



Addis Ababa University

Graduate Studies

School of Journalism and Communication

**A Comparative Framing Analysis of Ethio-Eritrean Reconciliation Process
Coverage on Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*)**

By: Yibrah Embaye

**A Thesis Submitted To The School Of Journalism And Communication In
Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirement For Masters of Arts In Journalism
And Communication.**

June, 2019

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Addis Ababa University

School Of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Yibrah Embaye entitled: “A comparative framing analysis of Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process coverage in Ethiopian Television and Eritrean Television”, is 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.

Signed by the examining committee

Examiner_____sig._____Date_____

Examiner_____sig._____Date_____

Adviser_____sig._____Date_____

Chair of department or Graduate Coordinator

Abstract

This study aimed at a content analysis of how ETV and ERI-TV framed Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process on their online news coverage from June 5, 2018, to September 30, 2018. A total of 113 news were analyzed from both media, in order to determine the coverage and framing used. The website's original languages were used Amharic (ETV) and Tigrigna (ERI-TV). For ETV news ETV 57 Amharic evening news and for ERI-TV news Tigrigna evening news were taken for the study considering they are prime-time news. The research employed both quantitative and qualitative methods as a principal method to analyze the contents of the news. Based on the research questions and the theoretical framework of framing and agenda setting theories the study found that ETV devoted relatively more coverage for the reconciliation process compared to ERI-TV, which share 57.5 percent and 43.5 percent, respectively. This implies that ETV paid significant coverage for the reconciliation compared to ERI-TV. The length of duration given to the reconciliation was also better in ETV than ERI-TV. The findings also revealed that appearance of news stories in ERI-TV were presented in the first position, while ETV presented in the above fifth position. The findings also show that ETV presented the news in a more positive tone than ERI-TV; in contrast, ERI-TV presented the news with more neutral tones. Besides, both media have largely relied on official government sources. Additionally, ERI-TV used peace frame followed by the reassuring frame as the dominate frame, 48 percent and 27 percent respectively, but ETV used 34 percent as peace frame and 23 percent as human interest frame in the reconciliation process. Attribution of responsibility frame was the least frame used in the targeted media outlets.

Acknowledgements

First and for most, I would like to thank the Almighty God for his grace that helped me to endure and succeed in this challenging journey. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude and respect to my advisor, Mekuria Mekasha (Assistant Professor), for encouraging me to do my best and for the advice he gave me throughout the process of the study. My gratitude also goes to my classmates who contributed significantly to the betterment of this work; especially to Daniel Zemical he gave me incessant support throughout the process of the study. My appreciation and love also to my family and friends who were a big support: my God bless you all! Last but not least, my sincere gratitude goes to Ethiopian news agency for granting me the opportunity to study with full financial support.

| Table of Contents | Pages |
|--|-------|
| Abstract | i |
| Acknowledgements..... | ii |
| List of Figures and Table | vi |
| List of Acronyms | vi |
| Chapter One | 1 |
| 1. Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1.1. Background of the study | 1 |
| 1.2. Historical background of the media outlets..... | 4 |
| 1.3. Statement of the problem..... | 5 |
| 1.4. Objectives of the study..... | 7 |
| 1.4.1. General objective..... | 7 |
| 1.4.2. Specific objectives:..... | 7 |
| 1.5. Research questions: | 8 |
| 1.6. Scope of the study | 8 |
| 1.7. Significance of the study | 8 |
| 1.8. Limitation of the study | 8 |
| 1.9. Organization of the study | 9 |
| Chapter Two | 10 |
| 2. Review of Related Literature | 10 |
| 2.1. An overall history of Ethiopia and Eritrea | 10 |
| 2.1.1. Italian occupation | 11 |
| 2.1.2. The British occupation..... | 12 |
| 2.1.3. Eritrean federation and begging of armed struggle | 13 |
| 2.1.4. The relationship between EPLF and TPLF | 14 |
| 2.1.5. The cause of war between Eritrea and Ethiopia | 15 |
| 2.1.6. Ethio-Eritrea war from 1998-2000 | 17 |
| 2.2. The reconciliation process of the two countries..... | 20 |
| 2.3. Media role in reconciliation process | 20 |
| 2.4. War journalism..... | 21 |
| 2.5. Peace journalism | 22 |
| 2.6. Current status of Media in Ethiopia and Eritrea..... | 25 |
| 2.7. Theoretical Framework | 26 |

| | |
|---|----|
| 2.7.1 Framing theory | 26 |
| 2.7.1.1. Types of news frames | 28 |
| 2.7.1.2. Identifying frames in the news..... | 30 |
| 2.7.1.3. Criticism for framing theory | 31 |
| 2.7.2. Agenda Setting Theory | 31 |
| Chapter Three | 33 |
| 3. Research Methodology..... | 33 |
| 3.1. Research design..... | 33 |
| 3.2. Research method | 33 |
| 3.2.1. Quantitative content analysis..... | 34 |
| 3.2.2. Qualitative content analysis..... | 35 |
| 3.3. Data collection tools..... | 36 |
| 3.4. Sampling techniques | 37 |
| 3.5. Time frame | 37 |
| 3.6. Selection of News..... | 38 |
| 3.7. Unit of analysis..... | 38 |
| 3.8. Categories of Items in the Coding Sheet..... | 39 |
| 3.8.1. Coding Process | 40 |
| 3.8.2. Reliability and Validity | 40 |
| 3.9. Data analysis procedure | 41 |
| Chapter Four | 42 |
| 4. Data presentation, analysis and discussion | 42 |
| 4.1. Quantitative Data Analysis..... | 42 |
| 4.1.1. Coverage of the reconciliation process..... | 42 |
| 4.1.2. Appearance of the news..... | 43 |
| 4.1.3. Duration of the news..... | 45 |
| 4.1.4. Tone of the news..... | 47 |
| 4.1.5. News Sources used in the selected media stations | 47 |
| 4.1.6. Dominant frames in the news | 49 |
| 4.2. Qualitative data analysis..... | 51 |
| 4.2.1. Peace frame..... | 51 |
| 4.2.2. Reassuring frame | 52 |
| 4.2.3. Economic frame..... | 53 |

| | |
|--|----|
| 4.2.4. Human interest frame | 54 |
| 4.2.5 Attribution of responsibility frame | 55 |
| 4.3. Discussion of the findings | 56 |
| 4.3.1. Coverage of the reconciliation process..... | 57 |
| 4.3.2. Appearance of the news..... | 57 |
| 4.3.3. Duration of the news..... | 58 |
| 4.3.4. Tone of the news..... | 58 |
| 4.3.5. Information sources used in the news..... | 59 |
| 4.3.6. Frames used in the selected Media outlets | 60 |
| 4.3.6.1. Peace frame | 60 |
| 4.3.6.2. Reassuring frame | 61 |
| 4.3.6.3. Economic frame | 61 |
| 4.3.6.4. Human interest frame..... | 62 |
| 4.3.6.5. Attribution of responsibility frame | 62 |
| Chapter Five..... | 63 |
| 5. Conclusion and Recommendations | 63 |
| 5.1. Conclusion | 63 |
| 5.2. Recommendation | 65 |
| References..... | |
| Appendixes | |

List of Figures

| | |
|---|----|
| Figure 1: Percentage of coverage of the reconciliation | 43 |
| Figure 2: Percentage of appearance of news | 44 |
| Figure 3: Percentage of duration of news | 45 |
| Figure 4: Percentage of duration of news in each media | 46 |
| Figure 5: Percentage of tone used in the news | 47 |
| Figure 6: Percentage of information sources in the news | 48 |
| Figure 7: Percentage of frames used in both media | 49 |

List of Table

| | |
|--|----|
| Table 1: Dominant frames in the news in each of the media stations | 50 |
|--|----|

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

| | |
|--------|--|
| AAU | Addis Ababa University |
| AU | African Union |
| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| BMA | British Military Administration |
| EEBC | Ethiopia and Eritrea border commission |
| EPLF | Eritrean people's liberation front |
| EPRDF | Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front |
| ERI-TV | Eritrean television |
| ETV | Ethiopian television |
| OAU | Organization of African Unity |
| PFDJ | the Peoples Front For Democracy and Justice |
| TPLF | Tigray People's Liberation Front |
| TZS | Temporary Security Zone |
| UN | United Nation |
| UNMEE | United Nations Peacekeeping Mission Eritrea and Ethiopia |

Chapter One

1. Introduction

The introduction part under chapter one contains the background, a statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, the scope of the study, significance, limitations and organization of the study. Research background provides readers with brief overview of what the study is about. The problem statement describes the knowledge gap, research question deals with the specific issues that the research must addresses and the significance, scope and limitations of the research are also discussed in this chapter.

1.1. Background of the study

Ethiopia and Eritrea have longstanding historical relations. Peoples of the two countries are not only bounded by common mythology, legend and history but also by blood and ancestral roots. Certain commonalities and complementarities in terms of culture, way of life, language, and religion persisted so far (Lobban, 1976).

There are primordial ties between various ethnic groups living in both countries. For instance, four of the nine languages spoken in Eritrea are widely spoken in Ethiopia. This is particularly clear when it comes to the Tigrigna-speaking community straddling the border between the two countries. The Tigrayans and Eritreans of the southern highlands (Kebesa) spoke the same language, Tigrigna. They use the same script and belonged to the same political realm and the Orthodox Church with its Geez liturgy. Moreover, these two people shared the same agrarian culture and social hierarchy. Common people on both sides of the Mereb River admit the existence of these close cultural, ethnic and linguistic ties (Leenco, 2003).

Abbay as cited in Wuhibegezer (2014) affirmed that prior to the 1880s; the Eritrean plateau was part of the Ethiopian empire state. It shares a common language, religion, culture, and history with the Tigray proper south of the Mereb River. But some Eritrean scholars like Iyob (2000) totally disagree with any assertion that Eritrea was ever part of Ethiopia. Although they agree most parts of Eritrea were part and parcel of the Axumite kingdom.

Despite the argument of some Eritrean scholars, as different scholars said Ethiopia and Eritrea have a common language, religion, culture, and history. Eritrea was historically a territory of

Ethiopia except during the Italian colonization of Eritrea from 1889-1941 and British Military Administration of 1941-1952. After 1952 Eritrea federated with Ethiopia based on the Decision of the United Nations (Medihane, 1999).

The abrogation of the 1952 federation moved Eritreans to start the guerrilla movements in the direction of separation. And the struggle also intensified following the establishment of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) in the early 1970s. Instead of allowing political concession with the Eritrean nationalists, the Military Regime (Derg) also opted to forcefully conquer and incorporate Eritrea under its rule thereby escalating the struggle with great vigor. Through the joint efforts of EPLF and Tigrean People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the Military Regime had been overthrown in 1991 and the people of Eritrea proclaimed their independence in 1991 and holding their referendum in 1993 (Kidanu & Endalcachew, 2015).

According to Temesgen (2012) the 1991 down fall of the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia venture between two rebel forces, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) from the Ethiopian side and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) from the Eritrean side. Immediately following the victory, the EPRDF joined with other parties to form the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, while the EPLF took control of Eritrea and established a provisional government. The provisional government independently administered Eritrea until Eritreans voted for independence under UN-monitored referendum in 1993.

After Eritrea had become officially independent in 1993, Ethiopia and Eritrea enjoyed a short period of warm peace and cooperated along with many sectors including defense. Eritrea used the Ethiopian currency and Ethiopia gained free access to the Assab and Massawa ports. The relations between the two countries were regarded as exemplary to other countries in the region (Kalewongel, 2008).

The two countries signed a total of twenty-five protocols by September 1993, which included among other things, a joint defense pact and trade agreements but were not implemented (Edwin, 2010). According to Connell and Smyth (1998) as cited in Franklin (2003) stated that the two countries had close cultural and political ties and their velvet divorce in 1991–1993 led to the creation of the first new state in Africa's postcolonial history.

As Kalewongel (2008) noted that before the outbreak of war, both Ethiopia's and Eritrea's leaders were respected moderates who shared deep political and personal ties and were praised

by Bill Clinton as "new style African leaders, committed to democratization and rapid, investment-led development in an Africa free of ethnic and tribal violence (Kalewongel, 2008). "However; this warm peace lasted only 4 years. In 1997 relations between the two countries dramatically deteriorated. In May 1998, the two-year border war flared up around the Badme area, with small-scale clashes between the Ethiopian militia and the patrols of the Eritrean army (Kalewongel, 2008).

When Eritrea introduced its currency, the Nakfa in 1997, anger and frustration erupted in Ethiopia. It became clear that political union was out of the question, and the cooperation friendship and cooperation agreement signed in 1993 was broken off. In this way, the introduction of the Eritrean currency triggered the conflict that eventually led to the war of 1998–2000. The armed clashes at Badme in May 1998 ignited the war, but the war had really little to do with territory or a border dispute (Leenco, 2003).

The idea of Leenco was supported by Kalewongel thesis done in 2008 "*Ethiopia and Eritrea: the quest for peace and normalizations;*" he said that the main source of dispute that led Ethiopia and Eritrea to the devastating war of 1998-2000 was not their disagreement on the exact location of their common border. The border issue was a mere disagreement that could have been resolved peacefully through technical demarcation.

Eritrea depended on Ethiopia for resources as a relatively resource-poor country; Ethiopia too depended on the use of Eritrean ports for its import and export as a landlocked country. Recognizing, the mutual benefit the two countries made possible the free movement of goods and services for domestic consumption though this was not applicable to goods and services in short supply. This was realized as a result of the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed between the governments of the two countries in July 1993. The agreement, however, did not allow re-exportation to a third party. Ethiopia imposed indirect taxes on its exportable goods to prevent Eritrea from re-exporting the products such as coffee. Ethiopia's restriction of Franco voluta imports made Eritreans nervous and hostile as the system was imposed against illegal trade (Medihane, 1999).

As different scholars argued, even though Badme were the initial place to open the war but there were some other deep-rooted fundamental political and economic causes for the ignite of the two countries wars. After the outbreak of the war, diplomatic initiatives were taken to mediate

between the two states. The first mediation effort was by a US–Rwanda diplomatic team (Leenco, 2003).

In 2002 the United Nations-backed commission said the territory rightfully belonged to Eritrea and ordered Ethiopian troops to withdraw, but Ethiopia has never done so. Since falling out over the border issue, the political and economic fortunes of the two countries have diverged dramatically (Kalewongel, 2008).

When these incidents happened, Eritrean media remains salient, but Ethiopia media reports about the incidents. According to Iavasile (2012) the difference in governmental behavior between Eritrea and Ethiopia was that Eritrea didn't talk or promote the war until Ethiopia bombed Asmara, while Ethiopia carried out war propaganda through television and radio. The Eritrean Government has been much more closed on these matters of war, while the Ethiopian government has been open and clear with its public on the reasons behind the conflict.

But after two decades of no war no peace situation when the new Ethiopian Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed taking office in April 2018, he sworn to make peace with Eritrea in his first speech as a Prime Minister. Subsequently the governing party of Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front announced in June 5, 2018, it would accept a 2000 peace agreement with Eritrea over their disputed border.

According to world-report, 2019 following the acceptance of Ethiopian Government to fully implement the 2000 peace agreement, the Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki signed a five-point declaration to usher in “a new era of peace and friendship,” formally ending a border war that began 20 years earlier. Because of these, the reconciliation of the two countries gained a lot of media attention. Thus, this research examines the way how Ethiopian television and Eritrean television covered and framed the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process.

1.2. Historical background of the media outlets

Ethiopia Television (*ETV*) was established in 1964, during the time of Emperor Haile Selassie, with the technical help of the British firm, Thomson. *ETV* was initially established to highlight the Organization of African Unity (OAU) founding heads of state meeting in Addis Ababa in

that year. Color television was introduced in 1982 by the military regime in order to commemorate the founding of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) (Birhanu, 2009).

Over the past years, *ETV* is believed to have contributed a lot as government and public service in covering various national and international issues. Though it began its service in two languages (English and Amharic), currently *ETV* broadcasts in many local and foreign languages namely, Amharic, Tigrinya, Afan Oromo, Somali, Afar, English, French and Arabic languages. Most of its services are also being aired through Arab sat to its audiences outside the country. Since March 2018, EBC has been trying to change its format and classified its channels into three.

ETV Zena- which is the main news channel with 24 hours coverage, and it has “*ETV 57*”, “*ETV Arat Mazen*” and “*Tena Ystelgn*” was included in these channels.

ETV Language – a channel which focuses on news and entertainment in the different language of Ethiopia along with three international languages.

ETV Meznagna- a channel which focuses on entertainment, such as drama, sport, and programs focusing on reality shows and life style (EBC, 2019).

Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) is the one and only one state-owned television station which was established in the year 1993 under the aegis of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of Eritrea (Indira, 2012). *ERI-TV* was established after Eritrea got referendum from Ethiopia and it broadcasts 24 hours a day. The channel provides informative, educative and entertaining content through their local and foreign news programs. In addition to the main channel, there is also an *ERI-TV 2* channel; there is an educational channel that broadcasts educational content and sport to the audience. *ERI-TV* broadcasts its news and programs through Tigrigna, Tiger, English and Arabic languages. Prime news programs were caters through Tigrigna language. Eritrea is the only African country to have no privately-owned news media. There is no room for freely reported news and the media are subject to the whim of the president (BBC, 2017).

1.3. Statement of the problem

The Ethio-Eritrea war under the pretext of border dispute started in 1998 and ended in 2000. The war was devastating and concluded when the two belligerents signed the Algiers peace agreement. This agreement established the Ethiopian-Eritrean Boundary Commission (EEBC) to

delimit and demarcate the border; nevertheless, the boundary issue between Ethiopia and Eritrea is still contested and un-demarcated forming the basis for prolonging hostility between the two states (Fireweini, 2016).

According to Solomon (2004) because of the border issue, the media in both countries have not stopped beating the drums of war, and continue with their war time propaganda. The “Voice of the Broad Masses”, Eritrea’s official radio, still attacks the government in Addis Ababa as if the war was still going on. It is also not uncommon to hear the Eritrean government referred to by the Ethiopia media as Shabia, a derogatory term that harks back to the times of the war of independence. The word “enemy” has not been dropped from their language. The two governments are also engaged in a (more officials) war of words, the one accusing the other of disturbing the peace process (Solomon, 2004). As Solomon noted media institution role in solving the Ethio-Eritrean war was very low especially Eritrean and Ethiopian media focused on the strength of their respected military.

Regarding with *“the Ethiopian government management of the media during 1998-2000,”* one research was done by Blen in 2006. According to her, When Ethiopia was at war with Eritrea, almost all the newspapers that assume different outlook on the government joined hands with the government during the war. The media served the interest of the government as they both had a shared interest in maintaining the country’s national interest. The fact that the media believed in the justness of the war was the crucial element that had an effect on media management during the War (Blen, 2006).

As mentioned from the above research and as stated in the above, the issue of Ethio-Eritrean war was getting attention by local and international media. But they reported and studied focused on the war not on the peace. Even though there are different studies focused on the war, but as far as the researchers knowledge concerned, the issues of Ethio-Eritrea peace process was not studied and getting attention by media scholars. The prior studies were focused on political issues, due to this case there is a shortage of academic literatures related to the Ethio-Eritrea reconciliation.

After two decades of Ethio-Eritrean, no war no peace situation, when the new Ethiopian Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed taking office in April 2018 everything was changed, The governing party of Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) announced on June 5, 2018, it would accept 2000 peace agreement with Eritrea over their disputed border. Then

Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki signed a peace deal in July 2018 restoring diplomatic and trade relations between the nations (BBC, 2018). This restoration of diplomatic relationships and the new reconciliation process in 2018, between the countries drove the attention of global media again. Both *ETV* and *ERI-TV* are reporting about the Ethio-Eritrea reconciliation process to date.

The nature of journalism for itself doesn't allow media everything in the ground. Rather journalists select and prioritize one aspect of an issue from the other through framing. This clearly shows how media institutions select a biased reporting angle on a certain event. Therefore, study the coverage and framing differences among media will reveal the general intention the media stand for.

Since the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process is a recent phenomenon there is no empirical study which addresses how the media have covered and framed the issue. Accordingly, this study analysis the two countries reconciliation process and analyses the perspective of the two media their difference in reporting and framing the event.

1.4. Objectives of the study

1.4.1. General objective

The general objective of this research is to analysis the Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) coverage and framing of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process.

1.4.2. Specific objectives:

This study has the following specific objectives:

1. To pinpoint the Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) coverage of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process.
2. To explore how the Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) frame the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process.
3. To compare and contrast Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) coverage of the reconciliation process.

1.5. Research questions:

This study explores the following questions:

1. How much coverage did the reconciliation process offered by Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*)?
2. How did the Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) frame the reconciliation process of the two countries?
3. What difference or similarity was there between the Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) in covering the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process?

1.6. Scope of the study

This study deals with the framing of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. It targets on examining two television stations, Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*). The coverage and framing of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process on the selected media would be analyzed within the time frame of June 5, 2018, from which the reconciliation process began. The end date for the story selection was September 30th, 2018, with a view that the major reconciliation events were carried on in between these mentioned dates.

1.7. Significance of the study

This study is essential to show the standpoint of Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) in covering the Ethio-Eritrea reconciliation process. It attempts to identify what has been said by the selected media outlets and the implication of their reporting. It also helps the media under study to assess their coverage of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation and learn their strength as well as shortcomings. Since this research is the first of its kind that would be conducted in the Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) of Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation reporting, it will serve as a springboard for future investigations and for filling knowledge gaps.

1.8. Limitation of the study

The study focused only on analyzing the online news story regarding the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. The visual contents, video, picture of the news, features and other

conventional reports are not part of the study. And in-depth interview which would have made the analysis richer was not included. The reason for this is that even if Eritrea has officially reopened its Embassy in Ethiopia on July 16, 2018, but the Embassy did not start its diplomatic function. The researcher tried to contact Eritrean journalists via email and through the Embassy workers unfortunately it was not succeed. Despite such shortcomings, this study brings to light several important points in connection with the coverage and framing of Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process.

1.9. Organization of the study

This research study organized as follows: chapter one presents the introduction part, statement of the problem, the general and specific objective of the study, research question, and significance of the study, scope of the study, limitation and organization of the study. The second chapter review of related literature and the theoretical framework were discussed in this chapter. Chapter three deals with the research design, research method, quantitative and qualitative content analysis, data collection tools, sampling technique, time frame, selection of news, unit of analysis, coding categories, coding reliability and data analysis procedure. Chapter four focuses on analysis and presentation of data and discussion of the findings. The fifth chapter deals with the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

Chapter Two

2. Review of Related Literature

This part, chapter two, provides a review of literature on various sub-topics related to an overall history of Ethiopian and Eritrean, Ethiopian and Eritrean Federation and begging of armed struggle, the relationship of EPLF and TPLF. The cause of war between Eritrea and Ethiopia, Ethiopia- Eritrea war from 1998-2000, the reconciliation processes of the two countries, Media role in reconciliation process, peace journalism and war journalism. Besides these the theoretical framework for this topic the framing theory and agenda setting theory would be included in this chapter.

2.1. An overall history of Ethiopia and Eritrea

Ethiopia is one of the oldest polities in the world. Ethiopia's history as an independent and organized polity, with its famous Axumite civilization dates back to the first century. At the height of its power, Axum, controlled large parts today's High land Eritrea and the Arabian coastline across the Red Sea as Bahru (2001) cited in (Kalewong, 2008).

The early kingdom of Aksum, in Tigre in the highlands of northern Ethiopia, is a part of both Eritreans as Ethiopian history. Even though, Ethiopia and Eritrea have longstanding historical relations and they are kith and kin, but outside force make them different using different psychological way. The region had been influenced by outside players to divide Edwin (2010).

“The central and persistent element in Italian fascist propaganda was that Tigrigna speaking Eritreans are different from the Tigray. Moreover, the Italians launched a force backed-up propaganda which claimed that Eritreans are superior to the people south of Mereb in intelligence, creativity, moral virtues and will power” (Medihane, 1999).

"Up to the colonial period, there was nothing wrong in relations among the Tigrigna speaking peoples; and the so called- separate Eritrean national consciousness has a shorter history than is otherwise claimed. Colonial rule and subjugation on its part had left behind a negative socio-psychological context in Eritrea which led to mutation in the behavior of the Eritrean urban population towards Ethiopians in general and the Tigray in particular ” (Medihane, 1999).

“The self-image and the psychological disorientation of the Eritrean urban population slowly developed into a political culture and continued to disturb relations between the Eritrean and Ethiopian political elite” (Medihane, 1999).

2.1.1. Italian occupation

According to Marialibera (2012) the end of the 19th century saw a number of European countries claiming territory in Africa. Among the regions of Africa that interested these European powers, was the region of Eritrea. Much of the Eritrean regions appeal lay in its location, with a Red Sea coastline to the east and its shared borders with other countries.

Eritrea is composed of nine ethnic groups, Tigrinya, Tigre, Bilen, Hedareb, Nara, Rashaidat, Saho, Kunama, and Afar. The central highlands of the today’s Eritrea were part and parcel of the Axumite civilization of Ethiopia. The main inhabitants of these highlands were the Tigrinya speakers who trace their culture, religion and language to the kingdom of Axum. The western part of Eritrea is inhabited by the Kunama tribe which also straddles the Ethiopian border. The eastern and the coastal parts are inhabited by the Afars who have lived independently and, at times, resisted attempts at subjugation by Christian Ethiopian highlanders. In 1890, Italy combined all these separate tribal groups to establish the state of Eritrea as their first colony in Africa, and named it after the Latin name for the Red Sea - Erythraeum Mare (Edwin, 2010).

“When the Italian declared the establishment of the colony of Eritrea in 1890, one thing becomes very clear, i.e. the emergence of a new political entity in the former Mereb-Melsh region. Willingly or unwillingly, a significant section of Tigrigna-speaking population was made to live in a different setting and continued to be involved in a relative new historical development” (Medhaniye, 1999).

The ports of Eritrea were great use to Italian trade with the rest of Africa. More importantly, Eritrea served as source of soldiers for further Italian colonial ventures in Libya and Ethiopia. Eritrea was also used as a spring board to invade Ethiopia in 1935 (Edwin, 2010).

The Italians introduced a vigorous modernization process to Eritrea mainly starting from the last years of the 1920s and the first years of 1930s. In a bid to prepare the ground work for the invasion of Ethiopia, the Italian fascist party had to transform Eritrea into country of modern infrastructure and facilities. Many Eritreans began to secure job opportunities in the war

economy. Thus, although Italy tried to use it as an entire pot for economy penetration of Ethiopia, it was only in the 1930s that Eritrea witnessed fast modernization. Mainly the Tigrigna-speaking highland Eritrea was rapidly integrated into the Italian market economy (Medihane, 1999).

2.1.2. The British occupation

In 1941, the Italians were defeated by joint British imperial, French, and Ethiopian forces and Eritrea fell under the British Military Administration (BMA). The British occupied Eritrea and controlled it for the next eleven years for two main reasons - as a springboard for military operations against the axis powers and to create a strong British sphere of influence in Northeast Africa. To achieve their war objectives, the British preferred to maintain the status quo [Italian system of administration] in order to reduce expenses and save on manpower (Edwin, 2010).

With the end of Italian colonialism, the British allowed the establishment of political parties and, the parties began to shape the nature of the debate. Political parties with programs of union with Ethiopia (the Unionist Party), complete independence (the Muslim League) and establishment of a Tigrayn state comprising the Tigrinya speaking population from both sides (the Liberal Progressive Party), were established and campaigned for political support (Kalewongel, 2008).

As Tekeste (1997) cited in Kalewongel (2008) outside Eritrea, the Four-Power commission (composed of the victories allies), which visited Eritrea in 1947 and 1948, was unable to reach agreement on the status of Eritrea. As a result, the duty to decide the fate of Eritrea was given to the newly established United Nations. The UN who received the responsibility to determine the destiny of Eritrea sent a 5 countries' commission to seek a solution. The commission, which was composed of Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan and South Africa, could not reach a unanimous recommendation. In 1950 the UN General Assembly decided the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian crown but having its own constitution, flag and parliament. The UN decision served as a delicate compromise to the polarized views of independence or unification (Edwin, 2010).

2.1.3. Eritrean federation and beginning of armed struggle

As Iavasile (2012) pointed out in his dissertation about Ethio-Eritrea annexation after World War II the United Nations with the support of America and Britain agreed that Eritrea and Ethiopia to be linked through a loose federal structure under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Emperor at the time Haile Selassie. It was after these events and after the full union of the country in 1962, that Eritrea began its fight for independence and freedom.

Another scholar Bereketeab (2010) was also supported the idea of Iavasile that Eritrea began its fight for independence and freedom because of Eritreans and Ethiopians disagree on the meaning and interpretation of the UN sponsored federal arrangement. While Eritreans perceive it as endorsing the integrity and continuity of the colonially created territory, Ethiopians interpret it as acknowledging their claim on Eritrea. Based on this interpretation, Ethiopia eventually abrogated the federation in November 1962. In response to the Ethiopian actions, Eritrean nationalists launched an armed struggle for independence. The national liberation struggle that began in 1961 was, for Ethiopia, an act of banditry led by few who wanted to sell Eritrea to the Arabs for petrodollars (Bereketeab, 2010).

The abrogation of the 1962 federation moved Eritrea to start the guerrilla movement in the direction of separation. And the struggle also intensified following the establishment of the Eritrean people's liberation front (EPLF) in the early 1970s. Instead of allowing political concession with Eritrean nationalists, the military regime (Derg) also opted to forcefully conquer and incorporate Eritrea under its rule thereby escalating the struggle with great vigor (Kidanu and Endalcachew, 2015).

As Bereketeab (2000) and other scholars asserted that both the monarchy and the military junta (the Dergue) that replaced it depicted the Eritrean liberation fighters as shiftas (bandits), totally devoid of any support from the general Eritrean population. For Eritrean nationalists, on the other hand, the struggle was a popular Uprising in the quest for self-determination. Eritreans claimed that as colonial people, they were entitled to have the right to self-determination, which was wrongly denied them and they interpreted the liberation struggle as an expression of the non-consummated decolonization process (Bereketeab, 2000).

2.1.4. The relationship between EPLF and TPLF

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) was established in the early 1970s, five years later from EPLF the Tigrean People's Liberation Front (TPLF) was established. The EPLF and TPLF relationship, during the liberation struggle, was based absolutely on friendly terms was a gross misrepresentation of reality. Indeed, it was characterized by deep-rooted differences (as was displayed in their dispute in 1976 and 1984) and was guided through pragmatic tactical interests As Tareke (2002) cited in Bereketeab (2010). The secrecy and lack of transparency that characterized the relationship, however, invoked deep suspicion, particularly, on the Eritrean side, where many became apprehensive of the EPLF-TPLF relation, giving rise to various interpretations (Bereketeab, 2010).

According to Aregawi Berhe who is the founder members of the TPLF cited in Bereketeab (2010) When the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) launched armed liberation struggle in 1975 to liberate Tigray from Ethiopia, it received crucial support from the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (Ibid). Nevertheless, already, in 1976, due to the TPLF's manifesto of that year, relations between the two organizations suffered serious setbacks. The manifesto contained two crucial points that the EPLF strongly opposed. The first was the sudden change in the TPLF's objective from struggling for a democratic Ethiopia to the creation of an independent republic of Tigray. The second was its definition of the people of Tigray and the territoriality upon which the prospective greater Tigray republic was to be established: both were elements that proved to be antithesis of the colonially created Eritrean politico territorial entity (Bereketeab, 2010).

According to Medihane (1999:74) Leenco (2003) the disruption between EPLF and TPLF relations, the latter began Cooperation with another rival Eritrean organization, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) which lasted until 1979. After almost three years that the TPLF had severed relations with ELF it repaired its difference with EPLF again. The restoration of relation was facilitated by the TPLF's supposed revision of its position on the Tigrayan struggle.

The TPLF come in to existence in 1975 by supported by and in alliance with the EPLF. When relation between it and EPLF soured a year later, the TPLF shifted its alliance to the rival Eritrean front, the ELF. It was back in alliance with the EPLF in 1979 and in conflict with the ELF. These two allies eventually joined force to drive the ELF out of Eritrea in 1981. TPLF relations with EPLF started souring once again in 1983 culminating in open rupture by 1985.

Cooperation was resumed only in 1988 at a time when defeating the Derg regime started looking more promising than at any previous time. It was to take advantage of the regime's deteriorating situation that the two fronts decide to put their differences aside and to resume joint military activity (Leenco, 2003).

2.1.5. The cause of war between Eritrea and Ethiopia

The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), led by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), led by President Isaias Afwerki, cooperated closely to overthrow the brutal Mengistu Haile Mariam regime in 1991. While the EPRDF joined with other parties to form the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, the EPLF assumed control of Eritrea and established a provisional government. In April 1993, Eritreans voted overwhelmingly for independence in an unmonitored referendum. The EPRDF welcomed Eritrean independence and for the next several years the two states and leaders seemed to be prepared to put past conflicts behind them and cooperate on a broad range of economic and diplomatic issues. However, by 1998 relations between the two countries had deteriorated (Terrence, 2009).

As Gilkes has stated the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), since 1994 the Peoples Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ), and the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF), both of which had their origin in opposition to Ethiopian absolutism and mal-administration under Mengistu Haile Mariam (1974-1991) and to a lesser extent under Emperor Haile Selassie. The respective approaches used by the EPLF and the TPLF to mobilize support within their original areas of operation reflected significant differences in ideological and political theory, despite the fact that both movements originate within the same ethnic group, the Tigrean people of northern Ethiopia (Gilkes, 1999).

TPLF and EPLF had differences on issues of ideology, politics and military strategy when they were fighting Derg which even made them engage in conflict there by making their relation that of hostility and friendship (Tekeste, 2000). Through the joint efforts of EPLF and TPLF, the Military Regime had been overthrown in 1991 and the people of Eritrea after holding their referendum in 1993 become a sovereign state. The two countries had established formal state-to-state relations and different agreements were concluded to regulate their bilateral relations according to (Tekeste & Kjetil, 2000).

In July 1993, when Eritrea and Ethiopia signed a friendship and cooperation agreement included the preservation of the free flow of goods and services, capital and people; Ethiopia's continued free access to Eritrea's sea ports, paying for port services in its currency (the birr); cooperation in monetary policy and continued use of the birr by both countries until Eritrea issued its own currency; harmonization of customs policies; and cooperation and consultation in foreign policy (Bereketeab, 2009).

These provisions were supposed to inform and guide the post-independence relationship. But the programmed of post-liberation cooperation proceeded without careful forethought and was undermined by the two sides' irreconcilable expectations. In essence, Eritrea sought to benefit from the Ethiopian market in order to consolidate its independence while Ethiopia aimed at political union. There was no attempt to resolve the fundamental differences between the EPLF and TPLF, and this was later to prove to be a dangerous mistake (Bereketeab, 2009).

According to Terrence disputes between Addis Ababa and Asmara arose over land-locked Ethiopia's access to Eritrean ports of Massawa and Asab, questions of how the new Eritrean currency related to the existing Ethiopian currency and disagreements over the precise location of their poorly demarcated border, among other things. The classic imperatives of state- and nation-building drove both regimes to set forth unconditional goals and refuse compromise on the vital issues of territoriality, legitimacy and identity. In May 1998, Eritrean armed forces attacked the disputed border town of Badme, a use of military force that quickly escalated into full-scale war (Terrence, 2009).

But Leenco pointed that the reason for the Ethio-Eritrean war was not a border instead it is ideology and their clumsy political agreement. The agreements signed between the two governments in 1993, fostered the illusion on the Ethiopian side that Eritrean independence was somehow 'temporary', vindicating Prime Minister Meles Zenawi's expectations. Meles's view on Eritrean independence became clear in the course of The 1990s.

As Leenco (2003) wrote of his discussion conducted with Prime Minister Meles in 1992, lead him to partly concur that Ethiopian rulers' preference was to see, not an independent Eritrea, but one linked to Ethiopia in a federal arrangement. The Ethiopian Prime Minister offhandedly informed me of his expectations that Eritrea will imminently rejoin Ethiopia, although the form of such a link was not put as explicitly.

The agreement signed between the two countries in 1993 was not allowed re-exportation to a third party. Ethiopia imposed indirect taxes on its exportable goods to prevent Eritrea from re-exporting the products such as coffee. Ethiopia's restriction of Franco valuate imports made Eritreans "nervous and hostile" as the system was imposed against illegal trade. In addition to that even if Eritrea was using Ethiopia's currency Birr Eritrea introduced a new currency Nakfa in November 1997 to destabilize the Ethiopian economy (Medihane, 1999). Thus as different scholars wrote economic, political difference and political dominance on the east African region ignited for the broke of the two brother's war.

2.1.6. Ethio-Eritrea war from 1998-2000

Due to different reasons the situation worsened in May 1998 when Eritrea and Ethiopia accused each other of occupying territories that belonged to them, and the region of greatest dispute was the area of Badme (a village located near the borders and claimed by both countries). Soon these tensions changed into warfare (Iavasile, 2012). On 6 May 1998, Eritrean troops crossed the de facto western border between Eritrea and Ethiopia and occupied to die village of Badme, followed by a larger effort on 12 May to establish them in the surrounding area. Local inhabitants were people who had counted themselves as Ethiopians (Tigrayans), because they had always paid taxes to Ethiopia and had been politically and judicially administered by Ethiopian authorities (Iavasile, 2012).

However, over the past decade, several thousand people from Eritrea in search of farmland or alluvial gold had also settled in the area, and misunderstandings over the border had been occurring here and elsewhere. After the fighting in May, the area was placed under Eritrean rule. Most of the local people fled further south into Tigray. In the subsequent weeks, fighting also erupted in three other border localities more to the east: Altena, Zalambessa, and Buré, south of the port city of Asseb. Eritrean forces made slight advances on all these fronts, but were prevented from moving further. (Abbink, 2003). In the skirmishes several thousand people, troops and civilians, are estimated to have been killed. In all, more than 130,000 people were displaced and lost their possessions. Local buildings, property and churches were allegedly destroyed and looted. After the fighting on the Badme front, the Eritrean air force bombed the Tigrayan towns of Meqele and Adigrat (some 70 people were killed and hundreds wounded), while Ethiopia almost simultaneously bombed Asmara's air force base (one person killed, a few

dozen wounded). Eritrea's air strikes on civilian not military targets (residential areas, schools, hospitals, grain stores, factories) shocked and angered the Ethiopians (Abbink, 2003).

When these incidents happened, Eritrean media remains salient, but Ethiopia media reports about the incidents. According to Iavasile (2012) the difference in governmental behavior between Eritrea and Ethiopia was that Eritrea didn't talk or promote the war until Ethiopia bombed Asmara, while Ethiopia carried out war propaganda through television and radio. The Eritrean Government has been much more closed on these matters of war, while the Ethiopian government has been open and clear with its public on the reasons behind the conflict.

Ethiopia and Eritrea fought one of the catastrophic wars in the recent history of the world. The war was the biggest military engagement of the last decade of the 20th century. The war was fought with high techs but with trench tactics of the First World War, making casualties high (Tekeste & Kjetil, 2000).

The violence generated considerable casualties and huge costs on both sides an estimated 70,000 to 100,000 people were killed, one million were displaced, and a generation of development opportunities was squandered (Terrence, 2009).

Since the escalation of the conflict, the international community was engaged in mediating the Ethio-Eritrean war. Friends of both countries immediately rushed to the capital of both countries to peacefully resolve the conflict. The first fruitful effort of mediation came from the governments of USA and Rwanda. The US- Rwanda delegates produced a four-point plan for the resolution of the border conflict (Tekeste & Kjetil, 2000).

However, in May 2000 Ethiopia launched new attacks toward Eritrea at Eritrean and Ethiopian borders; in turn Eritrea launched attacks towards Ethiopia. Meanwhile, some Algerian mediators tried to find a permanent solution over the conflict and proposed the establishment of a Temporary Security Zone (TZS); establishment of a neutral commission for the delimitation of the Eritrean-Ethiopian borders according the colonial treaties and applying international laws; the establishment of a Eritrean-Ethiopia Boundary Commission (EEBC) and the distribution of peacekeeping forces United Nations Peacekeeping Mission Eritrea and Ethiopia (UNMEE) on the TZS (Iavasile, 2012).

The idea of Iavasile was supported by Terrence, pointed out that after a period of military stalemate and unproductive negotiations, Ethiopia launched a major offensive in May 2000, broke through defenses, and forced Eritrea to pull its troops back to pre-May 1998 positions. Then the two parties signed an internationally brokered agreement in Algiers in December 2000. In the agreement process the Organization of African Unity (now Africa Union), Algeria, the European Union, and the United States were involved. The Algiers Agreement established a ceasefire, created a 25-kilometre temporary security zone (TSZ) to be patrolled by UNMEE and the EEBC to delimit the border, and a claims commission to assess liability for war damages (Terrence, 2009).

After both countries signed the Algiers Peace Agreement in 2001. In 2002 the EEBC in collaboration with the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague decided that Badme (the cause of the conflicts) belonged to Eritrea. Initially both sides agreed with the verdict, but later Ethiopia decided not to accept the conditions reporting that they felt unfairly treated. In 2007 the UN decided to withdraw their troops from Eritrea, citing that Eritrea was behaving illegally over the Badme border disputes with Ethiopia. Also important Eritrean members were expelled by the UNMEE (Iavasile, 2012).

Despite signing a peace treaty, tensions between the two countries have remained high ever since 2000. In March 2012 Ethiopia carried out a new attack on Eritrea, the first attack on Eritrean land since the war ended. According to Ethiopia, their motive behind the attacks was in retaliation to reports of Eritrea allegedly training subversive groups for a new attack in Ethiopia. An accusation Eritrea strongly denies (Iavasile, 2012).

Although the ceasefire has held, the other core provisions of the Algiers Agreement have not been implemented and the overall framework has failed. In April 2002, the EEBC issued its determination and ruled that the town of Badme was on the Eritrean side of the border while other, less symbolically important areas claimed by Eritrea were on the Ethiopian side. The town of Badme was not the underlying cause of the conflict, but both regimes used it as the marker of whether it had 'won' or 'lost' the war, and hence whether the terrible sacrifices each made in the conflict were justified or in vain (Terrence, 2009). Because of the above reasons the relation between the two countries was remained in very much strained and the conflict was very much on-going and very much still alive until the new reconciliation was started in June, 2018.

2.2. The reconciliation process of the two countries

Following Ethiopia's refusal to accept the 'unconditional' implementation of the EEBC's decision, the two countries were locked in a state of 'no war, no peace.' Until very recently, the border dispute has rumbled on, with sporadic outbreaks of armed hostilities. With recent political developments and change of leaders in Ethiopia, the Ethiopian government made an announcement in June 2018 to fully implement the Algiers Agreement and the rulings of the EEBC, which could involve ceding the disputed town of Badme. The Eritrean Minister of Information has said that 'peace will indeed be beneficial to the two peoples but obviously, this must be predicated on respect of international law, which Ethiopia continues to flout to-date'. On 9 July, 2018 Eritrea and Ethiopia determined to close the very costly chapter of 'no war, no peace' and heralded a new era of rapprochement with the Joint Declaration of Peace and Friendship, which brings the state of war to an end. The Joint Declaration also stipulates that the decision on the boundary between the two countries will be implemented (Tadesse, 2018).

2.3. Media role in reconciliation process

Reconciliation moves from formal peace agreements to changing the motivations, goals, beliefs, attitudes, and emotions of the great majority of the society members regarding the conflict, the nature of the relationship between the parties and the parties themselves. Reconciliation is both a process and an outcome. The outcome is friendship and harmony between former enemies (Gilboa, 2009). The media, particularly radio and television, were instrumental in fomenting conflict and violence in places such as Rwanda and Bosnia (Gilboa, 2009).

According to Gilboa it is always easier to foment conflict than resolve it, and the media's role in conflict resolution is more complicated than the roles of those dominating the violence phase. Scholars focus on the role of media in fomenting conflict than in conflict resolving.

According to Galtung cited in Gilboa (2000) war journalism focuses on who advances and who capitulates, keeping score of the cost in human lives and material damage. This type of coverage polarizes people and escalates conflict because it calls for hatred and more violence to avenge or stop them. It sees "them" as the problem and dehumanizes "them. War journalism is driven by propaganda and manipulation and is therefore biased and distorted. In contrast, Galtung wrote, peace journalism explores the reasons behind the violence and provides not only a voice to all

parties, but also empathy and understanding. Peace journalism focuses on all suffering and humanizes all sides. Peace journalism is more truthful and attempts to de-escalate violence by highlighting peace and conflict resolution as much as violence (Gilboa, 2000).

2.4. War journalism

War journalism is violence-orientated, propaganda-orientated, elite-orientated and victory-orientated. This is often linked to a dualistic method, a zero-sum game where the winner takes all (as in sports journalism). A potential consequence is that war journalism contributes to escalating conflicts by reproducing propaganda and promoting war (Galtung, 2002).

Galtung states that the war focus in war journalism will polarize and escalate, calling for hatred and more violence to avenge and stop them. Galtung noticed that a great deal of War Journalism was based on the same assumptions as Sports Journalism. There was a focus on ‘winning as the only thing’ in a zero-sum game of two parties (Lynch, & McGoldrick, 2000).

According to Peace Journalism Option (1997), after an episode of violence, war journalism concentrates on visible effects - those killed or wounded, or visible material damage, not damage to psychology, structure and culture. As Nohrstedt noted the media become a battleground, and journalists are drawn into the conflict, either voluntarily or under orders, or even unawares. Modern wars cannot be fought without public support, and great efforts are made to get the public to accept, and preferably support their own side’s actions in the conflict. Media and journalists have gained an increasingly central position due to developments in media technology such as satellite TV channels broadcasting 24/7 news so rapidly that it is possible to report live from a combat zone (Nohrstedt. 2009).

The visual media’s unique power of influence increases the propaganda pressure on journalists and makes them, from a military point of view, into either a fourth branch of service or a fifth column (Nohrstedt. 2009). Warring parties are making ever greater efforts to influence, steer, and control the reporting distributed via international media, and this is especially true in the case of visual materials such as photographs and videos. War has always been highly newsworthy. Depictions of the course of wars, of victories and defeats, are very dramatic and affect the fates of many people – in some cases almost the entire world. War news attracts a large audience and often deeply engages people both emotionally and intellectually (Nohrstedt. 2009).

Media institutions have war correspondents but not yet peace correspondents. In War Journalism, privileged perspectives are camouflaged as facts, using phrases, which have become classics of journalists: said to be; thought to be; it's being seen as (Lynch, 2000).

According to Entman (1993) argues that, in order to give the audience the full picture, journalists should make visible what the propaganda machinery leaves out: peace alternatives and realistic information about the consequences of war. Entman puts it like this: to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation. Peace journalism aims at focusing on the structural and cultural causes of violence, rather than a simple dichotomy. It explains the violence, frames conflict as involving many parties and pursues many goals. An explicit aim of peace journalism is to promote peace initiatives, from whatever quarter, and to allow the read to distinguish between stated positions and real goals (Galtung, 1992).

According to Bilen (2016) during the war time between the two counties almost all the newspapers that assume different outlook on the government joined hands together with the government during the war. The media served the interest of the government as they both had a shared interest of maintaining the country's national interest. The fact that the media believed in the justness of the war was the crucial element that had effect on the media management during the War. This indicates that the media in the war time they are not truth-orientated, they don't work professionally and they are biased.

2.5. Peace journalism

The very concept "Peace Journalism" belongs to Norwegian professor Johan Galtung, the founder of "Peace and Conflict Studies" and "Peace Research." The theory was championed by former journalists Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick. The idea of Peace Journalism first introduced by Johan Galtung to a group of journalist from a variety of different countries in 1997 at the "Conflict and Peace Journalism Summer School in Taplow Court, UK (Ciftcioglu, 2017).

Johan Galtung, Peace Professor and Director of the Transcend Peace and Development Network, first began using the term 'Peace Journalism' in the 1970s (Lynch, & McGoldrick, 2000).

Peace journalism is people-orientated in the sense that it focuses on the victims (often civilian casualties) and thus gives a voice to the voiceless. It is also truth-orientated in the sense that it reveals untruths on all sides and focuses on propaganda as a means of continuing the war (Ottosen, 2010).

The peace journalism section of the model takes a moral and ethical point of departure, acknowledging the fact that the media themselves play a role in the propaganda war. It presents a conscious choice: to identify other options for the readers/viewers by offering a solution-orientated, people-orientated and truth-orientated approach. This, in turn, implies a focus on possible suggestions for peace that the parties to the conflict might have an interest in hiding (Ottosen, 2010).

Lynch & McGoldrick (2000) defined peace journalism as a broader, fairer and more accurate way of framing stories, drawing on the insights of conflict analysis and transformation. In contrast Peleg's (2007) as quoted in Ottosen (2010) pointed that in peace journalism objectivity is the most important issue. According to him, the objectivity position (to report what you see) is not essential when the main point of a story is often what you don't see: Peace journalism is not merely good journalism; it is different journalism and a departure from the traditional way of covering news stories, particularly conflict and violence, not only in nuances and emphases but in substance. Peace journalism is not to report what is seen but to report what can be seen, not simply to reflect reality but to explore reality and unearth what is not ostensibly reflective; to wisely utilize structural and organizational imperatives and to be subdued by them; to regard and cultivate readers' interest but not be manipulated by them. This is the profound shift in the nature of journalism that the new philosophy offers (Ottosen, 2010).

As every journalist has an ideology, peace journalists have too – their ideologies are, to contribute something for peace, to contribute something for justice. And they also support the peace. Peace journalism advocates the peace. Galtung suggested that peace journalism would be more like health journalism. A good health correspondent would describe a patient's battle against cancerous cells eating away at the body (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2000). Peace journalists' ideologies are to contribute something for peace and justice. They are always in support of peace. Thus, peace journalism is advocating for peace.

According to Lynch & McGoldrick (2000) Peace journalism, promotes the role of journalists as 'part of the solution'. Peace journalism aims to find ways to report on the invisible effects, such as the long-term legacies of conflict like psychological trauma or the likelihood that those affected may be violent in the future. It will try to discover the cause and process of conflict and the effort and initiatives from all sides to encourage peace building. To follow the peace journalism approach, journalists should avoid focusing entirely on what divides the parties involved or certain issues, and on the differences between what they say and want. In order to have a more positive influence on the situation, journalists could ask statements, which may reveal areas of common ground, for example and lead their reports with suggestions of shared or even compatible goals (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2000).

Peace Journalism (PJ) uses conflict analysis and transformation to update the concept of balance, fairness and accuracy in reporting. The Peace Journalism approach provides a new road map tracing the connections between journalists, their sources, the stories they cover and the consequences of their reporting – the ethics of journalistic intervention. It opens up a literacy of non-violence and creativity as applied to the practical job of everyday reporting (Lynch, & McGoldrick, 2000).

As Johan Galtung (1998) cited in The Peace Journalism Option recommended that peace journalists should do the followings when writing stories:

1. Call people and groups by the names they give themselves
2. Ask members of the public "What do you think?" not "How do you feel?"
3. Seek points where legitimate and deviant agendas overlap
4. Seek out points where the deviant action eludes official structures and discourses intended to patrol boundaries
5. Invite activists to consider the process by which real change might realistically result from their actions
6. For the "other" look in the "self"
7. Who is the "self" anyway? Flesh out the sense of identity by constructing it from many perspectives, not limited to politicians or military/strategic experts.

8. Take standards routinely applied to the “other” and turn them on the “self”.
9. Compare logic in the situation at hand and in other similar situations.
10. Illustrate how to take action to address abuses and recognize ethical policies with everyday investment and purchasing decisions.

According to Johan Galtung during peace time media call people and groups by the names they give themselves in order to bring peace between the two enemies. But during the Ethio-Eritrean war and after the war until the reconciliation process started in 2018 the media in both countries have not stopped beating the drums of war, and continue with their wartime propaganda. The “Voice of the Broad Masses”, Eritrea’s official radio, still attacks the government in Addis as if the war was still going on. It is also not uncommon to hear the Eritrean government referred to by the Ethiopia media as Shabia, a derogatory term that harks back to the times of the war of independence (Solomon, 2004).

2.6. Current status of Media in Ethiopia and Eritrea

Eritrea is the only African country to have no privately-owned news media. There is no room for freely reported news and the media are subject to the whim of the president (BBC, 2017).

As BBC reported in 2017 Eritrea has two government-owned (*Hadas Eritrea* and *Eritrea Profile*) and two pro-government press (*Tirigta*, *Geled*). *Hadas Eritrea* is published three days a week whereas *Eritrea Profile* is weekly written in English. *Tirigta* youth weekly owned by the ruling party and *Geled* is a weekly youth paper. In Eritrea, there is only one state-run television *ERI-TV*, and two state-run radios and one news agency (BBC, 2017).

In a country where free political debate, freedom of expression, freedom of movement, right to academics, and freedom of religion are denied and suppressed none of these deaths have ever been reported in the media as the entire media of mass communication, including the newspapers, radio, and TV have become extended government organs and have been serving as tools of propaganda (Indira, 2016).

According to the BBC news report (2018) in Ethiopia media looked set for profound change under reforms championed by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, who took office in early 2018. Imprisoned journalists were freed and exiled pro-opposition media and journalists return home. The government unblocked hundreds of mainly opposition websites. Before the change of

government, Ethiopia was repeatedly ranked among the worst countries in the world, 150 in the list in 2017 and 2018 out of 180 countries for media freedom (world press freedom index, 2018). According to the world press freedom index report in 2019, Since Abiy came to power; Ethiopia has jumped 40 places to 110th in the reporter without borders' (RWB). The country has unblocked over 264 websites and journalists who had been banned returned home and two external based opposition TV stations, Oromia Media Network (*OMN*) and Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (*ESAT*), set up inside Ethiopia (Ethiopia press secretary report, 2019).

2.7. Theoretical Framework

2.7.1 Framing theory

In this research study how the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation issues are covered and framed by the *ETV* and *ERI-TV* would be analyzed, so it's mainly focused on framing theory. Different media have an interest based on an issue they cover for news and the way issues are presented in media has depends on the media viewpoint. Media used Faming as one way of making an issue salient or not.

According to Scheufele (1999) Framing is a tool used by media and politicians to make salient points that would direct their readers to a desired frame of mind. Framing theory is increased its attractiveness in research particularly in media from time to time. Media framing is the way in which information is presented to its audiences. Goffman was the first to concentrate on framing as a form of communication and defined framing as a schema of interpretation that enables individuals to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences or life experiences (Goffman, 1974). Entman (1993) is another scholar who states that framing appears in different fields and circumstances as a result there is no single precise definition for it.

News frames are “conceptual tools which media and individual rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information” as (Neuman, 1992, 60) cited in Semetko & Valkenburg (2000). According to DeVreese (2005), media presents issues or events by shaping them in a certain way. This particular way of presenting issue is framing. Framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue. The notion of framing gained momentum in the communication disciplines guidance to both investigations of media content and to studies of the relationship between media and public opinion.

McQuail (2000) views framing as the way in which news content is typically shaped and contextualized by journalists within some familiar frame of reference and according to some latent structure of meaning. Similarly Entman (1993); Goffman (1993); Scheufele (1999) points about framing that individuals are able to identify, organize, see and explain information through frames. DeVreese (2005) defines framing in short as a frame is an emphasis in salience of different aspects of a topic.

McQuail (2000) also noted that when journalists frame an event, they activate the existing beliefs and understandings and they do not need to create them, though they are not often aware of whether they are framing a story or didn't write.

As McCombs (2004) cited in Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) argued that framing is simply a more refined version of agenda setting. Framing, from that perspective, means making aspects of an issue more salient through different modes of presentation and therefore shifting people's attitudes. He labels this phenomenon "second-level agenda setting."

Framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

According to McChesney (2000) cited in Cissel (2012), the media system is not simply an economic category: it is responsible for transmitting culture, journalism and politically relevant information.

As Zhang (2000) cited in Marchionni (2006) defined Framing as a process of how politicians, policymakers relay their message to attract media and how journalists construct messages under organizational guidelines a guideline and professional values and how audience members interpret, think. And reassess those media messages.

Gitlin recognizes the key importance of framing in media representation when he defines frames as "Principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters. Media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports. Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, presentation, selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organizes course, whether verbal or visual" (Gitlin, 1980: as quoted in (Bashatah, 2017).

Many scholars give different definition about framing but, Entman, (1993, 53), provided a generally applicable definition by linking selection and salience to frames. To frame, as to Entman, is “to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make them salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation.” Frames for Entman fulfill many functions like they define problems by determining the causal agents, diagnose causes by indicating the factors behind the problem, make moral judgments by evaluating causal agents and their effects and suggest remedies and forecasting the effect of the treatment. Framing occurs in media texts: news, analysis, opinions, and different forms of entertainment. Framing at this level is carried out by a network of media professionals. The process of framing in the media involves selections of some aspects of perceived reality, construction of messages using cues that can transmit meaning, and highlighting connections and interpretations (ibid). The basic purpose of framing in communication is to strategically seek to exert power over interpretation and outcomes by inducing the audience to view media messages from the perspectives or frames they are presented (Oluwakemi, 2017).

One of the important areas of framing theory is media research in journalism and political communication. As media maintain a fourth estate role in democratic societies, media researchers find framing theory helpful to analyze the imbalances and underlying power structures that mediate political issues. For example, the frame of a story about the environment can be quite different in conservative or liberal media outlets. However, the use of framing theory not only identifies the difference framings of one story across a number of news outlets, but allows us to detect journalistic bias. The use of stereotypical framing, frames along gender lines, or imbalances of the representation of relevant societal communities, such as ethnic minorities within a national or transnational public, are examples of different frames that might be used (Sage publication, 2009).

2.7.1.1. Types of news frames

Different literature has identified a handful of frames that occur commonly in the news. Semetko Val & kenburg (2000) analyzed five national newspapers and television news stories in the period surrounding the Amsterdam meeting of European heads of state in 1997 and identified

five news frames: conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality and economic consequences frames.

□ **The Human Interest Frame**-it presenting a story with human face, personality is Promote over more important aspects. It is also known as human impact frame, and is considered the second common frame in the news next to conflict frame. The human interest frame appears more often in television news as compared to print media (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

□ **The Conflict Frame**- this frame emphasizes on conflict between individuals, groups, conflict between parties or countries. Neuman et al. (1992) found that conflict frame was commonly used by U.S. news media and stated the conflict frame is used as a means of capturing audience interest. According to Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) in their study found that the conflict frame was the most common frame.

□ **The 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. This frame states that certain part of the society or government officials have the Responsibility for an already happened incident or for any possible solution to mitigate a certain problem. As Iyengar (1987) quoted in Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) stated that when television news covers an issue or event, or individual (episodically) rather than presenting the larger historical social context (thematically), it promotes individuals' explanations for social problems.

□ **The Morality Frame**- this frame interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. According to Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, in order to keep the professional norm of objectivity, journalists often make use of the moral frame indirectly by using quotation and inference.

□ **The Economic Consequences Frame**- this frame presents an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country. When an issue or event has wide impact, it adds value to the news, and its economic consequences are vital (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

□**Diagnostic Frame:** This frame emphasizes identifying a problem and attributing blame and causality. It deeply investigates the underlying issues in a certain problem, clearly blames a certain government body, groups or individual for the cause of the problem (Shuefele, 1999).

□**Prognostic Frame:** This frame describes the effects and consequences of a problem. It can also be described as a solution frame which specifies what needs to be done (Shuefele, 1999). It suggests solutions, strategies and tactics to a problem.

2.7.1.2. Identifying frames in the news

According to Different scholar's suggestion, there are different approaches of how frames can be identified in the news. As Entman (1993) said, the occurrence or absence of certain key words or typical phrases is indication of the frame. He also said stereotypical views or images, sources of information and sentences which thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments are pointers of frames. As Gamson and Modigliani (1989) cited in (de Vreese 2005) on the other hand, stated that frames can be identified based on: metaphors, exemplars, catch phrases, depictions and visual imagines used in the news.

Along these lines Tankard (as cited in de Vreese 2005) listed eleven mechanisms or locations of frames including headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistical and charts, and concluding statements and paragraphs. A single sentence can hold more than one framing function (i.e define problem, diagnoses causes, makes moral judgment or suggests remedies). Still many sentences in a text contain none of these framing functions (Entman, 1993).

On the other hand, Neuman et al (1992), restrict framing to the first moment for television news and to the early sentences for article in newspapers and to the early sentences for articles in newspapers and magazines. As different scholars define framing is a way of arranging or shaping of stories to present to the audience. This arrangement of story is one method journalists use to frame news in a particular way. Selecting specific words or phrases also the other mechanism used by the writers to frame the story. Therefore, in order to investigate the *ETV* and *ERI-TV* media framing of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process, it is important to identify the type of frame, dominate frame, appearance and duration of the story. So, Based on the above assumption, the researcher use the model of framing theory in order to answer the research questions.

2.7.1.3. Criticism for framing theory

Framing theory was one of the most important theories that helped to investigate events how they covered by the media. But it has its Owen limitation. According to Scheufele (1999), argues that many of the limitations of media framing theory relates to its lack of a clear conceptual definition and generally applicable operation. The other limitation of framing theory is media give powerful effect but the audience becomes passive. de Vreese, (2004) argued that it is difficult to be sure whether the audience focuses on the ‘frame’ or ‘facts’ about the news and it sees audiences as powerless or passive who do not resist the views of the media. Entman (1993) described framing as a scattered conceptualization with previous studies lacking clear conceptual definitions and relaying on context specific, rather than generally applicable operationalization.

Brosius and Eps as cited in Scheufele (1999), argued that framing is not clearly explicated and generally applicable concept rather it is just a metaphor which cannot state directly as research question. Partially, because of these vague conceptualizations, as Scheufele (1999) noted framing has been used repetitively to describe similar but distinctly different approaches and studies have irrationalized framing in combination with other concepts like agenda setting and priming. Further, even when researchers undertake experimental studies, they do not exactly show how and why news frames influence audiences or readers (Scheufele, 1999).

2.7.2. Agenda Setting Theory

In the 1970s was the birth of agenda-setting research in political communication. McCombs and Shaw (1972, 1993) coined the term ‘agenda-setting’ to describe a phenomenon which had long been noticed and studied in the context of election campaigns.

According to McCombs & Shaw (1972) Agenda setting refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues (e.g., based on relative placement or amount of coverage) and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences. Research in the agenda-setting tradition has identified how issue agendas are built in news production.

The agenda setting theory says that because of newspapers, television, and other news media. Peoples are aware or not aware, pay attention to or neglect, play up or downgrade specific features of the public scene. People tend to include or exclude from their cognitions what the

media include or exclude from their content. People also tend to assign an importance to what they include that closely resembles the emphasis given to events, issues and persons by the mass media (Shaw, 1979). According to Shoemaker and Reese's (2014) cited in (Neuman et.al, 2014) stated that influence on the information of the media agenda are outlined by five tier conceptual model. Five factors contributing to the media agenda includes individual journalists, media routines, organizational factors, social institutions, and cultural or ideological considerations.

McCombs (2004) stated that when the media choose to cover a topic and significant attention is given it the topic is given salience to the public and seen as needing attention or requiring some action. These topics receiving significant coverage by the media get transferred to the „public agenda“ as needing response or action. Further to giving topics attention, paying little attention or down playing or omitting certain topics tend to reduce their importance in the minds of the public. Such topics are consequently moved further down the public agenda. It is therefore critical to understand that what influences news choices is what creates the agenda. Readers and viewers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position.

As Cohen quoted in McCombs & Shaw (1972) who noted that the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but are stunningly successful in telling their readers what to think about. McCombs & Shaw (1974) cited in Griffin (2006:395) believed that the mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agendas to the public agenda.

Chapter Three

3. Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodology adopted in this study. The areas of focus include the research method, data collection tools, sampling technique, time frame, selection of stories, unit of analysis, categories of items, coding reliability and data analysis procedures.

3.1. Research design

A research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economic in procedure. In fact, the research design is the conceptual-structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data (Kothri, 2004). As Kothri noted research design is the road-map of a research for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. In this research, the study was descriptive research, consequently the data were collected in such a way that they describe how Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process were covered and framed in *ETV* and *ERI-TV*. The researcher applied the mixed method as a research method.

3.2. Research method

The research conducted to analyze a comparative framing analysis of Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process coverage on *ETV* and *ERI-TV* from June 5, 2018, up to September 30, 2018. In this research, both quantitative and qualitative methods were applied. The researcher employed a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods or what is called mixed methods. The quantitative is less detailed and the qualitative is subjective. Thus the best solution is to combine them to get a better result. The overall strength of a study is greater than either qualitative or quantitative research (Creswell, 2007).

According to Shoemaker & Reese (1996), a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis methodologies is necessary to fully understand the meaning and possible impacts of media texts. So, results from quantitative will support the qualitative analysis and it is very important to check the accuracy of the data gathered by each method.

A mixed method is a research approach, popular in the social, behavioral, and health sciences, in which researchers collect, analyze, and integrate both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or in a sustained long-term program of inquiry to address their research questions (Creswell, 2013).

In a mixed method, there are several ways to merge the two databases. The first approach is called a side-by-side comparison. The researcher will first report the quantitative statistical results and then discuss the qualitative findings (e.g., themes) that either confirm or disconfirm the statistical results. Alternatively, the researcher might start with the qualitative findings and then compare them to the quantitative results. Mixed method writers call this a side-by-side approach because the researcher makes the comparison within a discussion, presenting first one set of findings and then the other (Creswell, 2015).

According to Creswell in the mixed method, the quantitative data must be collected and analyzed to come to quantitative results, and the qualitative data was collected and analyzed to reach a qualitative result, then the result of the two were merged to give conclusion and recommendation for the thesis.

In order to examine the frequency of coverage used by the television channels the researcher used quantitative content analysis, whereas the descriptive framing analysis was handled through qualitative framing analysis.

3.2.1. Quantitative content analysis

The researcher used content analysis because it became a central method in communication research according to Lovejoy, Watson, Lacy, & Riffe (2015). Content analysis is all about making valid, replicable and objective inferences about the message on the basis of explicit rules. The material for the content analysis can be letters, diaries, newspaper content, folk songs, short stories, and messages of Radio, Television, documents, texts or any symbols (Prasad, 2008).

Content Analysis is described as the scientific study of the content of the communication. It is the study of the content with reference to the meanings, contexts, and intentions contained in messages (Prasad, 2008).

On the other hand, Berelson (1952) defines content analysis as a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. Another scholar Krippendorff (2004) noted that content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use. Content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner to measure variables As Kerlinger, (2000) noted.

Shoemaker & Reese (1996) also noted that media content is characterized by a wide range of phenomena including the medium, production techniques, messages, sources quoted or referred to, and context and they say that the task of content analysis is to impose some sort of order on these phenomena in order to grasp their meaning.

From the above definitions, content analysis is a systematic way that should be free from the researcher bias and quantifiable to summarize and drive conclusion based on the data gathered from the selected media. Therefore, in this study, the quantitative content analysis was conducted through counting and categorizing the news that is related with the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation in terms of coverage, duration, appearance, tone, frame and source used in the Ethiopian Television and Eritrean Television. Accordingly, the coverage and frequency of framing on Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation related news were identified.

3.2.2. Qualitative content analysis

According to Mayting (2000) the object of qualitative content analysis can be all sorts of recorded communication transcripts of interviews, discourses, protocols of observations, video tapes, and documents.

As Connolly-Ahern & Broadway (2008) cited in (Marais, 2012) explain the concept of qualitative frame analysis as follows: Qualitative framing analysis involves repeated and extensive engagement with a text and looks holistically at the material to identify frames. To frame analysis examines the keywords and metaphors in the text, identifying what was included in the frame, as what was left out recognizing that the words repeated most often in the text may not be the most important (Marais, 2012).

For Frey, Botan, Kreps, 1999 & McKee 2003 cited in Mulatu (2017) textual analysis mainly focuses on a thorough interpretation of a given text and gives it meanings. This is a method that

is used to describe and interpret the characteristics, the functions, the structure, and other elements of a text. It is the way in which researchers engage in analyzing text or information, and the way that readers or receivers make sense of the world. It is making an educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be making of that text (Mulatu, 2017).

Hence, qualitative content analysis is a research method used to analyze text data through careful reading of documents. Since it has extensive engagement with a text, it helps to ascertain human behavior, opinion and other information that is difficult to obtain through quantitative content analysis. Thus, the qualitative content analysis was used to describe the frames, used by selected media outlets in covering the issues of Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation.

3.3. Data sources and collection techniques

In order to collect the necessary data, content analysis was employed. This is because content analysis is a widely used method in conducting research on framing. Content analysis is a standard methodology in the social sciences on the subject of communication. According to Holsti (1969) content analysis is any technique for making references by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages. For this research study News story related to Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation aired by the selected media outlets *ETV 57* Amharic evening news and *ERI-TV* Tigriana evening news were accessed from their online website.

For Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) news from www.ebc.et and for Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) news from www.dendermedia.com was accessed. According to the Eritrean Minister of Information *Dander* media is the official distributor of *ERI-TV* news. The source of data for this study is secondary sources, i.e., news video that are aired by the selected media outlets. As the research question indicates, the aim of this study is to determine how the two media outlets cover the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. In addition, the researcher did not conduct in-depth interview, this is because of Eritrea has officially reopened its embassy in Ethiopia on July 16, 2018, but the embassy did not start its diplomatic function officially. The researcher tried to contact Eritrean journalists via email and through the embassy workers unfortunately it was not succeed. Following these constraints, conducting interview only with in the Ethiopian Television journalists was not necessary, because the researcher assumes that the research might not get the other perspective from Eritrean journalists.

3.4. Sampling techniques

According to Wimmer & Dominick (2003), mass media researchers frequently use non-probability sampling. A purposive sample is a type of non-probability sample also referred to as a judgmental, selective or subjective sampling reflects a group of sampling techniques that rely on the judgment of the researcher when it comes to selecting the units (e.g., people, cases/organizations, events, pieces of data) that are to be studied. The main objective of a purposive sample is to produce a sample that can be logically assumed to be representative of the population. This is often accomplished by applying expert knowledge of the population to select in a non-random manner a sample of elements that represents a cross-section of the population (Sage online, 2019).

Based on the purposive sampling the researcher chose two media outlets for the study, Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) and Ethiopian Television (*ETV*). These two media outlets are generally seen as the dominant national news programs in their respective country, they have all national daily news programs and they broadcast news in the mid-day and evening so, they can be seen as comparable. Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) is a national media which disseminates its news and programs worldwide via Television, Radio, and Website. And it is the only government-owned Television at the federal level. Eritrea TV is selected because it is the one and only television in the country and loyal to the government of Eritrea that made peace with Ethiopia.

This research focuses on the electronic media rather than on the print media. This is because it is generally believed that electronic media is more powerful and influential than the print media.

According to Wanat, Golan & Lee (2004) consider television news programs as very important news sources. In addition, Prasad (2008) noted that television, radio, and movies offer rich sources of material for content analysis.

3.5. Time frame

The time frame for the framing of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process was taken from June 05, 2018 up to September 30, 2018, because the major reconciliation process events like the announcement of Ethiopian government, about the acceptance of the Algiers Agreement, the announcement of Eritrean government to send a high level delegation to Addis Ababa, the visit of Ethiopia Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and his counterpart Eritrean President Isayas Afewerki,

Eritrea and Ethiopia Joint Declaration of Peace, and the reopening of the Zalambesa border were carried on in between these mentioned time frames.

3.6. Selection of News

For the quantitative analysis, all news aired by the two media outlets, Eritrean Television and Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) in the time interval of June 05, 2018 – September 30, 2018, during the evening news program included in the research. In other words, all news that clearly entertains the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation in the given time frame was taken for the study. In the four months' time interval, *ETV* covered 65 news related to the reconciliation, while *ERI-TV* covered a total of 48 news. The researcher took all the news without sampling for the quantitative analysis from the two media outlets. However, for the qualitative analysis it is hard to analysis the whole news, thus the researcher employed purposive sampling to select the news for textual analysis. Through the mentioned technique from the total of 113 news related to the reconciliation process and aired in the evening news hours within the selected time frame five news from *ETV* and five news from *ERI-TV* totally ten news were taken for the textual analysis. The news was taken from different frames in order to reduce repetitions. The evening 8:00 PM news hour was purposely selected, it is one of the prime-time news presented at a convenient time for most of the media's viewers to attend. Since the main audiences of the station are commonly at home at this time of the day, most salient and national and international are covered during this period.

3.7. Unit of analysis

According to Wimmer & Dominik (2006) the unit of analysis might be a single word or symbol, a theme (a single assertion about one subject), or an entire article or story in written content. The unit of analysis for this research was a theme of news stories related to Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation that was aired by the selected television stations in the selected time frame. Because of time and resource constraints, the unit of analysis did not include the visual contents, video, and picture of the news, features and other conventional reports.

3.8. Categories of Items in the Coding Sheet

After identifying the unit of analysis, the next step was establishing and defining the categories under which the texts are organized. Some relevant categories of questions that coders can answer based on the framework; the issues of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process were identified. The online news related to Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation was coded according to the following criteria. Type of media, appearance, duration, information sources, frames and tone of the news used by the media outlets. The type of frame categories used in this research were adopted and developed from Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) research. Out of the five Semetko & Valkenburg's frames, the researcher creates peace frame and reassuring frame instead of conflict and morality frame based on the research objective.

Type of media- the type of media station that covers the issue of the Ethio-Eritrea reconciliation process either *ETV* or *ERI-TV*.

The appearance of news- In terms of the television news, the researchers determined the appearance or the position of Ethio-Eritrea reconciliation process news in the headline or in other position (i.e., 1st, 2nd, or 3rd position).

Duration of the news- For the television channels, the time allocated to the reconciliation process stories was determined.

Information sources- are names of a person, group or organization which are quoted directly or indirectly in the news by the selected media outlets.

Tone: the tone refers to the stance of the media outlets, in which the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process was presented by the media outlets which can be positive, negative or neutral. In this research the positive tone entails describing the reconciliation process were good for the two countries social and economically, the positive roles of the governments in the reconciliation, while a negative tone entails describing the peace deal were a problem in implementation or some impact on social or economic issues. However, the tone will be considered neutral when there is no clear distinction in regard to the reconciliation process whether it has impact or not.

Frames- are the different kinds of frames used in the media. They are attribution of responsibility, human interest, economic, reassuring and peace frames.

Attribution Responsibility frame – this frame reports when the story suggests that individuals, parties or an organization should take actions or responsibilities on the issue.

Economic frame-when the story refers to the economic impacts/consequences/ advantage of the reconciliation.

Human interest frame- this frame brings human face sad or happy fillings when the story involves people giving testimonies about the impacts of the war on the people and reports about peoples of two countries feeling when they meet for the first time after 20 years.

Reassuring frame- this frame reports about the reception of the reconciliation by ordinary and international community. When the story tells about the society's role in supporting the reconciliation process and peoples relationships to be fully implemented.

Peace frame- when the story provides the benefit of peace and the agreements between two countries. The detailed explanation of each frame is presented in (Appendixes B).

3.8.1. Coding Process

After the coding sheets were prepared, the researcher and one another coder who is MA graduate in journalism and communication from Bahr Dar University did the coding. Both coders speak Amharic and Tigrigna languages. The coder was trained and given detail orientation on how to code the news of the two media outlets to address the relevant issue. The coder was provided with a coding sheet along with coding guides. It was also provided with soft copies of 113, news related to the reconciliation covered by the Eritrean and Ethiopian Television.

3.8.2. Data analysis

This study examines the coverage of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process by the Ethiopian and Eritrean Television. Through framing paradigm, the researcher has conducted quantitative content analysis. In addition, the study employed qualitative content analysis (textual analysis). The data collected from the television online news and coded based on themes were entered into SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Scientists) version 20.0. The result of statistical computation determined the coverage and frequency of the news. The findings were then presented in the form of frequency tables and graphs. The descriptive framing handled through the qualitative way. This gave the researcher a chance to arrive at certain conclusions and forward

recommendations on the issue of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process by Ethiopian Television and Eritrean Television stations.

3.9. Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity are crucial to content analysis as the study should be reliable and valid. According to Wimmer & Dominick (2013), cited in Apuke & Tunca (2018), inter coder reliability is reliable when the repeated measurement of the same material results in similar decisions or conclusions to the levels of agreement among independent coders who code the same content using the same coding instrument. Inter-coder reliability can be calculated by using Holsti's formula for determining the reliability of nominal data in terms of percentage of agreement:

$$\text{Reliability} = 2M / (N1 + N2)$$

Where 'M' represents the number of coding decisions on which two coders agree, and N1 and N2 is the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder respectively. According to Neuendorf (2000) quoted in Apuke & Tunca (2018) guidelines for the interpretation of inter-coder reliability as follows: coefficients of 0.90 or greater are nearly always accepted, values of 0.80 or greater are acceptable in most situations and 0.70 is appropriate in some exploratory studies. Through this process, the Reliability and validity were done. Based on Holsti's formula the Inter-coder reliability for this study was 0.94, which is acceptable (please see appendix C).

Chapter Four

4. Data presentation, analysis and discussion

This chapter deals with data presentation, analysis, and discussion. As stated, earlier the main objective of the study was to examine how the Ethiopian Television and Eritrean Television covered and framed the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process in the time period of June 5, 2018, up to September 30, 2018. Accordingly, presentation of the data and the discussion was based on the basic questions of the research: the amount of coverage given for the reconciliation, appearance of the news, duration of the news, sources used tone of the news and dominates frames used in the news presented in tables and graphics.

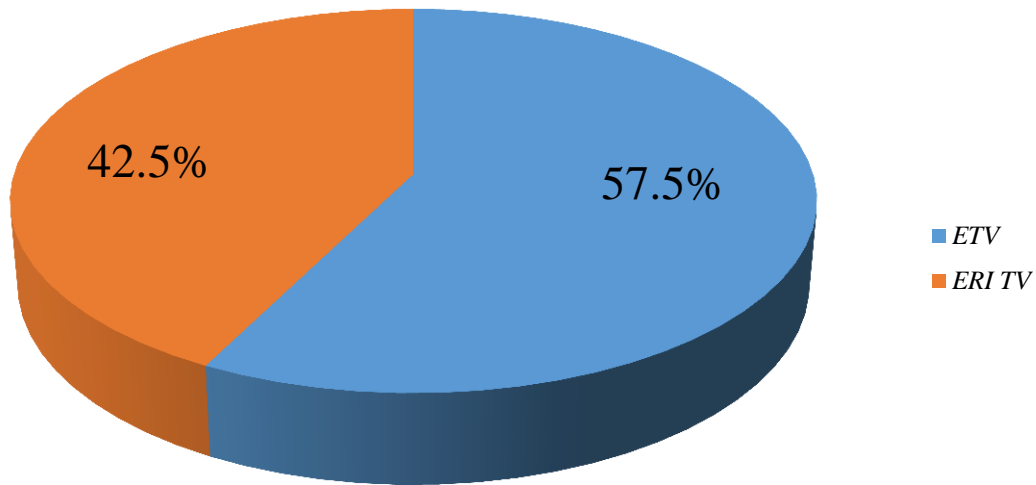
4.1. Quantitative Data Analysis

The quantitative data analysis used to answer the following research questions: How much coverage did the reconciliation process offered by Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*). And what difference or similarity was there between the Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) in covering the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. Based on those research questions the researcher analyzed the coverage, duration, appearance, tone, the source used and the frequency of frames in the selected media outlets.

4.1.1. Coverage of the reconciliation process

The selected media outlets have covered 113 news during the fourth months' time interval to the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. Out of the total news presented in both media outlets, *ETV* portrayed 65 of the news. On the other hand, out of the total news, *ERI-TV* portrayed 48 of the news for the reconciliation process. Which is, *ETV* reported 16 news per month, while, *ERI-TV* reported 12 news.

Figure 1: percentage of coverage of the reconciliation



The above figure 1: indicate that the overall coverage of issues related to the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process in the selected media outlets. During the selected time frame 113 news were disseminated by the two media. Out of this Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process news broadcasted in Ethiopian Television was 57.5%. While in Eritrean Television was only 43.5%. This shows that, *ETV* tended to cover more than half news about reconciliation process issues than *ERI-TV*. *ERI-TV* covered less than half of the news when it compared to *ETV*.

4.1.2. Appearance of the news

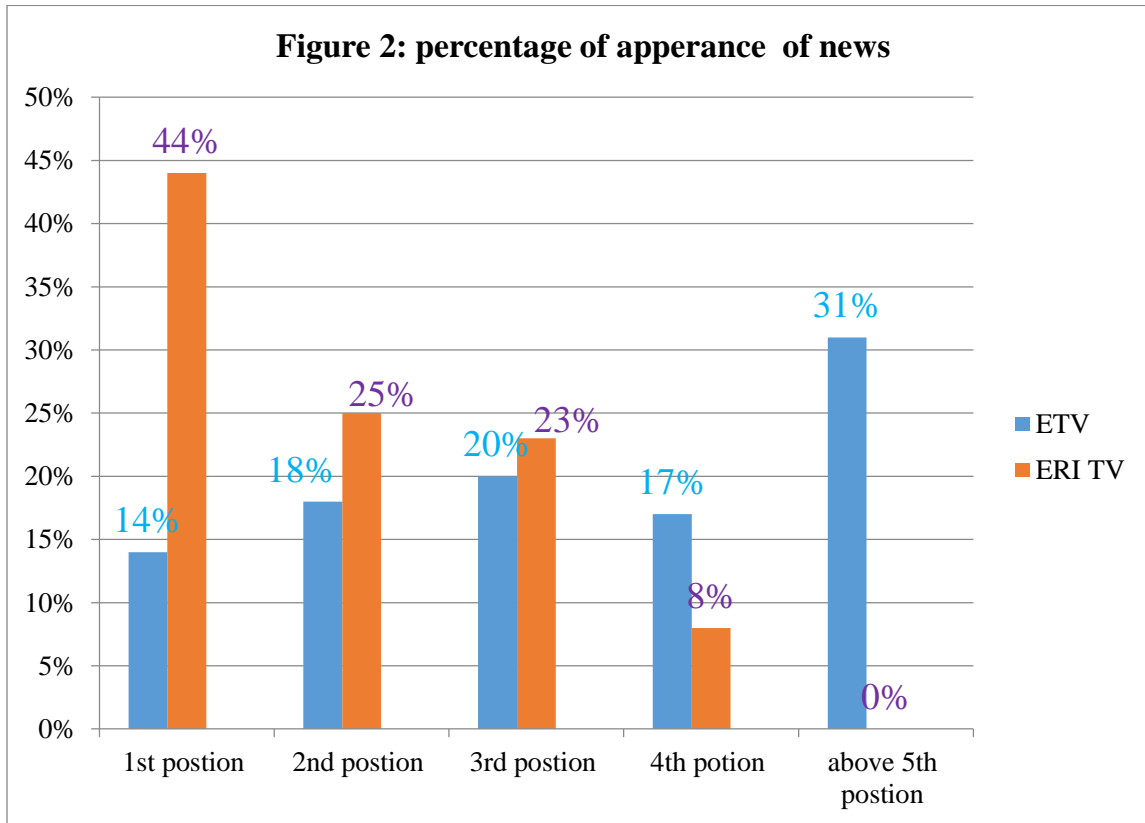


Figure 2: the above chart shows that the appearance of the reconciliation process news in the selected media outlets. 44% of *ERI-TV* news presented in the first position, in contrast, 31% of *ETV* news presented in the above fifth position. More news presented in the first position in *ERI-TV*, while in *ETV* most of the news presented in the above fifth position, which is Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation news was more important in *ERI-TV* than *ETV*. 25 % and 23% of the news in *ERI-TV* were presented in the second and third position respectively. On the other hand in *ETV*, 20% of the news stories were presented in the third position. Also, 18%, 17 % and 14% of the reconciliation news presented in the second, fourth and first position. In the case of *ERI-TV*, 8 % of news stories were presented in the fourth position. No news stories were presented in the above fifth position. The results indicate that *ETV* most of the news was presented in above 5th position, whereas in *ERI-TV* most of the news was presented in the first position. This shows that *ERI-TV* gave the first priority for the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation news rather than any other news. But in *ETV* the reconciliation news was not the first priority in prime-time news. Hence,

ETV did not give too much significance, whereas ERI-TV gave too much significance for the issue in the case of appearance of the news.

4.1.3. Duration of the news

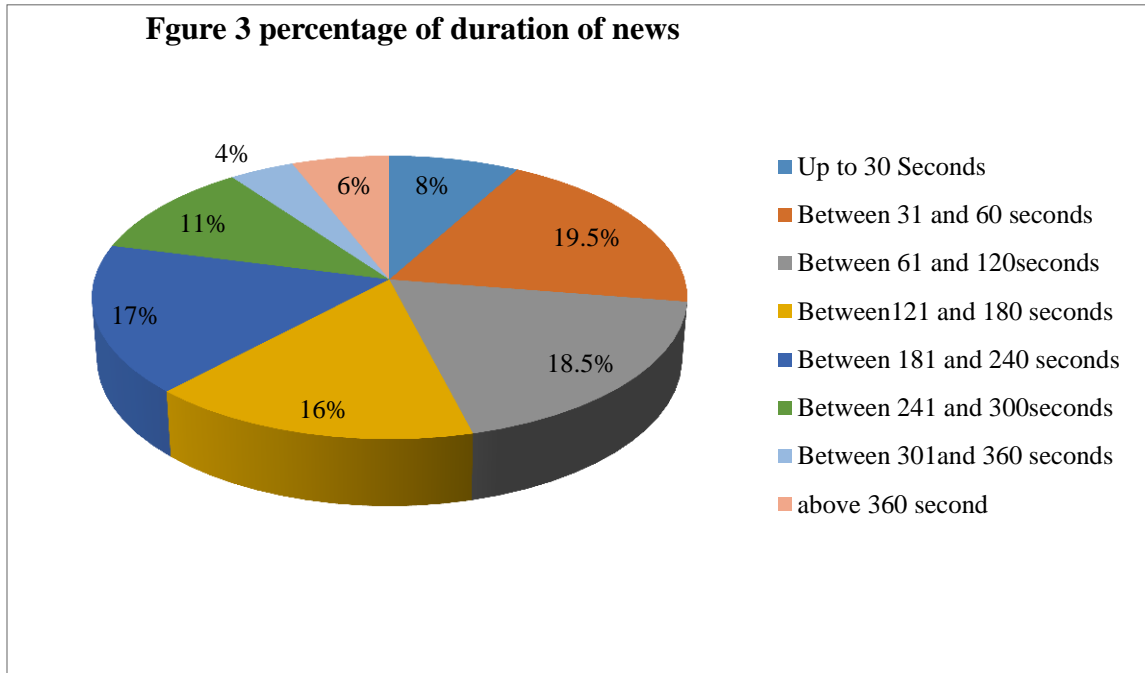


Figure 3 shows that the overall duration of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation news in two of the media outlets. The finding indicates that More than half (62%) of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation news were presented within the duration of 30 seconds and 180 seconds. 28% of the stories were presented in the duration of 181 seconds and 300 seconds. The reaming 10% of the stories were presented in the duration of 301 seconds and above 360 seconds in the selected media.

Figure 4: Percentage of duration of news in each media

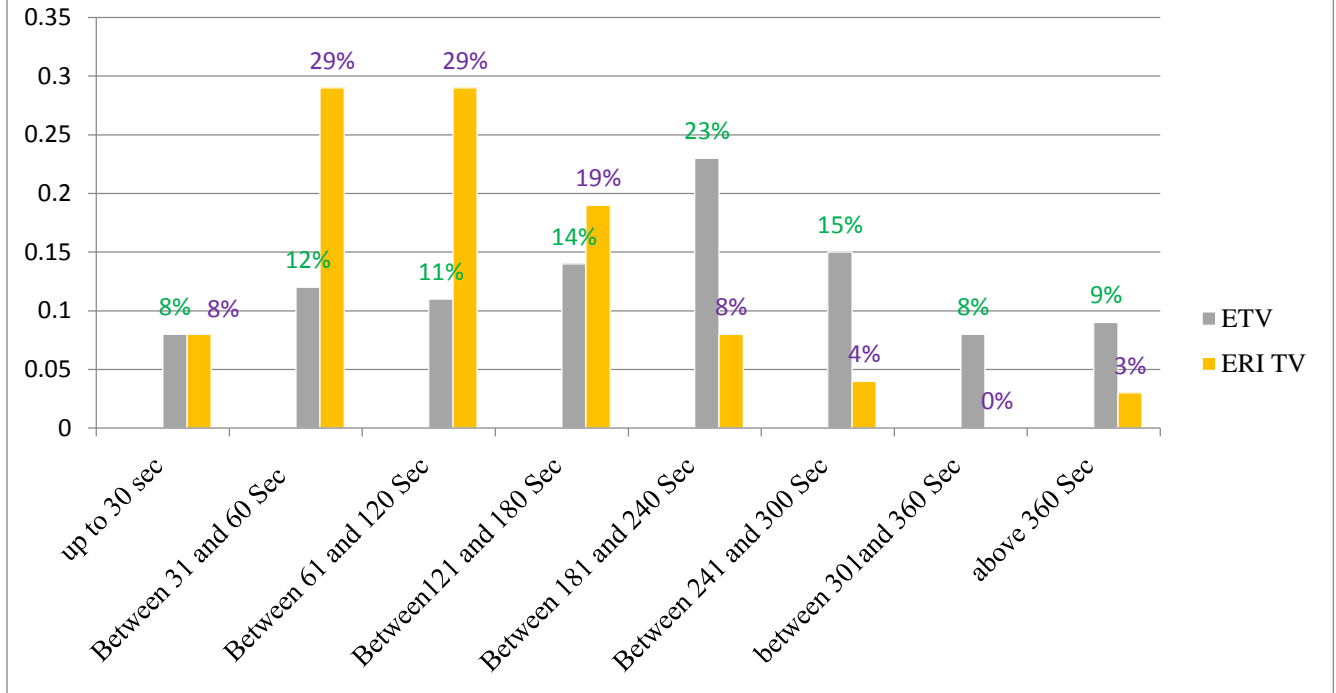
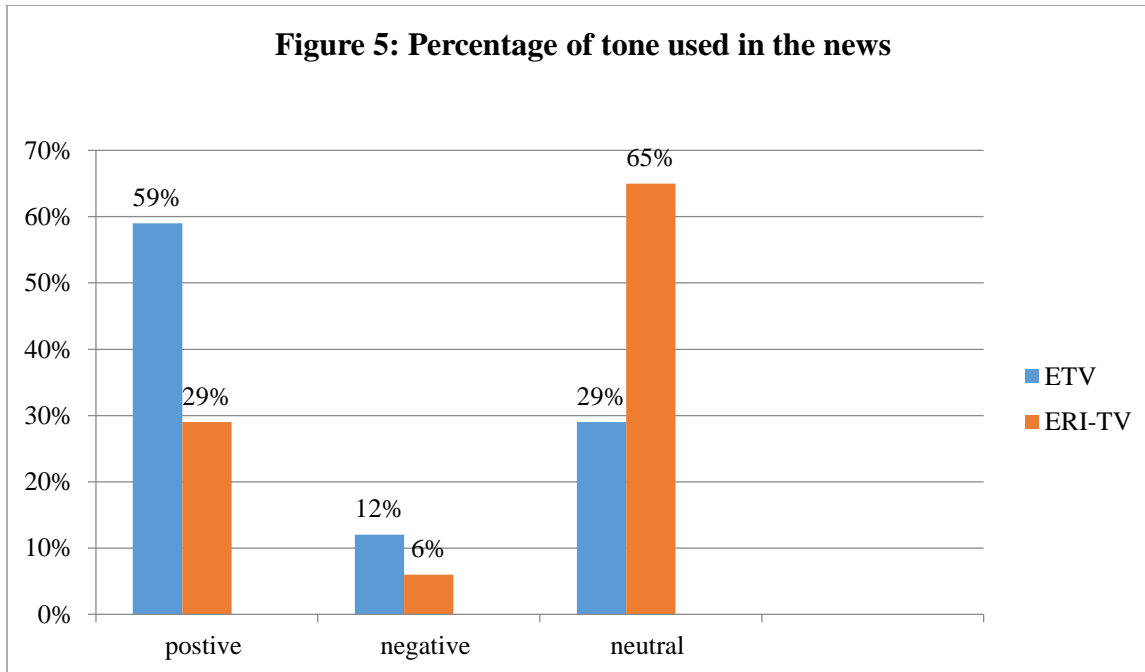


Figure 4: reveal that the duration of the reconciliation news in each of the television channels. According to figure four, in *ERI-TV* from the total 48 news, 58% of Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation news presented between 31 and 120 seconds. And 19% of the news presented between 121 seconds up to 180 seconds. But *ETV* presented 23% news in between 181 and 240 seconds. 15% in between 241 and 300 second and 14% of the new presented between 121 and 240 seconds. Out of the 65 news portrayed by *ETV* 12% of the news presented between 31 up to 60 seconds. 11 % and 9% news presented between 61 and 120 second and above 360 seconds respectively in *ETV*. From the total news portrayed by *ETV* and *ERI-TV* 8% of the news presented up to 30 seconds in each of them. There is a significant difference in the duration of news between *ETV* and *ERI-TV*. In *ETV* more than half of the news presented from 181 seconds up to above 360 second and the reaming 45% were presented in the duration of fewer than 180 seconds, which indicates *ETV* gave better time for the reconciliation. *ERI-TV*, In contrast 85% of the news was given below 180 seconds and the other 15% stories were given above 180 seconds, which indicates *ERI-TV* gave less time for the reconciliation when it compares within *ETV*. Therefore, the length of duration given to the reconciliation in *ETV* was better than *ERI-TV*.

4.1.4. Tone of the news



As shown in the above figure there was a significant difference in regard to the usage of tones between *ETV* and *ERI-TV* in the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process news. *ETV* 38 (59%) of the news framed in a more positive tone, whereas eight (12%) of its news had a negative tone and 19 (29%) were neutral tone. *ERI-TV*, in contrast in 14 (29%) of the news were positive tones, only three (6%) of the news were negative tone. And it used a neutral tone in 31 (65%) of its news. This suggests that, *ETV* used more positive tones in its news but, *ERI-TV* focused on a neutral tone. Both media outlets have had a lower number of negative news in their coverage of the reconciliation process.

4.1.5. News Sources used in the selected media stations

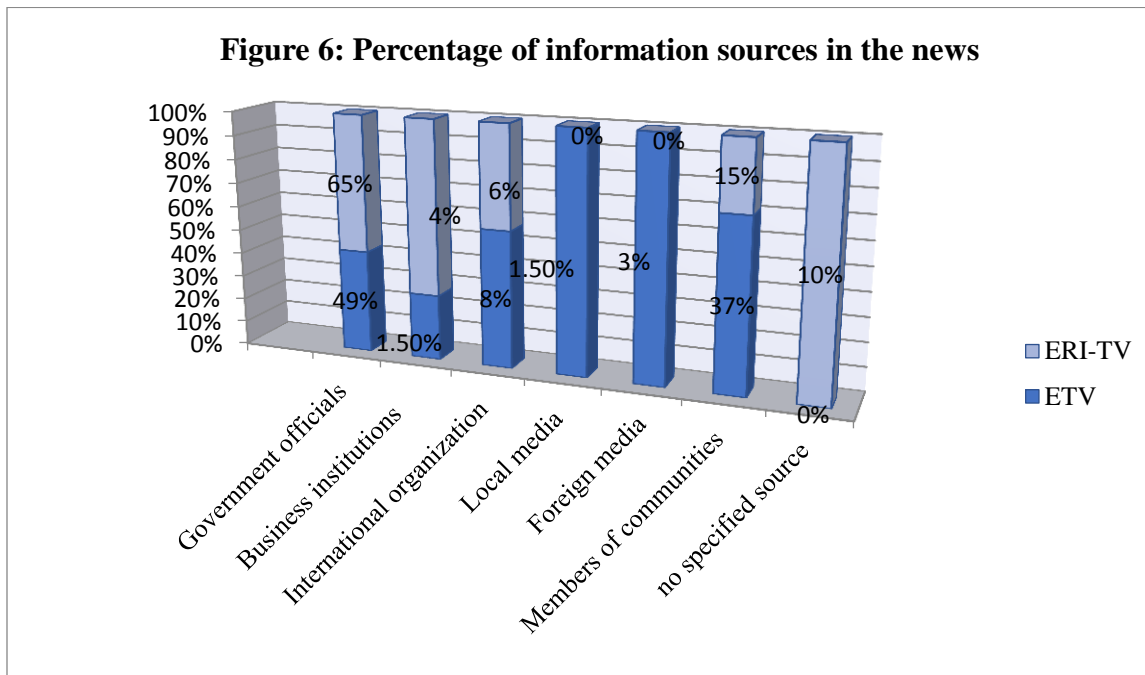
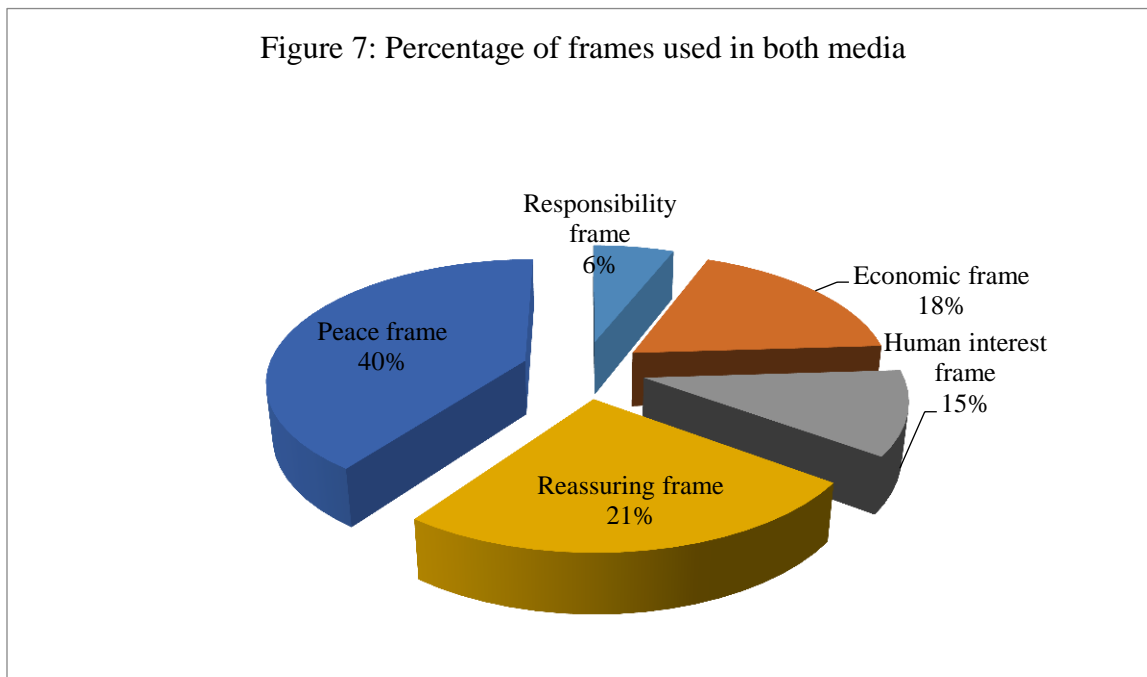


Figure 6 reveals that the information sources used by each of the media outlets have similarities and some minor differences in their coverage of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. Both *ETV* and *ERI-TV* used government sources more than any other sources 49% out of the 65 news and 65% out of the 48 news respectively. The source of news in *ETV*, 37% of the sources were from members of the community, 8% international organization, 3% foreign media 1.5% from local media and 1.5% business organization. In contrast, in *ERI-TV*, 15% from members of the community, 10% not specified sources, 6% international organization, and 4% from the business organization.

ETV used more government officials followed by members of the community, international organization, and foreign media respectively. In the case of *ERI-TV* used more government officials followed by members of the community, no specified sources, international organization and business organizations as a source in the reconciliation process news. Both of them focused on government sources. But, *ERI-TV* used more government sources than *ETV*. In the other side, *ETV* used more community members as sources than *ERI-TV*.

4.1.6. Dominant frames in the news

The researcher looks at how *ETV* and *ERI-TV*, framed the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process by taking the news presented in the selected time frame. According to (Entman, 1993) a single sentence can hold more than one framing functions (i.e define the problem, diagnoses causes, makes a moral judgment or suggests remedies). Still many sentences in a text contain none of these framing functions. Along these lines, Tankard (as cited in de Vreese 2005) listed eleven mechanisms or locations of frames including headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistical and charts, and concluding statements and paragraphs. Based on the Entman's idea through close reading the researcher identified the types of news frames used by the media institutions in their coverage of Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. The frames were peace frame, reassuring frame, human interest frame, economic frame, and attribution of responsibility frame.



The above chart shows, peace frame with 40 percent were the dominantly used frame in both of the media followed by reassuring frame, 21 percent. Economic frame 18 percent of the total share, 15 percent human interest frame and 6 percent attribution of responsibility frame framed in the selected media during the fourth-month time interval. From this chart, peace frame and reassuring frame were the dominant frames used in *ETV* and *ERI-TV* in the reconciliation process

news. Whereas the human interest frame and attribution of responsibility frame were the least dominate frames.

Table1: dominant frames in the news in each of the media stations

| Type of frame | <i>ETV</i> | percentage | <i>ERI-TV</i> | Percentage |
|-------------------------------------|------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| Attribution of Responsibility frame | 6 | 9% | 1 | 2% |
| Economic frame | 12 | 19% | 9 | 19% |
| Human interest frame | 15 | 23% | 2 | 4% |
| Reassuring frame | 10 | 15% | 13 | 27% |
| Peace frame | 22 | 34% | 23 | 48% |
| Total | 65 | 100% | 48 | 100% |

As could be deduced from Table 1 shows five frames used by *ETV* and *ERI-TV* on the issue of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. The findings indicate that peace frame and reassuring frame were the most frequently employed frame in *ERI-TV*, whereas peace frame followed by the human interest frame were the dominant frames in *ETV*. As shown in the table, the peace frame was dominantly used in two of the media outlets 48% on *ERI-TV* and 34% on *ETV*. But *ERI-TV* used more peace frames than *ETV* in their news. The reassuring frame was second used frame in *ERI-TV*, which accounts 27%. While, human interest frame was the second dominant frame used in *ETV* with representing 23%. *ETV* used more personal fillings in its news coverage compared to *ERI-TV*. The media outlets gave pay attention for peace, reassuring and human interest frame in their news. Next to the human interest frame, economic frame was the third dominant frame used in *ETV*. Similarly, *ERI-TV* portrayed economic frame as its third dominant frame. *ETV* framed 12 (19%) of the news in the economic frame, out of total 65 news. While, *ERI-TV* framed nine (19%) of the news out of 48 stories it published on Ethio-Eritrea

reconciliation. *ETV* gave relatively more economic coverage than *ERI-TV*. The fourth dominant frame portrayed on *ETV* was reassuring frame 10 (15 %). In contrast, the fourth dominant frame used in *ERI-TV* was human interest frame two (4%). The least type of frame used by the two media outlets in the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process was Attribution of Responsibility frame. In these frame news presented by *ETV* was more visible than *ERI-TV*. Nine percent portrayed as attribution of responsibility frame in *ETV* stories, while in *ERI-TV* it was only two percent.

4.2. Qualitative data analysis

The qualitative data analysis used to answer the research question of how did the Ethiopian Television (*ETV*) and Eritrean Television (*ERI-TV*) frame the reconciliation process of the two countries. In this case five frames were analyzed thematically to show how the two media framed the reconciliation process news.

4.2.1. Peace frame

Peace frame is one of the salient frames used by the two media which claims that peace is the priority precondition of survival. From the total news covered by both media *ERI-TV* covered near to half of the news as peace frame, whereas *ETV* covered one-third of the news as a peace frame. News from both media describes how much peace is necessary for the two companionable peoples. The media outlets tried to emphasize the importance of peace: how to sustain the peace and to show how the war was a predicament for the people of the two countries for the past 20 years. The following excerpt from *ETV* describes that:

“በአስመራ የፍቅር ዝናብ ዘንቧል የፍቅር ዝናብ ለምስራቅ አፍሪካም የሚተርፍ ነው። ዛሬ የተረዳነው ፍቅር ለመግዛት ሩቅ ምስራቅ መሄድ አይጠቅምም፤ ጦርነት ለኢትዮጵያ እና ለኤርትራ አይበጅም የሚጠቅመን ፍቅር እና ሰላም ነው።”

Translation

“Peace is reinvigorated in Asmara and it is a blessing for East Africa, we understand today that love is nearby you will not travel to East Asia to have it. War is not necessary for Ethiopia and Eritrea the only necessary thing is love and peace” (*ETV July 11, 2018*).

The theme of this news indicates that peace is the beginning and endings of any solution for the countries of East Africa. Everybody knows that war is not necessary for any nation. But the implication of this news was East African countries were fighting each other hoping that solution could come through war. But war cannot be a solution, the solution is peace. The news focused on the value of peace and tried to pursue the audience the power of peace in one side, it shows how the ladders of East Africa were trying to solve their problems through the wrong way in the other side. In addition, PM Abiy quoted as sources in this news. *ETV* gives urgencies for the solution of the conflict rather than to the cause of the war.

ERI-TV also covered news focused on peace framing as follows:

“መንግስቲ ኢትዮጵያን መንግስቲ ኤርትራን ዘውፀአኦ ሓበራዊ ሰላምን ምሕዝነትን ንናይ ክልቲኦን ሀገራት ህዝብታት ናይ ሓዱሽ ዓመት ውህብቶ እዩ”

Translation

“The implementation of the Joint Declaration of Peace and Friendship signed by Eritrea and Ethiopia is a New Year gift for the peoples of both countries” (ERI-TV, 05, September 2018)

These show that about the development of the peace process signed by the two countries. The peace signed was going efficiently, and it is helpful for the peoples of the two countries. The theme of this news describes many hopes for the audience. But it failed to give brief descriptions about the agreements signed by the two leaders and the advantage of the deals. The news largely focused on the peace process. In this news *ERI-TV* used the leaders of the two countries as the sources of its news.

Both *ETV* and *ERI-TV* have the same stand in peace they sermonize about the advantage of peace. Their difference was *ETV* gave a full image about the news selected for peace frame in more detailed way, whereas *ERI-TV* gave coverage about peace, but it did not explain briefly.

4.2.2. Reassuring frame

This frame was to point out how the reconciliation process was getting acceptance by the peoples of the two countries and international organizations. The reassuring frame presented in the news from both media outlets. For example, *ETV* reported that:

“በሁለቱም አገራት የተጀመረው የሰላም ስምምነት ለሁለቱም አገራት ህዝቦች ውህደት እና አንድነት ትልቅ አስተዋጽኦ ያለው በመሆኑ እንደግፈዋለን አሉ የሀዋሳ ከተማ ነዋሪዎች።”

Translation

“We support the reconciliation of the two countries because it has a good contribution for brotherly peoples of Ethiopia and Eritrea to develop integration and unity said the residence of Hawassa city” (ETV July 15, 2018).

The residences gave their witness why and how to support the reconciliation. ETV revealed that the reconciliation of the two countries had a good advantage for the unity and integration of the two brotherly peoples.

In the same way, ERI-TV reported about supports given to the reconciliation by peoples of the two countries who lived abroad. This news shows how much the reconciliation was getting acceptance by the community.

“አብ ጅዳ፣ ሪያድ፣ ሳውዲ አረብያ፣ ኳታር ከምኡ እውን አብ ኩዌት ዝነበሩ ኤርትራውያንን ኢትዮጵያውያንን ነቲ ኤርትራን ኢትዮጵያን ብትሻዓተ ሓምለ አብ አስመራ ዘውፀኦሉ ሓበራዊ አዋጅ ሰላምን ምሕዝነትን ከምዝድግፉ ብሓባር ገለጸዎ።”

Translation

“Residents in Jeddah and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Doha, Qatar, as well as Kuwait have jointly expressed support of the joint declaration of peace and friendship agreement signed by Eritrea and Ethiopia”(ERI-TV, 22 August 2018).

4.2.3. Economic frame

In these frame ETV attempted to presents the news in the economic advantage of the reconciliation by asking the community.

“እሁን የተጀመረው የሰላም ስምምነት ሁለቱም ህዝቦች በኢኮኖሚው እና በማህበራዊ ዘርፍ ተጠቃሚ እንዲሆኑ የሚያግዝ ነው ሲሉ የመቀሌ ከተማ ነዋሪዎች ገለፁ።”

Translation

“The peace process of the two countries will help to develop the Economic, and social sector of the two peoples said the residents of Mekelle city” (ETV, July 15, 2018).

While *ERI-TV* presented the news in the economic advantage of the reconciliation focusing on event based reporting.

“አይተ ተወልደ ከም ዝገለፅዎ ናይታ ነፋሪት ስራሕ ምጅማር ብክልቲኣን ሀገራት ዘሎ ናይ ንግዲ ከምኡ እውን መስሕብ ንከፃቢ ዕዙዝ ተራ አለዎ ኢሎም።”

Translation

“Mr. Tewelde Gebremariam, CEO of Ethiopian Airlines on his part stating that the resumption of air links will play a critical role in boosting the trade and tourism sectors between the two countries” (ERI-TV 18 July 2018).

4.2.4. Human interest frame

In the framing of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process, Human interest frame was one of the frames that make a significant difference in the framing analysis in *ETV* and *ERI-TV*. Relatively more human interest frames employed on *ETV* compared to *ERI-TV*. *ETV* used more personal feelings in its news than *ERI-TV*. The news in *ETV* was show different feelings. Members of the community express their misery how the war between the two countries was affected them.

”አዲስ አለም በርካታ የጨለማ ዓመታትን አሳልፍደለሁ ይላል እምባ እየቀደመው። ስቃዩን ለመግለፅ ቃላት አጥሮት ያሳለፈውን የብቸኝነት እና የመከራ ጊዜ በእንባ ያስታውሳል። የሁለቱም አገራት መለያየትና ሰላም መሆን የማይታመን ነው አሁን ግን ሁሉም ሆኗል እኔም ልክ ሎተሪ እንደ ደረሰው ሰው ዓይነት ስሜት ነው የተሰማኝ ብሏል።”

Translation

“It was years of darkness. The separation and longing were unthinkable,” he said through tears on Thursday. “Imagine someone who just won a lottery. That is how I feel now.” (ETV July 18, 2018).

ETV annoyed to show the feelings of the people by interviewing some of the affected people. In this news it shows how the war between the two countries was terrifying.

Whereas *ERI-TV* reported human interest frame only the feeling of government officials. When Ethiopian delegations arrive in Asmara for the first time in 20 years, how the people of Eritrea warmly welcomed to the delegations but, it did not show the feelings of the ordinary people.

”ሚኒስትር ጉዳያት ወፃኢ ዶክተር ወርቅነህ ገበየሁ ንኤርትራ ቴሌቪዥን አብ ገሀቦ ሓበሬታ ዝተገብረሎም ምዕሩግ ሕውነታዊ አቀባብላ ክልቲኡ ህዝብታት ንሰላምን ምምልላኝን ወለዎ ቅርቡነት ዘነፅር ምካነ ጠቂሱ። ህዝቢ ኤርትራ በሓፈሻ ህዝቢ ከተማ አስመራ ድማ ብፍላይ ነዚ ታሪካዊ ዕለት አዙይ አብ ኅደናታት ፈሲሱ ብልዑል አክብሮት ምዕባሉ ነቲ መርአያ ከም ዝኮነ ብምሕባር ምስጋኑኡ አቅሪቡ። ዝተገብረልና አቀባብላ በቃለይ ክገልፃ የሸግረኒ እዩ።” Translation

“Speaking to Eritrean media, Dr. Werkneh Gebeyehu, Foreign Minister of Ethiopia, stating that the warm welcome they received attests to how much the people of Eritrea cherish peace, expressed deep appreciation for the warm reception they were accorded (ERI-TV, 10 July 2018).

In general, ETV used more human interest frame than ERI-TV. ERI-TV used less human interest frame and the frame focused on the feelings of the higher officials, not the members of the community.

4.2.5 Attribution of responsibility frame

The fifth type of frame used by the two media outlets in the reconciliation process was attribution of responsibility frame. In these frame news presented by ETV was more visible than ERI-TV. In the Responsibility frame, both media outlets gave different coverage in number but, their content was the same.

“የኢትዮጵያ እና የኤርትራ ህዝብ በጥቅም ብቻ ሳይሆን በደም የተሳሰሩ ናቸው ስለሆነም ለሁለቱ ሀገሮች ህዝብ ሲባል የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት የአልጀርሱን ስምምነት እና የድንበር ኮሚሽን ውሳኔ ሙሉ ለሙሉ ተቀብሎ ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ የወሰነ እና ለተግባራዊነቱም ያለማመንታት በቁርጠኝነት የሚሰራ መሆኑን አስታውቋል።”

Translation

“Ethiopia and Eritrea have longstanding historical relations, Peoples of the two countries are not only bounded by benefits but also by blood, thought Ethiopia's governing coalition has announced it will fully accept and implement the agreement and the border commission” (ETV June 5, 2018).

These show that the enthusiasm of the Ethiopian government to accept the Algiers agreement and to end the war. It has also an implication of the border commission was failed, because of the unwillingness of Ethiopia government to accept the agreement.

“ንዝሓለፍ 20 ዓመታት ንግዳማዊ ዓላማዊ አጀንዳታትት ከገልግል ተባሂሉ ብዝተሓረየ ፖሊሲታት ናይ ክልተ ኣልድታት ዕድላት ከም ዝተከሰረ ብደግሲ ዝምቡዕ ናይ ወያነ ዓላማዊ ፖሊሲታት ዝወረደ ዕንወት ዝተከሰረ ዕድልን ዝተከፈለ መስዋዕትነትን ድማ አዚዩ ከቢድ ብምካኑ ብምንፃር ኣብዚ ቀረባ እዋን ኣብ ዞባና በሓፈሻ ኣብ ኢትዮጵያ ከዓ ብፍላይ ዝተቀልቀለ ተርእዮታት ግቡእ ኣቃልቦ ዝሓትት ምዕባለ ከም ዝኮነ ኣብሪሁ። ነዚ ህልው ኩነታት ብቀጥታን ብዕምቆትን ምእንቲ ክፈልጦን ቀፃሊ ውጤት ስራሕ ምእንቲ ክነድፍን ልኡክ ናብ ኣዲስ አበባ የብግስ ከምዘሎ ኣፍሊጡ።”

Translation

“For the last 20 years, we have toiled and paid sacrifices for two generations, because of the destructive policies of the TPLF regime. but in the past days positive signals issued in Ethiopia, and we will send a delegation to Addis Ababa to gauge current developments directly and in depth as well as to chart out a plan for continuous future action” (ERI-TV, June 20, 2018).

When Eritrea replied for the peace invited by Ethiopian government *ERI-TV* framed the president of Isaias Afewerki speech converging on how the two countries paid sacrifices and what actions should take for the next. In this news, *ERI-TV* not raised about the issue of the border. Instead, it attempts to blame for the Tigray People’s Liberation Front that was the dominant front in the *EPRDF* coalition until PM Abiy come to power in April 2018. The allegation indicates that for the sacrifices paid for the last 20 years was the problem of *TPLF*. To show the problem of *TPLF*, *ERI-TV* presented the news which indicates that the damage of human life and other things were the result of the destructive police of *TPLF*.

4.3. Findings of the discussion

The research investigates how Ethiopian Television and Eritrean Television covered and framed the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. As we have seen from the presentation part *ETV* gave more coverage for the reconciliation than *ERI-TV*. Government officials were the most attributed source and peace framing was the most dominant frame in both of the media outlets. This section

relates the findings of the current research to the framing, agenda-setting theory and with the Literature.

4.3.1. Coverage of the reconciliation process

The data analyzed above revealed that there was a difference between *ETV* and *ERI-TV* covering the issues of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. *ETV* provided more coverage to the reconciliation, whereas *ERI-TV* gave less coverage to the reconciliation. According to the size of coverage, different scholars said different ideas. Sizing of stories remains one way of salient a story (Entman, 1991). McCombs (2004) pointed out that when the media choose to cover a topic and significant attention is given it, the topic is given salience to the public and seen as needing attention or requiring some action. These topics receiving significant coverage by the media get transferred to the public agenda as needing response or action. Increasing in the news coverage is thought to bring about an increase in the salience of a particular issue or event (Rias, 2008). According to the findings, *ETV* devoted more salience for the reconciliation process by giving more coverage than *ERI-TV*.

4.3.2. Appearance of the news

News related to the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation issues that presented by *ETV* and *ERI-TV* in their prime-time news was categorized as the first position, second position, third position, fourth position and above the fifth position. The appearance of news in *ETV* prime-time most of the news presented in the above 5th position, in *ERI-TV* most of the news presented in the first position. Stories which are presented first in the news program considered as the most important stories of the day. They are given top priority and are reported first. Hence, *ETV* not give too much priority for the reconciliation, *ERI-TV* in contrast proved too much priority for the reconciliation in the case of appearance of news.

As Pan & Kosicki (1993: 59) observe, “a headline is the most salient cue to activate certain semantically related concepts in readers’ minds: it is thus the most powerful framing device of syntactical structure.” According to McCombs & Shaw (1977) suggested that the media agenda establishes the position and the length of the story, as the primary criteria of prominence. This meant that placing certain issues at the very beginning of the news or programs of broadcast media is the way to show the prominence of the story in that news. As McCombs & Shaw (1972)

quoted in Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) also noted that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues (e.g., based on the relative placement or amount of coverage) and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences. Based on the scholar's idea, issues presented in the very start have greater influence than those coming later. Thus, we can understand that the issue of Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation was much more worth news for *ERI-TV* than *ETV* in the case of appearance of news in their evening news program.

4.3.3. Duration of the news

In any media institution giving too much time and space for news was one mechanism of salient the news. There was a significant difference in the duration of news between *ETV* and *ERI-TV*. In *ETV* more than half of the news presented from 181 seconds up to above 360 second and the remaining less than half presented in the duration of fewer than 180 seconds, which indicates better time was given for the reconciliation. Whereas in *ERI-TV* almost all of the news presented below 180 seconds and the other one-eighth (1/8) of stories was given above 180 seconds, which is less time was given for the reconciliation when it compares within *ETV*. It implies that the length of duration given to the reconciliation in *ETV* was better than *ERI-TV*. Even though *ERI-TV*, did not give much coverage and time for the reconciliation news, but the news were presented in the first position, in contrast; *ETV* gave much coverage and time for the news but the news was presented above the fifth position. Both the media had given high priority for the reconciliation but in different ways. McCombs & Shaw (1977) pointed out that the position and the length of the story, as the primary criteria of prominence. Accordingly, even if the media gave different coverage and presented their news in a different position, both of them dedicated attention for the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process in their coverage.

4.3.4. Tone of the news

Significant difference observed between the two media in the tone of their news. In *ETV* more than half of the news was portrayed in a positive tone. Whereas (29%) of its news had a neutral tone and (12%) were negative tone. In contrast in *ERI-TV*, more than half of the news were neutral tone and (29%) of the news were positive tone. And it used a negative tone only (6%) of its news. This suggests that, *ETV* used more positive tones in its news but, *ERI-TV* was tend to be neutral on the issue. Both media outlets have had a lower number of negative news in the

reconciliation process. The implication of the positive tone of news on the television channels there is a right track to the peace process of the two countries. The neutral tone also shows that the media channels neither critical accusing nor supporting to the reconciliation. *ETV* tried to tell the tone of the story in a more positive way, by raising the advantage and disadvantage of the reconciliation and the positive roles taken by the government, but *ERI-TV* remains silent, neither criticizing nor supporting. Almost all of the news covered by *ERI-TV* were event based and not clearly indicated the advantage and disadvantage of the reconciliation. Since the *ERI-TV* news were event-driven, it is not surprising that the tone of news covered by *ERI-TV* was neutral. Another scrutinizing way for this was the sources used were government source. Therefore, it did not entertain different viewpoints.

4.3.5. Information sources used in the news

ETV and *ERI-TV* used different sources in the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. But the most dominant sources used by both of them were government officials. The finding of this study reveals that *ETV* and *ERI-TV* used government officials' sources more than any other sources. More than half of the news in *ERI-TV* used government officials as sources. But *ETV* used less than half. Next, to government officials, *ETV* used more members of the community as a source in the news than *ERI-TV*. But *ERI-TV* focused on government officials. According to Entman (1993), news media heavily depends on officials sources for information under some special condition government officials become the main sources due to the fact that they have reliable information and they are in a position to make decisions. In contrast, if sections of society are excluded or not represented then the media environment will distort, not support, democracy (European Commission, 2012). This will require active editorial policies and a strong journalistic culture (ibid). Based on the findings, both media outlets more relied on government official sources, it assumed that there is deficiency of media freedom in the countries. *ETV* relatively used members of community as sources in the reconciliation news, but *ERI-TV* used fewer members of community sources as it compared to *ETV*. This is might be *ERI-TV* is controlled by the state and there is censorship in the country.

4.3.6. Frames used in the selected Media outlets

The result reveals that *ETV* and *ERI-TV* on their evening news employed five different news frames during their coverage of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. Those are peace frame, reassuring frame, economic, human interest and attribution of responsibility frame.

4.3.6.1. Peace frame

From the frames employed by *ERI-TV* and *ETV*, peace frame was the most dominant frame used by the television stations during their coverage of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. Among the 113 news in both media outlets that were analyzed in this study *ERI-TV* used comparatively more peace framing with 48%, while *ETV* frames 39% of the news. These confirmed that the media used to emphasize the importance of peace and its role for the people of the two countries. According to Galtung (1986, 1998) peace journalism, suggest an advocacy and interpretive role for the media, with peace orientation, people orientation, truth orientation, and solution orientation. This describes what the two media reported their news focused on peace journalism but in a different way of reporting. *ETV* focused on peace, people oriented, and solution and truth-oriented, while *ERI-TV* reported the news focused on peace and people oriented. *ETV* tried to concentrate on the whole evidence of peace journalism, whereas *ERI-TV* focused only on peace and truth-oriented. If relations are really bad, almost any statement or fact will be seen in a negative light: if there is a desire for good relations, the opposite will be the case (Galtung, 1985). As the finding shows, *ERI-TV* used more peace frames focused on the peace process of the reconciliation by using government officials as sources. News covered by *ERI-TV* was event-based with single sources. However *ETV* used peace frame to tell about the enthusiasm of Prime Minister Abiy to peace. *ETV* tried to present the news in a positive way focused in the role's taken by Abiy. As Entman (1993) pointed out government officials become the main sources due to the fact that they have reliable information and they are in position to make decisions. According Lee, Maslog & Kim (2006) study found under the title of '*a comparative analysis on Asian conflicts and the Iraq war by eight Asian newspapers*' measured and compared the framing of two different levels of conflicts international and local. It founds that war journalism framing was more dominant in the local conflict while the peace journalism framing was more dominant in the coverage of Iraq war. It is correlated to the dominant fame of this research in one side, but this study focused on reconciliation and in broadcast media, while

the prior study focused on conflict and war and also on newspapers. Therefore, the findings shows that the dominate frame used in the comparative framing analysis of Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process coverage by *ETV* and *ERI-TV* was peace frame.

4.3.6.2. Reassuring frame

Following to peace frame for *ERI-TV* the second most dominant frame was the reassuring frame which comprises 27%. On other hand, reassuring frame was the fourth dominant frame portrayed on *ETV* which accounted 10 (15 %). In this frame *ERI-TV* tried to address how the reconciliation process was supported by Eritrean people. The news that covered by *ERI-TV* have an implication of the government of Eritrea, was doing the right thing in implementing the reconciliation, consequently, the people shall be helpful to the government. In addition *ERI-TV* used news by sourcing the international organization, the news in this frame explains about international organizations support to the peace process, it might be to display how the reconciliation was getting acceptance. In the case of *ETV*, the residences were giving their testimonies why to support the reconciliation.

4.3.6.3. Economic frame

Both media stations used economic frame as third dominant frame. *ETV* framed 12 (19%) of the news in the economic frame out of 65 total news, while *ERI-TV* framed 9 (19%) of the news out of 48 in total. Economic news frame concentrates on the economic boost of the two countries. The news in *ETV* was spindle that the reconciliation has an advantage of enlightening the economy of the people of the two countries by sourcing different members of the community. Thus, news frames in *ETV* assert that starting of the economic integration has many hopes for the brotherly countries which tried to give some predictions about the advantage of the reconciliation. However, *ERI-TV* covered the starting of economic relation without predicting the outcome of the relationship. And, it more focused on government official sources. As Peleg's (2007) noted out that peace journalism is not to report what is seen but to report what can be seen, not simply to reflect reality but to explore reality and unearth what is not ostensibly reflective; to wisely utilize structural and organizational imperatives and to be subdued by them; to regard and cultivate readers interest but not be manipulated by them. This is the profound shift in the nature of journalism that the new philosophy offers. Based on this, *ETV* was covering the news based on the peace journalism principles than *ERI-TV*. *ERI-TV* covered the issue based on

some elements of peace journalism but it did not fulfill the principles of peace journalism according to Peleg's measures.

4.3.6.4. Human interest frame

For *ETV* the second dominant frame was human interest frame which accounts (23%). *ERI-TV*, In contrast framed the human interest frame as the fourth dominant frame two (4%) news. *ETV* used more personal feelings in the news to show that the peoples of the two countries were affected by the war. It presented news largely focused on people oriented and used those who sufferers during the war, as sources to give their witness about the challenging they faced. *ERI-TV*, dissimilarity, was silent towards the affected people by the war. It did not give attention for the human feelings; instead it largely focused only on the peace process. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), they defined human interest frame as presenting a story with human face, is promote over more important aspects. The human interest frame appears more often in television news as compared to print media as Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) noted. From this point of view *ETV*'s coverage given to the human interest frame was correlated with Semetko and Valkenburg research. But *ERI-TV*'s coverage given to the human interest frame was uncorrelated with Semetko and Valkenburg. According to Ottosen (2010) peace journalism is people-orientated in the sense that it focuses on the victims (often civilian casualties) and thus gives a voice to the voiceless. Based on this, *ERI-TV* chose not to include the human feelings in its news; it focused on the officials' point of view.

4.3.6.5. Attribution of responsibility frame

The media outlets showed almost similar perspective in their use of attribution of responsibility frame which largely revolved around who should take responsibility for the war. In these frame news presented by *ETV* was visible than *ERI-TV*. Nine percent in *ETV* while in *ERI-TV* it is only two percent. In the attribution of responsibility frame, both media outlets have given different coverage in number but, their content is the same. Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) related to attribution of responsibility frame stated that certain part of the society or government officials have the responsibility for an already happened incident or for any possible solution to mitigate a certain problem. Grounded on this definition the selected media outlets were directly or indirectly in blame of *TPLF* for the war between the two countries.

Chapter Five

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to investigate how the Ethiopian Television and Eritrean Television covered the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. The study focused on the coverage and types of frames used by the two media outlets. The coverage given for the reconciliation, duration of news, appearance of news, tone of the story and source quoted are discovered. In addition to this, types of frames that presented in the media were also identified. Framing was used as a principal theoretical frame work, Agenda setting theory and peace journalism were also applied to support the study.

The study conducted on *ETV* and *ERI-TV* during the period from June 5, 2018, up to September 30, 2018, where the websites original languages were used Amharic form (*ETV*) and Tigrigna from (*ERI-TV*). For *ETV* news *ETV 57* Amharic evening news and for *ERI-TV* news Tigrigna evening news were taken for the study considering they are prime-time news. The research employed both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze the contents of the news with the inductive approach. The quantitative content analysis was conducted to identify the coverage given by each media outlets, while the qualitative content analysis (textual analysis) was employed to identify the frames given by the television station.

The findings of the research revealed that *ETV* gave comparatively the highest coverage for the reconciliation process than *ERI-TV*. Duration of time given for the reconciliations was higher in *ETV* than *ERI-TV*. While in the case of appearance or the placement of news *ERI-TV* presented most of the news from first to the third position. But *ETV* presented the news from the third position to above the fifth position. This indicates that, *ERI-TV* gave prominence for the reconciliation news than *ETV* by presented the news in the head line and sub headline. Even though the media were given different coverage and presented their news in a different position. Both of them were given priority for the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process.

In the case of source usage, more than half of the news in *ERI-TV* used government official sources. But *ETV* used less than half. Next, to government officials, *ETV* used more members of the community as a source in the news than *ERI-TV*. According to the findings, the two media stations were presumed they concentrated on promoting the role of their leaders their readiness to implementing the reconciliation process.

Based on the analysis five frames were employed in the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process by two of the selected media stations. As the results indicated it was found that peace frame was the most dominant frame used by Ethiopian and Eritrean Television stations. This frame was used 48% in *ERI-TV*, out of the 48 total news, and 34% in *ETV*, from the total of 65 news. The coverage of the two television stations focused on the peace process of the two countries.

For *ERI-TV* the second most dominant frame was the reassuring frame with (27%) which addresses the reconciliation process was supported by Eritrean people. For *ETV* the second dominant frame was human interest frame with (23%) used more personal feelings in the news to display that the peoples of the two countries were affected by the war. It presented news focused on people oriented and used sufferers as sources to give their witness about the challenging time. *ERI-TV*, in contrast it did not gave attention for the human feeling news. It focused on the peace process.

Next to human interest frame *ETV* used economic frame as a third dominantly frame in the reconciliation news. *ERI-TV* also used economic frame as a third dominantly frame. *ETV* framed 12 (19%) of the news in the economic frame out of 65 total news. while *ERI-TV* framed nine (19%) of the news out of 48 in total. In this frame, *ETV* presented the news by interviewing residents especially peoples from the border. But *ERI-TV* concentrated on event-based reports.

The forth dominant frame portrayed on *ETV* was reassuring frame which is ten (15 %). To indicate that the acceptance of the reconciliation process by Ethiopian's. And what measures should take for the next to realize the reconciliation? It presented the news relatively in balanced and in different angle by using sources from the government as well as from the society. In contrast, the forth dominant frame used in *ERI-TV* was human interest frame with two (4%). In this frame, *ERI-TV* gave did not gave attention for the human feelings.

The findings under this study show that the two media outlets almost have similar perspective in covering attribution responsibility frame which largely revolved around who should take

responsibility for the war. From both sides directly or indirectly they blamed TPLF for the brotherly war.

In general, the findings reveals that, even though there is a slight difference in covering the reconciliation process between the selected media, *ETV* and *ERI-TV* gave priority for the issue. Both the selected media stations were they depict the reconciliation news focused on the government sources. *ERI-TV* relied largely on sources that are loyal to the government. In the case of *ETV*, it used government and the community as the sources in reporting the reconciliation process. The dominant frame used by two of the media stations were peace framing, and the least frame used in *ETV* and *ERI-TV* were attribution of responsibility frame.

5.2. Recommendation

Based on the findings and conclusions, the researcher suggests the following recommendation to the selected media stations:

- Since the issue of Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation was a current and hot issue, they shall gain highest prominence than any other issue. Thus, *ETV* shall give attention for the reconciliation process news than any other news.
- News related to Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation gain less time coverage in Eritrean Television when it compare with *ETV*, therefore *ERI-TV* shall give enough time for the reconciliation.
- *ETV* news focused on the positive tone of the news, while *ERI-TV* news focused on the neutral tone of the news in covering the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process. The viewers might get the positive and neutral side of the reconciliation but not the negative issue. Consequently, it is recommended that *ETV* and *ERI-TV* shall report both the negative and positive tone of the story in constructive and balanced way.
- Ethiopian Television and Eritrean Television focused on government official sources. It assumes that the viewers could not get grounded information about the peace process. Hence two of the media stations shall use multiple sources of information.
- The finding of the study also showed that the framing of the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation in Eritrean Television and Ethiopian Television used government affiliated sources. Media shall not be biased, instead, media must report based on the facts on the ground

and it shall be loyal to the people not to the government. Thus the media stations shall be more objective and balanced in their framing.

- Comparatively Eritrean Television devoted less human interest frames in its coverage about the reconciliation process, and it was dominantly single sourced. Accordingly it shall use more human interest frames.

References

- Abbink, J. (2003). "Ethiopian and Eritrean: proxy wars and the prospects of peace in the horn of Africa", *journal of contemporary African studies*. 21:3, pp., 407
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content analysis in communication research*, New York: The Free Press.
- Birhanu, O. D. (2009). *Journalism in the context of Ethiopian mass media: Essays, researches, and reflections*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: publisher not identified.
- Blen, F. (2006). Ethiopian Government's Management of the Media during the Ethio-Eritrean War 1998-2000.
- Boler. M. (2010). Digital media and democracy tactics in hard times. Mit press: Cambridge.
- Cissel, M. (2012). Media framing: a comparative content analysis on mainstream.
- D. Chong & J. N. Druckman, (2007). A Theory of Framing and Opinion Formation Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60208
- De Vrese, C.H. (2005). News Framing: Theory and Typology. Information and design.
- Devi Prasad, B. (2008). *Content Analysis. A method of Social Science Research*.
- Edwin M. (2010). Instability in the Horn of Africa: An Assessment of the Ethiopia-Eritrean Conflict.
- Entman, R.M. (1993). Framing: Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication* (pp. 51-58).
- Eugene F.S. (1979). Agenda-Setting and Mass Communication Theory International Communication Gazette 1979; 25; 96DOI: 10.1177/001654927902500203
- Eytan, G. (2009). Media and Conflict Resolution: A Frame work for Analysis, 93 Marq. L. Rev.

- Fireweini, H. (2016). Ethio-Eritrea Conflict and the Role of Scholars and Intellectuals in the ‘Stalled’ Peace Process and Reconciliation.
- Franklin, S. (2003). Regime Change and War: Domestic Politics and the Escalation of the Ethiopia--Eritrea Conflict, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 16:1,119-133, DOI: 10.1080/0955757032000075744.
- Galtung, J. (1985) on the role if the media for world wide security and peace. Paris.
- Galtung, J. (2002). Peace journalism- a challenge, journalism and the new world order. *Studying the war and the media*, 260-280.
- Gertrude D. L. (2015). A content analysis of Ghana television (GTV) and JOY news TV coverage of health news.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The World is watching; mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, MA:Thesis Harvard University Press.
- Indira, M. (2012). Global Television and Eritrean Society. *Indian Journl of Media Studies*, 3-15.
- Indira, M. (2016). Journalists’ Safety in the World’s Most Restricted Regime: The Case of Eritrea, Northeast Africa.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issue* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Iyob, R. (2000) “The Ethiopian and Eritrean Conflict: Diasporicvs hegemonic States in the Horn of Africa” *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 38, 4, pp. 659-682. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press journal (pp. 51-62).

- John W. C. (2013). *Research design qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* sage publications.
- Kalewongel . M. (2008). *Ethiopia and Eritrea: The Quest for Peace and Normalizations*. Ma theis university of Troms, Norway.
- Kidanu, A. & Endalcachew,B. (2015). *The Ethio-Eritrean Post-War Stalemate: An Assessment on the Causes and Prospects*. *Humanities and Social Sciences*.Vol. 3, No. 2, 2015, Pp. 96-101. Doi: 10.11648/J.Hss.20150302.15.
- Kothari, C.R. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques* (2nd revised edition).
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology* 2nd edition.
- Kuypers,J.A., & Cooper, S. D. (2005). *A comparative framing analysis of embedded and behind the lines reporting on the 2003 Iraq war*. *Qualitative research reports in communication*, 6, 1-10.
- Leenco, L. (2003), 'The Ethiopia–Eritrea War', *Review of African Political Economy*, 30:97, 369–88.
- Lobban, R. (1976) "The Eritrean War: Issues and Implications", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol.10, No. 2, Pp. 335-346.
- Lynch, J., & McGoldrick, A. (2000). *Peace Journalism What Is It? How to Do It?*
- Lyons, T. (2009) 'The Ethiopia-Eritrea Conflict and the Search for Peace in the Horn of Africa',*Review of African Political Economy*,36:120,167 — 180
- Marais, M. L. (2012). *QUALITATIVE NEWS FRAME ANALYSIS: A METHODOLOGY*.
- Marialibera, I. (2012). *Exploring the Eritrean diaspora in Italy and in the United Kingdom*.
- Mccombs, M. (2004). *The Mass Media and Public Opinion*: Cambridge: Polity Press.
- McQuail, D. (2000). *McQuail's mass communication theory*: Sage publications.
- McQuail, D. (2005). *McQuail's Mass Communication theory*. (5th ed.) London. Sage

- Medihane, T. (1999). *The Eritrean-Ethiopian War: Retrospect and Prospects*. Addis Ababa: Mega Printing Enterprise.
- Muhabie, M. M. (2015). The root cause of conflicts in the horn of Africa. *American journal of applied psychology*. Vol. 4, no, 2015, pp.28-34.
- Mulatu, A. (2017) *Why Silence? Reporting Internal Conflict in Ethiopian Newspapers*. Doctoral Thesis Submitted for Faculty of Humanities - Department of Media and Communication: University of Oslo.
- Mwanje, I. J. (2001). *Issues in Social Science Research: A Social Science Research Methodology Series. (Module I)*. OSSREA, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Nahid, S. B. (2017). *Framing analysis of British Newspaper Representation of Saudi Women from 2005- 2013* A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of University of Alford's requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Media and Communication.
- Neundorf, K. (2002). *The Content Analysis Guide book*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, nc. Of the New Left, Berkeley.
- Nohrstedt, S. A. (2009) 'New War Journalism: Trends and Challenges', *Nordicom Review*
- Ottosen R. (2010). *The war in Afghanistan and peace journalism in practice*.
- Pan, Z. & K., G.M. 1993. *Framing analysis: an approach to news discourse*.
- Patrick, G. (1999). *Ethiopia - Perspectives of Conflict 1991-1999* Swiss Peace Foundation.
- Peleg, S. (2007) 'In Defense of Peace Journalism: A Rejoinder', *conflict & communication online*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2007 *Political Communication* 10: 55-76 Publications.
- Radu & Stefanita (2012). *Framing the Economic Crisis in the Romanian Online Media*. National University of Political Studies and Public Administration, College of Communication and Public Relations Bucharest, Romania.
- Bereketeab, R. (2010). *The Complex Roots of the Second Eritrea-Ethiopia War: Re-examining the Causes* *African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.13, Numbers 1&2, 2010, pp.15–59

- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., Watson, B, & Lovejoy, J. (2015). *Issues and Best Practices in Content Analysis*
- Riffe,D., Lacy,S. &Fico,F.G.(2005). *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*, 2nd Edition: London, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Satu, E. & Helvi, K. (2008). *The qualitative content analysis process.*
- Scheufele, D. A., & Iyengar, S. (2012). *The state of framing research: A call for new directions. The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication Theories.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1-26.
- Scheufele, D.A. (1999). *Framing as a theory of media effects.* *Journal of Communication*
- Scheufele, D.T. (2007) *Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models,* *Journal of Communication* (57) 1, 9-12
- Semetko, A. & Valkenburg, M. (2000). *Framing European politics: A Content Analysis of Press & Television News.* *Journal of Communication*, spring 2000, 93-109.
- Solomon A. D. (2004). *Ethiopian-Eritrean relations: reading the balance sheet.* Institute for security studies situation report.
- Sylvester, D. (2014): *Daily Struggles: Private Print Media, The State, And Democratic Governance In Zimbabwe In The Case Of The African Daily News (1956-1964) And The Daily News (1999-2003)*
- Tadesse, K. (2018). *the War Report 2018: The Eritrea–Ethiopia Armed Conflict.*
- Tariku, D. (2016). *The Ethiopia Eritrea No War No Peace Situation Has To End.* Institute Of Development and Education for Africa. Available At:
[Http://Www.Africanidea.Org/Ethiopia_Eritrea_No-War_Peace.Htm](http://www.africanidea.org/Ethiopia_Eritrea_No-War_Peace.Htm).
- Tekeste Negash & Kjetil Tronvoll (2000). *Brothers at War: Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War.* Oxford: James Currey.
- Temesgen (2012). *Ethiopian – Eritrean Conflict: Security Implications for the Horn of Africa.*

- The European Commission, (2012). Freedom of Expression, Media and Digital Communications retrieved on April 4, 2, 2019 from https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/study-freedom-expression-communication-key-issues-201212_en_3.pdf
- Wanta, W., Golan, G., & Lee, C. (2004) Agenda setting and international news: media influence on public perceptions of foreign nations. *Journalism and mass communication quarterly*, 81(2), 364-77.
- Wimmer, R. and Dominick, J. (2006). *Mass Media Research: An Introduction* (8th Edition). Australia: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Wimmer, R. & Dominick, J.R. (2003). *Mass Media Research: An Introduction* (7th Ed.).
- Wuhibegezer, F. (2014) *Fundamental Consequences of the Ethio- Eritrean War [1998-2000]* York:
- Young, J. (1996) "The Tigray and the Eritrean People's Liberation Fronts: a History of Tensions and Pragmatism" in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 34, I, pp., 105-120.

Appendixes

Coding Sheets For The Research Study A Comparative Framing Analysis Of Ethio-Eritrean Reconciliation Process Coverage In *ETV* And *ERI-TV*.

Appendix A

Coding Sheet

Name of coder.....

Name of the media.....

Date of broadcast.....

Headline of the story.....

Appearance or placement of news

1st.....

2nd.....

3rd.....

4th.....

Above the 5th position.....

Duration of the stories

Up to 30sec.....

Between 31 and 60 seconds.....

Between 61 and 120seconds.....

Between 121 and 180 seconds.....

Between 181 and 240 seconds.....

Between 241 and 300seconds.....

Between 301and 360 seconds.....

Above 360 second.....

Information sources

Government officials.....

Business institutions.....

International organizations.....

Local media.....

Foreign media.....
Members of communities/individuals.....
No specified source.....

Tone of the story

Positive.....
Negative.....
Neutral.....

Types of frames

Responsibility frame.....
Reassuring Frame.....
Economic frame.....
Human interest frame.....
Peace frame.....

Appendix B

Coding Guide

Type of media- the type of media station that covers the issue of Ethio-Eritrea reconciliation process.

Appearance of stories-In terms of the television news, the researchers determined the appearance of Ethio-Eritrean peace deal stories in the headline as well as their position (i.e., 1st, 2nd, or 3rd position).

Duration of the stories- For the television channels, the time allocated to the reconciliation process stories was determined.

Information sources- are names of a person, group or organization which are quoted directly or indirectly in the news by the selected media outlets.

Tone: the tone refers to the stance of the media outlets, in which the Ethio-Eritrean reconciliation process was presented by the media outlets which could be positive, Negative or neutral. In this research the positive tone entails describing the reconciliation process were good for the two countries social and economically, the positive roles of the governments in the reconciliation, while a negative tone entails describing the peace deal were a problem in implementation or some impact on social or economic issues. However the tone will be considered neutral when there is no clear distinction in regard to the reconciliation process whether it has impact or not.

Frames- are the different kinds of frames used in the media. They are attribution of responsibility, human interest, economic, reassuring and peace frames.

Responsibility frame – when the story suggests that individuals or an organization should take actions on the issue.

Economic frame-when the story refers to the economic impacts/consequences/of the issue.

Human interest frame- when the story involves people and their fillings in the reconciliation process.

Reassuring frame- when the story tells about the reconciliation, support and relation of peoples.

Peace frame-when the story provides the benefit of peace and the agreements between two countries.

1. Economic Frame

- Is there a mention of financial losses or gains before, now or in the future?
- Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?
- Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

2. Human interest Frame

- Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?
- Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?
- Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?
- Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?
- Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of happiness or kindness?

3. Responsibility Frame

- Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?

Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?

- Does the story suggest solution(s) to the issue/problem?
- Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?
- Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?

4. Reassuring frame

- Does the story suggest some encouraging things for the reconciliation?
- Does the story provide people to people relation?
- Does the story suggest any kind of support of the leaders of the two countries?
- Is there any mention of promising to keep the new peace process?
- Does the story mention any awards with relation to the peace process?

5. Peace framing

- Does the story provide any agreement between the two countries?
- Does the story suggest a peace deal?
- Is there any mention about the benefit of peace and its disadvantage?
- Is there any relation with people in related to the two countries peace?
- Does the story provide any bilateral relation?

Appendix C

Inter-Coder Reliability

| Categories | No of coding decisions | Decisions that coders agree | decisions that coders disagree | Reliability | |
|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|------------|
| | | | | ratio | Percentage |
| Appearance | 113 | 113 | - | 1 | 100 |
| Duration | 113 | 113 | - | 1 | 100 |
| Tone | 113 | 108 | 5 | 0.96 | 96 |
| Information sources | 113 | 100 | 13 | 0.88 | 88 |
| Frame | 113 | 98 | 15 | 0.86 | 86 |
| Sum total | 565 | 532 | 33 | 0.94 | 94 |

$$\text{Reliability} = 2M / (N1 + N2)$$

Where 'M' represents the number of coding decisions on which two coders agree, and N1 and N2 is the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder respectively.

Appendix D

The Amharic version of ETV news samples used in the text.

የኢትዮ ኤርትራ ተፈጥሮ የነበረው አለመግባባት እንዲያበቃና በሁለቱ ወንድማች ህዝቦች ዘላቂ ሰላም እንዲፈጠር ኢህአዴግ ጥሪ አቅርቧል ።

የኢትዮጵያ እና የኤርትራ ህዝብ በጥቅም ብቻ ሳይሆን በደም የተሳሰሩ ናቸው ስለሆነም ለሁለቱ ሀገሮች ህዝብ ሲባል የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት የአልጀርሱን ስምምነት እና የድንበር ኮሚሽን ውሳኔ ሙሉ ለሙሉ ተቀብሎ ተግባራዊ ለማድረግ የወሰነ እና ለተግባራዊነቱም ያለማመንታት በቁርጠኝነት የሚሰራ መሆኑን አስታውቋል።

(ኢ.ቴቪ.ግንቦት 28 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

የሰላም ስምምነት ለሁለቱም ህዝቦች ኢኮኖሚያዊና ማህበራዊ ማደግ ከፍተኛ ሚና እንደሚኖረው የመቀሌ ነዋሪዎች ገለጹ።

አሁን የተጀመረው የሰላም ስምምነት ሁለቱም ህዝቦች በኢኮኖሚው እና በማህበራዊ ዘርፍ ተጠቃሚ እንዲሆኑ የሚያግዝ ነው ሲሉ የመቀሌ ነዋሪዎች ገለጹ።

(ኢ.ቴቪ.ግንቦት 7 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

የምስራቅ አፍሪካ ችግር የሚፈታው በጦርነት ሳይሆን በፍቅርና በሰላም በመደመር መሆኑን ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶክተር አብይ አሕመድ ገለጹ።

ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ይህን ያሉት ከ 20 ዓመታት በላይ ተራርቆ የቆይት ህዝቦች ለማስታረቅ በአስመራ ከኤርትራ ፕሬዚዳንት አቶ ኢሳይያስ አፈወርቂ ከተወያዩ በኋላ ነው።

ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዶክተር አብይ እንዳሉት በአስመራ የፍቅር ዝናብ ዘንቧል የፍቅር ዝናቡ ለምስራቅ አፍሪካም የሚተርፍ ነው።

ዛሬ የተረዳነው ፍቅር ለመግዛት ሩቅ ምስራቅ መሄድ አይጠቅም፤ ጦርነት ለኢትዮጵያ እና ለኤርትራ አይበጅም የሚጠቅመን ፍቅር እና ሰላም ነው።

(ኢ.ቴ.ቪ፣ ሐምሌ 4 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

በሁለቱም አገራት የተጀመረው የእርቅና የሰላም ስምምነት እንደሚደግፉ የሀዋሳ ነዋሪዎች ተናገሩ።

በኢትዮጵያ እና በኤርትራ የተጀመረው የእርቅና የሰላም ስምምነት ተግባራዊ አንዲሆን የበኩላቸውን እንደሚወጡ የሀዋሳ ነዋሪዎች ተናገሩ።

(ኢ.ቴ.ቪ፣ ሐምሌ 8 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

በኢትዮ ኤርትራ ጦርነት ምክንያት ከልጆቹ አና መላው ቤተሰቦቹ ተለያይቶ የቆየው ጋዜጠኛ አዲስአለም ሓድጉ ከ16 ዓመታት በኋላ ከልጆቹ ጋር ተገናኝቶቷል።

አዲስአለም ሓድጉ በኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስቲንግ ኮርፖሬሽን ብሔራዊ ሬድዮ የትግርኛ ቋንቋ ጋዜጠኛ በመሆን ለበርካታ ዓመታት አገልግሏል።

ከ 16 ዓመታት በፊት በሁለቱም አገራት መካከል በተነሳው የድንበር ውዝግብ ምክንያት አዲስአለም ከሚወዳት ሚስቱ አና ሁለት ልጆቹ ተለያይቶ እንዲኖር አድርጓታል።

አሁን በዶክተር አብይ ጥረት በተፈጠረው ሰላም ከልጆቹ ጋር ለመገናኘት በቅቻለሁ ይላል አዲስአለም።

አዲስአለም በርካታ የጨለማ ዓመታትን አሳልፍደለሁ ይላል እምባ እየቀደመው። ስቃዩን ለመግለፅ ቃላት አጥሮት ያሳለፈውን የብቸኝነት እና የመከራ ጊዜ በእንባ ያስታውሳል።

የሁለቱም አገራት መለያየትና ሰላም መሆን የማይታመን ነው አሁን ግን ሁሉም ሆኗል እኔም ልክ ሎተሪ እንደ ደረሰው ሰው ዓይነት ስሜት ነው የተሰማኝ ብሏል አዲስአለም።

(ኢ.ቴ.ቪ፣ ሐምሌ 10 ቀን 2010 ዓ.ም)

Appendix E

The Tigrigna version of ERI-TV news samples used in the text.

ኤርትራን ኢትዮጵያን አብ አስመራ ሓበራዊ ሰላምን ምሕዝነትን አውጺኦን።

ህዝብታት ኢትዮጵያን ኤርትራን ብጆኦ ግረፍ፣ ታሪክ፣ባሕሊ፣ቋንቋ፣ሀይማኖት ዝተጠምሩ መሰረታዊ ሓበራዊ ረብሓታት ዘለዎም ህዝብታት ከም ዝኮኑ ብምግንዛብ አብዚ ዝሓለፉ ዓሰርታት ዓመታት አብዚ ሓበራዊ ውርሻ ዝተመስረተ ብሩህ መፃኢ ንምህናፅ ዝነበሮም ዕድላት ከም ዝተነፍጎም ብምዝካር ።

ነዚ ከቢድ ዋጋ ዝከፈልሉን አብ ቀርኒ አፍሪካ እውን አሎታዊ ስምብራት ዝገደፈ ምዕራፍ ዓፂዩም ነቲ ዝከሰርዎ ዕድላት ከምልሱን ካብኡ ዛፍባ ወርቃዊ ዕድላት ክፈጥሩን ቆሪፃም ተበጊሶም ከም ዘለው መሰረት ብምግባር መንግስቲ ኢትዮጵያን መንግስቲ ኤርትራን አብ ዝሰዕሰብ ሀንቀውታን ድልዎታትን ህዝብታቶም ዝገልፅ ሓበራዊ ስምምዕ በፂሒም አለው።

(ኤርቴቪ፣ መስከረም ዕለት 5, 2018)

አብ ኤርትራ ዝተገብረሎም ድሙቅ አቀባብላ ንባህጊ ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ንሰላምን ሰናይ ጉርብትናን ዘንፅር ምካኑ ልኡክ ኢትዮጵያ ገሊፁ።

ሚኒስተር ጉዳያት ወፃኢ ዶክተር ወርቅነህ ገበየሁ ንኤርትራ ቴሌቪዥን አብ ዝሀሰ ሓበሬታ ዝተገብረሎም ምዕሩግ ሕውነታዊ አቀባብላ ክልቲኡ ህዝብታት ንሰላምን ምምልላእን ወለዎ ቅርቡነት ዘንፅር ምካኑ ጠቂሱ።

ህዝቢ ኤርትራ በሓፈሻ ህዝቢ ከተማ አስመራ ድማ ብፍላይ ነዚ ታሪካዊ ዕለት አዙይ አብ ጎደናታት ፈሲሱ ብልዑል አክብሮት ምዕባሉ ነቲ መርኣያ ከም ዝኮነ ብምሕባር ምስጋኑኡ አቅሪቡ። ዝተገብረልና አቀባብላ በቃለይ ክገልፃ የሽግረኒ እዩ።

ኤርትራውያንን ኢትዮጵያውያንን አሕዋት ንክልተ ዓስርተ ዓመታት ተነፋፊቆም ዝነበሩ ህዝብታት ምካኖም ብዓይነይ ሪአ ናይ ሕውነትን ፍቅርን አቀባብላ ድማ ታዓዚበ አብ ውሽጢ ኢትዮጵያ እውን ተመሳሳሊ ስሚዒት እዩ ዘሎ ንሽግርን ሐጎስን በሓንሳብ ዘሕለፉ ህዝብታት ን 20 ዓመታት ብዝነበረ ኩነታት ክስእንዎ ዘይብሎም ሕውነት ሲኢኖም እዩም አዚ ታሪክ እዚ ሎሚ ታዓፅዩ እዩ።

ዝሓለፈ 20 ዓመታት ብዝተፈጠረ ኩነታት ዝከሰርናዮ ዕድላት ናብ ዝድብስ ትስፍው ናይ ሰላም መድርክ ሰለ ዝተበፀሐ ክልቲኡ ህዝብታት ተሓባቢሩን ንድሕሪት ከይጠመተን ሓበራዊ ዕብየትን ብልፅግናን ንምርግጋፅ አብ ዘሐዎ ድልውነት ጥርጥረ ከም ዘይብሉ ድማ አረጋጊፅዎ።

አፈኛ ቤት ምክሪ ፌዴሬሽን ወይወሮ ኪሪያ ኢብራሂም ብወገና እዚ ታሪካዊ ዕለት አዚይ አብ መንግ ክልቲኡ ህዝብታት ተቀቢሩ ዝፀንሐ ኩቱር ናይ ሰላምን ፍቅርን ድልየት ወገንፈለ አጋጣሚ ምንባሩ ብምሕባር።

ክሳራና ንምክሕሓስ አብ ዝመፃናሉ እዋን ካብ ሕዝቢ ኤርትራ ዝረአናዮ ናይ ጭውነትን ጋሻ ናይ ምቅባል ባሕልን አይኮነን ን20 ዓመታት ነሐደ መዓልቲ እውን ክትፍለዮ ዘይትክእል ህዝቢ እዩ ኢላ። ብክልቲኡ ወገን ዝግበር ዝነበረ ናይ ሰላም ፃዕሪ አብ ናይ መወዳእታ ምዕራፉ ከም ዝበፀሐ ብምርግጋፅ ድማ ብቁጠባ ማሕበራውን ልማዓታውን መዳያት ክድንፍው ናይ መፃኢ ዝግበየ ዕማም ምካኑ አረዲአ።

(ኤርቴቪ፣ሐምለ ዕለት 10, 2018)

20 ሰነ ማዕልቲ ሰማእታት ኤርትራ ብልዑል ሓበን ተዘኪራ፤ ፕሬዚዳንት ኢሳያስ ድማ መንግስቲ ኤርትራ ልዑክ ነብ አዲስ አበባ የበግስ ከምዘሎ ሓቢሩ።

20 ሰነ ማዕልቲ ሰማእታት ኤርትራ አብ መላእ ሀገርን ኤርትራውያን አብ ዝነብሩለን ሀገራትን ብልዑል ሓበን ተዘኪራ።

ብደረጃ ሀገር አብ አስመራ አብ ዝተካየደ ወግዓዊ ስነ ስርዓት ፕሬዚዳንት ኢሳያስ አፈወርቂ፣ሚኒስትራት፣ላዕለዎት ሓለፍቲ ህዝባዊ ግንባር ንዲሞክራሲን ፍትሕን፣ አዘዘቲ ሰራዊት፣ መራሕቲ ሀይማኖት፣ አብ ኤርትራ ዝመደብሮም ዲፕሎማሲኛታትን ቢአሻሓት ዝቁፀሩ ህዝብን ካብ ሰዓት ሹድሽተ ንጉሆ ብባንድ ምረሻን ዕምባታታት ዝሓዙ መንእሰያትን ተመረሖም ካብ ሓወልቲ ሽዳ ክሳብ መካነ መቃብር ሓርበኛታትት ናይ እግሪ ጉዕዞ አካይዳ። ሽ

አብ መቃብር ሓርበኛታትት አብ ዝተካየደ ናይ ዝክሪ መደብ ፕሬዚዳንት ኢሳያስ አፈወርቂ አብ ኢትዮጵያ ተከሲቱ ዘሎ ዕውታዊ ምዕባለታታት ንምዕዎት ኤርትራ ብንጥፈት እትፀምደሉ ቀዳምነት እዩ ዝበለ ፕሬዚዳንት ኢሳያስ ህዝቢ ኤርትራ ጥራይ ዘይኮነ እንተላይ ህዝቢ ኢትዮጵያ ንልዕሊ ፍርቂ ዘበን ንግዳማዊ ዓላማዊ አጀንዳታትት ከገልግል ተባሂሉ ብዝተሓረየ ፖሊሲታት ናይ ክልተ ኦልድታት ዕድላት ከም ዝተከሰረ ብደግሲ ዝምቡዕ ዓላማዊ ፖሊሲታት ዝወረደ ዕንወት ዝተከሰረ ዕድልን ዝተከፈለ መስዋዕትነትን ድማ አዚዩ ከቢድ ብምካኑ ብምንጻር አብዚ ቀረባ እዋን አብ ዞባና በሓፈሻ አብ ኢትዮጵያ ከዓ ብፍላይ ዝተቀልቀለ ተርእዮታት ግቡእ አቃልቦ ዝሓትት ምዕባለ ከም ዝኮነ አብሪሁ።

ፕሬዚዳንት ኢሳያስ አስዲቡ ከም ናይ ኤርትራ ተመሳሳሊ ናይ ህዝቢ ኢትዮጵያ ድልየት ስኒት ምስ ኤርትራ ሓዱሽ ምህዞ አይኮነን ድሕሪ ምባል አብዚ መወዳእታ እዋን ክስደድ ዝፀንሐ አወንታዊ ምልክታት መግለዚ ህዝቢ ሕርያ ምካኑ ብምግላፅ ተማላላኢነት ናይ ክልቲኡ ህዝብን ሀገራትን ክልታአዊ ሓቀራዊ ረብሓታቶምን ዕብየቶምን ንልዕሊ ክልተ ኦልድታት ዓመታትት ዝደከምነሉን ዝተሰዋእናሉን ውፁእ ዕላማ ስለዝኮነ ብንጥፈት እንፀምደሉ ቀዳምነት እዩ ኢሉ።

ፕሬዚዳንት ኢሳያስ አፈወርቂ አብ መወዳእታ ዝተፈላለየ ዕለታዊ ልምዓታዊ መደባትና ምስ ጎረባብትን ብሓፈሻ ብፍሉይ ከዓ ምስ ኢትዮጵያ አዛሚድና ክንሪኦ ባሕሪያዊ ምካኑ ጠቂሱ ክሳብ ሓርነት ከቢድ መስዋእቲ ዝከፈልናሉ ድሕሪ ሓርነት እውን ንድሕነት ልእላዊነትና ሰማእታት ዘሕለፍናሉ ስለዝኮነ ሕጂ ብዝያዳ ክንሰርሓሉ ኢና ብምባል ነዚ

ህልው ኩነታት ብቀጥታን ብዕምቆትን ምእንቲ ክፈልጦን ቀፃሊ ውጤን ስራሕ ምእንቲ ክነድፍን ልኡክ ናብ ኦዲስ አበባ የብግስ ከምዘሎ ኣፍሊጡ።

(ኤርቴቪ፣ ሰኔ ዕለት 20, 2018)

አብ ጅዳ፣ ሪያድ፣ ሳውዲ አረብያ፣ ኳታር ከምኡ እውን አብ ኩዌት ዝነበሩ ኤርትራውያንን ኢትዮጵያውያንን ነቲ ኤርትራን ኢትዮጵያን ብትሻዓተ ሓምለ አብ አስመራ ዘውፀኡ ኣበራዊ አዋጅ ሰላምን ምሕዝነትን ከምዝድግፉ ብሓባር ገሊፆም።

አብቲ ሰልፊ ካብ ክልቲኣን ሀገራት ዝተውፃዕኡ ብርክት ዝበሉ ነበርቲ ከምዝተሳተፉን ናይ ክልቲኣን ሀገራት አምባሳደራት እውን ነይቲ ሰልፊ ተካፊልቲ ከም ዝነቀሩ ተሓቢሩ።

(ኤርቴቪ፣ ነሐሴ ዕለት 22, 2018)

ኤርትራን ኢትዮጵያን ብትሻዓተ ሓምለ አብ አስመራ ብመሰረት ዘውፀኡ ኣበራዊ አዋጅ ሰላምን ምሕዝነትን መንገዲ አየር ኢትዮጵያ ንልዕሊ 20 ዓመታት ተቃሪቡ ዝፀንሐ አገልግሎታ ካብን ናብን አስመራን ኦዲስ አበባን ሎሚ ረቡዕ 18 ሓምለ ዳግም ጀሚራ። ነዛ ሎሚ ካብ ኦዲስ አበባ ተበጊሳ ከባቢ ፍርቂ ማዕልቲ አስመራ ዘአተወት ቦይንግ 787 ዘዓይነታ ነፋሪትን ምስኡ ዝመፁ ላዕሎዎት ሰበ ስልጣንን መንግስትን መንገዲ አየር ኢትዮጵያ ሓላፊ አይተ ተወልደ ገብረማሪያም ዝርከብዎም እዮም።

አይተ ተወልደ ከም ዝገለፅዎ ናይታ ነፋሪት ስራሕ ምጅማር ብክልቲኣን ሀገራት ዘሎ ናይ ንግዲ ከምኡ እውን መስሕብ ንከዓቢ ዕዙዝ ተራ አለዎ ኢሎም።

(ኤርቴቪ፣ ሓምለ 18 መዓልቲ 2018)