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Framing of Identity and Boundary Disputes by Regional Media in Ethiopia: Amhara TV and Tigray TV in Focus

By: Fasikaw Tadesse

Advisor: Abdulaziz Dino (PhD)

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Fasikaw Tadesse, entitled: Framing of Identity and Boundary Disputes by regional Media in Ethiopia: Amhara TV and Tigray TV in Focus 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 and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

In recent years many were attacked and displaced due to their identity in different parts of Ethiopia. Clashes associated with ‘identity and boundary questions’ cost the lives of many peoples, especially in Amhara and Tigray regional states. The media having a pivotal role in calming down such kind of situation rather worsen the causality. This research critically explored how regional media, particularly Amhara TV and Tigray TV framed ‘identity and boundary questions’ from September 1, 2018- March 30, 2019. Informed by framing and political economy theories, the study applied both quantitative and qualitative methods to achieve the objective of this study. Sixty purposively selected news stories from both media were analyzed and interpreted to examine types of news frames and news sources used while reporting such issues. The findings of this study showed the media employed various types of news frames to attain their interest. While Amhara TV focused on broadcasting the ‘identity’ based killings and jailing, Tigray TV’s framing stressed on identity questions of Ethiopian’s were already solved and associated the issue with the federal government meddling. The research concludes that both media institutions employed several framing technics that would harm the coexistence of people and puts recommendations on how to alleviate the gaps.

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Acronyms

ADP	Amhara Democratic Part
EBA	Ethiopian Broadcast Authority
EBC	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
ERTA	Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency
ESAT	Ethiopian Satellite Television
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
NaMA	National Movement of Amhara
OBN	Oromia Broadcasting Network
TPLF	Tigrai People Libration Front

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	i
Acknowledgments	ii
Acronyms.....	iii
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE	
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background Of The Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.3 Objective of the study	5
1.4 Research Questions.....	6
1.5 Significance of the Study	6
1.6 Scope of the Study	6
1.7 Limitations of the Study	7
CHAPTER TWO	
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	8
2.1 Mass Media and Politics	8
2.1.1 Media and politics in Ethiopia	9
2.1.2 Historical Background of Ethiopian Media	11
2.2 Theoretical Framework of the Study	13
2.2.1 Political Economy of Mass Media	13
2.2.2 Framing Theory.....	14
CHAPTER THREE	
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	21
3.1 Research Methods	21
3.2 Data Sources and Types	21
3.3 Sampling procedures	21
3.4 Time Frame and Story selection.....	22
3.5 Method of Data Collection	23
3.5.1 Quantitative Content Analysis	24
3.5.2 Qualitative Content Analysis /Textual Analysis/	24

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS	27
4.1 Causes and Solutions of identity and boundary disputes.....	27
4.1.1 Identified Identity and Boundary dispute Causes in Amhara TV	27
4.1.2 Solution Stories reported in Amhara TV.....	28
4.1.3 Identified Causes in Tigray TV.....	29
4.1.4 Identified Solutions in Tigray TV	30
4.2 General Cause and Solution	31
4.3 Amhara TV and Tigray TV News Angle/Themes in General.....	34
4.4 Frames.....	34
4.4.1 Dominant Frames	34
4.4.2 Secondary Frames	36
4.5 Story Sources.....	37
4.6 Trend of news Balance	38
4.7 Discussion of Findings.....	38
4.7.1 Coverage Frequency.....	38
4.7.2 Themes or Focus of the media	40
4.7.3 Frames	42
4.7.3.1 Cultural identity frame	42
4.7.3.2 Constitutionality and jurisprudence frame	44
4.7.3.3 Conflict frame	47
4.7.3.4 Attribution of responsibility frame.....	49
4.7.3.5 Human interest frame	51
4.7.3.6 Diagnostic frame	53
4.7.3.7 Prognostic frame	56
4.7.3.8 Political frame	59
4.7.3.9 Law and order frame	64
4.7.3.10 Security and defense frame	66
4.7.3.11 Fairness and equality frame.....	68
4.7.3.12 Public opinion frame	70
4.8 Story Sources.....	71
4.9 News Balance	74

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	76
5.1 Summary	76
5.2 Conclusions	77
5.3 Recommendations	78
References	80
Appendix A	
Coding Guide	87
Appendix B	
Coding Sheet	89
Appendix C	
News Video links	92

List of Tables

Table	page
<u>Table 4.1 Causes Covered in Amhara TV</u>	27
<u>Table 4.2 Identified solutions for the identity and boundary issue questions</u>	28
<u>Table 4.3 Identified Causes in Tigrai TV</u>	29
<u>Table 4.4 Solutions identified in Tigrai TV</u>	30
<u>Table 4.5 Causes and Solutions in Both Amhara TV and Tigrai TV</u>	31
<u>Table 4.6 Dominant Frame distribution of Amhara TV and Tigrai TV in general</u>	35
<u>Table 4.7 News Balance distribution in General</u>	38

List of Figures

Figure 1 Amhara and Tigray TV Themes	34
Figure 2: Secondary Frame distribution of Amhara TV and Tigray TV in general	36
Figure 3: Percentage of story sources used in Amhara TV and Tigray TV	37

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In 2019 Ethiopia is not colored red on the World Press Freedom Index map for the first time since the five colors began being used in 2013. According to Reporters without Border (RSF) report (New Freedoms to Be Consolidated, 2020) the country rank dramatically improved from 150 out of 180 countries in 2018 to 110/180 in 2019. Ethiopia also upgraded its rank to 99th in the 2020 World Press Freedom Index.

Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, 2019 Nobel Peace Prize winner, allowed freeing many detained journalists and bloggers as soon as he assumed power in 2018. His administration also restored access to more than 200 news websites and blogs that had been blocked for years and Ethiopian TV stations which was labeled as a terrorist (like ESAT and OMN) and based abroad are now able to work freely. However, this initial progress has not yet been institutionalized and journalists are concerned that the winds of freedom could end up being no more than a passing breeze.

Polarization between media outlets increased in 2018. Though, polarization was one of the foremost characteristics of the media environment in the 1990s, the post-2018 polarization is of a different type and character than before (Stremlau, 2018). While previous dividing lines were described in political terms, often following a private vs. state media axis, the new polarization is overwhelmingly informed by ethnic interest (Skjerdal and Mulatu, 2020). It is now common to refer media outlets primarily out of their ethnic sympathies.

The breakup between the then ruling party, EPDRF member parties, and TPLF manifested the commitments of regional media to one region or one specific ethnicity. TPLF can no longer trust the federal media to speak for its interests, and is thus relegated to the region's own media. In the

past, EPRDF may perhaps have viewed the mass media agencies as regional extensions of the federal government's communication strategy, but this is no longer how the state media function in the country. The regional media have developed their own identity, and their political commitment is first of all to the regional government (Skjerdal and Mulatu, 2020).

Since the coming of EPRDF into power in 1991, ethnicity has been at the center of Ethiopian politics, government structures, and even the social system (Abbink, 2011). EPRDF federalism system and administrative division also bases on people's ethnicity. Therefore, the intensified political polarization and relative media freedom allowed regional media agencies to turn their locality to the central government when their ethnic group jeopardized. Thus, they began covering issues that were neglected by previous administration for long time. Especially regions having an identity and boundary disputes i.e. Amhara and Tigray, Oromia and Somali, etc, furnished huge importance to cover conflicting identity and boundary claiming issues per their interest.

Wolkait and Raya became part of Tigray regional state after Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) took power in Addis Ababa after the collapse of Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam's government in 1991. Two localities were part of Amhara regional state earlier (Schröder, 2017). Due to this administrative division identity and boundary disputes began between two regions, Schröder claimed.

Amhara regional state blames TPLF for not resolving the 'identity questions' of people in Alamata (Raya region) and Wolkait, by underlining "their cultural and historical background or identity is Amhara". It also accuses the Tigray leader's ignorance of two localities 'real and right questions: to be reincorporated to the Amhara region'. The region also alleges Tigray governors for intimidating 'former Amhara people's (Raya and Wolkait)' by force mentioning the killings and displacements in the localities.

Contrary, the Tigray region warns Amhara counterpart to stop 'interfering in the internal affairs of Tigray'. It asserts two localities were/are part of the Tigray region and the accusation of 'identity questions' clampdown raised from Amhara regional state is 'pure fabrication'. Tigray

regional state also strongly condemns the ‘meddling’ which it sees as a violation of the constitution and constitutional system.

Two regional states mouthpieces (Amhara TV and Tigray TV) are playing as the main tools of propaganda. They framed such issues according to their interest and quite differently. But to the knowledge of the researcher, there is no empirical study that addressed how selected media have covered and framed the identity and boundary disputes.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

It is noted that mass media have a powerful effect on the world view of society. McQuail claimed the mass media have the greatest potential for powerful societal effects in attracting and directing public attention; persuading in matters of opinion and belief; influencing behavior; structuring definitions of reality; conferring status and legitimacy, and informing speedily and broadly (McQuail, 1994:324).

But several factors affect the media’s role in society either positively or negatively. The media’s ownership and financial source, government ideology, the socio-cultural background of journalists, etc affect the media role in society. The presence of such direct or indirect influence that forces journalists to frame politics either positively, negatively, or in neutral bases as Hallin and Mancini (2004) contend indicates the presence of political parallelism in the media.

Most developed nations in the Western world, including the USA, follow a liberal democratic type of political system which allows the media to function fully with little intervention from the political institution. In other words, they allow full freedom of speech to the mass media (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). As a result of this, media outlets in these western societies are free to frame any news article as they wish and can expose all the bad doings of politicians. However, when it comes to developing nations, like Ethiopia where the political and media setup differs significantly from that of the Western world, we can easily see the media suffering from lack of freedom of speech.

The history of the media in Ethiopia has been labeled with the governments’ ownership all over time, despite positive developments that have been seen since 1991. The media has mostly

become a loyal supporter and fan of those who own them instead of serving the public interest. Mairegu (2000, p.132) also criticizes the function of the media saying: “the state-owned media became simply the propaganda machinery of the new government, launching violent verbal attacks on those political or ethnic groups that are ill favored by the ruling circle”.

Besides, the government in Ethiopia controls the media for fear that it could be used to incite revolt as in other African, Asia, and Latin American as well as in some European countries (Getachew, 2003).

The reform which put Abiy Ahmed as Prime minister of Ethiopia appears comfortable for media, though it needs further study. Notwithstanding, opening up the press landscape has been shown encouraging results, some media outlets are working unethically. Political parallelism hugely shadowed professionalism. Information that ascends to ethnic conflicts and hates rhetoric has become a manifestation of some private and government media. Although hate speech is mainly associated with user-generated online content, it is also becoming a problem in the professional media (Skjerdal and Mulatu, 2020).

In the wake of the Abiy Ahmed’s government, some regional states began setting ‘identity and territorial claim’ agenda through their media. Among them, Amhara TV and Tigray TV were busy broadcasting news that may affect the wellbeing of peoples living in those disputable areas. Both media houses knowingly or unintentionally heighten the tension. They framed ‘identity and boundary’ claiming news and programs per the regional state's political and economic basis. Though such debatable issues should be solved by the concerned entity, still both media try to influence public opinion.

The commission established to solve ‘boundary disputes’, Administrative, Boundaries and Identity Issues Commission, are not working at the expected pace. And the regional quarrels resemble to continue for years. If both selected media continue blaming each other, ignoring their role for peace building and unity, and can’t become part of the solution, the researcher assumed they will worsen the tension in disputed localities. Therefore, examining how two regional media framed those debatable issues and the implication of such frames are worth studying.

The studies conducted here in Ethiopia mostly focus on influences that hamper media, such as governmental/political influences and pressures, in legal forms, censorship, and other administrative hurdles. Their focus is limited in analyzing how factors like a commitment to a non-professional community, vague government control, and personal opportunism (Skjerdal's, 2012); "freebies" and "brown envelope" – media bribes – dominate the Ethiopian broadcast media (Berhanu's, a Master's Thesis, 2008); Nigussie's 'Media and Politics in Ethiopia: A Critical Analysis', 2014), concentrates on investigating the political discourse and dynamics of the Ethiopian media in the last three regimes.

To the knowledge of the researcher, there is no research on the area of framing of identity and boundary disputes by state or regional media and it is believed that this research can fill the gap. Therefore, this study examined how Amhara TV and Tigray TV reported identity and boundary claiming issues and assessed their framing variation.

1.3 Objective of the study

This study has the following general and specific objectives.

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study is to investigate how Amhara TV and Tigray TV framed 'border disputes'.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

This research particularly aimed to,

1. To identify the major news frames used by Amhara TV and Tigray TV in reporting 'identity and boundary' claims.
2. To compare how similar or different the framing of 'identity and boundary questions' by selected media.
3. To examine the use of sources while covering related stories.

1.4 Research Questions

This study poses the following research questions:

1. Which frames are frequently used by Amhara TV and Tigray TV in reporting ‘identity and boundary’ claims in Raya and Wolkiat?
2. How similar or different are the news frames used to report ‘identity and boundary’ disputes?
3. What are the sources of information in covering ‘identity and boundary’ claim related stories?

1.5 Significance of the Study

It is believed that the findings of this study can help to show perspectives of selected regional media’s framing in reporting disputed border issues. The result of the study may also be used as a foundation for other studies that can be conducted in the area of framing and for those who want to conduct their research work on ‘identity and boundary’ issues. The outcome of the study can help media institutions to examine how they report the issue.

Furthermore, the study may benefit comparative researchers to have different aspects of looking at how media frames are shaped by the prevailing social, political, and economic conditions in the country. Moreover, the findings of the study can be used as a springboard for audience research that explores the effects of such media framing on the perception of the audience.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study exclusively focused on how ‘identity and boundary disputes’ and related issues were framed in the two regional media particularly Amhara TV and Tigray TV. Therefore, it should be noted that the study does not examine coverage of the subject in other media outlets.

The study included assessment of stories broadcasted on ‘identity and boundary’ claim related news from September 2018 - March 2019. The units of analysis for this research are news

reports from selected media that have duration of up to 6 minutes. The study is limited to studying frames of the spoken discourse in the news of headlines, sub-headlines, quotations, etc.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Even though recently ‘identity and boundary questions’ are becoming critical, there is a dearth of research works in the area and the researcher found it difficult to find local research findings for review. The researcher believes that the findings of the study would have been more comprehensive if other regional and state media framing of ‘identity and boundary questions’ were included in the analysis.

Moreover, the study could have been conducted on a larger sample size by widening the scope to include the print media and international media outlets to see different perspectives. News framing effects, journalists and media houses pressure to frame issues concerning the topic could also be studied. However, due to lack of resources and time, the study covered only two regional TV Broadcasters: Amhara TV and Tigray TV. Along with time and budget constraints, the occurrence of the Covid 19 outbreak caused a lot of problems for the researcher. Undertaking in-depth interviews with journalists and media officials were impossible.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This part of the study presents a review of issues related to the topic under investigation. Accordingly, topics on politics and media and Ethiopian mass media history will be discussed. Historical background of media under study also consulted. In addition to this, it converses political economy and framing theories as to the theoretical frameworks of the study.

2.1 Mass Media and Politics

Mass media and politics are two sides of one coin. Martin & Copeland (2003) contends mass media has long been intertwined with politics ever since its emergence in the 17th century. In early times one objective of the mass media was disseminating information that is coherent with the ruling class and orchestrating government propaganda to the wider public.

According to Hallin and Mancini (2004), politicians can influence media content by ownership, financing, and or censoring the media content directly or indirectly. Such kind interventions are still common in many parts of the world, even in western countries where the practice of journalism is sought to be an autonomous profession. The presence of such intervention from politicians has an impact on the reporting style of the news media while dealing with issues related to politics.

In early times, before the emergence of the concept of democracy, most politicians who follow dictatorship political ideology use the mass media for disseminating propaganda. Even today, in times of war it is a common phenomenon to see politicians using the mass media for propaganda purposes (Kumar, 2006).

In their book titled *The Hand Book of Election News Coverage Around the World*, Strömbäck and Kaid argue that politics could be defined as mediated when the mass media are the main channels through which politics is communicated and while, as a consequence, the perception of reality that is conveyed through the mass media seemingly have effect on how people observe reality (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008).

In contrast, while making a distinction between mediatization and mediation of politics, Mazzoleni and Schulz (1999, p. 249) resist that “mediatization is distinguished from mediation, which refers in a neutral sense to any acts of intervening, conveying or reconciling between different actors, collectives or institutions whereas mediatization of politics, as it has been defined above, refers to a social change process through which the media become autonomous from political institutions and actors.”

It is common to see the party-centered political press in every part of the world. As their name indicates, party presses are media outlets which belong to some specific party. As Hallin and Mancini (2004) contend such a tendency of media to frame a certain group in favorable or unfavorable tone is also evident in party financed media. In their book, the authors argue that media outlets that heavily depend on advertisement revenue would hardly frame the financing institution (group) negatively. The presence of such direct or indirect influences forces journalists to frame politics either positively or negatively. This indicates the presence of political parallelism in the media.

Different media outlets may frame the same topic in different ways based on the type of media, the organizational (editorial) policy of the media, the ownership of the media outlet and the prevailing social, political and economic condition of the country (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008).

2.1.1 Media and politics in Ethiopia

Media and politics are two sides of the same coin where one can't survive without the other. The connection between these two concepts brought the attention of scholars in our world today. Politicians demand the media for disseminating their ideas, and the news media require politicians to write their stories.

Media and politics in Ethiopia are also highly entwined like many developing nations. Ethiopia has experienced sharp turns in its political history where the country has gone through the imperial and semi-feudalistic regime followed by a socialist military regime of the Derg to the present evolving democracy. As a result of these twists and turns of the country's political situation, the development of the media has not gone so far (Nigussie, 2014)

The role of media in Ethiopia was mainly to serve the wishes of those in power. The respective ideological spheres matter media practice. Mareigu (2000) demonstrates that the press in Ethiopia is thought to be autocratic and intended to serve only conservative interests; instead of becoming the voice of the public. Getachew (2003) also emphasized that the press during the imperial regime was targeted to satisfy the interest of the imperial Crown and Royalty only. Rather than propaganda purposes, the monarchy utilized the media to amplify the figure of the emperor (Tamre, 2007).

Similarly, most of the political discourse of the Derg got its foundation on socialist orientation (Nigussie, 2011), where a “socialistic government... knows and represents the best interest of the people” (Graber, 1989) and the media was the prototype of this socialistic ideology. Notwithstanding good media practices in the early days of the revolution, the regime started using the media primarily for the spread of socialist ideology (Yosef, 2005), ‘yes for propaganda’ or political brainwashing.

Derg stimulates the gains of the revolution as well as magnify the persona of the leader. The media during the regime had no room for private rights and freedom. But Meseret (2013) claimed that the lives of ordinary peoples and their activities were featured in the newspaper, radio, and television and the regime also used the media to expand literacy among the population as well as to educate citizens about their country.

The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) also employed the media to portray the ruling party in a favorable light (Meseret, 2013). The political discourse of EPRDF has encircled around the assumption that the media becomes the advocator of democracy. Even though EPRDF constitution guaranteed media freedom under Article 29 of the Constitution, which provides freedom of the press where every person has the right to seek, obtain and impart information, and Press Proclamation No. 34/1992, which gives room for freedom of the press, the media cannot get its full impartiality in the democracy.

Skjerdal (2011: 70) argues there is a “growing politicization of the Ethiopian state media”. The media frightened to criticize the government. The government fights to justify its draconian control over the media. But, according to Ross (2010), the test of democracy lies on the freedom of criticism. Buckley et al. (2008, p. 343) further criticize the government’s controlled licensing

system of media outlets, the restrictions on access to information held by public authorities, broadcasting and publication content restrictions, and the establishment of a government-controlled Press Council. However, the government claims it uses the media as a promoter of development and democracy (Skjerdal, 2011).

As most of the media discourses and political dynamics in Ethiopia revealed, the media practice and its history since imperial time have been jeopardized by political influence. Some scholars, however, believe that there are positive developments in the current Abiy government, but yet to work on the full independence of the media.

The researcher maintains Ethiopian politics is under many tensions. It is obvious while the politics is gruesome it is not expected the media to be healthy. Many government media of the country are, as the researcher believes still the mouthpiece of the government. But some of the regional media seems fairly autonomous and propagating their wishes. Hence, this study is intended to see how the selected media frame disputable territorial claims.

2.1.2 Historical Background of Ethiopian Media

Ethiopian mass media history dated back to a hundred years ago, during the reign of Emperor Menelik II. The discovery of the Amharic typewriter at the beginning of the 1900s laid the foundation for Ethiopian modern media (Getachew, 2003).

In 1902 the 1st modern Ethiopian newspaper, *Aemiro* (intelligence), was established and published in Addis Ababa. *Melekete Selam* (peace proclamation) which is published between 1912 and 1915 followed *Aemiro* newspaper. There were also newspapers published in other foreign languages such as French (Pankurust, 1992).

After the immediate outbreak of WWI in 1916 *Yetore Were* (war news) newspaper publication commenced in Addis Ababa and lasted in 1918. In the subsequent years, several printing press and newspaper organizations were established in Ethiopia that catered to local readers as well as for foreign communities in Ethiopia (Getachew, 2003).

The 1920s were one of the brightest moments of the Ethiopian press when vital national issues were freely discussed and debated (Cheds, 1994). In the second half of the 1920s the then prince

Ras Tefferi, the future Emperor Haile Sellassie, had laid a forum for the progressive intelligentsia, whom Tefferi had drawn over to his side in his struggle against the conservative Empress Zawditu and the nobility allied to her. At that time the press was free. But it was unfortunately short-lived (Teshome, 2009, p. 19).

After the Italian invasion periodicals were expanded in their number and circulation. During this period two influential and long-lasting former weekly newspapers Addis Zemen and the Ethiopian Herald emerged in 1941 and 1943 respectively (Shimeles, 2000).

Broadcast media in Ethiopia started as a government-owned entity, unlike the western world. In 1933 the first radio station was opened in the country by the Italian company. However, the radio station work was interrupted by the Italian invasion of the country in 1936. In 1941, and the subsequent years, Radio Ethiopia started its operation from three major cities, namely Addis Ababa, Harar, and Asmara, in six different languages (Teshome, 2009).

Few years after the inauguration of the radio station, a television station was introduced to Ethiopia in 1963 (Yakob, 2007). The television broadcast was started to celebrate the foundation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. African leaders met in Addis Ababa as a witness to breaking free from the oppression of colonialism, and that historic congregation was one of the first programs aired ... at the Haile Selassie I Theatre (now National Theatre) (Emrakeb Assefa, 2007, p. 114, cited in Dodolla, 2016).

The then Ethiopia Television transmission was limited to Addis Ababa and the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, the media have faithfully served the government who owned it while neglecting the wider public and suffered from hostile censorship. Furthermore, the change of regimes contributed to the dismissal of skilled journalists and replacement of them by those who are loyal to the government. This had weakened the profession for worse (Nebeyu, 2011).

It was in 1991, after the downfall of the military Durg regime and its replacement by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), that Ethiopia witnessed some progress in its mass media history. It was at this time that the first proclamation granting private media entities to operate was ratified. According to Sahilu (2008), this opportunity paved the way for privately-owned print media to join the market. In this period the country witnessed a significant amount of newspaper and magazine start-ups in its history. Besides this, the newly

flourished print media carried different issues that range from social and economic to political issues with a relatively free way of criticizing the government. This phenomenon only stayed for a short period due to economic and some governmental intervention and sanctions which followed the country's war with neighboring Eritrea and the 'disputed' 2005 national election (Sahilu, 2008; Skjerdal, 2008). As a result of such intervention in the mass media sector from both internal and external forces, the number of newspapers decreased significantly.

As reports from the Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (EBA, 2020) indicate, there are about 130 private and government-owned newspapers in Ethiopia from February 2009 to February 2020. But in February 2020 the only actively publishers were 12 newspapers. Many newspapers could not survive due to financial and political obstacles.

2.2 Theoretical Framework of the Study

The most important theoretical frameworks that will help answer the research questions of this paper are the political economy and framing theories. The political economy theory helps to show how the framing of 'identity and boundary' issues by both selected media influenced by different factors and the effect political-economic situation have on media's coverage of news while the framing theory is used to identify how the news is reported and how stories are being told.

2.2.1 Political Economy of Mass Media

This study employed the political economy of media as an overarching theoretical framework to guide the study as media are often taken to be the product of the socio-political environment it inhabits. Political economy is the study of relationship between economic processes and particular political surroundings (Schubert & Klein, 2011). It is a theory that studies how the broader economic and political realities of a system affect the working institutions (Mosco, 1996, p.24).

However, the political economy does not pertain solely to economics. In journalism, political economy studies the conditions and constraints under which journalism is practiced (Street,

2001, P.103). It is interested in the structure of ownership and control over media institutions that consequently influences the content.

According to Holt and Perren (2009), political economy studies the relations between the economic, political, technological, and cultural dimensions of the social context in which media industries function. It should also discern and analyze the role of technology in the production and distribution of products in the media industry.

However, under the rubric of political economy theory, particular attention is paid to the interaction of politics and media in Hallin and Mancini's Polarized Pluralist Media Model. The Polarized Pluralist Media Model is described by the amalgamation of the media into party politics, the weaker historical development of commercial media, and a strong role of the state.

In Polarized Pluralist Media Model journalism the autonomy of journalists is often limited. As for Hallin and Mancini (2004), in media institutions where politician has long hand, journalism is not as strongly differentiated from political activism.

McQuail (2005) also claimed the outcomes of the political economy are seen in the increasing concentration of media, less investigative reporting, and the focus on light issues, and the reduction of independent news.

2.2.2 Framing Theory

Framing theory was introduced in the 1970s in the United States of America. As a media theory, framing became a house-hold name with researchers because the rise of the mass media influences public opinion not only in political issues but also in other world views (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009).

Media framing deals with how a given media outlet figures out an event. As Cohen (1963: 13) claimed the press is stunningly effective in telling readers what to think about, instead of telling people what to think. Media do not merely provide facts; they add some context and take out others to engage their readers, viewers, and audiences. An issue can be presented in numerous ways to potentially affect how people think about an issue. Frames are also helpful to decrease the complexity of information.

Moreover, frames help to reconstruct reality (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). Framing is also vital to understand issues that were presented in multiple ways (Terkildsen and Schnell (1997). Hence, in studying news discourse it is vital to scrutinize how the media framed the issue at hand.

Even though there is no widely accepted definition of framing, those that have evolved strongly resemble one another. Entman, one of the prominent names in the study of framing, asserted “to frame means to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text” (Entman, 1993). The function of such a subjective “selection” and “salience” is to define a particular problem, understand and pass a moral judgment that will help make sense of the events taking place.

Conversely, Gitlin (1980) argued that media frames are largely tacit and unacknowledged. It is a tool to organize the world both for journalists who report it and to certain important degree, for audiences who rely on their reports. Gamson and Modigliani (1987, p.114), also asserted frames can be words, phrases or images a speaker uses while communicating information. According to the scholars, frames can imply an implicit answer as to what should be done about an issue.

For sociologist Ervin Goffman (1974), framing is an “interpretive design” that humans use in their everyday life to understand what is going on around them i.e. the social world. This cognition process happens as individuals interact to make meaning or create their reality about a social world that has already been defined and instituted.

Baran & Davis (2012) contended: “Frame analysis theory as developed by Goffman is a micro-level theory focusing on how individuals learn to routinely make sense of their social world” (p. 335). However, Hertog and McLeod (1995: 4) contend that frames are paramount to interpret an event and determine what available information is relevant or irrelevant.

All the definitions given to media frames revolve around one common pillar; which is a silencing of some perceived reality. As can be seen from the above definitions, the specific topic which is being silenced or emphasized is selected by giving special attention to the issue under investigation and eliminating those which are out of the major concern.

In the real world situation, events happen randomly with some other minor things following them. These minor events, which come following some major happenings, may have an impact on people's day to day life, provided they are presented by giving special attention to them. In other words, they will impact people's perception of reality if framed in different ways. By framing certain topics of an issue, politicians or journalists can give varying meanings to the same issue or message and influence the public perception of some reality.

This is evident from a series of experiments conducted by the cognitive psychologist Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky on how people's perception of risky prospects is altered by changing the terms in which equivalent choices are described. In their experiment, the researchers find out that when alternative outcomes are defined in terms of potential gains, people follow a risk-averting strategy, but when the equivalent outcomes are described in terms that suggest potential losses, people seek risk (Iyengar 1991, pp. 11, 12). In general framing, the approach focuses on the process by which thematic or stylistic organizations of news stories emphasize a particular storyline (Entman, 1993).

Nevertheless, there is a high degree of consensus that framing ultimately is about choices of, for example, words, emphasis, sources, images and organization of texts (Reese, 2001), it is improbable to establish a universal definition of framing. However, to realize that all definitions have basic components in common thus suggesting an idea shared by all of them in some aspects if not all. For this study, there is an established operational definition for framing which is constructed by extracting and using common ideas in each of the above definitions. Therefore, framing is a process of interpreting and organizing issues or ideas by consistently selecting and focusing on certain aspects of interest to help the audience understand and interpret the social world.

2.2.2.1 Media Frame vs. Individual frame

Scheufele (1999) identified two concepts of framing: media frames and individual frames. According to Gamson and Modiglian (1989, p.143) media frame refers to "a central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events... the frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue, etc...".

Media frames organize everyday reality and it is an essential feature of the news. As it has been challenged by Gitlin (1980) media frames allow the journalists to quickly identify and relay to their audience. Thus, frames serve as working routines for journalists. Entman (1993) claimed that while individual frames are “information processing schemata” of individuals, media frames are “attributes of the news itself”.

Most scholars in the area political communication stated the importance of combining individual and media frames to make frames very operative. Scholars like (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Shen, 2004) contend that framing effect is more likely to occur when the media frames go in line with the existing belief of audience (individual frame), rendering related concepts more salient and more cognitively accessible than others. This indicates that frames become more effective when they support existing beliefs or status quo in society. Generally, to acquire the maximal effect from framing, it is compulsory to use media and individual frames in combination.

Taken all these characteristics of framing, most theories directed towards framing seem to overlap with other concepts like that of priming and agenda-setting theories. Even though there seem to be some common characteristics among the three theories, there is a clear distinction among them.

As Strömbäck and Nord (2006, p.149) argued agenda setting is concerned with the question of what the media reports about. Whereas, framing is concerned with the question of how the media reports about different issues, events, and persons. Priming, on the other hand, is considered to be the consequence of agenda-setting, which plays a key role in the evaluation of leaders and politicians (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). Media coverage of one issue excessively would later change the behavior or thoughts of the audience.

2.2.2.2 Types of Frames

The existence of one or another frame in the news can be identified through two approaches; inductively or deductively. Analyzing a news story with very rough assumptions of the frames can be defined inductive approach (Gamson, 1992). This approach helps to identify the many possible ways in which an issue can be framed. However, identifying frames inductively takes more labor and can be hard to repeat.

A deductive approach, whereas, involves predefining certain frames which allow to have a clear idea of the kinds of frames likely to be in the news, because the frames that are not defined a priori may be over-looked. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) asserted, contrary to the inductive approach, identifying frames deductively can be replicated easily and helps to easily detect differences in framing between media (e.g., television vs. press) and within media.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identified five frames. They are attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences, and morality. Three additional frames were also developed by Benford and Snow (1988). These are prognostic, diagnostic and motivational frames.

- **Human Interest Frame-** emphasizes the personal stories of people and brings an individual's story with an emotional angle.
- **Conflict Frame-** this frame emphasizes the conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries so as to attract audience attention.
- **Attribution of Responsibility Frame-** is a frame that presents an issue or a problem in such a way as to attribute for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group.
- **Morality Frame-** this frame interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions.
- **Economic Consequences Frame-** presents an event or issue in terms of the economic consequences.
- **Diagnostic Frame:** this frame stresses on recognizing a problem and attributing blame and causality.
- **Prognostic Frame:** this frame can be described as a solution frame. It states technics or remedies to the problem.

Moreover, the researcher has observed and conceptualized other frames while examining the news stories. Thus, other frames were distinguished and analyzed according to a "Policy Frames Codebook," which includes fourteen frame dimension categories in addition to an "other" category that is proven to be applicable to any policy issue across any communication context (Boydston et al., 2014). There frame dimensions are; economic frame, capacity and resources frame, morality frame, fairness and equality frame, constitutionality and jurisprudence frame,

policy prescription and evaluation, law and order, crime and justice frame, security and defense frame, health and safety frames, quality of life frame, cultural identity frames, public opinion frame, and political frame and others.

1. **Economic frames:** The costs, benefits, or monetary/financial implications of the issue (to an individual, family, community or to the economy as a whole).
2. **Capacity and resources frames:** The lack of or availability of physical, geographical, spatial, human, and financial resources, or the capacity of existing systems and resources to implement or carry out policy goals.
3. **Morality frames:** Any perspective—or policy objective or action (including proposed action)—that is compelled by religious doctrine or interpretation, duty, honor, righteousness or any other sense of ethics or social responsibility.
4. **Fairness and equality frames:** Equality or inequality with which laws, punishment, rewards, and resources are applied or distributed among individuals or groups. Also the balance between the rights or interests of one individual or group compared to another individual or group.
5. **Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames:** The constraints imposed on or freedoms granted to individuals, government, and corporations via the Constitution, Bill of Rights and other amendments, or judicial interpretation. This deals specifically with the authority of government to regulate, and the authority of individuals/corporations to act independently of government.
6. **Policy prescription and evaluation:** Particular policies proposed for addressing an identified problem, and figuring out if certain policies will work, or if existing policies are effective.
7. **Law and order, crime and justice frames:** Specific policies in practice and their enforcement, incentives, and implications. Includes stories about enforcement and interpretation of laws by individuals and law enforcement, breaking laws, loopholes, fines, sentencing and punishment. Increases or reductions in crime.
8. **Security and defense frames:** Security, threats to security, and protection of one's person, family, in-group, nation, etc. Generally an action or a call to action that can be taken to protect the welfare of a person, group, nation sometimes from a not yet manifested threat.
9. **Health and safety frames:** Healthcare access and effectiveness, illness, disease, sanitation, obesity, mental health effects, prevention of or perpetuation of gun violence, infrastructure and building safety.
10. **Quality of life frames:** The effects of a policy on individuals' wealth, mobility, access to resources, happiness, social structures, ease of day-to-day routines, quality of community life, etc.
11. **Cultural identity frames:** The social norms, trends, values and customs constituting culture(s), as they relate to a specific policy issue
12. **Public opinion frames:** References to general social attitudes, polling and demographic information, as well as implied or actual consequences of diverging from or getting ahead of public opinion or polls.
13. **Political frames:** Any political considerations surrounding an issue. Issue actions or efforts or stances that are political, such as partisan filibusters, lobbyist involvement, bipartisan efforts, deal-making and vote trading, appealing to one's base, mentions of political maneuvering. Explicit statements that a policy issue is good or bad for a particular political party.
14. **External regulation and reputation frames:** The United States' external relations with another nation; the external relations of one state with another; or relations between groups. This includes trade agreements and outcomes, comparisons of policy outcomes or desired policy outcomes.
15. **Other frames:** Any frames that do not fit into the above categories.

2.2.2.3 Framing Devices

Frames can be acknowledged and studied by the presence or absence of particular keywords, stock phrases, images, sources of information (Entman, 1993, p. 52). There are several framing devices (technical and rhetorical) helpful to examine and identify frames in the news stories.

Gamson and Lasch (1983, p: 407-408) identify framing devices that condense information and offer a media package of an issue. These rhetorical framing devices are metaphors, exemplars, catch-phrases, depictions, and visual images.

Tankard (2001, p.101) suggests the following technical framing devices which are instrumental in identifying and measuring news frames: headlines; subheadings; photo captions; leads; source selection; quote selection; and concluding statements and paragraphs.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Methods

A combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis was employed to attain the objectives of the study. Van Gorp (2007: 72-73), the famous advocator of a mixed-methodology approach to frame analysis, suggests using quantitative techniques to examine overall trends in large data sets, and qualitative techniques to examine subtle framing effects in smaller data sets. Using a triangulation method helps to get an accurate outcome and it provides more varied data than a single method.

The quantitative content analysis helped to identify frames used in discussing ‘identity and boundary issues’ in Amhara TV and Tigray TV. On the other hand, the qualitative content analysis that required analyzing the textual component provided a ground to explain why the specific frames are selected. It also supported the argument by comparing and contrasting news frames between selected media.

3.2 Data Sources and Types

For this study secondary sources of data were used. Secondary sources of data for this study were news stories of selected media. All the news stories (videos) were downloaded from the media official YouTube channel.

3.3 Sampling procedures

Purposive sampling was used for the purpose of attaining the aims of this research. A representative and logical selection of samples based on predefined criteria not randomly can be referred to as purposive sampling (Mack, et al. 2005). The researcher selected Amhara TV and Tigray TV because both media covered disputable ‘identity and boundary’ issues frequently compared to other media. Moreover, both regional TV stations have a huge audiences and their framing of certain issues affects millions of their followers.

Amhara Mass Media Agency (Amhara TV): Established in 1993, the Amhara Mass Media Agency has been engaged in providing information in different media outlets such as regional radio station, FM, TV, and newspaper (Amanu, 2017). It operates one free on-air Television Station, 4 Free-on-air and 2 to air Radio Stations and 4 on circulation newspapers. The media are disseminating its programs through 4 Ethiopian languages (Amharic, Afan Oromo, Awi, Himtana) and English. The media broadcasting operation is based in Bahir Dar, but it has 10 branches in Amhara region and 1 branch in Addis Ababa. This study used a nearly one-year sample which is transmitted from September 1, 2018 to March 30, 2019. According to the sampling strategy 30 stories were selected as samples.

Tigray Mass Media Agency: Tigray Mass Media Agency was established in July 1991 broadcasting hourly Tigrigna Television news and programs within Ethiopian Television. From 2007-2009 the media continued its broadcast under the supervision of Tigray Information Bureau. Later, Tigray regional state council formally established Tigray Mass Media Agency under the proclamation number 142/2000. Since 2017 the medium began its 24 hours broadcast in Tigrigna, Saho, Kunamigna and lately Amharic languages (Zemchal, 2019). The number of journalists is 175, and the total number of employees around 300. In contrast to some of the other regional agencies, Tigray Mass Media Agency does not have a print publication, and the online activity is minimal. Mekelle recently got its first decent printing press which makes publication and distribution of regional newspapers easier (Skjerdal and Mulatu, 2020).

Correspondingly to Amhara TV 30 news stories that had a direct relation with the study were purposively selected as a sample. All the news stories (videos) were downloaded from the media official YouTube channel.

3.4 Time Frame and Story selection

Selective or purposive sampling was also applied in choosing the news items for this study. After the Alamata's conflict in September 2018 Amhara TV and Tigray TV have taken interest in reporting about the 'identity and boundary disputes' in their television news, documentaries and

different programs. There are, over 45 Amhara TV and 50 Tigray TV news posted on the YouTube channels of these respective media. This number is only the number of news stories between September 2018 and March 2019.

For this study individual stories were selected manually by searching for specific words containing Wolkait, Raya, Telemt, Alamata, Tsegedie, Tegedie, identity and boundary claim etc. By using this mechanism, a total of 60 news stories were purposively collected from Amhara TV and Tigray TV official YouTube Channels in equal proportion. Due to time limitations, the researcher has considered analyzing all televised news from Amhara TV and Tigray TV of only up to 6 minutes duration. All these videos have been downloaded to listen to the spoken discourse as often as the researcher wants, to have a clear and irrefutable data compilation. The headlines and sub-headlines as well as the spoken discourse were carefully studied. At the initial stage, the YouTube video name each news piece was uploaded under was also taken into consideration while deciding on the frame categories the news belonged. The news videos YouTube links and a CD copy are attached in the appendix (Appendix C).

In implementing a quantitative content analysis as a method of research it is important to define the units of analysis. Babbie (1979, p. 235) defines units of analysis as the “individual components about which or whom descriptive or explanatory statements are to be made.” The units of analysis for this research were individual news stories broadcasted by selected media that have duration of up to 6 minutes. News in this study refers to the presentation more of facts by answering the five “*W+H*” questions. This study did not include news that is speeches, addresses to the public and the House of people’s representatives, clippings of extended interviews with authorities and news commentaries from the beginning to end without any comment and involvement from the anchor or reporter.

3.5 Method of Data Collection

Content Analysis

This study used content analysis to gather the data sets from the selected TV broadcasters. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this study employed qualitative and quantitative content analysis to answer the research questions.

Content analysis becomes the fastest-growing technique in quantitative research. It is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Berelson, 1952, p. 18, cited in Neuendorf, 2002). It helps to analyze both printed and spoken materials which are found in books, magazines, newspapers, and the contents of all verbal materials (Kothari, 2004).

As a technique, content analysis involves specialized procedures. As stated by Krippendorff (2012) it is a scientific tool that is learnable and divorceable from the personal authority of the researcher. In this research content analysis was used in both qualitative and quantitative senses. With the help of the framing model, the researcher has conducted quantitative content analysis on the televised news from the selected media. Additionally, the study implemented textual analysis in order to provide supportive arguments for quantitative findings of identified frames in the prior content analysis.

3.5.1 Quantitative Content Analysis

Quantitative research is concerned with phenomena which can be expressed in quantity (Kothari, 2004). In identifying news frames the quantitative method will help establish a pattern. As Mack, et al. (2005, p. 3) describe it, this method is a means of “quantifying variation, predicting causal relationships and describing characteristics of the population” under study. Furthermore, quantitative approach is used to fill the information gap on the data collection process.

Quantitatively identifying, recording and organizing the samples of news under established frames gives a permissible ground to establish common themes consequently setting a shared account to similar news in a set. For this research, the quantitative approach was employed to quantify dominant and secondary frames, major themes, causes, solutions, news sources etc.

3.5.2 Qualitative Content Analysis /Textual Analysis/

Qualitative research deals with some quality or a certain occurrence which is relating with quality. It provides relevant explanation in order to develop new concepts on the study. The main concern of qualitative study is to collect, integrate and present relevant data from several sources in order to include them in the given study area (Kothari, 2004). Qualitative method can help the

researcher to interpret and understand the complex reality of a given situation and the implications of qualitative data.

German sociologist and cultural critic Siegfried Kracauer is believed to have laid the foundation for qualitative content analysis in 1953 (Jensen & W. Jankowski, 1991 p. 121). Kracauer believes quantitative methods are inadequate because they try to establish the meaning of texts by breaking down words, expressions, statements, etc., into quantifiable units. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the “meaningful whole” text by making an interpretive analysis, Kracauer argued.

According to Frey, Botan, & Kreps (1999), qualitative content analysis, also referred as textual analysis, is used to describe the content, structure and function of the messages in the texts. Palacios (2005) also asserted textual analysis helps in developing sound conclusions and make the study more strong without doubt.

The researcher employed a qualitative method for this particular study to analyze the content, expressions, and themes of the texts (cause, solution, cause and solution, frames, and messages) regarding ‘identity and boundary disputes’ between Amahara TV and Tigrai regions. This method helped the researcher to provide evidence in explaining why Amhara TV and Tigrai TV frame ‘identity and boundary disputes’ the way they do. Moreover, it also supports the argument by compare and contrast frames used by selected media.

3.6 Coding

Content analysis on individual news stories was conducted by using a prepared code sheet. The researcher used a number of variables which were used in previous studies to prepare the code sheet and the code book. The coding scheme for this analysis follows prior studies (e.g. Iyengar (1991), Entman (1993) which identify salient elements in news reporting.

By using the code sheet a coder was allowed to code individual news stories by using the code book as their major guiding tool. The coding process was done by the researcher and a graduate student who has a good knowledge of coding and was also given the necessary orientation by the

researcher. The coding sheet was helpful to find the themes, types of frames, news sources of Amhara TV and Tigray TV while reporting 'identity and boundary disputes'. The coding sheet was classified in to five parts. The first part was dealing with the theme of the story or the focus of the report. This coding sheet was used to find whether the news story was problem or solution oriented or both.

The second segment was concerned with causes mentioned in the story, whether the story is dealt with identity based attacks or displacements or other problems. The third part of coding was deal with the solution articulated in the news; constitutional, Administrative Boundary and Identity Issues Commission or other. The next section addressed the sources used in the news; government officials, victims, local residents, scholars, political party members etc.

The last part was concerned with the type of frames which were used in the stories; whether conflict, economic, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality, diagnostic, prognostic, or other frames.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter has two major parts: the first part deals with findings of the study, analysis and interpretation, and the second part presents discussion of the findings of data collected from Amhara TV and Tigray TV from September 1, 2018 to March 30, 2019. Under these two major categories there are sub sections which need to be discussed. In the findings, analysis and interpretation part, 4 major findings are discussed, these includes: coverage frequency, themes of stories, news frames and story sources, and in the discussion part, the major findings in relation to conceptual and theoretical framework which are discussed in chapter two are treated.

4.1 Causes and Solutions of identity and boundary disputes

4.1.1 Identified Identity and Boundary dispute Causes in Amhara TV

Table 4.1 Causes Covered in Amhara TV

Causes	Frequency	Percent
Identity issues (culture, custom, history, etc)	5	19.2
illegal demarcation	2	7.6
Institutional Bias	1	3.8
suffering due to identity	14	54
unequal treatment (language)	4	15.4
Total	26	100.0

The culture, custom, historical background and other identity manifestations of people’s living in those contested areas and suffering due to such differences, illegal demarcation, institutional impartiality, and unequal treatment (language) were major causes conveyed by the media in covering ‘identity and boundary issues’.

More than half of the analyzed stories mentioned identity based killing, jailing and kidnapping caused public anger and contributed a lot to propagate identity question loudly. The media cited identity based sufferings as a cause accounted for 54 percent of the identified causes. The variation of cultural and historical background causing identity and boundary disputes constituted for 19.2 percent of the data set. Unequal treatment of Amharas (bias due to language difference) were also mentioned as a cause, and accounted for 15.4 percent of the identified causes. News stories which mentioned specifically illegal demarcation of boundaries was a root cause for identity and boundary disputes accounted for 7.6 percent of the data set. Among the identified causes institutions like House of Federation and other governmental organs prejudice (tendency to favor Tigrai regional state) constitute 3.8%.

4.1.2 Solution Stories reported in Amhara TV

Table 4.2 Identified solutions for the identity and boundary issue questions

Solutions	Frequency	Percent
Constitutional amendment	2	7.14
House of Federation via Constitution	2	7.14
Dialogue	1	3.57
Federal and Amhara region government intervention	17	60.7
Legal approach and Amhara unity	1	3.57
Referendum	1	3.57
Deployment of federal force	1	3.57
The new commission	3	10.7
Total	28	100.0

Among the identified solutions the intervention of either federal or regional government (Amhara) constituted for 60.7 percent of the data set. Amhara TV news stories mentioned a need

to resolve the identity questions hurriedly through federal and regional government intervention. News stories stated the new Administrative, Boundary and Identity Commission as a solution accounted for 10.7%. Thus, the media put the new Commission as an alternative tool to alleviate the problems. Constitutional amendment was also among the solutions posed by the media. Among the stories mentioned solutions 7.14 percent accounted for constitutional amendment. News stories stated ‘identity and boundary questions’ can be solved through House of Federation and the current constitution also constituted 7.14 percent of the analyzed stories. Dialogue between regional states and the public, referendum and deployment of federal security forces were also discussed as a solution. Stories mentioned these three solutions accounted for 3.57 percent each. There are also news stories asking government to provide daily ration and sustainable assistance for displaced peoples quickly.

4.1.3 Identified Causes in Tigray TV

Table 4.3 Identified Causes in Tigray TV

Causes	Frequency	Percent
‘External forces’ propaganda	6	27
Constitutional violation to undermine the constitutional system	7	31
Hidden agenda to weaken Tigray	4	17
Identity based attack and displacement	1	4
Politicians and elites interest to raise conflict	5	21
Total	23	100.0

As indicated in the above table 4.7 Constitutional violation to undermine the constitutional system’ cause accounted for 31 percent of the analyzed stories, was dominantly used in Tigray TV, followed by ‘External forces propaganda’ which accounted for 27 percent. ‘Hidden agenda to weaken Tigray’ and ‘politicians and elite’s interest to raise conflict’ causes constituted for 17 percent and 21 percent respectively. News stories mentioned ‘Identity based attack and displacement’ as a cause accounted for 4 percent of the analyzed stories.

4.1.4 Identified Solutions in Tigray TV

Table 4.4 Solutions identified in Tigray TV

Solutions	Frequency	Percent
Constitution not new Commission (but identity questions was already solved)	9	45
House of Federation (only)	3	15
Development	1	5
Federal and regional government intervention	5	25
Regional government forceful measure to stop 'external forces'	2	10
Total	20	100.0

Concerning the major solutions for the identified 'identity and boundary issues' reported in Tigray TV were recent Constitution not new Commission (everyone identity already guaranteed), development, federal and regional government intervention, constitutional, and Tigray region government forceful measure to stop external forces.

Among the solutions the recent Constitution not the new Administrative, Boundary and Identity Commission accounted for 45 percent of the identified remedies. However, stories which mentioned current Constitution as a solution simultaneously stated every Ethiopian identity question had already answered and no identity question in Tigray soil. News stories which puts House of Federation as a mere solver if such kind of questions exist accounted for 15 percent of the identified solutions. The federal and regional government intervention was also stated as the most remedial action useful to reduce the disputes and solve the identity and boundary issues. Among the identified solutions 25 percent of them recommended the meddling of federal and Tigray region government to alleviate the problems. There are also news stories that stated regional government should take a forceful measure to stop 'external forces propaganda' and protect the constitutional order. Responding to development (no identity) questions of the people has also mentioned as a solution, which accounted for 5 percent of the identified solutions.

4.2 General Cause and Solution

Major Causes suggested by media in covering ‘boundary and identity issues’. Both Amhara TV and Tigray TV mentions different causes that make ‘boundary and identity issues’ a media agenda. Amhara TV reporting mainly focus on cultural identity of the disputed areas, unequal treatment and oppression of ‘Amhara peoples’, demarcation issues and other reasons as causing identity and boundary questions to be propagated loudly.

Table 4.5 Causes and Solutions in Both Amhara TV and Tigray TV

Causes	Solutions	Frequency	Percent
Identity questions (culture, custom, history etc)	federal government intervention	2	33%
	regional government interference (forceful)	2	33%
	House of Federation via constitution	1	17%
	constitutional amendment	1	17%
Illegal demarcation	Dialogue between politicians and the public	1	100%
Institutional Bias	Federal government intervention	1	100%
Suffering due to identity	federal government intervention	9	60%
	Deployment of Federal force	1	7%
	constitutional amendment	1	7%
	regional government interference	4	27%
Unequal treatment (language)	regional government interference	2	50%
	federal government intervention	1	25%

	referendum	1	25%
'External forces' propaganda	Federal government intervention (to stop them)	2	29%
	development	1	14%
	House of Federation not new commission	4	57%
Hidden agenda to weaken Tigrai (external forces)	Constitution not new commission	1	25%
	Federal government intervention and development	3	75%
Identity based attack and displacement	federal and regional government intervention	1	100%
Politicians and elites interest to raise conflict	constitutional	2	50%
	regional government interference	2	50%
Constitutional violation/undermine the constitutional system	constitution not new commission	7	100%

Among the identified identity and boundary issues causes and solutions in the two selected media (Amhara TV and Tigrai TV) identity issues can be solved by regional and federal government intervention and constitutional amendment. Suffering due to identity issues can be fixed through federal and regional government intervention, responding to identity question and deployment of federal force and constitutional amendment. Referendum would be a remedy for unequal treatment of the people's living in the contested areas. The identified causes of 'external forces' propaganda would be solved by development, and the House of Federation (constitutionally) not via the new Commission. Constitutional violation and an attempt to undermine the constitutional system can be also solved if and only if the current constitution is

respected. The new Administration, Boundary and Identity Commission would not secure the constitutional order, the news stories of Tigray TV asserted.

The solutions provided by Amhara TV and Tigray TV vary like that of causes. Amhara TV news stories mention a need to resolve the identity questions hurriedly either through regional and federal government intervention, constitution or via the new Administrative, Boundary and Identity Commission. Dialogue or Referendum has been also mentioned as a solution. Many stories requested federal and regional government intervention and even deployment of defense force to protect those who asking identity questions. There are also news stories asking government to provide daily ration and sustainable assistance for displaced peoples quickly.

On the other hand, Tigray TV news stories focus mainly on constitutional solution. Although, there is no identity question in the region, such kind of questions should be addressed in legal approach not in wrong way, the news asserted. Many of the analyzed news stories put constitutional procedure and House of Federation as a solution, not the new Commission. There are also news stories that stated federal and regional government should interfere to stop ‘external forces propaganda’ and protect constitutional order. Responding to Development (no identity) questions of the people has also mentioned in some of news stories of Tigray TV.

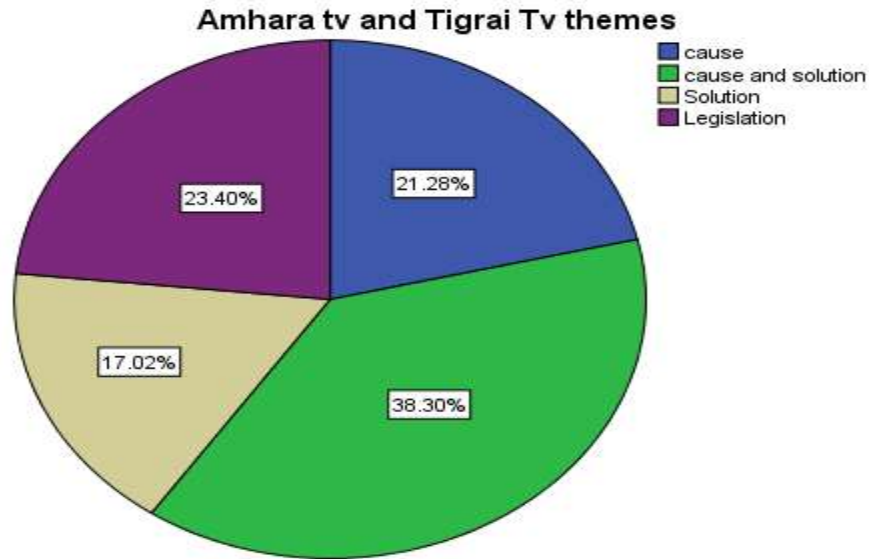
As indicated in table above the governing solution stated in Amhara TV was ‘government intervention’. Solutions attributing constitutional response for identity questions and solving the issue via the new Administrative, Boundary and Identity Issue Commission constituted for 66 percent. News stories mentioned dialogue and referendum as a solution holds 3.7 percent each.

More than 70 percent of analyzed Tigray TV news covering ‘boundary and identity issue’ mentions what needs to be done. As table above show most of the solutions were put the House of Federation is the one and only solver of the ‘identity issue’ and denounces the establishment of the Commission. Stories emphasizing the constitutional basis of identity and the way how identity questions should be solved constituted put answering people’s development need as a solution.

4.3 Amhara TV and Tigray TV News Angle/Themes in General

For every article, theme or news angle is the heart of the story. Different stories have different themes. For this research news stories were grouped in to four themes. These are cause, solution, cause and solution, and stories associated with the new identity and boundary Commission.

Figure 1 Amhara and Tigray TV Themes



Based on the above figure 5.1 among the identified themes in Amhara TV and Tigray TV causes accounted for 21.28 percent, cause and solution accounted for 38.3 percent, solution consisted for 17 percent and about 23.4 percent of the themes were legislation cases. Amhara TV and Tigray TV dominant theme were cause and solution.

4.4 Frames

4.4.1 Dominant Frames

Both media employed different types of frames in reporting 'identity and boundary issues'. Among the analyzed stories of Amhara TV 30 percent of them were used cultural identity frame, followed by attribution of responsibility frame which constituted 23.3 percent. The contribution

of human interest, diagnostic and prognostic, frames accounted for 16.6 percent, 13.3 percent and 10 percent respectively. Conflict frames which contributed 6.6 percent were recorded.

On the other hand, Constitutionality and jurisprudence frame was the dominant frame in Tigray TV which accounted for 36.6 percent. Similar to Amhara TV attribution of responsibility frame was the second leading frame in Tigray TV while reporting ‘boundary and identity’ issues, which pondered 16.6 percent of the analyzed stories. In both media attribution of responsibility frame has been used to designate responsible bodies for the occurrence of conflicts in those contested areas. 16.6 percent of the story was also used Human interest frames. While Diagnostic and conflict frames constitute 10 percent each, cultural identity and prognostic frames accounts 6.6 percent and 3.3 percent respectively.

Table 4.6 Dominant Frame distribution of Amhara TV and Tigray TV in general

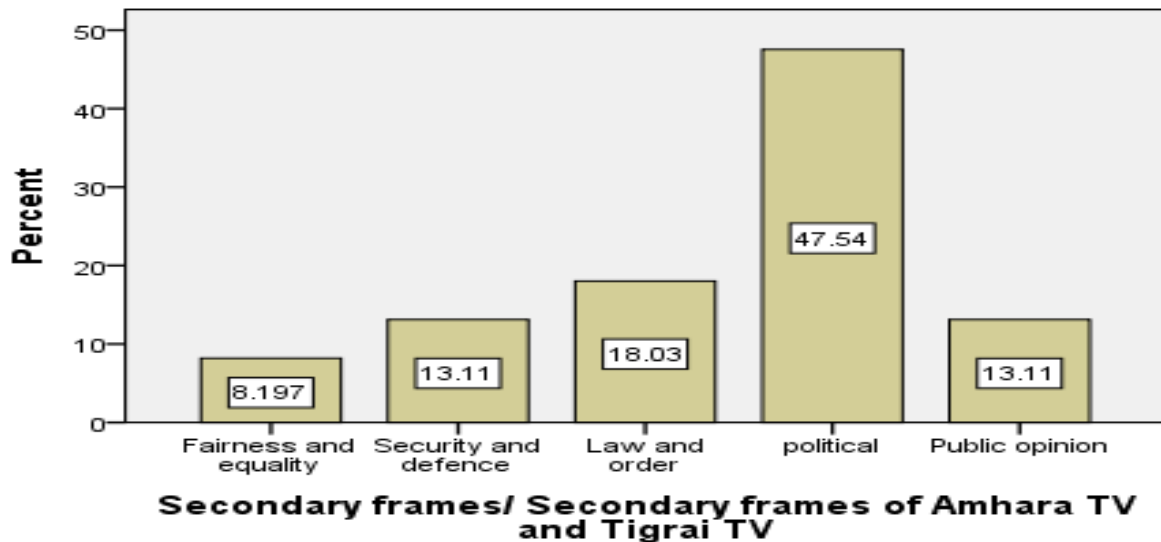
Frames	Frequency	Percent
Attribution and responsibility	12	20
Conflict	5	8.3
Constitutional and jurisprudence	11	18.3
Cultural identity	11	18.3
Diagnostic	7	11.7
Human interest	10	16.7
Prognostic	4	6.7
Total	60	100.0

Attribution and responsibility frame is the dominant frame in Amhara TV and Tigray TV in general which accounted for 20 percent each. On the other hand, constitutionality and jurisprudence frame was the other leading frame in both media which accounted for 18.3 percent. Human interest, diagnostic, prognostic and conflict frame accounted for 16.7 percent, 11.7 percent, 6.7 percent and 8.3 percent respectively.

4.4.2 Secondary Frames

Besides the major dominant frames, the media institutions employed secondary frames while reporting ‘identity and boundary issues’. Political frame was the leading secondary frame used by Amhara TV and Tigray TV and it accounted for 50 percent and 46.6 percent respectively. Whereas, law and order frame is the subsequent secondary frames in Tigray TV with 23.3 percent of the total story and public opinion, security and defense and fairness and equality frames accounted for 13.3 percent, 10 percent and 6.6 percent respectively. On the other hand, security and defense frame constitute 16.6 percent of the Amhara TV stories. Whereas, fairness and equality and public opinion frames accounted for 10 percent each.

Figure 2: Secondary Frame distribution of Amhara TV and Tigray TV in general

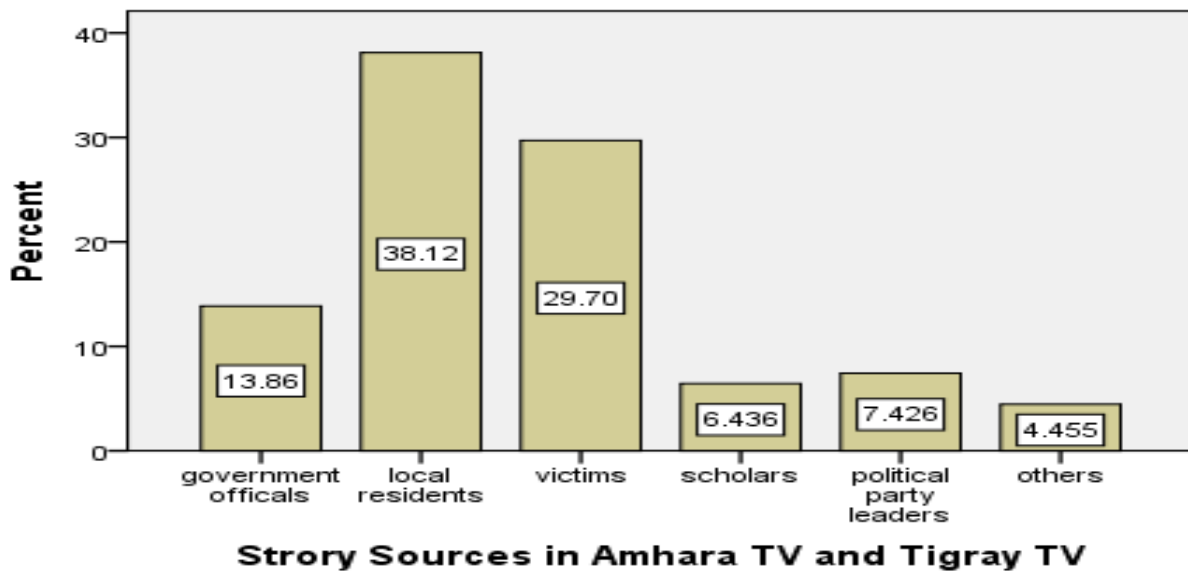


As of the above figure 2 result, the TV channels secondary dominant frame was political frame, which counted as 47.5 percent, while law and order frame is the subsequent secondary frames in both media with 18 percent of the total story and public opinion and security and defense frames accounted for 13.1 percent each. The least secondary frame, fairness and equality frame constituted for 8.2 percent of identified secondary frames.

4.5 Story Sources

In this section the researcher examined sources which were used in the news stories. Sources are classified in to 6 sections: these are government officials, local residents, victims, scholars, political party leaders and others. Other sources included member of the parliament, retired officials, and ‘freedom fighters’.

Figure 3: Percentage of story sources used in Amhara TV and Tigray TV



The main source distribution across Amhara TV and Tigray TV is indicated in figure 7 above. The dominant news source of both media were local residents, accounted for 38.12 percent, ‘victims’ of ‘identity and boundary disputes’ counted as 29.7 percent. Government officials, scholars, political party leaders and other sources were used for their reference. Government officials sources of Amhara TV and Tigray TV was 13.86 percent. Political party leaders contributed 7.42 percent and about 10 percent of them were scholars and other sources.

4.6 Trend of news Balance

Table 4.7 News Balance distribution in General

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Balanced	7	11.7	11.7	11.7
	Imbalanced	53	88.3	88.3	100.0
	Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Both media rarely balance their news stories, meaning they did not try to entertain different viewpoints. As table 4.6 shows among analyzed stories balanced news stories accounted for only 11.7 percent.

4.7 Discussion of Findings

The study examined how ‘boundary and identity issues’ was framed by regional media, particularly by Amhara TV and Tigray TV. In the discussion part of the study, findings were discussed in terms of coverage frequency, types of themes, sources, frames and news sources used while reporting identity and boundary disputes. This part discusses the outcomes presented in the finding section by correlating the findings with the theoretical frameworks of the study.

4.7.1 Coverage Frequency

The finding demonstrates that Amhara TV gave more emphasis to ‘boundary and identity issues’ on the month of October while such issue dominates the media arena. 40 percent of analyzed news stories of Amhara TV were broadcasted on October 2018. The news coverage in the months of December and November follows with 26.6 percent and 13.3 percent respectively.

Amhara TV covered follow up stories from Raya descendants protest in Addis Ababa to Wokait Amharas displacement. Special coverage was made to the security situation of Alamata town and its vicinity. Following the Alamata protest which costs more than three civilians life, the media

dispatched its reporter to Qobbo city to follow up the situation there. Similarly, it has showed its adherence for ‘Wolkait Amharas’ who were forced to flee the area.

The regional media interviewed displaced people camped in Soroqa town about the problems they faced. In October 2018 huge coverage was made to peaceful demonstration which condemned Tigrai regional state handling of Raya and Wolkait people. The media has also given a huge emphasis to public meetings in different parts of the region that aimed at showing allegiance for those questions. All the news coverage and follow ups indicate that the media was curious about Raya and Wolkait ‘identity and boundary questions’. As famous framing theory scholar Entman (1993) claimed to frame means making some perceived reality more salient or silencing to define a particular problem. Hence, Amhara TV coverage frequency clearly implied that the media were interested in making the ‘identity and boundary questions’ more significant.

On the other hand, Tigrai TV’s news coverage of the protests and displacements of people were very low on October 2018. Among the analyzed news stories only 13.3 percent were broadcasted on October. Even in September the media did not cover a single story about identity and boundary disputes. The media preferred silence about the Alamata town protest. This shows that Tigrai TV were not interested to report such issues from the beginning. This might show that, according to Entman framing definition, the media were reluctant or quiet about ‘identity and boundary questions’ while Amhara TV make it more salient. But, gradually Tigrai TV had begun covering the issue in a way that counterattack Amhara TV’s allegation.

The month of December was the pick time, accounted 30 percent of the analyzed news contents covering ‘boundary and identity issues’. Issues related with the establishment of the new Administrative, Boundary and Identity Commission has got huge emphasis by the media. On the contrary, Amhara TV’s December 2018 news stories constituted 13.3 percent of the data set. And the media covered issues related with the Commission slightly compared to Tigrai TV. Since Tigrai TV covered about the consequences of the Commission till March 2019, news stories of Amhara TV related with the new institution were declined after December 2018. Informed by framing theory, whereas Amhara TV covered ‘identity and boundary questions’ frequently, Tigrai TV was reluctant. Hence, the coverage frequency variation implied the framing of the news or interests of both media differs.

The current political situation seems comfortable especially for Amhara TV to focus more on identity and boundary claiming issues. As political economy theory states the structure of ownership and control over media institutions consequently influences the content. Hence, Amhara regional state, assumed to play a vital role in 2018's power shift, got a green light to make identity and boundary questions as public agenda. The media coverage frequency and the tone of the reporting's clearly indicated the mouthpiece of regional government (Amhara TV) were free to cover issues ignored for years. On the other hand, the federal government and other regional states turn their loyalty to TPLF and oppose it together. The media serving TPLF (Tigray TV), therefore, claimed it is mandatory to avert "Anti Federalist" propaganda in any way. Thus, the political environment hugely affects the framing of certain issue in several ways.

4.7.2 Themes or Focus of the media

Andsager and powers (1999) claimed that when issues and events have several sides, the media tends to focus on certain elements of that issue or problem. Examining such certain focus point or theme is very paramount in the study of framing. The findings show that the media under study focused on cause and solution themes in relation with 'boundary and identity issues'.

Amhara TV gave priority to cause and solution. Among analyzed stories of Amhara TV 73.3 percent were employed cause and solution theme which is obviously important to imply for stakeholders what needs to be done. However, Amhara TV news coverage did not recommend detail and satisfied solutions to the public though it had clearly put the causes. It simply mentioned that 'identity questions must be addressed legally and hurriedly'. The media simply mentioned the solutions (federal and regional government intervention to calm the situation and solve the questions) rather than reporting how and in what way the problem should be solved.

Concerning Tigray TV, Commission theme (news stories discuss about the establishment of the new Administrative, Boundary and Identity issues Commission) was the dominant theme, accounting 36.6 percent of the analyzed stories. The study has found out that Tigray TV did a lot on the issue continuously. The media tried to set an agenda. A theme propagating the establishment of the 'new commission will contravene the constitution and deprive the power of House of Federation' was dominant for three months. In the reverse among the analyzed stories of Amhara TV only 10 percent covered about the Commission and its framing is contrary to

Tigray TV. The media denounced Tigray TV allegation about the establishment of the new Commission and supports the federal government decision to solve enduring ‘identity and boundary questions’ via scientific study. Both media reporting about the identity issue commission manifested that not the media were in opposite position not only on the causes of the problems but also on the solutions of prevailed issue.

The identity and boundary disputes can be solved constitutionally or legally. But among analyzed stories of Tigray TV news stories mentioned solutions constituted for only 20 percent. The solutions stated by the media were also redundant which mentioned the only solutions were either the constitution or House of Federation. No other solutions were discussed.

Informed by framing theory, Tigray TV news stories make constitutional solutions and the ability of already established institution (i.e. House of Federation) to respond for the imminent identity questions more salient. Whereas, Amhara TV news gave huge coverage on what Tigray TV ignored (i.e. identity based attacks, oppression and displacement) as the prominent issue that needs urgent response. Similarly, constitutional solutions or confidence on House of Federation were reduced on Amhara TV news stories. The establishment of the Administrative, Identity and Boundary Issues Commission was also portrayed in varied way. While Tigray TV propagated the illegality of the new Commission, Amhara TV opposed saying the commission is timely and legal.

Both media hesitated to mention referendum as a solution in their news reporting. Tigray TV especially rarely cited the self-determination right of the people’s living on contested areas. Among the analyzed stories of Amhara TV only 3.57 percent stated that referendum was a remedy. This implies the media concentrated on solutions other than referendum. Though the Constitution clearly put the self-determination of Ethiopians clearly both media systematically silenced about it. Similarly, the media mentioned dialogue between the public and government officials constituted 3.57 percent of the analyzed news stories of Amhara TV. Tigray TV even says nothing about negotiation. Instead beyond the word war both media reported War between the two regions may alleviate the tension, which is against media role and the will of peoples.

The themes or focus of both media divergence was the result of the political relation between the two regions. As Hallin and Mancini’s polarized pluralist media model implied the integration of

Amhara TV and Tigray TV into party politics affected the news angle or themes of their news stories. The political polarization result to vary media house's content framing. Unless the political leaders negotiate and reach an agreement such disparity of framing continues.

4.7.3 Frames

As it was mentioned in the above section of this research, both Amhara TV and Tigray TV used a number of different frames in covering 'boundary and identity' issues during the research period. As Entman (1991) asserted rather than the contents, media framing is associated with the physical features and specific frequency and location of the story.

The finding showed that the dominant frame used in Amhara TV was cultural identity frame. Whereas, constitutionality and jurisprudence frame was the leading frame in Tigray TV. Attributions of responsibility, human interest, conflict, diagnostic and prognostic frames were also the dominant frames used in both media.

Many of the news stories were framed in various ways. Therefore, the researcher further extracts subordinate news frames. Among them political, Law and order, Security and defense, Fairness and equality and Public opinion frames are worth mentioning.

4.7.3.1 Cultural identity frame

Amhara TV used cultural identity frames in order to report Wolkait, Raya and other vicinities identity and boundary issues. This frame is the dominant frame used by the media. 30 percent of analyzed news stories were framed via cultural identity frame, frames that used to imply the social norms, trends, values and customs constituting culture or issues related with specific cultural issue (Boydston et al., 2014).

In September 6, 2018, Amhara TV broadcasted a news story under a headline "Raya people's living in Alamata, Timuga, Korem and other localities are being oppressed simply raising identity questions". The news cited descendants complain as follows;

"... Tigray's special force is killing and kidnapping our youths daily. This is happening due to Raya youths and farmers asked to regain their identity

cohesively. We are asking a fair question, our constitutional right of identity recognition and self-rule ought to be cherished.”

“... we are not Tigrians: our identity should be respected; we want to live with our brothers who share the same race, culture, and identity with us...” (Amhara TV, Sep. 6, 2018, 00:41-01:35 Min)

In the following report Amhara TV tried to associate the cultural identity and historical background of Raya People to Amharas. The quote from the journalist narrating the story reads, “Our identity and culture are the same as with Wollo people. So our choice is Wollo”. The report cited the representative of Raya People as saying;

“The Rayan people should live and be governed in a place where it’s historical and psychological attachment is high and inseparable. Wollo and Raya people's identity and culture are identical. So we prefer Wollo who cares a lot for us, not that insult and undermine us. We will pay any sacrifices to decide our destiny with the very kind people Wollo.” (Amhara TV, Oct. 29, 2018, 18:01 – 18:44 Min).

Amhara TV reports were also entertained the cultural and psychological makeups of Wolkait Peoples are attached with Amharans not Tigrians. The quote from the journalist narrating the story reads, *“More than 80 Wolkait Amharas displaced from Wolkait say they are bitten and killed simply being speaking Amharic. ... To escape this they have walked barefoot for four consecutive days and reached Soreqa town.”* (Amhara TV, Oct. 4, 2018, 00:24 – 00:43 Min).

On the contrary, Tigrai TV’s used cultural identity frame rarely. Among analyzed news stories only 6.6 percent imply about social norms, values and customs. Stories framed in this type of frame asserted that ‘no new identity question’ and either Raya or Wolkait identity is/was Tigrian. For instance, a news story broadcasted on October 30, 2018 headline reads; *“Historical documents written by locals and foreigners proved that Wolkait and Raya people's identity is Tigrean”*. The media also puts mother tongue language as a basic criterion while dealing with identity as follows;

“...when we see historical documents that illustrate about Wolkait and its surrounding people we got Kiflu Tadesse’s ‘ya Tiwled’ Book that has three volumes. In this book Vol. 3 Kiflu states Wolkait people speak Tigrigna. This man was the member of the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Party and since he lived for a long time in this area (Wolkait) he knows well about the identity of Wolkait. The basic measurement of identity is language. (Tigrai TV, Oct 30,2018, 15:23 – 16:13 Min).

4.7.3.2 Constitutionality and jurisprudence frame

Referencing the Policy Frames Codebook, Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames encompass the constraints imposed on or freedoms granted to individuals, government, and corporations via the Constitution. It also implies specifically with the authority of the government to regulate, and the authority of individuals/corporations to act independently of government.

Constitutionality and jurisprudence frame is the leading frame in Tigrai TV which contributed 36.6 percent. Many of the stories mentioned the constitution as the key solution for ‘boundary and identity questions’, though it rejects those issues were not real questions of the public.

House of Federation, law experts and other type of sources were employed in framing issues constitutionally. For example, in Oct 26, 2018 Tigrai TV broadcasted a news story with a headline reads; “No unresolved legal and democratic identity question: no one also appealed for a response”. The report cited the then speaker of House of Federation, Ms. Keriya Ibrahim, as condemning ‘identity and boundary claims’ from Amhara region was unconstitutional and illegal.

“....Raya, Wolkait and Tsegedie are part of Tigrai Region. So if there is an identity question in such areas it should be raised to the Tigrai region. If the answer of the regional government is not satisfactory to them then they will appeal to us”. (Tigrai TV, Oct 26, 2018, 05:10 – 06:00 Min)

Tigrai TV also mentioned the constitutional procedures how identity questions would be handled. But, the news stories were framed via constitutionality and jurisprudence frame to show there is no identity question elsewhere. November 1, 2018 news of the media headline stated that

“Questions from Raya and Wolkait have no constitutional basis”. To assert this claim, the media quoted a Law scholar as saying;

“EPDRF constitution article 39 sub-article 5 clearly states about identity questions. House of Federation Proclamation 251/1993 sub-article 19 sub-article 1 is also a legal framework to answer identity questions. The decision House of Federation made regarding Silte can be the third legislation that can help to determine or interpret identity questions. Based on these three legal frameworks identity questions can be viewed as inquiry of certain Ethiopian communities to be known as a unique nation or nationality or peoples. And the written query submitted for regional lawmakers or House of Federation should be new. According to the constitution, identity is indivisible. It is communal.” (Tigrai TV, Nov. 1, 2018, 07:52 – 09:19 Min)

Hence, “it is nonsense to ask already guaranteed identity”, the quote from the journalist narrating the story reads. Though, this implies Tigrai TV framing of the issue neglects the existence of identity questions, some of its news stories mentioned any identity questions can be raised and solved via the constitution. Its December 28, 2018 report discussed the commitment of House of Federation to solve identity questions raised from anyone. A headline which reads, “House of Federation so far received two identity questions from Oromia and Southern nation, nationalities and peoples region. But, imminent identity questions will also be managed according to the constitution.”

As mentioned previously, Tigrai TV news stories underscored raising identity and boundary issue was a ‘nonsense’ (already answered) from the beginning. In the meantime the media switched its stance to ‘anyone may ask identity question but in line with the constitution’.

The media had also been tried to associate ‘boundary and identity’ issues with undermining the constitutional system. Quoted the ‘representative’ of Wolkait people as saying, Tigrai TV put requesting identity question as an attempt to abolish the constitutional system.

“..if we see it critically what we have seen has no relation with identity question or boundary problem, it is an attempt of terminating the constitution and changing the existing system.” (Tigray TV, Nov. 8, 2018, 12:11 – 12:27 Min)

Tigray TV gave a huge coverage to the establishment of the Administrative, Boundaries and Identity Issues Commission. Especially December 2018 coverage of the media focused on this issue. The media frames the establishment of the commission as ‘unconstitutional’. The framing of these issues is clearly visible on headlines and subheadings. The media redundantly worked to manifest the commission would deprive the power of the house of Federation and regional states Councils. December 17, 21 and 26 2018 news headlines of Tigray TV read;

December 17, 2018

The establishment of Administrative Boundaries and Identity Issues Commission contravenes the constitution and the power of House of Federation, says General Abebe Teklehaimanot.

Every problem should be solved according to the constitution not by devaluing public and government institutions build in the last 27 years, he added.

December 21, 2018

The new Administrative Boundaries and Identity Issues Commission, approved today by the House of peoples Representatives, deprives constitutional powers of regional states and it doesn't consider nations, nationalities and people's rights, say, Mekele residents.

December 26, 2018

EFDRF Prime Minister Office press release about the eligibility of the establishment of Administrative Boundaries and Identity Issues Commission is not in line with the constitution, say, Scholars. Law scholars added any proclamation which contradicts the constitution shall be no effect.

4.7.3.3 Conflict frame

Both Amhara TV and Tigray TV used conflict frames while reporting ‘boundary and identity issues’, 6.6 percent and 10 percent of the analyzed stories constitute conflict frames respectively.

Conflicts between those asking ‘identity and boundary’ questions and stakeholders to govern the issue had been framed according to the interest of both media. As said by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), conflict frame is instrumental in reporting a conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries to attract audience attention.

Amhara TV framing relies on ‘Amhara’s asking their identity get oppressed, killed and jailed’. The coverage of Amhara TV in relation to the issue was broadcasted on September 6, 2018. Its headline reads “Raya People who asked simple and constitutionally guaranteed identity questions are killed and displaced”. The news story which stressed identity based killing must be averted, creates a baseline in framing consequent news about contested boundary and identity issues. Many of the news sources felt anxious and caused public anger in various Amhara and Tigray towns.

Amhara TV had correlated the danger faced on those propagating ‘identity and boundary questions’ with genocide. For instance, in October 4, 2018 Amhara TV broadcasted a news story with the headline: “Wolkait Amhara peoples are victims of ethnic-based genocide”.

Similarly, October 10, 2018 of the Amhara TV news also framed likewise. The quote from the journalist narrating the story reads; “Wolkait peoples who were displaced due to ethnic and identity-based attacks are faced difficult problems. The number of peoples fleeing frequent attacks is also increasing” (Amhara TV, Oct. 10, 2018, 00:15- 00:23 Min). This story unexpectedly incorporated the then Tigray Regional government Communication Affairs Office head Mr. Redai Halefom response, which dismisses the accusation. The head were quoted as saying ‘no one is attacked due to his/her identity in Tigray soil’.

But afterwards the news narrator conveyed a conflicting idea with the regional official. The quote from journalist narrating the news reads; “Despite what Mr. Redai has just been said, the number of peoples fleeing attacks (of Tigrai forces) is increasing. Similarly, Rayan peoples confronted such kinds of problems. They can’t learn through their mother tongue language. Due to this many Waja and Timuga residents forced to flee to Qobbo city.” (Amhara Tv, Oct. 10, 2018, 10:52 - 2:05 Min). This news story doesn’t let the audience to judge on the issue; instead the media clearly blamed Tigrai regional government in creating a conflict.

Tigrai TV used conflict frames to show the disagreement between the public and ‘external forces’ which propagates ‘identity questions’. This frame is clearly visible on October 23, 2018 report of Alamata city conflict which caused the death of three civilians and property damage. The news story which uses city’s Mayor Habtom Wereta as a source mentions non Tigrian criminals who organized and led September 2018’s peaceful demonstration in Addis Ababa caused a conflict.

“...Those perpetrators had burnt tires, closed the main road and clash with security personnel. So to avert more damage some members of a regional special force, militias and national soldiers arrived to the town (Alemata). Illegal guns have been seen in the town that was transferred from other places.. and illegal attack firing caused the death of people. Therefore, the investigation is underway.” (Tigrai TV, Oct. 23, 2018, 18:13 – 19:14)

Contrary to Amhara TV, Tigrai TV used conflict frame to blame Amhara regional state ignorance to respond quickly for identity based attacks on Tigrian peoples living in the Amhara region. A news story broadcasted on November 13, 2018 conveyed the identity based attacks on Tigrian living in Metema Yohannes. The quote from the journalist narrating the story reads, “... in the past few years many people get harassed due to their identity. In recent times 265 citizens flee the Amhara region of Metema Yohannes and reached Setit Humera via Sudan due to racial attacks.” (Tigrai TV, Nov. 13, 2018, 16:39 – 16:47 Min)

Tigray TV employ conflict frame in its December 29, 2018 coverage of a meeting focused on ‘identity and boundary issues’. Its headline and subheadings was framed to show the conflicting comments between Amhara and Tigray regional states regarding to identity issues.

Wolkait identity question had been submitted to Tigray Region council, say Amhara region council speaker Mrs. Workesemu Mamo.

Tigray Region Council Speaker Mrs. Yemsrach Birhane in her part responded as no identity question has been still submitted (to Tigray region)

*The speaker also asserted Wolkait people's question is the **development and good governance**. So we are working on that, she claimed.*

*House of Federation Speaker Mrs. Keriya Ibrahim also **confirmed** that so far the federation **did not receive** Wolkait identity question.*

*We have to **leave the Wolkait issue for Wolkait people**, Mrs. Keriya added.*
(Tigray TV, Dec. 29, 2018, 00:45 – 01:29 Min)

4.7.3.4 Attribution of responsibility frame

As discussed on data analysis attribution of responsibility frame was the second dominant frame used by Amhara TV while reporting ‘boundary and identity’ issues which contributed 23.3 percent of the analyzed stories. Similarly, Tigray TV’s second dominant frame was attribution of responsibility, accounted for 16.6 percent. In both media attribution of responsibility frame has been used to represent responsible bodies for the occurrence of conflicts in those contested areas. This type of frame reports a subject or problem to attribute responsibility for its root cause or solution or an explanation to either the government or to an individual or group (Valkenburg, 1998).

Amhara TV's attribution of responsibility frames focused on Tigrai regional state officials as a cause of identity based attacks and displacements. The quote from Amhara TV reporter narrating the story reads, "Raya's identity question has not been solved in the last 27 years due to Gannet politicians". (Amhara TV, Oct. 22, 2018, 02:41: 02:48 Min)

The media also attributed the cause of 'identity based' conflicts were the ignorance of the government. In its October 24, 2018 news story, Amhara TV used Blue party's stance on the issue to assert its allegation.

"The Federal and regional government's hesitation to respond for Raya Alamata identity questions cause civilians death. Particularly forceful and irrational measures taken by security forces cost dignified human life. Any attempt to solve identity and boundary questions via a gun is unlawful and could not maintain sustainable peace. Blue Party strongly condemns any measure which violates citizen's right." (Amhara TV, Oct. 24, 2018, 00:46 – 01:14 min)

Amhara TV were also portrayed the impartiality of governmental institutions, i.e the House of Federation for causing 'identity and boundary' related conflicts. In its December 25, 2018 news story the media reporter stated,

'... Since Tigrai regional state couldn't respond to Wolkait people's identity question, an appeal had been submitted for the House of Federation. But House of Federation also didn't decide on the issue. This, in turn, becomes the cause of conflicts. This (delay of decision) questioned the impartiality of the House of Federation.' (Amhara TV, Dec. 25, 2018, 03:39 – 03:59 Min)

Tigrai TV news stories under this frame emphasized on attributing blame on some Amhara regional state officials and elites who had 'feudal attitude'. Recognizing the peaceful and brotherly coexistence of Amhara and Tigrai people repeatedly, Tigrai TV declared identity questions was not propagated by the public. In November 6, 2018 the reporter narrating the story mentioned that "such questions are promulgated by those who trade in the name of the

people and homesick of former autocrat government.” It quoted Wolkait people ‘representative’ as saying;

“Our border stretches to Angerb. This agenda is propagating by those who still exercising Haile Selassie and Derg's regime attitude, not the people (Wolkait Tsegede people) agenda. Even it is not Amhara farmer's interest. We hear from our families (Amharas). Those fanatics or egoist forces are free of war. They strive a lot to throw poor fellow farmers children to the war.” (Tigrai TV Nov. 6, 2018, 02:50 – 03:35 Min)

In a similar light Tigrai TV news stories focused on accusing non Tigrians and external forces for causing conflicts in the name of identity.

4.7.3.5 Human interest frame

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) stated that because of news story market competition, media practitioners are exerting greater effect to produce stories that captures public's interest. Moreover, human interest frame emphasizes the personal stories of people and brings a human face, an individual's story or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or a problem. This means human interest frame will have the ability to catch audience's attention easily and influence them to have a response towards the subject.

In the reports under this textual news frame both regional TV stations used human interest frames to catch the interest of their audience. The contribution of human interest frames in Amhara TV and Tigrai TV constitute 16.6 percent each. This makes human interest frame was the third dominant frame used by both media in covering ‘identity and boundary’ issues.

Amhara TV used human faces to show the oppression and suffering of people. ‘Victims’ of identity based attacks and displacement were portrayed. Personal pictures that generate feelings of outrage or sympathy were also incorporated in this media news. A news story covered the displacement of ‘80 Wolkait Amharas’ that walked in barefoot for four consecutive days to

escape the identity based killing, Amhara TV used human interest frame. The interviewed displaced people shared their pain as follows;

“I am proud to be Amhara and ready to sacrifice for it. They are torturing us and calling the people that have been administered in Amhara territory for 770 years Tigrains. Our enemy is our land. They are killing us to have our land. There are many attempts to eradicate Wolkait Tegede peoples. Many killed, jailed and exiled. Many also keep silent fearing the killing and exile.” (Amhara TV, Oct. 4, 2018, 01:30 – 02:09 Min)

The reporter narrating the story also stated students were bitten for speaking Amharic. The story also incorporated closely recorded video footage that shows laceration of the student.

“I am a 5th-grade student. In my spare time, I used to work at the bus station. They beat me and hurt my leg saying ‘why you speak Amharic you are proliferating colonel Demeke Zewdu politics’ (Amhara TV, Oct. 4, 2018, 02:10 – 02:36 Min)

Amhara TV had also given huge emphasis on revealing the problems faced on Wolkait and Raya Amhara displaced people. It has broadcasted the complain of displaced people that in turn helped fundraising programs in different towns of the region and Addis ababa to happen.

Simililary, Tigrai TV news coverage of news stories via human interest frame were focused on showing the victims of racial attack (Tigrians) in Amhara region. Though such kind of frame was rarely employed, the displaced Tigrian people shared the terrible moments they encountered.

. “We barked for help. But no one was available to respond. (in the attacks) there are peoples died and wounded. Many were arrested (with no reason) in a pretext.” (Tigrai TV, Nov. 13, 2018, 17:18 – 17:25 Min)

The news story with a headline, ‘Recently many Ethiopians are forced to flee due to their identity’, shared one of the victims of racial attacks, who lost his wife and forced to flee Metema town bare hand. The painful time the victim passed and the negligence of Amhara regional state were portrayed in upsetting way. The victim who was filmed embraced an infant baby and with his three children quoted as saying;

“When my wife was shot dead carried our daughter. My daughter was saved by one soldier. Though many soldiers were there they do nothing. At that time More than 50 peoples shot dead. Even they were buried via tractor. Many were burned. This was due to the negligence of regional (Amhara) administration. I asked the government to stop racial killing.” (Tigray TV Feb. 12, 2019, 02:31 – 03:01 Min)

Tigray TV also used public figures and elders as a mere source to attract and convince it’s audience. For instance, February 8, 2019 news story of the media headline reads “Raya and Temben was part of one province”. Fitawrari Abebe Seyoum, Law office deputy director during Emperor Haile Selassie regime, shared the historical background of northern Ethiopia. The news report mentioned Fitawrari Abebe as saying;

“In 1949 E.C I was elected to represent Raya and Temben in House of Peoples representatives. And I have administered Raya and Temben which was under one province. The border of Tigray stretches to Alewha. ... even Wolkait was part of Tigray.” (Tigray TV Feb. 8, 2019, 01:45 – 02:30 Min)

4.7.3.6 Diagnostic frame

According to the findings diagnostic frame was used in different degrees, 13.3 percent and 10 percent in Amhara TV and Tigray TV respectively. While using diagnostic frame both media raised different causes for ‘identity and boundary’ conflicts. Diagnostic frame is a problem identification and attribution frame which articulates the problem which needs fixing (Snow R. D., 2000). Thus, suffering due to identity, cultural identity and psychological makeup of the disputed areas, unequal treatment and other causes were dominant causes mentioned in Amhara

TV. Killing, kidnapping and jailing of peoples that have Amharan identity was the main cause. Therefore, the media diagnostic frame was in line with this allegation.

On the contrary, Tigrai TV diagnostic frame stressed on causes such as ‘politicians and elites interest to arose conflict’, ‘External forces’ propaganda, ‘an attempt to destroy the constitutional system’ and ‘hidden agenda to weaken Tigrai’ as the causes of the conflicts.

In September 6, 2018 Amhara TV story diagnostic frame was employed to uncover the basic problems faced on Raya Amhara people. The news headline reads, “Rayans living in Alamata, Timuga, Korem and other localities are oppressed simply raising identity questions”. (Amhara TV, Sep. 6, 2018, 00:02 – 00:37 Min). This news story has also mentioned the root causes of ‘Raya identity question’ and the suffering of people due to asking such questions. The quoted Raya descendant’s imminent threat, Tigrai regional government plan to relocate new residents on contested areas, was also included in the news story to emphasize the toughness of the problem.

Additionally, the basic setbacks of displaced people’s from Wolkait Tegedie and Raya were also emphasized on Amhara TV news stories. Focused on the economic and social suffering of displaced Wolkait people’s living in Soroqa town, October 4, 2018 news coverage of Amhara TV underlined that the return of the displaced people’s would cause further jailing, killing and beating by Tigrai region special force. The interviewed displaced people were also framed to stress on the problems they were facing, identity based suffering, oppression, unable to learn in mother tongue language, etc.

“When we say ‘we are Amhara, not Tigrian: our border is Tekeze’ they start to respond ‘you are Tigrian your accent is Tigrian... your border is not Tekeze’ they are suffering us” (Amhara TV. Oct. 4, 2018, 01:15 – 01:30 Min)

Amhara TV diagnostic frame of ‘identity and boundary’ questions were also stressed on illegal demarcation of boundary without public participation as a big cause of the conflicts. In its October 22, 2018 and November 28, 2018 broadcasted news stories the media cited Sisay Mengiste (Phd) and Amhara Democratic Party political section head Mr. Dessie Tilahun to strengthen its position on the issue. The sources were mentioned as saying;

“Raya people become part of Tigrai without (his/her) will. This, in turn, causes them to face many tortures still.” (Amhara TV. Oct. 22, 2018, 02:30 – 02:37 Min)

“...1992 regional boundary demarcation was implemented before the endorsement of the constitution. Besides, it was undemocratic and came in to effect without the involvement of the public. The demarcation also didn't consider the harmony of peoples. This becomes the source of chaos in our region and other localities...” (Amhara TV. Nov. 28, 2018, 01:33 – 01:58 Min)

On the other hand, Tigrai TV news stories dismissed such Amhara TV framing of the issue in various time. The media news claimed that Raya and Wolkait had no identity or boundary question. But the attempts to disrupt the people's security were countless, the news stories mentioned.

The headline of February 10, 2019 news of Tigrai TV reads, “Raya people secured its identity long time ago: those who misleading the public in the name of Raya People should be corrected”. The news story asserted the long aged identity of Raya people is purely Tigrian. But, in one historical occasion Raya were part of Wollo province, the report implied. The reporter narrating the story stated that, “Though the land of Raya was part of Wollo province in one historical incident, historical documents proved Raya people identity was/is Tigrian” (Tigrai TV, Feb. 10, 2019, 06:34 – 06:45 Min). It also quoted the resident of Maychew supporting the aforementioned idea as follows;

“The governor of the then Wollo province wanted to administer the fertile land of Raya in 1948 (E.C) and asked his father-in-law, Tigrai province governor Ras Seyoum, to permit him. Ras Seyoum gave him as a gift or to support the new marriage”. (Tigrai TV, Feb. 10, 2019, 07:37 – 08:11 Min).

While, Tigrai TV made the peaceful coexistence of People in Tigrai region and the identity of Raya and Wolkai was/is Tigrian more salient, Amhara TV stressed on the identity based attacks and displacement of Amharas living in contested areas.

4.7.3.7 Prognostic frame

Prognostic frame suggests conceivable solution to a certain problems which is articulated by diagnostic frames and recommends strategy and tactics to get measurable result (Cammaerts, 2015). It can be defined as a solution frame. Both Amhara TV and Tigray TV news stories were framed to suggest the effects and results of ‘identity and boundary’ related problems and solutions that need to be done.

As the finding implied, Amhara TV used 10 percent and Tigray TV 3.3 percent of this frame out of the data set. This shows Amhara TV had tried to suggest a variety of solutions compared to Tigray TV. Prognostic frames of both media varied as diagnostic framing of the media was antagonistic.

Amhara TV news stories gave a huge emphasis to show a speedy response to identity questions must be attained constitutionally or via the new Administrative, Boundary and Identity Issues Commission. 66.6 percent of analyzed stories of Amhara TV quested the federal and Amhara regional government intervention on disputed areas to avert the ‘killing and displacement’ of people. Deploying the federal defense force to the contested areas was redundantly mentioned as a solution. The news story broadcasted on September 6, 2018 suggested that a rush intervention of federal government is mandatory to safeguard the Raya people. The interviewed Raya descendant said;

“The first question of us (complaints) is Stop killing! Stop oppression! Secondly, the Tigray special force should leave the area (contested area). Then, the federal government should administer us. Now federal security force must enter and calm down the situation and we ask to stop displacing people from their arable land.”

(Amhara TV. Sep. 6, 2018, 03:48 – 04:06 Min)

Amhara TV prognostic frame also suggested setting up a special zone as a solution. In its September 17, 2018 news the reporter narrating the story quoted Wajja and Timuga residents as saying; “We are Amhara: Respect our Rayan identity... we want to be administered in a new special zone in the Amhara region, not in Tigray”. (Amhara TV. Sep. 17, 2018, 00:15 – 00:35 Min).

Resolving the problem through public and government official's discussion has also been cited as a solution. Amhara TV in its November 3, 2018 news story tried to demonstrate the need to use Raya Qobbo 'Zeweld's traditional reconciliation culture to fix the problems. Local elders and religious fathers asserted that two regional governments should discuss and put a solution that considers the people's will. Nevertheless, Amhara TV's prognostic frames which recognized the need to have a dialogue or negotiation were very sporadic. As the data analysis implied stories suggested dialogue between the public and two regional states as a solution constituted for 3.3 percent only.

The disparity of the political party's governing two regional states affected the prognostic framing of the media. For instance, Amhara Democratic Party (ADP) showed its willingness to discuss with the public, but not with TPLF officials.

“... We need to solve the problem via democratic and comprehensive discussions with the public. The Party (ADP) decided to struggle to attain the wishes of the people through strengthening unity. So we are alerting our members on this issue.” (Amhara TV. Nov. 28, 2018, 01:58 – 02:15 Min)

Letting the public to decide its destiny through Referendum was also the least solution suggested by Amhara TV news, accounted for 3.3 percent of the solutions. This implied the media or its owner, the Amhara regional government, focus were defining the problem than solutions. Although, it needs a research there might be a suspicion of people's choice of the contested areas.

As discussed on constitutionality and jurisprudence frame, Tigray TV news stories mainly focused on the Constitutional solutions. The media claimed that even though there is no 'identity and boundary questions' in the region, imminent identity questions should be addressed in legal procedure.

42.8 percent of analyzed stories mentioned the House of Federation was the one and only solver of the 'identity and boundary issues'. News stories of Tigray TV mainly focused on the process and framed in indicating the way how such questions will be addressed. Cited the then House of

Federation Speaker Mrs. Keriya Ibrahim, December 28, 2018 news of Tigrai TV stressed that identity questions raised from anyone will be solved only per the constitution. Imminent identity questions would also be managed accordingly. On the contrary, it underlined many Ethiopians had already attained their identity after a fierce struggle of freedom. The then House Speaker was also mentioned as saying;

“... Former tyrants did not recognize all nations, nationalities and people’s identity. But now many gain their identity. The constitution put the procedure (to answer the identity question). Every identity has its proprietor. So, let’s leave the issue to Wolkait people.” (Tigrai TV, Dec. 18, 2018, 33:30 – 33:50 Min)

Whereas, Amhara regional state vowed even the constitution might be amended to solve identity questions and satisfy the interest of the public. While discussed with Amharas living in Seattle on December 2018 the then Amhara Democratic Party Executive committee member Ambachew Mekonnen (Phd) implied the existing EPRDF constitution is not the only way to solve identity questions.

“We take any will of the people either identity or constitutional amendments should not be restricted.” (Amhara TV. Dec. 11, 2018, 4:08 – 04:20 Min)

As per discussed in data analysis section 33.3 percent of the Tigrai TV news stories mentioned federal and regional government intervention is mandatory. These stories asked the intervention of the federal government to avert meddling of ‘external forces’ in internal issue. Stated the position of the peoples living in those contested areas did not want ‘new identity’ the media claimed the federal government should stop the ‘fake propaganda’. It also associates ‘identity and boundary questions’ arising from ‘non Tigrians’ with an attempt to destroy the constitutional system.

However, Amhara TV prognostic frames lies on ‘identity and boundary questions’ are natural, constitutionally guaranteed and should be solved as far as possible. It also asserted ignoring such questions caused civilians death and property damage.

Tigrai TV mentioned answering development question as a solution. 9.5 percent of the stories analyzed stated that the development needs of people's living in the contested areas should be addressed. Thus, the media framed its stories to demonstrate satisfying the development interest of the public would create sustainable peace.

4.7.3.8 Political frame

The researcher analyzed secondary frames separately. Thus, political frame was the leading secondary frame, accounted for 50 percent and 46.6 percent in Amhara TV and Tigrai TV respectively. Referencing policy codebook political frames have mentions that have any actions or efforts or stances that are political, such as partisan filibusters, lobbyist involvement, bipartisan efforts, deal-making and vote trading (Boydston et al., 2014).

Van Dijk (1998, p. 264) stresses that the political ideology and the political discourse in a given country are processed through texts. The ideological struggle in the media can be revealed in the course of serious and controversial conflict cases. Hence, Tigrai TV used political frame to show 'some Amhara regional state officials' and other forces political maneuvering affected the security of the region and Tigrai People. On the other hand, Amhara TV framed its stories politically to disseminate Tigrai regional state ignorance to respond for identity and boundary questions.

Amhara Democratic Party (ADP) position in relation to 'identity and boundary issues' were manifested clearly in Amhara TV. The party denounced the boundary demarcation of 1992 which were undertaken before the endorsement of the EPRDF constitution. ADP's political section head, Mr. Dessie Tilahun was quoted as saying 'The demarcation which does not consider the harmony of peoples became the source of chaos in our region and other localities'. Blamed TPLF for its wrongdoing, ADP, mentioned its recent position and commitment to solve identity questions as follow;

“ADP has decided on the issue we ignored for long. The party clearly expressed its stance on identity and boundary questions. It just uttered our position on issues we neglected and left to be addressed by others. We clearly define and agree on

what will do next. This (decision) is really a change.” (Amhara TV. Nov. 28, 2018, 04:00 – 04:20 Min)

Contrarily, Tigrai TV news stories mentioned the political intervention of some ADP officials and elites were harming the coexistence of people. In November 21, 2018 news story the reporter narrating the news quoted the regional state deputy president Debretsion GebreMichael (Phd) as saying; “Though Tigrai people are patient for peace and unity, we don’t accept and strictly condemn any moves in the cover of identity question”. This news implicitly indicated the motive of some ADP official’s hidden political sabotage and their attempt of disrupting Tigrai regional state. The deputy president was also mentioned as said;

“Patience is necessary. We know sacrifice. But they don’t know (sacrifice). So we don’t pompous like them. Some of them are captivated in war fields. Those who don’t show their capacity on battlefields now in peaceful time come as a hero. They don’t fight face to face.” (Tigrai TV, Nov. 21, 2018, 28:10 – 28:29 Min)

November 13, 2018 news story of Tigrai TV was also framed politically. The story about identity based attack and displacement in Metema Yohannes gave a huge emphasis to the Sudan government endeavor. The displaced people reached Setit Humera via Sudan thanked greatly the then Omar Hassan Al Bashir government.

“Sudanese people and government welcomed us warmly. Without their assistance, our life would be in danger.” (Tigrai TV, Nov. 13, 2018, 18:07 – 18:17 Min)

“I want to thank the Sudan government sincerely. They assist us a lot. They kept us in a place called Gelabat and collaborate to make us here.” (Tigrai TV, Nov. 13, 2018, 18:24 – 18:36 Min)

These news stories have two core political messages. Firstly, the regional government of Tigray had good relationship with Sudan government. Secondly, it was framed to indicate Sudan people are generous and humble than Amharas living in Metema Yohannes.

In many news stories Tigray TV mentioned ‘identity and boundary question’ was raised by those who trade in the name of the people and homesick of former autocrat government. The media associate the disputable questions to political elites not to the public. It also stressed such ‘autocratic’ assumption could not be compromised or negotiated.

Amhara TV, on the other hand, covered peaceful demonstration demanding identity and boundary demands a political decision. The demonstrations held in many towns tried to pressure ADP (Amhara Democratic Party) to take the lion share in bringing back ‘Amhara's historical lands’. Participants of the demonstrations were quoted as saying ‘racial based attacks and oppression of identity questions in Tigray region should be averted’

Political frames have references that are political maneuvering or appealing to one’s base (Boydston et al., 2014). Objecting the approach the House trying to solve already submitted Wolkait and Raya's identity and boundary question’ as unconstitutional, Amhara TV December 25 2018 news story blamed the then House of Federation Speaker fairness in regard to her membership of TPLF executive committee.

“Though you may not think about it, I am quite sure you will be puzzled to decide. Even though, you try to do independently your membership of (TPLF) executive committee could influence you. What you encountered is like judging your issue by yourself.” (Amhara TV. Dec. 25, 2018, 01:20 – 01:38 Min)

Whereas, Tigray TV report dismissed the above Amhara TV story which associated the House Speaker ‘biasedness’ with political membership. The then House speaker denounced the Amhara regional state intervention and quoted as saying “let’s leave Wolkait issue for Wolkait people’. The media also used the response of Mrs. Keriya as a counter as follows;

“Who answered Qimant Question? It is Mr. Yalew. So may we see the ethnicity of Mr. Yalew? Where the hell we got (a Speaker) who have 76 ethnic identities to answer the questions. Therefore, the basic thing should be what the legal system says?” (Tigray TV, Dec. 29, 2018, 04:15 – 04:49 Min)

Political framing includes explicit statements that a policy issue is good or bad for a particular political party (Boydston et al., 2014). In this regard Tigray TV framed the establishment of the Administrative Boundaries and Identity Issues Commission as a political sabotage to weaken Tigray region and undermine the constitutional order.

Mentioning the new Commission would deprive constitutional powers of regional states and nations, nationalities and people's rights, the media used various town residents as a source to dismiss it. December 21, 2018 news of Tigray TV mentioned some veiled agenda is going on in the name of the new commission. The law scholars commented on the issue also mentioned the political motive behind in this way;

“.. this bill is not essential. Even it may worsen the situation. Did (member of the parliament) approve the establishment of the commission emotionally or critically? The parliament should pass a law which is crucial for Ethiopia. I am in doubt that emotional politics will lead Ethiopia to unnecessary bloody conflict.” (Tigray TV, Dec. 21, 2018, 11:43 – 12:07 Min)

“... Plus without a doubt, its (the new bill) intention is to switch the current constitutional order. The new ruling body is strengthening its power to change the constitutional system. This attempt will lead us to a bloody war. This won't either help or damage a single body. We all are losers. So, this mistaken way should be adjusted. If not, we all enter to conflict together.” (Tigray TV, Dec. 21, 2018, 12:10 – 12:50 Min)

Tigray TV also asked leaders of different political parties about the establishment of the Administrative Boundaries and Identity Issues Commission in accordance with its interest. Cited political party leaders, Tigray TV Feb 7, 2019 news story headline reads; “The federal government decision to approve the proclamation to set up the Commission hastily is unacceptable.” The interviewed politicians were also underlined the need to leave Regional issues to regional states and other regions should oppose the establishment of the commission as Tigray region do. Cited politicians who was selected as a member of the Commission, the media portrayed the political biases of the federal government (Tigray TV, Feb. 7, 2019, 03:38 – 03:50 Min)

In the same way, Amhara TV mentioned the outlook of different political parties while employing the political framing. National Movement of Amhara (NaMA) and former Blue Party and Ethiopia National Movement (ENM) leaders were quoted as saying; “the allegation of Tigray regional state that the Commission contravenes the constitution was inappropriate”. Converse to Tigray TV, Amhara TV news stories were framed to support the establishment of the commission would avert identity based attacks and conflicts. Praising the establishment of the Commission, NaMA chairman claimed 1992 boundary demarcation was unconstitutional and politically motivated.

“Recent regional boundary demarcation assumes the interest and benefit of a single group. It simply loaded on the people forcefully to maximize political powerhouse. The decision doesn’t involve the public. Therefore, the current regional boundary delineation is not constitutional. So it is impossible trying to solve issues even according to the recent constitution.” (Amhara TV. Dec. 23, 2018, 01:10 – 01:43 Min).

In most cases, politicians are seemingly interested in sending messages to their supporters through the media, which can describe issues that happened in their groups or their areas as a deliberate threat or an attempt directed to their ethnic groups. “... political elites took advantage of the symbolic power that ethnicity has to offer and used it as a tool for pursuing territorial, political, and economic objectives”(Sotiropoulou, 2002, p. 1). The research finding proved that

political elites of both regions tend to use their ethnicity as an instrument to further toughen their power and meet their interest.

According to Hallin and Mancini (2004, p.38), where political parallelism is very high, with media organizations strongly tied to political organizations, and journalists deeply involved in party politics, professionalization is indeed likely to be low. The finding of this study also revealed that the relationship between the media practitioners and the political parties is very tight. The political ideology of both regional states and political elites was manifested in the narrations of journalists and the intent of the stories showed their attachment.

4.7.3.9 Law and order frame

Among the secondary frames law and order frame constituted for 23.3 percent in Tigrai TV and 13.3 percent in Amhara TV. This frame emphasizes in crime and justice, specific policies in practice and their enforcement, incentives, and implications. Stories about enforcement and interpretation of laws by individuals or groups could also be framed in this type of news frame (Boydstun et al., 2014).

Amhara TV law and order framing of stories focused on portraying illegal measures taken on peoples asking ‘identity questions’. Democratic and human rights violation was also manifested through this frame.

The media news story on October 24, 2018 headline reads ‘Blue party condemns inhuman treatment of Wolkait and Raya people who asks identity questions’. The party was cited as saying;

“...forceful and irrational measures taken by security forces cost dignified human life. Any attempt to solve identity and boundary questions via a gun is unlawful and could not maintain sustainable peace. Blue Party strongly condemns any measure which violates citizen’s right. Citizens have a constitutional right to ask everything. It is very gloomy to respond to such questions through force and killing. Blue Party is very concerned about it.” (Amhara TV. Oct. 24, 2018, 00:46 – 01:21 Min)

Law and order frames were employed in stories especially related with the Administrative, Boundaries and Identity Issues Commission. TV stations under study framed the establishment of the commission according to the constitution and legal procedure.

The House of Peoples Representatives approved the draft proclamation to establish the Commission on December 20, 2018. 350 members vote on the draft bill and approved it with 33 Noes and 4 abstain with high aye. Then issue got huge coverage especially on Tigray TV. The media used law scholars as a source to strengthen its position, the unlawfulness of the Administrative, Boundaries and Identity Issues Commission. On the other hand, Amhara TV contended the establishment of the Commission was legitimate.

Tigray TV stories which focused on the illegitimacy of the Commission in the end demonstrated the way how the new bill could be barred from implementation. The law scholar who was cited many times as a source discussed the ways how anti-constitutional proclamations would be barred in International courts as follows;

“Anyone can ask to bar this unconstitutional law anytime. Tigray, Afar, Somali, Benshangul regional governments or a single person can submit an appeal letter to Constitutional Inquiry Council. The house of Federation will solve the issue. If the Constitutional Inquiry Council decides the appeal or issue has no constitutional translation there is an option to appeal to the House of Federation. Then, if the House of Federation also says the issue is not unconstitutional we can appeal for continental and international courts to bar this unconstitutional law”
(Tigray TV, Dec. 21, 2018, 13:00 – 14:13 Min)

However, Amhara TV news stories resisted the new Commission could not cause any problem, rather creates peace.

4.7.3.10 Security and defense frame

Security and defense frames of Amhara TV, 16.6 percent of the analyzed stories, focused on the nervousness of peoples living in and around the contested areas. For instance, the October 24, 2018 news story of the media related the security threat of Qobbo city residents with that of Somalia invasion. The news story with the headline “No regular movement in Qobbo and its nearby, due to problems of identity questions in Amhara and Tigray region bordering areas”, quoted anxious Qobbo city resident like so;

“Qobbo people are still in timidity. They fear an occurrence of war and parents forbids their children’s not to go to schools. Many confined to their home. The city seems to prepare for war like that of Somali invasion. It (city) is like a war zone. Though, many (security forces) present no one is working to calm down the situation and protect law and order.” (Amhara TV. Oct. 24, 2018, 01:20 – 01:54 Min)

Amhara TV also emphasized the Qobbo ‘Zeweld fathers’ security concern. The news story which demonstrated the tough situation in Qobbo city was framed to pressure the deployment of federal defense force to the area.

“What is our guarantee? We don’t have any assurance shortly. The government tends to turn a deaf ear. These days Amhara region president Ato Gedu says ‘No peace is assured via bullet it is through dialogue’ yes it is correct but who facilitates the discussion? Raya Qobbo city residents are in worry of security. The federal government should consider and solve the issue swiftly.” (Amhara TV. Nov. 3, 2018, 11:03 – 01:50 Min)

Given enormous prominence, Amhara TV broadcasted Qobbo city’s security situation was critical till December 2018. Quoted the Raya Alamata displaced people, the media attempted to further pressure the federal and Amhara regional government to intervene.

“Qoboo city is still in worry. These days TPLF’s spies entered Qoboo city and attempting to damage us and cause civil war in the city. Last week one of the members of them (TPLF) caught with a bomb. So the federal and Amhara regional government must give weight for the situation.” (Amhara TV, Dec. 25, 2018, 01:32 – 02:05 Min)

Tigray TV, in its part, mentioned ‘non Tigrayan war propagators’ were attempted to disrupt the constitutional system. This move would undermine the peaceful coexistence of people and might led to war, its news stories implied. The media security and defense frame emphasized on a speedy government intervention to avert attempts to deprive the constitutional rights of the citizens. Discussed with Tigray region deputy president Debretsion Gebremichael (Phd), Central Zone residents were mentioned as saying;

“Here we all work to live. So we need peace to live and work. There are attempts to disturb our peace. Therefore, the government should take measures quickly to avert such moves.” (Tigray TV, Nov. 21, 2018, 26:30 – 26:40 Min)

“What we are asking is those who claiming identity question to be corrected soon. If not we will take a reciprocal. We want to let the government know our stance” (Tigray TV, Nov. 21, 2018, 26:41 – 26:46 Min)

An action or a call to action that can be taken to protect the welfare of a person, group, and nation sometimes from a not yet manifested threat could also be framed accordingly (Boydston et al., 2014). Tigray TV news story on January 31, 2019 quoted Hawassa University scholar Professor Mulugeta Bakalie, correlated the Administrative, Boundary and Identity Issues Commission with the sustainability of Ethiopia as a country. Its headline reads: “...the new Proclamation would crumble Ethiopia”, quoted the scholar as saying “constitutional violation will endanger the security of Ethiopia”.

“Identity and boundary questions are cancer which undermines the constitution. No need to undertake a study to know Ethiopian nation, nationalities and peoples.”

Every citizen knows its identity in earlier studies. (EPRDF) constitution is guarantee for identity. If somebody infringes the constitution there will be another war. Let's hope it is not happen, but Ethiopia will be fragmented.” (Tigray TV, Jan. 31, 2019, 01:55 – 02:38 Min).

Arena party also mentioned as saying ‘the new commission will led the country to chaos’. The party claimed an attempt to gain the land via war would cause bloody conflict. Tigray TV February 15, 2019 news cited the party’s official claimed that the Administrative, Boundary and identity Issues Commission would be a dangerous security threat of regional states like this;

“Some regional states propagate ‘we will return our lands through war’. Instead of solving many public questions they are busy at instigating war. The federal government also gives a deaf ear and cannot stop them. This is very risky. It will worsen the situation.” (Tigray TV, Feb. 15, 2019, 19:26 – 20:06 Min)

While framing stories via security and defense frame, Tigray TV concentrated on preserving the constitution was a must. Any legislation contradicts with the constitution will endanger the security of people, it contend. It also underlined the need to stop ‘homesick of feudal regime’ attempts to antagonize Tigray people with its Amhara brothers.

Amhara TV, on the hand, claimed ignorance of Tigray regional state to solve ‘identity and boundary questions’ created a conflict. Unless the federal government interference those questions could not be addressed and the security of people would be guaranteed, the media stories stressed. In many of Amhara TV news stories the deployment of federal defense force were suggested.

4.7.3.11 Fairness and equality frame

Unfair distribution of resources and unequal treatment of people caused disparity between peoples. Amhara TV and Tigray TV used fairness and equality frames while reporting ‘identity and boundary issues’. These frames were used to show the balance between the rights or interests of one individual or group compared to another individual or group (Boydston et al., 2014).

As discussed on data analysis section, Amhara TV and Tigray TV used 10 percent and 6.6 percent fairness and equality frames. Amhara TV news stories were framed based on blaming Tigray regional state unfair treatment of ‘Raya and Wolkait Amhara people.’ Stories that have references about economic, social and cultural inequality highlighted Amharas living in Tigray region was treated as ‘second citizen’. In a news story broadcasted on October 4, 2018, Amhara TV reporter stated that “displaced people from Wolkait are suffering economically and socially for being an Amhara”. The media also quoted ‘mistreated’ Raya Alamata displaced people as saying;

“If we start a job they plot on us with no reason and deprive our job. We don’t have a space on offices though completed 9th and 10th grade. You can check it out. No Wolkait Tegede native is in office.” (Amhara TV. Oct. 4, 2018, 00:44 – 01:03 Min)

“We openly expressed our problems: from identity and boundary issues to the fair distribution of resources. But they (Tigray officials) have been trying to respond to our question by gun...” (Amhara TV. Dec. 25, 2018, 00:37 – 00:53 Min)

“Tigray government wishes our poverty long ago. It usually tortures us via rejecting credit and other benefits. They are trying to eradicate the race of Amhara in Raya and making the locality Tigrigna Speaker and Tigre...” (Amhara TV. Dec. 25, 2018, 01:05 – 01:25 Min)

Learning through mother tongue was another dominant issue of Amhara TV while covering ‘identity and boundary issues’. Cited ‘victims’ accused Tigray regional state in repressing their cultural identity especially mother tongue language. The media mentioned many students were forced to learn in a language they can’t speak or write;

“Wolkait Tegede people has been repressed and killed for saying ‘I am Amhara’ and singing Amharic music. So, how come the people express his/her Amhara identity at liberty?” (Amhara TV. Dec. 11, 2018, 03:16 – 03:30 Min)

Tigray TV, on the contrary, mentioned every people living in the region treated equally. In its November 7, 2018 news story, the media interviewed Amharas living in Tigray region, Tanqua Abergelie Woreda. The news claimed that there was no identity based discrimination in the locality and the Amharas right to movement and property was respected. Even every Ethiopians should learn from Tigray region where no ethnic based biases exist, the residents quoted as saying.

“I was born in Waghimra Zone Abergele 015 Kebele. Now I am working in the Tigray region. No one called me: You are Agew, You are Amhara. I love all and make them my family. Public servants respond to my questions. I built home and live with my family in Tanqua Abergelie like everyone.” (Tigray TV, Nov. 7, 2018, 13:30 – 13:59 Min)

“I am from Beyeda Eyesus, in the Amhara region. But now I live in the Tigray region Tanqua Abergelie. I am here for the last 16 years and my capital reached 2 million birr, including my home. Still, I don’t observe any ethnic biases. Every treatment is equal. No biases in works.” (Tigray TV, Nov. 7, 2018, 14:00 – 14:44 Min)

4.7.3.12 Public opinion frame

As discussed on data analysis part, Amhara TV and Tigray TV public opinion frame accounted for 10 percent and 13.3 percent respectively. Public opinion frame helps journalists to mold news stories containing general social attitudes, polling and demographic information, indirect or actual consequences of public opinion or polls (Boydston et al., 2014).

While Amhara TV used peaceful demonstration and public meetings as a sign of mass support for the hasty solution of ‘identity and boundary questions’, Tigray TV mainly covered the voice of ‘representatives’ and residents of contested areas which mentioned the ‘questions’ was not the interest of the public.

Amhara TV gave a huge coverage for peaceful demonstrations in Bahirdar, Gonder, Dessie, Debretabor, Debremarkos, Mersa, Woldia, and other towns of the region. The main messages of those demonstrations was ‘Raya and Wolkait identity questions should be solved soon’, ‘Bring back Amhara historical lands’, ‘stop identity based killing and repression’, ‘the federal government must intervene’, etc. (Amhara TV. Nov. 1, 2018, 06:40 – 06:51 Min) Participants of peaceful demonstrations were cited as the supporters of those questions. All Amhara people have the same stance in relation to Raya and Wolkait identity questions, the media stories highlighted. Thus, Amhara TV public opinion frames used to convey allegiance of the public for those asking identity questions.

Whereas, Tigray TV used ‘representatives’ of the people’s living in contested areas while framing issues via public opinion frame. Representatives who have collected 37 thousand people's signature from 80 kebeles of Wolkait Tegede were cited as said; “Wolkait people have no identity question.” (Tigray TV, Nov. 7, 2018, 02:20 – 02:40 Min) Residents of contested areas were also mentioned as they do not have identity question, instead development interest.

Both media used public opinion frames while covering the establishment of Administrative, Boundary and Identity issues Commission. To support their position, the media interviewed various cities’ residents. Three or four residents’ even one person comment about the issue was mentioned as mass public attitude.

4.8 Story Sources

When the same events are covered, the choice of sources tends to make a substantial difference, as do the selected narrative and the interpretation of events. News sources play a paramount role in framing issues. According to Pan and Kosicki (1993: 60), who is quoted, how they are identified, and where the quote is placed in the story is very significant.

Journalists choose not only what types of sources to use but also what questions to ask these sources, and which sources will ultimately be printed or broadcasted. This can have a profound impact on how issues are framed and perceived by audiences, since a story dominated by

scientists, economists, or political elites gives cues to readers as to what kind of issue is being debated (Bennett, 1996).

In countries where media and politics is highly entwined the selection of news sources is critical. Both media under study used different types of news sources in framing ‘identity and boundary issues’. These sources contributed in the divergence of both media framing. According to survey result 41.8% of the respondents were agreed that sources of the news differs media framing.

As mentioned previously Amhara TV stories over-relying on ‘victims of identity and boundary questions’. 40.4 percent of the media news sources were ‘victims’. Victimization is a technique used by the media to give more sense and meaning to their ethnic group (Skjerdal and Mulatu, 2020). Amhara TV used ‘victim’ sources to show the causality on the people it claims and to give the issue a weight. These sources might help the media to raise its audience and public acceptance. Besides, as ADP mouthpiece, the media used the ‘victims’ to show the wrongdoings of TPLF. Amhara TV also used ‘victim’ sources in a very high proportion and sensationalized way to promote the sense of Amhara nationalism. This was clearly visible on the peaceful demonstrations and public meetings in different parts of the region.

On the contrary, Tigrai TV used ‘victims’ as a source constituted 12.1 percent. Only, Tigrians displaced from Metema Yohannes was depicted as ‘victims’ of identity based attacks. Like Amhara TV the portrayal of ‘victims’ in Tigrai TV was sensationalized. As discussed earlier both media broadcasted the horrific moments displaced people faced unethically and in a way that might arise conflicts. The media agencies depicted the faces of ‘victims’ without considering the danger that might happen in their future life.

The main source of the stories in Tigrai TV was local residents which accounted for 41.9 percent of the analyzed news. 34.9 percent of Amhara TV news sources were local residents living in various towns. Descendants of towns and areas that cause contestation between two regions were interviewed in accordance with the media’s motive. Three or two residents of different towns comment about the issue were mentioned as mass people stance. This trend of generalization was common on both media under study.

Media institutions used government officials as a source to define certain political issue. Even though large-scale studies have not shown strong evidence of news media bias, content analysis

of particular news outlets has shown evidence of bias toward partisan ideology or slant in political coverage to nationalism and political party (Schiffer, 2006). But, government official sources of Amhara TV and Tigray TV was insignificant, 13.49 percent and 14.8 percent respectively. This indicates both media rarely use government officials as a news source. The media may don't believe government officials are the major responsible bodies to respond on the issue or they may focus on problems than solutions. Instead, Amhara TV and Tigray TV used political party officials and other sources (Members of the parliament, retired officials and 'freedom fighters') in covering identity and boundary disputes. The political party officials favored respective regional government ideology to gain public support or to attain their interest.

'Scholars' were also mentioned as sources in both media. Tigray TV used scholars as a news source accounted for 14.8 percent. In contrast, this type of source was the least quoted in Amhara TV, constituted 1.58 percent. Tigray TV used scholars as a source to propagate 'identity questions of all Ethiopians' were already solved. These sources were also employed in denouncing the establishment of Administrative, boundary and Identity Issues Commission was Unconstitutional. The media also declared the federal government 'hidden agenda of weakening Tigray' through scholar sources. However, the naming of scholars is doubtful. The media presented a Diploma or BA degree as analyst. Law experts, university lecturers and former government officials frequently described with impartial titles. Such kind of naming believed to cement the media organization political ideology through 'scholars'.

The news sources of both media impartiality were questionable. Traditionally, the concept of "objectivity" emerged to describe a quasi-scientific practice through which the journalist distanced him or herself from the story and its sources, in order to provide an independent account of events (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014).

The analyzed news of Amhara TV and Tigray TV indicated that the relation between journalists and news sources are problematic. The narrator of the news word choices or statements seemed the replica of the news sources. In many of the analyzed stories the researcher came across similar expressions (word by word) of journalists and news sources. The journalists narrating the story rarely avoid his/her opinion on the news. They sometimes seem to be taking positions when they are not actually doing so. This might happen due to the social, cultural, economic or political attachments of journalists to the issue. As for Hess (1989) rather than testing a

hypothesis to find out whether it's true or false, journalists simply "marshal facts or quotes" that are consistent with their presumptions. The news producers continue to call around until they find someone who will say "the magic words that they are looking for." Therefore, the linkage between news sources and journalists of Amhara TV and Tigray TV needs further scrutiny.

A story based on a single source was also broadcasted on the selected media. Especially Tigray TV used a single source in its stories, accounted for 36.6 percent of the analyzed contents. Whereas, Amhara TV's single source based news constitute 10 percent out of the data set. This one sided news reflects a passive orientation whereby news acts as a conveyor belt rather than a testing ground for what powerful figures are saying (Davis, 2002). On the other hand, using multiple sources sometimes means that the media are providing checks on what is said, bringing more variety and balance to the views presented. Multiple sources also often indicate a more active news media orientation as they seek out information themselves rather than relying on limited, privileged sources or reproducing media releases.

4.9 News Balance

The Ethiopia Broadcasting Service Proclamation (2007), Article 30 sub article 1 states that *"Any program to be transmitted shall reflect different and balanced viewpoints to serve the public at large."* Sub article 3 of this article also mentioned *"Every news shall be impartial, accurate and balanced."*

However, as cited on data analysis section Amhara TV and Tigray TV treatment of different viewpoints were very poor. The media institutions journalists were poor in searching for information to make the story complete and balanced. Both media seemed to have preferred covering one side of an issue for long period. Among analyzed stories balanced news of Amhara TV and Tigray TV constituted 16.6 percent and 6.6 percent respectively. 95 percent of balanced news was also event oriented.

Though, Amhara TV attempted to incorporate Tigray regional state official's response when the conflicts began in September 2018, it was short lived. The media tried to embrace Raya Wereda Security affairs office head Mr. Hadra and Tigray region communication bureau head Redae

Halefom (Tigray TV footage and via phone) responses about 'Raya and Wolkait identity and boundary questions. But, these balanced reports only constituted 5 percent of the balanced reports.

Tigray TV, on the other hand, did not undertake a single exclusive interview with Amhara regional state official about the incidents, instead focused on covering the 'identity and boundary issues' from one perspective only. All the comments of Amhara officials and other ideas contradict with Tigray TV position were event oriented. Similar balanced (not mean accurate) news were also broadcasted in Amhara TV too. The political divergence might affect the communication of two regional states.

The issue of balance is not associated with the correctness or inaccuracy of the story (Geis, 1958 p.58). An imbalanced news report can be quite accurate. Consequently, balance in the media dealt with entertaining conflicting ideas or the other sides of the story. A report could also be said to be unfair if it brings inaccurate, misleading or irrelevant information in some way. An unfair report will also involve or encourage some sort of error in reasoning. Whereas, a report that takes a point of view on a controversial issue when the facts do not fully sustain it can be said to be biased.

The researcher believes to conclude the media coverage of such issues were fair or unfair, biased or unbiased, needs further study. But as mentioned above the reporting of both media lacks entertaining other side of the conflicting issue.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Ethiopian media landscape was changed after 2018. The country progress on World Press freedom Index was/is also miracle. Though many positive developments, the turning of media environment to more polarization (politically and ethnically) become critical. Ethiopian media tend to take ethnicity at the center of their reporting. This intentionally or unknowingly creates the ‘Us’ and ‘them’ mentality which may undermine the coexistence of people. The effect of political polarization on the media was visible especially while covering contested issues like identity and boundary disputes.

This final chapter of the study summarizes the overall research work presented earlier. The chapter also draws back to the discussions of the study and mentions the possible implications of Amhara TV and Tigray TV framing of ‘identity and boundary questions’. Along with this, based on the findings in this study, it presents some recommendations and suggests some insights that have a potential for further research.

5.1 Summary

The study was carried out using mixed approach so as to develop the output. Qualitative and Quantitative Content analysis was employed to gather information. The content analysis was used to analyze information concerning number of coverage, themes of the story, major causes and solutions, sources, frames, and other issues. Attempts were made to relate the findings in the discussion with literature and theoretical framework documented in the review literature chapter of the study in this case, analysis part contained major findings of the study and discussion of the major findings based on framing and political economy of media theories. Conclusions of the study are presented below.

5.2 Conclusions

Based on the analysis and interpretation of the data, the researcher has drawn the following conclusions.

In terms of coverage frequency Amhara TV gave more emphasis to ‘boundary and identity issues’ on October 2018, 40 percent of analyzed news stories was broadcasted on this month. Whereas, Tigray TV coverage of such issues on the month of October was very limited, and December was a peak month.

The focus of Amhara TV was tilted in favor of reporting ‘identity and boundary questions’ of Raya and Wolkait needs speedy response. Its news stories emphasized on the cause (suffering due to identity, inequality, oppression) of ‘clashes’ in Raya and Wolkait localities and solutions including federal government intervention. Amhara TV tended to magnify the causality than discussing solutions in brief. Contrary, Tigray TV gave much stress to solution themes. Even though, the media stories emphasized on how to solve identity and boundary questions, it highlighted identity questions of all Ethiopians was already solved.

In relation to solution themes the establishment of Administrative, Boundary and Identity Issues Commission got huge emphasis especially by Tigray TV. Amhara TV contended the establishment of the Commission was timely and significant. Tigray TV, on the other hand, claimed the Commission undermines the constitution and deprives the power of federal and regional institutions.

In terms of sources used in the stories the dominance of ‘victim peoples’ was clearly demonstrated in the analyzed stories of Amhara TV. Whereas, Tigray TV’s prominent sources of news were residents of different towns and ‘representatives’ of those contested areas peoples. Political party leaders, scholars and other sources were employed by both media. Using government officials as a source were negligible in both media. This indicates the focus of the media were on cause than solutions. Both media approached sources who only favor their political agenda.

Concerning the trend of news balance both media seemed to have preferred covering one side of an issue for long period. Among analyzed stories balanced news of the media accounted for only 11.7 percent. 95 percent of balanced news stories was also event oriented.

In the case of frame distribution, there were differences between the stories on the frequency of the frames used, cultural identity frame was the leading frame utilized by Amhara TV. On the other hand, constitutionality and jurisprudence frame was the dominant frame utilized by Tigrai TV. Attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, diagnostic and prognostic frames was also used in covering 'identity and boundary' issues. Amhara TV used Cultural identity frame to show the cultural, historical and psychological background of Raya and Wolkait peoples. On the other hand, Tigrai TV employed constitutionality and jurisprudence frame to underscore identity issues had been already guaranteed by the constitution.

Both media used attribution and responsibility frame to represent responsible bodies for the occurrence of conflicts in those contested areas. Amhara TV news stories blamed TPLF officials, whereas, Tigrai TV accused some Amhara regional state officials and 'not Tigrian war propagators'.

Media have great power to be a voice for voiceless and addressing public questions. But the broader economic and political realities or political economy of the media and ownership determines to which side the media favors. The result of this study showed the political polarization between the Amhara and Tigrai regions clearly manifested on the news stories of respected regional state media.

5.3 Recommendations

This study were made based on an analysis that involved a particular set of television news stories, from September 2018 - March 2019, about a typical issue, identity and boundary disputes reporting of Amhara TV and Tigrai TV. The study mainly focused on Amharic television news stories of the both media. It had not covered Tigrigna language news of Tigrai TV.

There are also documentaries, special programs, panel discussions, news features, interview with authorities, press briefings, news commentaries, etc. prepared about the 'identity and boundary issues' which the researcher didn't consider bound by the scope of the study. Therefore, in order to fill this gap it would be advisable if further researches focus on the area.

Moreover, the study did not consider the images and video footages portrayals of the media's while covering the contested issue. In television news the visual portrayals that cater for the eyes are as important as what is being discussed in the headlines and sub-headlines or the spoken discourse. Thus, for the findings to be whole in all aspects, the researcher recommends future studies to consider visual framing analysis.

In addition, after content analysis research it is recommended to conduct media effect study that measures the impact of media framing from the angle of the audience reception.

According to the result of the study, conflict reporting trend of both media needs great scrutiny. The media authorities should examine factors affecting journalists in reporting contested issue. Words, quotations and news sources choices of the journalists and the issue of news balance must be surveyed. The researcher also recommends media executives to give trainings on peace journalism for journalists and media officials of the regional media.

Last but not least, since both Amhara TV and Tigray TV are owned by regional states it is accredited that serving the interest of the respected regional states politicians and elites. Thus, a political consensus between two regional states is needed to alleviate the problems that have been raised and secure the peoples living in the contested areas.

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Appendix A

Coding Guide

Name of coder---The coder should write her/his name

Media ----- the coder should write name of the media

Data of publication---write the date the story was publishes-month, day and year

Headline- writes the headline (and sub-headline if the story has)

Theme

Theme refers to the central focus of the story.

- Cause- when the central focus of the story is depends on the causes of the problem.
- Solution- when the central focus of the story is recommending solution for the problem.
- Cause and solution- when the central focus of the story is depend on the causes and solutions of the problem.
- Legislation (commission) establishment-when the central focus of the story is focusing on the establishment of the Administrative, Boundary and Identity Issues Commission.

Sources

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

Type of frames

- **Cultural identity frames** when the story suggest about social norms, trends, values and customs constituting culture(s)
- **Conflict frame**- when the story provides two or more opposing views or statements.

- **Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames** - when the story suggest constraints imposed on or freedoms granted to individuals, government, and corporations via the Constitution.
- **Human interest frame**- when the story provides one or more individuals or a group as an example or indicator of the problem.
- **Attribution of responsibility frame**- when the story suggests individuals or an organization should take actions on the issue.
- **Diagnostic frame** – when the story lists ranges of causes of ‘identity and boundary questions’ and attribute blame and causality.
- **Prognostic fame**- when the story provides solutions for problems articulated through diagnostic frames.
- **Political frame** - when the story has a reference to any political considerations surrounding an issue.
- **Security and defense frame** - when the story mentions general actions or a call to action that can be taken to protect the welfare of a person, group and/or, nation.
- **Law and order, crime and justice frames** – when the story provides a reference to specific policies in practice and their enforcement, incentives, and implications.
- **Fairness and equality frame** – when the story offers reference to equality or inequality, to fairness or bias.
- **Public opinion frame** - when the story provides there a reference to general social attitudes, polling and demographic Information.

Appendix B

Coding sheet

Name of coder _____

Name of the media _____

Date of broadcast _____

Headline of the news _____

1. Theme of the news

Cause _____

Solution _____

Cause and solution _____

Legislation _____

Other _____

2. Major Causes of 'Identity and Boundary questions'

Identity based attacks/repression _____

Cultural and historical background _____

Unequal treatment of people _____

Illegal demarcation _____

Politicians and elites interest to arose conflict _____

External forces propaganda _____

Hidden agenda to weaken Tigrai _____

Other causes _____

3. Major solutions of 'identity and boundary questions' (inter-coder reliability 93)

Constitutional _____

Administrative, boundary and identity issues commission _____

House of Federation not the new commission _____

Federal and regional government intervention _____

Dialogue between regional states and with the public _____

Referendum _____

Other solutions _____

4 Sources

Government officials _____

Victims _____

Local residents (respondents) _____

Scholars _____

Political party leaders _____

Others _____

Frames

Please check if any of the following frames are used in the news and editorial articles

5. Which frame is dominant in the story?

1. Attribution of responsibility frame
2. Diagnostic Frame
3. Prognostic Frame
4. Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames
5. Cultural identity frames
6. Conflict frame
7. Human interest frame
8. Law and order, crime and justice frames
9. Morality frame
10. Political frame
11. Public opinion frame
12. Fairness and equality frame
13. Security and defense frame

1. Which is secondary dominant frame in the story?

1. Attribution of responsibility frame
2. Diagnostic Frame
3. Prognostic Frame
4. Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames

5. Cultural identity frames
6. Conflict frame
7. Human interest frame
8. Law and order, crime and justice frames
9. Morality frame
10. Political frame
11. Public opinion frame
12. Fairness and equality frame
13. Security and defense frame

Appendix C

News links

Amhara TV

1. https://youtu.be/Yjr0oHdvi_A?list=UUx8pCDzeiIQaKuVsj46G3Dg
2. <https://youtu.be/AOBz6G87Jvc?list=UUx8pCDzeiIQaKuVsj46G3Dg>
3. <https://youtu.be/p4XraSIB904?list=UUx8pCDzeiIQaKuVsj46G3Dg>
4. <https://youtu.be/XvWLR-CwBXE>
5. <https://youtu.be/yhU3qNLaEG8?list=UUx8pCDzeiIQaKuVsj46G3Dg>
6. <https://youtu.be/oR8laD1YIXI>
7. <https://youtu.be/d0PyssRgr9w>
8. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BHbmNI3aJV8>
9. <https://youtu.be/LPDclepaNZ4>
10. https://youtu.be/aX_Had-9DCK
11. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=isTgCAuXvLk&t=490s>
12. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=crZJzjFZOvQ>
13. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y9fQY2omZOg>
14. https://youtu.be/A2kc_MFcmNI?list=UUx8pCDzeiIQaKuVsj46G3Dg
15. <https://youtu.be/PEzhi8jJuU0?list=UUx8pCDzeiIQaKuVsj46G3Dg>
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21. <https://youtu.be/VSl-PGq-iCY?list=UUx8pCDzeiIQaKuVsj46G3Dg>
22. <https://youtu.be/fe077P7Lho>
23. <https://youtu.be/eAf5EOuMoOM>
24. https://youtu.be/aX_Had-9DCK
25. <https://youtu.be/iBkZ4e9-Cwg>

26. <https://youtu.be/tT3Fv5xnW8w?list=UUx8pCDzeiIQaKuVsj46G3Dg>
27. <https://youtu.be/cm0dIRCvFKE>
28. <https://youtu.be/5Hqxdz6oTOY>
29. <https://youtu.be/2xOwRAn0gJo>
30. <https://youtu.be/EdLzYXijBk>

Tigrai TV

1. <https://youtu.be/rTJuUs2Zy7M>
2. <https://youtu.be/fduWReATQe0>
3. https://youtu.be/i6LlkZ5_AYE
4. https://youtu.be/x7_VHnH0TR4
5. <https://youtu.be/HdhDZh2jJok>
6. <https://youtu.be/rTJuUs2Zy7M>
7. <https://youtu.be/27uAfqxdVMU>
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24. https://youtu.be/r5_0UWmW3_A?list=UUW0FmkMO7KkYdIiNKXpY9Ng
25. <https://youtu.be/V4FXqkHTFAg?list=UUW0FmkMO7KkYdIiNKXpY9Ng>
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30. <https://youtu.be/Qdznja3ptvU?list=UUW0FmkMO7KkYdIiNKXpY9Ng>

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Fasikaw Tadesse _____

School of Journalism and Communication

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