Abiy Ahmed a 'painkiller, not a cure' for Ethiopia's problems. Date: 5 July 2018	
Publication: Ethiopian Herald Headline: Dr. Abiy's appointment democratic, transparent: EPRDF Date: 29 March 2018	
Publication: Ethiopian Herald Headline: End of schism, excommunication Date: 2 August 2018	
Publication: Ethiopian Herald Headline: Nurturing the re-established Ethio-	

Eritrea strong ties Date: 21 July 2018	
Publication: Ethiopian Herald Headline: Crude oil production test due to begin today Date: 28 June 2018	
Publication: Amharic Reporter Headline: የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ውሎ ከፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች አመራሮች ጋር (A Prime Minister's one day stay with leaders of competing political parties) Date: 28 November 2018	
Publication: Amharic Reporter Headline: የዕርቅ-ሰላም ጀመራ (The beginning of peacemaking) Date: 11 April 2018	

Following the selection of the eight (8) news articles from Aljazeera, Ethiopian Herald and Amharic Reporter, the researcher employed frame analysis to carefully examine frames. Basically, the interest of the researcher was to examine the language usage and the way the stories frame. In order to achieve this researcher prepared a structured coding sheet in question format (*see in the Appendix*) which each article passed through. Obviously, the structured format guided the researcher and ensures accuracy. In a way, it minimizes conflict of interest that can happen between the researcher and the story. Moreover, the researcher is of interest to see the news headlines, quotes and concluding remarks. During the presentation of findings this researcher particularly examined quotes selected from news articles. However, special emphasis was also given to headline, lead, body and theme of the story. In the process the researcher checked whether the descriptors portrayed Abiy Ahmed in value laden words or they used value free words. Overall, the code sheet served this study as a guide to see the dominant frames used in selected articles.

By the help of frame analysis this study picked six dominant frames. The list goes on value/morality frame, conflict frame, human interest frame, attribute frame, economic frame and attribution of responsibility frame. Having described the procedures of data analysis the next chapter resumes on presenting the findings.

3.9 Reliability and Validity

The researcher and another graduate student from both Addis Ababa and NLA University Norway in Journalism and Communication were participated in the coding procedure. Inter-coder reliability (inter-coder agreement) is an important component in content analysis. It refers to the levels of agreement made among independent coders who code the same content using the same coding instrument (Neuendorf, 2002; Krippendorff & Bock, 2008; Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). Accordingly, Holsti's formula was used to check the inter coder reliability.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Throughout the process of making this research output this researcher gave attention to respect basic ethical values; so that, it would keep its academic form and essence. Among the ethical considerations the student-researcher keeps an eye on the following listed ethical values. Plagiarism, healthy communication with research advisor, fair treatment of the research subject, harmless, etc....basically, by respecting these values this researcher seeks to put himself as an individual who tried to contribute something for the research society.

Chapter Four

4. Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

The overall theme of this part of study is to present the findings through content and frame analysis. Below in separate sub-sections the researcher put the findings got from the selected news and editorial articles.

4.1 Presentation and Discussion of Content Analysis

Mentioned in the methodology part, frame analysis is all about giving a general picture of the story or it is macro level analysis, but not content analysis. Content analysis analyzes discourses occurring at a micro level. The figure found below (table 2) describes the commonly employed attributions/descriptors that used in the three media outlets.

Accordingly, in all thirteen news stories written by Aljazeera you find the ethnic identity of Abiy Ahmed. They used the term “Oromo” 100% to identify Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, whereas Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic employed the term “Oromo” to define Abiy Ahmed 30% and 23% respectively. Regarding the usage of nationalism the term Ethiopian is mostly used in the articles of Ethiopian Herald which is 67%. Aljazeera used the term Ethiopian 23% and Reporter Amharic employed 44%. However, as looking in the table below of all the selected media outlets Aljazeera aggressively used the ethnic identity to define the Prime Minister. And also most of the selected news stories from Aljazeera described the Oromo ethnic group as the only excluded ethnic group from Ethiopian politics for long. Yet, the articles do not back this claim with strong argument. Similarly, the articles boldly used the term ‘Oromo’ in many places and it seems they were forcing readers to know about Oromo. Alike it meant remarking if Aljazeera employed the term Oromo repetitively unless and otherwise it holds a negative connotation. But, in most instances representation by media outlets embryo biased thinking in mind of audiences (referring to all kinds of media consumers). In support of the above claim researchers Durrheim and Dixon (2005) found out that after the fall of apartheid in South Africa there was wave of desegregation through the media. Basically, they pointed on racist stereotyping. Representation during the early post-apartheid put white’s as evil and blacks as an angel. This in fact cannot be true in any ways.

All the three media outlets portrayed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed as a “change agent”. Among 46 articles chosen from Ethiopian Herald 38 (83%) of them attributed the change agent character to Abiy Ahmed. Also, Aljazeera and Reporter Amharic assigned the change

agent character to Abiy Ahmed 77% and 57% respectively. Like the ethnic descriptor Aljazeera acclaimed 100% to peacemaking while both Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic used the term 63% similarly. Obviously, the measures taken by Abiy Ahmed after he became a Prime Minister were worth to be mentioned. As discussed in chapter one and two, freeing political prisoners and journalists who had been in a jail, expanding a political space and calling for peace and tolerance were some of the actions in the list. This researcher believed that, the selected media outlets depicted Abiy as a change agent due to the reason that they were looking those deeds.

Coming to the descriptor “open-minded”, all the outlets gave a high score. Accordingly, news articles selected from Aljazeera identified Abiy as 100% open minded, whereas, the articles of Ethiopian Herald used the term 91%. Reporter Amharic articles employed open-minded for 88%. Aljazeera did not use the descriptor populist in any ways (0%). But, even if it is minimal in their approach the articles selected from the two local media outlets i.e., Ethiopian Herald Reporter Amharic) used the term populist. One editorial (2%) of Ethiopian Herald defined Abiy as populist. Similarly one editorial (6%) of Reporter Amharic used the term. But, the descriptor “superficial” was not mentioned within any of the selected articles, while the attribution “in-decisive” was used two (4%) times in Ethiopian Herald and one time (6%) by Reporter Amharic. But, by no means could this researcher be in a vantage point to investigate the rationale why these media outlets used these portrayals. Among many possible reasons the leading ideology of the media outlets and the personal preference of the individual journalist or editor might play a critical role.

Table 2 Results of seventy-five articles (news and editorials) analysing the portrayal of Abiy Ahmed. Aljazeera (N=13), Ethiopian Herald (N=46) and Reporter Amharic (N=16)

Attributions	Aljazeera (N=13)		Ethiopian Herald (N=46)		Reporter Amharic (N=16)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ethnic	13	100%	14	30%	2	13%
Nationalist	3	23%	31	67%	7	44%
Change agent	10	77%	38	83%	9	57%
Peacemaker	13	100%	29	63%	10	63%
Open- minded	13	100%	42	91%	14	88%
Populist	0	0%	1	2%	1	6%
Superficial	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
In-decisive	0	0%	2	4%	1	6%

4.2 How Aljazeera Versus (Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic) Represented Abiy Ahmed?

The above caption indicated that, the comparison was made solely on ownership; between international versus local media outlets. Yet, the researcher considered there is still difference between local outlets, but, insignificant. A range of factors come into play to create a difference in representation. Among the factors, ownership of media outlets will be dealt specifically in this sub-section. Below in the figure showed that, there was a visible difference between international and local media outlets. Let us take a look.

Table 3 Analysis of articles comparing an international media house Aljazeera versus local media outlets Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic based on ownership.

Attributions	Aljazeera (N=13)		Ethiopian Herald (n=46) +Reporter Amharic (n=16)=(N=62)	
	N	%	N	%
Ethnic	13	100%	16	26%
Nationalist	3	23%	38	42%
Change agent	10	77%	47	76%
Peacemaker	13	100%	39	63%
Open- minded	13	100%	56	65%
Populist	0	0%	2	3%
Superficial	0	0%	0	0%
In-decisive	0	0%	3	5%

Above in the table indicated that an international news outlet Aljazeera boldly used the lexical term “Oromo” to describe the identity of Abiy Ahmed 100%. This can be seen in every selected news stories of Aljazeera. For example, on April 2, 2018 the news describes the inauguration of the Abiy Ahmed as the Prime Minister of Ethiopia by saying:

This is a very historic moment for Ethiopia and for the ruling coalition in the country. *He is the first Oromo PM.* This will pave the way for the stability and unity of the country.

Similarly, the Aljazeera news appeared on 28th of March 2018 described the elected prime minister by saying: “EPRDF picks Abiy Ahmed as its chairman, paving the way for the Oromo leader to become Ethiopia’s prime minister”.

In the case of both local media outlets, they used the descriptor “Oromo” only for 26%. Plenty of reasons can be mentioned to this cause. The sensitivity of ethnic issue in Ethiopia might be one reason. Because, if these newspaper contributors write stories angled from the ethnicity of famous individuals like Abiy Ahmed, majority of readers will have a profound interest to know about the ethnic group of those journalists. But, readers have less or no interest to know about the ethnicity of journalists who are working for international media houses like Aljazeera.

In order to support the above point of view, let us look at the first news stories from all the three media since Abiy Ahmed was appointed as a Prime Minister. As the news stories appeared in Aljazeera on March 28 2018, Ethiopian Herald on March 29 2018 and Reporter Amharic on March 28 2018 clear differences were observed in the usage of the descriptor Oromo between the local and international media.

For instance in the news story of Aljazeera, the term Oromo was used starting from the lead of the story as:

EPRDF picks Abiy Ahmed as its chairman, paving the way for the Oromo leader to become Ethiopia's Prime Minister (Aljazeera, March 28, 2018)

Beyond the lead, the Prime Minister and his ethnic background has mentioned both in the body of the story and concluding remark as “who hails from the Oromo ethnic group, is now expected to succeed Hailemariam Desalegn as Ethiopia's prime minister” and “Abiy will be the first Oromo prime minister in the 27 years EPRDF has been in power” respectively.

Unlike Aljazeera online in both local newspapers, almost nothing has been mentioned about the ethnic background of the Prime Minister. Rather they focused on, the approach of the power transition and number of leaders in the history of EPRDF leaders as a Prime Minister. From Ethiopian Herald side, “Dr. Abiy's appointment democratic, transparent: EPRDF”. The whole news story was about the successful meeting of the Council and agreements reached to widening internal democracy within the party, tackling unprincipled networks and antidemocratic attitudes. But, as a biography his background is mention once in the story, as “He grew up in multilingual and multi-religious family household where his father, Ahmed Ali, is an Oromo Muslim and his mother a Christian”.

From the Reporter Amharic side,

ኢሕአዴግ ዓብይ አህመድን (ዶ/ር) ሦስተኛው ሊቀመንበር አድርጎ መረጠ (ሪፖርተር፤መጋቢት 19 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

Translation:

EPRDF chose Abiy Ahmed as third chairman (Ethiopian Herald, March 28, 2018)

Reporter Amharic focused on that, Abiy Ahmed is the third chairperson in the history of EPRDF leaders as a Prime Minister and the only thing they mentioned about the descriptor Oromo is about his political career as he is Chairman of OPDO (Oromo Peoples' Democratic Organization).

Mentioned at the beginning of this chapter the selected media outlets portrayed Abiy only standing from what they look. Social psychologists called this kind of action as ‘overt.’

The descriptor “nationalist” did not enjoy an ample of space in both sides. Aljazeera employed 23% and the local outlets 42%. However, either denotatively or connotatively both Aljazeera and local outlets used the attribution “change agent” 77% and 76% correspondingly.

Similar to the descriptor “ethnic”, Aljazeera identify Abiy Ahmed “peacemaker and open-minded” 100%. Yet, local outlets (Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic) used the descriptors “peacemaker and open-minded” 63% and 65% respectively. This researcher cannot figure out the difference between Aljazeera and local outlets in process of attributing Abiy Ahmed. But, context might be the reason. Journalists working for local media outlets have a good geographic proximity. In turn, this helps them to get information from ‘a horse-mouth.’ At the same time, the proximity can impacted them to be attracted by conflict of interest. In the case of journalists writing for international media outlets like Aljazeera getting accurate information remained one of the challenges. Though they have correspondents in many parts of the world, they still buy news from news agencies for instance Associated Press (AP) and Reuters. However, this argument does not fall under the scope of this specific study.

Aljazeera did not use the descriptors “populist, superficial and in-decisive” in any of the selected news stories. While, local media outlets used in a very slight way. 3% of the selected news articles from Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic defined Abiy Ahmed as “populist”. And 5% of these outlets selected articles identify Abiy as “in-decisive”. But, none of the selected articles (0%) described Abiy as “superficial”.

To sum up, plenty of research works indicated that factors related with ownership do have an impact on the type of news written by media outlets.

The content analysis helped this researcher to analyze the particular issues found in the selected articles. Whereas, the in the next sub-section frame analysis will scrutinize and interpret the underlying meaning found in the articles and helped to identify the dominant frames instituted in the selected eight (8) news stories.

4.3. Presentation and Discussion of Frame Analysis

Above in the content analysis part the researcher analyzed all the selected articles written on the subject. Following, the researcher now discussed the results got from frame analysis. To present the findings in more clear way the researcher categorized this sub-section into two parts. The first part examined the changes if any in the side of Aljazeera after looking Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic and the second part separately deals on the eight (8) selected news stories from Aljazeera, Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic.

To start this sub-section the researcher did the glimpse look on every of the selected seventy-five (75) articles. The purpose is to see possible changes of frames by Aljazeera following the coverage of similar issues by local media outlets (Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic).

It also answers common terminologies used across the selected articles. Majorly, it is a journey to look after quantitative account within the articles. And this part particularly examines the qualitative aspect that makes dominant frames in the selected article.

Note that, in order to identify the dominant frames used in the news articles the researcher looked at the whole parts of the news story intensely like, headline, lead, body and additional information.

Table 4 List of dominant frames found within the selected eight news stories for analysis.

Publication	Date	Headline	Dominant frames
Aljazeera	2 April 2018	Abiy Ahmed sworn in as Ethiopia's Prime Minister	-Value/morality frame
Aljazeera	5 July 2018	Abiy Ahmed a 'painkiller, not a cure' for Ethiopia's problems	-Conflict frame
Ethiopian Herald	29 March 2018	Dr. Abiy's appointment democratic, transparent: EPRDF vows to widen party democracy	-Attribute frame
Ethiopian Herald	28 June 2018	Crude oil production test due to begin today	-Economic frame -Attribution of responsibility
Ethiopian Herald	21 July 2018	Nurturing the re-established Ethio-Eritrea strong ties	- Attribution of responsibility frame -Human interest frame
Ethiopian Herald	2 August 2018	End of schism, excommunication	- Attribution of responsibility - Human interest
Reporter Amharic	28 November 2018	የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ውሎ ከፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች አመራሮች ጋር (A Prime Minister's one day stay with leaders of competing political parties)	- Attribute frame - Conflict frame
Reporter Amharic	11 April 2018	የዕርቅ-ሰላም ጀመረ (The beginning of peacemaking)	-Attribution of responsibility - Value - Conflict

The above table described the six dominant frames exposed at the time of frame analysis. These are value/morality frame, conflict frame, human interest frame, attribute frame, economic frame and attribution of responsibility frame. These frames were emerged in the

research process and indicated in the literature review and methodology chapters. This researcher used the definition from Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) and Ann & Gower (2009).

Many key findings have been found from frame analysis. In each of the news articles selected for analysis there are dominant frames that are supposed to be supported by news sources frames. However, results witnessed that the frames of news sources shed light on dominant frames of the selected news articles. This is revealed by the fact that when EPRDF/ office of prime minster released information about Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, these media outlets duplicated the key facts without making any major change.

In the next sub-sections each of the selected eight articles are entertained in detail.

Table 5 Aljazeera, Interviewee’s frames of Abiy Ahmed inauguration “Abiy Ahmed sworn in as Ethiopia’s prime minister”, April 2, 2018.

Interviewees (no.2)	Frames
-Ahmed Adam (a research associate at university of London’s school of oriental and African studies (SOAS)	- Value/morality frame
-Professor Merara Gudina (a prominent opposition leader and lecturer).	- Conflict frame

‘Value frame’ was the dominant frame appeared in this news article. One of the interviewee Ahmed Adam in the news article described Abiy Ahmed as change agent and reformist. Ahmed Adam said to Aljazeera that, “things would change under Abiy. This is a very historic moment for Ethiopia and for the ruling collation in the country”. But, Mr. Ahmed was not kept from mentioning the ethnic identity of Abiy Ahmed. He said, “He is the first Oromo Prime Minister. This will pave the way for the stability and unity of the country”. Among the listed dominant frames, it is value frame that put an individual or group in a certain social prescriptions.

In the same news article, the second interviewee Professor Merara Gudina created a kind of conflict with the idea of first interviewee. Unlike Ahmed Adam Merara believed that, due to the circumstances that surrounded Abiy Ahmed he cannot pass decisions freely. Merara said, “What he aims to achieve depends on what his party allows him to do.” Merara also added that “Abiy was elected by Ethiopia’s ruling party and not directly by the population through general election.” But, Merara still believes that, change of individuals might have a positive impact to bring national reconciliation.

All in all, in this news article the first frame (value frame) shed light on the second one (conflict frame). As a result, value frame appeared to be the dominant frame of this news article.

Table 6 Aljazeera, Interviewees’ frames identified from people of Ginchi town, “Abiy Ahmed a ‘painkiller, not a cure’ for Ethiopia’s problems”, 5 July 2018.

Interviewees (no.3)	Frames
- Gutama Kuma (Vegetable seller in Ginchi) - Solomon Workneh - Obsa Abdisa (a political science student at Addis Ababa University)	- Human interest frame - Value fame - Conflict frame

Three frames appeared in the news story. Yet, ‘human interest and value’ was the two major dominant frames came out from the second news story selected from Aljazeera. The first interviewee Gutama Kuma told to Aljazeera that, “we would go to funeral of friends who died and then when the funeral (was) finished we would go to the streets to protest.” He added that, now things are changing for real. We can breathe the air of freedom and peace. Gutama’s opinion gave an emotional outlook to the news story. Hence, human interest frame was emerged as one of the dominant frame. The second interviewee Solomon Workneh defined Abiy Ahmed as a Godsend. Solomon said to Aljazeera, “What happened was a godsend for the people of Oromia. We are waiting for this our whole lives.” In addition, this news article inculcated a quote from one unknown father. The father of one said, “For me, Abiy is like a Moses. He will take us to the Promised Land. Before, everything was in the hands of the few people and we, “Oromos”, suffered a lot because of that”. In addition to the quote, the news article witnessed revival of hope on the small town of Ginchi. Photos of Abiy is almost everywhere in the town, especially, on the vehicles. Solomon and the father of one framed Abiy Ahmed with value/morality frame. They gave their opinion in the realm of ethnic and religious view.

But, since this type of frame is subjective in approach it makes the news stories difficult to provide a balanced and objective facts. The news served to show the support of Abiy Ahmed while ignoring the other side of the story.

However, the third interviewee Obsa Abdisa had a different view than the first two ones. According to Obsa, Abiy Ahmed is just a painkiller. “We consider him just a painkiller and not the cure to what actually ails Ethiopia. The future of Ethiopia depends on the next

elections and whether they are free and fair,” Obsa told to Aljazeera. Obsa insisted that, a painkiller cannot serve for all the time, but it gives relief for the time being. As a result, it is not a surprise if Abiy Ahmed remained temporary relief.

Table 7 Ethiopian Herald, Interviewee frames on Dr. Abiy’s appointment, 29 March 2018.

Interviewees (no.1)	Frames
- Shiferaw Shegute (former secretary of EPRDF)	-Attribute frame

In support and disagreement of Dr. Abiy Ahmed appointment as the Prime Minister of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia so many arguments and counter-arguments have been done for a couple of months. And the issue got much attention by media outlets. Among the media houses, Ethiopian Herald made news on the appointment of Abiy. The news read on 29 March 2018 was one of it. Entitled “Dr. Abiy's appointment democratic, transparent: EPRDF: vows to widen party democracy”. Mentioned in the news, the secretary Shiferaw Shegute said, “The Council’s meeting was successful where heated debates were entertained and agreements reached to widening internal party democracy within the party, tackling unprincipled networks and antidemocratic attitudes”. Attribute framing remained the dominant frame of this news article. Media outlets purposely employed this framing type to draw the attention of the readers towards a positive attitude. In this case, the news wanted to tell readers about the democratic nature of EPRDF. But, still many argues that there was shrewd political play by politicians representing Oromo and Amhara ethnic groups such as backroom dealings and negotiation. Moreover, the news story tried to put the ruling coalition EPRDF in a positive light without taking to scholars of political science and individuals representing competing political parties.

Table 8 Ethiopian Herald, on crude oil production, 28 of June 2018.

Interviewees (no.1)	Frames
- Abiy Ahmed (The current Prime Minister of Ethiopia)	- Economic frame -Attribution of responsibility

The news article is about planning of extracting oil production. And as the headline of the news suggested ‘economic and attribution of responsibility’ remained the two dominant frames. The only interviewee in the news article Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed underscored the importance of standing as a unified force to optimum utilization of the country’s resource. The Prime Minister added whatever amount of resources the country has, unless the country

has unity; the public cannot use at the expected level. Furthermore, he said even in some circumstances the availability of resources might be source of conflicts and wars. He mentioned south Sudan as a best example. One of the issues entertained within the economic frame is the prospect that countries' have. Similarly, the news article attributed the responsibly of leadership to Abiy Ahmed on the process of digging oil. Therefore, economic and attribution of responsibility frames lingered the two dominant frames side by side.

Table 9 Ethiopian Herald, “Nurturing the re-established Ethio-Eritrea strong ties.

Interviewees (no.1)	Frames
- Professor Beyene Petros (deputy chairman of Medrek party)	-Attribution of responsibility frame -Human interest frame

The news article entitled “Nurturing there-established Ethio-Eritrea strong ties” is about the effort of peace making process by Abiy Ahmed and the dominate frame is ‘Attribution of responsibility frame.’ The interviewee in the news article Professor Beyene Petros appreciated the concerted effort of both Ethiopia and Eritrea leaders. However, the professor is of opinion that, the diplomatic relationship must take formal form. Otherwise, it did not serve the continuous and long term interest of the people of both nations. Actually, this is not only the opinion of professor Beyene. Many others are also on the same line with Beyene Petros. Yet, in sum, though there was a human interest frame in the news article ‘attribution of responsibility’ remained the dominant frame.

Table 10 Ethiopian Herald, “End of schism, excommunication”, 2 August 2018.

Interviewees (no.2)	Frames
- His holiness Abuna Mathias - Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed	- Attribution of responsibility - Human interest frame

Two dominant frames were identified in the news article. These are attribution of responsibility and human interest frame. The interviewee his holiness Abuna Mathias described the situation by saying, “When this day falls, I am thrilled with the fulfillment of God’s will. And the church is overjoyed, and the people of Ethiopia rejoiced, and I truly felt great joy.” His holiness also appreciated the effective mediation of Abiy Ahmed. In this news article Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed transmitted an emotional message to all Ethiopians who are living in every part of the world. The message goes like this. “Ethiopians across the globe have started to tear down the lingering wall of division and wipe out what remains of

the wall to build a new bridge of unity.” During the time, many Ethiopians were crying by the above heartwarming message.

Obviously, to rejoin the two separated Ethiopian Orthodox church Abiy Ahmed took a lion share and he finally achieved to bring the two into one. Said in the methodology and literature review chapter, attribution of responsibility frame impacted the mind of the audience towards giving responsibility to certain actors for alleviating some problems. If we take the absence of peace and order as a problem and the solution to it; we can find two sides of arguments. The first one claimed that peace and order can only be guaranteed by individuals. Thus, it is individuals that created conflict and again they are the one to restore it; whereas, the second side argued that it is the government responsibility to making peace and order. In the case of this news article it attributed responsibility to government. Hence, attribution of responsibility popped-up as the dominant frame.

Table 11 Reporter Amharic, የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ውሎ ከፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች አመራሮች ጋር (A Prime Minister’s one day stay with leaders of competing political parties) 28 November 2018.

Interviewees (no.2)	Dominant Frames
- Professor Brehanu Nega	- Attribute frame
- Dawed Ibsa (a prominent OLF leader)	- Conflict frame

The news article is about a one day discussion of Prime Minister with leaders of competing political parties. The main point of their discussion was on the democratization of the coming election. Abiy promised free, fair and trusted election. Yet, he pointed out that, guaranteeing the democratic nature of the election is not only the assigned for EPRDF, but for all registered political parties that will compete in the election. Other issues such as improving laws related with media outlets and board of election, registering unregistered political parties were part of their discussion. Among the participants, Professor Brehanu Nega talked about the democratic nature of their discussion. He said. . .

የምናስበው ዓይነት የፖለቲካ ሰርዓት እንዲቋቋም ከፈለግንና ሐሳቦች በነጻነት እንዲንሸራሸሩ ከተፈለገ፣ መጀመሪያ የሰላምና የመረጋጋት ሒደት በደንብ ጠንካራ መሰረት ላይ መቆም አለበት። ይህ ደግሞ የሚሆነው ሁሉም የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ከስምምነት ላይ ሲደርሱ ነው።

(Note: all the subsequent translations were made by the researcher).

Translation

If we want to see the kind of political system to be existed and free flow of thoughts, primarily, peace and stability must stand on a solid rock. And this will happens only when all political parties come into agreement.

However, leaders from some political parties gave opinion out of the agenda. For example Dawed Ibssa, a prominent OLF leader said, “If the coming election is cancelled the country will be in a mess.” In total, the article displayed Abiy Ahmed as ‘democratic’ and a guy who wants to see unity in the country. Relatively, the first frame ‘value’ shed light on the second one ‘conflict’.

Table 12 Reporter Amharic, የዕርቅ-ሰላም ጀመረ (The beginning of peace-making), 11 April 2018.

Interviewees (no.4)	Dominant Frames
- Lemma Megeresa - Esayas Afewerkei (President of Eretria) -Dade Desta -Abdi Alei (former president of Somali regional state)	- Attribution of responsibility - Value - Conflict

The above news article appeared on 11 of April 2018 entitled “የዕርቅ-ሰላም ጀመረ (The beginning of peace-making)” presented with colorful photo. In the photo four people are indicated while they were hanging their hands together. These are Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, Deputy Prime Minister Demeke Mekonen, The current minister of defense Lemma Megeresa and the former president of Somalia regional state Abdi Alei. And all of them were smiling.

The basic theme of the news was to restore peace between the two ethnic groups, Oromia and Somalia regional states in particular and between Ethiopia and Eretria in General. The first speaker on the session was Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, he explained...

በኦሮሚያና በሰማሌ ክልሎች አጋጥሞ የነበረው ግጭት ያልተገባ፣ ከኢትዮጵያዊነት ባህል ያፈነገጠና የሁላችንንም አንገት ያስደፋ የሸንፈት ታሪካችን ነው። (ሪፖርተር፣ ሚያዚያ 3 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

Translation:

The conflict happened between Oromia and a Somalia regional state was undesirable, against Ethiopian culture and it’s our shameful history that made us to down our head.

In same the news, one of the interviewee Lemma Megeresa, said...

በሁለቱ ክልሎች መካከል የነበረው ግጭት ውርደታችን ነው። እኔ እንደ አሮሚያ ክልል ፕሬዝዳንትነቴ በአሮሞና በሶማሌ መካከል ለሰላምና ለአብሮነት በሚደረገው ማናቸውም ስራ ውስጥ ቅድሚያ ሰጥቼ እንደምሰራ በእናንተ ፊት ቃል መግባት እፈልጋለሁ። (ሪፖርተር፤ ሚያዚያ 3 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)።

Translation:

The conflict between the two regional states is our shame. As the president of Oromyia regional state I will give priority to activities that can bring peace and togetherness between the two regional states and I want to pass oath in front of you.

Similarly, the former president of Somali regional state Abdi Omer Ali gave a remarkable speech he said:

የሶማሌ ህዝብ ከሌሎች የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች ጋር በፍጹም ኢትዮጵያዊነት መንፈስ ለዘመናት የኖረ፤ ከአሮሞ ብሔር ጋር ደግሞ በተለየ ሁኔታ በቋንቋ፤ በባህል፤ በሃይማኖት በመተሳሰርና ድንበር በመጋራት ለዘመናት አብሮ የዘለቀ ነው። (ሪፖርተር፤ ሚያዚያ 3 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)።

Translation:

The people of the Somali regional state lived with other Ethiopians by absolute Ethiopianism spirit. And in special way it lives for centuries with Oromo ethnic group sharing language, culture and religion.

Abdi added ...

በሁለቱ ቤተሰብ ሕዝቦች መካከል የተከሰተውን ግጭት እንዲሁም ያስከተለውን ዕልቂትና መፈናቀል ማስቆም እየተቻለ ማስቆም ባለመቻላቸው ፀፀት እንደሆነባቸው ተናግረዋል። ይህንንም አሳፋሪ ጠባሳ ለመሻር እንደሚሰሩ ገልጸዋል። (ሪፖርተር፤ ሚያዚያ 3 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)።

Translation:

He felt guilty because he could not stop mass execution and forced displacement that happened between the two ethnic families while he could. But, he promised to do his best to avoid the shameful scare.

But, in this kind of sensitive stories it is recommended to incorporate the voice of independent scholars that did not belong to either of the two ethnic groups. Otherwise, some portion of readers might develop negative attitude towards the issue. And they tend to associate every of the coming incidents with ethnicity. Most importantly, news media outlets should stay awake and try to resist the pressure coming from the government.

In the same news, the restoration of peace between Ethiopia and Eritria enjoyed an ample of space. Esayas Afewerkei, the long term serving president of Eritria accepted and appreciated the move of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. Mentioned in the news article Esayas Afewerkei said...

ከኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ጋር ዳግም ለመገኛኘትና ለመስራት ዝግጁ ነን። (ሪፖርተር፤ ሚያዚያ 3 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)።

Translation:

We are ready to re-integrate and work with the people of Ethiopia.

However, rumors on the air showed that Eritrean ministry of communication Yemanhe Gebremesekel had a different stance. According to the witness of different media outlets, Yemanhe Gebremesekel still believed that unless Ethiopia took out the armies from Bademe (a place that served to be source of conflict between Ethiopia and Eritria) as per Allegers agreement there will not be peace between the two nations.

The other interviewee political analysts like Dade Desta were suspicious of Esayas Afewerkei stance. Dade Desta claimed...

ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዓብይ ያቀረቡትን የዕርቅ ጥሪ አደንቃለው ፣ ነገር ግን የኤርትራ መንግስት ተገማች የሆነ ባህሪ ስለሌለው ጥሪውን እንዴት እንደሚቀበለው በእርግጠኝነት መናገር አይቻልም። (ሪፖርተር፤ ሚያዚያ 3 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)።

Translation:

I appreciate the effort of Prime Minister Abiy, but, since the Eritrean government does not have a predictable nature it will not sure how it accept the peace accord.

Many others agreed with Dade Desta's argument. Still, there are no policy changes in the side of Eritria more than re-integrated with Ethiopia. For example in Eritria, at least there is no single competing political party; there is no free press that can criticize the government on power, there are no international non-governmental organizations...etc. Also, since Eritria stayed for long in sanction the economy is deteriorating from time to time. However, now it seems it is time for Eritria to wake up and run for democracy, human rights and economic developments. To achieve these all Eritria got a fabulous opportunity.

Despite, the conflict frame existed in the news story, ‘attribution of responsibility and ‘value remained the two dominant frames.

4.4 Who is Abiy Ahmed in the Eye’s of the Selected Articles?

It is obvious that Abiy Ahmed is prime minister of federal democratic republic of Ethiopia. But, the question looking above on this sub-section does have a range of answers. If we rephrase the question to, “how the selected media outlets frame stories related to Abiy Ahmed since his inauguration?” we can get a range of possible answers; because representation matters a lot. In the case of Abiy Ahmed, two sides of representation were noticed from the selected seventy-five (75) articles. On one hand, there were representations that characterized Abiy positively and in the highest possible tone. On the other hand, there were few representations that portrayed Abiy negatively.

Journalists are human beings. As a result, they have likes and dislikes. And even in some moments they cannot hide their emotion. In the case of the selected articles (N=75), journalists represented Abiy in different way. Abiy is one, but they make him many by attributed diverse personalities. This might be associated with the power of the media. Individual bias of journalists and the ideology of the selected media outlets contributed to the framing of stories. Also, side of viewing things could be a reason for the understanding and representation of certain issues. For example, if we see the numbers six (6) or nine (9) from two different angles we might develop two right answers. Six (6) can be nine (9) and nine (9) can be six (6) like the concept of constructivism point of view.

4.5 Discussion on News Source for the Selected Articles

For every of the selected news articles the common source was communication secretariat locates in office of prime minister. The researcher chose the secretariat due to the fact that this was the major formal source of information available to media outlets during this research period. Also, it was this secretariat that gave every bit of information concerned Abiy Ahmed. But, it was not without limitations. Basically, since it is politically organized office it tended to give only positive stories which displayed the government on power positively. And in way, the government could achieve getting political profit.

Credibility is the other point that can be raised while looking on the activities of the secretariat. Previously, the ruling collation EPRDF depended heavily on the works of government communication office which was directly accountable for the prime minister. Many international organizations working on human rights and press freedom condemned

the office for tapered the political spectrum and freedom of speech/press. Now, with some arrangements the secretariat has played its role. But, it is directly accountable for the prime minister like government communication office. Negusu Tilahun, the current secretariat of the office, has got a plenty of appreciation from several individuals. Mr. Negusu has had a session with different stakeholders on how to improve the information flow of the country. However, many others have a critic on the work of the secretariat. They argued, the former communication was vividly known as ‘an arm of the government’, but the activities of this one (refereeing to the secretariat) are more dangerous; because, in its face value, it looks neutral, yet not.

Moreover, the absence of strong national media council gave the only vanguard position to the secretariat. In countries where there are good press councils, the communication offices do not have an absolute free role. In a way, media outlets do their work by respecting the ethics of journalism.

Chapter Five

5. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This section of the study is aimed to wrap-up basic points mentioned in the previous chapters, gave summary, concluding remarks and recommendations. The section is classified into three sub-sections. The first sub-section is all about summary and of all major findings found from the content and frame analysis; while, the second sub-section would give the concluding remarks of the study. The third sub-section would also give few workable recommendations. In addition, it is a chapter that the researcher can check whether the research findings answered the research questions raised at the start of the research or not.

5.1 Summary

From the outset, the research seeks to find answer to the following three specific research objectives. These are:

1. To explore the portrayal and tone of the Prime minister in the selected media outlets;
2. To identify the dominant frames used by the selected media outlets to construct stories about the Prime Minister;
3. To explore whether there were similarities and /or differences between local and international media in portraying the Prime Minister.

The main objective of this study was to examine how local and international media represented the new Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. To achieve these objectives the researcher chose two categories of media institutions, local and international. Accordingly, three media institutions were selected deliberately. These are, one from state-owned (The Ethiopian Herald Newspaper), (The Reporter—Amharic) a private newspaper, both local newspapers, and Aljazeera (online) from international media. Aljazeera online represented the international media while Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic newspapers would give a representative image of local media. From these media outlets the researcher systematically chose seventy-five articles; thirteen (13) from Aljazeera, forty-six (46) from Ethiopian Herald and sixteen (16) from Amharic Reporter. Of the selected articles, fifty-three (53) were news articles and the remaining twenty-two (22) were editorials. So as to meet the objectives of the study, both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis were employed.

The time frame for this study is the period from March 2018 to December 2018, ten consecutive months since the appointment of the new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and the

subsequent time of his leadership was time frame for this study. This time is selected for the reason that it was the period of time that the Ethiopian political situation timely to see new chapter in peaceful power transition.

The study was also supported with the media representation and framing theories as its theoretical frameworks. Moreover, to examine the research from both micro and macro level perspectives the researcher used content and frame analysis methods respectively. Mentioned in the methodology part of this research, content analysis assisted to analyse discourses occurring at a unit micro level, whereas, frame analysis focuses on general trends macro perspectives. Content analysis came into play and gave a quantitative perspective to illustrate the data in a clear ways tableau and graph was used. In addition, the qualitative data that obtained from frame analysis was presented by descriptive narration.

After comprehensively examined the selected articles from three media outlets the researcher got a finding that six dominant frames were emerged. The list goes on value/morality frame, conflict frame, human interest frame, attribute frame, economic frame and attribution of responsibility frame. Besides, major attributions were emerged about Abiy Ahmed. These are ethnic, nationalist, change agent, peacemaker, open-minded, populist and indecisive. As sated earlier, comparisons were made based on local versus international media outlets. The findings from the study demonstrated that representations of Abiy Ahmed by the selected three media outlets are polarized. The international outlet Aljazeera-online mostly used value and conflict frames. Whereas, the two local newspapers Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic employed the other four frame types. But, both the international and local media outlets also shared some common frames.

This researcher look into how the three media outlets framed different stories related with Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and portrayed him. Accordingly, Aljazeera used the descriptor 'Oromo' in all of its selected news stories to define Abiy with the highest possible tone. Even, in some circumstances they employed the term 'Oromo' though the news addressed a different issue. But, Aljazeera did not mention the term 'Ethiopian' that much, while, the local outlets (Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic) used the descriptor 'Oromo' in a lowest scale. However, the local outlets tried to describe Abiy Ahmed as 'Ethiopian' than Aljazeera. Yet, the tone of the description was medium.

Articles selected from all the three media outlets employed the descriptors 'change agent' and 'open-minded' in the utmost tone. And their portrayal is too positive. Where, the attribution

‘populist’ was not used by Aljazeera in any of the selected thirteen news articles, but, it was used by local outlets in a very minimum tone. Similarly, the attribution ‘in-decisive’ was not used by Aljazeera and in a very minimum tone by local outlets. That was almost non-existent.

Different from all attributions, the descriptor ‘superficial’ was not employed by any of the selected three media outlets. But, this portrayal is located in the coding sheet attached in appendices part.

To sum-up, The Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed is single individual, but the selected media outlets make him many by attributed diverse personalities. This might be associated with the power of the media. Individual bias of journalists and the ideology of the selected media outlets contributed to the framing of stories. Also, side of viewing things could be a reason for the understanding and representation of certain issues.

5.2 Conclusions

This study has presented a broad-disciplinary perspective about the media representation of new Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, focused on how the premier was framed, portrayed and what tones were used by the local and international media. The study, which offers insight into how the Prime Minister was represented by the selected media institutions in comparison, is up-to-date phenomenon and the student-researcher is expected to show the existing media trend. The study also found essential to show perspectives of local and international media representation in reportage about the Prime Minister. It tries to identify what has been said by the selected media institutions and the implication of their reportage.

Media representation of the Prime Minister among the selected news media outlet was influenced and, in fact, restricted by the ideological, editorial approach, institutional arrangements and practices of journalism. As said in the beginning of this section, the second part of this sub-section of the research will deal about the comparison of results found from Aljazeera and local outlets (Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic) based on frames emerged at macro level.

The first sub-section of this chapter only answered questions related with portrayal with tone and the comparison among the media. That means, how the selected articles portrayed Abiy Ahmed and in what extent? It simply indicated manifestations directly related with Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in a given time frame. Not, discourses happened in a general frame.

Six dominant frames were emerged during the analysis of frames. These were: value/morality frame, conflict frame, human interest frame, attribute frame, economic frame and attribution of responsibility frame. Regarding the portrayal and tone of the selected articles, Aljazeera acclaimed the activities of Abiy in at most level and in a positive tone. Elements of sensationalizing are also indicated in their news stories. On the other hand, local outlets (Ethiopian Herald and Reporter Amharic) described Abiy Ahmed in a critical, but mostly in a positive way. This might be happened due to the fact that local outlets had good knowledge about Abiy than Aljazeera.

Moreover, the findings from frame analysis found out three new portrayals that did not included in coding sheet. These were democratic, fostering unity and suspicious. Especially, Aljazeera aggressively used these new frames. Again that might be due to the reason that international media outlets does not have a clear view of local understanding that happened somewhere in the globe.

Conceptualizing media representation as the central idea of news story and editorials can be taken as of the perspective to show the representation something in the media. In this study the Prime Minister is the main subject to be examined. Moreover, representation involves not only how identities are represented (or rather constructed) within the text but also how they are constructed in the processes of production and reception by people whose identities are also differentially marked in relation to such demographic factors. Thus, this study was tried to show the representation the Prime Minister by using representation theory amalgamated with framing theory as a roadmap. In many developing countries like Ethiopia the media are service as mouthpiece to political elites and them as vital actors in building frames and creating their own agenda.

The upcoming of the new Prime Minister with new approach and career, wide range of attention in social media, public sphere, and media were given for the Prime Minister. Why he got such extraordinary attention and coverage unlike, his counterpart former leaders? This question warrants considering this study to be conducted. Thus, this researcher found out from three perspectives (local-international, privately owned and stated owned) of as a manifestation to show the argument that media representation depends on the above mentioned factors which are, ideological, editorial approach, institutional arrangements and practices of journalism of the media institutions.

5.3 Recommendations

After gathering document through content and frame analysis, and following the above conclusions this researcher believed that some points can be forwarded as recommendations of the study. The research, hence, recommended these points to the fore.

Predominantly, this researcher recommended media outlets to give a required attention on their usage of sensitive terms like ethnicity. Otherwise, a misappropriate use of a single word have a potential to change the intended meaning of the story. Similarly, it would be recommended if media outlets write news stories objectively by including all sides of the story. Otherwise, the news becomes opinion and it lacks credibility. Also, vigorous and in-depth investigations of facts are important before making news. Checking, re-checking and counter-checking of facts are essential. To achieve this all, Schmuhl advised the importance of having *internal criticism*. He said that.

Having a neutral arbitrator within a news organization to investigate and to respond to complaints was first tried by the *Louisville Courier - Journal* in 1967: Since that time between forty and fifty newspapers have experimented with full time ombudsmen or with regular staff members who devote part of their time to evaluating news coverage and to handling the concerns of readers. These in-house critics are responsible for finding out whether a story is accurate, fair and balanced or whether it has weaknesses that give the public a false impression of the news (1989, p.9).

Similarly they can get plenty of advantageous if they receive feedback from their readers on a continuous basis. This one can be called *external criticism*.

Furthermore, it is recommended that, it would be better if media outlets avoid conclusive expressions. Especially, in the world of politics everything is on state of flux. Hence those public authorities who had a good name for some moments might dramatically change into unpleasant character and vis-à-vis. Into the bargain, media outlets should strive to be independent as much as possible. In fact, in the global village it is almost impossible for institutions to keep in an isolated form including media houses. This means in one way or another, sovereign states or business entities can put pressure on media outlets which at the end jeopardize the independency as well as the very existence of media houses. As a solution, media outlets should boost their credibility while at the same time keeping their commercial activity healthy, but, not in way tabloid media outlets has been doing.

Yet, it is hardly possible to give recommendation for media outlets to represent issues as per our interest.

Moreover, this researcher also has recommendations for further studies. In the first place, this researcher would like to recommend that it would be better if the coming researchers do many research works on the area, because, scholarly literatures written specifically on the subject were scanty. Especially, in Ethiopia it is hardly possible to find research works that can potentially answer how media outlets frame high public authorities. Moreover, future researchers can try the issue of the research with different methodology. Also, they could link this kind of study with other field of studies like political science, sociology, and linguistics. Furthermore, it will encourage future researchers to put their foot print on the research area.

Area for further research

Subject of the study Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and the issues related with him was examined particularly based on news and editorials. Both entities exclude contents like photographs, illustrations, charts, commentaries or letter to editor as units of analysis from the selected media outlets. As it is limited to written texts only, the research can be done with the analysis of the news feature, pictorial expression, and other features of the entire newspaper or online media. Moreover, further studies in other online outlets, newspapers and the broadcast media (Ethiopian Satellite Radio and Television, Oromia Broadcasting Network, Oromia Media Network, Voice of America etc..) can be done to see the media representation of the Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed.

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ኦቅሚን አሸናፊ፡፡ (ህዳር 19 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)፡፡ የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ውሎ ከፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች አመራሮች ጋር ፡፡ ሪፖርተር ጋዜጣ ገጽ.1 እና6፡፡

ዮሐንስ አንበርብር፡፡ (ሚያዚያ 3 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)፡፡ የዕርቅ-ሰላም ጅምር፡፡ ሪፖርተር ጋዜጣ ገጽ.1እና 10፡፡

Appendix A

Coding Scheme

This coding scheme is constructed prior to the content and frame analysis. Unit of analysis in this study are news reports and the editorials excluding contents like photographs, illustrations, charts, commentaries or letter to editor.

The following classifications are the core sorts that are considered in order to answer the research questions. Moreover, it shows the skeleton of the coding sheet to obtain maximum data.

1. Code number
2. Coder name
3. Type of Newspaper/online media
4. Issue date
5. Page the story appeared on
6. Type of story
7. Frame type
8. Sources
9. Theme of the story
10. Tone
11. Portrayal

Based on the above classification the operational definitions and the details of each category are discussed in the next sections.

Appendix B

Coding Sheet

1. Code Number: _____

2. Coder Name: _____

3. Type of Newspaper/online media:

Aljazeera	The Ethiopian Herald	Reporter Amharic

4. Issue Date (DD/MM/YYYY): _____

5. Page the story appeared on:

Front Page	Editorial	Inside Page	Back Side	Both (Editorial & Other Parts)

6. Type of Story:

News	Editorial	Both(News & Editorial)	Not appeared from the selected samples

7. Frame Type

Conflict Frame	
Human Interest Frame	
Economic Frame	
Morality Frame	
Attribute Frame	
Attribution of responsibility	
More than one frame, list them.	
Finally, chose the dominant frame	

8. Sources:

Abiy Ahmed himself	
Government officials	
Political analysts /experts	
Opposition party leaders/members	
Opinion leaders	
Ordinary community members	
International organizations	

Civic Society organizations	
Studies, reports, documents	
Anonymous sources	
No source	
If others, please mention here.	
Finally, chose the dominant source	

9. Theme of the Story:

Government promise	
Human/Democratic Rights	
Mal-Administration (Corruption, crime etc...)	
Economy and Development	
Politics	
National Interest	
Social Issues (Education, Health, etc. ...)	
Request(call)	
Questioning future fate	
If others, please mention here.	
Finally, chose the dominant theme.	

10. Tone

Positive	Negative	Neutral

11. Portrayal

Ethnic	
Nationalist	
Change agent	
Peacemaker	
Open-minded	
Populist	
Superficial	
Indecisive	
If others, please mention here.	
Finally, chose the dominant portrayal.	

Appendix C

Coding Guide

1. Code Number

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

2. Coder Name

Write the name of the person doing the coding.

3. Type of Newspaper/online media:

There are three purposively selected two newspapers and one online media namely, *The Ethiopian Herald*, *Reporter Amharic* and *Aljazeera*. Write the name of the newspaper from which you picked the story to code.

4. Issue Date

Just write the day, month and year (DD.MM.YYYY). Pay attention that if the date is written in both the Ethiopian and Gregorian calendar, you shall select the Gregorian. In case, the newspapers have used only Ethiopian calendar, change it into Gregorian, because it is used for the analysis and for further communication.

5. Page the story appeared

The researcher has divided it into five, Front page, editorial, inside page, back page and both editorial & other pages. It is helpful to know how the story is relevant and prioritized. If the story appears in either the above mentioned parts, follow the following guidelines:

- a) **Mark front page:** - if a story starts in the first page and ends any pages in the newspaper.
- b) **Mark editorial:** - if a story found in the editorial page.
- c) **Mark inside page:** - if a story found between second page and the last before the back page, expect editorial.
- d) **Mark back side:** - if a story starts on the back page and continues to any pages of the newspaper.
- e) **Mark both:** - if a story appears both in editorial and other parts of the newspaper.

N.B: this part excludes Aljazeera online because of its nature.

6. Type of stories

The researcher has limited the genres of the story to two, which are very relevant for the research. These are news and editorials.

- A. **News:** - these types of stories are straightforward, event oriented, fact-based and recent issues written by journalists. This can be identified based on its forms and facts that are included in the stories. As one of the difference of news from the others, the stories do not reflect the writer's views (Mulatu, 2017).
- B. **Editorial:** - This is presented in a different column and it usually appears either on the second or third pages of the newspapers, where the names of the editors and reporters are listed. It is a story that articulates the position of the newspapers with respect to the current policy or issues.
- C. **Both News and Editorial**
- D. Not appeared.

7. Types of Frame

Here are operational definitions for the sub-categories of the type frame used in the story. This part helps to identify the type of dominant frame used in the construction of the stories related to the prime minister.

- a) **Mark Conflict frame:** - if the story is about disagreements/conflicts which occurred among individuals, groups of people, organization or countries so as to attract audience's interest.
- b) **Mark Human interest frame:** - if the story is about a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem.
- c) **Mark Economic frame:** - if the story presents issues or events focusing on their economic consequences on an individual, group, institution, or country.
- d) **Mark Value/Morality frame:** - if the story central idea emphasizes moral, social prescriptions or religious contexts of an issue or event.
- e) **Mark Attribute frame:** - if the story demonstrates how news media emphasis on particular characteristics of an issue or a person can affect attitudes.
- f) **Mark Attribution of Responsibility frame:-** if the story central idea presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving either to the government or to an individual or to a group.

g) Mark and mention more than one frame used

h) Finally chose and mark the dominant frame

8. Sources: - refers to as name(s) of a person, group or organization that are quoted directly or indirectly in the story.

a) **Mark Abiy Ahmed himself:** - if the story used the prime minister either in the form of direct or indirect quotes as a source.

b) **Mark Government officials:** - if the story used any government officials as a source.

c) **Mark Political analysts /experts:** - if the story used political analysts or experts from abroad or local.

d) **Mark Opposition party leaders/members:-** if the story used any opposition party leaders or members of a given party.

e) **Mark Opinion leaders:** - if the story used any of opinion leaders like, public figures, religious leaders, etc...

f) **Mark ordinary community members:** - if the story used any ordinary community members as a source.

g) **Mark International Organizations:** - if the story used any of international organizations as a source. It could be media houses (BBC, AFP, Aljazeera etc.) or other globally known organizations like, UN, WB, UNICEF, IMF etc.

h) **Mark Civic society organizations:** - if the story used any of non-state, not-for-profits, voluntary entities formed by people in the social sphere that are separate from the state and the market.

i) **Mark Studies, reports, documents:** - if the story used any empirical studies, reports or documents as a source.

j) **Mark Anonymous Sources:** - if the story used lists which are not mentioned in the above generic sources.

k) **Mark No Source:** - if there is no clear source.

l) If others, please mention:-

m) Finally mark the dominant source used in the story.

9. Theme of the Story: - refers the main idea of the story.

The researcher used the following sub-categories in order to show which theme is dominant in the stories. The stories are associated with the prime minister`s promises or accomplishments in one or another way.

- a) **Mark Government promises:** - if the main theme of the story is about the government promises forwarded by the prime minister or his governance.
- b) **Mark Human/Democratic Rights:** - if the main theme of the story is dealing about human /democratic rights.
- c) **Mark Mal-Administration:** - if the main theme of the story is dealing about problems of government administration issues like, corruptions, crime ... etc.
- d) **Mark Economy and Development:** - if the main theme of the story is dealing about economy and development of the country.
- e) **Mark Politics:** - if the main theme of the story is dealing about the activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power.
- f) **Mark National Interest:** - if the main theme of the story is dealing about national interest of the country. It incorporates country's goals and ambitions whether economic, military, or cultural.
- g) **Mark Social Issues:** - if the main theme of the story is dealing about social issues like, health, education, housing etc.
- h) **Mark Request/call:** - if the main theme of the story is dealing about that the prime minister is asking politely or formally for something.
- i) **Mark Questioning future fate:** - if the main theme of the story is dealing about raising question about the future fate of the country.
- j) If others, please mention:-
- k) Finally mark the dominant theme of the story.

10. Tone of the stories: - refers to gist toward prime minister in the sentence/phrase or the whole story containing the mention.

- a) **Mark Positive:** - reports that cover news /editorial with a clearly positive attitude towards the prime minister.
- b) **Mark Negative:** - reports that cover news /editorial with a clearly negative attitude towards the prime minister.
- c) **Mark Neutral:** - reports with no clearly discernible attitude.

11. Portrayal: - refers how the prime minister is being portrayed in the stories.

- a) **Mark Ethnic:** - if the prime minister is portrayed by his ethnic background.
- b) **Mark Nationalist:** - if the prime minister is portrayed as nationalist or if there is the sense of Ethiopia in the story.

- c) **Mark Change agent:** - if the prime minister is portrayed as a person who advocates gradual reform rather than abolition or revolution.
- d) **Mark Peacemaker:** - if the prime minister is portrayed as the one who motivate, inspire followers to get things done or improve the way certain things are done, especially on peace and conciliation.
- e) **Mark Open-minded:-** if the prime minister is portrayed as a person who has willing to consider new ideas; unprejudiced.
- f) **Mark Populist:** - if the prime minister is portrayed as a person who strives to appeal to ordinary people who feel that their concerns are disregarded by established elite groups.
- g) **Mark Superficial:** - if the prime minister is portrayed as a person who has no real ability to lead politics/shallow leadership.
- h) **Mark Indecisive:** - if the prime minister is portrayed as a person who is not able to make decisions quickly and effectively.
- i) If others, please mention.
- j) Finally, chose the dominant portrayal.

Declaration

This thesis is the original work of the researcher who undersigned below and has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this study from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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