



The Framing of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s First State Visit to Eritrea by National and International Media

Minyahel Tadesse

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

Addis Ababa University

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Minyahel Tadesse, which is titled *The Framing of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's First State Visit to Eritrea by National and International Media* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication, complies with the regulations of the University and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CGTN	China Global Television Network
CNN	Cable News Network
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PM	Prime Minister
SPSS	Statistical Package for
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
UN	United Nations
US	United States

Abstract

This study aimed at examining how national and international media framed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea with special focus on Addis Zemen, Reporter (Amharic), The Guardian and Xinhua. The research employed a qualitative research method to obtain data essential for the study. The media were selected through purposive sampling, and a total of forty news articles were analyzed. The research findings revealed that the premier's visit mainly won positive coverage from the media even though neutral tone was also significantly used. But none of the media depicted the Prime Minister's visit negatively. The findings also revealed that economy, geopolitics and human relations were the dominant themes across the stories analyzed. On the other hand, economic frame and conflict frame were found to be widely distributed in the news articles. The study concluded that Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea was not framed much differently by the local and international media. In fact, both the local and international media refrained from criticizing the visit or the Prime Minister in their coverage of the event.

Chapter One

1. Introduction

Subdivided into seven sections, this first chapter provides a brief introduction to the topic of the study. It, therefore, presents the study's background and rationale. The chapter also discusses the research objectives and research questions as well as the study's significance, scope and organization.

1.1. Background of the Study

The events that precipitated the coming to power of Abiy Ahmed (PhD), who is the current Prime Minister of Ethiopia, dated years back. Elliot (2018), in his article *Ethiopia: Breaking the Deadlock*, takes back this precipitation to two years of “rumbling protest and insecurity” before the resignation of the former Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn. These protests and chaos caused the resignation of Hailemariam which, in turn, opened the door for the emergence of Abiy as a significant figure in the Ethiopian political arena.

The passing away of the cunning late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi in 2012 is considered by many as laying the foundation for Abiy's appearance. Through the experience he had acquired from his long years of political exposure since his youth, Meles Zenawi was not unable to subdue and control the frequent oppositions he faced in his relatively long prime ministerial power (Carbone, 2018). Despite the rising oppositions, especially from rival political parties, his party won the most disputed *Mircha Zetena Sebat* (literally meaning *election ninety-seven* referring to the 2005 Ethiopian national election) which added up power to the Meles Zenawi administration.

The replacement of Meles Zenawi by his deputy and successor Hailemariam Desalegn after the former's demise, however, opened the door for political instabilities in the different regions of Ethiopia, particularly in the Regional State of Oromia which is a home for the largest ethnic group in the country, the Oromos. Hence, riots kept rising.

Less conversant in the political arena, Hailemariam Desalegn was unable to calm the political tensions rising in the country like his predecessor did (Carbone, 2018). Therefore, the country went through multiple state of emergencies which gave almost unlimited power to security agents. The

imprisonments of journalists, political activists and opposition party members received condemnations from the international community—*Transparency International* and *Human Rights Watch* being the frequent condemners.

As the forces of subduing riots and oppositions grew, uprisings intensified in their depths and extended in their range, forcing the then-serving prime minister to give up his power. Finally, Hailemariam Desalegn submitted his letter of resignation to the ruling EPRDF (short for the Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Revolutionary Front)—failure to settle the rising riots being his self-proclaimed reason of withdrawal. Many took Hailemariam's move as having a justified cause though others wonder if there was a pushing factor from behind, especially the TPLF (short for the Tigray People Revolutionary Front)—the giant of the four parties constituting the EPRDF (Mesay, 2018).

As his request of resignation got approval, Hailemariam passed power as prime minister to the current premium Abiy Ahmed on 2nd April 2018 inside the Ethiopian parliament. The shakings and hugs the two political figures exchanged during the inauguration won praises from many. But many others questioned whether Hailemariam had really acted upon a real prime ministerial power during his tenure. He is considered by many 'the flip side' of Meles Zenawi due to his sincere adherence to the Meles Zenawi legacy.

Since his inauguration as the Prime Minister of Ethiopia on 2nd April 2018, Abiy Ahmed (PhD) had repeatedly called for peace and vowed to end the "no-peace-no-war" atmosphere that had shadowed over the Ethio-Eritrean skies for nearly two decades. In fact, Ethiopians went into tears as the televised inauguration showed Abiy Ahmed frequently inviting rival parties to peace talks. (Carbone, 2018).

The premier's call for peace did not obtain an immediate response from the Eritrean side. After the culmination of the third month since Abiy Ahmed's first call for peace, however, the serving Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki appeared on Eritrean state TV on 20th June 2018 and expressed his willingness for a peace deal with the then "foe" state, Ethiopia. In his televised speech, Afwerki pledged to dispatch an Eritrean delegation to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital.

Six days later on 26th June, the delegation from Asmara was given an unusually warm reception by the Ethiopian Prime Minister himself who accompanied the reception crew at the very airport in Addis Ababa. The reception was further warmed up by a music concert held in the National Palace of Ethiopia to honor the Eritrean delegation. Gifts of traditional clothes and articles were also provided to the delegation whose visit to the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa culminated after inviting the newly elected Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Abiy Ahmed, to pay a visit to Eritrea.

Accepting President Isaias Afwerki's invitation which was offered through the delegation at the dinner party in his Grand Palace, Abiy Ahmed (PhD) paid his first state visit to the Eritrean capital Asmara on 8th July 2018. The Premier's visit—as it came in the midst of a “no-peace-no-war” situation that persisted for almost two decades—grasped the attention of the news media nationally and internationally. Whereas the broadcast media in Ethiopia and Eritrea transmitted this landmark event live to their audiences, print media bestowed their front pages to pictures showing the wowing public as well as the exchange of hugs and shakes between the two leaders.

Wrapping up, it is likely that a state visit made by a serving head of state to a particular sovereign nation can be reported by the media with different, and even with opposing, frames. This study, therefore, was set to examine how national and international media framed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea with special focus on *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*.

1.2. Objective of the Research

The general objective of this study was to examine how national and international media framed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea with special focus on *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*.

More specifically, the study aimed to:

- identify the tone of coverage the media dominantly used when writing about Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea
- find out the dominant themes that the media emphasized when covering the premier's visit
- find out the types of media frame the media recurrently used when writing about Prime

Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Asmara

- identify the sources that the media predominantly relied on when writing Abiy Ahmed's state visit

1.3. Research Questions

As a means to meeting the specific objectives stated above, the study was set to answer the following research questions:

- What are the tones the media recurrently used when writing about Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea?
- What are the dominant themes of the premier's visit that the media emphasized?
- What are the media frames that the media used when covering the state visit?
- What are the sources that the media relied on when writing Abiy Ahmed's visit?

1.4. Scope of the Study

This study would be limited to examining the framing of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea by *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*. The researcher selected these local and international media based on circulation and especially the divergence of coverage they bestowed to the state visit.

Addis Zemen and *Reporter* (Amharic) are local media published in Amharic with detailed presentation of political and social issues. According to Asrat (2017), *Reporter* (Amharic) was the largest circulating newspaper in Ethiopia with a weekly circulation of 15,317 copies while *Addis Zemen* closely followed it with a circulation of 11,500 copies per week.

Plus, the premier's state visit obtained the divergence of coverage in these two media locally. *Addis Zemen* being state-owned newspaper and *Reporter* (Amharic) a private one, these news outlets would enable the researcher to reveal if there was any framing difference between private and state media in Ethiopia when reporting the Prime Minister's first state visit to Asmara, Eritrea's capital.

On the other hand, *Xinhua* (short for *Xinhua News Agency*) and *The Guardian* were selected to discover the framing of the Premier's visit from Eastern vis-à-vis Western perspectives,

respectively. According to a journal by the *All-China Journalists Association* (2017), *Xinhua* is the largest news agency in the world with largest newspaper circulations in China. *The Guardian*, on the other hand, is a top-ten-ranking newspaper in the United Kingdom with a daily circulation of 302,285 copies (Daily Newspaper Circulation Trends, 2018). Moreover, Abiy Ahmed's visit enjoyed detailed analyses from political, social and economic aspects in these two international news outlets.

This research is limited to analyzing news stories that appeared on the selected media from 8th July 2018 to 8th August 2018 for the reason stated in the third chapter of this paper. To wrap up, any news, article, or editorial that is not related to Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea was not under the umbrella of this study.

1.5. Significance of the Study

With the growth of mass communication researches, the popularity of framing studies is increasing. This study, therefore, would provide additional literature to the area. More importantly, despite the presence of researches on media framing in areas like election, gender, disability, and famine in our School, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea remains untouched. This research, hence, is hoped to narrow this gap and furnish a foundation to future researchers who intend to study the issue further.

1.6. Limitations of the Study

The present study mainly focused on examining how the media framed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea with special focus on *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*. As there is not much literature in this area because state visits of Ethiopian leaders are not well documented or studied, the researcher faced critical shortcomings to find materials to refer to. Hence, the research had to rely mainly on materials from foreign studies which fail to reflect an Ethiopian context. Equally important, content analysis as a data gathering tool has its own deficiencies. To be more practical, this data collection tool fails to permit objective deduction that is replicable. Still significant, entertaining a massive number of news stories and articles in the analyses was laborious. Nonetheless, the outcome of this research will have

potentially significant implications for media houses, press analysts and future researchers that would like to investigate the area more deeply.

Chapter Two

2. Review of Related Literature

This chapter provides relevant literature that will serve as a framework to the current research project. The chapter is organized into four broad sections: The first section introduces the reader with the concept of state visit which is the epicenter of this study. As Ethio-Eritrea ties are also relevant parts of the research, the second section presents a brief summary of the major developments witnessed in the relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea at different points of time in history. The third section is devoted to elaborating the theory of framing. The last section, on the other hand, provides discussions on the theoretical framework selected as a foundation for the present study.

2.1. What Is State Visit?

A critical challenge in studying state visit is the deficiency of literature and previous studies in the area. Despite this deficiency, available literatures have common ways of explaining the term, which makes defining state visit quite easy.

A state visit, in the words of Christou (2018), “is an official visit to a foreign country by a serving head of state.” According to Christou (2018), for a state visit to take place, it is necessary that the visitor head of state receive invitation from the hosting country’s head of state. A similar view is reflected in the work of Moffe (1997) who claims that “a state visit comes at the invitation” of the visited country’s head of state.

One can deduct from this explanation that the term state visit is applied only when a head of state visits a certain country during his/her period of authority. Moreover, any visit conducted without the invitation of the host nation falls out of the scope of a state visit.

For Moffe (1997), a “state visit is the highest ranking visit and can only be offered to a chief of state”—such as the president of a country or a prime minister. Moffe (1997) emphatically states

that a state visit shall ensure a discussion between the leaders of the two countries. As the aim of any state visit is to establish and/or maintain bi-lateral relations, leaders usually take to the table issues of politics, economy and so many more for discussion.

According to Landale (2017), a state visit serves as the ultimate weapon of diplomacy through which a country breaks the barriers of enmity. To explain the notion of Landale (2017), a state visit helps strengthen cultural contacts and linguistic ties between peoples of different nations apart from the significant political benefits it bestows to governments. Indeed, state visit is an essential tool to link countries economically, politically, culturally and even linguistically.

2.2. Significance of State Visits in Bilateral Relations

Visits are indeed significant for the existence of humanity. Critical observation tells us that human beings need to visit one another to smoothen their ties. We, for example, travel miles and kilometers to pay visits to our loved ones. And we notice the significance of our visit when we observe our visited loved ones become over joyous upon our arrival. Similarly, state visits are vital for the existence of nations in this interconnected era of ours.

Discussing the significance of state visits in diplomatic contacts, Nitsch (2005)—in his thesis titled *State Visits and International Trade*—contends that state visits “are the highest form of diplomatic contact between two countries, and they often mark further developments in bilateral relations”. According to Nitsch (2005), the ultimate end of a state visit is establishing bilateral contacts between states.

A significant point to be noted here is that leaders do not usually engage in debating issues during state visits. Since the ultimate goal is laying foundation for common grounds that can foster bilateral or multilateral ties, leaders usually raise soft and commonly-agreed-upon issues during their conferring. According to Christou (2018), state visits are not organized for the sake of waging debates on controversial issues on which the conferring nations highly differ. State visits are rather a kind of celebrations which focus on the links between the conferring nations.

For Landale (2017), state visits are not merely ceremonial affairs which begin and end up with trips. State visits are political and purposeful affairs, he argues, through which governments further

their countries' national interests. In fact, a country's national interest furthers when it has a leader who uses state visits effectively. Conversely, when a head of state misuses state visits, the country's national interest is endangered.

A similar notion emerges from Boavida, et al (2010) who discussed the political significance of Emperor Haile Selassie I's visit to Portugal in 1959. In their essay dating back just to a decade, they wrote that the emperor's visit to Portugal was not only a marginal affair but also a highly symbolic event. In the views of Boavida, et al (2010), the purpose of the emperor's state visit to Portugal was to strengthen the ties between Ethiopia and the host nation. Upon this state visit, the Ethiopian emperor signed agreements that could boost cultural and economic links.

Nitsch (2005)—citing the Office of the German President—explains that state “visits make a valuable contribution to foreign relations”. He writes that even though a country is represented abroad by its embassies, “only face-to-face talks between leaders” produce results fair for both parties. In fact, the interpersonal contacts of leaders of two countries are the most vital tools to build trust, mutuality and friendly relationships between governments and their peoples, too.

In the views of Nitsch (2005), the informal talks a leader makes with his/her foreign counterpart is helpful in coordinating policy, in “explaining [their country's] interests or in resolving any bilateral problems” that arise in their relationships. Nitsch (2005) further explains that any issue is open for discussion during a state visit—thus giving the discussing parties the freedom to put on the table such issues as economy, military, human rights, and culture.

Still citing Nitsch (2005)—who is the principal source of literature on *state visit* because the area lacks adequate literature—the purposes of state visits vary enormously even though there are some commonly discussed issues. Indeed, the issues of discussions depend on the economic status, geopolitical strategy, and other spheres of the conferring nations as represented by their leaders.

In the views of Nitsch (2005), although the general aim of any state visit is to establish and improve bilateral relations between countries, leaders usually discuss political issues, human rights, environmental protection, and cultural contacts, among other themes. He, however, stresses that “a topic that often features most prominently during these talks” revolves around economic ties.

It is worth noting that the economic conditions of a country by large determines its military strength, its influence in the global arena and its international acceptance. In other words, a nation that is economically strong is more likely to have a stronger global influence and better international picture. Hence, it is not surprising that economic issues come at the forefront of state visit talks.

Mentioning the views of Nitsch (2005) one last time, the opening of contact offices and business representations, the signing of treaties and contracts, and the official delivery of major bilateral projects are the fruits expected of state visit talks. This view of Nitsch (2005) is also clearly reflected in an article written by *The Royal House of Norway*: According to the article, “a state visit may also include bilateral political meetings, business conferences, activities promoting culture, trade and industry, and visits to social and cultural institutions.” State visits encourage, enhance and strengthen contact with other countries. The purpose of a state visit is, the article explains, to build relations and promote a given country’s interests abroad.

Wrapping up the section, it is clear from the literature presented so far that issues raised during a state visit “may range from global economic issues and closer economic cooperation to joint investment projects and trade disputes” as put by Nitsch. Taking this argument into consideration, the present study was set to examine how national and international media framed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s state visit to Eritrea, examining whether economic, geopolitical, military, human rights or cultural themes were emphasized by the selected media when reporting the event.

2.3. Major Developments in Ethio-Eritrea Relations

One of the most significant developments in the history of the Horn of Africa is the independence of Eritrea in 1991. This historical incident highly affected the geo-politics of the Horn region and significantly changed the type of relations the Horn countries should pursue. In the initial years of Eritrea’s independence, for instance, the relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea were of friendly type. Plus, bilateral relations between these two east African nations were characterized by cordial relationships.

According to Alemu (2000), Eritrea remained part of Ethiopia until 1993, the year it attained formal declaration of independence. Actually, the challenges that lingered Eritrea's formal declaration of independence emanated from the then OAU (short for the Organization of African Union) and other African states. Eritrea's move was seen as a threat and considered a bad model which could instigate other African peoples to take same path. Surprisingly, Ethiopia became the only country that approved of Eritrea's independence from the very beginning.

Thus, it was after 1993 that the international community recognized Eritrea as an independent state. Following its declaration of independence, Eritrea maintained harmonious relations with neighboring east African countries. Particularly, Eritrea's relations with Ethiopia were of cordial nature, According to Tekeste (2000).

Basically, the relations between these two countries had been far more than political. Since the peoples of the two countries share similar historical, social, cultural and linguistic norms, the people-to-people contacts added strength to the political relations between the two governments. Therefore, Eritrea's relation with Ethiopia had to take a positively different form right after independence.

Robera (2011) argues that the agreements in the initial years of Eritrea's independence inculcated cooperation that ranged from politics to socio-cultural aspects. The two countries agreed, among others, to develop policies of economic harmonization, integration, and substantial flows of trade and seasonal labor migration.

This cordial relation, however, did not last long, for the two countries went into serious border disputes in the latter years of Eritrea's independence. In the notion of Kalewongel (2008), the relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea started deteriorating beginning from 1997. In May 1998, the dispute intensified and the two countries engaged in a border conflict near Badme and Shiraro—areas that had remained controversial in the Ethio-Eritrean geopolitics. The border dispute greatly affected the social, economic and political atmosphere of the Horn region though Ethiopia and Eritrea were the most affected agents. The incident caused grave tension in the Horn of Africa, which in turn brought about political instability and fragility in the region.

Later on, the border dispute grew into a conventional war which impeded the short-lived harmony Ethiopia and Eritrea were enjoying. As to Rejouis and Zondi (2005), accusation was the cause of the war that devastated especially the livelihood of people in the border areas. In their essay, Rejouis and Zondi (2005) pointed out that both countries claimed the other party was responsible for breaking the international law which rules out against intruding into an independent country's boundary. Thus, the two-year war broke out, deteriorating the Horn region.

The Algiers agreement, which was signed by Ethiopia and Eritrea on the 12th of December 2000, heralded the end of the two-year war which claimed thousands of lives from both sides. According to Rohera (2011), the agreement could not bring peace and normalization of relation between the two countries because significant elements of the agreement remained unimplemented which, in turn, precipitated continual border disputes.

Though the causes of Ethio-Eritrean conflict were many and are multifaceted, the issue of Badme—a notorious town in the borders of Ethiopia and Eritrea—was overstated and remained the hotbed of the controversy. Gradually, the dispute developed into a prolonged and costly stalemate, bringing regional and international consequences.

Actually, the media both in Ethiopia and Eritrea played 'unforgettable' roles in intensifying the enmity between the peoples of the two countries. Every morning and night, the exchange of insults and sarcasm filled the waves of Ethiopian and Eritrean media. Hence, even though the two-year war ended following the Algiers accord, the atmosphere of war and dispute persisted in the postwar periods.

Solomon (2004), in his article published by the Institute for Security Studies, wrote that the media incessantly engaged in using insults and derogatory words, especially *Dimtsi Haffash Eritrea* (*Voice of the Mass*), Eritrea's popular radio station.

The media in both countries have not stopped beating the drums of war and continue[d] with their wartime propaganda. The "Voice of the Mass" Eritrea's official radio, still attack[ed] 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[n] media as Sha[e]bia, a derogatory term that harks back

to the times of the war of independence. The word “enemy” has not been dropped from their language.

Commenting on the future political tension of the two countries, Robera (2011), wrote “The perceived tension and hostility of the two countries is continuing to the extent that one could not imagine the future prospects for peaceful relation.” In contrast to this view of Robera (2011), Ethiopia and Eritrea have once again begun maintaining harmonious relations between them.

On the 5th of June 2018, Ethiopia declared that it would unconditionally accept and implement the Algiers agreement which had remained the significant factor of dispute in the Ethio-Eritrean geopolitics for almost two decades. This move of Ethiopia was followed by its prime minister’s visit to the neighboring Eritrea on the 8th of July 2018, which was dubbed a surprising visit by many. The present research project would, therefore, use this literature as a stepping stone to investigate how national and international media framed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea with special focus on *Addis Zemen, Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*.

2.4. Theoretical Framework

Scholars insist that theoretical framework is one of the most important elements of a research. For Grant and Osanloo (2014), theoretical framework is a “blueprint” for the entire research work which serves as a guide on which a research is built and supported.

The present research selected the social constructivism theory of framing as its theoretical framework because this theory maintains that not only does the news media influence the audiences’ attitude but also public opinion impacts how the newsroom presents stories to the audience in a certain frame at the expense of another.

According to social constructivism theory, framing is not a pure monopoly where journalists and the newsroom solely monopolize the way stories are disseminated to the public. Proponents of this theory insist that framing is, rather, the result of reciprocity in which both the newsroom and the audience interchange power.

Put simply, the social constructivism theory of framing shows the presence of reciprocity between the media and audience in news framing.

In the view of Scheufele (1999), mass media strongly influence the public by constructing social realities, and public opinions play vital parts when journalists go through the process of developing and crystallizing meaning in public discourse. For Scheufele (1999), journalists make stories with the public's view and attitude in their minds. In other words, there is interdependence between the newsroom and the public when stories are put in a certain frame.

The driving concept behind the social constructivism theory of framing, according to McQuail (1994), is the idea that "framing is the construction of social reality". In the view of McQuail (1994), framing is not merely the result of the journalist's or the newsroom's intent of putting stories in a particular frame. Rather, news framing is a combined result of the views of the newsroom, the journalist and the audience.

Similarly, Neuman et al (1992) contends that social constructivism theory of framing bases itself on the belief that audiences depend on a kind of reality which is constructed from individual experiences and interactions. According to this theory, the audience is not just a passive entity who merely absorbs every information they receive from the mass media. Rather, audiences engage in active processing and reflection. As society itself is the result of social construction, it is customary that people discuss in peers or groups the issue they heard or read from mass media. The audiences' involvement ranges from peer discussions to giving feedbacks to the news media which, in turn, affects how the media has to put a story in a particular frame.

A similar view emerges from Gamson (1989) who wrote that journalistic discourse is the result of social construction where individuals make meaning. For Gamson (1989), journalists rely on public opinion when they develop and synthesize information for public consumption.

According to Tankard (1991), framing enables mass media to construct a social reality. The commonly used tools in constructing this reality are selection, exclusion, emphasis and elaboration. Tankard (1991) believes that media houses process events and issues in a certain frame based on the background of the audience because the needs of the audience also dictate the framing process.

An important idea to be borne in mind from the arguments presented thus far is that framing is not the sole action of the news media. In fact, the newsroom takes into consideration the needs of the audience in their day-to-day news production activities. Though the media is the chief disseminator of public discourse, audiences also deliberate on and discuss media discourses in their daily lives, apart from providing feedbacks to media organizations. This, indeed, calls for media studies, particularly framing studies which help find out how media organizations frame issues or events when disseminating information to their audiences.

Based on the social constructivism theory of framing, the present research would examine how Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea was framed by *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*. To achieve this end, the study would examine what type of frame was dominantly used by each newspaper. The dominant themes distributed across each newspaper would also be examined. Moreover, using this theory, this research would investigate what type of tone was mainly used by the selected media apart from examining the sources each newspaper chiefly relied on.

In the upcoming subsection, a detailed discussion of the theory of framing will be presented:

2.5. Theory of Framing

Framing as a theory in mass communication research dates back to Bateson (1972) who, in his book *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, defined a frame as "a spatial and temporal bounding of a set of interactive messages". Despite the elapse of decades since its coining, the term *framing* remains one of the most contested terminologies in media studies. This is partly attributed to—according to scholars like Scheufele (1999)—the absence of a universally accepted definition for it. To mention the view of Scheufele (1999), previous studies on framing theory lack clear conceptual definitions.

A similar opinion arises from Renström (2011) who—in an article titled *Framing Obama*—admits that it is hardly possible to find a universal definition for the term framing. Putting his own assertion, however, Renström (2011) positions frame as a tool through which a writer takes perspective when presenting contents. This view of Renström (2011) seems helpful in media

studies because it is through framing that the newsroom provides context and meaning to a certain issue or event.

According to Boydston et al (2013), the most commonly used definition for framing is the one given by Entman (1993). To use the exact words of Entman (1993) as quoted in Boydston et al (2013), “Framing essentially involves selection and salience. 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 for the item described.”

In spite of all the differences in perspective, the definitions on framing seem to revolve around selection and context as basic tools. Boydston et al (2013), on the other hand, noted that even though framing has to face significantly different definitions, language remains the central notion of the definitions—begging the question that language is a significant element of framing studies.

Literature suggests that the theory of framing has underwent progressive developments in its depth and extent since its coining decades ago. According to Abreu (2015), the theory emerged in the field of sociology in the mid-1960s though it gradually became a popular model in media effects researches. To quote Chong, et al (2007), “the major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations.”

Linström, et al (2012) argue that the popularity of framing in media studies is growing. They maintained that framing theory as a media analysis tool was applied by Goffman (1974) who used the idea of frames to label “schemata of interpretation that allow people to locate, perceive, identify, and label” occurrences or events.

It is deducible from the ideas presented thus far that the centerpiece of framing theory is that the way people present information, data, etc. not only affects other people who consume the information or data but also impacts their decision making and the choices they make.

Today, media frames are becoming the focus of media studies locally and internationally. A media frame, according to D’Angelo (2017), refers to the “written, spoken, graphical or visual message

modality” that a communicator uses to contextualize an issue or event. In the views of Cynthia, et al (2017), media frames are useful to influence individuals or groups so that they develop a certain outlook or take some actions.

A more vivid definition for the term emerges from Reese (2001) who defines media frames as patterns of news coverage where the meaning of an issue or event is structured and organized. The emphasis in this definition, as one can see, is the idea that media frames enable the news media to make a particular selected meaning out of the event in order to shape the audiences’ view in some way.

Bateson (1972) takes the issue of framing to a broader level and maintains that our communication itself occurs within “frames”. These frames, according to him, provide contexts, signals and even identifications that facilitate the communication process. For him, we use frames to transmit certain messages and withhold others and vice versa.

It is clear from the views above that the newsroom has to do selection bias when deciding that one issue or event is more important to the audience than the other. A similar bias must be done when setting the selected story in a certain frame at the expense of some other frames. To put it in a simpler language, journalists must select one frame at the expense of another one.

According to Entman (1993), “most media frames are defined by what they omit as well as include; and the omission of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience.” The main object of framing, according to this view, is “guiding the audience” —a phrase that shows the media’s effort to shape its audiences’ attitude in some certain way.

One can vividly see that both Bateson (1972) and Entman (1991) emphasized the view that through the use of framing, communicators amplify the voices of certain messages at the expense of some other messages. It could be inferred, therefore, that all media have their own way of slanting events according to their editorial policies and their journalists’ views of the world.

In general, the framing process involves the selection and illumination of certain aspects of an issue, personality or event through the use of key words, phrases or “devices” that emerge through

themes. Busher (2006) argues, “Facts alone have no meaning of their own.” Her argument is that facts take on relevance when they are put into context through the use of framing tools like emphasis or focus.

It should, however, be borne in mind that several frames can occur in a single news story. It is worth mentioning here Gamson and Modigliani (1989) who believed that it is very natural for a single news story to contain more than one frame because frames are elements within a news story.

In fact, the presence of multiple frames within one media text poses critical problems to frame analysts.

Our exposure to the media tells us that a single story is likely to go through different ways of being told to the audience. As part of their daily routine, newsrooms collect information on events or issues. Based on their editorial policies and ideologies, they put these events and issues into context.

2.6. Typology of Frames

Communication scholars at different times have devised various categories of framing according to the depths and perspective of their studies. According to Shah’s, et al (2004) categorization, frames can be broadly classified as episodic and thematic. Dijk (2015), citing Iyengar (1991), wrote that episodic frames focus on a specific event or case. In episodic framing, for instance, violence, rape, drug addiction, etc. are presented in a specific context. To exemplify, a journalist who reports a rape case by using episodic framing might show to the audience the psychological status of the victim.

Thematic frames—in the views of Barnes et al. (2008) present “broad problems and are policy oriented”. In thematic framing, political issues or events are presented in a general context. To cite an example, if a journalist uses thematic frames when reporting a rape scenario, he/she is likely to tell us, for example, the causes of rapes or the devising of law as a protective measure.

Iyengar (1991) in Dijk (2015) throws light on the differences between these two types of framing: He explains, while episodic frames focus on “a concrete event or victim; thematic framing is about collective or general evidence”. On the other hand, in a study dating back to almost two decades,

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identified five news frames namely attribution of responsibility frame, conflict frame, economic frame, human interest frame, and morality frame.

In the present study, the researcher utilizes this list of frames to find out the type of frame or frames that the selected media used when disseminating information on Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's three-day state visit to Eritrea. Below are details of these and other types of media frame used in analyzing the four media.

2.6.1. Economic Frame

As the name suggests, economic frame shows how an issue or event brings about economic consequences on a country, institution, group or individual. Dirikx, et al. (2010) claimed that economic frame highlights how an issue or event can economically affect the public. Bruktawit (2008)—in her unpublished essay—wrote that economic frame was the least news frame used by Ethiopian media when covering gender violence. For Neuman, et al. (1992), however, economic frame was a commonly used news frame in the US in those days of theirs.

2.6.2. Attribute Framing

Margaret (2017)—in her article demonstrating the effect of framing on advertising—defined attribute framing as a “frame [that] highlights one characteristic of an object or situation in either a positive or negative light”. According to her, an attribute frame presents either a favorable or an unfavorable characteristic of a subject—hence, inviting the audience to take a certain stance. Explaining the impact of attribute framing in the advertising industry, Margaret (2017) wrote, when a “frame emphasizes a desirable attribute, the customer is more likely to take action”. Conversely, when the attribute emphasized is an undesirable one, “the customer is less likely to take action”.

A similar notion emerges from Entman (2010) who contends that people are likely to resist communication that is not congruent with their preconceived thinking. In Entman's (2010) view, the news media brings an intended impact when the communication material is congruent with the audiences' preset thinking.

The deduction, therefore, is when the news media angelizes a person, group or organization, their popularity among the public increases. But it is a toilsome task on the side of the news media to identify the audiences' favorite quality because—according to Margaret (2017)—it is challenging to understand what attributes are desirable by the public.

2.6.3. Morality Frame

According to Ana, et al. (2009), morality frame observes events and issues from the viewpoint of “morals, social prescriptions and religious tenets”. Neuman, et al. (1992), quoted in Ana, et al (2009), discovered that journalists commonly used morality frames indirectly by using quotations or inferences. To maintain objectivity, journalists usually refrain from using morality frames directly. In the words of Dirikx, et al. (2010), “morality frame presents situations from a religious/moral angle.” According to them, journalists find it difficult to adhere to the journalistic norm of objectivity while offering a moral message. Hence, journalists usually have but to bypass this norm “by quoting others.”

To exemplify the concept more tangibly, when journalistic texts praise such social values as honesty, respect, obedience or loyalty to others and when they denounce such behaviors as fornication, adultery or dishonesty, then morality frame is under use.

2.6.4. Responsibility Frame

This is a type of frame known for externalizing a certain result to an outside factor. Be it for praise or criticism, someone or something else is held responsible. To borrow the words of Dirikx, et al. (2010)—who had cited Semetko and Valkenburg (2000)— responsibility frame is a type of frame used to place “the responsibility or blame for the cause or the solution...on political authorities, individuals or groups”.

A similar definition emerges from Ana, et al. (2009) who defines responsibility frame as “a way of attributing responsibility for cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group”. According to Ana, et al. (2009), who bases her argument on a study result by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), responsibility frame is most commonly used by serious media in the United States.

2.6.5. Human Interest Frame

As the name implies, the human interest frame appeals to the emotion of the audience. For Dirikx, et al. (2010), “The human interest frame presents an issue from a more emotional point of view and personalizes a problem.” This definition plainly articulates that emotion of the audience is the central element in this type of frame.

To explain more tangibly, let us suppose that a journalist is covering climate change issues using the human interest frame. In his/her eagerness to strike the audiences’ emotion, the journalist most likely would refer to personal stories of people affected by the change of climate. The following views of Ana, et al (2009) seem to go in line with this argument: Citing Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), she claimed that the human interest frame “brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem”.

To sum up, we can infer that the goal of this frame is stimulating “the psychological pulse of people” so that the audience can react positively or negatively to the situation. As cited in Ana, et al (2009), Cho and Gower (2006) found out that the human interest frame affected how people emotionally responded to situations.

2.6.6. Conflict Frame

Even surface reading tells us that conflict frame centers its notion on disagreements between or among differing parties. A simpler definition for the phrase comes from Ana, et al (2009), who explains conflict frame as a frame used by the media “to reflect conflict and disagreement among individuals, groups or organizations”. A quite similar explanation emerges from the works of Dirikx, et al. (2010) where conflict frame is defined as a type of frame that focuses on conflicts between individuals or groups and magnifies points of disagreements among opposing parties. Neuman, et al. (1992) discovered that conflict frame is common in the US media houses. Citing Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), Ana, et al (2009) wrote that conflict frame was the second commonest frame prevailing mostly in more serious media.

Summing up in simpler terms, a conflict frame in a journalistic writing stresses the existence of disagreement between or among individuals, groups or organizations.

2.6.7. Empathy Frame

As the term suggests, this is a type of frame that invites the audience to pity someone or something else by portraying them as weak or fragile. A very simple description is provided by Robinson (2000) who defines empathy frame as a frame that shows compassion with those suffering through portraying them as victims. To cite a more practical notion, Natalia, et al (2013), in their study which investigated the effect of framing on environmental protection, found out that stories which were framed empathetically were effective in initiating the public to the preservation of nature.

In Moeller's (1999) observation, the media in the west often portray aid workers as perfect heroes without faults and western aid as an appropriate solution for problems. A similar view is reflected in the thesis of Bethlehem (2006) who narrowed down the issue to the Ethiopian context and wrote that the Ethiopian media she studied had depicted victims (usually women and children) as kind and compassionate who seek the same reaction from others. Robinson (2000), on the other hand, pointed out that such words as "hunger, refugee, scared, little food" were popularly used by the US media when covering the intervention of the United States in Bosnia in 1995.

Chapter Three

3. Research Methodology

This chapter presents the research method the present study relied on during data gathering and analysis. The chapter is divided into seven sections where the research method, data collection instrument, sampling technique and coding protocols are discussed in detail.

3.1. The Research Method and Design

The present research used a qualitative research method to analyze data. This method was applied to make interpretations of words and expressions used by the selected media in reporting Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea and to infer their themes.

Explaining the significance of the qualitative approach for framing analysis, Rahman (2017) states that qualitative research methods help researchers develop a holistic understanding of the human experience in specific settings. This method revolves around analyzing subjective meanings. Kvale (1996) says that the objective of a qualitative research method is interpreting “meaningful relationships” rather than quantifying data. Brennen (2013), on the other hand, identifies a variety of qualitative research instruments among which are textual analyses, case studies, in-depth interviews and content analyses—the last one being the instrument used in the present research.

Rahman (2017) further states that a qualitative research method is effective in producing detailed descriptions and in-depth interpretations, which are significant elements in media studies.

According to Brennen (2013), qualitative research method has become “an integral part of” twenty-first century media studies. Brennen (2013) further argues that using this method, researchers can analyze language to comprehend concepts.

3.2. Instrument of Data Collection

This study applied content analysis as its basic data gathering instrument. Content analysis, according to Krippendorff (2004), is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use”. For Wimmer and Dominick (2006), content analysis is “an efficient way” of examining media contents. Neuendorf (2002), on the other hand, contends that content analysis involves carefully examining people-to-people connections, TV commercials, films, books and even news briefs as well as political speeches where word usage is thoroughly studied. According to Elo and Kyngäs (2008), content analysis was first applied as a method of analyzing hymns, newspaper and magazine articles, advertisements and political speeches in the nineteenth century.

The current research applied a qualitative content analysis when gathering data for the study. According to White and Marsh (2014), qualitative content analysis is a method used to analyze a wide range of textual data, including interview transcripts, recorded observations, narratives, responses to open questionnaire items, speeches and media texts.

In the words of Hsieh & Shannon (2005), qualitative content analysis is “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns”. For them, coding data is very significant in qualitative content analysis. Their definition also stresses the significance of the researcher’s involvement in this type of analysis. White and Marsh (2014) contend that qualitative content analysis goes beyond merely counting words or extracting objective content from texts. They argue that one of the benefits of using qualitative content analysis is that it allows researchers to understand social reality. Plus, this method enables researchers to infer the themes of media texts.

It is eminent from the explanations above that using qualitative data analyzing and interpreting techniques is essential in media and communication studies. The present research, therefore, carefully applied a qualitative content analysis when examining how the news stories in *Addis Zemen, Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua* framed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea.

3.3. Units of Analysis

For Jensen (2002), unit of analysis refers to the smallest textual element which enables the researcher to describe larger groups and explain abstract phenomena. A unit of analysis, in media studies, could range from a single word or symbol to an entire article or story. Hence, the unit of analysis in the present research is the central idea or the theme of the news stories selected from *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*.

3.4. Analytical Categories

Having identified the unit of analysis, the next step which the researcher followed was establishing and defining the analytical categories under which the texts from the media are organized.

There are two approaches of establishing categories in content analysis as pointed out by Stemler (2001). Emergent coding, as the name implies, refers to establishing categories after studying the data being tested. Prior coding, on the other hand, involves establishing categories before the data are collected and studied.

From the two approaches discussed above, the present research used prior coding when establishing analytical categories because the researcher used categories already developed by previous researchers.

Actually, the researcher had to examine some words, phrases and expressions in the news texts when developing the categories. Hence, the subsequent category was made on the basis of the common themes arising from the data themselves.

3.5. Operational Definitions

To facilitate coding, the researcher provided the following operational definitions to the categories developed so that the coders can understand the meanings of the items and notice the underlying demarcations:

Tone: refers to whether the media presented Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's visit to Eritrea from a positive, negative or neutral aspect.

- ✓ **Positive:** A tone is said to be positive if the story portrays the Prime Minister or his visit from a favorable perspective, or shows support for them.
- ✓ **Negative:** A tone is said to be negative if the story depicts the Prime Minister or his visit from an unfavorable vantage point, or shows disagreement to them.
- ✓ **Neutral:** A tone is said to be neutral if the story shows neither support nor disagreement to the prime minister or his visit to Eritrea or the events accompanying.

Source: refers to the name of a person, group or organization used by the newspaper as providing the piece of information quoted or cited which could be:

- ✓ **Government officials:** are persons serving in the Ethiopian or Eritrean government like heads of state, ministers, commissioners, directors, etc.
- ✓ **International organizations:** are organizations having international membership, scope or presence like the UN, the AU, IGAD, etc.
- ✓ **Experts:** are people having expertise or experience or working in a certain area like, health officers, political analysts, etc.
- ✓ **Community members:** are ordinary persons from Ethiopia or Eritrea.
- ✓ **Other media:** refers to any news outlet (except *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*) used as sources when the Prime Minister's visit was written.

Theme: refers to the central idea or message of a story, which could be:

- ✓ **Economy:** A theme is said to be economic if the central idea of a story talks about the economic gains and losses of a person, organization or country including issues like investment, trade, foreign currency and employment.
- ✓ **Human rights:** A theme is said to be a human rights issue if a given story's chief idea deals with the violation or protection of the rights of people, including the right to free speech, movement and life.
- ✓ **Human relations:** A story is said to have dealt with a human relations affairs if it portrays the people-to-people contacts or ties between the peoples of Ethiopia and Eritrea.
- ✓ **Military:** A news story has a military theme if that story talks about armed struggles, military confrontations and exercises, and so on.

- ✓ **Geopolitics:** A geopolitical theme is said to have occurred if the main idea of a particular story deals with the sovereignty of a country, border issues and disputes, including international treaties and boundary demarcations.

Frame: refers to how a news story was written to stress or emphasize the significance of a certain subject.

- ✓ **Economic frame:** occurs when a story presents Abiy Ahmed's visit in a way that affects individuals, groups, organizations, or countries economically.
- ✓ **Attribute frame:** occurs when a story highlights one characteristic of a person, group, organization, etc. in either a positive or a negative light.
- ✓ **Morality frame:** occurs when a story observes events and issues from the viewpoint of morals, social prescriptions and religious tenets.
- ✓ **Responsibility frame:** occurs when a story places responsibility or blame on a political authority, individual, group or country.
- ✓ **Human interest frame:** occurs when a story presents an issue from a more emotional point of view.
- ✓ **Conflict frame:** occurs when a story reflects the conflict and disagreement among individuals, groups, organizations or countries.
- ✓ **Empathy frame:** occurs when a story shows compassion with those suffering by portraying them as victims.

3.6. Coding Protocols

According to Anselm (1987), a code refers mostly to the words or short phrases that symbolically give cumulative and relevant attributes to textual or visual data. A code helps the researcher find out the general blueprint of the textual or visual data under scrutiny. Through coding, researchers are able to identify themes in their data and provide explanations and conclusions.

In the present research, coding was independently done by two individuals who had experience in coding during their graduate studies when they did theses for their MA in Journalism and Communication. They were mentored on the overall contents of the coding sheet including the relationship between the categories and the objective of the research work.

Prior to undertaking the final data analysis, the two coders took 20% of the news stories in *Addis Zemen, Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*, for a pilot test. This initial test was intended to enable the researcher to notice whether there were inconsistencies or insufficiencies in establishing and/or defining categories.

Intercoder agreement in this pilot test was tested using Krippendorff's α which is formulated as:

$$\alpha = 1 - D_o / D_e$$

Where D_o represents observed disagreement and D_e represents expected disagreement. The researcher used this technique because Krippendorff's α helps accommodate multiple variables with all levels of measurement, hence, providing appropriate reliability interpretations (Neuendorf, 2002).

The calculations were done using the *kalpha.spss* macro software developed by Hayes and authorized for its precision by Krippendorff himself, which decreases the chances of mathematical errors that might have emanated had human hand been used instead (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007).

Tested through these techniques, intercoder reliability in the present study was 0.82, which, according to (Neuendorf, 2002), is fairly good to make reliable conclusions.

3.7. Validity

Validity, according to Wimmer and Dominick (2006), refers to the extent to which a research instrument actually measures what it was set out to measure. They maintain that making sure categories do not overlap is one of the ways to achieve validity. They also advise that adequate and exhaustive definitions are provided to categories.

To ensure validity, therefore, the researcher developed exhaustive and suitable operational definitions apart from establishing mutually exclusive categorical items, as explicated in the preceding Operational Definitions subsection.

3.8. Sampling Technique and Procedures

Sampling is a definite plan determined before actual data collection to obtain a sample from the total population. A sample, therefore, is a sub-section of the population which represents the whole population. As a scientific technique, sampling enables researchers to examine only some part of the population.

From the two types of sampling (namely probability and non-probability), this study used purposive sampling. According to Kothari (2004), this is a sampling method which enables researchers to conduct deliberate and thoughtful selection of particular units.

Mack, et al. (2005) wrote that purposive sampling is one of the commonest sampling approaches used to group participants according to preselected criteria. Kothari (2004) states that since sample subjects are selected deliberately in purposive sampling, the researcher's choice remains supreme.

As the ultimate objective of this research is to study how national and international media framed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea within a one-month period ranging from 8 July to 8 August 2018, forty stories were selected from *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*.

To wrap up, the researcher purposefully selected a population of the media that covers social, economic and political matters in detail. The researcher used purposive sampling technique to insure diversity of coverage. In fact, the study also used circulation as criterion when selecting the sample media.

3.9. Story Selection

The researcher used a total of forty news stories for the analysis. The stories were selected from the four media namely *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter* (Amharic) which are published locally and *The Guardian* and *Xinhua* which are international news outlets.

It should be clarified here that since the researcher selected each news story that appeared in the media on the dates specified above, there was less selection bias. Equally important to admit, since

the print version of *Xinhua* and *The Guardian* is difficult to access in Ethiopia, the researcher used news stories posted on the websites of these two international news outlets.

3.10. Data Sources

The present research used secondary data sources in undertaking the study, namely *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*:

3.10.1. Addis Zemen and Reporter (Amharic)

Addis Zemen and *Reporter* (Amharic) are daily and bi-weekly, respectively, with the largest circulations and readership in Ethiopia, as discussed in the sixth section of Chapter One. Published in Amharic, both cover issues of social, political and economic nature in detail. The former being a state-owned news outlet and the latter a private one, these two media would help the researcher find out if there was any difference between a state newspaper and a private one in framing the premier's first state visit to Eritrea.

3.10.2. The Guardian and Xinhua

To examine how the visit was framed by international media, the researcher selected two international dailies published in the English language, namely *Xinhua* and *The Guardian* for his analysis. *Xinhua*—a communist-oriented newspaper and *The Guardian*—a liberal one, they would enable the researcher to reveal how the visit was framed from the Communist vis-à-vis the West viewpoint.

3.11. Time Frame

The main objective of this study was to examine how national and international media framed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea within a one-month period, which ranges from 8 July 2018 to 8 August 2018.

The researcher advertently selected this period because stories about Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea's capital Asmara were disseminated mostly within that onemonth time.

Chapter Four

4. Data Analysis and Interpretation

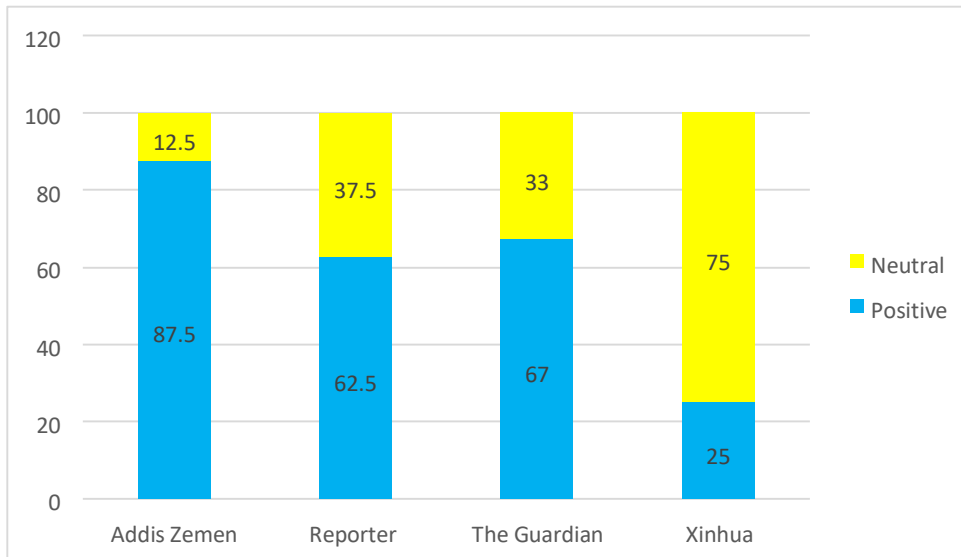
Broadly divided into four sections, this chapter presents results obtained from the data analyzed. The first section discusses results on tone of coverage, followed by the second section which deals with findings on major themes. The third section presents the results on the types of frame used in the news items analyzed while the fourth section deals with analyses on sources of information. Plus, a brief comparative analysis among the four media will be provided at the end of the sections.

4.1. Tone of Coverage

In line with the first specific objective of the present research, this first section discusses findings on the tones of coverage the selected media relied on when covering Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea.

Scholars in media and communication maintain that language plays a significant role in articulating the newsroom's ideologies in a certain way. Entman (1993), for instance, argues that the tone of a news story is mainly reflected in the key words and metaphors used. Based on this view, this first section investigates how positive, negative and neutral tones are distributed in *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*, when covering Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's visit to Asmara.

Figure 1: Summary of Tone Distribution Across the Media

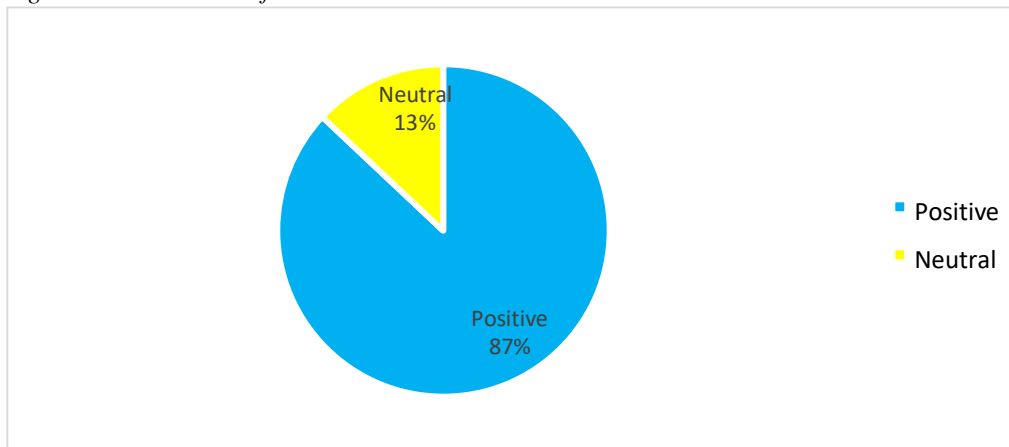


In a nutshell, Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea predominantly won positive coverage in most of the stories analyzed, followed by the neutral tone. Conversely, the premier’s visit seems to have escaped negative coverage in almost all the news items selected for the current analysis.

The distribution of each tone in each newspaper will be discussed in the upcoming subsections.

4.1.1. Distribution of Tone in Addis Zemen

Figure 2: Distribution of Tone in Addis Zemen



As the pie chart reveals, 87% of *Addis Zemen*’s news stories portrayed Abiy’s state visit to Eritrea positively. Only 13% of the stories treated the visit neutrally—showing neither negation nor affirmation to it. Conversely, none of the stories in *Addis Zemen* which the present study analyzed

covered the two-day state visit negatively. The following lines furnish deeper textual arguments to these numerical data:

The headline “**እነሆ ዘመን...!**” which is preferably translated as “*Here comes an era...!*”, for instance, is one of the stories in *Addis Zemen* where Abiy Ahmed’s state visit is paid tribute. As the headline suggests, the whole story under this heading praises Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed for breaking the silence and traveling to the neighboring Eritrea—and hence, starting a peace deal with this state which had previously been dubbed a foe.

Another story where *Addis Zemen* praises the Premier’s visit is found under the headline “**እጅ ወደላይ ያሰኘ ፍቅር**” which can be translated as “*Winning Love*”. Having recounted how Abiy Ahmed’s advocacy of love and unity had won the hearts of warring groups in his home country Ethiopia, *Addis Zemen* writes, “*And the day before yesterday, this leader repeated that history in Asmara*”, suggesting that the Prime Minister’s success as a preacher and advocator of love had begun to bear fruit not only locally but also continentally. The expression in the source language goes:

በጥይት ሳይሆን በፍቅር ቃላት ማርከው የኢትዮጵያውያንን ልብ በማሸነፍ እጅ ወደላይ ያስባሉት እኚሁ መሪ ከትናንት በስተቀም አስመራ ተመሳሳይ ታሪክ ደግመዋል which means *This leader* [referring to Abiy Ahmed]—*who conquered the hearts of Ethiopians through love but not weapons—repeated that history in Asmara the day before yesterday.*

“**አሮጫይ!**” is the other worth-quoting headline as far as positive tone is concerned, under which *Addis Zemen* retells how the Ethiopian PM’s state visit has begun to tear the curtain of enmity between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Roughly translated as “*It has ended*”, the headline alludes to a popular book by that title in which the love of an Eritrean young woman and an Ethiopian journalist who was dispatched in Asmara for a military mission is lamented. By extension, the news article is suggesting that Abiy is bringing back that love between Ethiopians and Eritreans which had faded for decades. In this article, *Addis Zemen* tells its readers that the Prime Minister’s visit has broken down the enmity sown by previous leaders.

Literally translated as *Great Peace in Asmara*, the headline **ዓብይ ሰላም - ኣብ አስመራ** also praises Abiy Ahmed for his peace deal success in the Eritrean capital. Describing the reception

which the PM was bestowed in the streets of Asmara, the story portrays Abiy Ahmed as someone who is loved and admired among the Eritrean people. Here is a chant sung by the crowds upon the Prime Minister’s arrival which *Addis Zemen* quoted to retell the people’s reaction when receiving Abiy: አስመራ እንድያ ትሕገስ ዘላ፤ ኤርትራ እንድያ ትሕገስ ዘላ.... which means, “*It is Asmara who is enchanted; it is Eritrea who is enchanted [because of your being here]...*”.

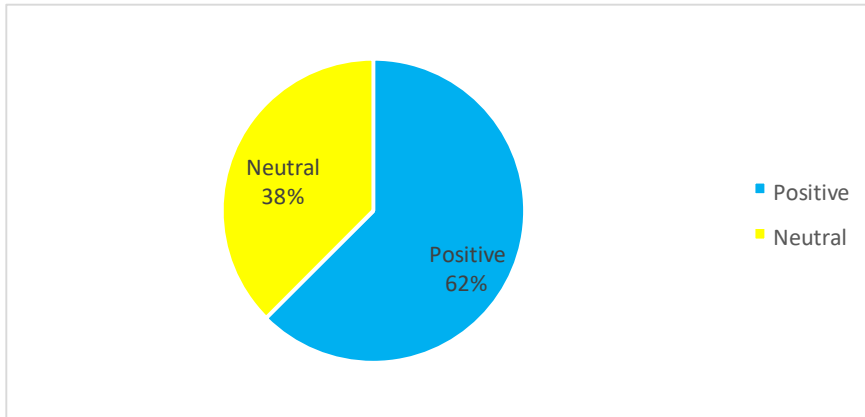
Conversely, a couple of news stories in *Addis Zemen* portray the state visit from a neutral perspective. In the news article headlined “አገራቱ የሰላምና ልማት ስምምነት ተፈራረሙ”, for example, *Addis Zemen* resorts to neutrality when retelling the signing of various deals that followed Abiy’s visit to Eritrea. This headline, whose English equivalent is “*The Countries signed peace and development deals*”, neutrally writes the events that took place in the signing ceremony. It narrates issues like the commencement of transportation, ports and telecommunications services as well as the agreement reached to avoid military confrontations.

In a nutshell, *Addis Zemen* neutrally recounts the signing ceremony as “ኢትዮጵያና ኤርትራ ባለፉት ሁለት አስርት ዓመታት ተቋርጦ የነበረውን ግንኙነታቸውን ወደ መደበኛነት መመለስ የሚያስችል የሰላምና የልማት ስምምነት ፈፀሙ” which is translated as “*Ethiopia and Eritrea signed peace and development deals to restore their relationship that was interrupted for two decades*”. It is clearly seen that the signing ceremony, which is the most significant result of Abiy Ahmed’s visit to Asmara, was written in the neutral voice where neither criticism nor praise is entertained.

In the subsection that follows, the distribution of tone in *Reporter* (Amharic) will be discussed.

4.1.2. Distribution of Tone in Reporter (Amharic)

Figure 3: Distribution of Tone in Reporter (Amharic)



As the pie chart clearly shows, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea has enjoyed dominantly positive depiction in most of the stories written by *Reporter* (Amharic) within the onemonth period, which is the present research’s time frame. Mathematically, 62% of the stories in *Reporter* shed a favorable light on Abiy Ahmed’s visit and the accompanying events. The rest 38% of the stories this newspaper wrote, however, were recounted in a neutral tone where neither criticism nor complement was involved.

A worth-mentioning exemplar of positive coverage in *Reporter* (Amharic) emerges from the headline “ኩሉ ንምርዓይ ምቕናይ ምቕናይ” which literally means “*To witness all, live and live*”. By alluding to this lyric from a music track popular amongst the Tigrayan and the Eritrean people in the 1970’s, *Reporter* appreciates the move undertaken by Abiy Ahmed in rejoining the peoples of the two countries and dubs it as something worth living to see.

Like *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* portrays the Ethiopian prime minister as a popular figure amongst the Eritreans. To this effect, the bi-weekly quotes lyrics from the chants of praise sung by the crowds of Asmara as the Ethiopian Prime Minister was escorted to the Eritrean national palace. The line, quoted verbatim from the paper, goes “መጸኻለይ ዶ ክጽበዮካ ... እታ ዝምነያ ሎሚ ረኺበያ” which literally means “*Did you come for me, and shall I wait for you? The day that I badly wished to see, I found it today*”. By quoting such lyrics in its news analysis, *Reporter* depicted Abiy as a messiah anointed to reunite families inflicted by decades of separation.

A quite similar expression emerges from a photo story devoted to recounting the aftermath of the state visit. Under the story headlined “የአስመራ ፊሽታ”, literally meaning “*The jubilations of*

Asmara”, *Reporter* (Amharic) depicts Abiy Ahmed’s visit as bringing hope to the Eritrean people.

Moreover, in the story headlined “ኢትዮጵያዊነትን ከፍ ያደረገ ኢትዮጵያዊ መሪ” which literally means “*an Ethiopian leader who raised up Ethiopianism*”, *Reporter* (Amharic) pays tribute to Abiy Ahmed for taking the initiative for the peace deal with Eritrea. The newspaper argues that by taking this peace initiative, the prime minister had elevated Ethiopia’s image internationally. Here is a word-for-word reproduction from the newspaper where the PM is bestowed admirations in

Reporter: “ኢትዮጵያዊነትን ያደመቀ ኢትዮጵያዊ መሪ ብቅብለውልናል። እኚህ መሪ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዓብይ አህመድ (ዶ/ር) ናቸው” meaning “*An Ethiopian leader who enlightened Ethiopianism has risen for us. And this leader is Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (PhD).*”

The article under the heading “የአፍሪካ ቀንድ ጂኦ ፖለቲካዊ ጥቁር መጋረጃ ሲቀደድ” —which literally means “*Upon the torn apart of the geo-political black curtain of the Horn of Africa*” — also sheds a positive light on the effects of the state visit undertaken by Abiy Ahmed.

Other expressions of *Reporter* (Amharic) where positive tone is embedded include የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ወደ አስመራ ማቅናት አጀብ አሰኝቷል translated as *the Prime Minister’s visit to Asmara has left everyone astounded*, ታሪካዊ ጉብኝት (a historical visit), ያልተጠበቀ (unexpected) and ከፍተኛ ዲፕሎማሲያዊ ስኬት ያስገኘ (that scored a great diplomatic success).

Reporter further celebrates the Prime Minister for his decision and dubs him ቆራጥና ደፋር meaning *determined and courageous*. Here is the complete sentence reproduced from the paper: ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትራችን ቆራጥና ደፋር መሆናቸው የጥላቻን ግንብ ማፍረስ አስችሏቸዋል translated as “*Because our premier was determined and brave, he was able to bring down the wall of enmity*”.

A couple of stories in *Reporter* (38% to be specific), however, presented Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea from a neutral viewpoint. Under the headline የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ የመጀመሪያዎቹ 100 ቀናት, literally meaning *The Prime Minister’s first 100 Days*, this newspaper neutrally narrates the signing of different deals that followed Abiy’s arrival in Asmara.

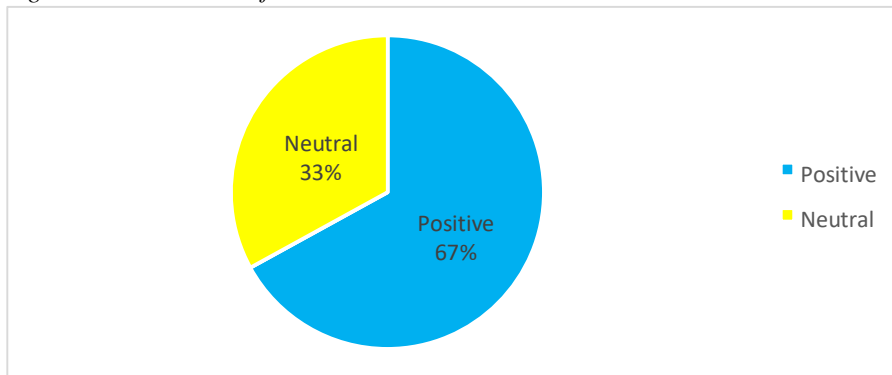
Here is a verbatim reproduction from the paper:

ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩና ፕሬዚዳንት ኢሳያስ አፈወርቂ ባደረጉት ስምምነትም የኢትዮጵያ አየር መንገድ ወደ አስመራ በረራ እንደሚጀምር፣ ሰዎች ከአንዱ አገር ወደ ሌላው መሄድ እንዲችሉ፣ ብሎም ወደቦች ለሁለቱም አገሮች አገልግሎት መስጠት እንዲችሉ ስምምነት ተደርሷል. It translates as, “As per the deals signed by the Prime Minister and President Isaias Afwerki, Ethiopian Airlines would resume flights to Asmara, people would visit either country, and even ports would resume service to the benefit of both countries.”

The subsection below discusses the distribution of tones in *The Guardian*.

4.1.3. Distribution of Tone in The Guardian

Figure 4: Distribution of Tone in The Guardian



As the pie chart reveals, like *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian*’s coverage of the premier’s first state visit to Eritrea was dominated by the positive voice. Numerically, 67% of the stories in *The Guardian* that the current study analyzed portrayed Abiy’s visit positively. The rest 33%, however, were written in a neutral voice. Textual arguments supporting these numerical data are presented in the lines that follow:

To begin with, the following excerpt from *The Guardian* shows how the paper was positive toward Abiy Ahmed when covering the state visit:

Ethiopia’s reformist new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed arrived in Eritrea’s capital and was welcomed with hugs and laughter by the Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki, joyous scene unthinkable just months ago.

It is noticeable that *The Guardian* preferred to use quantifiers like *reformist*, *joyous* and *unthinkable* and phrases like *with hugs and laughter* which have positive connotations when depicting the state visit.

In another story, *The Guardian*'s praise shifts from the agent (Abiy) to the object (the visit)—thus shedding favorable light on the visit to the level of describing it as *historic*. Below is a verbatim reproduction from the newspaper where the Prime Minister's visit is paid tribute through the words of Facebook commentators quoted by *The Guardian*:

"Historic ... the beginning of the end. The glass ceiling has been broken," one resident, Shewit Wudassie, wrote on Facebook. Another Facebook user, Djphat Su, wrote: "Am I dreaming or what?"

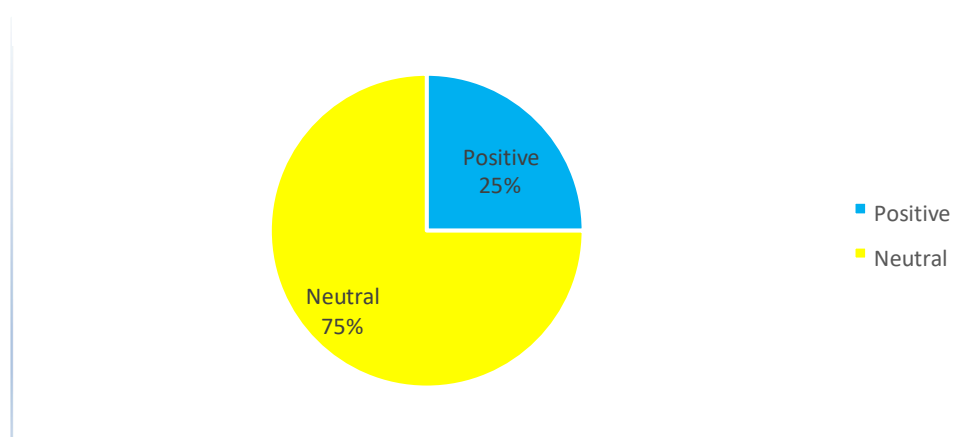
In another depiction, *The Guardian* acclaims the behavior of Abiy Ahmed when recounting a scene in which the Ethiopian Prime Minister smiles resting his head on the Eritrean president's shoulder, thus portraying him as simple and friendly: ***The leaders then met one-on-one, with a smiling Abiy leaning toward Afwerki...***

In a nutshell, *The Guardian* used positive phrases like *new era* and *true love* as well as warm abstract nouns like *emotion*, *love* and *solidarity* to favorably depict the visit and the events associated with it. On the other hand, expressions like *sign agreements*, *lift block on phone calls* and *restore ties* were used by *The Guardian* to present the event from a neutral vantage point.

The succeeding subsection discusses the distribution of tones in *Xinhua*.

4.1.4. Distribution of Tone in Xinhua

Figure 5: Distribution of Tone in Xinhua



Unlike the other three media, *Xinhua*'s coverage of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea was dominated by a neutral tone. Numerically, 75% of the stories in *Xinhua* depicted the premier's visit neutrally while the rest 25% threw a positive light on the Ethiopian Prime Minister's two-day visit to Asmara.

In fact, most of the stories in *Xinhua* are dominated by action verbs like *arrived*, *started*, *greeted*, *received*, *signed* and *established* which do not have a positive or negative connotation by themselves. In the lead below, for instance, *Xinhua* uses an action verb (with no quantifying adjective preceding or following it) to recount Abiy's arrival in Asmara:

Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed arrived in the Eritrean capital Asmara on Sunday, the first visit by an Ethiopian leader to Eritrea in 20 years.

Xinhua also remained neutral when narrating the peace agreement signed by Mr. Isaias Afwerki and Abiy Ahmed (PhD) as can be witnessed in the reproduction below:

A delegation led by Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in Eritrea on Monday morning signed a peace declaration with their Eritrean counterparts...to resume economic, political, and diplomatic ties.

In another news bulletin, *Xinhua* retells the commencement of human relations between the two countries which followed Abiy's visit with a neutral tone, as the reproduced headline below declares:

Ethiopia, Eritrea start people-to-people relations as thaw deepens

A similar neutral presentation is observed in *Xinhua*'s news article under the headline ***Ethiopia, Eritrea to establish national committees on restoring ties***, where merely an action verb is used to narrate an event that followed the PM's state visit. The quote below from the same story furnishes further support to this claim:

A delegation led by Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in Eritrea on Monday morning signed a peace declaration with their Eritrean counterparts to end mutual hostilities, settle border disputes and resume economic, political and diplomatic ties.

There, however, are a couple of stories in *Xinhua* that threw positive lights on the Prime Minister's visit. For example, the news story headlined ***East Africa bloc commends historic meeting of***

Ethiopian, Eritrean leaders narrates Abiy’s state visit through words that connote positively. Here are more lines from the same story where the visit is favorably portrayed:

The Executive Secretary of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) hailed on Sunday the historic meeting of Ethiopian and Eritrean leaders after 20 years of hostility.

It is observable that *Xinhua* utilized such positively connoting words as *commend*, *hail* and *historic* instead of some other neutral words. The presence of such positive words in the news might get the reader consume the story favorably.

In another story, *Xinhua* uses the words of Antonio Guterres, the UN Secretary General, to favorably portray the Prime Minister’s visit as an “amazing success” when retelling the achievements of the visit in settling the disputes between Ethiopia and Eritrea the effect of which is said to be global:

The visit of the Prime Minister of Ethiopia to Eritrea is an amazing success...I believe that recent evolution in relation between Eritrea and Ethiopia is very important signal not only for the two countries, not only for Africa, (but also) for the whole world.

Xinhua further quotes sources that praise the personality of Abiy Ahmed as:

We appreciate political courage of the Prime Minister of Ethiopia who has taken this initiative; he has accepted to respect what was adopted 20 years ago and since yesterday he has been in Asmara. We have seen the warm welcome that has been accorded to him to share that African peoples want peace and stability on the continent.

The subsequent subsection provides a comparative discussion on the distribution tones across the four media, namely *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic), *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*:

4.2. Comparative Analysis on Tone of Coverage

As indicated in the preceding charts, none of the media used a negative tone when covering Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea; hence, only positive and neutral tones were used in all the stories analyzed.

Surprisingly, all the four media described the state visit as *historic*: *Addis Zemen* used the words ታሪካዊ የተባለለት ጉብኝት (*a visit dubbed historic*); *Reporter* applied the metaphor ያቺ ታሪካዊ

እሁድ (*that historical Sunday*); and both *The Guardian* and *Xinhua* used the noun phrase *a historic visit* to retell the historicity of the state visit.

Likewise, the four media share similarity in depicting the state visit as ending the wall of enmity: *Addis Zemen* uses the phrase **የጥላቻን ግንብ ያፈረሰ** (*that broke the wall of enmity*); *Reporter* applies the words **የጥላቻን ግንብ ማፍረስ አስችሏቸዋል** (*[the visit] has enabled him [Abiy] to break the wall of enmity*); while *The Guardian* makes use of the sentence *The glass ceiling has been broken*; and *Xinhua* employs the verbal phrase *breaking the wall of enmity* to depict this effect of the state visit.

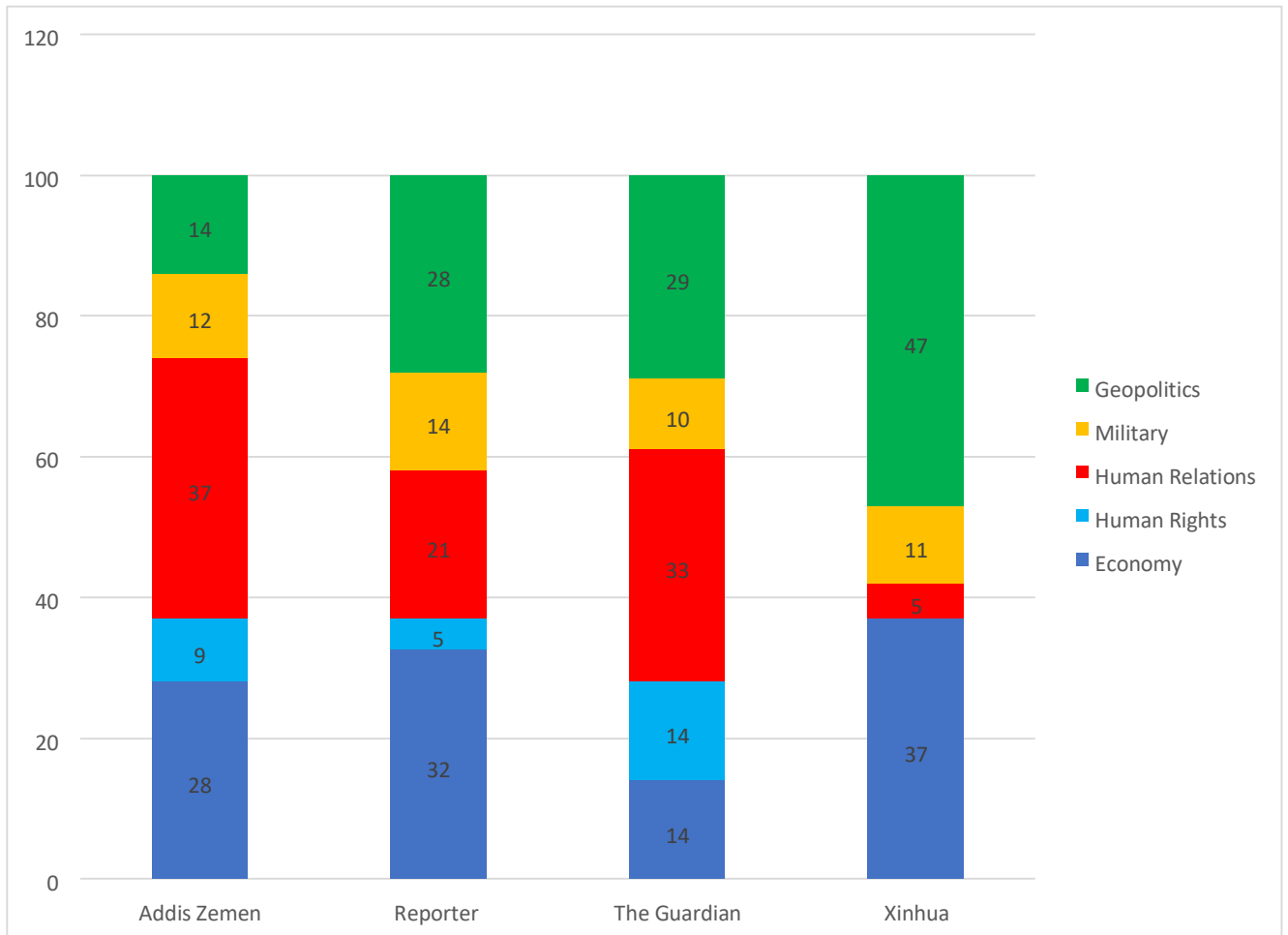
Xinhua and *Addis Zemen* further share similarity when ascribing the visit's level of success as *an amazing success* and **ከፍተኛ ዲፕሎማሲያዊ ስኬት ያስገኘ** (translated as *resulting in an amazing diplomatic success*), respectively.

On the other hand, both *Xinhua* and *Reporter* remained positive when describing the personality of the Ethiopian Prime Minister which allegedly contributed to his success as a peace maker. In *Xinhua*, Abiy is portrayed as *courageous* whereas in *Reporter* (Amharic), he is dubbed **ቆራጥና ደፋር** which means *determined* and *brave*.

4.3. Distribution of Themes

Based on the themes of state visit pointed out by Nitsch (2005) namely *economy*, *geopolitics*, *human relations*, *military*, and *human rights*, this section discusses results on the major themes of Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea as they appear in the four media.

Figure 6: Summary of Theme Distribution Across the Media



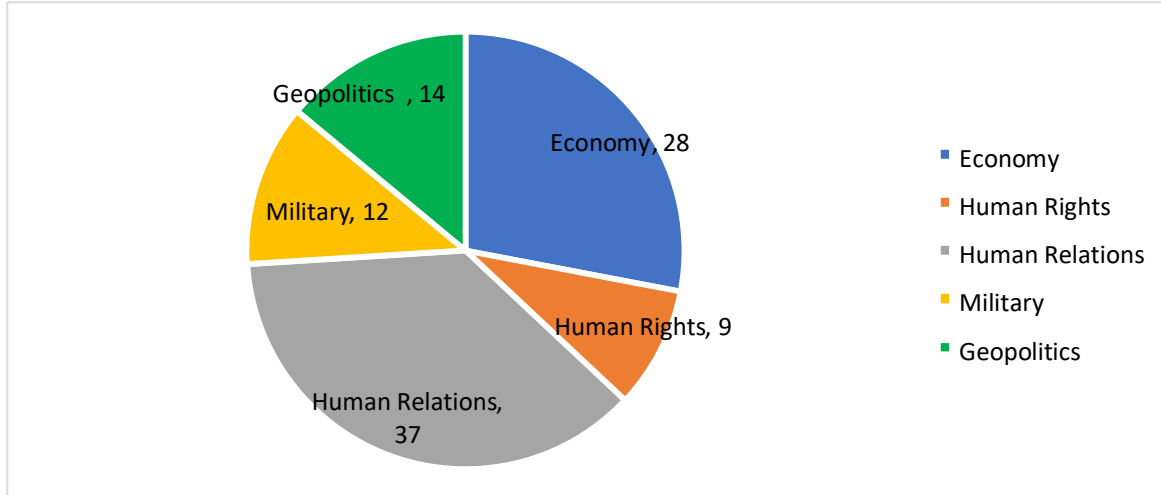
It could be summarized from the chart above that human relations and economy are two of the predominantly emphasized themes in the stories *Addis Zemen* wrote on Abiy Ahmed’s visit to Eritrea. For *Reporter* (Amharic), economy and geopolitics make the dominant themes. Human relations and geopolitics, on the other hand, are the central themes *The Guardian* liked to stress, whereas the predominantly distributed themes in *Xinhua* are geopolitics and economy.

It can, therefore, be summarized that while human rights and military are the least distributed themes across the media, geopolitics and economy form the dominant themes in 75% of them.

In the following subsections, detailed analyses of the distribution of each theme across the four media is presented:

4.3.1. Distribution of Themes in Addis Zemen

Figure 7: Distribution of Themes in Addis Zemen



This pie chart reveals that the most widely used theme in the stories presented by *Addis Zemen* is human relations. Numerically, 37% of the stories in this newspaper presented how Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s visit would affect the people-to-people ties between Eritreans and Ethiopians. The lion’s share of the stories in this newspaper used words like ተመሳሳይ ቋንቋና ባህል (translated as *same language and culture*), አንድ ቋንቋና ባህል (meaning *one language and culture*), ባህላዊና ታሪካዊ ትስስር (which means *cultural and historical ties*), ዝምድናና ወንድምነት (translated as *familiar relations and fraternity*), and የህዝብ ጉርብትና (meaning *neighborhood of the people*), among others. In fact, a close analysis of the stories *Addis Zemen* wrote reveals that these and other similar more phrases are widely used in the paper to portray how the Prime Minister’s arrival in Eritrea would impact, positively indeed, the inter-people relations between the peoples of the two nations.

It is worth reproducing some lines from the newspaper to reveal how *Addis Zemen* depicted the effects of the visit from the vantage point of human relations. In the following excerpt, for example, *Addis Zemen* describes the similarity of culture between Ethiopians and Eritreans when recounting the warm feelings shown on the streets of Asmara: ...የኤርትራ ህዝብ ደስታውን እየገለጸ ያለበት መንገድ እንዲሁም የለበሰቸው አልባሳት ሳይቀሩ በኢትዮጵያም ያሉ ናቸው which means ...*even the ways the Eritrean people celebrated [Abiy Ahmed’s arrival] and the dresses they put on were like those in Ethiopia.*

In another line, *Addis Zemen* depicts the human relations aspect of the visit by affirming the oneness of Ethiopians and Eritreans as **በእርግጥ የሁለቱ ህዝቦች ጉርብትና የማይፋቅ ነው** translated as “*Surely, the intimacy of the two peoples is literally un-scratch-able*”.

Taking a 28% share, economy makes the second dominant theme in the stories written by *Addis Zemen* concerning Abiy Ahmed’s two-day stay in Eritrea. Apart from the words **ኢኮኖሚ** (*economy*) and **ኢኮኖሚያዊ** (*economic*), the newspaper used words like **ንግድ** (*trade*) and **ወደብ** (*port*) to portray the economic theme of the state visit.

In the reproduction below, for instance, *Addis Zemen* links the visit to jointly using ports which impacts the economies of both Ethiopia and Eritrea:

...በኢኮኖሚም መተሳሰር ይቻላል። ኢትዮጵያም ወደብ መጠቀም ከቻለች ነጻ የንግድ እንቅስቃሴ ከተደረገ በአንድነት ማደግ ይቻላል። ሁለቱም አገሮች በኢኮኖሚ ተጠቃሚ ይሆናሉ which is translated as “*It is also possible to create economic ties. If Ethiopia can use [Eritrean] ports and if there is free trade, it is possible to grow together. Both countries can be economically benefited*”.

In the excerpt below, *Addis Zemen* depicts the economic destitution of the Eritrean youth which is causing serious illegal migrations and the hope that Abiy’s visit might help bring some change in the Eritrean government’s view toward the youth who are needed almost merely for military purposes:

በኢኮኖሚ ረገድም በተለይ የኤርትራ ወጣት ለስደት የተዳረገ በመሆኑ... ሰቆታ የተሞላባቸው እንደነበር አስታውሷል which means “*Since young Eritreans are economically poor, they are victims of life-threatening migrations*”.

With a share of 14%, geopolitics is the third widely used theme in *Addis Zemen*. The newspaper depicts this theme by alluding to the border dispute that resulted in deaths and displacements of people from both countries. Plus, the paper portrays Abiy’s arrival in Eritrea as heralding the end of the then-prevailing border dispute. Recounting how the signing of a peace deal that followed the arrival of the Ethiopian Prime Minister in Eritrea precipitated the ending of the long-lasting

border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea, *Addis Zemen* in a nutshell wrote: **ሁለቱ አገሮች ለኢትዮ ኤርትራ የድንበር ጉዳይ መፍትሄ አስቀምጠዋል** which means “*The two countries have come up with a solution to the Ethio-Eritrean border dispute*”.

Being one of the most significant geopolitical terms as far as the Ethio-Eritrean border dispute is concerned, the phrase **የአልጀርሱ ስምምነት** (which means *the Algiers Agreement*) is frequently referred to in the stories of *Addis Zemen*. Here is a verbatim quote from the paper which shows the significance of the Algiers accord in the Ethio-Eritrean geopolitics: **...የአልጀርሱም ስምምነት ሆነ የድንበር ስምምነቶች ገቢራዊ እንዲሆኑ ከመስማማት ደርሰዋል** which means *...and agreement has been reached to put into action the Algiers agreement and related border accords*.

On the other hand, the excerpt below reveals the geopolitical significance of the Algiers accord by suggesting that Ethiopia’s role in the peace initiative should not be limited to just demarcating boundaries as per the agreement:

የሁለቱን አገሮች የደረሱባቸው ስምምነቶች በኢትዮጵያውያን ዘንድ የአልጀርሱን ስምምነት ሙሉ ለሙሉ ለመተግበር የተላለፈው ውሳኔ ድንበር በማስመረ የሚያበቃ መሆን የለበትም which means

“As far as the agreement the two countries made to fully implement the Algiers agreement is concerned, Ethiopia’s role should not be limited to merely drawing demarcating lines”.

With a 12% share, military is the second least utilized theme in *Addis Zemen*. In fact, the newspaper portrays this theme by making references to the military confrontations and rivalries that frequently occurred in those two decades and retells how the Prime Minister’s visit to Eritrea would bring about the culmination of those military races. Below is a quote from the newspaper where the military aspect of Abiy Ahmed’s visit is stressed:

ሀገሮቹ...አንዱ አንዱን ለመመከት የሚያደርጉት የጦር ኃይል ግንባታ ከአሁን በኋላ አረማይ which means “*The countries’ military preparation to wage war on one another has come to an end!*” Same formula *Oromai* “**አረማይ!**”, which means “*it has ended*”, is repeated a couple of times in the story including the following, hence associating Abiy Ahmed’s arrival in Asmara as

ending the years of military clashes: **የቦርነት ታሪክ ተዘግቷል። ኦሮማይ** which means “*The door of war has been closed! It has ended!*”

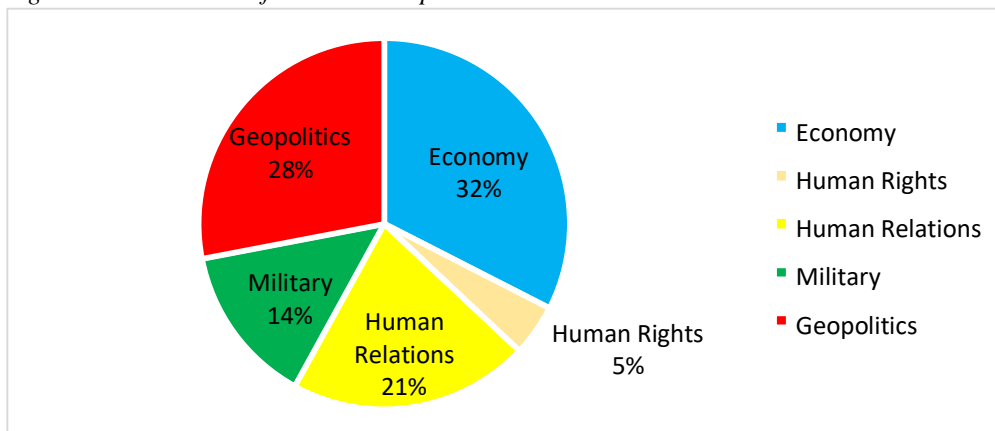
Taking a 9% share, human rights is the least widely distributed theme in *Addis Zemen*. The demand for a constitution and complaints against the Eritrean government’s compulsive military recruitment are the major human rights issues which this newspaper touched in relation to Abiy’s state visit. In the excerpt below, for example, *Addis Zemen* depicts that Eritreans were wondering if Abiy’s visit could initiate some kind of change with regard to the compulsive military recruitment: **...አገራዊ አገልግሎት... አንድ ዓመት ከ6 ወር የግዳጅ ያልተጻፈ ህግ በመኖሩ ለዚህም ትልቅ መልስ ሰጪ ይሆናል** which means [*The visit*] *might bring a solution to the eighteen-month compulsive military service which has not any written legal ground.*

The following line, on the other hand, reveals that Eritreans were wondering if the visit could answer their inquiry for a constitution which usually is a guarantee for human rights, though not always: **...በይደር የቆየ ተረቆ በቦርነቱ ምክንያት የቆየ ህገ-መንግሥት አለ። የህገ-መንግሥት ጥያቄም ምላሽ ሊያገኝ ይችላል** which is translated as *...there is a draft constitution whose enactment has pended because of the war. The demand for the functionality of the constitution might be answered.*

The subsection below discusses the distribution of themes in *Reporter* (Amharic).

4.3.2. Distribution of Themes in Reporter

Figure 8: Distribution of Themes in Reporter



With a 32% share, economy is the most widely distributed theme in the stories written by *Reporter*

(Amharic) on Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea. To provide textual argument, in a news article titled **ለኢኮኖሚው ተስፋ የሰነቁ 100 ቀናት** (meaning *100 Days Promising to the Economy*),

Reporter provides a detailed analysis on the economic impacts of the Ethiopian premier’s visit to the Eritrean capital. This verbatim excerpt from the article, for instance, depicts the visit as opening doors for economic integrations: **የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ጉብኝት በሁለቱ አገሮች መካከል ኢኮኖሚያዊ ግንኙነት ለማስጀመር በር ከፍቷል። ከወዲሁ የስልክ ግንኙነት ተጀምሯል** which is translated as “*The Prime Minister’s visit has opened the door to start economic integration between the two countries. So far, telephone connections have been re-established*”.

In another story, *Reporter* recounts how the no-peace-no-war period devastated the economies of Ethiopia and Eritrea as **በሁለቱ ደሃ አገሮች ኢኮኖሚ ላይ ከፍተኛ የሆነ ውድመት ደርሷል** which means “[*Because of the war*] *the economies of the two poor countries have witnessed extreme deterioration*”.

On the other hand, in the following extract, *Reporter* suggests that economy should be one of the areas of priority when bilateral relations are made. In fact, this view of the newspaper was launched in response to the multiple deals that Abiy Ahmed and Isaias Afwerki signed following the former’s state visit to Eritrea: **በፖለቲካ፣ በኢኮኖሚና በዲፕሎማሲ መስኮች በሚደረጉ ግንኙነቶች ደግሞ የሁለቱን አገሮች ሕዝቦች ፍላጎት ማስቀደም ተገቢ ነው** which means, “*It is appropriate that the interest of the peoples of the two countries is given priority when relations in political, economic and diplomatic arena are conducted*”.

Geopolitics, with a distribution of 28%, appears the second widely distributed theme across the stories of *Reporter* (Amharic). *Reporter*’s most noteworthy news article as far as geopolitics is concerned comes from the story headlined **የአፍሪካ ቀንድ ጁኦ ፖለቲካዊ ጥቁር መጋረጃ ሲቀደድ** which could be literally translated as *Upon the Torn Apart of the Geopolitical Black Curtain of the Horn of Africa*. In this article, the newspaper depicts how the visit paid by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed served in easing not only the geopolitical tensions shadowing between Ethiopia and Eritrea but also the Horn Region.

In fact, the story relates the geopolitical fragility of the Horn of Africa as **የየመን ጦርነትና የኪታር ቀውስ የአካባቢው የፖለቲካ ጉዳይ ቢሆንም፤ የአፍሪካ ቀንድ አገሮች በጦርነቱም ሆነ በቀውሱ**

ወገናዊነትም ሆነ ተሳትፎ ያሳዩበት ሁኔታ በመኖሩ፤ የገልፍ አገሮች ... ዘርፈ ብዙ እንቅስቃሴዎች ቀንዱ ... ተፅዕኖ እንደሚያረፍበት አመለካች ነው which means *Even though the crises in Yemen and Qatar are the affairs of the Gulf region, countries of the Horn of Africa have involved themselves in one way or another in the crises, thus opening the Horn's vulnerability to the Gulf.*

Reporter (Amharic) further portrays Abiy Ahmed's visit to Eritrea, which is significantly located in the Horn of Africa, as catharsis to the geopolitical tensions in the region, as indicated in this excerpt from the paper: **ሁለቱ አገሮች በመካከላቸው ያለውን ጂኦ-ፖለቲካዊ ጥቁር መጋረጃ ቀደው ጥለውታል። በእሱዱ የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዓብይ አህመድ (ዶ/ር) የአስመራ ጉብኝትም ግንኙነቶችን መደበኛ በነበሩበት ሁኔታ እንዲመለሱ ሁለቱ መሪዎች ወስነዋል** which is translated as, *"The two countries have torn apart and thrown away the geopolitical black curtain that separated them.*

Upon Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's visit to Asmara on Sunday, the two leaders have decided to re-establish bilateral relations".

With a share of 21%, human relations is the third widely distributed theme in *Reporter's* stories that dealt with Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's stay in Asmara. In fact, this newspaper used such words as **ወንድማዊ** (*brotherly*), **ወንድሞቹ** (metaphorically *his brothers*), and **ወንድሞቻችን** (*our brothers*) to portray the people-to-people ties of the peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia.

In this extract, for instance, *Reporter* metaphorically describes the Prime Minister's arrival in Asmara as *"hands stretched for peace"* and contends that those hands should remain stretched till brotherly ties between Ethiopians and Eritreans are well re-established: **ይህ አሳዛኝ የታሪክ ምዕራፍ ተዘግቶ አዲስ ወንድማዊ ግንኙነት እንዲጀመር፣ ለሰላም የተረዘረጉ እጆች እንዳይታጠፉ** which literally means *To close this tragic chapter of history and start a new brotherly relation, those hands stretched for peace should remain stretched.*

On the other hand, recounting the way Ethiopians praised the public reception the Ethiopian Prime Minister was accorded in the highways of Asmara, *Reporter* wrote **አስተዋዩና ብልሁ የኢትድያ ህዝብ የኤርትራዊያን ወንድሞቹ ህመም ውስጡ ዘልቆ እንደገባ በግልጽ ታይቷል** which means *The sensible and wise Ethiopian people have explicitly shown how they have deeply felt the pain of their Eritrean brothers.* The newspaper further writes **እርቁንና ሰላሙን ከቤታችን ስንጀምር**

ለ20 ዓመታ የተለያዩን ኤርትራውያን ወንድሞቻችን የሰላም የዘንባባ ዝንጣፈ ይዘው ይቀበሉናል translated as *When we took initiation for the reconciliation and peace deal at home, our Eritrean brothers who were separated from us for 20 years received us with an honorary carpet of palm leaves.*

Military, on the other hand, accounts for 14% of the stories in *Reporter*, thus being the second least utilized theme in this newspaper. In the following excerpt, for instance, this newspaper claims that the military equipment and armed forces hugely deployed in the border areas of Ethiopia and

Eritrea did not bring peace: **ከዚህ ቀደም ቀናትና አዎንታዊ አመለካከቶች በመጥፋታው ብቻ ድንበር ላይ በመቶ ሺዎች የሚቆጠሩ ሠራዊተትና ከባድ መሣሪያዎች መከማቻቸው የፈረደው አልነበረም** translated as *“Previously, because of poor attitude, the deployment of hundreds of thousands of soldiers and destructive weapons in border areas could not solve the problem”*.

Another excerpt carrying a similar message regretfully argues that the large amount of money spent on unnecessary military equipment could have been used to improve the economies of the two poor countries: **ለአገሮቹ ልማት ይውል የነበረው ውስን ሀብት ድንበር ላይ ለተፋጠጡ ሠራዊት መሣሪያ ግዥና ለተለያዩ ተጓዳኝ ጉዳዮች እየዋለ ሲባክን ቆይቷል** which means *The limited resource that could have been used for the development of the countries was exhausted on the purchase of military weapons and on related issues.*

Having a 5% share, human rights is the least utilized theme in the stories *Reporter* wrote on Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s visit to Eritrea. In the following extract, for example, the newspaper relates how the no-peace-no-war period has afflicted the peoples of Ethiopia and Eritrea and significantly affected their human rights, including their rights to life and free movement: **በብዙ ሺህ የሚቆጠሩ ወገኖች በከንቱ ሕይወታቸው ጠፍቷል። በብዙ ሺ የሚቆጠሩ አካላዊና ሥነ ልቦናዊ ጉዳት ተዳገዋል። ከመኖሪያ ቀዳሾቻቸው የተፈናቀሉ በርካታ ሺዎች ናቸው** which means *“Thousands of people have lost their lives. Many more had been subjected to physical and psychological trauma. And thousands more had unwillingly faced evacuations”*.

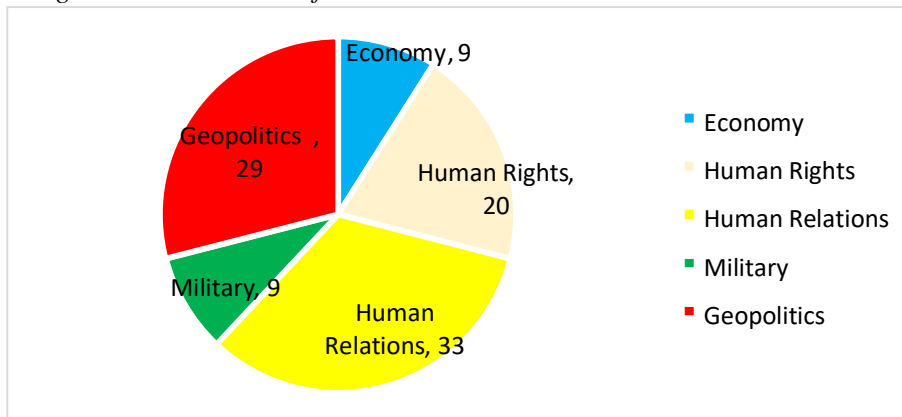
In the following lines, *Reporter* recounts that the cooperation between Ethiopia and Eritrea, which followed the visit, can affect people’s rights and democracy but if used wisely: **ትብብሩ...የዜጎችን**

መብቶች በሚያከብሩ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓቶች ቢታገዙ...ጂኦፖለቲካዊ ሰላምና ደኅንነትን ለማረጋገጥ ወሳኝ ወደመሆን ይሸጋገራል meaning *If the cooperation [between Ethiopia and Eritrea] is reinforced by a democratic system that celebrates the rights of citizens, it is more likely that geopolitical peace and security will be ensured.*

In the following subsection, a discussion on the distribution of themes in *The Guardian* will be presented.

4.3.3. Distribution of Themes in The Guardian

Figure 9: Distribution of Themes in The Guardian



As the pie chart shows, human relations is the most widely distributed theme in *The Guardian* with a 33% share. Actually, the stories mainly focus on the communication barriers that blocked the inter-people contacts and cultural ties between the peoples of Ethiopia and Eritrea. Recounting the communication thirst that lived within the souls of the Eritrean people, *The Guardian*, for instance, wrote “*Residents wasted no time in phoning each other after a block on telecommunications between the two countries was lifted*”. In fact, this lift on the communication block was one of the results of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s state visit to the east African nation.

The Guardian further relates a personal story from the mouth of a victim of the communication block. The victim, then living in Ethiopia, is quoted to have said, “*The last time I talked to them was when I was in a third country. [Now]My mother is going to talk to our relatives in Eritrea and everyone is excited about it.*”

In another story, the inter-people ties are presented in the form of cultural integration which the paper writes, “*But the two countries share close cultural ties*”—hence giving emphasis to the human relations aspect of the visit.

This quote, which *The Guardian* took from the mouth of the Ethiopian premier, also adds weight to the visit as seen by the paper from a human relations aspect: “***We have agreed to...allow our people to visit each other's cities***”. Another quotation the paper used to depict the people-to-people aspect of the state visit emerges from the lips of the Eritrean president, who is quoted as having said that the arrival of Abiy Ahmed has given Eritreans the opportunity to publicly display their love for their fellow Ethiopians: “***The Eritrean people have today got the chance to express their true love and emotion for Ethiopians.***”

In this excerpt, which *The Guardian* quoted from the speech of the Ethiopian Prime Minister, the human relations between Ethiopians and Eritreans is taken to the level of having a “common purpose”. “***We can now imagine a future where we see no national boundaries or high walls dividing us. The people of our region are joined in common purpose.***”

With a share of 29%, geopolitics is the second most widely distributed theme in the stories *The Guardian* wrote concerning the state visit paid by Abiy Ahmed (PhD). In fact, a significant amount of stories in this paper deal with border and border-related issues. Referring to the geopolitical confrontations of the TPLF (Tigray People Liberation Front) and the Isaias Afwerki-led Eritrean government, for example, *The Guardian* wrote, “***Abiy's move broke a long stalemate between Afwerki and the long-dominant Tigrayan party in Ethiopia's ruling coalition***”. In fact, as the TPLF-ruled Tigray region and Eritrea share significant geographical areas and are intermingled culturally, there have been geopolitical concerns between them for decades, and *The Guardian* alludes to that.

In this excerpt, *The Guardian* reveals the anger and grievance of Tigray Region on the Prime Minister’s acceptance of the Algiers agreement which is one of the most significant issues as far as Ethio-Eritrean geopolitics is concerned: “***Not everyone has welcomed Ethiopia's embrace of the peace deal, with some residents in the northern Tigray region bordering Eritrea holding protests.***”

Taking a 20% portion, human rights is the third widely used theme in *The Guardian*.

With regard to human rights, *The Guardian* portrays Abiy Ahmed as a reformist and freer of political prisoners. It is worth quoting the following excerpt from *The Guardian*’s official page which relates this issue: “***...Ethiopia's Prime Minister...took office in April and quickly set off a***

wave of reforms, freeing journalists, and opposition figures from prison, opening up the state-run economy and unblocking hundreds of websites after years of anti-government protests demanding more freedoms.

Conversely, citing human rights groups, *The Guardian* accuses the Isaias Afwerki government of compulsive military recruitment which is deemed a violation of Eritrean people's basic human rights. The following quote from the newspaper inquires if the arrival of the Ethiopian Prime Minister in Asmara, which was followed by a one-to-one meeting with the Eritrean president, would alleviate the long-held stance of the Eritrean government regarding compulsive military service:

Eritrea has become a major source of migrants fleeing toward Europe, Israel and African nations in recent years as human rights groups criticize its harsh military conscription laws. Observers of the diplomatic thaw have asked whether peace with Ethiopia would lead Eritrea to loosen up and drop its long defensive stance.

A bolder criticism against the Isaias Afwerki government on human rights issues comes from an author by the name of Martin Plaut, whom *The Guardian* quoted as saying:

Reconciliation would deprive President Isaias of an excuse for maintaining his country in a permanent state of military readiness that has blocked Eritrea from developing any form of democracy.

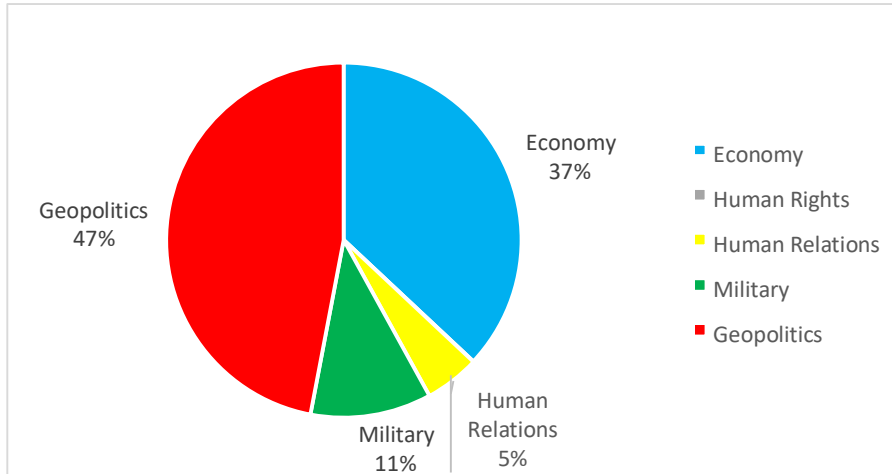
Finally, the least distributed themes across the stories of *The Guardian* are economy and military, each one accounting for 9%. As for economy, the paper portrays the signing of deals which followed the visit as earning the landlocked Ethiopia access to port: "...*Ethiopia to use port facilities in Eritrea*". In fact, Ethiopia is depicted as having "*one of the world's fastest-growing economies*".

On the other hand, the presence of military theme can be shown through the words of Fitsum Arega, the then press secretary of the Prime Minister's office which *The Guardian* cited in its coverage of the visit: *A state of war between the two countries has come to an end.*

The subsection right below deals with thematic analyses of the stories written by *Xinhua* when covering Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea.

4.3.4. Distribution of Themes in Xinhua

Figure 10: Distribution of Themes in Xinhua



As shown in the pie chart, geopolitics, whose share is 47%, is the most dominantly distributed theme across the stories written by *Xinhua* regarding Abiy's first state visit to Eritrea. The following reproduction from *Xinhua*, for instance, links Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's visit to resolving geopolitical disputes that recurred for decades between the two countries:

The visit comes after the two countries started tentative steps to end a two decades old bitter border dispute that led to a bloody two-year war from 1998-2000, that left an estimated 70,000 people dead from both sides.

In another statement, *Xinhua* cites the views of Abiy Ahmed to portray the significance of the Prime Minister's state visit from a geopolitical vantage point, which repeats the ideas contained in the preceding quotation: ***He [Abiy] further said there will be a technical committee to resolve the two countries' bitter border dispute and help implement the Algiers peace agreement signed in 2000.***

Another reproduction worth quoting as far the issue of geopolitics is concerned emerges from *Xinhua*'s boldness in recounting Ethiopia's previous decline to implement the Algiers agreement and its control of Badime:

Ethiopia until this month had declined to endorse the results of the peace agreement fully, including the symbolically important town of Badme which Ethiopia currently controls but which was awarded to Eritrea.

In the excerpt below, *Xinhua* retells the state visit as culminating the disputes witnessed in the border areas of Ethiopia and Eritrea:

A delegation led by Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in Eritrea on Monday morning signed a peace declaration with their Eritrean counterparts to end mutual hostilities, settle border disputes and resume economic, political and diplomatic ties.

With a 37% share, economy is the second widely distributed theme across the stories *Xinhua* wrote concerning the Ethiopian premier's state visit to Asmara. In the following lines excerpted from the newspaper, for instance, *Xinhua* retells that Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's visit would benefit the Ethiopian economy:

The minister also said as soon as next week, flights between Eritrean capital Asmara and Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa will resume as well as Eritrean ports servicing landlocked Ethiopia's rising economic needs.

In general, *Xinhua* used such expressions as *economic ties*, *economic fields* and *economic relations* to directly depict the economic aspects of Abiy Ahmed's stay in Asmara both for Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Taking an 11% share, military is the second least distributed theme in *Xinhua*. Alluding to the military stalemate that was shadowing over the Ethio-Eritrean border in the past twenty years, *Xinhua* writes ***...but a tense armed standoff continued, with the two countries engaging in skirmishes occasionally.***

Human relations, with only 5% share, is the least distributed theme in *Xinhua* as far the newspaper's coverage of Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea is concerned. In this headline, for instance, *Xinhua* portrays the Prime Minister's visit as relieving the tensions between Ethiopia and Eritrea and hence paving the path for inter-people relations: ***Ethiopia, Eritrea start people-to-people relations as thaw deepens.***

The last subsection below provides a brief comparative discussion on the distribution of themes across the four media namely *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter*, *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*.

4.4. Comparative Analysis on Major Themes

It is deducible from the discussions so far that economy makes a significant theme in 75% of the media analyzed (i.e. *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* and *Xinhua*). The only newspaper where economy was insignificantly used in is *The Guardian* where human relations has a significant amount of share followed by geopolitics. On the other hand, human rights is insignificantly used in *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter* while *Xinhua* has refrained from entertaining this theme in its news coverage.

There is also a significant difference between *The Guardian* and the rest media in covering the Algiers accord: While *The Guardian* revealed the grievance of the TPLF-led Tigray region against Abiy's acceptance of the agreement, the three news outlets (namely *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* and *Xinhua*) kept silent on this issue even though they all reported the PM's acceptance of the Algiers accord. Still significant, *The Guardian* boldly criticizes the Isaias Afwerki government for depriving Eritrea of "developing any form of democracy", a view which is not recorded by any of the rest three media.

On the other hand, both *Addis Zemen* and *The Guardian* dubbed the Prime Minister a liberator of political prisoners and journalists when alluding to Abiy's internal success in their coverage of the state visit.

Reporter (Amharic) shares a similar depiction with *The Guardian* when retelling the compulsive military service imposed on the Eritrean youth, for both news outlets presented the service as being imposed on the Eritrean people without their will.

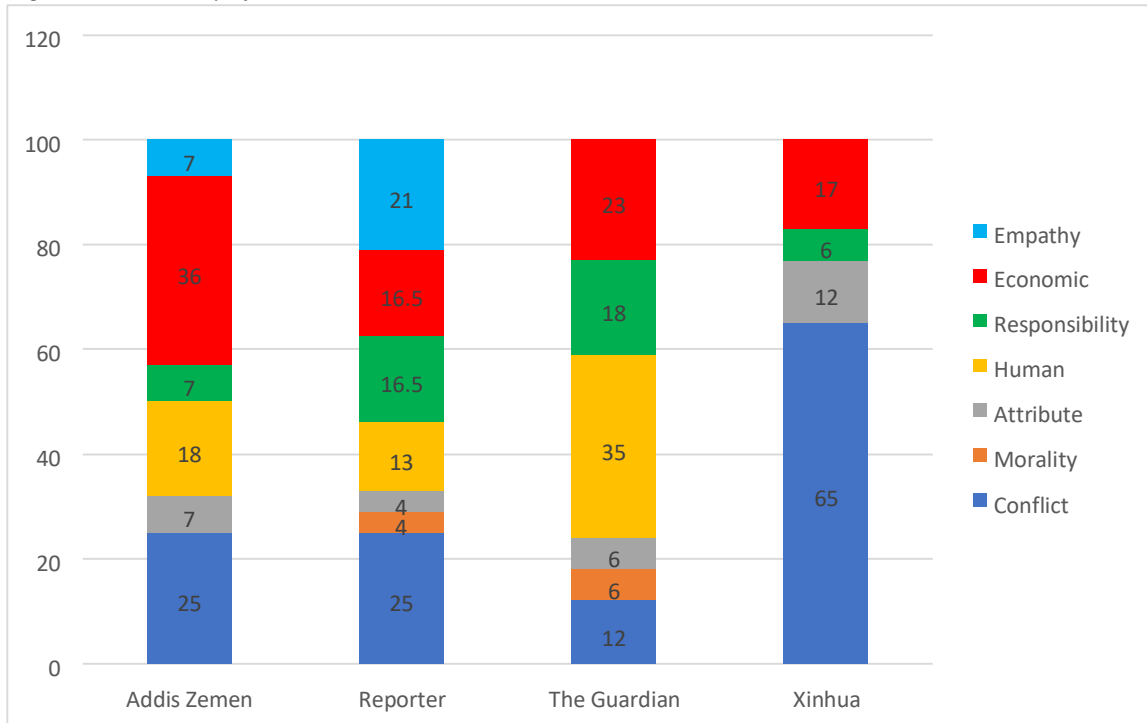
Conversely, only *Xinhua* and *Addis Zemen* used the word *Badime*, a geographical area which is highly significant as far as the Ethio-Eritrean geopolitics is concerned. And it is surprising to miss this important name of a town in the other two media. In fact, both *Xinhua* and *Addis Zemen* depicted *Badime* as a place for whose sake innocent bloods were shed.

Finally, both *Xinhua* and *The Guardian* depicted Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea as providing the landlocked Ethiopian economy an access to port services.

The succeeding section discusses findings on the distribution of frames in the four media.

4.5. Distribution of Frames

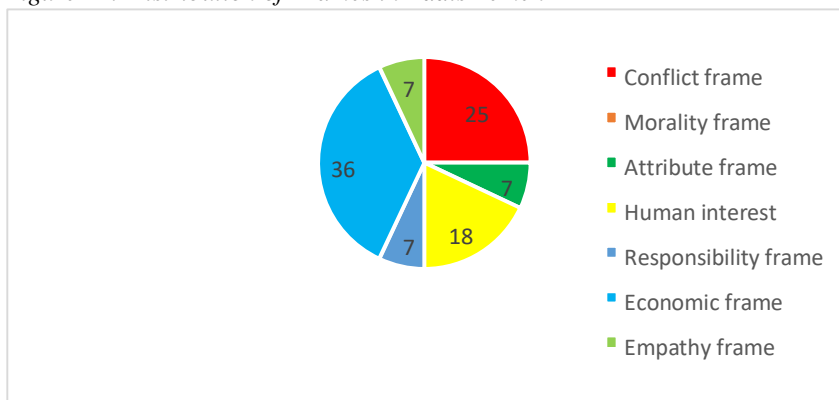
Figure 11: Summary of Frame Distribution Across the Media



It is observable from the chart above that there are great discrepancies among the media in using the seven types of frame when framing Abiy’s first state visit to Eritrea. Hence, the distribution of each frame in the four media will be separately discussed in the upcoming subsections.

4.5.1. Distribution of Frames in Addis Zemen

Figure 12: Distribution of Frames in Addis Zemen



As the pie chart shows, economic frame is the most dominant frame in *Addis Zemen* with the share of 36% followed by conflict frame and human-interest frame whose share is 25% and 18%, respectively. Attribute, responsibility and empathy frames jointly make up 21%, with each one taking 7%. This newspaper did not use morality frame when covering Abiy's first state visit to Eritrea. The lines below provide textual arguments to these mathematical data.

To start with, *Addis Zemen* directly links Prime Minister Abiy's visit as having effects on the economies of Ethiopia and Eritrea in this line: **የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ ጉብኝት ለኢኮኖሚው ታላቅ በረከት ነው** which means "*The Prime Minister's visit is a great blessing for the economy*". The following reproduction from the same newspaper also portrays the premier's visit in a way that impacts the economy by linking the agreements signed by the Eritrean president and the Ethiopian PM directly to economic development: **ስምምነቱ...ለኢኮኖሚያዊ እድገት ወሳኝ ሚና ይጫወታል**.

It is translated as "*The agreement...will play a vital economic role*".

Addis Zemen's direct reference to economy is also revealed in another story where both Eritrea and Ethiopia are set to economically benefit from Abiy's two-day visit. Here is a verbatim reproduction in the source language: **ሁለቱም አገሮች በኢኮኖሚ ተጠቃሚ [ይሆናሉ]** which is translated as "*The two countries will be economically benefitted*".

In another story, *Addis Zemen* connects Abiy's arrival in Eritrea with the resumption of port services and flights which indeed has economic implications. Here is an extract from the story where this view is revealed: **አየር ማንገዶችና ወደቦች ሥራ ይጀምራሉ...እነዚህ ሙሠረተ ልማቶች በአስቸኳይ ሥራ እንዲጀምሩ ይደረጋል** which means "*Airlines and ports will go functional....these infrastructures will soon commence providing service*".

Taking a 25% share, conflict frame is the second most dominantly used frame in *Addis Zemen* as articulated previously. The conflict frames are chiefly presented in the form of military confrontations and rivalries that shadowed over the Ethio-Eritrean skies for almost two decades. They also reflect the fragility of the Horn of Africa where forces from other continents like Arab states and Far East countries are struggling to gain control of. The newspaper wrote, on the basis

of different sources, that the visit undertaken by Abiy Ahmed (PhD) would end these regional tensions.

In fact, *Addis Zemen* used words like **ጦርነቶች** (*wars*), **እልቂት** (*calamity*), **ጠላትነት** (*Enmity*), **የጦር ኃይል ግንባታ**, (*military power development*), **የውጭ ኃይሎች** (*foreign powers*) and **እጅ መጠምዘዝ** (*meddling*) to reveal the conflict aspect of the Prime Minister’s visit.

A worth-mentioning quote where conflict frame is shown through military rivalry is

“አገሮቹ...አንዱ አንዱን ለመመከት የሚያደርጉት የጦር ኃይል ግንባታ ከአሁን በኋላ አሮማይ” which means *“The countries’ military race to wage war on one another has ended”*. This line reveals that Abiy’s visit to Asmara which was followed by the signing of a peace deal has terminated the military rivalry between Ethiopia and Eritrea which for decades had caused a nopeace-no-war atmosphere.

The following quote from the same story, on the other hand, links the state visit as saving the Horn of Africa from interest groups like Arab states and Far East countries whose race to get the upper hand in the region was about to turn the Horn of Africa into chaos: **የተለያዩ ፍላጎት ያላቸው የውጭ ኃይሎች እጅ መጠምዘዝ ውስጥ ደርሰው ነበር** which means, *“Various foreign interest groups were almost to resort into meddling [in the internal affairs of the Horn countries]”*.

In this line where *Addis Zemen* quotes a renowned political figure, conflict frame is presented in the form of opposing idea so that the war-laden constructs in the dependent clause contrast with the love-emitting concepts in the independent clause: **“በፖለቲካ ምክንያት በተደረጉ ጦርነቶች ልብን የሚሰብር እልቂት የተፈጸመበት ጊዜ ብናሳልፍም ልብን የሚያቀልጥ ፍቅርን በትናንት በስተታይ ዕለት ማየት ችለናል”**. It means as, *“Though we went through times of hideous calamities because of political wars, we saw a heart-touching love the day before yesterday.”*

With a share of 18%, human-interest frame is the third widely distributed frame across the stories *Addis Zemen* wrote when covering Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea. In the following excerpt, for example, *Addis Zemen* recounts the reception ceremony bestowed to the Ethiopian Prime Minister by the public in the highways of Asmara using imageries like *decorated dresses*, *throwing popcorns* and *making carpet of leaves* which have special emotional effect on the reader:

ጎዳና ሰማዕታት ከወትሮው በተለየ በዘጠኙም የኤርትራ ብሔረሰቦች አለባበስ ባጌጡ ህዝቦቹ ደምቃለች። ሳር፣ ዘንባባ፣ አበባ፣ ብቻ ለደስታ ጊዜ የሚደረጉ ኩነቶች ሁሉ ባህሉን በሚገልጽሙል ይታያሉ which means *Godana Sema'etat [which means Martyrs' Avenue] was unusually adorned with its people who decorated themselves with costumes of the nine Eritrean nationalities.*

In another story headlined “ኢትዮ ኤርትራ...እጅና ዳንት” which literally means “*Ethio-Eritrea...hand and glove*”, *Addis Zemen* appeals to the reader’s emotion by recurrently retelling the oneness of the peoples of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Responsibility, empathy and attribute frames, conversely, are the least utilized media frames in *Addis Zemen* each one’s share accounting for only 7%. This quote reproduced verbatim from the paper could exemplify the presence of attribute and responsibility frames in a single story:

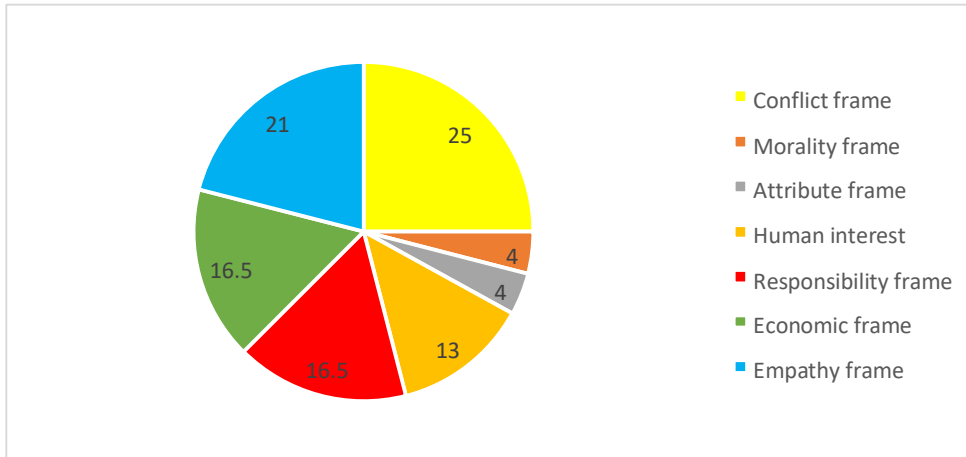
“ጠ/ሚኒስትራችን ቆራጥና ደፋር ሞሆናቸው የጥላቻን ግንብ ማፍረስ አስችሏቸዋል” which means,

“*Being committed and courageous, our PM was able to bring down the wall of hate*”. For one thing, the quote selects a trait from Abiy’s behavior and praises it, hence, attribute frame. For another, the quote depicts Abiy Ahmed as the one who is responsible for the start of a peace deal, thus, responsibility frame.

4.5.2. Distribution of Frames in Reporter

It is evident from the chart below that the most dominant frame in the stories *Reporter* (Amharic) wrote is conflict frame which accounts for 25% followed by empathy frame which has a 21% share. Each one having a 16.5% share, economic frame and responsibility frame are the third widely distributed frames in *Reporter*, while human-interest frame takes fourth with a 13% share. Each one having a 4% share, morality and attribute frames are the least distributed frames in *Reporter* (Amharic). The paper did not use empathy frame when covering Abiy Ahmed’s two-day visit in Eritrea.

Figure 13: Distribution of Frames in Reporter



In the following excerpt, for instance, *Reporter* like *Addis Zemen*, uses conflict frame to show the Horn of Africa as a region where groups with different interests are racing: “ያለንበት ጊዜ የአፍሪካ ቀንድ በቀውስ ውስጥ ያለበት፣ ብዙ የየራሳቸው ፍላጎትና ዓላማ ያላቸው ኃሎች የሚራከቱበት፣ ውስብስብ ማጠላለፍ በቀጣናው ያለበት ወቅት ነው” which means “*These days, the Horn of Africa is in crisis; different interest groups are struggling to gain the upper hand, posing complications to region.*” Quoting these words of Abiy Ahmed which he spoke on his inauguration as Ethiopia’s Prime Minister, *Reporter* infers the PM’s dream of ending this regional disorder.

In the extract below, likewise, *Reporter* depicts that the discord between Eritrean and Ethiopian governments in the past two decades had inflicted sufferings especially on people living near the Ethio-Eritrean border: ...በብዙ ሺህ የሚቆጠሩ ወገኖች በከንቱ ሕይወታቸው ጠፍቷል። በብዙ ሺ የሚቆጠሩ አካላዊና ሥነ ልቦናዊ ጉዳት ተዳገዋል። ከመኖሪያ ቀዳሾቻቸው የተፈናቀሉ በርካታ ሺዎች ናቸው which is translated as ...*thousands had lost their lives; thousands more had faced physical and psychological traumas. Even thousands more were displaced from their homes.*

In the following reproduction, *Reporter* uses antithesis where the abstract words *love* and *hate* are set to contrast so that conflict between ideas can be depicted: ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዓብይ አህመድ...አስመራ ሲገቡ ሙታዘብ የተቻለው፣ ፍቅርና ይቅርታ ባሉበት የጥላቻ ግድግዳ አቅም እንደሌለው ነው which is translated as “*Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s arrival in Asmara testified that where there is love and forgiveness, the wall of hate crumbles*”.

As indicated above, empathy frame is the second widely used media frame in *Reporter* with a 21% share. In the following excerpt, for example, this newspaper sympathizes with the Eritrean people by portraying them as victims of separation from their Ethiopian brothers: **አስተዋዩና ብልሁ**

የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ የኤርትራዊያን ወንድሞቹ ህመም ውስጡ ዘልቆ እንደገባ በግልጽ ታይቷል which is translated as “*The sensible and wise Ethiopian people have explicitly shown how they have deeply felt the pain of their Eritrean brothers.*”

The quote below from the same newspaper, on the other hand, portrays Eritrean mothers as badly wishing to see the day that would re-unite separated families:

የአስመራ እናቶች ያችን ታሪካዊ እሱድ ለዓመታት ሲመጅ እንደነበሩ በዕልልታ ድምፃቸውን ሲያሰሙና ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዓብይን እያገለበጡ ሲሰሙ፣ ደም ያፋሰሰው ጦርነት አሳዛኝ ምእራፍ እንዲዘጋ መፈለጉን ከበቂ በላይ መረዳት ተችሏል which means *When Eritrean mothers praised and kissed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed to signal that that historical Sunday had long been wished for, we could notice that the people need the closure of this chapter of bloodshed and war.*

By extension, since all the women that showed off at the reception ceremony of Abiy Ahmed were not mothers, *Reporter* may have deliberately preferred the word **እናቶች** (which means *mothers*) to **ሴቶች** (which means *women* and which is more appropriate). Considering the weight the Ethiopian culture gives to mother, the expression **እናቶች** (*mothers*) is more powerful to arouse sympathy in the reader’s heart.

Economic and responsibility frames, each one having a 16.5% share, take the third rank of distribution in *Reporter*. In the excerpt below, for instance, *Reporter* narrates that the years of dispute aggravated the economic depravity of both Ethiopia and Eritrea: **በሁለቱ ደሃ አገሮች ኢኮኖሚ ላይ ከፍተኛ የሆነ ውድመት ደርሷል** translated as “*The economies of the two poor countries had badly declined*”.

Reporter further argues that the deals signed following Abiy’s visit would have significant economic impacts, as indicated in this excerpt: **የወደብ አገልግሎትን አብሮ ለማልማት**

የተደረሰባቸው ስምምነቶችም በኢኮኖሚያዊ ክንውኖች ውስጥ ጉልህ ቦታ ይይዛሉ; it is translated as *“The deals to jointly develop ports will take significant part in economic activities”*. On the other hand, *Reporter*—using responsibility frame—attributes the disputes that persisted between Ethiopia and Eritrea to the bad attitude of those who were in the leadership arena:

አስተዋይና አርቆ አሳቢ በመጥፋቱ ወርቃማ እድሎች አምልጠዋል። ከዚህ ቀደም ቀናትና አዎንታዊ

አመለካከቶች በመጥፋታው ብቻ ድንበር ላይ በመቶ ሺዎች የሚቆጠሩ ሠራዊተትና ከባድ መሣሪያዎች መከማቻቸው የፈየደው አልነበረም meaning *“Because of lack of wise and intelligent leadership, many golden opportunities were lost. In the past, because of poor attitude, the deployment of hundreds of thousands of soldiers and destructive weapons in border areas could not solve the problem”*.

It is observable from these lines that according to *Reporter*, bad leadership traits are responsible for the rough relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea in the past two decades and even for the military rivalries that recurrently appeared.

Human interest frame, however, accounts for 13% of distribution in this newspaper. In the excerpt below, for instance, *Reporter* uses such emotion-arousing expressions as **በእንባ ያራጨው** (which means *causing tears*) and **በሕልሜ ነው?** (meaning *Am I dreaming?*) to grab the attention and interest of the reader. Here is the complete reproduction from the story: **ብዙዎችን በእንባ**

ያራጨውና በሕልሜ ነው ወይስ በውኔ ያሰኘው የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ የአስመራ አቀባበል ያታሪካችን አንድ ምዕራፍ ሆኗል translated as *“The reception the Prime Minister was bestowed in Asmara, which moved many to tears and left many to inquire if they were dreaming, has become a chapter in our history”*.

The least utilized frames in the stories *Reporter* wrote regarding Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea are attribute frame and morality frame each one’s share being 4%. In the extract below, for example, *Reporter* quotes the religious hymns sung by Orthodox Christians (whom the paper dubs Children of St. Yared) and portrays the latter as preachers of morality i.e. forgiveness, peace, etc.

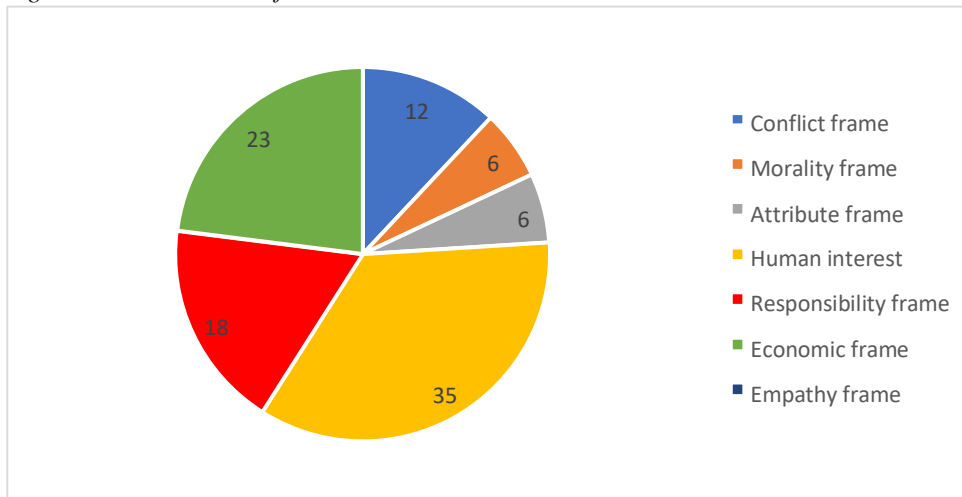
የቅዱስ ያሬድ ልጆች...በኤርትራና በኢትዮጵያ መካከል “ይቅርታና ቅንነት፣ ይቅርታና ቸርነት ተገናኙ! ጽድቅና ሰላም ተሰሰሙ!” እያሉም ነበር ያንፀባረቁት” which literally means, “*The children of St Yared...chanted ‘Forgiveness and sincerity, and forgiveness and kindness met; righteousness and peace kissed each other’.*”

The next subsection discusses the distribution of frames in *The Guardian*.

4.5.3. Distribution of Frames in The Guardian

As the pie chart below tells, human-interest frame is the most widely distributed frame across the stories of *The Guardian* with a share of 35%, followed by economic frame which accounts for 23%. With an 18% share, responsibility frame takes the third rank followed by conflict frame whose share is 12%. Each one accounting for 6%, attribute and morality frames are the least distributed frames in the stories this newspaper wrote regarding Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea. The paper did not use empathy frame when covering the event. These numerical data will be supplemented by textual analysis in the lines below.

Figure 14: Distribution of Frames in The Guardian



The most widely distributed frame across the stories of *The Guardian*, as stated above, is humaninterest frame. In the headline below, for instance, this newspaper recounts the Prime Minister’s visit in relation with the re-establishment of communications services where the human aspect of the story is stressed: *Leaders sign agreements in Eritrean capital and lift block on phone calls across border*. Taking into account the dreams of people in both countries who suffered from the separation of their families because of communication impediments, the newspaper selected the communications aspect of the visit to raise the reader’s interest.

In the excerpt below, *The Guardian* recounts the changing of profile pictures on social media which many young readers find interesting as expressing such emotions as sadness and joy via changing social media profile pictures is the fashion of the day:

Many Ethiopians expressed their exhilaration on social media and changed their profile pictures to a photo taken on Sunday of the Ethiopian and Eritrean leaders embracing.

The other story where the human aspect of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's visit is emphasized emanates from *The Guardian*'s news bulletin headlined "***With hugs, leaders of Ethiopia, Eritrea restore relations***". As a way of raising interest the newspaper started its headline with the prepositional phrase "***With hugs***" which is interesting enough to grab the hearts of readers and hence make them crave for more reading.

Economic frame is the second widely distributed frame in *The Guardian* as noted above. In fact, *The Guardian* used such expressions as ***opening up the state-run economy, having access to Eritrean ports, fastest-growing economies***, etc. to frame Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea from its economic aspect. In the excerpt below, for instance, this newspaper wrote that the Prime Minister's arrival in Asmara would contribute to land-locked Ethiopia's economy:

Ethiopia used the visit to announce that the flagship Ethiopian Airlines would soon begin flights to Eritrea, and already Abiy has expressed interest in landlocked Ethiopia having access to Eritrean ports.

Attributing it unemployment and other economic drawbacks, *The Guardian* portrays Eritrea as a state where the young generation is in constant migration, and writes that Eritreans are wondering if the Prime Minister's visit could click a change in their mother country. In a nutshell, the paper writes, "***Eritrea has become a major source of migrants fleeing toward Europe.***"

In another story, *The Guardian* depicts Abiy's visit as coming amidst IMF's forecast about the fate of the Ethiopian economy:

Despite an International Monetary Fund forecast predicting that Ethiopia would be the fastest-growing economy in sub-Saharan Africa in 2018, even the officially sanctioned press has admitted the country's serious difficulties.

Responsibility frame is the third widely distributed frame in *The Guardian* when covering Prime

Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea. In this extract, for instance, the newspaper dubs Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed as responsible for the culmination of the no-war-no-peace period:

The visit of Ethiopia's Prime Minister to Asmara comes a month after Abiy surprised people by fully accepting a peace deal that ended a 20-year border war between the two East African nations that killed tens of thousands.

In another story, the Ethiopian Prime Minister is held responsible for culminating the conflict between the Isaias Afwerki-led Eritrean government and the Tigray People Liberation Front better known as the TPLF: ***Abiy's move broke a long stalemate between Afwerki and the long-dominant Tigrayan party in Ethiopia's ruling coalition.***

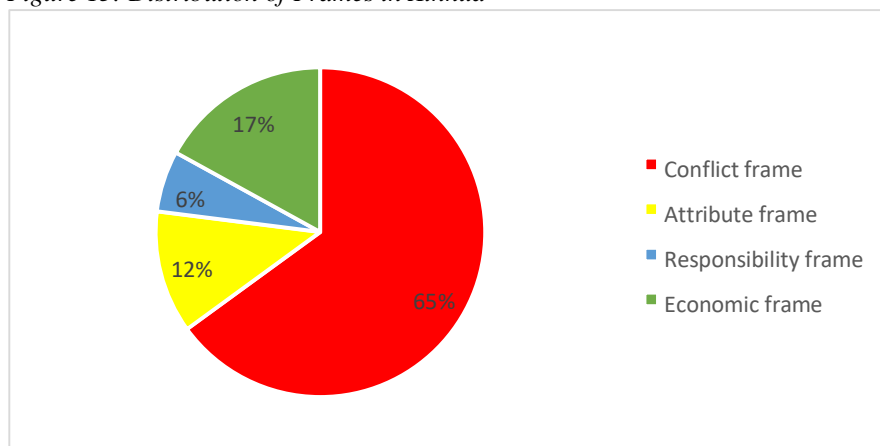
With a 12% share, conflict frame is the second insignificantly utilized media frame in the stories *The Guardian* wrote about Abiy Ahmed's state visit to Asmara. In the reproduction below, for example, this newspaper relates the Prime Minister's visit with the military conflict that started some twenty years ago:

The visit of Ethiopia's Prime Minister to Asmara comes a month after Abiy surprised people by fully accepting a peace deal that ended a 20-year border war between the two East African nations that killed tens of thousands. Ethiopia and Eritrea have not had diplomatic ties since the war began in 1998, with Abiy himself fighting in a town that remains contested today, and the countries have skirmished since then.

The subsection below discusses the distribution of frames in *Xinhua*.

4.5.4. Distribution of Frames in Xinhua

Figure 15: Distribution of Frames in Xinhua



In a nutshell, the four media frames that *Xinhua* utilized when covering Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Asmara are conflict frame, economic frame, attribute frame and responsibility frame, the share of which across the stories is 65%, 17%, 12% and 6%, respectively. It is deductible, therefore, that *Xinhua* did not use empathy, morality and human-interest frames when framing the state visit. Deeper textual analysis is supplemented below.

As indicated above, *Xinhua*'s most predominantly distributed media frame is conflict frame. In fact, the paper mainly depicted this frame in the form of military disputes that went then and now. This newspaper used such expression as *a two decades old bitter border dispute, bloody two-year war, two decades of mistrust, former bitter rivals* and many more to retell how Abiy Ahmed's visit could serve as ending the conflict that would erupt. In the extract provided below, *Xinhua* directly recounts how the Ethiopian Prime Minister's visit served as guaranteeing the culmination of border-related conflicts between the two east African nations:

The visit comes after the two countries started tentative steps to end a two decades old bitter border dispute that led to a bloody two-year war from 1998-2000, that left an estimated 70,000 people dead from both sides.

A similar contention is reiterated in the following excerpt in which *Xinhua* recounts Abiy Ahmed's arrival as ending mutual hostilities between Ethiopia and Eritrea which in turn culminates tensions in the border regions and hence paving the way for economic and more integrations:

A delegation led by Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in Eritrea on Monday morning signed a peace declaration with their Eritrean counterparts to end mutual hostilities, settle border disputes and resume economic, political and diplomatic ties.

A similar view point is reflected in this reproduction where the visit is inferred to have ended the conflict that had cut off the diplomatic ties between the two states: *After 20 years of hostility, Ethiopia and Eritrea resumed diplomatic relations this month.*

In this quote, *Xinhua* boldly shows the severity of conflicts by depicting the loss of almost a million lives apart from the frequently emerging military race between Ethiopia and Eritrea:

The peace agreement ended a two-year border war from 1998-2000 that killed an estimated

70,000 people from both sides, but a tense armed standoff continued, with the two countries engaging in skirmishes occasionally.

Most significantly, in another story *Xinhua* takes the conflict to the claim on the town of Badme controlled by Ethiopia despite the Algiers deal awarding it to Eritrea. The paper further recounts Eritrea's insistence on border demarcation which had been ignored by Ethiopia. Here is the complete reproduction excerpted from the newspaper:

Ethiopia until this month had declined to endorse the results of the peace agreement fully, including the symbolically important town of Badme which Ethiopia currently controls but which was awarded to Eritrea. Eritrea for its part had until recently insisted the border demarcation must be done first before any talks on normalizing ties.

With an observably huge gap, economic frame comes second in *Xinhua* with a relatively insignificant share of distribution. This paper used such expressions as *economic fields*, *economic relations*, *economic ties*, *economic needs* and many more economy-related phrases when framing the stories from an economic vantage point. The following extract, for instance, reveals how the visit could serve as a significant factor in the resumption of port services:

The minister also said as soon as next week, flights between Eritrean capital Asmara and Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa will resume as well as Eritrean ports servicing landlocked Ethiopia's rising economic needs.

In another story, economic impact is shown to be one of the outcomes of Abiy's state visit to Eritrea which was followed by the establishment of national committees that handle various tasks including economic cooperation: *Former bitter rivals Ethiopia and Eritrea are to establish national committees in economic, political, security and military fields, Ethiopia's foreign minister said on Monday.*

With a 12% share, attribute frame is the second least utilized frame in the stories *Xinhua* wrote when covering the state visit. In this excerpt, for example, *Xinhua* quotes Antonio Guterres who praises Abiy Ahmed's "political courage" in taking the initiative to start a peace deal with Eritrea: *"We appreciate political courage of the Prime Minister of Ethiopia who has taken this initiative...."*

Responsibility frame, on the other hand, is the least utilized frame in *Xinhua* only having a 6% share across the stories *Xinhua* wrote when covering the state visit paid by the serving Ethiopian Prime Minister to Eritrea. In this excerpt taken from the newspaper, *Xinhua* shares responsibility of the recent successes in the peace deal to President Isaias Afwerki and Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed: ***Leaders of the two countries have now agreed to end the situation and forge closer political, economic and social connections.***

The subsection below provides a brief comparative discussion on the distribution of frames across the four media.

4.6. Comparative Analysis on the Distribution of Frames

It is deductible from the discussions thus far that economic frame and conflict frame are significantly distributed in the majority of the media whereas attribute, responsibility and morality frames are the least distributed ones.

More deeply, in both *Xinhua* and *Addis Zemen*, responsibility frame has the least rate of distribution with a share of 6% and 7%, respectively. This frame takes a relatively higher share in *Reporter* (Amharic) and *The Guardian*, whose share is 16.5% and 18%, respectively.

Economic frame is the most dominant frame in the news stories *Addis Zemen* wrote when covering Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea while conflict frame takes the largest share in *Reporter* (Amharic) and *Xinhua*. In *The Guardian*, human-interest frame is the one that is mostly used.

Despite conflict frame being a significantly utilized media frame in the stories of *Xinhua*, *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter*, it only takes a 12% share in *The Guardian*—thus being the second insignificant media frame in this particular newspaper after morality and attribute frames.

Despite conflict frame being a significantly utilized media frame in the stories of *Xinhua* (65%), *Addis Zemen* (25%) and *Reporter* (25%), it takes an insignificant share in *The Guardian* (12%), thus being the second insignificant media frame in this newspaper after morality frame (6%) and attribute frame (6%).

On the other hand, economic frame takes a dominant portion in *Addis Zemen* (36%) and is significantly distributed in *The Guardian* (23%). The only newspaper where human interest frame

won a significant portion is *The Guardian* (35%) where it is the most dominant theme across the stories presented.

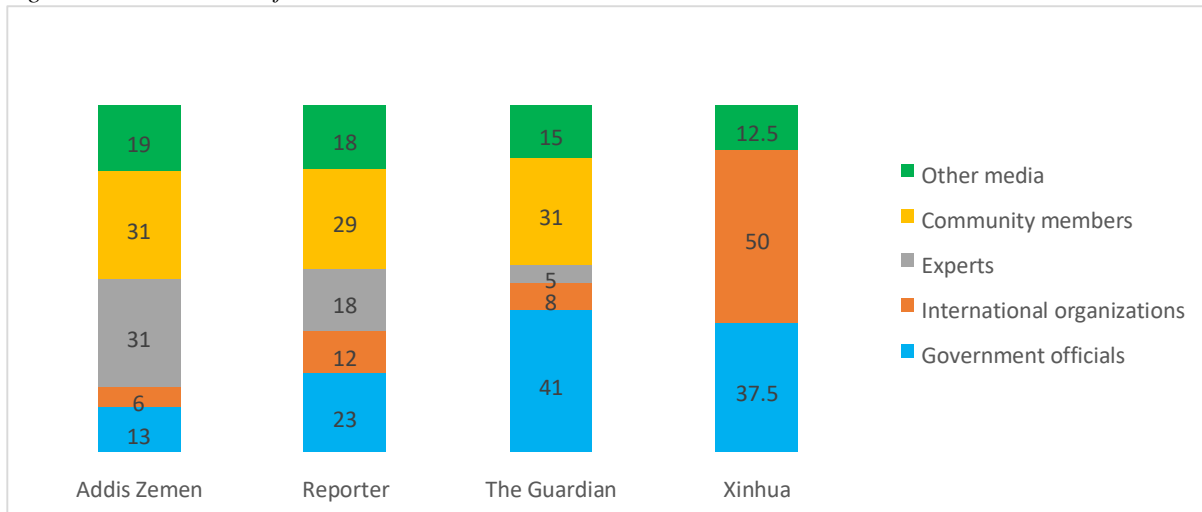
The section below provides discussions on the distribution of sources across the four media.

4.7. Distribution of Sources

As the chart below tells, experts are one of the sources *Addis Zemen* dominantly used when covering Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea. Actually, this group of sources predominantly consists of people from the political arena, who, according to the present research, are experts as they are deemed to have a certain level of specialized knowledge in the area and hence able to provide expertise insights into the state visit under treatment. These sources from the political arena are portrayed as praising the Prime Minister for the peace initiative he took. One expert this

paper quoted, for example, says “በአፍሪካ ምድር ያልታየ ነው ቢባል ማጋነን አይደለም” when judging the state visit the PM undertook. It means, “*It is not an overstatement if we dub the visit as one that has never been seen in the African continent*”.

Figure 16: Distribution of Sources Across the Media



Equally distributed in *Addis Zemen* as experts, community members (31%) are also the most dominantly appearing sources. This paper quoted mainly Eritrean expats living in Addis Ababa who hope that the visit might bring the two peoples back together, as this sample excerpt shows:

“በአሁኑ ወቅት የተጀመረው የእርቅ ሂደትም በተሳካ ሁኔታ መጠናቀቅ ከቻለ ቀጣይ በሕዝቡ ማጎበራዊ፣ ኢኮኖሚያዊ ብሎም ፖለቲካዊ ሕይወት ላይ የሚኖረው አዎንታዊ አስተዋጽኦ ይህ

ነው የማይባል ይሆናል” which means “*If the reconciliation that started now becomes successful, the contribution it will have in the social, economic and political sphere of the people is unimaginable*”.

Taking a share of 19%, other media are the second mostly quoted sources in *Addis Zemen*. This newspaper mainly used Eri TV (Eritrean TV) and recurrently commented on the televised reception ceremony broadcasted live from Asmara. Here is a sample reference to the Eritrean TV as it appears in *Addis Zemen*: **“ከሁለቱ አገሮችና ሕዝቦች መካከል ታጥሮ የነበረውን ግንብ በሰላም ያፈረሰ ክስተት መሆኑ የኤርትራ ቴሌቪዥን ያነጋገራቸው ሰዎች በደስታ መንፈስ ሆነው ገልጸዋል**” which means “*People whom Eritrea TV talked to have hilariously said that [the visit] was an event that peacefully brought down the wall that was set between the peoples of the two countries*”.

Government officials (13%), conversely, are the second least utilized sources in *Addis Zemen* when the paper covered Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea. These officials, indeed, are chiefly ministers and people from the Prime Minister’s office. The least distributed sources in this newspaper are international organizations with a 6% share.

The most dominant sources that *Reporter* used when covering Abiy Ahmed’s first state visit to Eritrea are community members with a 29% share. In this excerpt, for example, *Reporter* quotes a resident from Ambo, one of the towns in the Oromia region of Ethiopia, who says **“አሁን ያየሁት ሕዝብ ምን እንደሚፈልግ ማሳያ ነው...”** which means “*What I saw tells what the interest of the people is*”.

23% of the sources in *Reporter*, on the other hand, government officials followed by other media (18%) and community members (18%). In the reproduction below, for example, this newspaper takes words that BBC Amharic quoted from an Eritrean expat living in Nairobi, Kenya, who wrote **“በኤርትራ አንድ አባባል አለን። የምትተኛ ከሆነ ጎረቤትህም መተኛት አለበት። ለሁለቱም አገሮች ሰላምን እመኛለሁ”** which is translated as “*There is a proverb in Eritrea: If you want to sleep, you must let your neighbor sleep, too. I wish peace to both countries*”.

International organizations (12%), conversely, are the least utilized sources of information in *Reporter* (Amharic).

The most predominantly quoted sources of information in *The Guardian* are government officials. Mathematically, 41% of the information which *The Guardian* used when covering Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea emerged from government officials. In fact, the paper relied dominantly on Ethiopian government officials who mainly talked about the end of enmity between Ethiopia and Eritrea. For instance, quoting the words of Fitsum Arega, the then Abiy's chief of staff, this newspaper wrote, "***A state of war between the two countries has come to an end.***"

With a slightly significant difference, community members are the second dominant sources in *The Guardian* with a total share of 31%. In the excerpt below, for instance, this newspaper quotes the words of Samson Haileyesus, an Ethiopian Facebook user, who says, "***The events of these past two days between Ethiopia and Eritrea are like the fall of the Berlin Wall. Only amplified 1,000 times***".

Conversely, 15% of *The Guardian*'s information on the visit came from other media outlets. Like *Addis Zemen*, *The Guardian* chiefly cited the Eritrean state TV as its source. In the following excerpt, for instance, the newspaper quotes the words of the PM as it appeared on Eritrea TV: "***We have agreed to open up embassies in our respective countries, allow our people to visit each other's cities and allow our airlines and ports to operate freely,***" said Abiy, in comments covered by *Eritrean state television*.

International organizations (8%) and experts (5%) are the least distributed sources in the stories *The Guardian* wrote regarding Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea.

Contrarily, *Xinhua*'s most dominant sources of information were international organizations whose share in the newspaper was 50%. In this headline, for example, *Xinhua* quotes two international organizations as praising the start of a peace deal between Ethiopia and Eritrea: ***AU, UN hail latest development in Ethio-Eritrea relations.***

On the other hand, 37.5% of *Xinhua*'s information about the visit of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed was taken from Ethiopian government officials. In the next extract, for instance, *Xinhua* refers to

Fitsum Arega as saying, “...*discussions will be held with the Eritrean president on ways to revive the common history and bond between the two nations interrupted by two decades of mistrust*”.

Conversely, the least utilized news source in *Xinhua* are other media outlets, which account for 12.5% of the total number of sources distributed throughout the news stories in this paper.

To provide a comparative analysis, despite being insignificant sources of information in *Addis Zemen* (6%), *The Guardian* (8%) and *Reporter* (12%), international organizations make the most dominant source in *Xinhua* (50%). Community members, however, were found to be widely distributed sources in *Addis Zemen* (31%), *The Guardian* (31%) and *Reporter* (29%). Conversely, *Xinhua* did not use any community members as sources of information when covering Prime Minister Abiy’s first state visit to Eritrea. Likewise, *Xinhua* did not use any expert as its source.

On the other hand, government officials are significant sources of information in *The Guardian* (41%), *Xinhua* (37.5%) and *Reporter* (23%) despite their insignificance in *Addis Zemen* (13%).

The section below presents discussions on the major findings of the current research.

4.8. Discussion on Major Findings

This section discusses findings of the present study in comparison with previous research outputs.

4.8.1. Discussion on Tone of Coverage

Merriam (2016), in her study that examined President Barack Obama’s visit to Ethiopia, found out that the president’s visit was reported either positively or negatively by media. She indicated that *The Ethiopian Herald* which is a local newspaper covered the president’s visit positively whereas the *Washington Post* portrayed the visit from a negative point of view. Her conclusion was that the local media preferred to show the visit in a way favorable to the visiting president while the international media inclined to depicting Obama’s visit to Ethiopia unfavorably.

Unlike Merriam’s (2016) findings, the present study revealed that both the local and international news outlets refrained from covering Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s visit to Eritrea negatively. In fact, the visit was presented by both groups of media positively and neutrally. To be specific, the two local media namely *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter* (Amharic) as well the international news outlet

The Guardian preferred to dominantly depict the favorable aspect of the premier's visit though a few of their stories remained neutral when reporting the visit.

On the other hand, *Xinhua*'s tone of coverage slightly differed from those of *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic) and *The Guardian*'s in terms of amount of usage. *Xinhua* predominantly used a neutral tone and hence refrained from criticizing or praising Abiy's state visit to Asmara. Only one-fourth of the stories in this paper portrayed the state visit from an angle favorable to the visiting Prime Minister.

4.8.2. Discussion on Major Themes

In a nutshell, the main themes the media emphasized when covering Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea were economy, human relations and geopolitics. More specifically, human relations and economy were the two most significant themes of the state visit which *Addis Zemen* stressed. This newspaper viewed Abiy's state visit as opening doors and bringing opportunities to the landlocked Ethiopian economy. *Addis Zemen* noted that the visit would create economic ties between Ethiopia and Eritrea which would, in turn, improve the livelihood of people in the two countries. This newspaper also viewed the state visit as paving the way for Ethiopia to use Eritrean ports and creating free trades. Moreover, the newspaper showed that the visit would help end separations between families and relatives.

Nitsch (2005), in his research that examined the effects of bilateral relations on trade, found out that state visits had improved bilateral economic ties between the US and Germany, which supports the present study's findings that Abiy's visit to Asmara was portrayed by *Addis Zemen* as fostering the economic relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Nitsch (2005) further argued that the visits largely had positive effects on the economic activities of the visiting and the visited states. Unlike the findings of the present research, Nitsch's (2005) study results did not show the visits as having significant impacts on the US-Germany people-to-people relations.

Similarly, *Reporter* (Amharic) and *Xinhua* saw the state visit as an opportunity to the resumption of economic integrations between Ethiopia and Eritrea whose economies experienced extreme

deterioration. Unlike *Addis Zemen* which treated the economic impacts both at state and individual levels, *Reporter* and *Xinhua* focused on the economic effects the state visit would have on the countries at large. In concord with the findings of Nitsch (2005), the three media *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic) and *Xinhua* showed Abiy Ahmed's state visit as having positive economic impacts on Ethiopia and Eritrea. Conversely, the stories in *The Guardian* were least interested in the impacts the visit would have economically, hence deemphasizing it.

Unlike the research findings by Merriam (2016) where both the national and international news outlets focused on the effects of President Obama's visit on human rights, the present study revealed that human rights issues were not significant themes in the media analyzed. In fact, human rights issues were completely ignored by *Xinhua* while these issues received insignificant attention in *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic) and *The Guardian*.

4.8.3. Discussion on Major Sources

The present research found out that there were significant disparities between the international media and the local media in their choices of sources. The international media highly relied on information from the Prime Minister's office and officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For instance, in *The Guardian*, which is one of the two international news outlets in the current study, government officials were the predominant sources of information while they are the second widely used sources in *Xinhua*. In contrast, government officials were rarely used in the local newspaper *Addis Zemen* despite their relatively trivial appearance in the stories *Reporter* (Amharic) presented.

Unlike in the rest three media, international organizations took the lion's share as sources of information in the stories *Xinhua* wrote. In contrast, the share of international organizations as sources of information was limited in the stories of *Addis Zemen*, *The Guardian* and *Reporter* (Amharic).

Conversely, *Xinhua* did not use any community members as sources of information. In contrast, community members were significantly used by the local media *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter* (Amharic) as well as the international news outlet *The Guardian*.

Chapter Five

5. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Summary

This study was set to analyze how *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter*, *The Guardian* and *Xinhua* framed Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's (PhD) first state visit to Eritrea. The research examined the major frames and themes as well as the tone of coverage and sources of information the selected four national and international media used while reporting the visit.

The research was conducted on news stories selected from *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter*, *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*. The study applied a qualitative research method to analyze the selected news texts. Findings of the research showed that economy, geopolitics and human relations were the predominant themes across the news articles analyzed. On the other hand, economic frame and conflict frame were significantly used by the media selected for the present research. Below is give a brief summary of the research findings:

The study showed that the selected media reported Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea in a way that is favorable to the premier, which is identified in the present research as positive tone, the share of which in three of the four media makes above sixty percent. More specifically, the share of positive tone is 87%, 67% and 62% in *Addis Zemen*, *The Guardian* and *Reporter* (Amharic), respectively. *Xinhua*, on the other hand, predominantly remained neutral when covering the visit, which means the paper refrained from criticizing or praising the Prime Minister or his visit, which is defined in the current study as a neutral tone whose share is 75%.

Still important, neither of the articles in the four media reported the Prime Minister's state visit negatively. To put it in simpler terms, Abiy's visit was criticized neither by the national media *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter* (Amharic) nor by the international news outlets *The Guardian* and *Xinhua*.

The research further revealed that economy, human relations and geopolitics were the dominant themes in the majority of the media. To be specific, economy is a dominant theme in *Xinhua* (37%), *Reporter* (32%) and *Addis Zemen* (28%). These media showed the visit as having economic implications on both Ethiopia and Eritrea though Ethiopia's future access to Eritrean ports is highly stressed in most of the news articles.

On the other hand, human relations is also dominant in *Addis Zemen* (37%), *The Guardian* (33%) and *Reporter* (21%). The media also revealed that Abiy's visit would play significant roles in bringing back together people separated from their families and relatives because of the deadlock between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The stories stressed the significance of people-to-people ties between the two states.

Geopolitics, however, makes a significant theme in *Xinhua* (47%), *The Guardian* (29%) and *Reporter* (28%). Here, the media praised Abiy's decision to accept the Algiers agreement as a heroic move. The media also treated the premier's visit as ending the threats of war that stirred the hearts of people especially those living in the border areas of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Moreover, the study revealed that conflict frame and economic frames were dominantly used across the majority of the media. The news articles predominantly showed that the visit would solve the geopolitical and military conflicts between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and thus it would facilitate economic integration. More deeply, conflict frame is dominantly used in *Xinhua* (65%), *Addis Zemen* (25%) and *Reporter* (25%). Economic frame, on the other hand, is dominant in *Addis Zemen* (36%) and *The Guardian* (23%).

Finally, the research showed that government officials and community members were dominantly used across the media even though international organizations were predominant in *Xinhua* (50%). To be exact, government officials as sources of information were dominant in *The Guardian* (41%), *Xinhua* (37.5%) and *Reporter* (23%). Community members, conversely, were dominantly

used in *Addis Zemen* (31%), *The Guardian* (31%) and *Reporter* (29%). The stories in these three media widely echoed the voices of ordinary people in Eritrea and Ethiopia. The media narrated the personal stories of common people whom they portrayed as victims of parental separation.

5.2. Conclusions

The current study was set to examine how national and international media framed Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea within a one-month period from 8th July 2018 to 8th August 2018. To realize this aim, *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter* (Amharic) were selected from the local media whereas *The Guardian* and *Xinhua* were selected from the international news outlets for analysis.

Findings of the analysis suggested that the media were loyal to the Prime Minister as they preferred to frame their news stories from an aspect that builds the fame and popularity of Abiy Ahmed. For one thing, the news outlets refrained from criticizing any aspect of the state visit. In none of the stories was the state visit negated. It seems, the media selectively chose sources that had positive attitude toward the visiting Prime Minister, which in fact, the news outlets wanted to propagate.

The TPLF had criticized Abiy's visit to the Isaias-ruled Eritrea claiming it would threaten the security and livelihood of the people of Tigray. Hence, it was expected that this view would get media coverage, especially in *Addis Zemen*, as it claims to be a public news outlet. *Addis Zemen's* ignorance of the views and concerns of the TPLF might indicate the paper's intention to symbolize the impotence of the Front in the current Ethiopian politics.

On the other hand, *Reporter's* depiction of the state visit as ending the social, economic and political sufferings of Ethiopians and Eritreans, especially people living in the border areas, might reflect that the paper was taken aback by the PM's grant of free press which was practically nonexistent for decades.

The Guardian's attention to people-to-people relations and its recurrent reliance on government officials as its main sources might reveal that this news outlet—being a British-government-owned media—loved to portray the Ethiopian Prime Minister favorably. This might have stemmed from the UK government's interest to maintain smooth relations with Ethiopia generally and its new liberal-oriented Prime Minister specifically.

It was not surprising that the issue of human relations was not the area of attention for *Xinhua* as China's foreign policy is based on mutual economic benefits rather than interfering in internal affairs. According to an article by Asia for Educators (2009), China's foreign policy is based on "mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit" among others. Hence, China's *Xinhua* seemed to have been abided by this principle of China's foreign policy when it ignored human rights and human relations issues while focusing on economy and geopolitics which directly affect China's national interest in one way or another.

5.3. Suggestions for Future Studies

The findings of the study revealed that the news outlets analyzed slightly varied in the themes they emphasized when framing Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's first state visit to Eritrea, though the visit was dominantly presented positively and neutrally and never negatively. Economic, human relations and geopolitical affairs were the dominant themes in the media examined. As the themes presented by the media are relatively similar, the audience would not fail to grasp the overall picture of the visit whichever newspaper they read. Based on the findings of the study and the conclusions drawn, the present research would propose the following suggestions:

To start, the local media *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter* (Amharic) should make sure that their stories are balanced before disseminating information to the public. As the Prime Minister's state visit to Eritrea could have its own negative consequences, it was expected of these two local news outlets to show both the dark and light sides of the visit during their coverage.

The international news outlets *The Guardian* and *Xinhua* should investigate whether Abiy's first state visit to the Eritrean capital really had positive implications on the economic, social and political conditions of people in the border area. In fact, these issues were not deeply analyzed in these two media.

Finally, due to time and financial constraints, the present research was limited to analyzing only two national and two international news outlets. In other words, exploring polarized global and local media like *CGTN*, *BBC*, *Aljazeera*, *CNN*, *Fortune*, *Addis Admas* and more might help furnish more notions to the discourse. Hence, the current researcher would like to call upon future

researchers to undertake deeper analyses on more news outlets and conduct audience analysis studies in the area.

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Appendix

Intercoder Reliability Test Results

The screenshot displays the SPSS Matrix procedure output window. The main content area shows the following text and table:

```

[DataSet0] C:\Users\i5\Desktop\final coding\Tone.sav

Run MATRIX procedure:

Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate


```

	Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observrs	Pairs
Nominal	.8285	.6571	.9571	40.0000	2.0000	40.0000

```

Probability (q) of failure to achieve an alpha of at least alphamin:

alphamin      q
.9000         .7708
.8000         .3578
.7000         .0939
.6700         .0394
.6000         .0050
.5000         .0004

Number of bootstrap samples:
10000

Judges used in these computations:
Coder001 Coder002

Examine output for SPSS errors and do not interpret if any are found

```

The bottom status bar of the window reads: IBM SPSS Statistics Processor is ready.

Raw Data in the SPSS

Tone of Coverage

	News_Code	Coder001	Coder002	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var
1	Addis_Zemen001	Neutral	Negative												
2	Addis_Zemen002	Positive	Positive												
3	Addis_Zemen003	Positive	Positive												
4	Addis_Zemen004	Positive	Positive												
5	Addis_Zemen005	Positive	Positive												
6	Addis_Zemen006	Neutral	Neutral												
7	Addis_Zemen007	Positive	Positive												
8	Addis_Zemen008	Negative	Negative												
9	Addis_Zemen009	Positive	Positive												
10	Addis_Zemen010	Positive	Positive												
11	Reporter001	Negative	Negative												
12	Reporter002	Neutral	Neutral												
13	Reporter003	Neutral	Neutral												
14	Reporter004	Positive	Positive												
15	Reporter005	Positive	Positive												
16	Reporter006	Positive	Positive												
17	Reporter007	Positive	Positive												
18	Reporter008	Positive	Positive												

	News_Code	Coder001	Coder002	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var
19	Reporter009	Neutral	Neutral												
20	Reporter020	Positive	Neutral												
21	The_Guardian001	Neutral	Neutral												
22	The_Guardian002	Positive	Positive												
23	The_Guardian003	Positive	Positive												
24	The_Guardian004	Positive	Positive												
25	The_Guardian005	Neutral	Neutral												
26	The_Guardian006	Positive	Positive												
27	The_Guardian007	Neutral	Negative												
28	The_Guardian008	Positive	Positive												
29	The_Guardian009	Positive	Positive												
30	The_Guardian010	Neutral	Neutral												
31	Xinhua001	Positive	Positive												
32	Xinhua002	Negative	Negative												
33	Xinhua003	Neutral	Neutral												
34	Xinhua004	Neutral	Neutral												
35	Xinhua005	Neutral	Neutral												
36	Xinhua006	Neutral	Neutral												
37	Xinhua007	Positive	Positive												
38	Xinhua008	Negative	Neutral												
39	Xinhua009	Positive	Positive												
40	Xinhua010	Neutral	Neutral												

Themes

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Visible: 3 of 3 Variables

	News_Code	Coder001	Coder002	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var
1	Addis_Zemen001	Economy	Military									
2	Addis_Zemen002	Geopolitics	Geopolitics									
3	Addis_Zemen003	Economy	Economy									
4	Addis_Zemen004	Economy	Economy									
5	Addis_Zemen005	Human_Relations	Human_Relations									
6	Addis_Zemen006	Human_Relations	Human_Relations									
7	Addis_Zemen007	Economy	Economy									
8	Addis_Zemen008	Geopolitics	Human_Relations									
9	Addis_Zemen009	Human_Relations	Human_Relations									
10	Addis_Zemen010	Geopolitics	Geopolitics									
11	Reporter001	Human_Rights	Human_Rights									
12	Reporter002	Economy	Economy									
13	Reporter003	Human_Relations	Human_Relations									
14	Reporter004	Human_Relations	Human_Relations									
15	Reporter005	Military	Military									
16	Reporter006	Economy	Economy									
17	Reporter007	Geopolitics	Geopolitics									
18	Reporter008	Economy	Economy									

Data View Variable View

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Visible: 3 of 3 Variables

	News_Code	Coder001	Coder002	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var
19	Reporter009	Human_Rights	Human_Relations									
20	Reporter020	Human_Relations	Human_Relations									
21	The_Guardian001	Geopolitics	Geopolitics									
22	The_Guardian002	Human_Relations	Human_Relations									
23	The_Guardian003	Human_Rights	Geopolitics									
24	The_Guardian004	Human_Relations	Military									
25	The_Guardian005	Human_Relations	Human_Relations									
26	The_Guardian006	Human_Relations	Human_Relations									
27	The_Guardian007	Geopolitics	Geopolitics									
28	The_Guardian008	Human_Relations	Human_Relations									
29	The_Guardian009	Military	Military									
30	The_Guardian010	Economy	Economy									
31	Xinhua001	Geopolitics	Geopolitics									
32	Xinhua002	Economy	Economy									
33	Xinhua003	Human_Relations	Human_Relations									
34	Xinhua004	Military	Military									
35	Xinhua005	Military	Military									
36	Xinhua006	Human_Relations	Human_Relations									
37	Xinhua007	Economy	Economy									
38	Xinhua008	Military	Military									
39	Xinhua009	Economy	Economy									
40	Xinhua010	Human_Relations	Geopolitics									

Frames

21 : Coder002 5 Visible: 3 of 3 Variables

	News_Code	Coder001	Coder002	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var
1	Addis_Zemen001	Empathy_Frame	Empathy_Frame									
2	Addis_Zemen002	Human-Interest_Frame	Human-Interest_Frame									
3	Addis_Zemen003	Economic_Frame	Econoic_Frame									
4	Addis_Zemen004	Attribute_Frame	Attribute_Frame									
5	Addis_Zemen005	Morality_Frame	Human-Interest_Frame									
6	Addis_Zemen006	Human-Interest_Frame	Human-Interest_Frame									
7	Addis_Zemen007	Human-Interest_Frame	Human-Interest_Frame									
8	Addis_Zemen008	Responsibility_Frame	Conflict_Frame									
9	Addis_Zemen009	Human-Interest_Frame	Human-Interest_Frame									
10	Addis_Zemen010	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame									
11	Reporter001	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame									
12	Reporter002	Empathy_Frame	Empathy_Frame									
13	Reporter003	Human-Interest_Frame	Human-Interest_Frame									
14	Reporter004	Attribute_Frame	Attribute_Frame									
15	Reporter005	Morality_Frame	Morality_Frame									
16	Reporter006	Human-Interest_Frame	Human-Interest_Frame									
17	Reporter007	Morality_Frame	Morality_Frame									
18	Reporter008	Human-Interest_Frame	Conflict_Frame									

36 : Coder002 5 Visible: 3 of 3 Variables

	News_Code	Coder001	Coder002	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var
19	Reporter009	Economic_Frame	Econoic_Frame									
20	Reporter020	Morality_Frame	Morality_Frame									
21	The_Guardian001	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame									
22	The_Guardian002	Morality_Frame	Morality_Frame									
23	The_Guardian003	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame									
24	The_Guardian004	Morality_Frame	Human-Interest_Frame									
25	The_Guardian005	Morality_Frame	Morality_Frame									
26	The_Guardian006	Morality_Frame	Morality_Frame									
27	The_Guardian007	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame									
28	The_Guardian008	Morality_Frame	Morality_Frame									
29	The_Guardian009	Human-Interest_Frame	Human-Interest_Frame									
30	The_Guardian010	Economic_Frame	Econoic_Frame									
31	Xinhua001	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame									
32	Xinhua002	Economic_Frame	Econoic_Frame									
33	Xinhua003	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame									
34	Xinhua004	Human-Interest_Frame	Econoic_Frame									
35	Xinhua005	Responsibility_Frame	Responsibility_Frame									
36	Xinhua006	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame									
37	Xinhua007	Economic_Frame	Econoic_Frame									
38	Xinhua008	Human-Interest_Frame	Responsibility_Frame									
39	Xinhua009	Conflict_Frame	Conflict_Frame									
40	Xinhua010	Economic_Frame	Econoic_Frame									

Sources

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18 : Coder002 5 Visible: 3 of 3 Variables

	News_Code	Coder001	Coder002	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var
1	Addis_Zemen001	Community_Members	Community_Members									
2	Addis_Zemen002	Other_Media	Other_Media									
3	Addis_Zemen003	Experts	Community_Members									
4	Addis_Zemen004	Community_Members	Other_Media									
5	Addis_Zemen005	Community_Members	Community_Members									
6	Addis_Zemen006	Other_Media	Other_Media									
7	Addis_Zemen007	Community_Members	Community_Members									
8	Addis_Zemen008	Other_Media	Other_Media									
9	Addis_Zemen009	Community_Members	Other_Media									
10	Addis_Zemen010	Other_Media	Other_Media									
11	Reporter001	Community_Members	Community_Members									
12	Reporter002	Community_Members	Community_Members									
13	Reporter003	Government_Officials	Community_Members									
14	Reporter004	International_Organizations	International_Organizations									
15	Reporter005	Government_Officials	Government_Officials									
16	Reporter006	International_Organizations	International_Organizations									
17	Reporter007	Community_Members	Government_Officials									
18	Reporter008	Other_Media	Other_Media									

Data View Variable View

IBM SPSS Statistics Processor is ready

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18 : Coder002 5 Visible: 3 of 3 Variables

	News_Code	Coder001	Coder002	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var	var
19	Reporter009	Government_Officials	Government_Officials									
20	Reporter020	Community_Members	Community_Members									
21	The_Guardian001	Community_Members	Community_Members									
22	The_Guardian002	International_Organizations	International_Organizations									
23	The_Guardian003	Government_Officials	Government_Officials									
24	The_Guardian004	Community_Members	Community_Members									
25	The_Guardian005	Government_Officials	Government_Officials									
26	The_Guardian006	International_Organizations	International_Organizations									
27	The_Guardian007	Community_Members	Community_Members									
28	The_Guardian008	International_Organizations	International_Organizations									
29	The_Guardian009	International_Organizations	International_Organizations									
30	The_Guardian010	Government_Officials	Government_Officials									
31	Xinhua001	International_Organizations	International_Organizations									
32	Xinhua002	Government_Officials	Government_Officials									
33	Xinhua003	Government_Officials	Government_Officials									
34	Xinhua004	Government_Officials	Government_Officials									
35	Xinhua005	International_Organizations	International_Organizations									
36	Xinhua006	International_Organizations	International_Organizations									
37	Xinhua007	International_Organizations	International_Organizations									
38	Xinhua008	Government_Officials	Government_Officials									
39	Xinhua009	International_Organizations	International_Organizations									
40	Xinhua010	International_Organizations	International_Organizations									