



Seek Wisdom, Elevate your Intellect and Serve Humanity



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, LANGUAGE STUDIES, JOURNALISM AND
COMMUNICATION**

**FRAMING ANALYSIS ON CONFLICT BETWEEN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
AND TIGRAY PEOPLE LIBERATION FRONT (FROM NOVEMBER 4/2020-
JANUARY 11/2021): THE CASE OF ENAAND REUTERS**

BY

BETELHEM BAHIRU

NOVEMBER, 2021

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

**Framing Analysis on Conflict between Federal Government and Tigray People
Liberation Front (From November 4/2020-January 11/2021): The Case of ENA and
Reuters**

By

Betelhem Bahiru

Advisor

Mulatu Alemayehu (PhD.)

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

November, 2021

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Declaration

I declare this thesis (Framing Analysis on Conflict between Federal Government and Tigray People Liberation Front (From November 4/2020-January 11/2021): The Case of ENA and Reuters) is my work and I have duly acknowledged the sources of materials I have used.

Name: Betelhem Bahiru

Signature: _____ Date: November, 2021

Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

The thesis conducted by Betelhem Bahiru, entitled Framing Analysis on Conflict between Federal Government and Tigray People Liberation Front (From November 4/2020-January 11/2021): The Case of ENA and Reuters and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University.

Signed by the Examining Team:

Head of the Department	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Examiner	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Examiner	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Advisor	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine how ENA (local news agency) and Reuters (international ones) frame the conflict between the federal government and TPLF were reported in the sampled period of November 2020 to January 2021. The aforementioned period is purposely chosen because that, the period from November 4, 2020, to January 11, 2021, was the time where the conflict started till the catchment of the higher officials of the TPLF. The sampled media were selected purposely since they repeatedly reported that specific conflict issue. The sample news agencies are from national and international and the English version of the news agencies was selected to avoid vagueness while translating the Amharic version (in case of ENA). In addition, the two media framed and cover the situation in different ways. To meet the main objectives of the study, three research questions were prepared. These are; to what extent did the two media (news, news analysis, and feature) focus on reporting the conflict of the two groups in a selected time, how did the two media frame stories of conflict report on the sampled period, who was used as a source to cover the conflict issues in the stated time frame. The study used quantitative content analysis and textual analysis to answer the research questions. The result of the study revealed that the conflict reporting in the selected media, specifically, ENA and Reuters were inclined to use one source and exclude the voiceless. The study recommends that the two sampled media should provide information to the public by respecting the ethical values of the profession.

Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract.....	i
Table of Contents	ii
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
Abbreviations and Acronyms.....	vii
Acknowledgments.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	2
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	4
1.3.1 General Objective	4
1.3.2 Specific Objectives	4
1.4 Research Questions.....	5
1.5 Scope of the Study.....	5
1.6 Significance of the Study.....	5
1.7 Limitation of the Study.....	6
CHAPTER TWO	7
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	7
2.1 Introduction	7
2.2 Definition of Conflict	7
2.3 Phases of Conflict.....	8
2.4 Categories of Conflict.....	9
2.5 Media and Conflict	10
2.5.1 Media Role in Conflict Situation	12
2.5.1.1 Constructive Role.....	12
2.5.1.2 Destructive Role of Media	13
2.6 Conflict Sensitive Journalism.....	14
2.7 Overview of Studies Related to Conflict Reporting in Ethiopian Media	15
2.8 Background of News Agencies and the Sample Media.....	17
2.8.1 News Agencies	17

2.8.2 Ethiopian News Agency	17
2.8.3 Reuters	18
2.9 The Conflict between TPLF and Federal Government	18
2.10 Theoretical Framework	21
2.10.1 Agenda Setting Theory	21
2.10.2 Social Responsibility Theory	22
2.10.3 Framing.....	23
CHAPTER THREE.....	25
RESEARCH METHOD.....	25
Introduction.....	25
3.1 Research Design	25
3.2 Quantitative Content Analysis.....	25
3.2.1 Coding.....	25
3.2.2 Unit of Analysis	26
3.2.3 The Code Book	26
3.2.4 Pre-Testing the Coding	26
3.2.5 Inter-Coder Reliability of the Coder	27
3.2.6. Training of the Coder.....	28
3.3 Qualitative Content Analysis (Text Analysis).....	28
3.4 Size of the Study.....	29
3.4.1 Sampling Technique	29
3.4.2 Sample Size.....	29
3.5. Data Analysis Procedure and Techniques	30
CHAPTER FOUR.....	31
4. PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	31
Introduction.....	31
4.1 Data Presentation and Discussion.....	31
4.1.1 Coverage of Internal Conflict Issues.....	31
4.1.2 Published Date of the Stories.....	32
4.1.3 Type or Genre of Stories.....	33
4.1.3.1 Type or Genre of Stories Covered by ENA	33
4.1.3.2 Type or Genre of Stories Covered by Reuters	34
4.1.4 Source of the Stories	35

4.1.4.1 Source of Stories Published in ENA	36
4.1.4.2 Source of Stories Published in Reuters	37
4.1.5 Reporter (By Lines) of the Stories	37
4.1.5.1 Reporter (By Lines) of the Stories Published by ENA	38
4.1.5.2 Reporter (By Lines) of Stories Published by Reuters	38
4.1.6 Size of the Stories	39
4.1.6.1 Size of the Stories ENA	39
4.1.6.2 Size of the Stories Reuters	40
4.2 Summary of the Coverage	40
4.3 Framing of the Conflict Stories	41
4.3.1 Labelling Frame	41
4.3.2 Attribution to Responsibility Frame	44
4.3.2.1 Urging Narrative	44
4.3.2.2 Blaming the Others.....	45
4.3.2.3 Pushing Responsibility to Others	47
4.3.3 Crime and Court Frame	48
4.3.4 The Annihilation Frame	49
4.3.4.1 Undermining the Voice	50
4.4 Comparative Discussion	51
4.5 Summary	52
CHAPTER FIVE.....	53
5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	53
5.1. Summary of Major Findings	53
5.2 Conclusions	55
5.3 Recommendations	56
5.4 Future Studies	56
References.....	58
Appendices.....	63
Appendix A	63
Appendix B.....	65
Appendix C.....	66
Appendix D	67

List of Tables

	Page
Table 1: Published date of the stories covered by ENA & Reuters	32
Table 2: Source of stories published in ENA.....	36
Table 3: Source of stories published in Reuters.....	37
Table 4: Reporter (by lines) of stories published by ENA.....	38
Table 5: Reporter (by lines) of stories published by Reuters.....	38
Table 6: Size of stories published by ENA	39
Table 7: Size of stories published by Reuters	40

List of Figures

	Page
Figure 1: Overall conflict coverage of the two media	31
Figure 2: Types or genre of stories covered by ENA.....	34
Figure 3: Types of stories or genre covered by Reuters.....	34

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CAR	Central African Republic
DFID	UK Department for International Development
EPLF	Eritrean People 's Liberation Front
ENA	Ethiopian News Agency
EPA	Ethiopian Press Agency
FDRE	Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic government
LRA	Lord Resistance Army
OBN	Oromia Broadcasting Network
OHR	Office of the High Representative
OBN	Open Broadcast Network
RNL	Radio Ndeke Luka
RTI	Radio Télévision Ivoirienne
RTLTM	Rwandese Radio- Television Libre des Milles Collines
SFCG	Search for Common Ground
SRTV	Somali Regional Television
TCI	Television Côte d'Ivoire
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
UPDF	Uganda People 's Defence Forces
UIC	United Islamic Courts

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the many people who have participated and help me in finalizing this study by giving comments, morals, and suggestions. Primarily, I would like to recognize my advisor, Dr. Mulatu Alemayehu, without his advice, critics, and feedback this study may not be completed.

Muluken Asegidew (Ph.D. candidate at Bahir Dar University, Journalism and Communication Department) also deserve a special thank for his support and guidance from the start till the completeness of the study.

My classmates Yibekal and Eskinder also deserve special thanks for their motivation and support while they feel I am tired. My colleges Adisu who guide and give a comment on my study, Tiruwork who support and motivate me to attend and complete my study also deserve great gratitude. The advice and support of my friends Yetsedawork, Leykun, Leake Meseret, Metsehate, Feruza, and others also deserve a great thank and you are unforgotten in my life guys. I want to give thank ENA's former driver Kassahun and camera person Tsion for their patients whom they wait for me for above one hour while I am attending lectures.

My blessing baby boy Markon Daniel and my husband also deserve gratitude for their uncountable support. My greatest thanks go to my mother Yeshe who helped me a lot to focus on my study by taking care of my son and for her lifetime support. Finally, I also thank all my family members for their support.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides information on the background of the study, a statement of the problem, objectives of the study. In addition, research questions, significance, limitations, scope, and organization of the study are included.

1.1 Background

Conflict always is attached to the life of human beings as it has started in the garden of heaven while Adam and Eve violate the law of God. It occurred when a discrepancy exists between or among people or social groups. Adegbonmire (2015) stated that conflict has become a normal and unavoidable portion of human life and it will continually arise as long as humans have various aims, desires, and quests in life.

Africa at large and sub-Saharan Africa countries specifically have been conflict-affected activated by various factors. Aremu (2010) list several reasons for the incidence of conflict in the continent. He mentions issues such as boundaries demarcated by colonizers, the diverse ethnic structure of African states, ineffectual political leadership, maladministration, impact external debt burden, and poverty. Ethiopia is stated as a conflict-ridden nation characterized by ideological, religious, regional, ethno linguistic, sociological divisions (Alemayehu & Degefe, 2005).

Moreover, according to UK Department for International Development (DFID, 2001) consultation document, in the past 20 years, sub-Saharan Africa countries have been one of the most conflict-affected regions in the world. DFID consultation document elaborated that —conflict has been responsible for more death and displacement than famine or floodll (p, 10). Such trend also has been exhibited in Ethiopia history often. Since violent conflict led to enormous devastation and loss of life, the recent conflict in the Tigray region also results in the death and displacement of many people.

Media can impact the attitude of people and stimulate people to act positively or negatively. Kiplimo & Nabushawo (2015) strengthen this idea and state that academicians have discovered the role of media in accelerating conflicts; in addition to study whether the mass media uses its authority and independence to improve peace.

ENA and Reuters are among the media which have repeatedly reported the conflict between the federal government of Ethiopia and TPLF, a party in the Tigray region. Thus, this study examined the production (news, news analysis, and features) posted from November 4, 2020, to January 11, 2021, on ENA and Reuters websites. In addition, it is important to look into what makes the two media conflict reporting the same and different, and also, the study attempts to point out how the two media framed the conflict stories.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

It is important to examine the way of conflict coverage and reporting of media since Ethiopia is among a conflict-affected country, experiencing ideological, religious, regional, ethno-linguistic, sociological divisions, and thus conflict reporting must be a primary agenda for researchers and academicians (Adisu, 2019).

Bias exhibited by international media while they report developing nation issues. Oluwakemi (2017) state that news stories are framed by big agencies and media conglomerates to present Africa as a society bedeviled by political corruption, high poverty, frequent drought and famine, social unrest, war, and general deplorable situations of living. He added that, the western press depends on authorized sources of their host administrations while reporting about African states and the authorities that lack the know-how of the exact circumstances which led to express the continent as conflict ridden, drought and famine symbols. This shows that globally known media used inappropriate frame to cover and report African affairs and denote Africa as problematic continent. The New York Times 1970s global news reporting examination showed that 50% of coverage of African countries was linked with one form of catastrophes and 85% of 1980s examination showed the same trend (Watanabe, 2017).

In conflict and chaos situation media reporting may have shown some bias towards some ~~group~~ Chong (2017), define bias as prejudgments founded on individual expectations rather than the truth which can lead to falsies if reporters use their individual views, rather than truth. As principle, though media organizations and journalist must expect to report facts without any bias, what we see in real arena is different.

In addition to bias some studies which address conflict reporting in the Ethiopian media are very few in number and scope. A doctoral thesis of Mulatu (2017), entitled *Why Silence? Reporting Internal Conflict in Ethiopian Newspapers* is one among the few. The study examines how internal conflicts were reported in Ethiopian local newspapers, namely, Addis Admas, Reporter, The Daily Monitor, and The Ethiopian Herald in the period 2005-2013 and concludes that the Ethiopian newspapers have inclined to make internal conflicts a subordinate issue. Besides, other author such as Getnet (2019) analyses the media framing of ethnic conflict on Ethiopian herald and the reporter newspapers. And his study also revealed that the selected newspapers fall short to afford accurate information to their readers although their ultimate goal as media is serving the public.

Furthermore, the other study conducted on the issue of reporting internal conflict was done by Adisu (2019) that focused on the coverage of internal conflict the case between Oromia and Somali regional states on OBN and SRTV in 2017. Adisu concluded, the selected media were not covered the conflict situation in comparison to the level what happened on the ground during the sampled time period.

The above-mentioned studies sampled media were newspapers and state-owned public media and their focus was also other internal conflict which occurred internally in Ethiopia. Since the conflict between federal government and TPLF is a current one there is no research work on it as far as the researcher knows. There is no study which focuses on reporting of conflict stories which focus on news agencies in Ethiopia. Due to this there is a clear gap in the academic research and literature that widely analyses conflict coverage trends of news agencies in Ethiopia.

Internationally there are some studies which focused on reporting of African issues by international media. The study conducted by Behnke (2019) entitled with *Hopeless Republics: An Exploration of International Media Frames in Coverage of African Elections* examined how CNN International, BBC World News, and Al Jazeera covered election in Kenya in Eastern Africa; Nigeria in the West; Zimbabwe in the South. The author concludes that news frames of corruption, violence, and regression that are applied to coverage of African conflict applied to election coverage plus to that news frames reinforce stereotypical, racist and colonial representations of these countries.

Framing international media in the face of social movements: CNN and Al-Jazeera English in the fall of Morsi is the other study which focused about African issues. In this study Elena (2015) concludes that Al-Jazeera English's coverage was initially balanced, giving voice and presence to all the agents in the conflict. However, after the coup, it took the side of the overthrown legitimate government and afforded greater presence to pro-Morsi discourse. CNN on his part report the causes and effects in in-depth manner, but through an interpretation that was closer to the opposition to president Morsi.

In both stated studies only international media coverage of African issues is examined and interpreted. However, the comparison between local and international media is not studied till now.

For this reason, examining these concerns fill some of the gaps in the literature which focusing on the framing of internal conflict reporting ways of news agencies. Studying the approach of conflict reporting in the selected news agencies will have basic and important contribution and uses as a bench mark for another researcher. This study tries to carry out organized and wide-ranging analysis about how news agencies (ENA and Reuters) were framing the internal conflict between the federal government and TPLF from November 4, 2020 to January 11, 2021.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

This research paper attempts to examine the framing of internal conflict between Federal government and TPLF on Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) and Reuters by taking the conflict stories from November 4, 2020 to January 11, 2021 as a sample.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The research paper attempts:

- To assess to the coverage of conflict stories in the sampled media in selected time period (three months)
- To investigate how the two media framed the conflict report
- To examine the sources of the two media in covering the issue on the stated time frame.

1.4 Research Questions

To show the framing of conflict reporting on Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) and Reuters the study raises the following research questions;

- To what extent did the two media (news, news analysis and feature) focus on reporting the conflict of the two groups in selected time period?
- How did the two media frame stories of conflict report on the sampled period?
- Who used as a source to cover the conflict issues in the stated time frame?

1.5 Scope of the Study

The research paper center of attention was on only Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) and Reuters English version post of three-month time period (from November 4, 2020 to January 11, 2021) conflict reporting. The scope of this paper is limited to the national news agency ENA and Reuters which is in the same category as international media other local, regional and international media are not the focus of this study. Regarding the content studied, the research limited to only news, news analysis and feature stories. Documentaries, talk shows, and interviews are not incorporated in the study.

As the rationale for this study, the aforementioned period is purposively chosen because of that, the period from November 4, 2020 to January 11, 2021 was the time where the conflict was started till the catchment of the higher officials of the TPLF.

The media coverage of conflict between federal government and TPLF, of the two national and international news agencies are selected through pilot study. This is because, more than any other national and international media, the two media are repeatedly reported that specific conflict issues. In addition, the two media are expected to frame and report the situation in different ways.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The research would let Ethiopia News Agency (ENA) and Reuters to compare their media work with the principle of journalism. The research outputs or findings might be vital to show the way of conflict reporting to the media leaders and other significant bodies of media stations to some degree.

Particularly, its alert internal conflict reporting mechanism and principle for journalists and, it may attempt to search approach to report conflict with least damage and small stress. Broadly, the study should also enable other media outlets to mirror ahead how to offer consideration to conflict reporting. In addition, the research will play a role in filling some knowledge gaps with regard to conflict reporting and the findings may help other researchers and media professionals to carry out further research within this field.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

The study focuses on wire service news agencies, other broadcast or print and online media did not include. Due to this, the findings of the study would be more relevant to the media institutions under examination specifically. Because of time constraint and the unwillingness of the media, the perception of the sampled media and did not incorporate in this study. Lack of local literatures on the issue and theoretical frame works is also the other limitation of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on reviewing the various related literature to the conflict stories coverage in media. In addition, the positive and negative impacts of media in reporting conflicts are also discussed here. The overview of conflict related studies in Ethiopia also reviewed in this chapter in addition to overview of news agencies. Moreover, theoretical frameworks that are used in this study is also briefed up on here.

2.2 Definition of Conflict

Conflict is the disagreement and difference in goal and desire exist. According to Rasaan (2012), conflict may exist in a person him/herself which is interpersonal or between or among people or groups which is interpersonal or conflict which affects several people which is prevalent conflict.

Pani (2017) on his part stated that conflict exists while two or more groups (persons or parties) perceive their desires, aims or determinations are mismatched. And when parties engaged manage their difference or conflict calmly and fruitfully, conflict can be a constructive progression.

Conflict compared with violence

Conflict and violence seem the same for some people, however they have distinction. According to Pani (2017) violence and conflict are not identical, rather violence is a demonstration of conflict and includes one party (person or group) who take action intentionally to taking intentional action to damage or offend other. He added that journalists simply recognized and defined seen violent physical conflicts, though violence does not always include physical power. For him there is also other violence which is happened without physical violence. Cultural violence, occurs without the awareness of some social group regarding the other, which involves conversation, pictures or convictions is one among the nonviolent. This violence by itself has also different forms. Hate speech occurs while various ethnic or cultural assembles frankly say horribly one another is one from the cultural violence forms. In this form of conflict blaming one group for the complications or challenges they suffer about. To eliminate the responsible

terrorist violence is encouraged. Xenophobia, myths and legends of war heroes, religious justifications for war and gender discrimination are the other forms of cultural violence. Structural violence, involves destruction that is developed into groups or community laws and traditional behavior is also stated as a conflict without physical violence. Endangering others is allowed or disregarded. This involves institutionalized racism or sexism, colonialism, extreme exploitation, poverty, corruption and nepotism plus structural segregation.

2.3 Phases of Conflict

Conflict may result hostility or be free from hostility and simply be variance in understanding to some certain aspects. In its occurrence conflict has different stage. According to Adenyi (2016), there are eight stages for conflict. Development or evolution is the first stage stated by Adenyi (2016) in this phase, there must be a difference or variation certain item. In this phase the involved revelries there is no side taking since the dissimilarity would be settled and avoid their differences. In the next phase which is called enemy formation stage the two parties or societies as stated in the previous phase will begin to perceive each other as opponents. And propaganda is blowout, truths are slanted, past times are recalled, and front runner begins brainwashing their supporters to get support and collaboration. And at mobilization or preparation stage, which is the third phase either party detect one another to get intellect regarding their preparation. In this phase the conflict involving groups frequently attempt to preserve equilibrium of control. In the fourth or the pre-emption stage one group launch attack against the other. The party which needs to antagonize the other one will launch pre- emotive attack. And in the fifth stage or hostility stage which is stated as the violent phase from the other stage by Adenyi (2016), the groups in conflict involved in physical or violent action. While in ceasefire stage the conflict terminated. In the next or resolution stage the parties engaged in conflict resolution, start promoting peace and decide to end conflict. Following the ceasefire phase reconstruction stage comes which encompass rebuilding destructed infrastructures, connection and bonds and sentiments as well.

The conflict between the federal government and TPLF reached the hostility or fifth stage, since the two-group engaged in ornament and arsenal war.

Toit (2012) on his part mentioned four stages of conflict these are: latent, merging, manifest non-violent and violent conflict. Latent conflict arises when there is situations which cause

conflict potentially exists without the recognition of the involved groups. In this phase one party determine to gain some goal without knowing that goal is mismatched with the other party. And emerging conflict instigates after parties notice their shared mismatched goals. In numerous instances revelries recognized the dominance of certain groups for long times, however they need a transformation while they became aware their mistreatment. In this phase both groups recognize the presence of their rivals. Manifest non-violent conflict is the third phase in which the groups initiate marshaling their forces to get a change, at the same times the rivals prepare themselves for resistance. The last stage of conflict is violent conflict in which the parties start fighting the other. Damage and destruction begin extremely in this phase of the conflict.

The conflict in Ethiopia northern region which has been takes placed by the federal government and TPLF can be categorized under this stage. Especially after July 2021 the conflict spread outside from Tigray region into Afar and Amhara region as well. The number of death and destruction in the above three region, increased daily.

Rasaq (2012), on his part states that conflict go through some stages from its embryonic stage to resolution or peace building. When people or groups have a probable diverse desire, goal, requirement it's at its latent stage. When activating phenomenon exists, the conflict transferred to the emergence beginning phase. The emergence step may follow by settlement/resolution, or by escalation, which is damaging. If the conflict it goes towards settlement or resolution. Rather if the conflict escalates it may become a stalemate, a condition that both sides can lose. At last, when the parties decide and reach to agreement the resolution or peace building stage follows. After the conflicting group reaches this stage reconciliation and damage reparation continues.

2.4 Categories of Conflict

Conflicts might happen within individual or between or among individuals or groups. According to Hussein, & Al-Mamary (2019) there are six basic categories of conflicts. Firstly, intrapersonal conflict: a conflict which arises within an individual while his desires or ambitions are wedge or while facing diverse verdicts and cannot be able to select one from the diverse since his desire 's roles are competitive. Then interpersonal Conflict: a conflict which exists among two or more persons, which is mostly related with a conflict arises at an organization level due to two people diverse desire is stated. Thirdly intragroup conflict: a conflict which arises while a person in a

group works to attain a goal which differs from the other group in the organization. Intergroup conflict: conflicts occur among various groups within an organization which seeks to achieve their desired goals, intra-organizational conflict and inter-organizational conflict are the six categories of conflict stated by the scholar.

Based on the above stated categories the conflict arises among federal government and TPLF forces, which has been also spread out to Afar and Amhara regions in addition to Tigray region can be considered as intra group conflict. Since the conflict arises because of political struggle, which is different desired goal among two groups the researcher placed the conflict in this category.

According to Gluhbegovic (2016) conflict in Africa classified into five types: political, identity, resource-based, civilunrest and terrorism.

The federal government and TPLF conflict can be categorized under political conflict type because the conflict seems a power struggle between the two groups.

2.5 Media and Conflict

After the end of the Cold war, intrastate wars occur in the world recurrently. Puddephat (2006) stated conflict among the manifested aspects of the contemporary global arena, after the conclusion of the Cold War there have been innumerable conflicts that have included the deaths of mass people and the grief and displacement of lots. He added that it is questionable to estimate and recognize the actual human grievance because of conflicts. The scholar expressed those conflicts caused the death of above two million children and orphaned more than one million and led more than six million to be handicap and get wound in the last ten years alone (Puddephat, 2006).

In such conflict situation it is known media play a constructive or destructive role. According to Bratic (2006) the history of 20th century predominantly exhibits the link among war and the mass media, and the media have played an important part in activating violence or play useful part for peace making. This means, violent conflict occurs by the backing of media and media also have the capacity to back effort for peace making. Other scholar also strengthens this idea and expressed that the press frequently plays a key part during conflict, the media may be portion of the conflict by supporting intensification of violence or be out of the conflict and

partake for peaceable determination (Ruth, 2014).

Furthermore, let's see what other scholars detailed about the above stated idea. As Chebii (2014) media in conflict-affected nations many times play a vital role in producing and advancing both enabling features and activating aspects related to inside and outside matters or intimidations fronting the country. It is known that the news media have also constructive or destructive role for peace. Wolfsfeld (2001) expressed that news media play a vital role in the advancement of peace by showing the work of peoples to bring peace highlighting the advantage which peace can provide, they can raise the legitimacy of groups or leaders working for peace, and they can help transform images of the enemy. To the opposite, the media may also work as damaging agents in the peace process. They can underscore the risks and dangers connected with compromise, raise the legitimacy of those opposed to concessions, and strengthen undesirable stereotypes of the enemy.

Besides, as Ciboh (2017) media play adverse roles in aggravating and promoting conflicts or may play a useful part in avoiding and determining conflicts and contributing to peace making. He also added that several studies authorize media 's contribution to violence, volatility, and fragmentation of Yugoslavia and many blame the media for provoking the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Chebii (2014) on his part said that media has also been used in several cases to encourage peace and reconciliation. For example, in Northern Uganda, media has been used to make the common good for the people to endorse peace.

And as of Akpan et al (2013), the reporters must find common ground, when analyzed and assess determinations made to resolve conflict. They added that media should distribute materials which enable their audience to make well-informed decision and keep them from inflammatory materials by critically investigating efforts to resolve the quarrel. Journalist should provide truthful drawings of the reason of a conflict, and the state in a conflict range to support guarantees that the right humanitarian aids are offered.

The scholars added that while violent struggle and criminalities are predominant, the media must show the direct verse of the society. So, the media have to have the ability for the mitigation of violence in the society. Akpan et al (2013) recommend that the media ought to know to develop a detailed thought of the conflict and send the thought of their viewers in a way that shows the reality of the conflict in all its complication.

2.5.1 Media Role in Conflict Situation

Media have various roles in conflict situation. As Taylor (1997) in wartime, the media in fact involve in a variety of functions at several levels. With information, they can carry a sense of the fighting to a public divorced from its actual horrors; with entertainment, they can deliver a degree of relief to a public who more directly involved, for example, in a barricade or a bombing campaign.

The media has an active and may be independent role in contemporary conflict. As Puddephat (2006), mass media frequently plays a vital role in current conflict, and their role can the media have participated actively in the situation or contribute for peace making and violence eradication.

According to Okunna (2004) media have provide truthful information during conflict situation. Media must also avoid sensationalism, feed the public with relevant information and expected to be fair. In addition, knowing the background and political aspect of the situation and play a peacemaker role during conflict

2.5.1.1 Constructive Role

As Kiplimo & Nabushawo (2015), media take part in the transformation of conflicts by offering instantaneously significant and consistent stories to achieve their information giver and educator role. Meanwhile several conflicts emanate because of dispute and misunderstandings, the press changes a conflict by also founding the fundamental problems, and promoting a permitted agreement between the opposing groups.

The scholars added that, the media further offers alternative options of ending a conflict by enhancing confidence and negotiation between the disagreeing parties by encouraging communication and a need for peace. Resting on this foundation of communication, the media provides an avenue for conciliation of the parties in turmoil by providing a platform for dialogue (Kiplimo & Nabushawo, 2015).

Mass media has to inform and feed vital facts for the society to raise their awareness about their surroundings. The press can play proactive role before conflict arise and can also have a power in ending violent conflict (Kiplimo & Nabushawo, 2015).

The same ways, media has also played a peace making and building role. For instance, in the

case in Northern Uganda, media praised for its positive role in the development of the peace process. Mega FM was in the frontline in supporting for peaceful co-existence with positive outcomes since 2002. The media urged LRA leaders, and they were recommended to attend and include in phone in talk shows, government and non-profit organization were also had air discussion with them, which become a milestone for peace establishment (Ogeto, 2019).

Whereas in Bosnia a media network called Open Broadcast Network (OBN), was established before two decades, which strive for mitigation of violent conflict (Chebii, 2014). Similarly, Search for Common Ground (SFCG), a USA based NGO that dealing with conflict resolution, open Studio Ijambo in 1995 at the elevation of ethnic and political violence in Burundi and Rwanda. The studio was established with the purpose of encouraging reconciliation, understanding and fostering nonviolent conflict resolution. Since its commencement, Studio Ijambo had a significant positive influence in mitigating conflict by catching and holding the devotion of most of the radio-listening population. In addition, Radio Okapi as a means of promoting peace and reconciliation in DR Congo, Radio Ndeke Luka (RNL), a radio station highlighting on development and peace in the Central African Republic had also play significant role in conflict reduction and peace building process (Chebii, 2014).

Likewise in Ethiopia, the media to some degrees were playing crucial role in the process of building democratic society. As Adisu (2019) the media are well aware of the roles and believe that media should play the democratic roles of monitoring bad administration, facilitating debate, and discussion, disclosing numerous societal problems and collaborating with the government at times when such partnership is important and doing their jobs by is guiding principle.

2.5.1.2 Destructive Role of Media

The media increase the intensity of conflict by aggravating violence and suspending to cover conflict with probable resolutions. As Chebii (2014) media has been accused for encouraging conflict and studies have shown that mass media might contribute to conflicts by provoking violence, weakening to manifesting emerging conflicts and suspending to cover conflicts. Subsequently African countries have been engaging in various armed conflicts, the media played main role for some of them. For instance, the Rwandese Radio- Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) has been stated as one of the cases of the press in promoting conflict by

inspiring the Hutu youth to eradicate the Tutsi by naming them as –cockroaches‖ whom have to be eliminated to make Rwanda peaceful. Over 800,000 Tutsis massacred and many people displaced due to this. 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.

During Côte d'Ivoire 2010 national elections the press province was prevalent with biased impassioned and misrepresentation from contrasting parties and motivations to violence, while the press staff were also violence and forceful action targets. After post-election catastrophe that followed the declaration of the presidential results, both presidential candidates - Laurent Gbagbo and Alassane Ouattara used the print media and public television as a propaganda tool, and a way of marshalling their follower's contrary to their rivals (Chebii, 2014).

In the Central African Republic, hate speech spread through the media and targeted attacks in 2013 were exacerbating conflicts, with little precedent, a sectarian climate that resulted in the dislocation of almost one million people and 75,000 refugees (Chebii, 2014).

The aggravating role of media for violence also exhibited in Ethiopia. Adisu (2019), stated that in the worst case the difficulties that the Ethiopian government has had in both making its own propaganda successful and in managing non-governmental flows of information effectively leads to violent outcomes. Adisu added that in the outcome of the 2005 elections, the media were so intensely polarized that both the private and the government media aggravated an already slight condition and had a strong role in aggravating the violence as well (Adisu, 2019).

2.6 Conflict Sensitive Journalism

Conflict sensitive journalism focuses on the peace-making process than violence aggravation. According to Rasaq (2012) conflict sensitive journalism is a journalism type which focuses on peace restoration than violence encouragement. Conflict sensitive journalism was developed from John Galtung peace journalism types which is focusing on conflict eradication and criticizing conflict sensationalism, a trend of the traditional media.

Pani (2017), on his part define conflict sensitivity as the capability to: know the situation, connotation whole socio-economic and political pressures, basic reasons, cultural and historical context in addition to operational issues, to increase positive influences and evade negative

influences.

Conflict sensitive journalists have to pick words wisely while reporting and involved in solution quest for the conflict. Journalists have to try to incorporate all parties engaged on the situation and resolution mechanism of previous conflicts.

Pani (2017) states checklists for peace making and conflict sensitive journalism. According to him journalist should have to avoid representing the conflict as a confrontation among competing parties for same desire rather, have to find other influenced benefits and include their stories, opinions and goals. Avoiding divisions between “us” and “them”, reporting the saying of ordinary people is also stated as a checklist, .and have to avoid terms like, devastated, tragedy, terrorized, words are powerless, helpless, pathetic etc. to describe what has been done to one group. While using such kind of expression journalists expected to quote someone else who uses them. Escape accusing others rather, tries to figure out the reason of the complications. Furthermore, journalists are expected to explain the violence by showing the humiliation of people in everyday life. Journalist must have to filter opinion from fact and explore peace ideas despite the origin of the idea. Journalist should provide what is being said for their audience.

In short journalist should have to know the phase and types of the conflict to strive for peace making. Conflict sensitive reporting needs extra effort of the journalist, reporters are not only expected to report what is on the ground rather they have to dig deep to provide the public about the real arena. In addition, instead of aggravating the conflict by using catalyzing words and phrases, journalists are expected to show the situation without exaggeration.

2.7 Overview of Studies Related to Conflict Reporting in Ethiopian Media

Studies with the focus of conflict reporting in the Ethiopian media are very few in number. The doctoral thesis by Mulatu (2017) titled with ‘Why Silence? Reporting Internal Conflict in Ethiopian Newspapers ’is among these researches. Mulatu (2017), in the study examines how internal conflicts were covered by Addis Admas, Reporter, The Daily Monitor, and The Ethiopian Herald newspapers in the period between 2005 to 2013 and concludes that the Ethiopian newspapers have inclined to cover internal conflicts stories as secondary agenda. He also added that though conflict draws more attention in many media globally, the newspapers in Ethiopia have not prioritized internal conflicts, critical issues and sensitive cases were predominantly neglected and quieted in the framing of the text.

The other study was carried out by Aemere (2015), with the title *‘A Critical Discourse Analysis on the news coverage of the 2006 Military Conflict between Ethiopia and the United Islamic Courts (UIC): The case of The Ethiopian Herald and The Daily Monitor.* ‘She concluded that the public newspaper The Ethiopian Herald coverage was occupied by official sources. In contrary the private newspaper was inclined in using non-government actors as sources. Aemera added that The Daily Monitor newspaper focus of reporting was negative aspects while the Ethiopian Herald, focus of its regular news was towards government voice coverage. The Daily Monitor mostly covers issues which disregarded by the Ethiopian Herald.

Getnet (2019), on his MA thesis with the title *‘Analysis on Media Framing of Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia (From April 2-October 2, 2018): The Ethiopian Herald and The Reporter Newspapers in Focus ‘*, concluded that though the ultimate goal of the media is to serve the public by providing accurate information timely, the selected newspapers fail to provide accurate information to the public; some of the ethnic conflict issues were ignored or given less attention.

The other study conducted in internal conflict coverage was done by Adisu (2019) which focused on the coverage of internal conflict between Oromia and Somali regional states on OBN (Oromia Broadcasting Network) and SRTV (Somali Regional Television) transmission of three-month time period (from September 1 to November 30, 2017). And Adisu (2019) concluded, the selected media are not covered the incidents in comparison to what happened during the sampled time period.

The above listed three studies focused on the coverage of internal conflict by newspaper which based on Addis Ababa and the later study focused on the conflict between two region coverage on state owned public media. The researcher cannot get a research work which conducted on news agencies in reporting internal conflict. Thus, there is a clear gap in the academic research and literature that comprehensively analyses conflict coverage trends of news agencies.

Internationally there are some studies which focused on reporting of African issues by international media. The study conducted by Behnke (2019) entitled with *Hopeless Republics: An Exploration of International Media Frames in Coverage of African Elections* examined how CNN International, BBC World News, and Al Jazeera covered election in Kenya in Eastern Africa; Nigeria in the West; Zimbabwe in the South. The author concludes that news frames of

corruption, violence, and regression that are applied to coverage of African conflict applied to election coverage plus to that news frames reinforce stereotypical, racist and colonial representations of these countries.

Framing international media in the face of social movements: CNN and Al-Jazeera English in the fall of Morsi is the other study which focused about African issues. In this study Elena (2015) concludes that Al-Jazeera English's coverage was initially balanced, giving voice and presence to all the agents in the conflict. However, after the coup, it took the side of the overthrown legitimate government and afforded greater presence to pro-Morsi discourse. CNN on his part report the causes and effects in in-depth manner, but through an interpretation that was closer to the opposition to president Morsi.

In both stated studies only international media coverage of African issues is examined and interpreted. However, the comparison between local and international media is not studied till now.

For this reason, examining these concerns attempts to fill some of the gaps in the literature which focusing on the framing of internal conflict reporting trends of news agencies. So that studying the approach of conflict reporting in the selected news agencies will have basic and important contribution. Finally, this study tries to carry out organized and wide-ranging analysis about how news agencies (ENA and Reuters) were framing the internal conflict between the federal government and TPLF from November 4, 2020 to January 11, 2021.

2.8 Background of News Agencies and the Sample Media

2.8.1 News Agencies

A news agency gathers and delivers news and related stories for print and broadcast media. Franklin etal (2012), news agencies are organization that collect and dispatch news to a variety of media and or non-media customers whether it be local, regional, national or international level. He also added that most news agencies also known as wire services merchandize news and other kind of information to print, broadcast or online suppliers and other outlets such as state-owned business and finance institutions and individuals.

2.8.2 Ethiopian News Agency

The history of the Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) traced back to 1942. Getnet (2018) stated that

ENA which is regarded as the oldest news agency in Africa was established under the then ministry of the pen. Particularly the state media outlets are the major subscribers to these locally run news agencies. He also added that an earlier study conducted before 2003, estimated that 90 percent of the Ethiopian Radio news came from ENA and WIC. Agence Direscione was the former name of ENA till 1963. Ena is seen as a spokesperson of the ruling party. According to the writer, the agency profound intimacy with the ruling power is visible in the entire period of its existence. And this situation is escalating the journalists complain of political interference. Regarding its subscription, government-owned media outlets and some other government affiliated media organizations are the major subscribers to the agency. Now ENA transmitted the news and other journalistic products via its website by four languages, Amharic, Afan Oromo, English and Arabic.

2.8.3 Reuters

Reuters is an international news agency which was established around 170 years ago. As of Lehtovaara, (2011) since 2008 the company name has been Thomson Reuters Corporation after Thomson Corporation bought Reuters. Till its unity with the Thomson Corporation, the Reuters news agency was a portion of an autonomous business, Reuters Group, and it also offered financial marketing information. Reuters Group, and it also delivered financial marketing data. The previous news reporting covered less than 10% of the company's revenue. Now the public company Thomson Reuters is registered on the Toronto and New York stock exchanges. In over 100 countries it has around 55,000 staff. Company income in 2010 was 13.1 billion US dollars. International media exhibit some inclination towards one group while reporting African issues. Likewise, in reporting the conflict between federal government and TPLF Reuters stories inclined on the sides of TPLF.

2.9 The Conflict between TPLF and Federal Government

Before looking the cause of the conflict between TPLF and federal government, it is vital to see the historical background TPLF. The movement against the Emperor Haile Selassie's monarchic rule, beginning with peasant revolution called Woyyane in 1942-43 was considered as the origination of TPLF. The legal and illegal political activities, strikes, underground activity, used to challenge exploitive administration and to mitigate the difficult life of Tigrarians. After the monarchical regime collapsed, Dergue, a military dictator took power in 1975. According to

Aregawi(2008), during the period of political uncertainty, accompanied by the drums of terror, that many socio-political groups emerged as national and multinational political organizations to challenge military dominance. One such organization was the Tigrayan National Organization (TNO) which evolved into the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) and after sixteen years of guerrilla war became the government of Ethiopia.

The political philosophy of TPLF, as of Habtamu (2020) was revolutionary democracy which calls for the promotion of socioeconomic development a requirement to exercise liberal democracy. Otherwise, it would be like swallowing before chewing, as revolutionary democrats argue.

According to revolutionary democrats, the unique political quest in Ethiopia was quest for political rights of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia; the political system has to be designed to address this quest. Hence, there needs to address group rights first, which once addressed, could be possible to exercise liberal democracy. Revolutionary democracy also emphasizes the need for a strong leading party that works for those political goals (Habtamu, 2020, p.8).

In almost three decades of power by EPRDF, a coalition dominated by TPLF, the norms and values of the country eroded. Habtamu (2020) stated that in the 27 years of TPLF rule, politics and political businesses have not had a demarcated territory, well deep-rooted to administer all feature of life of the stuffs of Ethiopian society from civilian to military sections of authority; from education to one's occupation/jobs; from bonded relationships, even having impacts in social ethics, trust and spiritual matters too.

Ethiopia is among the conflict affected country and the history of the country is highly attached with conflict. According to Mulatu (2017), the modern Ethiopian history is highly connected with both interstate and intrastate conflict at different level. Currently in PM Abiy Ahmed administration, the country is going under a violent conflict. Starting from November 4, 2020 TPLF and the Federal government have been involved in a conflict. Blanchard (2020) expressed that the eruption of conflicts in Ethiopia's Tigray region in November echoes a power competition among the federal government Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and TPLF. The conflict also shows ethnic tensions in Ethiopia that have magnified in current years following political

and economic reforms. The growing conflict triggered killings, more refugee flows, and worried interactions between nations in the region.

In March 2020 Ethiopian national election board announced the reschedule of national and regional elections because of COVID-19 pandemic. However, Tigray regional government led by TPLF vote takes placed its regional council elections in September, though the federal government cautioned that the vote would be unlawful. Following that Tigray government quarrelling that the federal government 's period expired in October, and the federal government likewise calling the regional government illegitimate and want to cease federal funds to Tigray, and the TPLF remonstrated the fund cut as unlawful. The federal government decision to reshuffle the Tigray based Northern Command military leadership in October aggravated the pressure between the two groups (Blanchard, 2020).

In November 4, Prime Minister Abiy publicized the opening of military actions in Tigray, condemning TPLF forces of offending federal forces stated in the region (Blanchard, 2020).

Especially after July 2021 the conflict spread into Afar and Amhara region in addition to Tigray. And due to the conflict hundreds of thousand people dead and cities and infrastructures are highly destructed. The number of internally displaced people also extremely increased. According to International Organization for Migration ,2021 Ethiopia national displacement assessment survey report from March 2021to April 2021 there are 1.96 million 04 more than 340000 households which are international displaced people across 1,379 reachable sites in Ethiopia. Among them 981,326 or 50 percent are males (50%) with 983,266 or equal percentage share with females. The main cause of displacement and displaced were conflict which accounts for 1.25 million IDPs or 64 percent. Drought shares 16 percent and flash floods displaced counts for 8percent which is followed by seasonal flood or 6 percent and social tension displaced which have 4 percent share.

And Displacement Trafficking Matrix, 2021 emergency site assessment: northern Ethiopia crisis 6 findings, substantial displacement around Tigray region and neighboring regions exists after conflict broke out in Tigray region. In search of security, food, housing and access to necessary facilities numerous publics have fled from their homes. According to the assessment regarding internal displacement related to the Northern Ethiopia Crisis the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) reaches 1,990,168 IDPs (424,342 households) across 301 sites in Tigray, Amhara

and Afar regions. Among the above stated IDPs 1,918,220 IDPs (404,325 households) were found in Tigray region, 49,643 IDPs (9,165 households) in Afar region and 22,305 IDPs (10,852 households) in Amhara region.

2.10 Theoretical Framework

2.10.1 Agenda Setting Theory

Among the many media effect theories of the mass communication discipline agenda setting theory is one. The foundation of agenda setting theory can be date back to 1922, when Walter Lippmann states his thought about the important role of the press in affecting the situation of the public image. The Agenda Setting Theory was first announced in 1972 by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Freeland, 2012). Agenda setting is the formation of public cognizance of outstanding matters by the news media. The utmost expectations of agenda setting are the press and the media do not replicate truth; they filter and shape it; and media concentration on a few issues and themes leads the community to notice those subjects vital from other themes (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). Agenda setting has three basic types; these are public, media and policy agenda setting. The emphasis of public agenda setting is on the audience's agenda while media agenda setting emphasis is on the impact of the mass media on the audience. Whereas, policy agenda setting, focus on how media and public agendas impact the judgments of leading policy makers (Freeland, 2012).

Agenda setting arises over a reasoning procedure called availability that infers when the media reports specific aspects regularly, the issue becomes reachable and recognized in the audience 's memory (Freeland, 2012).

The significance of agenda setting to this study is that it will helps the researcher in identifying the priority given to the conflict in selected time period and how the media were working in during the conflict.

2.10.2 Social Responsibility Theory

Social responsibility theory was announced in 1947 by a commission called Hutchins. In the 1940s, a group of scholars were authorized as the Hutchins Commission the commission was led by Robert Hutchins the then-president of the University of Chicago. The commission worked for four years before settling in 1947 on five rules for a socially accountable media. They first detected that the number of media outlets is inadequate and that people are frequently self-centered and sometimes idle. Later to studying what the actual roles of the media to society would be, the social responsibility theory was planned and announced (Uzuegbunam, 2013).

As the Commission mentioned the press has five responsibilities, to deliver an honest, complete, and smart interpretation of every day phenomenon in a context that gives sense; to serve as a platform for interchanging opinion and assessment; to develop a demonstrative image of the essential parties in society; to be accountable for the demonstration and explanation of the aims and standards of society and to offer complete access for everyday intellect (Topic & Tench, 2018).

The fundamental basis of the social responsibility theory of the media is that the media must be able to accomplish the role which the libertarian theory approved it freedom to accomplish, however this freedom should be worked out with responsibility. If the media go wrong to achieve their responsibilities to society, the social responsibility theory holds that the administration must inspire the press to obey by their regulatory method. The theory detained that media has the right to examine government and institutions but also has certain fundamental tasks to preserve the peace and security of society (Uzuegbunam, 2013)

In dealing with media ethics, there is some misperception among the diverse terms: responsibility, liability, accountability, etc. In journalism accountability can be defined as being able to yield records, e.g., proof to assist what has been conveyed on. Though, the sense of this word is frequently prolonged to intersect with the perception of liability and responsibility: in other words, a reporter is also responsible in that he or she is seized liable for the costs of his or her writing (Middleton, 2007).

Social responsibility theory is a postponement of the libertarian philosophy in which the press identifies their duty for conflict resolution via dialogue and to promote public opinion, consumer action, private rights and important social interests. The major evidence of the theory is

autonomy conveys connected responsibilities. The media has a duty to be responsible to the community. Social responsibility theory then forced various nations to form press councils, articulation of codes of ethics (Ravi, 2012).

Relevance of social responsibility theory to this study is that to prove whether the two sampled media were playing their responsibility accordingly and also used to analyses the ethical responsibility of the two media.

2.10.3 Framing

Scholars stated that the word framing first coined by the anthropologist, Gregory Bateson in 1972 (Hallahan, 1999; Arowolo, 2017). Framing is a perilous component for social reality building since it aid for awareness shaping and offer a platform for data processing. As an adjacent image frame demarcates a scene of drawing, tactical communicators utilize communication frames to produce frame for some components of a theme by incorporating and concentrating care on them by eliminating another issue (Hallahan, 1999).

Entman recognizes five widespread means for news stories framing and these are conflict, human interest, consequence, morality and responsibility. And let's see what these framing deals about in brief. Conflict: conflict among groups can be ranked, in opposite to the real made conclusion. Human Interest/Personalization: showing a story with human look, personality is advertised than other significant issues. Consequence frame: covers a situation, challenges, or aspects with regard to its results that it has economically on persons, cluster, organization, district or nation. Morality frame: sets the situation, challenges, or aspects in the setting of spiritual doctrines or ethical considerations. Responsibility frame: shows an aspects or challenge in enabling way to assign accountability for instigating or resolving be it a government or to an individual or to a group (Arowolo, 2017; Adisu, 2017).

Critics on Framing Theory

Applying framing varies based on the situation and disciplines variation, since there is no pure description in its form and type. For this reason, framing may not apply in all circumstances. In addition, framing limit the audience independence of giving meaning for the media work.

Framing theory is relevant to this study because the research is based on examining the sampled

media effects, framing is regarded to have a vital impact in determining the research. In this study framing assists to get pure results in describing and distinguishing concerns in research. Labeling frame was used in this study, which helps the researcher in inspecting the conflict by classifying in to law enforcement and a tendency towards to civil war.

The three theories are used because they enable the researcher to analyze and examine data thoroughly. Agenda setting theory helps to identify the priority given to the conflict in selected time period and how the media were reporting the conflict. Based on the identified priority the researcher gets by using agenda setting theory, the way how the stories framed is examined. And then the two theories analysis gives the researcher an opportunity to see how the selected media consider ethical values and principles of journalism on their reporting.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHOD

Introduction

In this part of the study, data collection and analysis presented in line with answering the research questions. Data collection and analysis methods used in this study is also presented here and how the methods are going to be used in this study is also discussed here.

3.1 Research Design

Case study is used as a research design for this study. The researcher selects the two media (ENA and Reuters) conflict reporting as a case and investigates conflict stories. This design will enable the researcher to clearly identify the data analysis. The purpose of the case study is to understand accurately the features and reasons that profoundly the comprehensive behavioral forms of component and the room of the component in its nearby social cohesion (Akhtar, 2016). He also added that case study gives enough information about a person or a group or a unit the case study technique, generally, studies the subject-matter qualitatively and covers all aspects of a single entity. Content analysis is used as an approach for this study, both in qualitative and quantitative form.

3.2 Quantitative Content Analysis

Quantitative content analysis in this study helps the researcher for identifying the coverage of stories from the selected two media in the selected time frame. Employing content analysis helps the researcher to analyses the text data statistically by assessing what was reported in the selected time period (three month). Content analysis is a brief, quantitative examination of content that depend on the systematic approach (Neuendorf and Skalski, 2009).

3.2.1 Coding

According to Korsgaard and Linneberg (2019) a vital mechanism in the course of changing uncooked qualitative data into a forthcoming and reliable story is coding. The scholars stated that the main procedure of coding includes analyzing a comprehensible part of experiential material like word, paragraph, page and labelling it with a term or brief expression that recapsits content. They also elaborate that coding minimizes bulky volumes of numerical material and makes data available for examination, concurrent with growing the quality of the examination and results. In this study coding involved identifying what should be studied. The focus of the

research is about whole conflict stories that were posted on the two media during the sample period. The posted stories which were related with conflicts are selected, and then considered for coding. The stories are analyzed based on the variables including media organization, published date of the stories, the type of stories, size of the stories, reporter of the stories and sources of the stories and other variables.

3.2.2 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis for this study is the full story of the selected situation. Unit of analysis can be basically definite as the structure that is being examined in scientific study.

3.2.3 The Code Book

A codebook is a set of codes, descriptions, and instances used as a leader to assist examining interview data. Codebooks are vital to examining qualitative study since they offer a proper operationalization of the codes (Gunby, Marshall and McCulloch, 2011). In this research a code book, which consists of understandable variables and categories were prepared. The objective of the coding book is to takes the conflict stories in the sampled media and to examine them thoroughly.

3.2.4 Pre-Testing the Coding

Pre-testing of the coding is established to prove how the variables and categories go with the measured data and to cross check whether the codebook contains all of the variables to be measured. In addition, pre testing helps to make sure whether all variables are included or to check if there is a missed variables and it also help in avoiding overlaps and inconsistency of the variables as well.

The researcher took some samples for pre-test. For example, in the study the researcher first prepared code book that considers variable named length of the story which later changed to size of the story. The variable posted date of stories changed as published date of stories after the pretesting was conducted.

Regarding the framing part, the researcher first prepared five leading frames which include labelling frame, annihilation frame, attribution to responsibility frame, incapability of government official frame and crime and court frame for the study. However, after the pretesting was conducted it seemed uncontrollable with all these variables conducting frame analysis. Then

the researcher decided to limit the frames in to three, which includes labelling frame, attribution to responsibility frame and crime and court frame only.

3.2.5 Inter-Coder Reliability of the Coder

Inter-coder reliability is an empirical measure of the agreement among various coders concerning how the similar data should be coded (O'Connor & Joffe, 2020). Other scholars stated that inter-coder reliability is a serious element of content analysis and when it is not founded, the data and inferences of the data can never be assumed sound (Lombard, Snyder-Duch & Bracken, 2012). Among the few widely used inter-coder reliability measures percent agreement is one and it is the percentage of all coding decisions made by pairs of coders on which the coders agree and takes values of 00(no agreement) to 1.00(perfect agreement). The other approach is Holsti's method which calculates the reliability with two coders evaluating the same units is the same as percent agreement, but also accounts for situations in which the coders evaluate different units. The result in this approach is often calculated not for a single variable but across a set of variables. Scott's pi is about accounts for the number of codes and their distribution in the transcript, allowing the method to correct percent agreement by taking into account the agreement that can occur among coders by chance.

Holsti's Method Formula is selected to measure inter-coder reliability in this study. The formula is the following:

$$\text{Inter-coder reliability} = \frac{2 * M}{(N1 + N2)}$$

M represent the total number of decisions that the two coders agree on; N1 and N2 are the numbers of decisions made by Coder 1 and Coder 2, respectively in this formula (Nili et al, 2020). 1.000 which shows perfect agreement, and 0.000 shows complete disagreement among coders is the range of intercoder reliability. The study took the following steps in order to measure and maintain the inter-coder reliability in the content analysis. These steps are passes through: employing coder, providing training, and then measuring their agreement.

According to this formula the level of coder's agreement in ENA is 0.94 and in Reuters the level of coder's agreement is 0.92. The average of the two is 0.93 which is acceptable, according Holsti method formula.

3.2.6. Training of the Coder

In this study, the researcher works with two assistants (coders). The assistants were hired to code the data for specific time (to code the data), due to the sampled media published stories in English language the researcher hired and trained two coders. After the assistants agreed with the researcher, they were got training about the data coding. More than 220 stories were checked in three weeks, of April, 2021 from the two media.

3.3 Qualitative Content Analysis (Text Analysis)

In this research qualitative research method is used as a method. In this study, the textual analysis was applied to look at how the stories were framed and portrayed. In this internal conflict story analysis, some stories selected as a coding unit and evaluating the theme or focus of the story besides words and phrases also takes for analysis. As McKee (2001) textual analysis is a methodology: a means of collecting and examining data in academic research. And Smith (2017) stated that qualitative textual analysis is concerned in collecting data about how individuals specifically contexts realize the biosphere around them. This method identifies the diversity of means that a text can be inferred and employed by those who assessed it.

For this study issue specific frames are chosen because this assists the researcher to take certain portion from the selected stories which enables to make understandable assessment of the words or phrases which selected to frame analysis. As Kozman (2017) issue-specific frames allow for excessive distinctiveness and attributes.

Deductive and inductive methodological methods are broadly used to frame analysis. Inductive approach is used for this study, since this method enable the researcher to extract frames by analyzing the text. According to Burney & Saleem (2008), a reasoning which works from specific explanations to broader generalizations and theories is called inductive reasoning.

Using the above-mentioned technique from the total of 220 stories 12 sample stories selected for frame analysis. The stories selected because they showed different frame while the pre- test was conducted. Since it is qualitative method and the number of the stories does not matter for data analysis because of there is no generalization after the analysis and the researcher selected some stories among the published stories on the sampled media website.

3.4 Size of the Study

The study uses two wire service news agencies, ENA and Reuters news, news analysis and feature articles focusing on the conflict between federal government and Tigray region from November 4/2020 to January11/2021. The sample period is purposely chosen because it is the period from which the conflict started till the catchment of higher official of TPLF. The sample period was the time where the conflict started till it seems closer to end, so it enables the researcher to show how the two media report the situation from the starting time till it became dormant. The two news agencies selected because both are wire service media which provide information to the public by using their website. Since the two media are news agencies, they are also expected to feed news for other media too. In addition, the two media are expected to frame and report the situation in different ways.

3.4.1 Sampling Technique

This research used non-probability sampling techniques to choose stories from the sampled media in the sampled period, to get acceptable data about the situation under study. It helped to select stories by the researcher preference.

The researcher used purposive sampling technique to select the sample because this technique enabled the researcher to pick stories about the conflict situation. Since the focus of the researcher is to examine and analyze conflict reporting of the selected media in the stated time frame, this technique gives a chance for choosing conflict issues among the other stories. Deliberate sampling which is also known as non-probability or purposive sampling method contains of deliberate choice of specific materials of the population to represent a sample (Alok& Mishra, 2017). According to Taherdoost (2016) purposive or judgmental sampling is an approach in which specific situations individuals or events are picked purposely so as to deliver significant data that cannot be gained from other alternatives (Taherdoost, 2016).

3.4.2 Sample Size

The two media posted 500news, news analysis and features article about Ethiopia on their website from 4th November 2020 to 11th January 2021 as the researcher pre-test implies. Among them the researcher purposely selected 220 of them which focused about the conflict between federal government and TPLF. The researcher used purposive sampling techniques because it helps to select reports focused about the situation in Tigray and to analyze their coverage.

3.5. Data Analysis Procedure and Techniques

This study examined the conflict coverage of ENA and Reuters and employed content analysis on the reports of the sampled media outlets. Additionally, the study employed textual analyses with the aim of examining the frames of the stories. The data analysis process of this study starts with presenting the findings obtained from the content analysis and textual analysis and frame analysis will thoroughly conducted in this stage.

In qualitative framing study, the researcher has to be examined the data to get the central idea and the frame of the selected story. The researcher finds out four frames from the selected 18 stories by reading them thoroughly and frequently. The researcher has conducted a pilot study through deep readings of stories of both ENA and Reuters about the conflict between federal government and TPLF and has written notes.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This part of the study presents the main findings of the quantitative content analysis data in relation to the coverage of internal conflict between Federal government and TPLF in national and international news agency particularly stories covered by ENA and Reuters from November 2020 to January 2021. Qualitative content analysis (textual analysis) is also presented and discussed here.

4.1 Data Presentation and Discussion

4.1.1 Coverage of Internal Conflict Issues

The researcher applied a quantitative content analysis approach to collect and analyze the data explaining the total coverage of the two media in relation to covering internal conflict between Federal government and TPLF during the three-month period. In this regard, the quantitative result shows that in the sampled period, 500 stories about Ethiopia are published in the two media website. From the 500 stories, 434 stories are covered by ENA and 66 stories are covered by Reuters and all published stories are checked. From the reviewed stories a total of 220 stories are discovered as stories that had direct relation with Federal government and TPLF conflict. Specifically, ENA covered 159(72.3%) stories and 61(27.7%) stories are covered by Reuters.

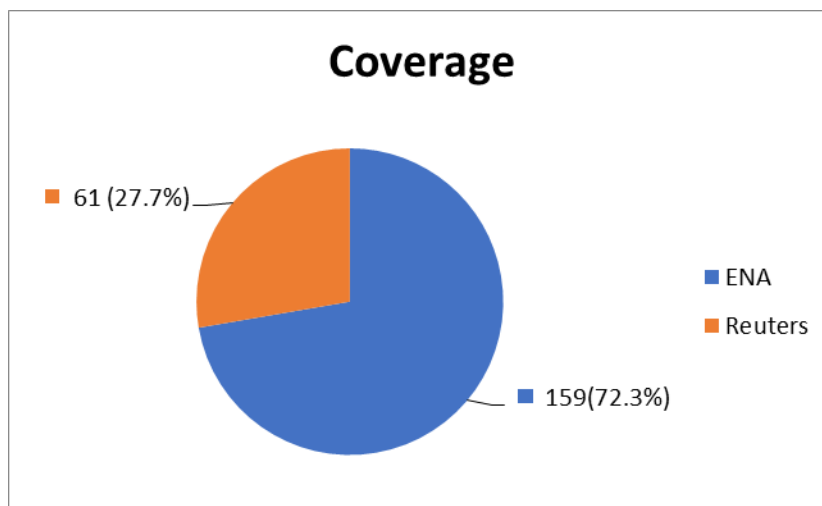


Figure 1: Overall conflict coverage of the two media

In general assessment, in the sampled period among the whole stories the two media covers the percentage of conflict stories is around 50 percent. From the total of 500 stories 220 conflict stories meant 44 percent, this shows that the media gives some level of priority in covering the conflict. In comparison between the two media, in the sampled time ENA published stories above twice of Reuters in covering the conflict situation.

4.1.2 Published Date of the Stories

From 159 published stories on ENA in the sampled period 39.6% stories are published in November 2020. 53.5% stories published in the month of December 2020 and 6.9% stories published in January 2021. Whereas, a Reuters figure shows that, 77% of stories are published in the month of November 2020. Reuters published 19.7% stories in December 2020 and 3.3% in January 2021.

Table 1: Published date of the stories covered by ENA & Reuters

Media	Months		
	November	December	January
ENA	63(39.6%)	85(53.5%)	11(6.9%)
Reuters	47(77%)	12(19.7%)	2(3.3%)

The publish stories of conflict by the two media in the sampled period varies from month to month. In November, ENA published 63 stories about the conflict situation between federal government and TPLF whereas Reuters published 47 stories, which is large number of stories published by Reuters as compared to other months. December is the month in which ENA published higher number of stories from the sampled period, which accounts for 53.5% of the published stories. Reuters published the second large number of stories in December that is 12 stories. In January ENA published 11 stories and Reuters published 2 stories of conflict.

To generalize ENA published large number of stories in the months of December (after the government declare the conflict is ended successfully) whereas Reuters published high number of stories in November (the period when the conflict is started). The published date of the stories implied the stand of the sampled media. Since ENA is pro federal government media above 50% of the stories published in the month of December, the period after the declaration of the victory of ENDF over TPLF force. In contrary Reuters published 77% of its stories in the month of November, the period when the two groups was in conflict, in which TPLF is picturized as a group with a chance to win the conflict.

4.1.3 Type or Genre of Stories

The two media gives more concern for news genre to cover the conflict stories. From the total 220 stories published by the two media about conflict in the sampled period 164(74.5%) are news. 30 of the stories are news analysis which counts for (13.6%) and feature articles counts for 11.8 percent of 26 stories are feature stories.

The researcher argues that due to the two media gives priority for news genre and the number of feature articles and news analysis is less the public cannot get adequate and all rounded information about the situation. The types of the stories of the two media were presented separately below.

4.1.3.1 Type or Genre of Stories Covered by ENA

In the sampled period from the total of 159 stories covered by ENA 134 (84.3 %) stories are reported as news genre. 20(12.6%) of the stories published on ENA website are news analysis and 5(3.1%) are feature articles. The chart below implies that ENA in the sampled time frame gives more attention and priority to the news genre in covering conflict between the two groups.

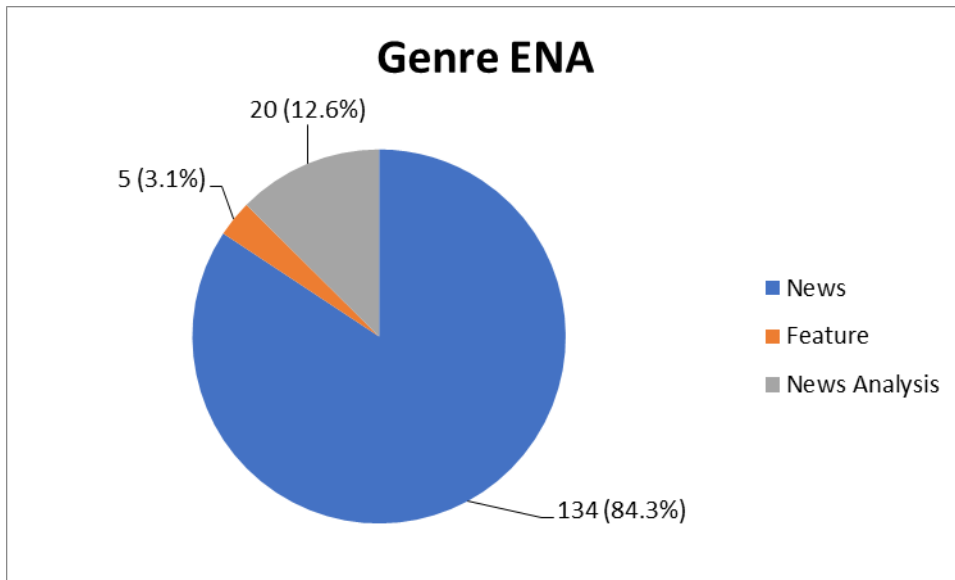


Figure 1: Types or genre of stories covered by ENA

4.1.3.2 Type or Genre of Stories Covered by Reuters

From the total of 61 stories published in the sampled period in Reuters website, 30 or 49.2% are news. 21 (34.4%) stories are feature articles and 10 (16.4%) of the published stories genre are news analysis. The same as ENA, Reuters also gives more attention to the news genre to cover the conflict situation. Opposite to ENA, Reuters gives more attention to feature stories than news analysis and this may give some space to elaborate a little bit more about the conflict situation.

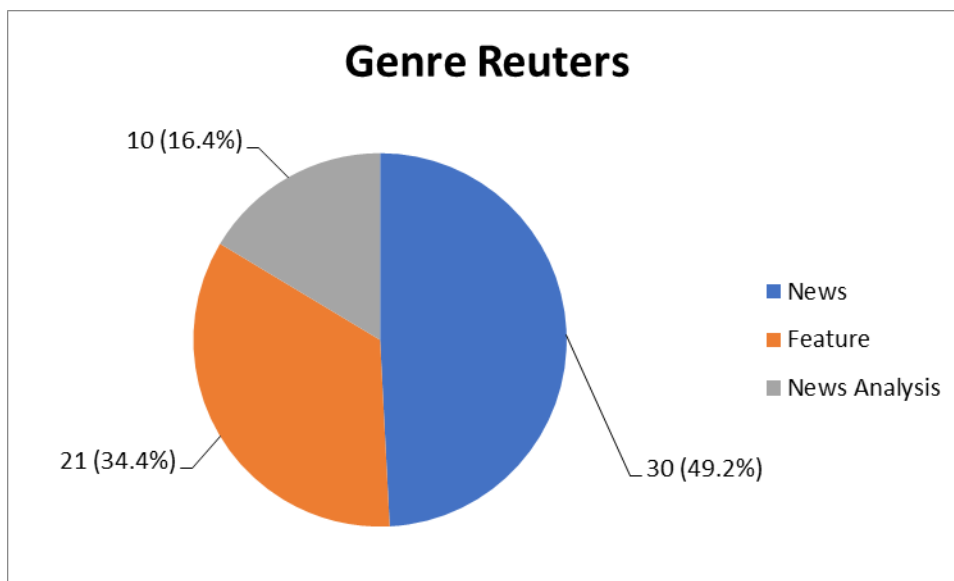


Figure 2: Types of stories or genre covered by Reuters

4.1.4 Source of the Stories

Prior to discuss about the sources used by the two media in producing internal conflict coverage between the two groups in the sampled period, there must be some clarification of the terms used as variables. The researcher used the term government side officials to represent the Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic government (FDRE) higher officials as well as diplomats of the country appointed in different nations.

The sources categorized as victims are peoples who are living in Tigray region and border regions; internally displaced peoples due to the conflicts within or outside of Ethiopia, people whose business are damaged by the conflict and injured police officers who were wounded due to the war. Security officials are also representing military officers at Ethiopian national defense force (ENDF), Federal police to local level police officers. The category TPLF side officials represent people from the TPLF administrators and members. Mixed sources are the stories produced by the source combined from government side officials, security officials and victims. The source that is categorized under others includes experts, political party leaders and international organization leaders.

From the data examined the researcher noted that ENA produces large number of stories by sourcing government side officials composed of 71 (32.3%) and 35(15.9%) of stories were sourced by security officials. Whereas, Reuters sourced 14 (6.3%) by government side officials and 8(3.6%) stories produced by using mixed sources. The two media were giving more priority for the government side official's source more than others. Victims are not as such used as a source in the stories, but the researcher argues that victims should have to get adequate space in conflict stories however, both the sampled media lacks this. Scholars also strengthen this ideas, Toit (2012) stated that journalists tend to concentrate on the views of elites like politicians, court officials and members of intervention groups. The same trend exhibited in Ethiopian media. -In Ethiopia also journalist tend to use government sources for internal conflict coverage which led the stories to lack diverse voices, though equal attention to the all parties engaged and objective reporting should have to be a principle for reporting (Mulatu, 2017, p.201). The sources of the stories of the two media are presented below separately.

4.1.4.1 Source of Stories Published in ENA

Table 2: Source of stories published in ENA

ENA			
	News	News Analysis	Feature Articles
Government side officials	53(33.3%)	15(9.4%)	3(1.9%)
TPLF Officials	1(0.6%)	-	-
Security Officials	34(21.4%)	1(0.6%)	-
Victims	7(4.4%)	1(0.6%)	-
Mixed	19(12%)	3(1.9%)	2(1.3%)
Others	20(12.6)	-	-

As discussed on Table two, ENA used 53 (33%) government side officials as source of the stories in the news genre. 1(0.6%) TPLF official is used as news source in the sampled period, 34(21.4%) of the news sources are security officials and 7(4.4%) of sources for the news genre were victims. In addition, the collected data shows that, among the news genre ENA published 19(12%) sources were mixed and 20(12.6%) were categorized under others.

In the news analysis genre 15(9.4%) stories source are government side officials, 1(0.6%) news analysis sourced security officials, 1(0.6%) victim and 3(1.9%) are sourced mixed.

Concerning the feature articles published on ENA website, 3(1.9%) of the source of the stories are government side officials and 2(1.3%) of the stories are produced by mixed sources.

4.1.4.2 Source of Stories Published in Reuters

Table 3: Source of stories published in Reuters

Reuters			
	News	News Analysis	Feature Articles
Government side Officials	10(16.39%)		4(6.55%)
TPLF sided Officials	6(9.83%)	-	-
Security Officials	2(3.27%)	-	-
Victims	-		3(4.92%)
Mixed	2(3.27%)	6(9.83%)	7(11.5%)
Others	10(16.39%)	4(6.55%)	7(11.5%)

Table three implies that among the published news of Reuters 10(16.4%) are sourced by government side officials. 6(9.83%) news are produced by using TPLF sided officials as source and 2(3.27%) news are produced by using security officials 'source. 2(3.27%) mixed and 10(16.4%) other categories of source are used as news genre source.

Regarding the news analysis, among the feature articles genre Reuters published 6(9.83%) and 4 (6.6%) stories are sourced by mixed and others category respectively.

In addition, the gathered data shows that, 4(6.6%) are sourced by government side officials and 3(4.92%) are sourced by victims. In the sampled period Reuters published a news analysis by using 7(11.5%) mixed and others category of source.

4.1.5 Reporter (By Lines) of the Stories

Earlier than discussing about the by-lines or producers of the two media stories it is better to clarify the representation of some terms. Staff reporter implies to the reporter of the media organization. Local media is representing some of the national media such as Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC), Fana Broadcasting Corporate (FBC) and Amhara Mass Media Agency (which is now named as Amhara Media Corporation). Press release or statement is

written information given to the media and organizational report denotes for report stated by local or international organization like Human Rights Commission and Amnesty International.

By clearing up this detail, both the two media produced most of their stories by their staff reporters. ENA produced 134 of the stories and 55 stories of Reuters were produced by their staff reporters. The stories reporter presentation of the two media is expressed below disjointedly.

4.1.5.1 Reporter (By Lines) of the Stories Published by ENA

Table 4: Reporter (by lines) of stories published by ENA

ENA			
	News	News Analysis	Feature Articles
Staff Reporter	121(76.1%)	20(12.57%)	3(1.89)
Press release/ statement	11(6.92%)	-	1(0.63%)
Local media	-	-	1(0.63%)
Organizational report	2(1.26%)	-	-

Table four discusses about by lines or producers of the stories published by ENA. As the data indicates ENA report its 121 (76.1%) news stories by staff reporters and 11 (6.92%) news stories are produced from press releases and statements. 2(1.26%) of the news report are produced from organizational report.

Concerning the news analysis all are done by staff reporter. And ENA produce 3 feature articles by staff reporter, 1 from statement and local media.

4.1.5.2 Reporter (By Lines) of Stories Published by Reuters

Table 5: Reporter (by lines) of stories published by Reuters

Reuters			
	News	News Analysis	Feature Articles
Staff Reporter	24(39.4%)	10(16.4%)	21(34.4%)
Press release/ statement	1(1.64%)	-	
Local media	3(4.91%)	-	
Organizational report	2(3.27%)	-	-

Table five shows that Reuters covers 24 (76.1%) news stories by staff reporters and 1 (1.64%) news stories are produced from press releases and statements. 3(4.91%) of the news report are produced from local media and 2 (3.27%) news are from organizational report. All the news analysis and feature stories are done by Reuters staff reporters.

4.1.6 Size of the Stories

The data indicates that from the whole 220 stories the two media published, 156 has written in page between 1 to 3. ENA published 138 stories in between 1 to 3 pages, 12 in less than one page, and 4 in between 3 to 5 pages. And 1 story published in page between 5 to 7 and 4 stories between 7 to 10 pages. While 22 stories of Reuters are published in less than a page. 18 stories published between 1 to 3 pages, 13 between 3 to 5 and 7 between 7 to 10 pages. The detailed data of the two media is presented separately below.

4.1.6.1 Size of the Stories ENA

Table 6: Size of stories published by ENA

	ENA		
	News	News Analysis	Feature Articles
< a page	12(7.55%)	-	-
1-3 pages	122(76.7%)	16(10.1%)	-
3-5 pages	-	4(2.51%)	-
5-7 pages	-	-	1(0.62%)
7-10 pages	-	-	4(2.52%)

Table six describes the duration of the conflict stories on ENA. The table presents that, from the news genre category, ENA produce 12 (7.55%) stories cover less than 1 page and the other 122 (76.7%) stories published between 1 to 3 pages length.

The news analysis part extent shows that, 16(10.1%) stories published covers between 1 to 3 pages and four of them has 3 to 5 pages long.

Regarding feature articles the duration of 1 feature article covers 5-7 pages and the length of 4 feature articles lies between 7 to 10 pages.

4.1.6.2 Size of the Stories Reuters

Table 7: Size of stories published by Reuters

	Reuters		
	News	News Analysis	Feature Articles
< a page	22(36.06%)	-	-
1-3 pages	8(13.1%)	10(16.4%)	-
3-5 pages	-	-	13(21.3%)
5-7 pages	-	-	7(11.5%)
7-10 pages	-	-	1(1.64%)

Table seven states, from the news genre category Reuters produce 22 (36.06%) stories cover less than 1 page and the other 8 (13.1%) stories published between 1 to 3 pages length.

The news analysis part extent shows that, 10(16.4%) stories published by Reuters duration is between 1 to 3 pages.

Concerning feature articles, the duration of 13(21.3%) feature article covers 3-5 pages and the length of 7 feature articles lies between 5 to 7 pages. One story published in Reuters website has 7to 10 pages long.

4.2 Summary of the Coverage

The two media coverage of the conflict stories gets attention and priority in the form of news. The two media published a total number of 110 stories on the month of November which counts as large from the three months sample period.

The two media were covered 85.9% of stories by their own staff reporters and give more priority to the government official in which counts for 38.6% or 85 stories in number indicates this fact. The number of the other conflict group officials (TPLF officials) source is rare especially in case of ENA (only one stories sourced by TPLF officials). Victims, displaced people and experts as well as international organization leaders are not significantly used as a source this implies that both the two news agencies do not include the right source and multi-source to produce their stories.

4.3 Framing of the Conflict Stories

This segment of the study presents about the framing of some stories covered in the sample media during the sampled time frame. The discussion mainly focuses on how the two media framed stories of conflict report on the sampled period. These include the coverage and priority the sampled media were giving to the situation in the particular sampling period. The focus or central ideas of the published stories are also discussed in this part. This assists the researcher to explain how the selected media give focus in giving hidden meaning to the internal conflict stories and to reveal how the two media portray the conflict. This is conducted by taking some samples from the published stories during sampled period.

4.3.1 Labelling Frame

During the pretesting conducted in the selected two media, one of the frames identified was labelling frames in some published stories. In some stories reported by the two media about the conflict between federal government and TPLF labelling frame was identified. That is why the labelling frame is prepared. As describe in the theoretical framework section, the media framed the stories to transmit the message they want, not what the audience needed. This labelling frame identified to examine that the media expressed the conflict as “law enforcement” and as “a military offensive/ campaign against TPLF” which tends to “civil war”.

In short, in this part the examination of the message published by the two media is conducted thoroughly and this includes the textual content analysis.

ENA published some of its news by naming the conflict as –law enforcementll by sourcing government side officials, security officials and others too. For instance, the news which was published on November 30/2020 by sourcing PM Abiy Ahmed is one example. The PM while explaining the progress of the three weeks conflict for the house of people representative members, he called the conflict as law enforcement. In this specific news on the headline and lead part, the conflict is expressedas law enforcement. In addition, the news blames other group military for the damage which occurred due to the conflict and stated TPLF military as irresponsible. The PM expresses the ENDF, which is on his part as taking responsibility. Here is some portion from the whole story.

“Even if the army had sufficient weaponry, they did not use them irresponsibly like thejunta, the premier stressed. Commending the national defense force, Abiy noted

that no soldier in any country is better qualified than this force because it is a disciplined and heroic army.”

In general, the story blames the so called “junta” for the crisis and cause of the conflict and expressed the ENDF as a responsible and disciplined military. Since it is conflict and both sides engaged on it have a responsibility, the story deceive the situation in the sample period.

Other story was published on November 17-2020 stated that the inhabitant support and honor the act of ENDF and they expressed this idea on a ceremony held at Abebe Bikila Stadium. Member of Ethiopian Patriots Association, city farmers and artists were used as a source for the news production. In this story also the conflict expressed as law enforcement and the action taken by the ENDF as appropriate and done to protect the country. Like the above story in this one also the source (inhabitant) blames the other group (The TPLF member) for the attack done on the national force. Here is the extract from the story.

“Representative of the city farmers, Gete Azene said a farmer and member of the army have one thing in common, which is working for the nation. Furthermore, the army protects the country from enemy. She said the law enforcement operation underway in Tigray Region is appropriate and will enable the army to protect the country from illegal groups and ensure peace and security.”

In this story the source state the TPLF group fighters as an enemy and illegal group. In addition, they expressed the group as invader of its protector; also express their readiness to support the national army and law enforcement operation. Like the previous ones, in this story the sources blame opponent conflicting group (TPLF) as a damage creator.

Reuters on his part stated the conflict has a tendency to become civil war. In the news analysis story Reuters stated how the conflict inclined into civil war and hurt the neighboring Horn Africa region. The story, which was covered by using the tweet of PM Abiy, was about reestablishment of authority over northern Tigray. Plus, to the tweet the story used different information from news agency in Sudan, Face book post of Tigray communication office, previous conversation of

PM Abiy, political analysts and diplomats. In the story the background of each group stated and expressed PM Abiy as “who won last year’s Nobel Peace Prize” and expressed TPLF as (led the country’s multi-ethnic ruling coalition until Abiy took office in 2018). In this story TPLF force was expressed as a powerful group with military hardware and the regional troops and associated militia’s number up to 250,000 men. The story expressed that there is an unbalance in capacity and a tendency, which led the country to civil war. Here is some portion of the story.

“Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed sought to re-establish authority over the northern Tigray region on Saturday, a day after launching air strikes amid reports that Tigrayan forces had seized control of federal military sites and weapons. The escalating conflict drew international calls for restraint as political analysts and diplomats warned that a slide into civil war would not only destabilise the country of 110 million people, but hurt the broader Horn of Africa region.”

Reuters expressed TPLF as a conflicting group with high ornament and military, whereas, federal government expressed as a weak and defeated group.

In other story entitled with –Hundreds of dead in worsening Ethiopian conflict, sources sayll Reuters used different sources stated Ethiopia as an ethnic conflict prone country and already killed hundreds since Prime Minster took power.

Security sources, tweet of PM Abiy, Face book post of TPLF and diplomats were used as a source for this story. The theme of the story was about the loss of life by airstrike, peace deal trial of regional organization and denial of PM Abiy federal government. In addition, the story stated that many people are arrested in suspension for connection with TPLF group. Some extract from the story is written below.

“An escalating conflict in Ethiopia’s restive Tigray region has killed hundreds of people, sources on the government side said, even as the prime minister sought on Monday to reassure the world his nation was not sliding into civil war.”

All in all, one can understand that the media has some inclination towards some group which is against the principle of journalism that is balance and fairness. For instance, ENA, which is state owned media, stories were pro federal government and most of the story’s source was federal government side officials (see table three). Reuters, on his part inclined to TPLF side. Previous

studies indicated that Ethiopian media, especially state-owned outlets depend mostly on government officials. Research conducted in Ethiopia indicated that —officials and politicians were used in 52 % of the stories in six months of data from The Ethiopian Herald (Mulatu, 2017, p. 201). And some stories of ENA showed that the conflict as a law enforcement, while Reuters called the conflict has a tendency to be a civil war.

4.3.2 Attribution to Responsibility Frame

Mulatu, 2017 stated this type of frame is defined as —a frame that presents an issue or a problem in such a way that there is an attribution of responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or an individual or group (Mulatu, 2017, p.175). He also identified three important points under this and the three points are blaming others, pushing responsibility to others and urging narrative. Urging narrative is used in this study.

4.3.2.1 Urging Narrative

As of Mulatu, 2017 urging means –a story narrates the case so as to give advice, or a guide, to the readers to make them do something in relation to the conflicts. The stories, either directly or indirectly, persuade readers to be parts of the solution, or not to be parts of the cause (p. 176). In this study also there are some stories that shown the above concepts.

ENA in a story published on November 6/2020 about the PM Abiy message to the people of Tigray called the security forces and people of Tigray to stand along with the government to restore peace and stability. In the story which is translated from Tigrigna to English the PM expressed about the TPLF terrorist act doing on Tigray people and asks the people to collaborate with him for the fight against TPLF. Some part of the story is written below.

“Abiy called upon the people of Tigray to stand along the government to restore peace and stability in the region.”

Advice for the people of Tigray, security officers and youth in the region to stand with government for the stability of the region is expressed in this story.

The other news which is posted on December 20/2020 by sourcing resident headline was –Residents Vow to Work with Gov’t Restore Peace, Stability in Tigray. The theme of the story is about the readiness of Shire and Adi Daero resident to stand with the ENDF and the interim administration to restore peace on the region.

“The resident urged all Ethiopians to strengthen their unity and ensure the peace of the country.”

Both of the news urged the people to stand together for peace and stability, which exhibit urging narrative character.

Likewise, Reuters on November 25, 2020 news with the headline –U.N. chief urges Ethiopia's leaders to protect civilians in Tigray region stated that Un is concerned about the situation in Ethiopia Tigray region and called all parties to deescalate the tensions. UN urges the leaders of Ethiopia to do everything to protect civilians. Here is some portion from the story.

“United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres is “deeply concerned” about the situation in Ethiopia’s Tigray region and called for all the parties to de-escalate tensions, U.N. spokesman Stephane Dujarric said on Tuesday.”

This shows that the UN advises the parties engaged in the conflict to deescalate the tension, protect civilians and uphold human rights and ensure humanitarian access for the provision of much-needed assistance.

The other story which was posted on November 10/2020 is about AU ceasefire calling of the federal government and TPLF troops. AU chairperson Moussa Faki Mahamat calls on parties to respect human rights too. Some extract from the news is included below.

“The chairperson (Moussa Faki Mahamat) appeals for the immediate cessation of hostilities and calls on parties to respect human rights and ensure the protection of civilians, the AU bloc said in a statement, also urging talks.”

Like the first one in this news also the chairperson advice the two group to negotiate each other for mitigating the danger cause by the conflict.

4.3.2.2 Blaming the Others

According to Mulatu (2017) through blaming others one can be able to give terrorist doing responsibility to some group or persons. This study employs this method to express the coverage of cause of the internal conflict and how the media report blamed doer and the reason for the doing.

Among the sampled media, most of the ENA stories blame TPLF for causing the conflict and destruction occurred by the conflict. A news stories published on ENA website in November 22, 2020 is among the stories which blame TPLF as a terrorist. The news detailed about the damage on Axum airport and accused TPLF as the destructor of the infrastructure and express Ethiopian national defense force continues law enforcement until peace and rule of law confirmed in Tigray region. The story also elaborate the cost of the airport construction and that Axum was among the most tourist attraction site in the country in which visitors prefer air transportation for travelling to the site. In the story TPLF expressed as unresponsive and carless for the people and the country Ethiopia. To understand the expression of ENA on this regard here is some extract from the whole story.

“The unresponsive TPLF junta which could not care about the people and the country, has plowed and destroyed the airport which was contributed a lot for the economy and the people of Axum. In addition to its atrocities against the Defense Forces, the group has destroyed infrastructures.”

The other story which exhibits the same characteristics with the above one was posted on November 30, 2020 on ENA website was with a headline “FM Demeke Holds Phone Conversation with Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.” In this news stories the Foreign Minister elaborate about the conflict situation in Ethiopia, express the bad act of the other conflicting group and the measure taken by the federal government to enhance peace and stability in Tigray region. In the story FM Demeke detailed the success of the law enforcement operation by ENDF and the reconstruction act of the federal government on destructed infrastructure. In this news the opposing conflicting group expressed as junta and federal government stated as innocent. Here is some part from the story.

“Noting that TPLF junta has destroyed infrastructure including airports, Demeke said that now the law enforcement measure is completed, the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation has commenced with the aim to address the region’s economic and social development challenges.”

In both the above stated stories one can understand that the media blamed all the cause, consequences of the conflict to some group and applaud the other for being clearing the terrorist act of the conflict initiator.

4.3.2.3 Pushing Responsibility to Others

According to Getnet (2019) pushing responsibility to others refers to concept that the text of the conflict stories that emphasis on some group for the destruction and damage occurred due to the conflict and pushes the responsibility for only one group among the conflicting party. In this kind the stories condemn and responsible certain groups for the cause and consequences. However, since the internal conflict engaged two groups both may have a share though there share differs. Among the stories reported by ENA there are many stories.

For instance, a news story about Agency for Refugees and Returnees Affair (ARRA) humanitarian assistance for the Eritrean refugees, which was posted in ENA website on December 20, 2020 can be under this frame type. The story which is sourced by ARRA director general Tesfahun Gobeze stated the terrifying act and damage happened on Tigray region. In this story one group (TPLF) is expressed as terrorist who take the responsibility for destruction. From the story one can understand that federal government is free from responsibility whereas TPLF take all the responsibility, which means pushing the responsibility to some groups only. To see some piece from the whole story some is extracted below.

“ARRA Director General, Tesfahun Gobeze, told ENA that the normal supply of humanitarian assistance to the Eritrean refugees in Tigray was disrupted over the last six weeks due to the law enforcement operation conducted by the government following the TPLF junta’s attack against the Ethiopian National Defense Force Northern Command. According to him, the TPLF clique had also committed crimes on the refugee camps by damaging and looting properties.”

Other stories which have the same style with the above one was published on December 11, 2020 with the headline –Politician, Writer Claims TPLF Expended 5 million USD to Kidnap Him from Yemen. The news story sourced by politician and writer Andargachew Tsigie accused TPLF group members for their act while seizing him in Sana airport, Yemen. Though the current administrator members (PM Abiy administrators) were also member of the former EPRDF only TPLF members are accused separately for the action. Some part from the story is presented below

According to him, the group violated his rights and abused him in prison for almost four years. The politician pointed out that he always believed that he was a prisoner of the TPLF clique not the Ethiopian government.”

Both the above stated stories push the responsibility only to the opponent conflicting group and make the other group innocent.

4.3.3 Crime and Court Frame

This kind of frame is used in this research to show how the story treats catchment, arrest and court process of criminals to maintain peace and order in the region. On December 25 /2020 ENA published news stated about the additional days grant given by The Federal First Instance Court for police for further investigation. The story detailed the why the person accused and here is some portion of the story reported.

“Police have confirmed that he was working as bridge in linking the armed group, OLF-Shane with the former president of Tigray regional state, Debretsion Gebremichael in providing financial and material support for the group. Accordingly, the leadership of OLF-Shane were received their mission from Addisalem, one of the members of the TPLF junta around the office of Addis Ababa Road transport.”

The other story published on ENA in this case was posted on 8th January 2021 was sourced by ENDF Deployment Department Head, Brigadier General Tesfaye Ayalew the story elaborates about the catchment of 8 TPLF leaders. The extract from the story is mentioned below.

“ENDF Deployment Department Head, Brigadier General Tesfaye Ayalew told ENA that Sebhat Nega, the top TPLF junta leader was captured hiding in a ravine extremely difficult to reach. According to Brigadier General Tesfaye, members of the destructive force carried him into the deep and narrow gorge with steep sides.”

Reuters also published a story about the catchment of TPLF leaders on January 11/2021. With the headline “Ethiopian military says it killed 15 members of rebellious Tigray forces, captured 8 others”, the story deals with the latest announcement about those killed and captured members of TPLF. Here is the portion of the story.

“Citing a brigadier-general from Ethiopia’s National Defence Force, the state-run Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation said that those captured included the region’s former president Abay Weldu, who was also a former chairman of the region’s ruling party. Those killed included the region’s former deputy police commissioner, it said.”

The other story was about the massacre done by youth group in Mai Kadra. By using Ethiopian Human Rights commission and Amnesty the story expressed how the youth group called Samri committed the crime. In addition, the PM also stated as a source in the story. Some sort of the story piece is mentioned here.

Ethiopia’s state-appointed human rights commission said on Tuesday that a Tigrayan youth group stabbed, strangled, and bludgeoned to death an estimated 600 civilians with the collusion of local security forces during a mass killing in the town of Mai Kadra. The Nov. 9 attack - first reported by rights group Amnesty International - was aimed at residents of non-Tigrayan origin, the commission said.”

The above stated stories clearly show that the two media reported story about criminal act and court case in the sampled period.

4.3.4 The Annihilation Frame

According to Mulatu (2017) trial of the press to disregard or eliminate something from their audience stated as symbolic annihilation. He added that the media used annihilation frame while they try to give less attention for the internal conflict. The text inclined to disregard, eliminate, weaken or hold covering of internal conflict in this frame type. As Mulatu (2017) among range of methods used in this framing the leading ones which were used frequently were omission, muddying, withholding information and undermining. In this study the researcher examination shows that ENA did not giving adequate space for both the conflicting groups. To see this researcher select undermining the voice frame type since ENA excludes the voice of TPLF leaders and members in covering the internal conflict stories.

4.3.4.1 Undermining the Voice

In this kind of frame mostly says of some parties in the community is not included or disregarded in the media. Though Reuters tries to incorporate the voices of TPLF leaders in some of its stories ENA did not use this conflicting side groups in the stories which were reported during the sampled period. Among 159 stories reported on the sampled period by ENA only one story was sourced by TPLF leader, even that story was also taken from local media in Tigray region, which was a report expressing TPLF the conflict initiator by stating the TPLF leader as a confirmer for that. Whereas Reuters on his part used TPLF sources for 6 stories related with conflict in the sampled time. In its many stories ENA used government and security officials as a source, and among the covered stories most of them ignored the other side conflicting group voices. The stories which were posted in ENA website were exhaustively sourced by government and government affiliated persons. On a story posted on December 24, 2020 on ENA website, which deals about the briefs of Ethiopian Ambassador Zenebe Kebede to UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), Françoise Mianda about Tigray Regional State situation. On the story the Ambassador stated the federal government or “us” group as a peace builder and strive to replace the destructed ones and TPLF or –them|| group as a guilty. Some extract of the story is attached below.

“The government had no option other than enforcing the rule of law in the region following the TPLF clique attack on the ENDF, he added. Ambassador Zenebe said the government has carefully and swiftly carried out the operation with the utmost care given to civilian lives. The government is now restoring services and working closely with international humanitarian agencies to provide humanitarian assistance to those in need, he explained.”

From the selected piece and the central idea of the whole story it’s clear that the federal government saying get vast space in the media. Even the word usage of the media also exhibits this tone. For instance, expressions like —*government is now restoring services, –care given to civilian lives*|| and the likes expressed the government as striving to overcome the problem and come up with solutions.

In other news which was sourced by Attorney General Gedion Timotiwo about the reform undertaken in security areas and conflict between federal government and TPLF. In this story also the –us|| –them|| grouping clearly seen. The attorney general expressed the opponent group as a problem creator throughout the country. To see some piece from the story, let's seethis.

“In the wake of the transition, the TPLF had some sort of control and influence in the security apparatus and that casted shadow and constraints in the capability of the government to effectively respond to these incidents and averting violence. However, the reform undertaken in the security, law enforcement and the military has increased the government's capability to respond to those problems, he stated.”

From this extract one can understand that the federal government leaders get a great chance to reflect their opinion and measures. And they portrayed the opponent group or them as destructor and the federal government or us side as reformist.

The other group that is labeled as terrorist later by House of people representatives was expressed as junta or military group which desire to attack the authoritative administrator. In the stories one group or the “us” expressed as innocent, good doer and peace builder and reformist. Whereas the other group them expressed as terrorist, junta, guilty, devil and destructor.

4.4 Comparative Discussion

In this segment of the study, the stories of the two news agencies i.e., ENA and Reuters were relatively compared. Based on the frame identified and analyzed the comparison was done. As presented directly above, difference was there in framing the internal conflict reporting in the sampled media. Though both media report the case repeatedly, if we see it from the intensity of the conflict and the destruction it causes its inadequate.

ENA and Reuters news agencies were picked for analysis due to both wired service media cover recent issues on daily basis. Perceptive that internal conflicts happened in the country in the study period, since both the two media are news feeder it's expected to provide updated report about the issues on regular base. Noticeably, ENA is expected to report the case regularly since its national media and the issue is local. The result also reflects this fact and

ENA covers large amount of conflict stories as compared to Reuters. And since the standing point and perspective of the two sampled media differs the framing of the conflict in their reporting also exhibited variation. ENA labelled the conflict as law enforcement while Reuters labelled it as a tendency towards civil war.

Both Ena and Reuters in their stories urge the people, persons and the engaging parties of the conflict for peace building and cease fire. Most of ENA news urges the people to strive for peace and to collaborate with the federal government for peace keeping in the region. Whereas the stories of Reuters urge the two parties to negotiate and come together for cease fire.

Ena on his conflict coverage mostly expressed the opponent group as a terrorist, guilty and destructive, while applause the federal government or “us” side for its corrective act, being innocent and peace builder.

Reuters on his part expressed the opponent conflicting group as the powerful ethnic faction that led the ruling coalition for decades, forces loyal to the Tigray region’s local leaders defiant of his authority.

In crime and court framing both the sampled media report court cases and catchment of higher officials of TPLF.

4.5 Summary

As mentioned before, this section of the study presented the quantitative as well as qualitative results of the data. Regarding the quantitative result the data gathered through quantitative content analysis was expressed briefly. Those are the overall coverage of the conflict among the two media, the published date of the stories and the types or genres the two media used to cover the conflict were presented, analyzed and discussed in this section.

Size of conflict stories in line with by-lines and sources of the conflict stories were also presented, analyzed and discussed here. In general, through quantitative content analysis the researcher examines the internal conflict coverage among the two mentioned media.

The frame analysis of some internal conflict stories covered by the two media were conducted also examine thoroughly in this part. In overall discussion, the section briefly describes the overall trends of conflict reporting of ENA and Reuters.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The major findings and recommendations of this study are presented in this section of the study. These include findings that are identified from the quantitative content analysis and findings of qualitative results (framing results) too.

5.1. Summary of Major Findings

The study with the title framing analysis on conflict between federal government and Tigray people liberation front; a comparative analysis on national and international media: in case of ENA and Reuters, examines how the wired national and international news agencies covered the incident. ENA and Reuters were selected for the study because the two media are among the media which were repeatedly reported the conflict between the federal government of Ethiopia and TPLF. The researcher selected the two media because the two media were expected to report the situation in different way. In addition, as far as the researcher knowledge there was no study which focused on conflict reporting of news agencies in Ethiopian context. This study tried to examine the production (news, news analysis, and features) posted from November 4, 2020 to January 11, 2021 on ENA and Reuters website and tried to look into what makes the two media conflict reporting the same and different and also, the study attempts to point out how the two media framed the conflict stories.

This study was particularly focused on examining the conflict reporting trends of the two media by applying three major research questions. These are; to what extent did the two media (news, news analysis and feature) focus on reporting the conflict of the two groups in selected time period, how did the two media frame stories of conflict report on the sampled period, who was used as a source to cover the conflict issues in the stated time frame.

Both qualitative and quantitative research approaches is used to conduct this study. Quantitative content analysis was used to examine the conflict stories that were reported in the sampled time frame in the selected media and textual analysis were also employed to understand the trends in conflict reporting in the two sampled media.

To select the sample from the three-month time period purposive/ deliberate sampling method is used in the study, because this method enabled the researcher to pick conflict stories among the other stories published on the two media website in the stated time frame.

Agenda setting, framing, and social responsibility theory were also used as theoretical frameworks. These used to answer the above listed research questions, guide the methods and helps to show the discussion and interpretation of the data.

Then the data collected through content analysis and textual analysis analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The quantitative data were presented in the form of charts and tables. Different variables such as conflict coverage of the two media, published date, sources, reporter and size of the stories are examined in the study. And, by using some of the main quantitative results from the collected data and supporting literature, the overall coverage of conflicts in the sampled media was discussed and interpreted.

In the textual analysis, three frames, namely, labeling, attribution to responsibility, and crime and court frames were identified and presented clearly.

This study focused on the coverage of stories of conflict between federal government and TPLF forces. 220 conflict related stories published in two media websites in the selected three months period were used as evidence. ENA gives more focus in covering an issue with 159 stories as compared to Reuters (61 stories) during the specific time, including news, news analysis and feature articles.

- ENA which is state owned (now become public media and represent for house of people representative) and Reuters a global news agency, from the discussion one can understand, they were reporting in different ways since their interest is different.
- The media cumulative production exhibit that a lot of stories were produced on the month of December. However, Reuters published large number of stories (47 stories which counts for 77% of the published stories) in the months of November 2020.

- Both media gives priority to the news genre in covering conflict situations of the sampled period. The conflict stories are better if they were reported broadly by incorporating all rounded information.
- Regarding the source of the stories both the two media gives more priority for the government side official's source more than others. Whereas victims are engaged in fewer stories as a source.
- Both the sampled media produce their stories by their staff reporter. Among the 220 stories published in the sampled media 189 were produced by staff reporters.
- In looking for the size of the stories, most of the stories cover between 1 to 3 pages for the published news.
- The two media labeled the conflict as “law enforcement “and as “a military offensive/campaign against TPLF” which tends to “civil war”. ENA express the conflict as a short-ended situation and Reuters stated that the conflict will cause unrest not only on Ethiopia Tigray region but also for the Horn Africa.
- The two media published stories about making peace by negotiating and supporting government officials to create peace on the region. This will help for creating peace and stability in the region.
- The two media produced the stories about the court process and catchment of criminals.

5.2 Conclusions

The findings of the study imply that, in the sampled period, both media gives priority to the news genre in covering conflict situations but, it was better if the number of news analysis and feature stories might be high in number, since these two genres gives a space for giving more information than news. In most of the stories, the two media used government side official's source and victims are used in few stories; however, stories must incorporate all parties engaged in the conflict to show what happened during the situation. This is the overall reflection of national and international news agencies (the sampled) in covering the conflict issues. Shifting the trends is needed by giving special priority in relation to reporting conflict.

News agencies since they are provider or feeder of news and related stories for other media, they have to strive more to come up with their audience interest and provide the public with

updated and rich information. People will go to quarrel and violence unless the media provide adequate information since there is many options now to get information.

5.3 Recommendations

The gathered and analyzed data regarding the coverage of conflict have indicated that the sampled wired media does not give adequate priority for the conflict issues. This implies that, journalist must follow ethics of the profession while reporting conflict. And in Ethiopia, to make the media work professional higher learning institution and others must play their role to enable news reporters and editors on issues of conflict report.

The stories of the two sampled media tend towards some group in some degree and this implies that the public did not get adequate information about the situation. Solving this problem and feeding the public current and new information is need especially about the conflict situation.

Another result of the research finding is, government officials were the dominant source of the conflict stories. Unlike government officials and security officers 'victims and multiple sources is neglected on the stories. Giving priority specially for sourcing the stories by victims gives more life for the stories, so media should give an attention for this issue.

Analysis of framing of the conflict stories identified that, the media were labeling the conflict as -law enforcement and -tendency towards civil war. ENA express the conflict as a short-ended situation and Reuters stated that the conflict will cause unrest not only on Ethiopia Tigray region but also for the Horn Africa. This expression undermines or magnifies the situation, so the media should provide the right information to the public by respecting ethical values of the profession.

5.4 Future Studies

From the study it would expect to initiate many research ideas to be studied on news agencies. It shows the way in relation to conflict and media issues and reporting. Future studies may be focus on covering trends of internal conflict reporting by using time periods as category, choosing specific issues from the conflict, or specific media platforms. For example, by categorizing the media platform, one can study how Ethiopian media be it the private or government broadcast media, print or electronic ones covers the conflict. It also seems vital if the future stories focus on the word and phrases expression of the media in covering the

conflict issues. The future study will also focus on the perception of audience about the conflict stories. In addition, why the media focused on government and security officials as a source and why the stories are lengthy in reporting the situation.

References

- Adegbonmire, J. (2015). Conflict Situations and Ways to Resolve Conflicts. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/289211205>
- Adenyi T. O (2016) Stages of conflict. In Adenyi, T. O (Eds) Elements of peace studies and conflict resolution. Enugu: Oktek Publishers
- Adisu, R. (2019). The Coverage of Internal Conflict Between Oromia and Somali Regional States on Ethiopian Media: Comparative Study of OBN and SRTV. Degree of Master Thesis Submitted to the School of Journalism and Communication. Addis Ababa University
- Aemere, S. (2015). A Critical Discourse Analysis on the news coverage of the 2006 Military Conflict between Ethiopia and the United Islamic Courts (UIC): The case of The Ethiopian Herald and The Daily Monitor. Degree of Master Thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Journalism and Communication. Addis Ababa University
- Akhtar, I. (2016) Research in Social Science: Interdisciplinary Perspectives 68 Research Design. https://www.academia.edu/28974179/Research_Design
- Akpan. et al. (2013). The Media and Conflicts in Nigeria: *International Journal of Asian Social Science*, 3(11), 2279-2287. <http://www.aessweb.com/journal-detail.php?id=5007>
- Alemayehu, G. & Degefe, B. (2005). Conflict, Post-Conflict and Economic Performance in Ethiopia. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/264004598>
- Alok, S. & Mishra, B. (2017). Handbook of Research Methodology: A Compendium for Scholars & Researchers. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319207471_HANDBOOK_OF_RESEARCH_METHODODOLOGY
- Aregawi, B. (2008). A Political History of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (1975-1991): Revolt, Ideology and Mobilization in Ethiopia. <http://www.harep.org/ifaapr/7219.pdf>
- Aremu, J. (2010) Conflicts in Africa: Meaning, Causes, Impact and Solution (Pp.549-560). <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved>
- Arowolo, O. (2017). Understanding Framing Theory. Retrieved on December 10, 2020 from: (PDF) UNDERSTANDING FRAMING THEORY (researchgate.net)
- Behnke, C. (2019). Hopeless Republics: An Exploration of International Media Frames in Coverage of African Elections. <http://www.elon.edu/u/academics/communications/journal/wp-content/uploads/sites/>
- Blanchard, L. (2020). The Unfolding Conflict in Ethiopia. <https://blanchardreports.congress.gov>
- Bratic, V. (2006). Media effects during violent conflict: Evaluating media contributions to peace building. www.cco.regener-online.de

- Burney, S.M.A; &Saleem, H., (2008), -Inductive & Deductive Research Approachll, Lecture delivered on 06-03-2008 at Auditorium of Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Karachi, Karachi, Pakistan
- Byrne,etal.(2009).An overview of mixed methods research: Journal of Research in Nursing 2009 14: 175, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233882561>
- Chepii, Z.K. (2014). The Role of Media in Conflict Management: The Case of Electoral Conflict in Uasin Gishu County, Kenya. Master of Arts (Peace & Conflict Studies) Master's Thesis, Kenyatta University, Nairobi.
- Chong, P. (2017).Valuing subjectivity in journalism: Bias, emotions, and self-interest astools in arts reporting.
- Ciboh,R. (2007). Framing The Herdsmen- Farmers 'Conflicts and Peace Building in Nigeria. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329210156>
- DFID.(2001).The causes of conflict in Africa. <https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk>
- Dolma,S.(2010). The central role of the unit of analysis concept in research design. https://www.academia.edu/505289/The_central_role_of_the_unit_of_analysis_concept_in_research_design
- Displacement Trafficking Matrix. (2021). Emergency Site Assessment: Northern Ethiopia Crisis 6. DTM Ethiopia Emergency Site Assessment Report Round 6 Report v2.pdf(iom.int)
- Elena, M. (2015). Framing international media in the face of social movements: CNN and Al-Jazeera English in the fall of Morsi. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305176410>
- Franklin, etal. (2012). Key concepts in journalism studies. SAGE Publications Ltd
- Freeland,A. (2012). An Overview of Agenda Setting Theory in Mass Communications.
- Getnet,E.(2019) Analysis on Media Framing of Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia (From April 2- October 2, 2018): The Ethiopian Herald and The Reporter Newspapers in Focus. Degree of Master Thesis Submitted to the School of Journalism and Communication.Addis Ababa University
- Gluhbegovic,R. (2016). Types of conflict in africa how do the aprm reports address conflict?. EISA
- ~~Gunby, D., Marshall., & McCulloch, A. (2011). Developing and Using a Codebook for the Analysis of Interview Data: An Example from a Professional Development Research Project.[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254091978_Developing_and_Using_Codebook_for_the_Analysis_of_Interview_Data_An_Example_from_a_Profession al_Development_Research_Project](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254091978_Developing_and_Using_Codebook_for_the_Analysis_of_Interview_Data_An_Example_from_a_Profession_al_Development_Research_Project)~~

- Habtamu,G. (2020). Unfolding the Ongoing Political Dynamics in Ethiopia: Why the Departure of TPLF and Its Doctrine is Important. <https://mpr.ub.uni-muenchen.de/104543/>
- Hallahan, K. (1999). Seven Models of Framing: Implications for Public Relations. *Journal Of Public Relations Research*, 11(3), 205–242. JPRR1103.VP (comphacker.org)
- Hussein,F., & Al-Mamary, Y. (2019). Conflicts: Their Types, And Their Negative And Positive Effects On Organizations: *International journal of scientific & technology research*, 8: 08, , 2277
- ICG. (2021). Ethiopia’s Tigray War: A Deadly, Dangerous Stalemate Crisis Group Africa Briefing. <https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b171-ethiopia-tigray-wa>
- International Organization for Migration. (2021). Ethiopia National Displacement Report 8 Site Assessment Round 25 & Village Assessment Survey Round 8: March 2021 — April 2021. <https://dtm.iom.int/reports/ethiopia-%E2%80%94national-displacement-report-8-march-%E2%80%94april-2021>
- Johnson,R.& and Schoonenboom,J.(2017).How to Construct a Mixed Methods Research Design. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11577-017-0454-1>
- Kumar, K. (1989). Conducting Key Informant Interviews in Developing Countries A.I.D. Program Design and Evaluation Methodology. [https:// www. participatorymethods. org/ sites/ participatory methods. org/ files/ conducting](https://www.participatorymethods.org/sites/participatorymethods.org/files/conducting)
- Korsgaard, S.& and Linneberg,M.(2019). Coding qualitative data: a synthesis to guide the Novice.https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332957319_Coding_qualitative_data_a_synthesis_guiding_the_novice
- Kozman,C (2017) Measuring Issue-specific and Generic Frames in the Media’s Coverage of the Steroids Issue in Baseball, *Journalism Practice*, 11:6, 777-797, DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2016.1190660
- Kiplimo, G.K & Nabushawo, J. (2015). The Critical Role theThe Mass Media in Resolving Conflicts. *International Journal of Advancements in Research & Technology*, Volume 4, Issue 2, Retrieved on January 16,2021 from: THE CRITICAL ROLE OF THE MASS MEDIA IN RESOLVING CONFLICTS (ijoart.org)
- Lehtovaara, M. (2011). The News Agency Goes Internet: Reuters Institute Fellowship Paper University of Oxford. [https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox. ac.uk/sites/default/ files/research/files/](https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/research/files/)
- Lombard, M., Snyder-Duch,J. & Bracken,C. (2012). A call for standardization in content analysis reliability. A call for standardization in content analysis reliability | Request PDF (researchgate.net)

- McKee, A. (2001). A beginner's guide to textual analysis. *Metro Magazine*, pp. 138-149. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/27470712_Textual_Analysis_A_Beginner's_Guide/citation/download
- Mulatu, A. (2017 A). Why Silence? Reporting Internal Conflict in Ethiopian Newspapers. Doctoral Thesis Submitted for The Degree of Ph.D. Faculty of Humanities - Department of Media and Communication. University of Oslo.
- Neuendorf, K. & Skalski, P. (2009). Quantitative Content Analysis and the Measurement of Collective Identity. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/278668301_Quantitative_content_analysis_and_the_measurement_of_collective_identity
- Nilia et al (2020). An approach for selecting and using a method of inter-coder reliability in information management research: *International Journal of Information Management*. An approach for selecting and using a method of inter-coder reliability in information management research - ScienceDirect
- O'Connor, C & Joffe, H. (2020). Intercoder Reliability in Qualitative Research: Debates and Practical Guidelines. (PDF) Intercoder Reliability in Qualitative Research: Debates and Practical Guidelines (researchgate.net)
- Ogeto, M.G. (2019). Role Of Media in Political Conflict: A Comparative Study of Kenya and Zimbabwe. Degree of Master Thesis Submitted for Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies. University of Nairobi
- Okunna, S.G (2004). Communication and Conflict: A Commentary on the Role of the Media
- Oluwakemi, M.O. (2017). International Broadcasting and Western Media Framing of African Countries. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320487185_Pani,P._\(2017\).Introduction_to_conflict_sensitive_reporting._introductiontoconflictsensitivereporting_0.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320487185_Pani,P._(2017).Introduction_to_conflict_sensitive_reporting._introductiontoconflictsensitivereporting_0.pdf) (freiheit.org)
- Puddephatt, A. (2006). *Voices of the war: conflict and the role of media*. International Media Support. Copenhagen.
- Rasaq, M. (2012). Conflict sensitive journalism and newspaper coverage of jos conflict. *entrepreneurial journal of management sciences* ,174- 188.
- Ruth, M. M. (2014). *Media and conflict: A Comparative Study of 1994 Rwanda Genocide and 2008 Kenya Post Election Violence*. Degree of Master Thesis submitted to The Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi. Smith, J. (2017). *Textual Analysis*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

- Taherdoost, H. (2016). Sampling Methods in Research Methodology; How to Choose a Sampling Technique for Research. *International Journal of Academic Research in Management (IJARM)*, 5, 18-27. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3205035>
- Tjosvold, D. (2006) Defining conflict and making choices about its management; Lighting the dark side of organizational life. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235302898>
- Toit, P. (2012). Conflict Sensitive Reporting: A toolbox for journalists. Conflict Sensitive Journalism Project
- Topic, M and Tench, R (2018) Evolving Responsibility or Revolving Bias? The Role of the Media in the anti-sugar debate in the UK Press. *Social Sciences*. ISSN 2076-0760 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci7100181>
- Uzuegbunam, C. E. (2013). Social responsibility theory: a contemporary review. A postgraduate Seminar paper presented to the Department of Mass Communication, Faculty of Social Sciences, Nnamdi Azikiwe University Nigeria. from: https://www.academia.edu/11187397/The_social_responsibility_theory_A_contemporary_review.
- Valenzuela, S. (2019). Agenda Setting and Journalism. Retrieved on January 10, 2021 from: (PDF) [Agenda Setting and Journalism | Sebastián Valenzuela - Academia.edu](https://www.academia.edu/44444444/Agenda_Setting_and_Journalism)
- Watanabe, K. (2017). Measuring Bias in International News: A Large-scale Analysis of News Agency Coverage of the Ukraine Crisis: A thesis submitted to the Department of Methodology of the London School of Economics and Political Science for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
- Zain, B. (2014). Agenda Setting Theory. (PDF) [Agenda Setting Theory \(researchgate.net\)](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235302898)

Appendices

Appendix A

Code No. _____

1. The media org.

ENA	Reuters

2. Published Date.

Media	Months		
	November	December	January
ENA			
Reuters			

3. Type of Genre or story

News	News Analysis	Feature

4. Source of published stories

	News	News Analysis	Feature Articles
Government side officials			
TPLF Officials			
Security Officials			
Victims			
Mixed			
Others			

5. Size of the stories

	News	News Analysis	Feature Articles
< a page			
1-3 pages			
3-5 pages			
5-7 pages			
7-10 pages			

Appendix B

Coding sheet: Framing (guide)

Coder:

Read (script text) and watch the full stories carefully and put the number of stories in provided space.

1.LABELLING FRAME	Yes	No	Partially
Labelling the conflict as -law enforcement			
Labelling the conflict as —it tends to civil war.			
2. Urging Narratives			
Whether the story gives advice, or a guide, to the readers to make them do something in relation to the conflict.			
3 Crime and court frame			
Whether the story treats catchment, arrest and court process of criminals to maintain peace and order in the region.			

Appendix C

Stories link on ENA website

1. <https://www.ena.et/en/?p=19819>
2. <https://www.ena.et/en/?p=20342>
3. <https://www.ena.et/en/?p=18269>
4. <https://www.ena.et/en/?p=19983>
5. <https://www.ena.et/en/?p=19144>
6. <https://www.ena.et/en/?p=18682>
7. <https://www.ena.et/en/?p=19159>
8. <https://www.ena.et/en/?p=18871>
9. <https://www.ena.et/en/?p=19825>
10. <https://www.ena.et/en/?p=19527>
11. <https://www.ena.et/en/?p=19942>
12. <https://www.ena.et/en/?p=19862>

Appendix D

Stories link on Reuters website

1. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27Q17D>
2. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN284388>
3. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN29G0JL>
4. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27N09O>
5. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27P15A>
6. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN2841SQ>