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**CONFLICT FRAMING OF MAIKADRA MASSACRE ON THE NATIONAL
AND REGIONAL TV STATIONS, IN THE CASE OF ETHIOPIAN
BROADCASTING CORPORATION AND AMHARA MEDIA
CORPORATION**

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**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and
Communication**

**Conflict framing of Maikadra Massacre on the national and regional
TV station, in the case of Ethiopian broadcasting corporation and
Amhara Media Corporation**

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Declaration

I DECLARED THAT THE THESIS IN TITLED CONFLICT FRAMING OF MAIKADRA MASSACRE ON THE NATIONAL AND REGIONAL TV STATIONS, IN THE CASE OF ETHIOPIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION AND AMHARA MEDIA CORPORATION IS MY WORK AND I HAVE DULY ACKNOWLEDGE THE SOURCES OF MATERIALS I HAVE USED .

With Great Regards
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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to portray how Ethiopian broadcasting corporation and Amhara Media Corporation frame the Maikadra massacre in the sampled period of November 10 2020 to Feburaruy 10 2021.

The selected period is purposely chosen because that, the period from November 10 2020, to Feburaruy 10, 2021, was the time when the conflict started and the news of the massacre was constantly covered by the two media houses. The samples Media are national and regional owner ships. In addition, the two media framed and cover the situation in different ways. To meet the main objectives of the study, basic research questions were prepared. These are; to what extent did the two media focus on reporting the massacre , how did the two media frame stories of conflict report on the sampled period, who was as a sourceof the news of the massacre in the stated time frame.

The study used qualitative content analysis to answer the research questions. The result of the study revealed that the conflict reporting in the selected media, specifically, EBC and AMECO were inclined to use one source and violate journalistic principles and ethics and also there Owen editorial policy. The study recommends that the two sampled media should provide information to the public by respecting there editorial policy and ethical values of the profession.

ACRONIMS

AMECO	Amhara Media Corporation
APPC	Australian Prevention Partnership Centre
EBC	Ethiopia Broadcasting Corporation
ENDF	Ethiopia National Defence Force
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IMS	International Media Support
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
CSR	Conflict Sensitive Reporting
EHRC	Ethiopian Human Rights Council
PCA	Peace Studies and Conflict Analyses
HIICR	Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

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CHAPTER ONE

1. BACKGROUND

1.1 Background of the study

Conflict in Ethiopia and throughout Africa turns into a custom. A nation's transition or change of government is not always easy to implement and undoubtedly causes some disruption. Political unrest and instability accompany the transitional process, which makes the populace feel insecure. Certain African nations are more likely than others to experience conflicts. By many measures, Ethiopia is a conflict-prone area. Berihu (2021, p.13)

There are many reasons why there are ongoing wars in Ethiopia. The nation's current troubles are primarily a result of distorted historical narratives and historical polarization. There is still the historical power rivalry between Amhara and Oromia and Tigray and Amhara. Even in modern Ethiopia, the long-standing conflict of dominance between these three ethnic groups remains unresolved and uncontrollable. Furthermore, political entrepreneurs are primarily to blame for Ethiopia's ongoing conflicts. The politician with a wide range of interests is fueling regional and national disputes. Not only do various political parties exist in Ethiopia, but there is also discord within the members of the ruling party. Berihu (2021, p 24)

According to Mulatu (2017,p.14) both intrastate and interstate wars have been detrimental to Ethiopia and its people. The Ethiopian people have directly suffered greatly from civil wars and other interstate conflicts, as well as from other conflicts and wars. One may use the recent war between Ethiopia and Eritrea as an illustration of an interstate conflict. Nearly 100,000 people perished on both sides of the Ethiopia-Eritrea border conflict that raged from 1998 to 2000 over a small, disputed territory known as "Badem." At different intensities, the two nations' proxy war and verbal battle have continued.

Currently, a number of internal disagreements have occasionally flared up to different extents. In structurally divided areas and districts, they are typically based on resource, border, ethnic, and religious rivalry (International Crisis Group - ICG, 2009; Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre iDMC, 2009).

Political violence and internal conflicts have increased in frequency across the nation, particularly since the current government took office in 1991. Ali & Falge (2006) report that since 1991, there have been approximately 70 internal conflicts in three different regions, and the effects of these wars have been felt by the populace. Additionally, Williams (2011) reported 35 non-state armed confrontations in Ethiopia that are thought to have resulted in over 4,000 deaths between 1990 and 2010. Police, for their part, reported 28 distinct internal confrontations within the course of a single year in 2009. Mulatu (2017 p.114)

According to Mulunesh (2019,p.67),ethnic conflicts are currently Ethiopia's biggest problem, closely followed by public discontent, particularly since 2016. These issues have led to the destruction of infrastructure, the loss of resources, including human life, and the forced relocation of millions of people within the country. Ethiopia experienced the largest number of new internal displacements linked to war worldwide in 2018, according to the Global Report on Internal Displacement (2019, p. 14.)The crisis in the nation has been getting worse gradually since 2016, but this year saw a sharp increase in conflict and inter communal violence that stretched to new areas and resulted in nearly 2.9 million additional displacements four times as many as in 2017.

According to Mulatu (2017, p, 12) Ethnic disputes resulted in killings, relocation, and instability in many sections of the country, as the various reports and studies mentioned above demonstrate. Interethnic tensions and confrontations have occasionally persisted, either in a latent or an apparent form. They have also appeared out of nowhere. For instance, the nation experienced a difficult period in 2016 as a result of ethnic violence, which claimed many lives in the Amhara and Oromia regions.

According to Semir (2019, p. 6), politicians' nationalism and pan-Ethiopian ambitions have resulted in several conflicts in Ethiopia during the past 50 years. With nationalism emerging as the primary political ideology of the nation during the previous 25 years, in particular, conflict has become a recurring challenge for the EPRDF.

The multinational state project of the EPRDF also contributed to the intensification of an array of nationalist mobilizations, both in the ethnic and Ethiopian nationalist camps. Thus ethnic federalism both empowered and disempowered societies in the country which leads to regular conflict in the last thirty years. Behind every battle, there were various actors with hidden agendas, supported by either external or internal forces with the goal of dividing Ethiopia.

The Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), which the Tigrain Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) planted the explosive bombs that are still visible around the nation today, took power in 1991 and controlled Ethiopia for 27 years. Hence the forces of reforms came to power in 2018 with the resignation of Prime Minister Haile Maryam Desaln. The newly appointed Prime Minister has undertaken deep rooted political, economic and social reforms that match to radical changes. The reforms has cracked the tip of the rice berg of the TPLF leadership that ruled for more than two decades. The act has frustrated the TPLF an -turned opposition to the ongoing reforms by the new governance. Semir (2019, p.27) described the interests of TPLF as it didn_t want even to see the transition to happen at the expense of their corrupt leaders. The TPLF left the palace of Arat Killo and confined itself to Mekele it strengthened its power base for its objective of disturbing the new administration. It challenged the new government by opposing the reform measures it has been undertaking. More than that, it attacked the North Command in 2020.

After the outbreak of the war on November 3 2020 and when TPLF forces defeated in some area of the battle ground the force of the TPLF targeting on Amhara ethnic community who were not armed to protect themselves were brutally massacred in Wolkit, Humera, and Maikadra.

The TPLF equipped, and trained the Tigray youth wing; Samira, which carried out the horrific killing known as the Maikadra Massacre. Thousands of people were slain, tortured, and other human rights violations were carried out, with a particular focus on Amhara ethnic communities in Maykadra. These atrocities were made public by national and international media outlets.

According to EHRC investigation (2020). On November 9–10, 2020, a day before TPLF forces withdrew from the town due to Ethiopian Federal troops' push into "western Tigray," a group linked with the TPLF called Samri carried out the slaughter in Miakdara. The Samri group massacred civilian ethnic Amhara people in Maikadra in a barbaric manner as payback, according to the preliminary assessment of the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC, 2020). Over 600 ethnic Amharas were murdered,

According to Mulatu (2017, p.124) despite the Ethiopian Constitution guaranteeing citizens the universal and fundamental human right to freedom of expression, journalists in the nation face terror when they attempt to use this right, particularly while covering internal disputes.

The degree of anxiety experienced by journalists and their subsequent self-censorship on matters related to internal conflicts, particularly ethnic conflicts, have been frequently and possibly remarkably documented. The general lack of coverage of internal problems by newspapers and their reliance on outside news agencies may be an indication of fear and self-censorship among journalists. The media seems to have moved from self-censorship to silence as a result of this circumstance.

This phenomenon severely restricts society's ability to obtain unbiased news on internal issues via the media. Because newspapers withhold some of the more delicate instances from the public, it also casts doubt on the media's ability to support freedom of expression.

According to Aemere (2015), "Conflict stories should not be viewed as simple as the reporting of other issues because Ethiopian media works in complex situations." In order to prevent escalating tensions and causing further bloodshed, reporting on conflicts demands a deeper level of analytical understanding and expertise. The way the dispute is framed by the media may be important.

According to Mulatu (2017.p, 24) These core responsibilities of the media could be carried out in accordance with the journalists and media environment in a particular nation: One approach to see how journalists cover cases, such internal disagreements, is from the perspective that this is the job of the media. In the case of Ethiopia, the media is generally criticized for being sensational, polarized, less professional, and displaying intolerance for opposing viewpoints (Parmelee, 1999; Bonsa, 2002; Rahmato & Ayenew, 2004; Kemal, 2004; Lulie, 2008; Seifu, 2008; Media Sustainable Index, 2009; Price, Marashi, & Stremlau, 2009; Timothewos, 2010; Skjerdal, 2012; Beyene, 2012; Gudeta, 2012),. The Ethiopian media, according to Yonas (2008), the Media Sustainable Index (2009), Teshome (2009), Skjerdal & Lulie (2009), Pen International, CPJ, & Freedom Now (2013), Meshesha (2014), and others, is also extremely pressurized, self-censored, and focused on the city. Studies have also shown that political pressures, especially those from the government, and the market are challenging the media, which is delaying their expansion (Parmelee, 1999; Mekuria, Messele, & Gebre-Hiwot, 2003; Rahmato & Ayenew, 2004; Girmay, 2005; Seifu, 2008)

Therefore In light of the above argumentation the journalist of Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and Amhara Media Corporation has reported the war in Tigray regions of Ethiopia between TPLF forces and national army of the FDRE in general and the Maikadra massacre in particular from November 10/2020 to February 10 /2021. Therefore, in addition to the dominating sources in their framing of the conflict, the study attempts to identify and assess how the selected media framed and reported the massacre during the sampled period.

1.2 statement of the problem

People all throughout the world now have easier access to the media. It is difficult to get through a full day without media. They establish a close connection. According to Olugbenga (2017,p.25) during times of conflict, the media can serve as a catalyst for resolving conflicts and promoting peace within society.

Mulatu (2017, p.22) elaborated that certain gaps exist in the coverage of Ethiopian internal conflicts by the media. In Ethiopia's case, these effects could be more severe and complex. Conflict in Ethiopia now stems from ethnicity. From this perspective, one of the important responsibilities of journalists employed by Ethiopian media is covering ethnic strife.

Since Ethiopia is one of the conflict-affected countries, with ideological, religious, regional, ethno linguistic and sociological divisions, it is crucial to look at how the media covers and reports on conflicts. As a result, conflict reporting needs to be a top priority for academics and researchers Adisu, (2019, p.8). The media may have been biased in favor of one group during times of upheaval and conflict. According to Chong (2017), prejudice is the employment of one's own personal beliefs by reporters in place of the truth, which can result in falsehoods. While journalists and media organizations should ideally convey the facts without bias, the reality on the ground is often quite different.

Some research on conflict reporting in Ethiopian media is limited in scope and quantity, in addition to being biased. Mulatu (2017,p.35) examined the question of why silence in her doctoral thesis. Ethiopian newspapers that report on internal conflict are rare. Examining how internal conflicts were covered in Addis Admas, Reporter, The Daily Monitor, and The Ethiopian Herald, among other Ethiopian local

Newspapers, between 2005 and 2013, the study comes to the conclusion that these publications have a tendency to downplay internal problems. In addition, some authors like Getnet (2019) examine how Ethiopian Herald and reporter newspapers frame ethnic conflict in the media. Moreover, his research showed that despite their best efforts, the chosen publications are unable to provide their readers with reliable information.

Newspapers and state-owned public media were sampled in the aforementioned studies, which also focused on other internal conflicts that happened within Ethiopia. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, not much research has been done on the ongoing dispute between the federal government and TPLF. A study that focuses on reporting massacres that occurred during the period of low enforcement operation between Ethiopia's federal democratic republic government and Tigrian forces does not now exist.

Taking a closer look at these issues helps to close some of the gaps in the body of research on news outlets' internal conflict reporting practices. An essential and valuable contribution that can serve as a standard for future study is to examine the conflict reporting practices of the chosen news organizations.

In light of the above argumentation the researcher was able to understand from the studies that the media in Ethiopia pay little attention to the internal conflicts that occur in the country. Based on this, this study assesses how the two selected media reported on the Maikadra massacre. This study also tries to carry out organized and wide-ranging analysis about how the selected media EBC AND AMECO were framing the massacre from November 10/2020 to February 10 /2021.

Hence, analyzing these concerns tried to fill up some of the gaps in the literature focused on the way of framing and the type of framing applied by the two media pertaining to the massacre in Maikadra

So the researcher will provide a starting point for those who will do further research on the massacre and will have basic and important contribution and uses as a bench mark for another researcher on internal conflict news coverage.

1.3 Objective of the research

1.3.1 General objective

The General objective of this study is to assess news reported by the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and Amhara Media Corporation regarding to Maikadra Massacre.

1.3.2 Specific Objective

1. To investigate the news content of the Ethiopian broadcasting corporation and Amhara media corporation to escalate or deescalate the massacre
2. To analyze news sources used in concerning Maikadra massacre
3. To discuss the type of frames the two media outlets have used in presenting to the audience about the Maikadra massacre
4. To pin point the major weakness observed in the reports of the media outlets under the study

1.4 Research questions

1. How did EBC and AMECO have reported the news of Maikadra massacre?
2. What sources of data used by the two media houses in the making of the news stories of Maikadra massacre?
3. How was the tone of the news report presented by the media houses under the study?
4. What type of frames was frequently used by EBC and AMECO reporters while covering the story of Maikadra massacre?

1.5 Significance of the study

Conflict arose between the Ethiopian Federal Government and the Tigray Regional State, resulting in the Maykadera massacre. Since this war started, both domestic and foreign media have covered it in great detail and from a variety of angles. Therefore, it's arguable and potentially worth looking into how the media, and particularly the media with an Ethiopian basis, presented and covered the story. The occurrence happened recently, which creates a research gap as well. With the power to alter viewer views, broadcast media especially television is a more advantageous medium in the current world. The primary goal of this research is to shed light on how the media frames the occurrence and sets the agenda for the slaughter in order to influence how the public perceives the current internal armed conflict.

The reporting on the Maikadra masscre by Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and Amhara Media Corporation has been the main subject of this study. Through news content analysis, the study has critically examined and compared its main weaknesses, understanding that there was a loss of professional independence to pull journalists away from professional standards and ethics. Additionally, the study is very beneficial to the two media outlets, students studying journalism, scholars studying media war and peace.

Therefore, this work is crucial to researchers who are doing research about the Maikadra massacre and local media news coverage. It also an initial docment for the selected media to examine the limitations they have in reporting ongoing domestic conflicts.and reported the massacre in terms of their editorial policy and see their gaps will be a starting point for them to improve for the future.

In addition, the study will provide valuable information to decision-makers in the media and dispute resolution sectors.

1.6 Scope of the study

Presently more than 24 commercial and 11 public TV stations are legally registered in Ethiopia. Internationally more than 30 thousand TV stations are actively engaged in news productions on daily basis. From those local and international media perspective Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and Amhara Media Corporation were one of public Medias in Ethiopia. Both media outlets were reported the stories of the Maikadra massacre that took place from November 10/2020 up to February 10/2021.

This study mainly focused on analyzing the content of the news coverage, in order to find out the framing of the above mentioned media news channels and their role during the massacre. In this study, the news broadcasted by the two media during in there prime time news hour were used for the study.

The sampled data was thoroughly examined which was gathered from Amharic news broadcasts on the official EBC and AMECO Youtube pages. The examination was restricted to news reports that were aired in Amharic on EBC and AMECO over the period of November 10, 2020, to February 10, 2021. Nearly all of the news broadcasts from the official YouTube pages of the two television networks were downloaded, and then examined.

1.7 Limitation of the study

This study has some limitations. One of these limitations is the lack of local literatures on Maikadra massacre. The other limitation is that the two media houses have not uploaded all news reports about the massacre in their YouTube channels. Another limitation was that the exact time of some news reports was not clearly mentioned and it is difficult to use as sample news.

1.8 Organization of the Study

There are five chapters in the research structure. The study was introduced in Chapter One, which also provided background information on the armed conflict in the nation, the need for the study, the Study's objectives, the study's significance, its scope, its limitations, and the problem statement. The second chapter addressed theoretical frameworks and literature reviews. The study's research technique was covered in Chapter 3. It was primarily concerned with outlining the instruments for collecting and analyzing data. The study's data analysis and presentation were covered in Chapter 4. The study was concluded and recommendations were made in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Literature review

This chapter examines the available literature and studies that have been previously carried out with regard to media framing and conflict reporting. It also examines related literature and documents related to the conflict, and framing.

2.1 Understanding conflict

Conflict does not have a similar, widely recognized definition. Conflict arises when two or more people or groups try to pursue objectives that they feel they cannot agree upon (Howard, 2004, p. 6). The presumption that peaceful opportunities to share interests and ambitions are scarce renders conflict inevitable, according to this viewpoint. For information on important topics impacting their lives, the public still primarily turns to the media. However, mainstream media not only disseminates information but also changes public perception of issues; it is clear that the media has the ability to affect public opinion and conduct with respect to issues. This is a point that communication researchers are highlighting more constantly.

The public looks to the media, ideally, to be a non-governmental source of trustworthy, accurate, and objective news on domestic and global issues. But all too frequently, it turns out that the mainstream media is a mouthpiece for special interest groups. In the end, topics are presented in a way that appeals to specific interest groups, and the mainstream media supports the interests of particular interest groups Yang & Ishak (2012, p. 69).

According to Hocker and Wilmot (1985, p. 129), conflict can be defined as "an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce rewards, and interference from other parties in achieving their goals" when viewed through the lens of communication. There are many ways to understand conflict.

For instance, Jeong (2008,p.17) claims that conflict is a timeless phenomenon that is unlikely to cease or vanish. The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIC 2005, p. 2) defined conflict as "the clashing of interests (positional differences) on national values of some duration and Magnitude between, at least, two parties (organized groups, states, groups of states, organizations) that are determined to pursue their interests and win their cases"

Peace studies and conflict analyses (PCA, 2021) define conflict as tensions resulting from real or perceived disparities in interests between individuals, groups, organizations, or society. According to PCA, conflicts arise when individuals or groups attempt to accomplish goals they believe are incompatible or when some people support change while others are opposed to it.

According to Jeong (2008 p. 18), the conflict factors are neither beneficial nor negative. If conflict isn't seen as inherently good or evil, then it's crucial to understand what circumstances make a conflict process productive or harmful. Furthermore, an explanation of how conflicts are involved in diverse contexts is provided by Jeong (2008, p. 18) There are political, ethical, and psychological components to every dispute. The social and organizational dynamics of conflict are rooted in identity and power dynamics.

According to Boulding, (1962: 5, cited in Jeong 2008, p. 5) this issue is the result of conflicts over scarce status, power, and resources as well as values. In the absence of agreed rules confirming their equal distribution, efforts to obtain desired objects have become more intense.

According to Hamelink (2011), conflicts play a crucial role in people's lives, and the media actively participates in all disputes. People get their information from the media in order to be aware of global events. Because of what they do, the mass media are essential to every segment of society. The media is widely acknowledged for providing important information that serves as the basis for important decisions made in various civilizations.

Rasaq (2012.p, 6) conflicts move through several phases before being resolved or peace building occurs. A latent desire, objective, or necessity is one that is likely different among individuals or groups.

Conflict shifts to the initial stages of emergence when an activating Phenomenon occurs. The emerging step could be followed by an unhealthy escalation or by a settlement or resolution. Should the dispute go toward resolution or settlement? Instead, if the dispute gets out of hand, it can come to a standstill, which would be bad for all parties. The resolution or peace building step comes when the parties have finally decided and come to an agreement. Once the disputing parties reach this point, the process of making amends and repairing damages continues.

Rasaq (2012,p7) Each dispute is distinct. Each conflict's unique circumstances must be considered while implementing any general advice stated in this article. The involvement of the media, especially local media, is evident in conflict resolution or, at minimum, in transitioning from a violent to a non- violent phase.

2.2 Categories of Conflict

Six basic conflict categories are described by Hussein and Al-Mamary (2019,p,10) The first one is intrapersonal conflict, when their goals or aspirations collide or when they are faced with difficult choices that make it difficult to decide between opposing objectives. The second type of conflict is interpersonal, which typically occurs at the organizational level as a result of competing goals and involves two or more people. Intragroup conflict is the third type of conflict that arises when members of a group pursue objectives that are different from those of other groups in the organization. Conflict between groups inside an organization that are vying for the same objectives is called intergroup conflict, and it comes in fourth. Moreover, the latter two categories are recognized as intra-organizational and inter-organizational conflict. Ethnic strife is the main subject of this essay.

According to Mulatu (2017, p. 10) ethnicity or the escalation of ethnic characteristics is what fuels ethnic conflicts. These wars are between states, tribes, clans, or ethnic groupings, all of which are vying for control over one another. Cordell and Wolf (2010) state that when at least one group defines its goals exclusively in terms of ethnicity, ethnic variance acts as the point of contention (as reported in Williams, 2015, p.147).

According to Nguyen (2010), as cited in Williams, (2015, p. 147) claims that there is a considerable lot of disagreement among academics regarding the reasons for ethnic conflict. Prominent theories that have been put forth include primordialism, constructivism, and instrumentalism. ethnic conflict is believed to be caused by religious or other communal minorities opposing governments in an attempt to bring about significant status changes. These theories offer comprehensive insights into the justifications for the presumptions that underlie ethnic conflict.

Diverse academics present varying viewpoints regarding racial strife. Ethnic conflict is defined as "any ongoing violent conflict in which national, ethnic, and minority groups challenge the government for radical changes in administration, equal opportunities, and benefits" Mohammadzadeh, (2016, p. 157).

Similarly, ethnic conflict is defined by Dagnachew (2018, p. 71–72) as a scenario in which ethnic distinction serves as the main line of confrontation and at least one party bases its goals on ethnic grounds. Dagnachew goes on to say that there are many ways that ethnic conflicts can appear, whether they are overt or hidden, violent or not. But ethnic conflict begins when one side blames ethnic identity for their unhappiness, saying that their unique ethnic identity keeps them from achieving their goals, obtaining equal rights, or having their requests fulfilled.

Throughout history, ethnic conflicts have been a part of international politics Esman, (2004, pp. 41-44). Based on the above categories, the conflict arises between the federal government and the TPLF forces, which has spread to the Afar and Amhara regions in addition to the Tigray region, and can be viewed as an intra-group conflict. Since the conflict arises due to a political struggle that presents a different desired goal between two groups, the researcher assigned the conflict to this category.

2.3 Conflict in Ethiopia

Throughout its modern history, Ethiopia has seen both intrastate and interstate conflicts of various intensities, marking the country's ubiquitous presence of war, conflict, violence, and tension (Zartman, 1993; B. Zewdie, 2002; UCPD, 20154). Factors including external aggression, sovereignty and boundary disputes, geopolitical dynamics in the Horn of Africa, and internal political instability have all contributed to these crises Mulatu,(2017, p.8). A number of variables, including the effects of Italian colonialism, decolonization, Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the politicization of tribal identity by shrewd politicians, have been identified by scholars as contributing to Ethiopia's instability over the past fifty years Belesty.A, (2021, p.25; Smir, (2019, p.13). The EPRDF, led by the TPLF, and other political factions have ethnic differences, and disputes still exist despite the early 1990s implementation of ethnic federalism Smir (2019, p.13).

The main causes of conflicts in Ethiopia are identified as identity-based issues, religious conflicts, ethnic confrontations, and disputes over natural resources Mulat (2017, p.4). Despite regional differences in the origins, character, and complexity of disputes, violent ethnic conflicts are common throughout Ethiopia.

The severity of ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia is demonstrated by the establishment of offices by the

Ministry of Federal Affairs (MoFA) to monitor conflict-sensitive areas at the Woreda level (MoFA,

2014). Ethnic tensions still exist; they frequently explode violently and unstably, as the clashes in the Amhara and Oromia areas in 2016 shown Mulatu (2017, p. 13).

Thus, ethnic conflicts are currently Ethiopia's biggest problem, closely followed by public

Discontent, particularly since 2016. These issues have led to the destruction of infrastructure, the loss of resources, including human life, and the forced relocation of millions of people within the country. Ethiopia had the most number of new internal displacements in 2019, according to the Global Report on Internal Displacement. Mulunesh (2019,P, 67)

In 2016, there were violent occurrences in the Amhara region, especially related to administrative problems in the Wolkayt district. Mulatu (2018, p.13). Ethiopia's main groups' ethnic disparities were the driving force behind these wars, which still cause tensions and mistrust across the country (Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index - BTI, (2016, p. 15).

Conflicts in Ethiopia are also shaped by struggles for national power and regional dominance, with groups fighting against the current government and possessing well-armed and organized structures Mulatu. (2018,p.13).

Therefore, with Prime Minister Haile Maryam Desalgn's departure in 2018, the forces of change gained control. That recently chosen prime minister has implemented profound political, economic, and social reforms that are comparable to drastic shifts. The TPLF leadership, which governed for more than 20 years, has had its iceberg fractured by the reforms. The TPLF, which was previously in favor of the ongoing reforms by the new government, is now disappointed by the measure. The TPLF's aims were explained by Semir (2019, p. 27), who stated that the organization didn't want the transition to occur at the price of their dishonest leaders.

The TPLF left the supreme power and confined itself to Mekelle; it strengthened its power for its objective of disturbing the country and re -gain its power by challenged the new government by opposing the reform measures it has been undertaking. More than that, it attacked the North Command in 2020 . so the conflict b/n the federal goverement of ethiopian and TPLF are categorized as National Power \ Regional Predominance (NP\RP), reflecting the intertwined nature of political and regional aspirations.

2.4 The role of media in conflict situations

The media plays many roles in human lives. when the media functions properly as information provider and interpreter, as watchdog, as gatekeeper, as policy maker, as diplomat, as peace promoter and as bridge builder; it has constructive roles. Bratic and Schirch, (2007, p. 9) Media play different roles in conflict situations.

In the current disputes, the media is involved and may even play an independent role. The media frequently has a significant impact by actively participating in the crisis or by helping to eliminate violence and promote peace, as demonstrated by Puddephat (2006,p5). In times of violence, the media has reliably reported events, according to Okunna (2004). Along with being impartial and avoiding sensationalism, media must also give the people pertinent information. In addition, the public (ideally) views the media as a non-governmental entity that offers trustworthy, accurate, and unbiased information on domestic and international issues, as well as one that may mediate conflicts by understanding the political and background context of the issue at hand and working to bring about peace.

According to a different viewpoint, the mainstream media supports the goals of particular interest groups and ultimately frames topics to appeal to those groups Yang & Ishak (2012, p. 69). The United States Institute of Peace's Yll Bajraktari, et al. (2007,) explanation of the media's role in the war was given. It has a negative aspect in addition to its favorable aspects.

According to Gilboa, (2009,p 16.) the majority of studies on media and conflict concentrate on how the media exacerbates violence. The real or potential contributions of the media to peacemaking and conflict resolution are rarely the subject of research. As a matter of fact, radio and television in particular contributed to the incitement of bloodshed and conflict in nations like Rwanda and Bosnia. Conflict stories abound in the news media. Conflicts by their vary nature get a lot of media interest.

Mulatu (2018, p.37) identifies several methods to characterize the close relationship between conflict and the media. The media covers conflicts from the reader's cognitive, emotional, and social viewpoints because, on the one hand, they want to represent readers' interests. This is why they report on conflicts from the reader's point of view van Dijk (1988, p. 123). In his view, journalists cover conflicts not just to inform readers but also, in one way or another, to share people's worries, emotions, and feelings while highlighting the social repercussions and potential solutions.

Additionally, according to Hamelink (2011, p.39), people's increased interest in conflict issues is directly tied to negative news that could have an influence on their life and that they must be aware of conflict in order to survive.

The media is frequently a major factor in today's conflicts. In essence, they can play one of two opposing roles. The paper continues with a more thorough description of these functions. This phrase is used to characterize the mass media: "Either the media stays independent and out of the conflict, thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence, or takes an active part in the conflict and has responsibility for increased violence" (voice of war, 2006 p,4).

According to Das, K., & Pegu, U. K. (2009,p.5) broadcast media in particular is playing a different role in war and crisis situations. A growing number of media professionals are creating shows that aim to contribute to the answer, no longer content to just remain independent outside observers. The rationale for this strategy is that it would need taking a stand in a dispute that is already in progress. Conflicts require a resolution that tackles the fundamental problems, which means weighing the relative merits of the competing claims and working toward a solution. By providing the public with the most extensive coverage, the media can significantly contribute to preventing the development of war.

2.4.1. Positive Role

The media can serve as a catalyst to move a country from conflict to peace, according to Mulatu. (2018,p.46). It can also be a destructive driver of conflict. Several academics have presented a compelling argument for how, when utilized wisely, the media can promote peace. For instance, Bratic & Schirch (2007, p. 10) and Wolfsfeld (2004 p.11) argue that the media can promote an environment that is favorable to political discussion and compromise.

The media fulfills various constructive roles in our lives, such as being an information provider, interpreter, watchdog, gatekeeper, policymaker, diplomat, peace promoter, and bridge builder Bratic & Schirch(2007, p.9). Proper utilization of the media leads to courageous journalism, reflecting its positive role. Particularly in conflict situations, the media has a vital responsibility to disseminate accurate and balanced information to the audience while also promoting peace initiatives related to the conflict

As a result, the traditional societal roles of journalism are seen as important in supporting the transition to a stable and democratic society. Diverse, multiple voices are important for free speech in democracy and, equally, for a broad understanding of knowledge and autonomy. The media may play a role specifically in supporting the peace process, allowing for participation, dialogue, and reconciliation and strengthening civil society. (Kristin Orgeret and William Tayeewa (.2016, p15)

The media is essential in post-conflict cultures for addressing identity concerns and for conveying the story to the rest of the world. Galtung (1997,P.34) highlights the significance of reconciliation to the processes that a conflict-affected civilization finally has to go through. One approach to deal with the present is, in Lederach's words, "to address, integrate and embrace the painful past and the necessary shared future as a means of dealing with present". Creating enduring bonds between the rivals is another. William and Kristin ,(2016, p, 16)

In extensive phenomena William Tayeewa and Kristin Orgeret (eds.), (2016, 16.) elaborate the media may offer a platform for both the offenders and the victims of human rights violations to tell their stories, which could lead to a deeper knowledge of the past. promote genuine reconciliation and

Healing.. Visual imagery is important because it has the ability to help us remember past battles and wars as well as help us forget them.

2.4.2 Negative Role

According to Gera (2021, p.22), the media's negative influence reflects its darker side, encouraging damaging practices and intensifying conflict situations while disguising actions for peace and reconciliation. The 1994 Rwandan genocide is often cited by academics as an example of the detrimental influence of the media.

According to Chebii (2014), the media has been accused of inciting conflict. Research has indicated that the media may incite violence, weaken the manifestation of emerging conflicts, and suspend coverage of conflicts. As a result, African nations have been involved in a number of armed conflicts, with the media playing a major role in some of them. The Rwandese Radio- Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTL) has been identified as one example of how the media has incited conflict by motivating Hutu youth to eradicate the Tutsi by referring to them as "cockroaches" that must be eradicated in order to bring about peace in Rwanda. As a result, over 800,000 Tutsis were

massacred and many more people were forced to flee their homes. Conflict escalation role of the media was recently exhibited in the Arab spring in North Africa and in the Middle East, which led to the overthrow of Tunisian, Libyan, Egyptian and Yemeni governments through mass action engineered by mainly the social media. In the Central African Republic, hate speech circulated through the media and targeted attacks in 2013 were aggravating conflicts, with no precedent, a sectarian climate that culminated in the dislocation of approximately one million people and 75,000 refugees (Chebii, 2014).

The media's aggravating role in violence was also demonstrated in Ethiopia, according to Adisu (2019), who also noted that in the worst case, the government's struggles to successfully control non-governmental information flows and produce its own propaganda have resulted in violent outcomes. Adisu further noted that in the aftermath of the 2005 elections, the media's intense polarization both exacerbated an already mild condition and played a significant role in aggravating the violence (Adisu, 20

2.5. News Media and Conflict Coverage

Puddephatt (2006, p.5) asserts that conflict is one of the features that make the modern world unique. Numerous conflicts have broken out after the end of the Cold War, leaving millions of people dead as well as causing untold pain and relocation. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) in the previous ten years alone, more than two million children have perished in war, leaving over a million as orphans, and more than six million seriously maimed or disabled. Since the conclusion of the Cold War, 59 "major" armed conflicts defined as conflicts involving more than 1,000 battle-related deaths in a single year have been documented. Most of these wars have been internal to the states. This has led to the effective collapse of many states plagued by protracted conflicts or their continued existence in a highly precarious situation. IMS (2006, p.5) Throughout the 20th century, the media has played a critical role in crisis circumstances by disseminating hate speech and inciting war, but it has also been utilized increasingly to further humanitarian and peace-building objectives. Hieber (2001, p.9). The media is a powerful tool that is employed everywhere, both for peaceful and military purposes. Historical examples include the Nazi propaganda that dominated radio during the radio era, and contemporary instances include Serbian opposition radio's usage of the Internet (Hieber, 2001; Bratic, 2006). According to journalism principles, it is the primary duty of reporters to choose and portray stories

in a way that is meant for public consumption. According to researchers like Galtung (2000), Lynch & McGoldrick (2005), and Reuben (2009), news story framing and language selection during reporting can be used to study how the media affects conflicts. Readers' participation with conflicts can be greatly impacted by the language employed, the way stories are framed, and the tone in which the media chooses to present them. Mulatu. (2017, p. 21) A number of armed conflicts in African nations have included the media. The media once encouraged Hutu youth to eradicate Tutsis by calling them "cockroaches" that needed to be eradicated for the sake of peace. This is one example of how the media incited violence. Rwandese Radio-Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) was one example of this. Due to this false information, nearly 800,000 Tutsis were slaughtered and many more were displaced (Chebii, 2014, p.16).

2.6 Conflict sensitive reporting

According to Razaq (2012 p.4) A kind of journalism that focuses on restoration of peace rather than promoting violence. It is a brand of journalism that gives recognition to people who condemn violence. Conflict sensitive journalism was developed from the 1970 Johan Galtung's Peace Journalism initiatives propounded to condemn the traditional journalism penchant for promotion and sensationalism of conflict and war. Howard (2003) describes A conflict sensitive journalist applies conflict analysis and searches for new voices and new ideas about the conflict. He or she reports on who is trying to resolve the conflict, looks closely at all sides, and reports on how other conflicts were resolved. A conflict sensitive journalist takes no sides, but is engaged in the search for solutions. Conflict sensitive journalists choose their words carefully. Razaq (2012 p.5) Conflict sensitive journalism also abhors only reporting what divides the parties in a conflict as well as avoid the use of words like 'terrorist', 'extremist' or 'fanatic'. These languages portray journalists as taking sides and making the other side seem impossible to negotiate with, which directly or indirectly prolong the conflict. In that wise, a journalist that is conflict sensitive will identify and label people what they are called either before the emergence of the conflict or during the conflict. According to van Dijk (1988, p. 123), journalists report on conflict not just to educate readers but also to portray the thoughts, feelings, and anxieties of the populace as well as to draw attention to potential solutions and societal repercussions. Similarly, people's increased interest in conflict situations is frequently fueled by their need to keep informed about "bad news" that could have an impact on their survival, according to Hamelink (2011, p. 39). As a result, in order to

properly support peacebuilding initiatives, journalists need to be aware of the stages and nature of conflicts. Investigating further into the actual situation on the ground and going beyond the surface are requirements for conflict-sensitive reporting for journalists. Furthermore, journalists are supposed to report the facts honestly rather than using terminology that exacerbates conflict (Bethlehem (2021, p. 14).

According to Cottle (2006, p. 2), different parties involved in conflicts frequently seek the media as providers of images and as forums for discussion and debate to advance their ideas, plans, and agendas and occasionally even to start a conflict or war in an attempt to seize power. He places a strong emphasis on the media's ability to spread messages during conflicts and wars, showing how people in positions of power within media organizations may use content manipulation to sway messages in their favor and weaken the influence of opposing parties.

2.7 Peace journalism

Johann Galtung, the founder of peace journalism, is a Norwegian academic who built a long career in the field of peace studies. His famous article is about the structure of new innovations. He confirmed that some media contribute to the polarization of the conflict through certain language orientations. He later called this type of information war journalism. To counteract this effect, there would have to be a different type of journalism, peace journalism. Gaviln, (2011, p. 49) The peace model was presented in the article by Rune Ottosen (2010, p. 265) The peace journalism model is based on a dichotomy between what he calls war journalism and a peace journalism approach, the introduction says. The model includes four main points of contrast between the two approaches: war journalism is violence-oriented, propaganda-oriented, elite-oriented and victory-oriented. According to Kvinna (2013, p. 3) peace journalism is a theory and technique that helps journalists and other people who want to comprehend conflict in a broader context. Studies on violence and peace that demonstrate the decision-making processes of journalists form the basis of the philosophy of peace journalism. Reporting on conflicts affects how we view the war as much as how we understand the fight. This has an impact on the disagreement and how it ends Kvinna (2013, p. 3). According to Wolsfield (2004), there is a chance that the news media will contribute significantly to the promotion of peace. They can draw attention to the advantages of peace, bolster the credibility of peace organizations or leaders, and help change public perceptions of the opposition. However, the media can sometimes be

detrimental. Internal disputes typically have a past rather than emerging out of nowhere, claims Orgeret (2016 p,15) Local media typically understands the conflict's players, the political systems in place, and the developments that occurred prior to the violence. Therefore, by recognizing the issue and taking proper action, the media may impact society both before and after the conflict. Local media is a recognized component of society and has the power to heighten, amplify, or lessen worries, in contrast to foreign media that covers conflicts.

It's critical to keep in mind that, while there is room for improvement, media can contribute to the intensification of conflict. By scrutinizing the administration, opposition, and society as a whole, the media can ease tensions before they even get to a dangerous level. The media supports democratic values and aids in dispute resolution by disseminating reliable information to wide audiences. Social progress and reconciliation can be encouraged even after a dispute.

In terms of promoting peace, peace journalism can be enhanced in certain ways. Peace journalists seek to ascertain the actual goals of all parties involved in the conflict as well as its underlying causes, all the while humanizing every victim of the fight. The journalists make sure that their reporting is unbiased and demonstrate how easily news can be created, refusing to attempt and capitalize on the suffering and loss. Reporting on nonviolent ways, voicing opposition to violence and conflict, and documenting the suffering and loss endured by everybody involved are ethical requirements for this kind of reporting. In addition, peace journalism concentrates on possible fixes and attempts to prevent the conflict from getting worse.

A proposed framework used by peace building media may utilize various strategies such as (1) conflict-sensitive and peace-oriented journalism; (2) peace-promoting entertainment media; (3) Media regulation to prevent incitement to violence, but also (4) peace-promoting citizen media.

2.8 War Journalism

According to Kim, Lee, and Maslong (2006,p.327) war journalism often portrays conflicts in terms of winners and losers, using military triumphalist language and presenting a narrative devoid of context, background, or historical perspective. Conflict is depicted as a zero-sum game, akin to a sports competition with opposing sides, while neglecting the deeper, intangible consequences of war (Galtung, 2002). Galtung (1998,p10) criticized this approach, urging journalists to adopt a "high road" in reporting on peace, one that transcends simplistic win-lose narratives and sports-like reporting styles.

According to Radim Košářík (2009,p19) Reporting news during wartime presents a unique set of challenges for journalists, many of which are unique to the context and may not be relevant at all during peacetime. Without a doubt, war is an extreme event for all parties involved, and it is also unusual to use as a backdrop for journalism.

Addition explanation of Radim Košářík (2009,p19) It can be extremely difficult for journalists, particularly war correspondents, to disassociate themselves from and portray the war objectively because they are compelled to witness emotionally taxing events and scenes that unavoidably affect and shape their perception of the conflict. the present happenings, possibly going against the idea of impartial reporting. In addition to psychological strain, there are external factors that could compromise the objectivity of reporting. Journalists frequently have to choose between acting independently and running the risk of being attacked by a warring party or becoming "embedded" among soldiers and attending the events in question as a member of an allied contingent in order to get as close to the reported events as possible.

Galtung (1998, p. 11) highlighted the critical role that journalists play in advancing global peace and made a distinction between two methods of covering conflicts: war journalism and peace journalism. Peace journalism is distinguished by its impartial approach, presenting all viewpoints in a dispute and emphasizing regular people in an effort to mediate disputes and promote peace. War journalism, on the other hand, frequently emphasizes violence, serves as a vehicle for official propaganda, speaks for the interests of elites, and frequently seeks to show its native nation as the winner.

The Institute on War and Peace Reporting has established a list of "six duties" for reporters covering war and peace: comprehend the issue; report equitably; report the back the context and the reasons behind the war; highlight the human side; provide updates on peace initiatives; acknowledge the impact of journalists. Two The list emphasizes that journalists need to uphold principles like professional investigation and balanced coverage even in the face of greater external pressures brought on by the conflict. The list emphasizes that journalists have a duty to report on the "trauma and the human stories of all the conflict's victims" and that genuine balance necessitates considering alternatives to war. It is also influenced by Johan Galtung's so-called peace journalism paradigm. Kristin Orgeret and William Tayeebwa (.2016, p15)

Johan Galtung's peace journalism model was discussed by Hackett (2006). Galtung (2002, pp. 261–70) cites the paradigm, which consists of two primary methods and four primary areas of differentiation between war journalism: violence-oriented, propaganda-oriented, elite-oriented, and victory-oriented.

Because it spreads propaganda and encourages violence, war journalism may therefore contribute to the escalation of hostilities. On the flip side, the peace journalism approach encourages morals and ethics in reporting on conflicts. It recognizes the role that the media has played in the propaganda war.

When major European powers fought over a decaying Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War (1853–1856), war correspondence as a specialized industry began to emerge.

Two Irishmen, William Howard Russell of *The Times* in London, who would later refer to himself as "the miserable parent² of a luckless tribe"ⁱⁱ, and Edwin Lawrence Godkin of the *London Daily News*, who had been persuaded "to go to Turkey for the hostilities," were among those who gathered in that theater of activity by the Black Sea to witness the British-French efforts against Russia (McLaughlin 2002,p.6).

As a result, during times of war, journalists have a heavy burden. But as multiple academic studies have shown, the traditional method of covering wars has been mainly ineffective, creating environments that encourage the war's continuation rather than its end. The news media typically has a negative impact on efforts to bring about peace, according to Wolfsfeld (2004,p.220), "all other things being equal." And if so, what other avenues are available for

Philip (2020,p,10) Reporting on conflict and in times of crisis is subject to the same key standards that govern regular journalism: truth and accuracy, independence, fairness and impartiality, humanity, and accountability. But in actuality, things are different; when reporters get there and witness combat firsthand, they frequently Put objectivity out of your mind. When war crimes are occurring right in front of your eyes, how can you remain impartial? Nevertheless, it is important to reveal as many sources as you can in spite of the challenging working environment. A conflict scenario needs to be thoroughly investigated from all angles and all arguments taken into account before it is made public. War correspondents are required to report truthfully, but the best way to report truthfully is to be in the situation yourself. In order to verify and check information, numerous witnesses have to be interviewed about what happened.

2.9 Post conflict reporting

The term "post-conflict" has become more and more common in conversations about political campaigns, peace studies, and international affairs in the last several years. However, while being widely used, its exact meaning is frequently ambiguous (Orgeret, 2016, p. 13). Williams (2005, p.546, as referenced in Ismail, 2008) describes the phrase "post-conflict" as nebulous, referring to anything that helps restore the "good times." In addition to its ambiguity, the word "post-conflict" can also refer to nation-building, state-building, or peace-building; in fact, post-conflict rebuilding is sometimes seen to be a component of the larger peace-building process (Orgeret, 2016, p. 13).

Chetail (2009, p.27) identifies two essential attributes of post-conflict peace-building: its long-term nature and its multidimensional approach, aimed at reconciling security, development, and justice. Despite overlapping meanings, post-conflict peace-building shares a common purpose of establishing sustainable peace Chetail, (2009, p.27) According to orgeret (2016,p,16) In post-conflict societies, media play a crucial role in addressing identity concerns and telling the tale to the rest of the world. Johan Galtung (1997,p 35). Emphasizes the significance of peacekeeping in the procedures whereby a community devastated by war eventually to proceed. In Lederach's words, "to address, integrate and embrace the painful past and the necessary shared future as a means of dealing with present," this entails fostering a healthy connection between the antagonists. In order to obtain a fuller image of the past and promote real healing and reconciliation, the media may provide as a forum for both the offenders and the victims of human rights violations to share their stories Although there is still much to learn about how the media affects conflict and the aftermath of it, it is clear that the media may both help and hinder peace efforts Yamshon (2006). The notion of peace journalism provides significant perspectives on how the media may steer clear of sustaining divisive stories and instead encourage fair reporting Nohrstedt & Ottosen (2008, p.13).

2.10. Theoretical Frameworks

Two theoretical frameworks agenda setting and framing will be discussed in this section. Explained are the theories and concepts that underlie the operation of those frames. Both of those theories are the primary focus of this investigation, which is why they are included.

2.10.1 Agenda setting

The Agenda Setting Theory, introduced by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972, revolves around the concept of shaping public awareness of important issues through the news media Freeland (2012, p.2). This theory posits that the media do not merely reflect reality but filter and shape it, focusing attention on select issues and themes, thereby influencing public perception. Freeland(2012, p.3).

Agenda setting was first proposed by Walter Lippmann in 1922, who said that the media's presentation of information that shapes public perception and helps to advance their agenda shapes the world Mulatu (2017, p. 64). Although Lippmann did not use the word "agenda- setting" specifically in his work, his exploration of the relationship between the media agenda and public perception Mulatu (2017,p.64) substantially represented the concept."

The basic assumption of agenda-setting is primarily the power of the media to set the agenda for the public McCombs & Shaw (1972). They further discuss how the media makes the occasion or issue prominent, and how the issue affects public awareness. They list some examples. These are "the extent of the coverage (the frequency), the size of the coverage, and the placement of. The content of the news media has been partitioned into "major" and "minor" levels, so as to see whether there was any considerable contrast within the mass media's accentuation on issues" (McCombs & Shaw, as cited in Mulatu (2017, p.66). The news media's creation of public awareness of noteworthy issues is known as agenda setting. The highest standards for agenda-setting state that the media and press do not report the truth; rather, they filter and mold it, and that by focusing on a small number of topics and themes, the public is more likely to see those topics as being important than others (Freeland, 2012).

The discourse of agenda setting theory is on how the mass media impacts the making of a subject as public agenda. The agenda-setting role of the news media is one among the several researched theories of consequences of journalism on society (Zain 2014; Valenzuela, 2019).

Cohen's (1963) observation, which emphasizes the media's capacity to control the subjects that the public considers rather than directly influencing their opinions, adds credence to the agenda-setting argument Getnet (2019,p.14). In order to determine media emphasis, McCombs and Shaw (1972) go into detail on how the media elevates particular issues through coverage frequency, size, and placement, differentiating between big and minor issues Mulatu (2017, p.66). Three categories of agenda setting are distinguished by Rogers and Dearing (1988): policy, media, and public. While media agenda setting looks at how the media affects audience perceptions, public agenda setting is more concerned with the priorities of the audience. The study of policy agenda setting, which Rogers and Dearing first ignored, looks at how public and media agendas affect the choices made by elite policymakers.

However, there are situations where agenda-setting may seem to cause the mass media to overlook or even lose track of other important topics due to a single event receiving so much attention and scrutiny. The agenda-setting hypothesis usually revolves around this. Assessing how framing has been created in Ethiopian local media to establish the conflict's agenda is the primary goal of this study. Regarding the dispute that occurred in November of last year between the federal government and the TPLF, the ruling party of the Tigray regional state. establishing an agenda and emphasizing certain aspects of it are related theories, so agenda establishing is the foundation of framing, which is the extension of agenda setting.

According to Chyi and McCombs (2004,p.22), the news media frequently reframe the event by highlighting diverse characteristics of the happening, intentionally or unknowingly, in order to keep the story alive and renewed; it is often the case that different media outlets have divergent look outs on high-profile news stories. The difference between framing and agenda setting therefore is agenda setting on what issues are given existence by the media; framing is concerned with how such issues are depicted in the media and what recommendations go into them in shaping public opinion Chyi and McCombs (2004,p,22).

2.10.2 Framing

Framing, as conceptualized by various scholars, encompasses the selection, presentation, and meaning-making processes of social texts, particularly within the context of media communication (Goffman, 1974; Tuchman, 1978b; Gitlin, 1980; Iyengar, 1990; Entman, 1993). Gregory Bateson initially introduced the concept of psychological framing in 1972, defining it as the spatial and temporal boundaries of interactive messages Bateson, (1972, p.197). In essence, framing emphasizes and prioritizes specific components of a problem in order to influence the audience's view of it ,Mass Communication Theory Online, (2017). It is frequently viewed as a continuation of the agenda-setting idea, affecting people's perceptions of and choices on topics covered by the media Davie (2019). According to Scheufele (2000,p13), framing works by highlighting particular values or factors that are pertinent to the subject at hand in order to affect audience perceptions. Gitlin (1980, p7) defines framing as an organizational principle for narratives that aims to portray a particular point of view on a given problem. It encompasses selection, emphasis, and presentation. At the communicator, text, receiver, and cultural levels, among others, frames function in the Communication process. Communicators use their belief systems to inform their framing judgments, and texts contain frames that take the form of words, phrases, and images. Recipients understand these frames in the larger cultural context, which may or may not coincide with the communicator's goals Gitlin, (1980,p.7) Entman (2003) lists five typical framing types for news stories: conflict, human interest, consequence, morality, and responsibility. Group conflicts are highlighted by conflict framing; individual stories are highlighted by human interest/personalization; situational outcomes are highlighted by consequence framing; morality framing situates issues within ethical or spiritual contexts; and responsibility framing assigns accountability for resolving difficulties Mulatu, (2017, p.80). In general, the way that issues are framed affects how society understands and discusses them; this is true for both politicians and journalists who have an impact on how issues are framed in the media (Entman, 2003; Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Allern,2004; Gerth&Siegert, 2012)

Majid, (2000) identifies three types of ideology that are likely to have a significant influence on the framing of news: journalistic ideology, elite ideology, and hegemonic ideology. One major factor influencing how news is framed is ideological perspectives, particularly those related to journalism or the publishing industry. When reporting on disputes, journalists and newsmakers make an effort to be unbiased and to include the opinions of the opposing parties; yet, there are times when it is impossible to amuse both sides at the same time. The journalistic ideology system's "emphasis on occasions, not issues; accentuation on the abnormal and freak; and center on tip-top sources and on- screen characters, "is explained in detail by Majid and Ramaprasad (1998). There are several ways in which the journalistic philosophy reinforces dominant or first-class belief systems not so much by being ruled by the elites, but also by marginalizing and excluding other, less powerful social groupings. Framing in all four locations includes similar functions: selection and highlighting, and use of the highlighted elements to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation, and/or solution. In general, the frame is constructed and processed in the communicator (sources, politicians), the audience (receivers), the text (journalist or the media), and the cultures of the receivers.

The framing of issues in the media is influenced by both politicians and journalists, who play key roles in shaping the narratives presented to the public Mulatu, (2017, p. 80). Entman (2003) identifies five common framing techniques used in news stories:

- **Conflict framing:** This highlights disagreements or tensions among groups, often presenting them in a way that emphasizes opposing viewpoints.
- **Human interest/personalization framing:** This approach focuses on individual stories, typically featuring human experiences or personalities rather than abstract issues.
- **Consequence framing:** This covers the potential outcomes or impacts of a situation, highlighting its effects on individuals, groups, organizations, communities, or nations.
- **Morality framing:** This places issues within ethical or spiritual contexts, framing them in terms of moral principles or values.
- **Responsibility framing:** This assigns accountability for addressing challenges or resolving issues, whether to governments, individuals, or groups, thereby emphasizing the need for action or resolution.

Each framing technique serves to shape how an issue is perceived by the audience, influencing their understanding and interpretation of the topic at hand.

So in this research the researcher use Conflict frame b/c is all about conflict and war related issues. Individuals, groups, institutions, or countries are the focus of the conflict frame. Different literatures also indicate that there are other kinds of frames used by the news media. The researcher discovered war frame, ethnic-sensitive frame and political frame after thorough reading and understanding of the news stories which were taken for the study. Conflict framing is preferable as a theoretical frame for the research. Sematko and Patti (2000, p 96). Mentioned Conflict frame as that conflict frame is the popular frame in the U.S and Europe (This frame popularizes conflicts between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing audience interests. Because of the emphasis on conflict, the news media have been criticized for inducing public suspicion and mistrust of political leaders. From this definition, it can be presumed that this frame occurs in the coverage of political crisis like ethnic tensions, war, terrorism and protests.

De Vreese, (2005,p.54). clarifies about the typology of news frames, he point out the connection of news makers and frames they applied, newsmakers may applied numerous diverse frames in their reporting of an issue, researchers concur that this plenitude in selection in how to tell and develop stories can be captured in investigations as certain unmistakable characteristics

This researcher also identified the following types of frames, in both media which were directly related with the conflict. These are the ethnic tenetion frame, war journalism frame, labeling or grouping frame.

2.11 Types of Frames

According to de Vreese (2002 p54) Scholars concur that although journalists may use a variety of frames when covering a story, this wide range of options for storytelling construction can be identified in analyses as specific distinguishing traits. A broader typology or distinction based on the nature and content of the frame is proposed here in order to compile the findings of earlier studies and the various kinds of news frames that have been proposed.

Only particular subjects or occasions are appropriate for certain frames. We may call these frames issue-specific frames.

Certain frames are not limited by themes; they can be recognized in connection to various subjects, some even throughout time and across cultural contexts, these frames can be called generic frames. This typology serves to organise past framing research focusing on differences that help explain the use of the catch-all 'framing' phrase. An issue-specific approach to the study of news frames allows for a profound level of specificity and details relevant to the event or issue under investigation.

2.12 News framing

Richardson (2013) affirmed that media framing takes place in the context of the main theme, news atmosphere, and types of sources. Nowadays, a lot of individuals rely mostly on the news media to keep up with political events.

According to de Vreese (2005), there are two approaches that help to categorize frames in the news: inductive and deductive approaches. An inductive approach to analyzing news texts helps generate frames in the course of investigating news texts. Deductive approach, on the other hand, works with prior distinct frames that are fashioned and operationalized prior to the investigation.

Scholars have argued in favor of applying concise, a priori defined operationalizations of frames in content analyses. Cappella and Jamieson (1997p,47) state that considering any production feature of verbal or visual texts as a candidate for news frames is a too broad view. They suggest four criteria that a frame must meet. First, a news frame must have identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics. Second it should be commonly observed in journalistic practice. Third, it must be possible to distinguish the frame reliably from other frames. Fourth, a frame must have representational validity (i.e. be recognized by others) and not be merely a figment of a researcher's imagination Cappella & Jamieson, (1997, p. 47).

2.13 Critics on framing

Critics of the framing one explanation for this is that different settings and disciplines apply framing differently when classifications and typologies are not adequately explained. Stated differently, the term "framing" may not have a universal meaning because of its ambiguity. The second critique focuses on how the theory relates to the direct media effects hypothesis, which downplays the audience's agency in meaning-making. Framing proposes the idea of dominant meaning, which is composed of the audience's tendency to accept and understand the problem description, causal interpretation, evaluative interpretation, and therapeutic interpretation. Though various types of frames are identified, it has been difficult to find clear-cut guide lines as to how to identify the indicators of those frames.

2.14 Overview of TPLF Massacre in the Amhara Region

Since 1991, Ethiopia's political structure has been radical, restructuring the nation into an ethnic-based federal system under the leadership of the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF), which in turn led the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). This was done in order to accommodate diversity, and ethnic identity became the ideological foundation of political organizations and administration after the federal system was adopted (Irbreck & de Waal, 2021; Merera, 2007)

Due to Ethiopia's ethnic federalism, there is a notion that mistrust between ethnic groups has grown. Since its founding, the TPLF has organized Tigrayans based on ideological beliefs about class and ethno-nationalism. The town of Maikadra, which had previously been a part of the Amhara administration, was incorporated into the TPLF administration because the TPLF's goal was to create "Greater Tigray" through anti-Amhara and internal border re-demarcation policies (Achamyeleh, 2016; Berhe, 2004). This redrawing of internal lines between the two regions was seen to be one of the issues between the Amhara and Tigray people.

Since 1991, the Amhara people have frequently asserted their right to the question of identity in areas that have been taken up and integrated into the Tigray area. Millions of Amharas have experienced ethnic cleansing and genocide at different points in history, and the TPLF slaughtered several Amharas who asserted their identity (Muluken, 2022)

According to Adana et al. (2022, p.1) The Amharan people were openly acknowledged to be the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF)'s arch-enemy in their 1976 manifesto,. Following this proclamation, the alliance led by the TPLF put into practice a planned program and strategy to sow division and animosity among Ethiopians, with a special focus on the Amhara people. The TPLF began preparing the Tigrayan people for invasion after popular uprisings in 2018 forced them to give up their administrative responsibilities. On November 3, 2020, they attacked the Northern Military Command, believing they would win easily. Adana et al. (2022, p. 2). Concurrently, the advancing troops launched a comprehensive attack within the central Gondar Administrative Zone, with a particular focus on the town of Qerakir within the Amhara National Regional State. The TPLF also started a disinformation campaign in an effort to win over people around the world. The Tigrayan invasion forces persisted in their assault, attacking portions of the Amhara and Afar National Regional States, even after the Ethiopian federal government unilaterally declared a truce in June 2021. There were thousands of innocent civilian deaths in these places, establishing evidence of genocide and crimes against humanity, and the local population suffered enormous humanitarian, economic, and psychological losses. Adana et al. (2022)

The Forum for Higher Education institutions in the Amhara region performed research that revealed systemic physical abuse and rape, primarily targeting women and adolescent girls, and hundreds of deaths of innocent civilians. More than 1600 people were killed in the Maikadra Massacre. which took place in the town of Mai Kadra on November 9–10, 2020. Many of the victims were day laborers from the nearby Amhara Region. The atrocity was carried out by TPLF forces and involved ethnic cleansing and mass murder.

According to Ethiopian Human Rights Commission Rapid Investigation (2020, p. 2) On november 9, 2020, the day of the attack, from around 11:00 AM onwards, the town police started checking identity cards to differentiate people of non-Tigray origin from the rest and raided all the houses/huts, stretching from the neighbourhood known as “Genb Sefer” up to the area called Wolkait Bole (Kebele 1 Ketena 1) which is largely resided by ethnic Amharas.

They detained up to 60 people they profiled as Amhara and Wolkait and who were said to use Sudanese SIM cards on their mobile phones and destroyed said SIM cards. Ethiopian SIM cards had already stopped working by then and the motive for confiscating and destroying the

Sudanese SIM cards was to prevent any communications or call for help during the attack, according to testimony of the people in the area. Women and children of Tigrayan ethnic origin were made to leave the town a few hours ahead of the attack.

EHRC (2021,p,3) rapid report explain ; On the same day (November 9th, 2020), around 3:00 P.M., the local police, militia and the informal Tigray youth group called “Samri” returned to “Genb Sefer” where the majority of people of Amhara ethnic origin live and began the attack against civilians. According to Reuter’s news agency report (2021) The first killings in Mai Kadra were committed by ethnic Tigrayans against Amharas, the reporting showed. Some were carried out by youths directed by a Tigrayan militiaman called Capt. Kassaye Mehar, said four Amhara witnesses". Elsewhere in the town, Tigrayan mobs armed with knives and machetes were going door to door in Amhara neighborhoods, pulling out the men to kill them, dozens of Amhara witnesses said. The mobs mostly left the women alone. Amhara residents described hiding on roofs, in outhouses and in fields as the slaughter continued.

Reuters (2021) also investigated and report the seen of the massacre," members of the town militia were with the mobs and appeared to be directing some of the killings, at least seven Amhara residents said. Among the leaders was a Tigrayan militiaman identified as Capt. Kassaye Mehar, according to four of the Amhara residents, who had previous dealings with him. Militia men and the town’s police blocked streets around Amhara neighborhoods and shot at anyone who tried to escape, the Amhara witnesses said. The town’s police have since been disbanded".

According to court filings reviewed by Reuters, Ethiopian prosecutors believe that the TPLF began organizing Tigrayan youths in Mai Kadra from late October, telling them to wear yellow so that they could identify themselves as a security force and arming them with machetes, axes and knives. Reuters (2021)

Al Jazeera on November 22 2020 made a news about the massacre, at least 600 civilians were killed in an ethnically-driven massacre earlier this month in the town of Mai Kadra in Ethiopia’s Tigray region, the country’s human rights body has said following an investigation.

According to the EHRC’s report, which could not be independently verified, a number of people from different ethnic groups were killed in Mai Kadra but the attackers specifically targeted ethnic Amharas and Wolkaites based, on their identification cards.

Ethiopian human rights council EHRCO (2020,p,3) report shows EHRCO has confirmed that the heinous and inhuman act committed in and around Maikadra on November 9, 2020, resulting in

grave human rights violations .Victims said that on the day of the attack (November 9, 2020) police and Special Forces, as well as Tigrayan youths (mostly coming from the Samri neighborhood) ordered no one to leave their homes. They testified that the young people danced in large numbers in different parts of the city, and in some places starting at 11:00 am, and also in the area known as Gimb Sefer, where most Amharas live, starting from 3:00 pm, they began looking for Identification cards and they spoke to victims in Tigrigna and identified those who could not respond and began to attack them.

CHAPTER THREE

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Methodology

Research methodology is the collection of methods and strategies for finding and evaluating data related to a certain research topic. It entails the methodical planning of a study to accomplish its goals utilizing particular research instruments, according to Kothari (2004, p. 8). This covers things like the research design, data gathering strategies, data analysis approaches, and the overall framework the study is carried out under.

To elaborate, research methodology is defined by Kothari (2004, p.7) as a methodical way to resolving research issues. It entails being aware of the many approaches taken by researchers when they examine their research challenges and the reasoning that underlies them. In addition to understanding methodologies and approaches, researchers also need to understand the reasoning behind their selection and use. Understanding the presumptions, standards, and applicability of various methodologies to particular research challenges is necessary for this.

Based on the kind of study and data needed, Creswell (2009,p,10) classified research approaches into three categories: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods. Unquestionably, the three approaches are not as discrete as they first appear. Qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be viewed as polar opposites or dichotomies; instead, they represent different ends on a continuum (Newman & Benz, 1998). A study tends to be more qualitative than quantitative or vice versa. Mixed methods research resides in the middle of this continuum because it incorporates elements of both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

The quantitative research methodology is centered on the assessment and quantification of numerical data. Qualitative Research Methodology is investigates people's beliefs, actions, and experiences. It takes longer to complete but requires fewer participants overall because it includes gathering and interpreting textual material. Qualitative content analysis explores the properties of language as a communication tool and its contextual significance.

The final one is mixed-methods research methodology; this strategy capitalizes on each methodology's advantages by combining quantitative and qualitative methods into a single study. The method of qualitative content analysis was employed in this study. A qualitative content analysis was conducted on the news coverage Maikadra Massacre from the two media outlets that were chosen. The sources of the news, the themes, the dominant news frame was portrayed, how the news affected the resolution or escalation of the tragedy, and how they adhered to their editorial principles and journalistic ethics were all highlighted in the qualitative content analysis.

3.2 Research Design

As the theoretical framework or plan for carrying out research, research design offers a guide or fundamental plan for research activities. It includes judgments made using broad assumptions as well as specific techniques for gathering and analyzing data (Kothari, 2004, p. 31; Creswell, 2009, p. 9). Specific data gathering methods and procedures are used in order to meet the goals and objectives of research design (Given, 2008). In general, the study design serves as a framework for conducting, organizing, and managing studies, making data gathering and analysis easier to investigate results.

Analyzing written, spoken, or visual communication messages is done through qualitative content analysis. It entails a thorough and methodical analysis of the contents of a certain body of materials to find patterns, themes, or biases, as defined by Leedy and Ormrod (2001), referenced in Mohajan (2018,p.36) The in-depth interview data will be translated into English and analyzed using a qualitative technique in this study. The researcher frames media reports from Ethiopia Broadcasting Corporation and Amhara Media Corporation during the Maikadra Massacre in order to address research questions through a qualitative content analysis research design.

3.3 Data sources and collection mechanisms

3.3.1 Sources of data

In statistical analysis, gathering data is essential. There are two types of data sources that can be used for this purpose: primary and secondary Douglas (2015, p.13). Whereas secondary data is the result of the researcher's analysis and interpretation of previously obtained data, primary data is factual and unique, having been gathered for the first time. The purpose of gathering primary data is to address the particular issue at hand, whereas secondary data has several uses. While secondary data collecting is quick and simple, primary data collection is usually more difficult. While secondary data sources include government publications, websites, books, journal articles, and internal records, primary data sources include surveys, observations, experiments, questionnaires, and in-person interviews.

The present investigation employed data from primary as well as secondary sources. Primary data sources for the and dispute were interviews with representatives of the two media outlets. In- depth interviews and news content analysis were used by the researcher to gather information from respondents at Amhara Media Corporation and Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation.

3.4 Sampling, Sample size and Sample frame

A key component of study methodology is sampling, which helps researchers choose between different components like description, transcribing, recording, or coding (Krippendorff, 2004; Ward, 2019, p. 10). According to Taherdoost (2016, p.20), sampling techniques can be roughly divided into two categories: probability or random sampling and non-probability sampling. Because every member of the population has an equal chance of being selected via probability sampling, the sample is guaranteed to be representative of the population. On the other hand, non-probability sampling techniques pick people by non-randomized processes that frequently entail judgment. Although non- probability sampling can be practical and helpful in some situations; its results are not often applicable to other samples.

In order to gather pertinent information about the conflict under investigation, non-probability sampling techniques were used in this study to choose stories from the sampled media within the allotted time. The sample approach employed by the researcher was purposive sampling, which is often referred to as judgmental sampling. In order to give significant information, purposeful sampling entails choosing particular locations, people, or events based on subjective assessment. Taherdoost, (2016.p23) through the intentional selection of units that accurately reflect the community of interest, researchers can avoid using randomness when using purposeful sampling. Studies involving relatively few places or sites benefit greatly from this methodology. Purposive sampling employs the deliberate selection of particular materials from the population in order to produce meaningful data that cannot be obtained through other means. Taherdoost (2016.p,20). In order to choose stories about the conflict situation that were in line with the researcher's goal of looking at and analyzing conflict coverage in the chosen media throughout the given time frame, purposive sampling was used in this study. In order to effectively meet the research objectives, this selection technique allowed for the prioritization of conflict-related themes among other stories. The Amhara Media Corporation and Ethiopian Broadcasting both provide Amharic news programming that the researcher chose because of the primary factors listed here. The federal and state governments are the ones in charge of the two media organizations. Determining which media exacerbated the tension between the two sides and analyzing their respective roles are crucial. The researcher's ability to comprehend and evaluate news reports in Amharic, a language that is extensively spoken throughout Ethiopia, is bolstered by the second reason. Thirdly, the federal government's everyday operations are aired by state-owned media like as EBC and AMECO, which also partially covers other parts of the nation. AMECO serves a similar function in the Amhara region. Fourth, the two media outlets were selected for this study because both dispatched reporters to the Western Front early in the conflict, namely Wolqait Humera and Maikadra, and they both broadcasted newss during the massacre.

Using selective sampling approaches and chosen news items, Amharic news stories were transcribed and numbered following the selection of the massacre news reports from Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and Amhara Media Corporation. To save study time and repetition, the researcher chose a total of 10 from EBC and 15 from AMECO sample newss. Purposive sampling was used to produce manageable sample size by taking into account both the news content in the data collected and the sample size itself.

3.5 Data collection Procedures

The primary research approach used in this study to investigate the reporting of a particular dispute was qualitative content analysis. The researcher interviewed journalists from Amhara Media Corporation (AMECO) and Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) in-depth and analyzed the news material. The sampling data came from EBC and AMECO's Amhara Broadcasting Corporation, which could be seen on their official YouTube channels. November 10, 2020, to February 10, 2021 was the time frame for which data was gathered. Throughout this period, the researcher methodically gathered sample news stories from both networks and arranged them in chronological order based on the dates of their broadcasts. The qualitative content analysis entailed a thorough investigation of the news articles, with an emphasis on the conflict-related themes, frames, tones, and information sources. In-depth interviews with two reporters, two editor and two chiefeier total six journalists employed at EBC and AMECO were also undertaken in-depth interviews.

In order to obtain their viewpoints and insights into the reporting procedure as well as the variables affecting media coverage of the conflict. All things considered, the integration of in-depth interviews with news content analysis yielded a thorough comprehension of the media's function in covering the war. A more complex knowledge of how the conflict was portrayed in the media over the designated time period was made possible by the researcher's ability to examine news program material and obtain perspectives from journalisem

3.5.1 Coding

According to Earl (2008), data in qualitative social research entails the coding, classification, or categorization of particular data in combination with a retrieval technique. Coding aids in data reduction and simplification. News headlines and themes, word use, tone of voice, source and quote selection, and framing are the variables in this study.

3.5.2 Key Informants Interview

According to The Australian Prevention Partnership Centre APPC (2018 p2) Key informant interviews are qualitative interviews with people who have knowledge and understanding on a specific issue or problem being addressed in a community. Semi-structured interviews consist of a series of open-ended questions designed to draw out responses about particular topics. They also provide opportunities for interviewees to add information from their own knowledge and perspectives and to reflect on their own practices and assumptions. Qualitative tools such as interviews with key informants may identify new areas of interest and new knowledge. The researcher intentionally chose six journalists / 2 reporters 2 editors and 2 chief editors /. Their opinions on conflict reporting about the Maikadra massacre were the purpose of the interview.

3.5.3 Transcriptions

The recorded data were transcribed by the researcher. Although transcribing the data manually was time-consuming and difficult, it was done manually. The researcher accomplished many things at once during transcription. The researcher understood the concept while listening to the audio recordings and then wrote them down.

3.6 Data Analysis

The official YouTube accounts and news websites of EBC and AMECO Media provided the study's data. Additionally, the respondents are chosen by focused sampling, and they are employed in two media. After the data from the in-depth interviews is translated into English, it is examined and categorized based on the news's dominating frame, tone, topic, and sources, as well as the standards and values of journalism. In addition, the researcher gathered information based on the broadcast date from the official YouTube channels of the media organizations under investigation. The researcher examined the news material that was disseminated by the aforementioned media outlets.

3.6.1 Content analysis

According to Holsti, content analysis is a research methodology that looks at communication content as the foundation for drawing conclusions in order to study a variety of issues. Holsti (1968) highlighted the objective and methodical identification of certain message features, which makes content analysis an important method for deciphering political communications and media messages.

As opposed to survey techniques, which ask respondents directly for information on their preferences, content analysis concentrates on finding and quantifying the instances of particular concepts in the content that is being examined. By using this technique, researchers can measure and examine communication patterns without having to conduct in-person surveys of people. In order to conduct this study, the researcher gathered sample news segments from the official YouTube accounts of two media houses . The researcher sought to understand how the conflict was portrayed and discussed in the media coverage by scrutinizing the subst According to Mckee, textual analysis is the process of analyzing and interpreting text or data in order to make sense of the outside world. It enables scholars to examine how readers or recipients perceive and comprehend texts as well as their structure, language, and meaning. Textual analysis offers a deeper comprehension of the subtleties and consequences of the text that is evaluated, which is a supplement to content analysis.ance of these news broadcasts.

3.6.2 Analysis of Interviews and Documents

The researcher started by closely reading the transcript and making notes. After that, labeled any relevant piece of information gleaned during the in-depth interview, including words, sentences, phrases, and behaviors. We call this coding or indexing. The transcripts were sorted according to how frequently similar labels appeared in the text.

The researcher also made use of video recordings and papers that covered the armed conflict. As a result, it was helpful in completing the picture of the armed conflict in the Tigray region provided by interview analysis, which was the primary method utilized in this study. Articles will be handled in addition to the interview data during discussion phases of the results.

Chapter Four

4. Data presentation, analysis and findings

The presentation and discussion of data from Amhara Media Corporation and Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation was the main topic of this chapter. In addition to the data acquired from the two Medias' official YouTube channel, which was presented and looked at in relation to the study topics. We looked at the media's news coverage of the massacre, the framing techniques they employed, journalistic principles and ethics and their editorial policy implementation. The findings were reviewed in light of the theoretical frameworks chosen for this study as well as the research objectives and questions.

4.1 Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1.1 Categories of the News based on their Themes

4.1.1.1 Genocide-Dominated News

On November 3, 2020, Prime Minister Abiy declared that forces affiliated with the Tigrayan Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) had attacked the Northern Command of the Ethiopian Defense Forces throughout the whole region of Tigray. Fighting broke out over the Tigray Region on November 3,

2020, then the Ethiopian government declared it would go to war to stop the invasion and save the country. Conflict broke out between the federal government and the Tigray region in November 2020, when TPLF special forces attacked federal Ethiopian Defense of North Command. There have also been tensions between Tigrayans and Amharas, and militias from the Amhara region have fought alongside the federal Ethiopian army against the regional TPLF forces. Bihonegn and Mekonen 3 The war was accompanied by mass killings against the civilian ethnic Amharas living in the Welkait and Kafta Humera districts which were annexed by TPLF as “western Tigray” in 1991. The Miakdara massacre was carried out by a TPLF-affiliated group called Samri on November 9–10, 2020, a day before TPLF forces retreated from the town as Ethiopian federal troops advanced in “western Tigray.” Aleminew and Adugna (2022, p 3) Maikadra town was one of

the locations where the Ethiopian National Defense Forces (ENDF) and TPLF-aligned forces engaged in combat.

Following the conflict, when the TPLF was defeated near Maikadra, they took it upon themselves to massacre Amhara residents residing in Maikadra. A day after the massacre, a journalist from Amhara Media Corporation (AMECO) arrived in the area and broke the initial story.

The news story, which was broadcast on November 10, 2020 (AMECO), was "Yesterday night, the Tigrian Special Forces and the murderous group organized under the name of Samri by the TPLF has shown their enmity towards Ethiopians, especially the Amhara, by mass killing unarmed civilians in Maikadra town based on their ethnic profile".

In a similar vein, on November 24, 2020, Ethiopian broadcasting corporations broadcast news that use a source the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC) report verified genocidal acts were carried out by the TPLF and an organized group known as the Sameri. "On November 9, 2020, the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC) declared that at least 600 unarmed Amhara civilians were massacred in Maikadra town. The slaughter was carried out by an unofficial group of young native Tigrayans known as Samri, according to the first-level fast investigative report released by EHRC.

On November 26, 2020 in another new of Amhara Media Corporation quoted Amnesty International regarding the genocide in Maykadera and reported the news as follow. "Eyewitnesses told Amnesty International that the ethnic Maikadra Massacre was planned and carried out by the top leaders of the TPLF."

Following the publication of the first report, the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission carried out additional research and made public information about the racially isolated Massacre in Maikadra which resulted in the death of unarmed Amharas. The massacre was also tabbed-conducted and racially biased.

On December 10, 2020, the EBC aired the news which sourced the second report, of the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission which stated that "the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission reported that the Massacre of Maikadra was ethnic based and the victims were beaten with sticks, stabbed with knives, beaten to death with machetes and axes, and strangled."

4.1.1.2 Blaming Dominant News

Mulatu (2017 p.28) claims on that placing blame on others allows one to assign guilt for wrong doing to a group or individual. According to the media sampled, the TPLF is to fault for both starting the conflict and the damage it has done to the nation.

There were those who accused the TPLF of different crimes in the reports that were broadcast by both media during the Maikadra massacre, indicating that the massacre was perceived as a mirror of their previous deeds.

On November 10, 2020/AMECO/ broadcasted a news aiming to show that for the last years, the TPLF group has been the enemy of Amharas and Ethiopia. "As of today, the TPLF has once again committed the crime of genocide against Ethiopians, especially the Amhara people, which it had previously been committing through its agents in other regions of the country.

On December 16, 2020 /EBC /also reported a news theme articulated and blamed TPLF. It was also reported that TPLF had committed many crimes in order to keep us its power during the past years, to this end in order to stay in power, its committed to ethnic and religious conflicts, and Maikadra Massacre was one of the mass killing act of TPLF, "The TPLF junta group, who loves power more than anything else, left no stone unturned for several years; it was provoking conflicts everywhere in the country for many years based on religious divisions while pitting ethnic groups against each other. Recently, the ethnic-based genocidal massacre targeting innocent Amhara civilians in Maikadra is one of the characteristics of this junta group”.

On November 20,2020/AMECO/ "The residents of Maikadra town who survived the killing said that the TPLF junta used a hate-based political approach to destabilize Ethiopia, and the Massacre can be seen as a testimony to its destabilization.”

Another report by the EBC On December 16, 2020 quoted Tigrayan residents in Addis Ababa, who had blamed that TPLF had also massacred citizens during the years when he was in power, and that was Maikadra was a demonstration of its criminal acts in the subsequent news. "The people of Tigray who reside in Addis Ababa have expressed their feeling that the disgusting massacre waged by the junta group is a public display of its internal activities for years, and they also condemned the action of the group."

4.1.1.3 Pro-Government Dominant News

Numerous news stories are reported, either directly or indirectly, in support of the federal government. The media's daily and reports during the Maikadra massacre and the conflict in Tigray portray the war's advancement, the government's triumphs over forces led by the TPLF, the triumphs in maintaining law and order, and the suffering endured by the TPLF forces. In order to gain public support for the removal of TPLF soldiers, the government at the time produced news reports that specifically targeted the audience. However, the TPLF used to portray its attack on the defense forces as a swift and decisive military strike against Tigray's enemies in order to create propaganda for its treachery against the nation.

For example, on November 28, 2020 /EBC/ one of the news stories broadcast by Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation was described that the TPLF had committed the massacre of Maikadra as a result of which it was defeated by the armed forces, and the massacre was compensation for his defeat. "As a result of the heavy defeat it faced by the Ethiopian Defense Forces, the TPLF junta was taking revenge action on innocent Amhara civilians who were living in Maikadra town."

On November 26, 2020/AMECO/ reports were they had been relieved of the atrocities perpetrated by Tplf for centuries, as they had made a defensive effort on the Western Front and secured the victory of Amhara's special forces and ENDF against TPLF. "The survivors of the attack in Maikadra town have seen a new wave of light in the darkness as the TPLF's chain of genocide, which was intensified over the years targeting the Amhara residents for decades, shows a cruel corner by the combined effort of the Ethiopian Defense Forces, the Amhara Special Forces, and the militia of the surrounding areas."

Both media outlets reported extensively on the state's stand and conquest in their reports, for example. "የአማራ ልዩ ሀይል የሚሊሻ አባላትና የመከላከያ ሰራዊት የትህነግ ከፋፋይ ቡድንን ለማስወገድ እያደረጉት ያለውን ተጋድሎ የአማራ ብዙሀን መገናኛ ድርጅት ባልደረቦች ግንባር ሂደት መዘገባቸው ከጸጉታ ሀይሉ ጎን መሆናቸውን በተግባር ያረጋገጠ ነው ሲሉ የድርጅቱ ሰራተኞች ተናገሩ።"

It is literally translated as On November 17, 2020 “members of the Amhara Special Forces, Amhara Militia, and the Federal Defense Forces are fighting together against the TPLF-led army to eliminate this splinter group. Amhara Media corporation journalists and their colleagues confirmed that they stand with the allied forces against the TPLF”.

According to the finding, the news broadcasted by the two media outlets during the Maikadra Massacre and the law enforcement operation had a propagandist nature.

During the conflict the governments efforts to reverse the invasion of the country and bring the leaders of TPLF to court, and accountable to those who involved in the killing. On the western front, the government won military victories, including Maikadra, as part of its attempt to overthrow the TPLF. Public protests and agitations aimed at inciting people to despise the TPLF group and to support and side with the government have been covered extensively.

In most of the stories, the two media used government official’s source and, the focus of the reports was given direction by the media committee established by the government, so the Medias reports were made to have a propaganda effect.

4.1.1.4 Anti-TPLF Dominate News

During the conflict between the TPLF and its allies, the main news reports that were broadcast portrayed the TPLF as the enemy of both the Ethiopian people and the Amhara people specifically. This kind of reporting predominated during the battle, which the government referred to as the "law enforcement operation," and following the Maikadra atrocity.

On November 11, 2020 /AMECO/ broadcasted news, that quoted communication affairs bureau head of Amhara regional government Mr.Gizachew Muluneh, "TPLF is the main enemy of the country, especially for the people of Amhara; it is a special enemy. In the 1970s Manifesto of the TPLF, the group categorized the Amhara People as the sole enemy and propagated this rhetoric and false narration throughout the years after it controlled political power. Amhara was seen as a monster by the rest of the Ethiopian people, making the people of Amhara a common enemy to all".

Another news which has broadcasted by AMECO on November 26, 2020/AMECO/ the content that is close to Mr.Gizachow opinion, the Tplf group has been tormenting the Amhara people for more than 30 years and showing TPLF had been the enemy of Amhars. "For the past 30 years, the TPLF group pushed the Amhara people to the point of social breakdown and incited the people based on their manifesto and their leadership's rhetoric and narration by introducing hate and demoralizing to make the people victims of physical violence through intensified systematic government-led genocidal structure. Now, through the forces organized under its umbrella, the group has proved its cruelty by waging a massacre on the people of Maikadra".

There was news reports organized to magnify anti TPLF's acts , the news media_s craft new words were reputedly expressed. They describe TPLF as expansionists, robbers, killers, greedy, bloodthirsty, and secessionists.

On November 23, 2020 (EBC) Broadcasted the following news. General Abebaw Tadesse, Vice Chief of the Federal Defense Forces said "no one can sit idle when a group of gangsters and hyenas claim to destroy the country. It has to be eliminated at the speed of light",./I add to the Amharic veretion of the news On December 6, 2020 (AMECO) also broadcasted the following news. "In Maikadra town, a mass demonstration took place to denounce the invading, expansionist, and terrorist TPLF and to remember the innocent people brutally killed by the group".According to the the above news reports both media outlets focused on exposing the horrific acts committed by the TPLF which happened during the war and the Maikadra Massacre. In addition, they have gone a long way toward showing that TPLF is responsible for the problems that have occurred at the national level during the last 30 years that it has been in power. In addition to that, by presenting many reports, the people of Tigray and the TPLF are united, and as a result, the people of Tigray separate from other Ethiopians and spread enmity to them. In the past, there have been many reports that the TPLF and the Tigray people unite to make the Tigray people look isolated from the rest of Ethiopia, with suspicions and hostility widespread. During the Maikadra Massacre, the TPLF security forces and a group called Samri singled out and massacred the Amharas, and reports were made showing that well- known Tigray natives were complicit in the massacre, which led to hostility.

During the war and the massacre, the reports presented by both media showed that the war was not between the citizens of one country but between two countries, that the people would never meet again, and that peace and negotiations could not come. Due to the feeling of enmity created, other ethnic massacres and the destruction of property were recorded in the times when the TPLF re-entered the Amhara region.

4.1.2 Identified Dominant Frames

4.1.2.1 Ethnic Tension Frame

Reports that emphasized the Maikadra massacre based on ethnic profiling were among the news items that the two media outlets extensively reported during the massacre. In particular, the Amhara Media Corporation disseminated extensive and countines news, a focus on the fact that the Amharas were massacred due to their ethnic background, and even before the massacre, the people had been subjected to severe humiliation because of their ethnic background .

On December 26, 2020/AMECO/ reported, that "people who spoke to Amharic and Amhara were the main criteria for the killing by the Samiri group organized by the TPLF".

In other news, on December 16, 2020, EBC broadcasted a report citing the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission confirmed that the TPLF committed genocide in Maikadra, which was carried out by the Amharas and the Wolkaites who lived in the area."Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, EHRC sent experts to the scene to investigate the ethnic-based massacre. According to the preliminary investigative report of the EHRC, the Tigray Special Forces, Militia, and Samri were involved in the massacre. The experts also disclosed that this horrific act of massacre primarily targeted the Amhara civilians of the Wolkait area".

On November 26, 2020, AMECO broadcasted that "speaking Amharic in the city of Maikadra was banned, and when you speak, every Amhara gets death or imprisonment, indicating that a race-based shadow is rooted in the long-term. There were times you became victims of haters attitude if you were speaking the Amharic language; they used to call us "Neftegna," according to the commentary of Maikadra town residents

4.1.2.2 Labeling and Grouping Frame

While this research was being conducted on a selection of news stories, labeling or grouping frames was discovered throughout the frame identification process. By classifying the opposing groupings that exist between us and them, labeling or grouping frames help with reporting or presentation. Most news stories from Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and Amhara Media Corporation included labeling or grouping frames.

On December 26, 2020, AMECO quoted the Ethiopia Human Rights Commission report that prior to the Maikadra Massacre," the city police took IDs of the Amharas and Tigrayans in the city and put remarks, which they used to distinguish the Amharas who would be killed by the sameri groups."The Tigray police forces planned to commit a massacre the day before the killing took place. This was confirmed by the report of the Ethiopian Human Rights Council. The local police, under the pretext of renewing IDs of residents of Maikadra town, marked people with Tigray identity with a - √ " sign and those with Amhara identity with an 'x' sign. During the act of massacre, those marked with the x sign were separately killed”.

On November 10, 2020 another news reported by AMECO shows Tigrayans were forced out of the city at night before massacre of Amhara ethnic groups took place in the city of Maikadra. This is another labeling and grouping mechanism that they used to massacre the Amharas."In ethnic-based killings, the TPLF ordered Tegar residents of Maikadra to leave their houses at night and started killing citizens with Amhara identities both individually and in groups. Tigray Special Forces and a youth group known as Samri committed the massacre”.

In another news story, on November 10, 2020 EBC quoted the deputy Attorney General, Mr. Fikadu Tesema, as saying that before the Maikadra Massacr took place, Amharas in the city were subjected to closing their homes and prohibited to not leaving outside of their homes. "On October 30, from 5-8 o'clock, it was confirmed that TPLF forces were going to house to house, telling the amhara residents not to leave the house, they band to close the houses and sit inside thire home. After that, when they were going from house to house, they massacred the Amhara people, and in the evening, they took the dead bodies out of the town with a tractor in three directions. It was confirmed during the investigation what they said."

4.1.2.3. War- Dominant Frame

One of the most common news frames in both media during the sample period is the war frame. The majority of battle field reporting pits winners against losers. They emphasized the successes of one side while downplaying the losses of the other. There is often propaganda on one side of the conflict in war journalism. War journalism is elite, violence-propaganda, victory-oriented, and a zero-sum game where there is a winner and a loser.

The Maikadra Massacre occurred during the low enforcement operation , therefore news reports at the time had firsthand knowledge of the conflict and focused on the national army's and the Amhara Special Forces' victory in liberating the region from the TPLF.

The reports made Amhara Media Corporation On November 10, 2020,/AMECO/ on the western front, the special force Amhara and Ethiopian national defense army was destroyed TPLF in a short period of time and that the victory was easily recorded every day. "Today, the Ethiopian National Defense Forces and the Amhara Special Forces liberated Maikadra town from the depressed TPLF army. The special force of the traitorous and robbed TPLF and its organized bandit killed unnamed civilians in Maikadra."

On November 28, 2020 /EBC/ also broadcasted a new which depicts the victory of the government on the going war and the defect of TPLF and its revenge acts. "As a result of the heavy defeat it faced by the Ethiopian defense forces the TPLF junta was taking a revenge action on innocent Amhara civilians who were living in Maikadra town."

On November 20, 2020(AMECO) also broadcasted another war frame news which was focused on national army and Amhara special force were recording victory over the TPLF group."The defense army, Amhara Special Forces, and "Minisha" the bandits and killers of the TPLF, have been prepared for years, destroyed the war of destruction in Ethiopia on the western front in less than a week of fighting, and captured the survivors.

4.1.2.3 Journalistic principles and ethics

Any media practitioner should adhere to certain ethical standards and ideals in order to be respected for their work in the industry. The most important of them is that a journalist should report news with objectivity and without bias, maintaining objectivity at all times. The news reports ought to be fact-based rather than embellished with lies. One of the most well-known attributes of journalistic techniques is objectivity, which aims to present a version of the facts.

Journalists have always understood the value of impartiality, the need for self-control, and the idea that the media shouldn't speak for any one political party or religion. Hachten (1998) said that news stories shouldn't be as biased as they can be. Journalists ought to make every effort to attain objectivity. The news should be easy for the audience to believe to be true or truthful. Most of the news on the Maikadra Massacre that were broadcasted in the chosen media sources did not adhere to the principles and values of journalism.

4.1.2.3.1 Emotional feelings

News sensationalization refers to the deliberate exaggeration or manipulation of news stories to evoke emotional responses and capture the attention of the audience. It often involves the use of provocative language, sensational headlines, and the amplification of controversial or scandalous elements in a story. While the intention may be to increase readership or viewership, sensationalism undermines the core principles of journalism, such as objectivity, accuracy, and fairness. When news outlets prioritize sensationalism over accuracy and objectivity, it undermines their credibility and fosters skepticism among the audience.

In terms of avoiding strong emotions and provocations from one group to another, the news reports were devoid of both. A number of scholars assert that playing the supporting/blaming game is one way emotionality shows up. Because of their emotional attachment to the other side, journalists started to both accuse and defend all of their acts.

Based on their scripts and carefully selected audio samples, reporters' emotions were portrayed in the news of the two media houses.

On November 26, 2020 Amhara media corporation/AMECO/ report, has sought to arouse public sentiment by adding emotion to conducting interviews that make members and leaders of the TPLF, is devoid of human character "These TPLF people are always evil; they are not human beings; they are civil evil and cruel, they were created by Satan."

On December 16, 2020 Ethiopian broadcasting corporate has also broadcasted sensitive news which focused on Tplf behaviors. "The inhuman act of the junta group against all Ethiopians shows how barbaric the group is against the people."

On November 25, 2020 (AMCO) also broadcasted additional news which shows emotional feeling of the theme of news. "TPLF is good for nothing anugly, disgusting gang, a group of gangsters who ruled Ethiopia for 27 years. They must be punished and pay the price for their crime".

News_s during the Maikadra Massacre and the law enforcement operation were more loaded with reporters' emotion than neutral reporting. In other words many of the reports had a provocative and accusatory character in the words used by the reporters in the sources they chose, script they wrote and selected up sounds and in general, they were sensational rather than neutral.

4.1.2.3.2 News balance

The phrase "balance" in journalism describes a journalist's objectivity and justice when reporting a story. It specifically alludes to the notion that reporters ought to give equal weight to all viewpoints on a story they cover, without displaying any bias. Meeting objectivity prevents journalists from being accused of prejudice, according to Filak (2019). It maintains their credibility as well.

Regardless of the source, it needs to be examined from several perspectives. The credibility and impact that journalists have in informing those who need to make changes in order to resolve conflicts peacefully stems from the independence and objectivity of the news media. The definition of journalistic objectivity is "a commitment to reporting the truth." Thus, reporting the facts without forming an opinion about them, or at the very least without disclosing one, has been classified as journalistic objectivity. Kinsey (2001) Referenced in Semere (2010).

The media and journalists utilize it to properly check the news's balance before presenting it to their audience. This is a required practice as well as a media editorial policy. Nonetheless, the media was quick to point out that there were issues with reporting and that the information on the Maikadra massacre was not impartial. According to numerous reports, the TPLF, which was responsible for the Maikadra Massacre, the Samri group that the TPLF organized, and the TPLF's security forces were the ones who carried out the atrocities. On the other hand, the TPLF forces used their media to spread the narrative that the Tegarus were massacred because of which they were.

This extensive campaign has shown that neither of them featured the opinions of the issue owners in any news reports.

Almost all of the news circulated that the so-called TPLF group had fully committed the massacre, and the next on November 10, 2020 /AMECO/ news showed that this was the case. "Today the Ethiopian national defense Forces and the Amhara Special Forces fibrated Maikadra town from the depressed TPLF army. The special force of the traitorous and robber TPLF and its organized bandit killed unnamed civilians in Maikadra and its environs."

On November 25, 2020 (EBC) Like Amhara Media Corporation Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation has also reporting number of news without balancing; the so-called Maikadra Massacre has been fully committed by Tplf group. Evidence is emerging that the ethnic Massacre of Maikadra was premeditated by the TPLF destructive group and carried out by an organized criminal group".

On November 20, 2020, Amhara Media Corporation circulated a story that blatantly violated the principle of news balance. It claimed that the Samari group was killing Amharas by using weapons to enter a Sudanese refugee camp. However, the story did not provide any details about whether the group had actually entered the camp or killed the refugees. Nor did it mention the Ashbait refugee camp, which is home to Amhara refugees, or the Sudanese side of the conflict.

All the news presented is an undeniable depiction of the massacre of Tplf, and the group named Samri was responsible for the massacre act Maikadra. But at that time, TPLF owned Medias and activists also reported that a similar number of Tigrinya were subjected to genocide, along with the execution of 600 Amharas mentioned by the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, in which there were reports of a distraction about the assignment of correct, balanced information. For instance Tigray TV was broadcasted such kind of news stories On November 9, 2020 "those who entered Maikadra were Amhara bandits Fanona's and Abiy Ahmed's army committed to massacre ethnic Tigrinya who lived in Maikadra according to surviving eyewitnesses". The Maikadra massacre was an act that took place when TPLF faced defeat in the area. During their reporting the two Medias had been used the eyewitnesses who survived the massacre, the security forces, and the high officials of the government as sources of news.

However, the two medias houses news were made at the time, focused on the source of the problem was TPLF and the group that organized by TPLF called, Sameria, but the reports were one-sided and unbalanced. As a result, TPLF -owned media were trying to hide the truth by fabricating fake news and confuse the international community by making propaganda that the massacre was not carried out against the Amharas but the victim of the massacre were the Tigray living in Maikadra Massacre. This situation was faced due to both the selected Medias violating their editorial policy and journalism principles, as a result, almost all news of the massacre broadcasted by the two media house were unbalanced .According to the two meda editorial policy balance is amandatory principle of there news reports .Amhara meda corporation editorial policy articl 5.2. Elaborate Balance: We will make the reports that we distribute to the people give equal opportunities in terms of including the ideas and opinions of the relevant parties. EBC editorial policy article 3.1.10 also describe about balance, Journalists report from personal thoughts and feelings as well as from others on a professional basis, independent of the issues of accuracy and fairnessIt refers to reporting based only. EBC collected and prepared the data .It works to make it wearable. This is the principle of EBC for all from giving due respect to the parties and based on openness and honesty relationship is born.

4.1.2.3.3 Sources of News Stories

Sources are the informants that news organizations use to report on various topics. Concerned government officials, specialists, eyewitnesses, official records, observations, and locals are among the information sources used by media organizations. The news story's credibility, dependability, impartiality, and trustworthiness are significantly impacted by its information source. To accomplish the aforementioned attributes of news, experts typically urge media institutions to choose trustworthy sources from various parties. Furthermore, for the sake of fairness and legitimacy, equal representation of sources is crucial.

Since the Massacre of Maikadra, both of the media have been reporting from the frontline, especially the Amhara Media Corporation's journalists, who were in the city the day after the massacre was happened, so they were able to reporting the news on the spot. Similarly EBC

journalists arrived at the scene, and they had the opportunity to report the news closely by interviewing eyewitnesses and victims. Let us see the following sample news;

On November 26, 2020 (AMECO) "According to eyewitnesses who survived the attack, the horrific massacre of innocent civilians by the special forces of the TPLF junta and the organized killers in Maikadra town is one of the examples of the continuous genocide committed against the local Amhara community for the last 30 years."

On November 25, 2020 (EBC) "This is the place where innocent civilians who were massacred by the murderous group called Samri were found buried in mass graves. 56 corpses of innocent civilians were found in one mass grave."

Beside the source from the Maikadra town both media used the news briefing and directions from the government sources, Human rights organizations and international media institutions.

On November 26, 2020/AMECO/ "CNN, Reuters, Al Jazeera, and other international media continued reporting the massacre carried out by TPLF killers." On November 10, 2020/EBC/ "The Ethiopian Human Rights Commission revealed that at least 600 people were killed in Maikadra town on October 30, 2020. According to the first-level quick investigation report issued by the commission, a massacre of an informal group of Tigray native youths called Samri took place in the town".

Amhara Media Corporation played a significant role in serving as a source of information, and it was disseminating the news for different media outlets. Especially, reports showed the location of the incident and mass graves and concluded the journalists' observations, so that the news was close to the viewer.

The following news which was broadcasted by Amhara Media Corporation on November 9, 2020 shows the journalists observation on the spot of the mass graves of Maikadra Massacre civilians "A group of journalists from the Amhara Media Corporation went to the scene and witnessed the massacre, I have also witnessed more than 100 injuries and deaths with my own eyes."

4.2 Analysis of key informants' interviews

Apart from scrutinizing the news aired throughout the investigation, interviews were conducted with news reporters, editors, and chief editors from Amhara Media Corporation and Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation. The interviewees answered questions about the news's overall subject, the fairness of the information sources, how the reports were broadcasted in terms of their editorial policies and journalism principles, and how the media covered the Maikadra Massacre. Selected questions were posed to two reporters, two editors, and two chief editors from the two media outlets who participated in this interview. The theme of the news at the moment was discussed in the first question and the journalists' responses.

Two journalists covering the story on the spot, Tesfay Chane of EBC and Wendatir Mekonen of AMECO, said that the primary goals of the news at the time were to draw attention to the atrocities' brutality and inspire the public to support the government's law enforcement efforts.

According to Tesfaya Chani of the EBC, the news of the Maikadra Massacre served to both draw attention to the atrocities' severity and inspire support for the government among the populace. The stories did, however, occasionally stray from upholding other journalistic reporting standards and the report's balance."

Wendater Mekonnen from Amahara Media Corporation also said " Especially at that time, when the country was invaded and a race-based massacre was carried out and the people who were injured at the scene told us and we saw their injuries closely, we used to transmit reports in which emotions were reflected in the scripts we were writing with voice selection and where there were obstacles. Despite these limitations, we made efforts to report the massacre from the scene."

The chief news editors of the two media outlets at the time Nebeyu Wondosen and Asmamaow Bekel from Ethiopia broadcasting corporation and Amhara Media Corporation respectively responded to the complaints about how the news reports were broadcast in terms of the editorial police because the country was in danger at the time, and in that process, an unspeakable massacre occurred. At the time of reporting, we did not completely follow our editorial policy on the reports; there were errors; there were gaps in the impartiality of reporting, starting with the balance of reporting.

Nebeyus opinion regarding to editorial policy, "To be honest I do not dare to say we have perfectly implemented our editorial policy. There were numbers of rules that we have violated during the war. For example; unethical pictures and video footages were aired, women who were sexually abused were televised without covering their face. Dead bodies and other shocking pictures were casted in the way that could be watched by children. The damage was so high that journalism and sensuality were mixed, and the report of the alleged party doing the damage was not made, as the sound of one side was being heard at the time. However, various accounts were made of the surviving victims of the elder deceased's family speaking to the wounded, even words used by the government for the supremacy of propaganda,

Asmamaw from AMECO also said, "At a time, our focuses were exposing the brutal action of TPLF and we simply reporting information coming from the government side. And reports were aired by the will and direction of the media committee that was established momentarily. In this case, some of the rules of the editorial policy were violated. The reports were pretending the war of in between two independent nations. Some ethical principles of journalism were missed during reporting".

The two chief editors explained the position of the media, they said that the media lives when the country lives, and since both media are managed under the government, we focused on the government's directions and focus agenda. In addition to that, we focused on the directions and themes set by the media committee established at the government level at the time. We were spreading reports, not ideas that could be dealt with independently.

Regarding the sources of reports, the directions and ideas received from the government and the defense army was given priority. However, regarding the massacre, the main sources of reports were the victims, eyewitnesses who survived the damage, and the security forces. However, at the time, there was a huge gap in reporting on the information given to the party responsible for the damage, especially the voice of Tplf. Instead, the reports were fully hateful and loaded with emotion and onesided.

Another suggestion given by the news editors Gytu Lakow and Abyot yegezaow from EBC and AMECO was that the reports made at the time were between two countries and not the people of one country. Many reports were made in spreading their hatred, and at least there were few efforts

to show the massacre was committed by a Tplf group and an unorganized group that is the Samri group, not the people of Tigray.

Gaytu Lakow from EBC explained, "We were propagating everything that come from the government side since the experience of war reporting was not that much developed and no option to do like that. we know as balancing is mandatory according to the ethical principles of journalism but we were violating professional ethics of journalism."

Abiyot yegezaow from AMECO also said, "One of the mistakes made during the war was forgetting the neighborly cohabitation of the citizens and the fact that they were citizens of the same country. As AMECO, we have done a series of reports since the day of the Maikadra massacre, we have broadcasted as many reports as we could to show the truth of the massacre to all Ethiopians and the international Community, because the act was terrible at the time; however, in this process, there were violations of the basic principles of journalism and the editorial policy of our Organization. Many of the reports focused on exposing sensitivities and echoing the government's directions. we interviewed the victims closely and showed their injuries. Since the time was war, the biggest gap was in making balanced reports".

4.3 Finding of the study

The findings showed the two media failed from the point of view of reporting from the stand point of journalistic principles and ethics.

4.3.1. News Balance

The news reported during the Maikadra Massacre had a complete balance problem. Both media maintained the balance set by their editorial policy and completely violated the principle of dissemination of reporting. This was created by the media to put themselves on the side of the government because a country had been invaded by TPLF. The way in which they reported both the war and the massacre was similar to that of two countries, not a single country, which completely forgot that people lived together.

4.3.2. Sensationalism

Regarding the target media outlets for this study, the news that was covered by the two outlets centered on demonstrating that the TPLF constituted a national security threat to the population of Amhara. The audience was exposed to more spectacular and mood- infused news produced by journalists and carefully chosen noises during this process. More over Reports during the Maikadra Massacre and the law enforcement operation were, in general, more sensational than neutral, with many reporters using language that was provocative and accusatory in the sources they chose, the scripts they wrote, and the sounds they picked.

4.3.3 Responsibility

In addition to speaking the truth, being responsible means following the law and doing research in an ethical way. Many careless stories were observed in the media, which was not accountable. Journalistic literature argues that because conflict is potentially harmful and has long-term implications, it should not be handled lightly like any other story. These study reports' intended media channels were more likely to highlight animosity than to advocate for peace during the Maikadra massacre and the conflict. In order to win the war and eliminate the TPLF leadership, the government was at the time engaged in a massive effort. As so, the reports' true goal was to intensify the conflict rather than to bring about peace.

In addition to going a long way toward demonstrating that the TPLF is accountable for the issues that have arisen at the national level during the last 30 years that it has been in power, the aforementioned reports indicate that both media outlets concentrated on exposing the horrifying acts committed by the TPLF during the war and the Maikadra Massacre. Furthermore, by presenting numerous reports, the people of Tigray and the TPLF are united, and as a result, the people of Tigray separate from other Ethiopians and spread animosity toward them. There have been numerous allegations in the past suggesting that the TPLF and the Tigray people work together to portray the Tigray people as being cut off from the rest of Ethiopia, which has led to widespread mistrust and hatred. The Amharas were targeted and slaughtered by the TPLF security forces and a gang known

as the Samri during the Maikadra Massacre. Reports emerged indicating that prominent Tigray residents were involved in the massacre, which incited animosity.

Reports from both media outlets throughout the conflict and slaughter indicated that the conflict was not between inhabitants of one nation but rather between two, that there would never be another meeting of the people, and that peace and negotiations were not possible.

When the TPLF re-entered the Amhara region, the animosity it caused served as the catalyst for additional ethnic atrocities and property destruction of in different parts of Amhara region.

4.3.4. Objectivity

Many scholars agree that it is difficult to achieve objective reporting because of the impossibility of practicing detachment and writing a report without any interpretation. Some scholars and journalists even say objectivity is an illusion and difficult to achieve Sanders, (2003, p43) Journalists should be free of obligation to any interest other than the public's right to know.

Regarding the target media outlets of this research, both media reports made during the Maikadra Massacre were almost all following directions from the government.

During the northern war and the Maikadra massacre the government organized the media committee. This committee was organized by the Prime Minister's Press Secretariat and the member of the media committee was government media officials. Occasionally, senior officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Defense are also involved. The members of the media committee meet weekly and, as the case may be, daily, The media committee will prepare news agenda for the media based on the information given to them by the government and the messages they want to receive attention .and based on the information given to them by the government and the messages it conveys, as well as the ideas it wants to be given attention to, the news of the officials will be prepared by the media.

In this process, most of the ideas and sources of information were similar, and the propagandist idea that the government wanted and that it would bring dominance over the government would be passed on to the public through the committee. They played an important role in spreading the war

and many of the reports were preached war and hatred instead of peace. Generally the two media could not achieve their professional objectivity.

4.3.5 Lack of complies with Editorial policy

Journalists are guided by the way the news report is presented in both media, which each have their own set of editorial guidelines. The set of rules that the news organization follows is known as its editorial policy. It supports editors in their decision-making process and contains the news organization's views toward its community.

When any journalist prepares news reports, the independent information must be based on the truth, and the reports that include all the elements must not be exaggerated and out of sentiment. They also insist that they should be prepared so as not to cause fear and anxiety. However, both media did not maintain their editorial policies during the massacre and during the war and quickly broadcast the information obtained on behalf of the government.

Due to their focus on broadcasting and confirming the supremacy of the government's propaganda, they have noticed wide problems in the neutrality, balance, and broadcasting of reports that are full of emotion.

According to EBC editorial policy article 3.1.10 portray based on Article 29 of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Freedom of expression and freedom of the media is guaranteed. In the same article According to number 4, ebc operational independence is preserved as an institution It is protected by law so that it can accommodate different opinions. Therefore, EBC is established by the Constitution and Proclamation No. 858/2006 and any other according to the media regulations of the country it works independently of external and internal influence and interference. EBC has declared that it carries out independent and independent reporting without any interference, but in practice during the war in the north, and the massacre providing information outside of the government's agenda was low. Amhara Media Corporation also stated in its editorial policy that it respects the principles of journalism, but during the massacre, the journalists felt that the reports were unbalanced. Instead of peace and brotherhood, they preached hatred.

4.3.6 Lack experience in war Reporting.

War journalism plays a key role in delivering factual and balanced coverage of conflicts and crises, extending beyond reporting facts to shine light on human tales and societal impact. One of the study's findings is that there is a lack of experience in combat reporting.

During the conflict between the Ethiopian government and TPLF in the case of a law enforcement operation, both media were assigned reporters in four directions for covering the war. Journalists were assigned in the usual way, and most of them had no experience in war reporting. The assigned reporters were not maintaining impartiality and adhering to ethical standards, and their news reporting was a lack of balanced view of conflicts and provided objective context.

4.3.7 Comparing the two Medias

The findings of the study imply that, in the sampled period, both media gave priority to the news genre in covering conflict situations. Amara Media Corporation reporters were arrived at Maikadra city on the day after the massacre was happened and it was possible for them to make news stories about the massacre. In this case, the reporters gave attention to the massacre and the massacre was not condoned and to gain attention. After the first news reported by Amhara Media Corporation, the massacre was getting attention not only by the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission and other international human rights activists but also international medias like BBC, Al Jazeera, France 24, and others. The other historic achievement of Amhara Media Corporation was made an extensive and comprehensive report on the massacre of Maikadra than Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation; AMECO broadcasted not only news but also documentary series. But AMECO news and documentary reports were more provoked the two peoples and preached hatred and enmity. On the other hand, Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation's coverage of Maikadra was limited, and it mostly reported on law enforcement campaigns, statements, and directives issued by the government.

Chapter Five

5. Conclusion and recommendation

5.1 Conclusion

This chapter presents the conclusion of this thesis and recommends ideas that have to be done for concerned bodies.

For reaching to the finding of the research, the researcher analyze the basic themes of the news, the dominate frame of the news, the stand of the media at the time of the conflict and massacre, and finally to assess how the two media houses manipulate there editorial policy at the selected time frame.

This study rooted on examining the media coverage of the Maikadra massacre by relying on EBC and AMECO. The two media houses are purposively selected for the research. Different studies and books related to conflict reporting, on Tigray conflict and, the role of media in conflict resolution have been reviewed.

The researcher used qualitative research approach to conduct this study. The conventional content analysis technique was used to analyze these news stories qualitatively. And as sample for the researcher collected a total of 25 news stories which focus on the Maikadra massacre.

Both Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and Amhara Media Corporation are governmental institutions, but they are a little difference in terms of their new coverage. The Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation is a national media house, so its primary news coverage has been national issues based on national interest of Ethiopia. On the other hand, the Amhara Media Corporation is a regional media house, and its daily news coverage is mainly focused on the issues of Amhara regional state affairs, although in some extent it covers national issues at the second label. As the essence of public media suggests the main purpose of public media is to serve the public; its main concerns are include issues of the public, education, entertainment, and act as a fourth state with vital public themes. While there is little doubt that Ethiopia's official media channels, both federal and regional, are affiliated with particular

As the researcher elaborate earlier, during the Maikadra Massacre, ethnic Amhara were the targeted by TPLF group and victims of the massacre, so Amhara Media Corporation has covered a large number of news stories and fellow up news analysis and documentaries better than the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation during the selected 3 months and up to now.

According to the findings of the study, the reports made by both the two medias during the Maikdara massacre were government based and propaganda in nature; In this way, every day the statements that the government will bring propaganda supremacy over TPLF , the various support demonstrations and discussions that make the people line up on the side of the government and condemn TPLF forces , the news of the victory that the government claims to have achieved over TPLF were broadcasted in the media.

As summery the two media was focused on an unfounded wave of propaganda, and escalated the conflict in their news framing of war and ethnic tension, endangering people's relations. This would give Ethiopians media lots of lessons that must be learned to the future.

On the other hand , both media have made a series of reports about the Maikadra massacre within the selected time frame and beyond; however, the reports were one-sided and unbalanced; As a result of this, TPLF has given them the opportunity to conduct a wide campaign in the local and foreign media to attract international attention so that the information provided by the government is not accepted through the media they manage. As a result, it can be seen that the media were not maintaining their editorial policy principles the chosen media sources have violated journalistic neutrality and professional values when covering the armed conflict in Ethiopia's Tigray area.

According to the findings of the study, the reports that were broadcast during the massacre and the times that followed did not strengthen peace and brotherhood; instead they preached enmity that fueled the war. The news reports did not show the reconciliation and negotiation that could come from war instead of thinking about peace, they were suspicious and eroded the solidarity of the people, moreover, and they were fueling resentment and revenge.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made for both media houses.

Implementation of editorial principles and values

As seen in the war in north Ethiopia and the massacre of Maikadra both media were completely on the side of the government and were forced to violate the editorial guidelines that they had set by saying that they would lead by being on the side of the government. As a result, the selection of neutral sources of information seen in the reports, a lack of balance and sensibility, and conditions aggravating the war has occurred. As a result, the credibility of the media has been called into question, and as the media continue with the people, they must respect their editorial policy.

Plan and make news reports that strengthen the unity of the people and promote Brotherhood.

During the war and the Maikadra Massacre, both media were focused on inciting the war and reports of victory instead of peace and solidarity. The two public media, they are public only in name not in practice, as the research finding indicated, they are used as propaganda machine in the conflict between the two confronting bodies. Even though it has been transformed from state media to public media in terms of regulation, EBC is still following its traditional practice of serving the majority politics or the government. In Tigray conflict and during the massacre the two media houses played a role of public relation for the government by producing one sided news stories. It undermined not only the forces of TPLF but also the conflict itself to the level of law enforcement operation which involves high scale military weapons including missile in the violence conflict.

It produced news stories that judged the conflict in which it would be completed within weeks, and after weeks it undermined the conflict as hunt to some criminals in Tigray Mountains. In

addition to this both media had been repeatedly reported enmity and hostilities as a result. When TPLF re-invaded the Amhara and Afar regions, the group committed another massacre and looted property. According to Amhara region university forum investigation report show more than 7,000 ethnic Amharas which are not direct involve at the war have been killed by TPLF. So that, this act does not happen again in the country and the rest of other regions, the media must plan and consistently report on social cohesion that unites people instead of stories that divide people.

Providing special Training to Media Professionals about war reporting.

Various conflicts and displacements have been recorded at the country level in recent years, including the war in northern Ethiopia and the massacre of Maikadra. However, the way in which the damages are reported is even worse, since when the reports are prepared, they contain only one-sided information. Being responsible entails not only telling the truth, but also abiding by the law and gathering information in an honest manner. The media was not responsible; many irresponsible reports were seen. Literature on journalism suggests that conflict should not be treated as any ordinary story, but should be handled with due care as it is potentially-damaging and has long-term effects. Therefore, in order to solve the problem, it is necessary to arrange special trainings for media practitioner_s special reporters, editors and chief editors by inviting experts who have enough knowledge of dealing with war reporting as well as media institutions with experience in international war reporting.

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APPENDIX 1

Interview Guide Questions for the Journalism Professionals

Interview questions for reporters

1. How was the situation when you report the Maikadra Massacre?
3. How do you evaluate the theme of the news?
4. How were you framing the conflict in your news report?
5. Who were your main news sources?

Interview questions for editors

1. How was the focus of the news theme of Maikadra Massacre?
2. How did you evaluate the tone of the news of Maikadra massacre?
3. How you check the reliability of the news source?
4. How to implement your editorial policy during news reporting

Interview questions for chief editor

1. Did you have any editorial policy which guides news reporting of massacre?
2. Was there any party/group which was pushing to incline the story to its interest in certain way?
3. How do you describe your media's stand during the massacker?
4. what are the wrong doing during the news coverage of the massacre
5. how do you exercise war reporting regarding to journalistic principles

APPENDIX 2

Headlines of the news stories of the two media houses About the Maikadra masscre

NEWS	Literal translation	BRAODASTED DATE
ትናንት ሌሊቱን የትህነግ ልዩ ሀይልና ሳምሪ በሚል ያደራጃቸው ገዳይ ቡድኖች በማይካድራ በሚገኙ ያልታጠቁ ሰላማዊ ዜጎች በጅምላ ዘር ለይቶ በመግደል ምንጊዜም የኢትዮጵያና በተለይም የአማራ ጠላትነቱን አሳይታል።	Yesterday night, the Tigrian Special Forces and the murderous group organized under the name of Samri by TPLF have shown their enmity towards Ethiopians, specially the Amhara by mass killing unarmed civilians in Mai Kadra town based on their ethnic profile	November 10/2020 AMECO
በማይካድራ ከተማ ባለፈው ጥቅምት 30/2013 በተፈጸመው የጂምላ ጭፍጨፋ በትንሹ 600 ሰዎች መገደላቸውን የኢትዮጵያ ሰብአዊ መብት አስታወቀ ።ኮሚሽኑ ባወጣው የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ፈጣን የምርምራ ሪፖርት በከተማዋ ሳምሪ የሚባል የትግራይ ተወላጅ ወጣቶች መደበኛ ያልሆነ ቡድን ጭፍጨፋ ተፈጽሟል።	Last November 9. 2020, Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, EHRC announced that at least 600 unarmed Amhara civilians were massacred in Mai Kadra town. According to the first level quick investigation report issued by EHRC, the massacre was committed by an informal group of Tigray native youths called Samri,	NOVEMBER 24 EBC

«የማይካድራ ዘርን መሰረት ያደረገ ጅምላ ጭፍጨፋ በትህነግ ከፍተኛ መሪወች የታቀደና የተፈጸመ እንደሆነ የአይን ዕማኞች ለአምንስቲ ኢንተርናሽናል ተናገሩ፡፡»	"Eyewitnesses told Amnesty International that ethnic massacre of Mai Kadra was planned and carried out by the top leaders of the TPLF"	November 26,2020 AMECO
ስልጣንን ከምንም በላይ የሚወደው የጁንታው የህውሃት ቡድን ለስልጣን ሲል የማይፈነቅለው ድንጋይ የለም እናም ለበርካታ አመታት ብሄርን ከብሄር ሲያጋጭ ሀይማኖት መሰረት ያደረገ ግጭቶች ሲቀሰቅስ ቆይታል፤ በቅርቡም በማይካድራ ንጹህን የአማራ ዜጎች ላይ ያነጣጠረ ዘር ተኮር ጂምላ ጭፍጨፋ ማካሄዱም ይህንን የጁንታው ቡድን ባህሪ መሳያ ነው፡፡	The TPLF junta group, who loves power above anything else, leaved no stone unturned for several years; it was provoking conflicts everywhere in the country for many years based on religious divisions while pitting ethnic groups against each other. Recently, the ethnic based genocidal massacre targeting innocent Amhara civilians in MayKadra is the characteristics of this junta group	DECEMBER 16 /2020 EBC
አጥፊው የህውሃት ቡድን ኢትዮጵያን ለማተራመስ ሲጠቀምበት የነበረው ጥላቻን መሰረት ያደረገ የፖለቲካ አካሄድ አሁንም ድረስ መቀጠሉን የማይካድራው የጂምላ ግድያ ምስክር ነው ሲሉ ከግድያው የተረፉ ነዋሪዎች ተናገሩ፡፡	The residents of Mai Kadra town who survived the killing said that the TPLF junta used hate based political approach to destabilize Ethiopia and the massacre can be seen as a testimony for its destabilization.	November 20/2020 EBC
ኑሯቸውን አዲስ አበባ ያደረጉ የትግራይ ተወላጆች ይህንን የጁንታው አጸያፊ ጂምላ ጭፍጨፋ ቡድኑ ውስጥ ለውስጥ ለአመታት ሲፈጽም የቆየውን ተግባር በአደባባይ ያሳዩ መሆኑን ገልጸዋል፤ድርጊቱንም አውግዘዋል፡፤	The people of Tigray who reside in Addis Ababa have expressed their feeling that the disgusting massacre waged by the junta group is a public display of its internal activities for years and they also condemned the action of the group.	EBC DECEMBER 16/2020

የሰብአዊ መብት ኮሚሽነር ዶ/ር ዳንኤል በቀለ እንደገለጡት የአካባቢው ነዋሪዎች ለኮሚሽኑ እንደተናገሩት የትግራይ ተወላጅ የሆኑ በጣም በርካታ ሰዎች አጥቂዎች ያሳድዱባቸው የነበሩትን ወገኖች በየቤታቸው በየቤተክርስቲያኑ በዕርሻ ቦታቸው እየደበቁ ህይወታቸውን እንዳዳኑላቸው ምስክርነት ሰጥተዋል ።	According to Dr. Danel Bekele, Human Rights Commissioner, the local residents told to the commission that many Tigrian people have testified that they saved the lives of Amhara civilians by hiding them in different areas like their homes, churches and farms. while the killers were hunting them	EBC November 24/2020
መንግሥት እየወሰደ ባለው ህግ የማስከበር ሂደት የህውሃት ከሃዲና ዘራፊ ቡድን ላይ እንጂ የትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ ባለመሆኑ የአማራ ህዝብ በየአካባቢው ያሉ የትግራይ ተወላጆችን እንደዚህ ቀደሙ በአብሮነትና በአንድነት አቅፎ ደግፎ እንዲይዝ የባህር ዳር ወጣቶች ተናገሩ።	The youth of Bahir Dar City said that the process of the law enforcement, which the government is taking is only on the traitors and robbers of the TPLF group, but not on the people of Tigray. They also said that the residents of the city should embrace and support the Tegar people in every area in the sense of solidarity and unity.	November 11,2020 AMECO
በጎንደር የሚገኙ የትግራይ ተወላጆች እህት ወንድሞቻችን በመሆናቸው ደህንነታቸው እንዲጠበቅ ከምንጊዜውም በላይ እንሰራለን ሲሉ የጎንደር ከተማ ነዋሪዎች ተናገሩ።	The residents of the city of Gondar said that the people of Tigray living in Gondar are our brothers and sisters, so we will work harder than ever to ensure their safety and security.	November 2024
የእነርሱን እርሻ የሚያርሙና የሚቆፍሩ በተወሰነ ክፍያ የሚኖሩትን እየመረጡ አማራውን ነው የገደሉት ስለዚህ እነርሱም ተመርጠው እነርሱ ላይ እርምጃ መወሰድ አለበት፤አሰተያየት ሰጭ የተናገረው	They selectively killed Amharas who were digging and working for them in their fields. The victims were living for daily wages said a commenter.	November 26/2020 AMECO

በአማራ ብሄር ላይ በትህነግ ዘራፊና ወንበዴ ቡድን እየተፈጸመ ያለውን የዘር ማጥፋት ወንጀል ለማስቀረት መንግስት እየወሰደ ያለውን ረምጃ አጠናክሮ እንዲቀጥል የማይካድራ ከተማ ነዋሪዎች ጠየቁ	Residents of Mai Kadra town requested the Government to strengthen its measures on TPLF forces to prevent the Genocide committed against the Amhara civilians.	November 12/2020 AMECO
ከጂምሩ በመከላከያ ሰራዊት ሽንፈት ተከናንበ መግቢያ መውጫ አጥቶ ሲደናበር የነበረው የህውሃት ጁንታ ታጣቂ ለደረሰበት ሽንፈት ቁጭት የማይካድራ ነዋሪዎችን በጭካኔ በትር ሰለባ አድርጉቸዋል።	As a result of the heavy defeat it faced by the Ethiopian Defense Forces the TPLF junta was taking a revenge action on innocent Amhara civilians who were living in Mai Kadra town.	November 28/2020 EBC
ከጥቃት የተረፉት የማይካድራ ነዋሪዎች ባለፉት አመታት የተጠነጠነው የትህነግ የዘር ማጥፋት ሰንሰለት በከተማው ነዋሪዎች አማራዎች ላይ አነጣጥሮ የጭካኔ ጥግ ቢያሳይም በምዕራብ ግንባር የኢፌድሪ መከላከያ ሰራዊት የአማራ ልዩ ሀይልና የአካባቢው ሚኒሻ ትህነግ በመደምሰስ ግን በጨለማ ውስጥ እንደታየ አዲስ የብርሃን ፍኖት ተመልክተዋል ።	The survivors of the attack, in MaiKadra town have seen a new wave of light in the darkness as the TPLF's chain of genocide which was intensified over the years targeting the Amhara residents for decades show a cruel corner by the combined effort of the Ethiopian Defense Forces, the Amhara Special Forces and the militia of the surrounding areas .	November 26, 2020 EBC
በሀገር መከላከያ ሰራዊት አይቀሬ ሽንፈት እንደሚገጥመውና ማይካድራ ከእጁ እንደምትወጣ የረጋገጠው ህውሃት የጥፋት ዱላውን በንጹሃን ዜጎች ላይ በማሳረፍ ቢያንስ 600 ሰዎችን በማይካድራ ገፏል።	TPLF understood its ultimate defeat after beaten by the Ethiopian Defense Forces and picked its hands of avenge at least on 600 innocent civilians who reside in Mai Kadra town.	December 16, 2020 AMECO
ልጉዲ ከተያዘች በላላ ሽሽቶ ወደ ማካድራ የገባው የህውሃት ጦር በመከላከያ ሰራዊት በአማራ ልዩ ሀይል እየደረሰበት በነበረው ከፍተኛ ጥቃት መቋቋም ባለመቻሉ በማይካድራ ከተማ ተደብቆባቸው ከነበሩ ይዘታዎች ወጥቷል፤	TPLF's forces retreated and fled from Lugdi when it was Defeated by the Ethiopian Defense Forces and Amhara Special Forces and left Mai Kadra town because of its inability to resist its enemy forces.	November 10, 2020 AMECO

የአማራ ልዩ ሀይል የሚሊሻ አባላትና የመከላከያ ሰራዊት የትህነግ ከፋፋይ ቡድን ለማስወገድ እያደረጉት ያለውን ተጋድሎ የአማራ ብዙሀን መገናኛ ድርጅት ባልደረቦች ግንባር ሂደት መዘገባቸው ከጸጥታ ሀይሉ ጋር መሆናቸውን በተግባር ያረጋገጡ ነው ሲሉ የድርጅቱ ሰራተኞች ተናገሩ።/ /ከመንግስት ጎን መሆናቸውን በአግባቡ ያሰረዱበት/	Members of the Amhara Special Forces, Amhara Militia and the Federal Defense Forces are fighting together against the TPLF led army to eliminate this splinter group. The Amhara Media corporation and their colleagues confirmed that they stand with the allied forces against the TPLF.	November 17/2020 AMECO
በዋናነት ትህነግ የሀገር ጠላት ነው፤ በተለይ ለአማራ ደግሞ የተለየ ጠላት ነው።በ1960 ማንፌስቶ አማራ ጠላት ነው ብለዋል ባለፉት የሥልጣን ዘመናቸው ትውልዱን አማራ አህዳዊ ነው ይወርሃል የሚል የተዛባ ትርክት እየተሰበከ እንዲያልቅ እንዲፈናቀል አድርገዋል። /ግዛቸው ሙሉንም የአማራ ክልል መንግስት ከሙዩኒኬሽ ጉዳዮች ጽ/ቤት ሃላፊ /	TPLF is the main enemy of the country especially for the people of Amhara it is a special enemy. In the 1970s Manifesto of the TPLF the group categorized the Amhara People as the sole enemy and propagated this rhetoric and false narration throughout the years after it controlled the political power. Amhara was seen as monster for the rest of the Ethiopian people to make the people of Amhara target common enemy to all. /Gizachew Muluneh, Amhara Regional Government Communication Affairs Bureau Head/	November 11, 2020 AMECO
ይህ ጨካኝ ቡድን በቅርቡ በመከላከያ ሰራዊት ላይ ጥቃት ፈጽሞ በሰራዊቱ በተወሰደበት ርምጃ ሽንፈት ሲከናወን በማይካድራ ዘርን መሰረት አድርጎ የአማራ ተወላጆችን ንጹሃን ዜጎች ላይ የፈጸመው ኢ-ሰብአዊ ድርጊት የጁንታውን ቡድን የጭካኔ ጥግ በገሃድ አሳይቷል።	When this cruel group recently attacked the Federal Defense Forces the Federal forces taken counter measures and when the group was defeated, it killed innocent Amhara civilians in inhuman way based on ethnic profiling. The act of the Junta TPLF group shows its crudity for human beings.	Dec 16, 2020 AMECO

ለላፉት 30 አመታት የትህነግ ዘረኛ ቡድን የአማራን ህዝብ ወደ ማህበራዊ ስብራት አሻግሮ የጥላቻውን ጭፍ ለመተግበር በማንፌስቷቸውና ከአመራሮች የፈጠራ ትርክት እየተመዘዘ ስርዓታዊ በሆነው የመንግሥት መዋቅርና ጭምር የተጠነጠነው ሞራላዊና አካላዊ ጥቃት ለአመታት በውክልና አሁን ደግሞ በራሱ ልዩ ሀይልና ባደራጀቸው ቡድኖች ማይካድራ ላይ በአረመኔነት ታይቷል፤	For the past 30 years, the TPLF group pushed the Amhara people to the point of social breakdown and incited the people based on their Manifesto and their leaderships' rhetoric and narration by introducing hate and demoralizing to make the people victims of physical violence through intensified systematic government led genocidal structure. Now through the forces organized under its umbrella the group has proved its cruelty by waging massacre on the people of Mai Kadra.	November 26, 2020 AMECO
ማንም የመንደር ወመኔ ሀገር ሊያፈርስ አይችልም ሀገር አስገነጥላለሁ ብሎ የተነሳ ጂብ በብርሃን ፍጥነት መጥፋት አለበት ፤/ም/ኢማጆር ሹም አበባው ታደሰ	No one can sit idle when a group of gangsters and hyenas Claim to destroy the country. It has to be eliminated in the speed of light. / General Abebaw Tadesse, Vice chief of the Federal Defense Forces./	November 23, 2020 AMECO
አማራ ቴሌቪዥን ግድያው በተፈጸመበት በሰዓታት ደርሶ ያነጋገራቸው ሰዎች ሳመሪ በተባለው የትህነግ ገዳይ ቡድን አማራነት የግድያው የልዩታ መስፈርት መሆኑን አረጋግጧል።	The Amhara TV told that people who spoke to them Within hours of the killing confirmed that being Amhara was the main criteria for the Killing by the Samiri group organized by the TPLF.	Dec 26, 2020 AMECO
ይህን ዘር መሰረት ያደረገ ጭፍጭፋ ለማጣራት የኢትዮጵያ ሰብአዊ መብት ኮሚሽን ወደ ስፍራው ባለሙያዎችን ልኳል፤ባለሙያዎች በተሳተፉበት በዚህ ቅድመ ምርመራ ሪፖርት መሰረት በጭፍጭፋው የትግራይ ልዩ ሀይል ሚሊሻና ሳመሪ የተባለ የጥፋት ቡድን ተሳትፈውበታል፤ባለሙያዎች አክላውም ማይካድራ የሆነው ይህ አስከፊ እውነት በቀዳሚነት አላማ ያደረገው በአካባቢው የሚገኙ የአማራና ወልቃይት ተወላጆችን ነበር ብለዋል።	Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, EHRC sent experts to the scene to investigate the ethnic-based massacre. According to the preliminary investigative report of the EHRC, the Tigray Special Forces, Militia, and Samri were involved in the massacre. The experts also disclosed that this horrific act of massacre primarily targeted the Amhara civilians of Wolkait area.	December 16, 2020 EBC

አማረኛ በመናገርህ የምጠላበት ነበር በምን አይነት ጊዜ ደረስን የምንልበት ነበር ሁሉጊዜ እነዚህ ነፍጦች ነበር የሚሉን። በማይካራ ነዋሪ የሆኑ የዐማራ ተወላጆች የሰጡት አስተያየት ።	There were times you become victim of hater attitude if you were speaking the Amharic language They used to call us "Neftegna," commentary of Mai Kadra town residents.	November 26,2020 AMECO
በማይካራራ ንጹሀን ሲሸል አማራዎችና በአካባቢው ወልቃይቲዎች ተብለው የሚጠሩ ዜጎች ተጨፍጭፈዋል ያለው የኢትዮጵያ ሰብአዊ መብት ኮሚሽን በጨፍጭፋው የከተማዋ ፖሊስና ሚሊሻ ድርጊቱን በቀጥታ ይፈጽሙና ያሥፈጽሙ ነበር ብለዋል።	According to the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, innocent Amhara civilians and the so called Wolkaties were massacred in Mai Kadra town The police forces and militia were directly and indirectly involved in the killing.	November 24/2020 EBC
የማይካራራ ከተማ ነዋሪዎች የትህነግና የከረመ ሴራና ጭቆና ለከፋ ጉዳት ሲያጋልጣቸው መኖሩን ተናግረዋል፤ ነዋሪዎችም ሰው በላው ቡድን የፈጸሙባቸው የዘር ማጥፋት ድርጊትም የሰይጣናዊ ባህሪ መገለጫ ነው ብለዋል።	The residents of Mai Kadra town expressed that TPLF's long conspiracy and act of operation have exposed them to a severe damage. The act of genocide which took place on them was also the manifestation of their cannibal behavior.	November 12, 2020 AMECO
ከማይካራራው ዘር የለዩ ጨፍጭፋዊ ክዋኔ እለት በፊት የትግራይ ፖሊስ ጨፍጭፋውን በሚስጥር ተዘጋጅተውበታል። ይህንንም የኢትዮጵያ ሰብአዊ መብት ጉባኤ በሪፖርቱ አረጋግጧል።የአካባቢው ፖሊስ የማይካራራን ነዋሪዎችን መታወቂያ ለእድሳት በሚል ሰበብ የትግራይ ማንነት ያላቸውን ሰዎች ላይ የራይት ምልክት የአማራ ማንነት ያላቸው ላይ የኤክስ ምልክት አደረጉ፤በጨፍጭፋው ቀን የኤክስ ምልክት የተደረገባቸው አማራዎች እየተለዩ ተገደሉ።	The Tigray police forces planned to commit massacre the day before the killing took place. This was confirmed by the report of the Ethiopian Human Rights Council. The local police under the pretext of renewing IDs of residents of Mai Kadra town police marked people with Tigray identity with a 'right' sign and those with Amhara identity with 'x' sign. During the act of massacre those marked with 'x' sign were separately killed.	Dec 26, 2020 EBC

ጥቅምት 30 ከ5-8 ሰዓት ቤት ለቤት እየዘሩ ከቤት እንዳትወጡ እያሉ የአማራ ተወላጆችን ቤት እያዘጉ መሄዳቸው ተረጋግጧል፤ከዛም ቤት ለቤት እየዘሩ የአማራ ተወላጆችን ሲጨፈጩ ማምሸታቸውን በ3ት አቅጣጫ በትራክተር የሚች አስከሬን ከከተማ አውጥተው መጣላቸውን በምርመራ ተረጋግጧል፡፡አቶ ፍቃዱ/ ም/ጠቅላይ አቃቤ ህግ/ የተናገሩት	On October 30, from 5-8 o'clock, it was confirmed that they were going from house to house, telling them not to leave the house, and closing the houses of the Amhara people. After that when they were going from house to house, they massacred the Amhara people and in the evening, they took the dead bodies out of the town with a tractor in 3 directions. It was confirmed during the investigation what they said. /Speech of Ato fikadu, Deputy Attorney General/	
ዘር በለየው ግድያ ትህነግ የእኔ የሚላቸው ሰዎች ምሽቱን በማሸሽ ሌሎች በርካታ የአማራ ማንነት ያላቸውን ዜጎች በማንነታቸው በልዩ ሀይሉና ሳምሪ በተባለው ቡድን በተናጥልና በቡድን ገድላል፡፡	In ethnic based killings, TPLF ordered Tegarü residents of Mai Kadra to leave their houses at night and started killing citizens with Amhara identity both individually and in groups. Tigray special forces and a youth group known as Samri committed the massacre.	November 10, 2020 EB C
በዛሬው እለት የማይካድራ ከተማ በመከላከያ ሰራዊትና በአማራ ልዩ ሀይል ቁጥጥር ስር ውሏል፤በተስፋ መቁረጥ ውስጥ ያለው የከሃዲውና የዘራፊው ትህነግ ልዩ ሀይልና ያደራጀው ወንበዴው በማይካድራና አካባቢው ባልታጠቁ ሰላማዊ ዜጎች ላይ ግድያ ፈጽማል፡፤	Today the Ethiopian National Defense Forces and the Amhara Special Forces liberated Mai Kadra town from the depressed TPLF army. The special force of the traitorous and robber TPLF and its organized bandit killed unnamed civilians in MaYKadra and its environs.	November 10, 2020 AMECO
በማይካድራ ከተማ የተፈጸመው ዘርን መሰረት ያደረገ ጭፍጨፋ ሰፊ ቅደም ዝግጁ የተደረገበት በሀውሃት የጥፋት ቡድን የተደረገ መሆኑን የሚያረጋግጡ መረጃዎች ዕየወጡ	Evidences are emerging that the ethnic massacre of Mai Kadra was premeditated by the TPLF destructive group and carried out by an organized criminal group	November 25, 2020 EBC

በትግራይ ክልል የተጀመረውን የህግ ማስከበር ዘመቻ ተከትሎ ህውሃት የጥፋት ቡድን እኩይ ተግባር ከተገለጠባቸው አካባቢዎች አንዱ ማይካድራ ነው።	Following the law enforcement campaign that was launched in the Tigray Region, one of the places where the destructive TPLF junta's evil acts manifested was Mai Kadra town.	November, 25, 2020 EBC
ተስፋ የቆረጠው ከሃዲውና ዘራፊው ትህነግ ልዩ ሀይል ያደራጃቸው ወንበዴዎች ማይካድራ ከተማ ባልታጠቁ ነዋሪዎች ላይ ግድያ ፈጽመዋል፤	The desperate renegade and thugs organized by the special forces of TPLF committed murders against the unarmed residents of Mai Kadra town.	November 10, 2020 EBC
በማይካድራ ከተማ የትህነግ ልዩ ሀይልና ያደራጁ ገዳይ ቡድን በንጹሃን ላይ የፈጸመው ዘግናኝ እልቂት ባለፈው 30 አመታት በአካባቢው አማራዎች ላይ ሲፈጽመው የቆየው የዘር ማጥፋት ወንጀል አንዱ ማሳያ ነው ሲሉ ከጥቃቱ የተረፉ የአይን እማኞች ገለጹ።	According to eyewitnesses who survived the attack, the horrific massacre of the innocent civilians by the special forces of the TPLF junta and the organized killers in Mai Kadra town is one of the examples of the continuous genocide committed against the local Amhara community for the last 30 years.	November 26, 2020 AMECO
ይህ ቦታ ዘር ላይ ባነጣጠረውና ሳምሪ በሚባል ገዳይ ቡድን የተጨፈጨፉ ዜጎች በጅምላ ተቀብረው የተገኙበት ስፍራ ነው፤56 ንጹሀን ዜጎች አስከሬን ነው በጅምላ መቃብር ውስጥ የተገኘው። ገዳዩ ሳምሪና የትህነግ ጨፍጨፊ ንጹሃንን ከገደሉ በሐላ በሌሊት በትራክተር በመጫን ከአካባቢው አርቀው መውሰዳቸውን ነው ከአደጋው የተረፉት የተናገሩት።	This is the place where innocent civilians who were massacred by the murderous group called Samri were found buried in mass grave. 56 corpses of innocent civilians were found in one mass grave. The survivors of the accident told that after the killer group Samri and the TPLF killed the innocent civilians they collected the victims' body and loaded with tractor at night and took	November 25/2020 E B C

	them away to hide the bodies from the area.	
Cnn reutres aljezera ና ሌሎች አለም አቀፍ ሚዲያዎች በትህነግ ገዳይ ቡድን የተፈጸመውን የማይካድራ ጭፍጨፋ መዘገባቸውን ቀጥለዋል።	CNN, Reuters, Aljazeera and other international media continued reporting the massacre carried out by TPLF killers.	November 26, 2020 AMECO
ትናንት ሌሊቱን የትህነግ ልዩ ሀይልና ሳምሪ በሚል ያደራጃቸው ገዳይ ቡድኖች በማይካድራ በሚገኙ ያልታጠቁ ሰላማዊ ዜጎች በጅምላ ዘር ላይቶ በመግደል ምንጊዜም የኢትዮጵያና በተለይም የአማራ ጠላትነቱን አሳይቷል	Yesterday night the TPLF special forces and the other murderous group called Samri have shown their enmity towards Ethiopia and specially the Amhara by mass killing unarmed civilians in Mai Kadra.	November 10, 2020 AMECO
በማይካድራ ከተማ ባለፈው ጥቅምት 30/2013 በተፈጸመው የጅምላ ጭፍጨፋ በትንሹ 600 ሰዎች መገደላቸውን የኢትዮጵያ ሰብአዊ መብት አስታወቀ ።ኮሚሽኑ ባወጣው የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ፈጣን የምርመራ ሪፖርት በከተማዋ ሳምሪ የሚባል የትግራይ ተወላጁ ወጣቶች መደበኛ ያልሆነ ቡድን ጭፍጨፋ ተፈጽሟል።	Ethiopian Human Rights Commission revealed that at least 600 people were killed in Mai Kadra town on October 30, 2020. According to the first level quick investigation report issued by the commission, a massacre of an informal group of Tigray native youths called Samri took place in the town.	EBC
የህውሃት ቡድን በጦርነቱ ወቅት ከፈጸማቸው ጥፋቶች መካከል በማይካድራ ብሄርን መሰረት ያደረገው ጭፍጨፋ አንዱና ዋነኛው መሆኑን የፌደራል ፖሊስና ጠቅላይ አቃቤ ህግ በሰጡት መግለጫ ገልጸዋል ። አቶ ፍቃዱ/ ም/ጠቅላይ አቃቤ ህግ/	The Federal Police and the Attorney General revealed in their stament that among the crimes committed by the TPLF group during the war, the massacre of the Mai Kadra was one of the most important phenomenon. /Ato Fekadu, Deputy Attorney General/	EBC

የአማራ ብዙሀን መገናኛ ድርጅት የጋዜጠኞች ቡድን ወደ ስፍራው አቅንቶ አለምአቀፍ የዘር ማጥፋት ወንጀል ተመልክታል፤ እኔም ተመልክቻለሁ እኔም በአይኔ 100 በላይ ጉዳት የደረሰባቸውን የሞቱትን ተመልክቻለሁ፡	A group of journalists from the Amhara Mass Media went to the scene and witnessed an international genocide. I have also witnessed more than 100 injured and dead with my own eyes.	November 9/2020 AMECO
መቼም እነዚህ ሰዎች ሁልጊዜ ሰይጣን ናቸው ሰዎች አይደሉም ከሰይጣን የተፈጠሩ ክፉ የክፉ ክፉ የጭካኔ መጨረሻ በእነርሱ ላይ የሠፈሩ ሰይጣኖች ናቸው ።	These people are always evil, they are not human beings, they are the civil evil and cruel. They are created by Satan.	November 26,2020 AMECO
ጁንታው የህውሃት ቡድን በመላው ኢትዮጵያውያን ላይ የፈጸመው ኢ ሰብአዊ ድርጊት ቡድኑ ምን ያህል ከህዝብ በተቃራኒ የቆመ አረመኔ መሆኑን ያሳዩ ነው/	The inhuman act of the junta group against all Ethiopians shows how barbaric the group is against the people.	Dec 16, 2020 EBC
ህውሃት ለምንም ነገር የማይበጀ ቡድን፤ አሰቀያሚ አጸያፊ የወንበዴ ቡድን የዱርዬ ቡድን የወሮበላ ቡድን ወሮበላ ነበር ሲገዛን የነበር 27 አመት ሙሉ ኢትዮጵያን ሲገዛ የነበሩ ቡድን አይቀጡ ቅጣት መቀጣት አለበት።	TPLF is a good for nothing, an ugly, disgusting gang, a group of gangsters, who ruled Ethiopia for 27 years. They must be punished and pay price for their crime.	November 25/2020 AMECO
ዛሬም ትህነግ በድጋሜ በኢትዮጵያ ላይ በተለይም በአማራ ብሄር ላይ ቀድሞ በሌሎች ክልሎች በተላለከዎች በኩል ሲያስፈጽም የነበረውን የዘር ማጥፋት ወንጀል ፈጽሟል፤በጣም የሚያሳዝንና ከክሃዲ ቡድን የሚጠበቅ ነው።	As of today, the TPLF has once again committed the Crime of genocide against Ethiopians, especially the Amhara people, which it had previously been committing through its agents in other regions of the country.።	November 10,2020/ AMEC O/
በማይካድራ ከተማ በወራሪው ተስፋፊውና አሸባሪው ወያኔ በግፍ የተጨፈጨፉትን የሚዘከርና አማራኝነታችን ይከበርልን በሚል ጥያቄ ሰላማዊ ሰልፍ ተደረገ	In MayKadra town, a mass demonstration took place to denounce the invading, expansionist, and terrorist TPLF and to remember the innocent people brutally killed by the group.።	December 6, 2020 (AMECO)

	People who spoke to Amharic and Amhara were the main criteria for the killing by the Samiri group organized by the TPLF."	December 26, 2020,
አማረኛ በመናገርህ የምጠላበት ነበር በምን አይነት ጊዜ ደረስን የምንልበት ነበር ሁሉጊዜ እነዚህ ነፍጦች ነበር የሚሉን። በማይካራ ነዋሪ የሆኑ የዐማራ ተወላጆች የሰጡት አስተያየት ።	"speaking Amharic in the city of Mykadra was banned, and when you speak, every Amhara gets death or imprison, indicating that a race-based shadow is rooted in the long-term. There were times you became victims of haters attitude if you were speaking the Amharic language; they used to call us "Neftegna," according to the commentary of Maikdra town residents".	November 26, 2020, AMECO
	The defense army, Amhara Special Forces, and Minisha, the bandits and killers of the TPLF, have been prepared for years, destroyed the war of destruction in Ethiopia on the western front in less than a week of fighting, and captured the survivors."	November 20, 2020 AMECO
በሱዳን አሸባይት የስደተኞች ካምፕ የትግራይ ልዩ ሀይልና የሳምሪ ገዳይ ቡድን አባላት ከነትጥቃቸው እንዲገቡ በመፈቀዱ አሁንም በስደተኞች ካምፕ ውስጥ በአማራ ስደተኞች ላይ ግድያ እየተፈጸመ ነው፤	In Sudan's Ashbait refugee camp, the killings of Amhara refugees are still taking place in the refugee camp as members of the Tigray Special Forces and the Samari killing squad are allowed to enter from their weapons ."	November 27/2020 AMECO

LINK

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wfMYSwfenUk&t=12s>

https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=guxajpY3hs0>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AgFgkhGk_3E

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EUAYas2eB4g&t=57s>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2rj9ZpBJZ_8&t=8s

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jfjxURh-kFA>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Kwx1t7PYwQ>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wsdphoX_RB8

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kppoWmC7V40>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SKc4CiJrur4>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4AlHS8SHbRs>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JsRsnmiU7To&t=55s>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V5vzDR8R4FI&t=2s>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I8ThB4HuMbs>