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**MEDIA FRAMING ON PEACE AGREEMENT BETWEEN  
ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF EBC  
AND FBC NEWS STORIES**

**BY**

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**Media Framing On Peace Agreement Between Ethiopia And  
Eritrea: Content Analysis Of EBC And FBC News Stories**

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**A thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis  
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This is to certify that this thesis prepared by Teklemicheal Alemu, Entitled Media Framing On Peace Agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea: Content Analysis of EBC and FBC News Stories from (June 26 to July 18, 2018) 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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## **Acronyms and Abbreviations**

EBC - Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation

FBC – Fana Broadcasting Corporation

PJ – Peace Journalism

EEBC – Ethio-Eritrea Border Commission

PM – Prime Minister

EPRDF- Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front

## ***Abstract***

*Media Framing on Peace Agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea: Content Analysis of EBC and FBC News Stories from (June 26 to July 18, 2018)*

*Tekelmicheal Alemu*

*Addis Ababa University, 2019*

*The main objective of the study was to investigate the dominant frames used in EBC and FBC news stories regarding the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea from June 26, 2018 to July 18, 2018. The study employed a qualitative content analysis method: textual analysis. To conduct the study, all news stories regarding the peace agreement and events related to the peace agreement in EBC and FBC, the major broadcast corporation, were purposely taken and analyzed. In addition to the textual analysis of the data obtained through the news stories, the study analyzed the in depth interview of senior editors of EBC and FBC. The study found out that both media employed four standard frames in the news stories during the time frame of the study. Prognostic frame, human interest frame, attribute of responsibility and economic consequence frames were intensively employed in the news stories during the time of the study. Prognostic (solution) frame and human interest frames were largely used in the news stories during the time frame of the study. Having employed these frames in the news stories, the media conveyed certain themes or meanings. Themes like unity, peace, two nations: one people are some of the messages the media aimed to transfer for the audience. To emphasize the use of the frames, the journalists and editors team used symbols, images and captions with various news stories.*

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# CHAPTER ONE

## 1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

### 1.1. MEDIA AND CONFLICT

Conflict is an integrated part of human nature. Conflict determines geo- political and socio – economic relations among nations and regions among nations. (Peleg, 2006)

Since the end of the Cold War there have been countless conflicts that have involved the deaths of millions of people and the suffering and displacement of millions more. It is impossible to accurately quantify human suffering due to conflict. To take one indicator – it has been suggested that, in the last ten years, over two million children have died in conflicts, more than one million have been orphaned and more than six million have been disabled or seriously injured (Puddephatt, 2006). The numbers of people who have become victims of war have increased in a great magnitude. According to World Bank Group 2015, conflicts increased sharply since 2010. In 2015 the ongoing conflict increased to 50 compared to 41 in 2014. Nearly 60 million people have been displaced by the end of 2014. The number of people who died increased sharply as well.

Media have been playing decisive roles in perpetuating and preventing conflict for years. Media has the power to construct realities in different perspectives. The media shape what we see and hear about conflict. The perspectives of those who run the media shape stories that are covered. Increasing corporate control over media in some countries also plays a role in controlling the types of stories that get covered and the way stories get framed (Bratic and Schirch, 2007). Mass media often plays a key role in today's conflict. Basically, their role can take two different and opposed forms. Either the media takes an active part in the conflict and has responsibility for increased violence, or stays independent and out of the conflict, thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence ((Puddephatt, 2006).

Media can be a major reason for the loss of millions of life or for saving lives of millions. History has shown that the media can incite people toward violence. Hitler used the media to create an entire worldview of hatred for Jews, homosexuals, and other minority groups. Rwanda's radio RTLM urged listeners to pick up machetes and take to the streets to kill what they called 'the cockroaches' (Bratic and Schirch, 2007). On the other hand, media play significant role in mobilizing people for different positive causes. It has helped in saving people

from catastrophic areas, in challenging dictators to secure rights of citizens and in informing of citizens about their rights and duties.

“If it bleeds, it leads” is a common saying in media reporting culture. The saying manifests conflict make headlines in media houses. Mass media give wide coverage of conflicts, but reporters and editors have choices in reporting news. That choice is Peace Journalism. Jake Lynch (2006) states ,Peace journalism is when editors and reporters make choices – about what to report, and how to report it – that create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict. Peleg (2006) states, Communication produce information, which affects each side’s decision whether to hash out the differences or shun them. Thus, communication becomes a crucial determinant in conflict and conflict resolution: it creates consciousness of, and attentiveness to, the other. Media play a great role in conflict resolution. It has been increasingly recognized that an effective media is an essential part of preventing violent conflict from breaking out, as well as being an important element in its resolution (Puddephatt, 2006).

#### **1.1.1. BRIEF HISTORICAL OF VIEW OF THE RELATION BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA**

Eritrea was historically a territory of Ethiopia except during the Italian colonization of Eritrea 1889-1941(Medihane, 1999) and British military administration of 1941- 1952. After 1952 Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia based on the Decision of the UN. But later Eritrea was reduced to a province by Ethiopia. Under the Italian colonial period Italian rulers made a large number of the Ethiopian Tigrigna –speaking population live in a different setting and experienced a relatively new historical development (Blen, 2006).

The Italian colony gave the opportunity to few Eritreans the opportunity of education. This opportunity of education did not come without any cost. Italy “enveloped” everything with the propaganda “which claimed that Eritreans are superior to the people south of Mereb in intelligence, creativity, moral virtues and will power” (Medihane, 1999: 29)

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

The legacies of colonialism coupled with its incorporation as a province resulted in the 30 year civil war between Ethiopia and Eritrea as Eritrea fought for secession .After 30 years of struggle Eritrea became an independent state in 1993 following two years of de facto independence, with full support of the Ethiopian government (Blen 2006)

Unable to maintain mutual agreement in various issues from border demarcation to economic relations brought the two countries into conflict. The two countries had different ideology of government and economic system. One needed to benefit more from the relation from the other country. In addition to their difference of political ideology during the arm struggle, these issues made the war between the two countries inevitable.

### **1.1.2. THE BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE WAR**

Many researchers do not have common agreement on the defining cause of the war. Most researchers mention two factors as basic reasons for the war to break out: economic factor and border conflict (Kidanu, 2014). The issue of import and export was at the heart of the controversy (Gebru, 2006). The two countries had so much debates and disagreement regarding interest, investment, free movement of people and trade policy. After the introduction *Nakfa* in November 1997, the Ethiopian government replaced the old *Birr* with the new one which threatened the economy of Eritrea (Kidanu, 2014). Researchers mention the border conflict as immediate cause that perpetuated the war. Ethiopia shares its largest border with Eritrea which is about 1000 km. The border between Ethiopia and Eritrea was not demarcated and is the most contentious areas of dispute (Kidist, 2011; ICG, 2003). The war started in May 1998 when Eritrean military forces attacked Ethiopian administered territory in the western part of the border as asserted by the boundary commission (Fireweni, 2016).

After the war claimed lives of hundreds of thousands of people, it ended with international effort. Later, the conflict ended with the signing of an agreement called Algiers peace agreement on December 12, 2000. Although the agreement ended the war, it did not bring about lasting peace (Robera, 2011). US- Rwandan peace agreement effort and UN resolution of a neutral border commission were needed to bring relatively stable situation between the two countries. Accordingly, the commission delivered its delimitation decision in April 2002 .However, the decision of the commission did not yield much. Ethiopia rejected the decision of the commission. As a result, the relation of the two countries continues as it was before, though there was no actual war ((Kalewongel, 2008).

This no war –no peace situation of the two countries finally got its end on April 2, 2018. When the Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed on April 4, 2018 on his speech for the parliament, he said “we want the prolonged disagreement with Eritrea to end.” Following the election of Dr. Abiy Ahmed as the new prime minister, the executive committee of EPRDF passed the decision to accept the decision of EEBC with no precondition.

The media were supporter of the government stance and the “patriotic acts.” As Blen(2006) explains the media during the war were engulfed by the feeling of patriotism and they were urging the public to support the narrative the government gave; however, the government had not forced the media to report the news in a certain way.

The media following the recent changes in Ethiopian politics and the relation between Ethiopia and Eritrea, it is changing its approach to more peace journalism. Peace Journalism is a choice that journalist and editors take to make conflict transparent so as to promote peace.

## **1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Todd Gitlin (1980) defines frames as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual”. As Entman observes, “frames influence opinions by stressing values, facts, and other considerations, endowing them with greater apparent relevance to the issue than they might appear to have under an alternative frame”. Similarly, Tankard (2001) claims that frames supply a context and suggests “what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration”

Eritrea and Ethiopia have immensely interrelated history. Eritrea had been integrated part of Ethiopia until recently a public referendum declared its independence. Before the two countries entered into a period of war, they were building economic and social relation as sovereign countries. The media played great roles in building images of one another countries during the war and post-war times.

After long periods of no war- no peace situations, the two countries are able to put their difference aside. They reconciled disputes peacefully. The historical speech Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed delivered for the parliament on April 2, 2018 changed the status of the two countries to unexpected level. The Prime Minister extended his welcome hand to his Eritrean counterpart. He pledged to restore the relation between the two countries, and to accept the decision of the border commission without any condition. This bold move from the Prime

Minister became the new driving super power to change the two decade hostile relation between Ethiopia and Eritrea. This peace agreement has been taken as a great step in building strong relation between the historically tied countries. The media plays great role again in shaping the narratives of the peace agreement and the relationship between the two countries.

This research aims to describe how the peace agreement is framed in the major broadcast cooperation of Ethiopian media. After the peace agreement, the media in both countries totally rejected any hostile depiction of each other countries. In the past, due to the long standing conflict and aggression between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the media in both countries framed the news with hostile manners. Bad images of Eritrea as terrorist, impending development, always evoking and etc... was a common media description of the country from the Ethiopian media.

Prime Minister Abiy made a speech to the parliament vowing to restore the relation between Ethiopia and Eritrea on the day of his election. After the speech, Abiy Ahmed made his first visit as the Prime Minister of Ethiopia to Eritrea on July 8. Having sent his delegation on June 26, 2018, his Eritrean counterpart President Isayas came on July 14. Following these events, the narratives of the news on both sides have changed. The media dramatically change the hostile culture of framing news. This study analysis how EBC and FBC news stories from June 26, 2018 to July 18, 2018 frame the relation between Ethiopia and Eritrea. It aims to investigate how the media shaped the narration.

### **1.3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

#### **1.3.1. General objective of the study**

This research aims to investigate the dominant news frames employed in the news stories of the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea in EBC and FBC. .

#### **1.3.2. Specific objective of the study**

- Assess the dominant news frames in the news stories of the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea in EBC and FBC.
- Assess the significance of phrases, symbols or images in the building the news frames of the news stories about the peace agreement.
- Investigate the relation of the news frames with the theme of the news stories of the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea

## **1.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- 1) What are the dominant news frames employed in the news stories of the peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea in EBC and FBC?
- 2) How do the specific news frames shape the theme of the news stories about the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea?
- 3) What is the significance of the phrases, symbols or images in building the news frames of the stories about the peace agreement?

## **1.5. SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

According to Hijams(1996), qualitative data analysis methods are applicable to analyze of media contents include textual analysis, narrative analysis, rhetorical analysis, discourse analysis, interpretive analysis and semiotic analysis as well as some of the techniques used in literary studies as critical analysis. Therefore, the research extensively use textual analysis as research method to analyze the data collected through content analysis method.

The researcher used content analysis to investigate the framing of the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea. . The population of this study is the news stories built on the peace reconciliation process of Ethiopia and Eritrea from June 26, 2018 up to July 16, 2018 in the two news broadcasting corporations in the country: Ethiopian Broadcasting Cooperation (EBC) and Fana Broadcasting Cooperation (FBC). The subjects are selected based on the reputation they have built in the Ethiopian news media. Both media have been used as face of the government, and they have been known for their pro-government stance and attitude

## **1.6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

This study aims to investigate how the Peace Agreement is framed in the news stories of the major news broadcaster of Ethiopia. It attempts to investigate if any framing techniques are used in news reporting regarding Eritrea. This research can be a good instrument to learn how media in Ethiopia use framing in such politically heated issues. The research practically shows how the theory of framing is applied in Ethiopia.

Furthermore, the research helps to probe the motivation behind the news reporting of Eritrea after peace the agreement. It explores what the media tries to say using a certain words about the peace agreement. The research finds out the media ambition in framing the news about the peace agreement.

## **1.7. ORGANIZATION OF THE RESEARCH REPORT**

The paper will be comprised of four distinctive chapters. The first part will give the brief introduction about the study. Chapter Two give theoretical explanation and empirical evidences about framing theories and practical applications in Ethiopia. The third chapter will address the research design and methodology. Chapter four provides a brief about Data Presentation, analysis and interpretation; Chapter five will treat Summary of major findings, Conclusion and Recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### 2.1. MEDIA AND CONFLICT

Mass media often plays a key role in today's conflict. Basically, their role can take two different and opposed forms. Either the media takes an active part in the conflict and has responsibility for increased violence, or stays independent and out of the conflict, thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence (Puddephatt, 2007). Which role the media take is always a complex process since media are dependent on many factors. The role the media play either in perpetuating violence or in building peace, the influence is immensely undeniable. The media shape what we see and hear about conflict. The perspectives of those who run the media shape stories that are covered (Bratic and Schirch, 2007).

Media are more concerned on conflict rather than peace building and reconciliation. Media feature traits of violence and conflict in their everyday coverage. Rather than journalism functioning as a process which contributes to an informed public sphere and which seeks to communicate debate about issues of social and political significance, news to be more concerned with confrontation between individuals and strategies of presentation between politicians who take part in spectacles of entertainment (Graham Spencer, 2005). Journalists have opinions and beliefs based on their experiences. Media owners have economic interests; they want to sell their stories and programs to a public who will buy their newspapers or watch their programs. Increasing corporate control over media in some countries also plays a role in controlling the types of stories that get covered and the way stories get framed (Bratic and Schirch, 2007). The highly competitive nature of media in the modern world push journalist to hunt stories which they believe cling the attention of their viewers or audiences. One cannot properly understand the functions and operations of the journalistic field without assessing how commercial pressures shape the processes of news production and affect the existence of news organizations (Spencer, 2005).

Media are usually considered as mere instruments to entertain different perspectives. They are used to inform the public the choice it has with the existence of different (sometimes conflicting) ideas. (Puddephatt, 2007) However, in addition to the representation of the groups they are reporting on – in this case parties to the conflict – journalists also present their own views and

interests. The media perspectives are usually influenced by various actors. The media's stance on certain issues may impact the audience greatly than it is expected to be. Media usually report conflict; their report on conflict gain more reception than the report they have on peace building. The impact of the media on conflict is greater than the impact of the media on conflict prevention and peace building (Bratic and Schirch, 2007). With media's tendency to report on conflict, the public perspective towards conflict and peace obviously influenced. This tendency to cover conflict and violence distorts reality and leads many people to think that conflict is pervasive and peace is abnormal (Bratic and Schirch, 2007).

## **2.2. MEDIA AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

Media, undoubtedly, have great impact in helping audiences to have strong or favorable attitudes towards any issues they are proposing. Historical witness and different finding prove that media have the power to shape people's attitudes. In some cases, media construct a reality that never exists and makes it seem appealing and defining. The Rwandan genocide was not the result of deep-rooted differences among the ethnic, yet we evil construction reality from colonial powers and a local radio. The local radio played an important function in the planning and exacerbation of the genocide, and was used by the Hutu elite to encourage the systematic murder of the Tutsi minority (Spencer, 2005).

Although there has been much attention given to the media's relationship with conflict, it is noticeable that this attention has not generated a comparable level of concern about the media's relationship with peace (Spencer, 2005). The effort to use media as important tool in advocating peace and conflict resolution is encouraging. Still the media is pictured as a conflict driven maneuver. Media events can be used at the beginning of negotiations to build confidence, facilitate negotiations or break diplomatic deadlocks to create a climate conducive to negotiation. The media can promote positive relationships between groups, particularly in conflicts over national, ethnic, religious identity. The media can lessen polarization between groups (Vladimir Bratic and Lisa Schirch, 2007). Conflict prevention and peace building practitioners can best utilize the media if they are clear about their goal (their product) and also know who, specifically; they want to communicate to through the media. A number of organizations have begun to consider how to create a situation in a conflict and post conflict environment that allows the media to play a constructive part in tackling conflict, taking account of its true role. It has

been increasingly recognized that an effective media is an essential part of preventing violent conflict from breaking out, as well as being an important element in its resolution.

## **2.3. PEACE JOURNALISM**

### **2.3.1. Historical Overview of Peace Journalism**

The very concept “Peace Journalism” belongs to Norwegian professor Johan Galtung, the founder of “Peace and Conflict Studies” and “Peace Research”. Peace Journalism entered the academic and professional arena during the late 1990s and the theory was championed by former journalists Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick. The idea of Peace Journalism first introduced by Johan Galtung to a group of journalist from a variety of different countries in 1997 at the “Conflict and Peace Journalism Summer School in Taplow Court, UK (Vasvi Çiftcioğlu,2017).

A group of academicians and journalists candidly engaged in discussions and debates concerning the strengths and weaknesses of peace journalism during the lectures and workshops held each summer between 1997-992. Jake Lynch wrote a manual from the proceedings of the summer schools, titled “The Peace Journalism Option”. Following the summer schools, a web page was created by a group of journalists, including Jake Lynch, called [reportingtheworld.net](http://reportingtheworld.net), and it hosts discussions between journalists who are interested in a wide variety of conflicts worldwide and especially in how to report on them. During 2000, Lynch and McGoldrick began teaching peace journalism at the M.A. level at the University of Sydney and followed this with several “peace journalism training workshops” for journalists in several countries including Indonesia, Nepal and Armenia. Lynch claims that both Indonesia and the Philippines are the “two countries where the peace journalism movement gained traction” among journalists through focused training sessions conducted by trainers who had been themselves first trained by he and McGoldrick in Indonesia (Vasvi Çiftcioğlu, 2017).

Peace journalism initially received focused attention from the international academic arena following its formal introduction to the academic community at an Oxford conference convened and funded by the Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research in 2002<sup>7</sup>. In 2005 Lynch and McGoldrick published the book “Peace Journalism” which is considered a ground- breaking step in the generation and spread of debates about peace journalism worldwide. Peace Journalism is not only a new way of reporting conflicts and wars but also “a fund of evaluative criteria for media monitoring and content analysis”<sup>8</sup>. During the last two decades, hundreds of peace journalism media analysis research articles and books have been published and several authors

including Runne Ottosen, Dov Shinar, Samuel Peleg, Wilhelm Kempf, Ibrahim Seage Shaw, and Robert A. Hacket, have worked on improving the theory of peace journalism (Vasvi Çiftcioğlu, 2017).

### **2.3.2. What is Peace Journalism?**

Peace journalism is a choice that journalists and editors make when they report conflict so that they can contribute for construction of a society that gives higher value for peace and peace – building. Peace journalism is not advocating peace. It is making “conflict transparent”. Jake Lynch (2016) states that Peace Journalism is a serious, inquisitive, professional reporting; making conflict more transparent, but it is not peace advocacy. Journalist who fights for peace may not always be takes as peace journalists, for peace journalism is not about writing about peace, but giving “ peace a chance” to develop characters in societies.

Galtung defines the traditional mainstream media as War Journalism. He regards it as a low road which sees conflicts as “a sport arena.” Johan Galtung (1998) the low road, dominant in the media, sees a conflict as a battle, as a sports arena or gladiator circus. The parties, usually reduced to two, are combatants in a struggle to impose their goals. The reporting model is that of a military command: who advances, who capitulates short of their goals; losses are counted in terms of numbers killed or wounded and material damage. Peace journalism scholars accused of War Journalism, the mainstream media, as war worshipper which make war very mystique and opaque. War Journalism waits for a conflict to occur and report about it afterwards. Mainstream media focuses on causalities and damages violence cause on humanity. It is elite oriented and victory centered. Humanity and peace –building effort during violence are the least important issues (Vasvi Çiftcioğlu, 2017).

Peace Journalism; on the other hand, is considered as proactive effort of creating atmosphere for peace to nourish as strong socitial values. Galtung( 1998) calls Peace Journalism as high road which attempts to transform conflict as important value of a society. John Galtung(1998) “The high road, the road of peace journalism, would focus on conflict transformation. Conflicts would be seen as a challenge to the world... But in conflict there is also a clear opportunity for human progress, using the conflict to find new ways, transforming the conflict creatively so that the opportunities take the upper hand – without violence.” Peace journalism gives equal opportunities for all parties for their voice to be heard. It promotes discussion in making conflict open and transparent so that all sides can explore the cause and effect so as to reach a win- win

approach (Vasvi Çiftcioğlu, 2017). Peace journalism is proactive action which attempts to show the damage violence can bring if it is not prevented in the right time (Graham Spencer, 2005). Peace Journalism reports on human suffer as an issue which need humanitarian act. It focuses on exposing truths from all sides. It represents the fact as it is so as to help the public being informed so that the public can make the right choice (Vasvi Çiftcioğlu, 2017). Graham Spencer (2005), peace journalism is about journalists actively working to try and prevent war by focusing on the possibilities of peaceful resolution or management of conflict. peace journalism is also about moving away from obsessions with simplistic and narrow positions that serve to inflame conflict and make war more rather than less likely.

## **2.4. AN OVERVIEW OF ETHIO-ERTRIAN WAR (1998- 2000)**

### **2.4.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

Eritrea had been part and parcel of Ethiopia until the country embraced its independence following the 1993 referendum. The 30 years of war between the two countries: one for secession and the other for unification came to end in Eritrea became an independent state. After 30 years of struggle Eritrea became an independent state in 1993 following two years of de facto independence, with full support of the Ethiopian government under the rule of Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front EPRDF. EPRDF took power in 1991 overthrowing the Derg regime against which both EPRDF and Eritrean People Liberation Front EPLF fought (Blen, 2006).

Eritrea was historically a territory of Ethiopia except during the Italian colonization of Eritrea 1889-1941 and British military administration of 1941- 1952. After 1952 Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia based on the Decision of the UN. But later Eritrea was reduced to a province by Ethiopia (Medihane, 1999:1-2.) until the colonial political decisions created physical and psychological differences between the Tigrean people of northern Ethiopia and the Tigrean people in Eritrea were “kith and kin” ( Blen, 2006). The colonial powers changed the historical development the two people. During colonial period Eritreans particularly those who joined the colonial army had been able to make their children have access to education which resulted in the first generation of the Eritrean urban elite. Italian Fascist Party established modern infrastructure and facilities to facilitate the invasion of Ethiopia and the war economy created job opportunities for many Eritreans. Its economy was integrated in to the Italian market economy. This socio-economic change has significant implications (Medihane, 1999:27-28).

The heart the propaganda in the colonial Italy was to turn the people of the two nations one another. The Italy persistently pictured the Tigrean people in Eritrea as superior who surpass the “people south of Mereb” in creativity, hard work, intelligence and moral power. The propaganda aimed to desolate Eritrean people from the people of the same culture and historical background (Medihane 1999; Blen 2006). “...up to the colonial period there was nothing wrong in relations among the Tigrigna- speaking peoples; and the so called- separate Eritrean national consciousness has a shorter history than is otherwise claimed. Colonial rule and subjugation on its part had left behind a negative socio-psychological context in Eritrea which led to mutation in the behavior of the Eritrean urban population towards Ethiopians in general and the Tigray in particular ” (Medihane, 1999). The image the propaganda depicted in the minds of urban population of Eritrea had changed the self-image they had about themselves. This change became political; the change in the political culture “started to disturb the relations between Ethiopian and Eritrean political elites” (Medihane, 1999).

“...the coming to power of Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) in 1991 marked the emergence of a de facto independent Eritrean state. From this early period onwards, Eritrea and Ethiopia began to consolidate their relationships in various aspects. Though, there was no formal cooperation up until 1993, the cordial relation between the two countries began with the Ethiopian Transitional Federal Government’s interest to uphold the right to self-determination for all of Ethiopia’s peoples upon which the future status of Eritrea was to be based ( Robera, 2011)”. Following the official separation Eritrea on May 24, 1993, the two countries started their “cordial” relationship. The state to state relations were formally endorsed after the two countries signed Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation on July 13, 1993. In the bilateral relations various protocols were agreed to be regulated. These protocols encompass defense pact, harmonization of economic and trade policies, and all public affairs including tourism, education, and health care services (Ibid). Joint Technical Committees in the fields of social, economic and political spheres were formed for the purpose of consultation (Kinfе, 2004; kidanu 2014).

The two countries reached agreement in various protocols of economics and trade. “...protocol that guides the fiscal, monetary, trade and investment policies of both countries was adopted” ( kidanu, 2014). The use of Ethiopian *Birr* as shared currency reached to consensus. Free movement of people and goods, freedom to work in each other’s countries, use Asab and Massawa to export and import goods in a service charge only and cooperation to rebuild

infrastructures in both countries were the economic benefits the two countries includes in the economic protocol ((Kinfe, 2004).

With regard to foreign relations, the two governments agreed to cooperate in the maintenance of peace and order in the Horn of Africa, the Red Sea region and the world at large (Ibid). As members, the governments of Ethiopia and Eritrea showed their commitment to strengthen the institutional capacities of the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) (Ibid). To strengthen their relations, pledges were made to help one another in time of military attack, which came to be known as military pact (Kidist, 2011; Kidanu, 2014). Furthermore, the two countries also agreed for the free movement of peoples across borders including the establishment of their residence. The two parties concurred that the citizens of both countries could enter and re-enter territories without visa and authorization (Kidanu, 2014; Kinfe 2004).

The protocol however it seemed very promising, but it couldn't flourish as it was expected. The agreement soon came be failure and sources of conflict. Various reasons have been given as the main reasons for the failure to implement the protocol. Lack of political willingness and inability to act in the best interests of each other were the hindering factors that dragged back the implementation of the agreements and harmonization of relations, and the fact that the agreements signed and relations formed between the two countries were not well institutionalized and the willingness to act accordingly was non-existent (Tekeste and Tronvoll, 2000). The failure these agreements lead and the inability to negotiate led to the war which continued for two decades.

#### **2.4.2. THE WAR (1998- 2000): THE COURSE OF THE WAR**

The Ethio – Eritrean war took place in three courses ( Robera, 2011). The first was fought from 22 May to 11 June 1998, which was brief but bloody. Both countries attacked some particular places through the mobilizations of ground and air force. However, the air raid was temporarily ceased by an agreement between the two parties brokered by frequent telephone calls of President Clinton to President Issaias of Eritrea and Prime Minister Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia.

The second course of the war was taken place when Ethiopia launched an attack against Eritrean forces on February 1999. The attack came “after an undeclared ceasefire was broken”( Robera, 2011). After four days of intense fighting, Ethiopian army recaptured Badme. Though it proved unsuccessful, Eritrean forces also made attempt to regain Badme. However it was unsuccessful and stalemate continued again throughout 1999 and into 2000.

The third phase of the war lasted for a week as Ethiopia launched against Eritrean forces on all areas and positions on May 2000. Ethiopian forces broke through Eritrean trenches and headed deep inside western Eritrea. On 29 May, President Issaias Afewerki of Eritrea issued an all-front order to the army to withdraw from all the disputed territories. On 30 of May, Ethiopia announced its withdrawal from western Eritrean territory claiming that it had successfully achieved its military objective of liberating occupied territories (Kalewongel, 2008).

The three phases of the conflict concluded with the signing of Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities on June 13, 2000. "The War of the Brothers" was named one of the catastrophic wars of the time. It claimed many lives; it damaged a great deal of aspects in both countries. The conflict in general has resulted in a great socio-economic and political shock between the two countries (Tekeste and Tronvoll, 2000).

### **2.4.3. CAUSES OF THE WAR**

The war between Ethiopia and Eritrea has been subjected to many factors and debatable causes. Many researchers and historians pointed at various aspects as causes of the war. From the long standing tensions between the countries to the economic factors are taken as causes which led the countries into the devastating war (Kidanu 2014).

#### **2.4.3.1. ECONOMIC CAUSE OF THE WAR**

After Eritrea became an independent state, the two countries took no time to sign the Treaty of Friendship and cooperation. The protocols in the treaty allowed the people particularly the investors to enjoy the freedom of doing business in both countries. The people were privileged with the right of movement to each other's country though the two countries had their own difference on how to deal with these issues (Kidanu, 2014). To deal with such and other divergences, the two governments agreed to set a Joint Review Committee in 1997 and the Committee concluded that the two countries adopted separate policies with regard to investment, tariff, and exchange and interest rate.

Ethiopia followed different policies which aimed to protect the trade policies the country designed. The government has levied taxes on Eritrea's products imported to Ethiopia and, Eritreans were prohibited from importing Ethiopia's exportable products (Kidist, 2011). Medhane (1999) on the other hand, contends that the engagement of Eritreans in black marketing moved the government of Ethiopia to take the aforementioned measures that contravened the agreements. The government of Eritrea also blamed the Ethiopian government prohibiting

Eritreans from investing in various sectors. The irreconcilable differences in trade and investment policies between the two countries further forced Eritrea to introduce a new currency- nakfa-in November 1997), which exacerbated the controversy. Ethiopia, unable to convince the Eritrea to use hard currency: US Dollar replaced the old birr with a new one. These actions fettered the relations of the two countries in infancy.

#### **2.4.3.2. 1998 BORDER CONFLICT**

Though the question of border demarcation was raised prior the end of the Eritrean liberation struggle, the two parties postponed the issue temporarily. Since the split, the border remained undemarcated presumably because the two sides were preoccupied with matters associated with the newly forged friendship and cooperation (Kalewongel, 2008). Until the countries' relation became dysfunction due to economic causes, border demarcation was not a major issue.

The issuance of Tigray region map which included the disputed lands in 1997 was the starting point where the two countries began to argue about borders. The Eritrean president wrote a letter to the Ethiopian counterpart stating the illegal incorporating of the lands (Kidanu, 2014). The combination of all the complaints led for the establishment of a Joint Border Commission in November 1997, which was entrusted with the responsibility to deal with the border problems (Tekeste and Tronvoll, 2000).

However the border conflict triggered the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, many scholars believed that border conflict between the countries could not be a real issue to lead to a war. The border disagreement is taken "as the pretext for the dissonance between the two countries" ( Kidanu, 2014; Medhene, 1999).

#### **2.4.3.3. POLITICAL CAUSE**

The formal independence of Eritrea and its subsequent recognition by the international community was done with full support of TGE. The international community was too optimistic about the future Ethio-Eritrean relations in anticipation that their bilateral relations will be smooth. The justification was that TPLF has been portrayed as the little brother of EPLF and the two fronts shared very close resemblance in terms of identity, nature of governance, economic policies, as well as political orientations (Medhane, 1999).

TPLF and EPLF; however, they looked one and the same from the outside, they had strong ideological differences. These ideological differenced due to lack of genuine of discussions were left unresolved. Kidanu (2014) states, "Throughout the years of their armed struggle, relations

between the two fronts were not free from hostility and suspicion. A certain level of 'mistrust,' which did not become too noticeable to outside observers, characterized the historic relations of the two fronts.” The unholy alliance and temporary friendship of the protagonists (virtually TPLF/EPRDF and EPLF) not only exacerbated the war but also shadowed a negotiated peace solution (Tekeste and Tronvoll, 2000 ; Kidist, 2011;Kidanu, 2014).

## **2.5. PEACE AGREEMENT**

US-Rwandan peace proposal which was led by Susan Rice from the US side and President Paul Kagame of Rwanda came with four points in a week time after the war broke out. The aim of the proposal was to restore the peace the two countries enjoyed for as short time. The US-Rwandan led four-point peace proposal demanded the withdrawal of Eritrean forces from Badme and their redeployment to positions they held before the outbreak of the conflict and the reconstitution of the civilian administration (Robera, 2011). The proposal contained other points as well. The third principle, on the other hand, depicts the swift and binding demarcation and delimitation of the disputed border by a qualified and mutually recognized technical team. The last part of the proposal recommended the demilitarization of the entire common borders (Kidanu, 2014). However the joint effort of the peace process cut short because Eritrea refused to cooperate with the demanded points.

The next effort came from Organization of African Unity (OAU). The OAU proposal concurred with US- Rwanda peace proposal thus the Eritrean government rejected it. Following the heavy defeat on February 1999 that gave Badme to Ethiopia, Eritrea agreed to accept the frameworks of the OAU peace proposal. On other hand, the Ethiopian government accepted the frameworks initially, yet it challenged the organization to make some points clear, and it speculated lack of commitment to practice the proposal on the Eritrean side ( Kalewongel, 2008). Until the signing the Algiers cease fire on June 13, 2000, massive air strikes and heavy attacks continued.

The central pillar of the ceasefire agreement was the establishment of the 25-kilometre deep and demilitarized Temporary Security Zone (TSZ) inside Eritrea to be monitored by a UN peacekeeping force. Pursuant to its resolution of 1312 (2000), the Security Council decided to establish the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE), which was mandated to monitor the redeployment of Ethiopian forces from positions they had taken after 6 February 1999 as well as to oversee the deployment of Eritrean forces within 25 kilometers distance from the new deploying positions of the Ethiopian forces. UNMEE was also charged with the

responsibility to chair the Military Coordination Commission and monitor the clearing of mines in the TSZ (Ibid). In early 2001, UNMEE had already started its operation on the ground and over 4,000 military personnel including 200 military observers were deployed based on the UN Security authorization (Kalewongel, 2008).

Witnessed by the UN Secretary General, the OAU, the European Union and the U.S. the conflicting parties concluded the Algiers Peace Agreement on 12 December 2000. Divided into six articles, the Algiers Agreement was intended to end the conflict. The preamble of the Agreement outlined that the governments of Ethiopia and Eritrea accepted the OAU Framework Agreement and the Modalities for its Implementation (Kidanu, 2014). After the Algiers agreement the Ethiopia – Eritrea Boundary Commission (EEBC) passed several decisions to establish a lasting peace and to settle the border disputes. The commission awarded some of the disputed areas like Tsorona, Fort Cadorna and the Acran region, Guna and Monoxeito to Eritrea including Kunama and Badma( after another review) on other area. Ethiopia acquired Zalambessa and its surrounding, all of which were bitterly fought over during the war (Kalewongel, 2008).

After the release of the decision of the EEBC and the fate of contested area determined, the Ethiopian government opposed and invalidated the decision of the EEBC. The Ethiopian government appealed to the Boundary Commission stating that errors had been made and adjustments would be required during the demarcation phase. The commission rejected Ethiopia's appeal. The border left without a legal demarcation for the last two decades: Ethiopia unwilling to accept the decision of EEBC, and Eritrea not cooperate for a dialogue. This long standing conflict got its end when Ethiopian President Doctor Abiy Ahmed announced the government new determination to accept EEBC's decisions and to restore peace between the two nations.

## **2.6. THE IMPACT OF THE WAR**

### **2.6.1. ECONOMIC IMPACT**

Lives in Eritrea were based on food products notably 'teff' that was gained from informal and formal cross-border trade with Ethiopia. Beside, Ethiopia has also been serving Eritrea as a major market place for its industrial outputs. On the other hand, Eritrea was also found so important for Ethiopian economy in that it has been serving as a transit state through which it has conducted its international overseas trade. However, with the outbreak of the conflict such

economic interdependence between the two countries has come to an abrupt halt. The past trade relation and all other benefits gained from their interdependence was ceased. As a result, Eritrea was forced to import various consumable products from different distant countries like Yemen and Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, Ethiopia also lost its right of free access to Eritrea's port of Assab and is exposed to pay huge amount of money for Djibouti port services (Robera, 2011).

### **2.6.2. POLITICAL IMPACT**

After the Algiers agreement, Ethiopia and Eritrea did not confront each other in a direct war, but they developed destabilization action and expansion of proxy wars inside the third state of the region. As far as the post Algiers political development between the two countries is concerned, the two countries involvement in proxy war inside Somalia has brought great instability in the Horn in general and inside the two countries in particular. The continued stalemate between the two countries developed into an indirect war in Somalia. Throughout 2005-2007/8 Somalia has become a battleground in which the forces of Ethiopia and Eritrea have fought (Kidist, 2011).

In addition to funding various terrorist groups to destabilize each other's country, the two countries engaged in supporting armed groups which posed threat for stability of the other nations. Eritrea has been known to support insurgent groups which opposed Ethiopian government starting from Dereg regimes. It was the cooperation Ethiopian oppositions with Eritrea armed forces led to the downfall the regime. Eritrea reactivated these alliances with new and old armed groups that opposed Ethiopian government after the two countries went to conflict. The Eritrean armies have been channeled to these insurgent groups via different entry points since the start of the conflict. The Eritrean government has also been supporting and hosting some terrorists and different Somali extremist groups (Robera, 2011).

### **2.7. THE MEDIA AND THE WAR: A BRIEF OVERVIEW**

The world has been characterized by war throughout history. While states have been conducting war media had also been playing its part particularly following the development of mass press as well as radio, television and internet. But there is no consensus on the role media play during war. Some argue that it has influential power while others undermine its effect which led to the development of various theories ranging from considering the audience as passive consumers to active negotiators and interpreters of media message (Blen 2006)

During the War between Ethiopia and Eritrea the government gave the agenda that any story about the war should work to unite the people of Ethiopia. The government did not publish any

rules for the media to adhere to. Nevertheless, the editors as well as reporters including government appointees were given directions on how to cover the war. They were told to emphasize on the issues that unite the Ethiopian people-for instance interviewing military personnel from all regions of the country -; maintain the military's morale; and the war was against the aggressor Eritrean government not the people of Eritrea (Blen 2006).

Blen (2006) stated that “Almost all Ethiopian media were engulfed by patriotism including those critical to the government. Far and above employing self-censorship both the government and private media explicitly showed that they stood for the ‘national cause’.” She adds that media which were famous as severe critic of the Ethiopian government stood firm by the side of the government. They supported and praised the decisions the government made with no or little questions.

Although most newspapers were engulfed by patriotism, some were against the war which they considered as brother's war and did not support the ‘national interest.’ And there were others who were concerned about their profit by even making up their own story, which they think attracts readers to buy-as in the case of lying about the spokesperson defecting- whether or not it affected the national security as it was availing information which the Eritrean government could use for propaganda.

Thus, the government has labored in vain to limit the private media's access to war and censor government media as almost all media were engulfed by the tide of patriotism, which made them take part in supporting the army; defending the sovereignty of the country; and maintaining the morale of the army through making the public commit itself to the war efforts (Blen, 2006).

After the Algiers Agreement, the situation in the battlefield ceased in no war -no peace position, but the media fueled the rage of the two nations. The media in both countries used to depict hostile pictures of one another country. The media had been the propaganda machine in which the governments of both nations portrayed the images they wanted to be consumed by the people.

## **2.8. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE WORKS**

### **2.8.1. AGENDA SETTING**

Media is the fourth state; it has inevitable impact on people's attitude towards a certain issue.

Patricia.M, David.T and Eike. M(2016) state:

*They (media) are the conduits through which individuals learn of issues outside their immediate life space. In addition, they introduce information and viewpoints that foster disagreement, discussion, and democracy. Not surprisingly, then, the news media are central influences on individuals' attitudes, cognitions, and behaviors. Such influences occur across a broad swath of issues, impact a host of demographic and social groups, and span countries and cultures around the globe.*

“The world outside and the pictures in our heads” -this phrase was the title of Walter Lippmann (1922) opening chapter in *Public Opinion*, where, through historical examples and anecdotes, Lippmann made the argument that the news media are the principal bridge between the broad arena of public affairs and our perceptions of this arena.

After Lippmann, Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw tested the practicality of his theories on the 1968 US Presidential election to measure the correspondence between the issue presented by the news media and the people perception towards the importance issue during the election (McCombs and Guo, 2014). Specifically, McCombs and Shaw examined the degree of correspondence between the news coverage for the top five issues in the 1968 presidential campaign and the level of importance that voters accorded these issues.

### **2.8.2. WHAT IS AGENDA SETTING?**

Agenda Setting is the ability the mass media to shape the information in certain degrees of importance. It is virtue of providing differential levels of coverage to specific issues. The media are able to shape individuals' perceptions of the relative importance and salience of these issues. (McCombs & Shaw, 1972),“agenda-setting” resonates conceptually with ideas raised by others in earlier years .Cohen(1963)wrote about how “the press may not be successful all the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.” Agenda setting structure what people think is important in certain situations. What we fundamentally know about our environment and other facts usually come second-handed from the media. The media portrayals of issues convince the audience to change its attitude or make decisions (Patricia.M, David.T and Eike. M, 2016).

### **2.8.3. AGENDA SETTING EFFECT**

Following the Chapel Hill study of McCombs and Shaw, Research soon shifted to focus solely on broadcast television news and its capacity for agenda-setting effects. Implicit in studies of agenda-setting is how individuals easily understand the news- worthiness and importance of an

issue when it appears in the news. Indeed, norms of news production give strong cues to audience members: Television news broadcasts open with the most important story; newspaper editors determine whether a story gets published above or below the fold; and online news editors signal importance by the simple placement of a link to a story (Patricia.M, David.T and Eike. M, 2016).

Since media productions are easily archived, researcher have got the chance to investigate existing attitudes of the public in correspondence of the media's way reporting the news, or how the media presented the importance specific issues.

Over the years, scholars have identified and labeled processes and effects related to the traditional agenda-setting concept. While agenda-setting refers to how the news media can shape the public agenda, intermediate agenda-setting designates the process whereby one news source shapes what another news source will consider important and will therefore cover. The work on agenda-setting has also spurred research on agenda-building, the study of how the news agenda gets shaped. Studies were conducted to identify what influenced news contents.

Finally, as the field has developed, researchers have begun to extend the traditional concept of agenda-setting so as to include in it second-level agenda-setting, also called attribute agenda-setting. This more recent development predicts that the issue's attributes emphasized by the news media will influence not only the issue's prominence on the public agenda, but also how the public will think about that issue. This newer concept has not gone unchallenged, as some argue that attribute agenda-setting really is more aligned with framing than with agenda-setting itself (Patricia.M, David.T and Eike. M, 2016).

## **2.9. FRAMING**

Media presents certain stories in certain ways. It guides its audience to understand the stories in specific manners. Framing is the particular way of presenting issues. Framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue. The notion of framing gained momentum in the communication disciplines giving guidance to both investigations of media content and to studies of the relationship between media and public opinion (de Vreese, 2005).

Framing is a contemporary communication theory that and also one of the mass media effect theories looking towards how certain information is used to make an issue of the people's knowledge and understanding. Framing is defined as a form of communication and defined

“framing” as a “schemata of interpretation” that enables individuals to “locate, perceive, identify and label” occurrences or life experiences (Goffman, 1974).

Robert Entman modernized this definition by specifying that “to frame a communicating text or message is to promote certain facets of a „perceived reality“ and make them more salient in such a way that endorses a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or a treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p. 51).

Gitlin (1980) defines media frames as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual”. As the definition states framing help journalist to identify information so as to shape to in desired ways before they reach the audience.

Framing is to particularly identify a story and to shape it so as to give more importance and attention. In these efforts the news get more importance, specific definition, different moral and value interpretation (Entman, 1993). Entman, (1991) has farther clarified frames as existing in the specific news narrative that encourages those perceiving and thinking about events to develop a particular understanding of them. “News narrative are constructed from and embodied in the key words. Metaphors, concepts, symbols and visual images emphasized in the news narrative. By providing, repeating, and reinforcing words and visual images that reference some ideas but not others, frames work to make some ideas more salient in the text in the text, others less so and other entirely invisible.

Framing is nearly everywhere. Its impact on communicating certain issued in a desired way make it a very important theory that journalists, media users and public actors completely adhere to it.

### **2.9.1. FRAMING AS A PROCESS**

Framing is not a constant formula of media process; it is a consistent dynamic process that includes many features. Frames have several locations, including the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. These components are integral to a process of framing that consists of distinct stages: frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal level consequences of framing (Entman, 1993).

**Frame-building**- refers to that influence the structural qualities of news frames. Factors internal to journalism determine how journalists and news organizations frame issues. Equally important, however, are factors external to journalism. The frame-building process takes place in a

continuous interaction between journalists and elites (Meriem, 2016). The outcome of all interaction during frame – building is visible in texts.

**Frame-setting**- refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions. Frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events. The consequences of framing can be conceived on the individual and societal level. In individual level, frames may bring about attitude changes on a certain issue based on the experience the individual is exposed. The effect of frame can be visible in societal level when it shapes decision making, political socialization and collective action (Meriem, 2016).

### **2.9.2. FRAMING TYPES**

Frames can be studied in two major classifications: issue specific frames and generic frames. Issue specific frames are frames which are appropriate for specific issues only. They are used for profoundly detailed analysis of events. Generic frames on the other hand, transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural context (Meriem, 2016).

Broadly speaking there are two types of frames: episodic and thematic. Episodic framing depicts public issues in terms of concrete instances or specific events. Thematic framing, on the other hand, places public issues in some general or abstract context (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). This classification shows the effect of framing on individual and societal value. Episodic framing influence the audiences to conclude individuals are responsible for a certain event; on other hand, thematic framing shapes societal attitude to focus on the society as responsible actor in any event (Ashenafi, 2012).

Communication researchers, in their part, have identified two distinct types of media framing effects: equivalency framing and emphasis framing. Equivalency framing, derived from the experiments described above, involves “the use of different, but logically equivalent, words or phrases” to describe the same phenomenon while emphasis framing involves highlighting a particular “subset of potentially relevant considerations” (Ashenafi, 2012).

In addition to the above mentioned types of frames, researcher identified various types of frames based on their effect and their application in different discipline. Attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic, human interest, and morality are some of the frames in this regard.

**The Human Interest Frame**- it emphasizes on the personal stories of people and brings a human face, an individual's story or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or a

problem. The frame stimulates the psychological pulse of people, which ultimately leads them to a more negative attitude toward the crisis (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

**The Conflict Frame-** this frame emphasizes on conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries so as to attract audience attention. Conflict frame was the second most common frame, and the more serious the newspaper, the more the conflict frame was in evidence (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

**The Responsibility Frame-** is a frame that presents an issue or a problem in such a way as to attribute for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group. This frame states that certain part of the society or government officials have the responsibility for an already happened incident or for any possible solution to mitigate a certain problem (Meriem, 2016)

**The Morality Frame-** this frame interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescription. The morality frame was commonly used by journalists indirectly through quotations or inference, rather than directly because of the journalistic norm of objectivity. Media coverage can affect the types of moral, religious, or social values that people apply when processing a news story (Ashenafi, 2012; Meriem, 2016).

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

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

**Prognostic Frame:** This frame describes the effects and consequences of a problem. It can also be described as a solution frame which specifies what needs to be done (Shuefele, 1999). It suggests solutions, strategies and tactics to a problem (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

## **2.10. THE MEDIA**

### **2.10.1. ETHIOPIAN BROADCASTING COOPERATION (EBC)**

Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation is the country's oldest and largest broadcaster. Ethiopian Television was initially established during Haile Selassie era with assistance from British firm, Thomson. It was created to highlight the organization of African Unity (OAU). The current structure and goals were established in 1987. In 2014 the channel changed its name from ETV to

EBC. ETV news I the main news channel with 24 hours coverage, with content on culture, politics, economy and documentaries.

### **2.10.2. FANA BROADCASTING COOPERATION (FBC)**

Fana Broadcasting Corporate S.CO., used to be a clandestine anti-Dergue voice of Liberation before its establishment as 'Radio Fana S.CO., in 1994. Radio Fana has been re-organized under the ownership of the four regional endowments. As of January 2011, Radio Fana grew to Fana Broadcasting Corporations (FBC) and entered to a TV business.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

The objectives of this study are to assess the type of frame EBC and FBC used during their report on Ethiopia and Eritrea relations, and the presence of symbols, images or any particular images which are used to shape the message as media put across.

The purpose of this research was to determine whether Ethiopian PM and other official information subsidies about Ethiopian and Eritrea future relationship served as framing influence on EBC and FBC news stories. A thematic analysis of PM office information subsidies and a content analysis of these subsidies and of EBC and FBC news stories was conducted. The news stories from June 26, 2018 to July 18, 2018 chiefly used in the unit analysis, yet news stories on April 2 and 3, 2018 were chosen as part of the analysis. These dates were chosen for practical reasons. April, 2018 marks the beginning of Prime Minister Abiy's Administration, and information subsidies were only available from his inaugural date on April 2, 2018 and his briefing on the next days. June 26, 2018 marks the visit of the Eritrean delegates; July 8, 2018 is the visit of Prime Minister Abiy to Eritrea; July 14, 2018 marks the ever visit of Eritrean president Isayas Afewerki to Ethiopia after 20 years, and July 17, 2018 the first flight.

#### **3.1. DESIGN OF THE STUDY**

To reach the intended objective, appropriate research methodology and research design is very pivotal. Textual analysis, a method which is largely employed by mass communication researcher, is suitable for desired objectives.

Methodological appropriateness is essential to answer research questions. This study utilizes the qualitative research tradition with data collected through different techniques within the same paradigm.

A number of media communication studies try to identify frames with a text based, non-quantitative analysis. Since it is highly related with the culture of qualitative data analysis, the method allows researcher enables to explore meaning from words, paragraphs and text in content. Media framing analysis entail exhaustive interpretation of words, pictures or paragraphs to find out the significance these texts have in framing the news. Quantitative approach may not be competent enough in deciphering these texts into a meaningful narration. Kuyers(2009)

emphasized on the importance of qualitative for media framing study that “ quantitative approach does not integrate the context.”

According to Hijams (1996) qualitative data analysis methods are applicable to analyze of media content include text analysis, narrative analysis, rhetorical analysis, discourse analysis, interpretive analysis and semiotic analysis as well as some of the techniques used in literary studies such as critical analysis.

Alan Mckee(2003) states that “Textual analysis is a methodology: a way of gathering and analyzing information in academic research. Some academic disciplines (particularly in the physical and social sciences) are extremely rigorous about their methodologies; there are certain, long established and accepted ways in which it is acceptable to gather and process information.”

Textual analysis is also the perfect starting point for somebody writing a news story, analyzing a public relations (PR) campaign or developing a television series—and an effective way of assessing, comparing and understanding media texts. It is something we all do instinctively, to some extent, but if you follow these steps, textual analysis can become a skill that as a person involved in media, journalism, business or public life more generally, you can use to understand why certain media texts are successful or subversive or popular.

Textual analysis is not an attempt to put forward a correct interpretation of a TV program, magazine or a song because there are multiple interpretations for a certain work from different approaches. It is very unlikely to come with a single correct interpretation which can be successfully applied for all approaches. “As soon as we describe a program, magazine or book as a ‘text’, we are implying a certain approach to it, and a certain way of making sense of it; including the fact that we do not think it has a single correct interpretation” (Mckee, 2003).

Textual analysis is not again an attempt to prove a certain text or TV program is an accurate regarding a certain measurement. Mckee(2003) states “...that there is no simple, single representation of reality against which you could measure the newspaper story, or the film, against in order to judge how ‘accurate’ a representation it is.” In describing reality, one cannot get accurate standard to evaluate it. Truth is varied based on the experiences of a society. There can never be a single or correct way of describing something since it has other appropriate or functional description in other approaches. There are always many ways in which the same ‘truth’ can be accurately described. We can see this fact at its most extreme when we look at different languages, and the different way in which they describe the same phenomena.

### **3.2. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW**

This data gathering instrument was employed for the purpose of this study for the reason that it can assist the researcher to comprehend insights of individuals who are in the profession on the subject under investigation. In-depth interview help researcher to elicit the motive, feeling and attitude of the interviewees towards a certain subject.

Interviewing is the powerful way of helping people to make explicit things that have hitherto been implicit-to articulate their tacit perceptions, feelings and understandings. Interviews are the method used most frequently for generating in-depth personal accounts, understanding the personal context and exploring issues in depth and detail.

In –depth interview of individuals is employed in this study to triangulate the findings in a textual analysis method. The interview helps to understand how the journalists during the periods of the study report the news regarding the relationship between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

### **3.3. POPULATION, SAMPLE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES**

The population of this study is the news stories on newly built relationship between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Since it is hard to take all the news stories produced by the two media institution regarding the relationship of the two countries, there has to be a means to take a reasonable sample.

There are two types of research sampling techniques: probability and non-probability. Probability sampling techniques are mathematical ways of identifying a research sample. These techniques are best used when a research identified a clear population of the study so that all the population can have fair chance of being selected.

In this research though, the non-probability sampling techniques are being in effect. A purposive sampling technique is used in taking a research sample in this study. A Purposive sampling technique involves respondents, subjects, or elements selected for specific characteristics or qualities and get rid of those who fail to meet these criteria.

#### **Time Frame**

The study intended to find out how the peace agreement process was framed in EBC and FBC, the two major broadcasting corporations in the country. The research was conducted on the news stories produced **from June 26, 2018 up to July 18, 2018 (Sene 19, 2011 – Hamle 12, 2011)**. These days were chosen for they mark the dawn of a new relationship between the two

countries: Ethiopia and Eritrea. June 26, 2018 was the arrival of the Eritrean delegates to Addis Ababa. July 8 marked the first relation of the two countries in state man level after 20 years; The Ethiopian Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed visited Eritrea. July 14 to July 16 the official Visit of the Eritrean President Issayas Afewerki to Ethiopia. July 18, 2018 is the first historical flight of Ethiopian Airlines to Eritrea after 20 years. The news stories between these days were part of the research. In addition to the new stories which were subjected to this study in the given time frame, the study included the news stories on April 2, 2018: the day Dr. Abiy Ahmed swore in parliament as the new Ethiopian Prime Minister. Dr. Abiy Ahmed addressed the nation on that day and pledged to change the relationship between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

### **Story Selection**

The news stories in the prime news time of EBC and FBC news programs regarding the peace agreement or the renewed relation between Ethiopia and Eritrea were included in the study. The peace agreement was a process followed by different incidents and events. The delegates and the two leaders took part in different public events and festivals. The stories about all these events and official meetings and visits were colorful, and they were also subjects of different political analysis. From all 147 news stories of EBC and FBC all together during the time frame of the study, the study used 60 new stories which purposely serve the objectives of the study.

The research focused only how the news or news stories of the peace agreement or the subsidiary information included in the news stories from the Prime Minister or his administration regarding relation between the two countries framed in these given time frames of the study.

### **3.4. SOURCES DATA COLLECTION**

The study employs two basic data sources. Textual analysis is the major and the important tool for the study. To present a firm base in the research objective in-depth interview is employed as well.

The researcher mainly used textual analysis to investigate the framing of the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the two news broadcasting corporations in the country: Ethiopian Broadcasting Cooperation (EBC) and Fana Broadcasting Cooperation (FBC). The subjects were selected based on the reputation they have built in the Ethiopian news media. Both media have been used as face of the government, and they have been known for their pro-government stance and attitude.

Above all the two broadcasting cooperation ( though EBC take the upper hand for it had been the sole sources all information in the country for long) have been used as main media outlets in shaping people's attitude towards the foreign relation. The media have played significant roles in building narrative audiences or viewers have been consuming about Eritrea or other nations. As a result, the textual analysis of the news and news stories these media have produced regarding the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea reveal the desired narrative the media want the audience wants to consume. There were 147 news stories during the time frame of the study, yet the study took the news stories which were about the peace agreement and relation between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The data were downloaded from the official YouTube channel of EBC and FANA: FANA 90. 40 news stories of EBC and 20 news stories of FBC were taken. All the news stories were taken, for they serve the purpose of the study.

### **3.5. METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS**

This study has employed qualitative data analysis method. The approach helps the researcher to investigate the dominant theme, interpretations, and motives of the broadcast cooperation in framing the news or news stories about the peace agreement or relation between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue. The notion of framing gained momentum in the communication disciplines giving guidance to both investigations of media content and to studies of the relationship between media and public opinion (de Vreese, 2005).

According to Entman (1993; 2007), fully developed frames typically perform four functions. These include defining a problem, stating a diagnosis, passing a judgment and reacting possible solutions. In functioning as such, they serve as an organizing principle for transforming the otherwise fragmentary pieces of information into a structured and meaningful whole.

Different types of frames can be extracted in various methods. Some use an inductive approach, and others may use a deductive approach. Inductive approach refrains from analyzing news stories with a prior defined news frames in mind. Frames emerge from the material during the course of analysis (Gamson, 1992). This approach is criticized for relying on too small a sample and difficult to replicate.

This study used deductive approach to identify news frames. Deductive approach investigates frames that are defined and operationalized prior to the investigation. In this study, the frame

identified by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) i.e conflict, human interest, economic consequences, and attributive of responsibility frames were simply used as an umbrella frames which served as a basis for the specific frames the researcher identified.

When working with a deductive approach, the relevant question is: what (which components) in a news story constitutes a frame? Entman (1993) suggested that frames in the news can be examined and identified by \_the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, and sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identify framing devices that help to identify frames in the news stories. They identify (1) metaphors, (2) exemplars, (3) catch-phrases, (4) depictions, and (5) visual images as framing devices.

The most comprehensive empirical approach is offered by Tankard (2001) who suggests a list of 11 framing mechanism or focal points for identifying and measuring news frames:

(1) Headlines,( 2) Subheads (3) Photos (4) Photo Captions (5) Leads (6) Source Selection (7) Quotes Selection (8) Pull Quotes (9) Logos (10)Statistics and Charts, and (11)Concluding Statements and Paragraphs.

The selected news stories in this study were analyzed under the given standard frames. To identify the frames in this news stories, the suggested devices by the scholars were employed to the full extent.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The investigates how the two major broadcasting cooperation have framed news stories of the Ethiopia and Eritrea peace deal from June 26, 2018 to July 18, 2018. This period has seen the land mark of historical relation between the two nations. The period was of full of excitement, hope, promises and emotions. 60 news stories are analyzed together from EBC and FBC in order to find out answers for research's question.

The chapter analysis the subsidiary information (**PM STORIES**) collected through different quotes of news stories of EBC and FBC, and the news stories of EBC and FBC. Subsidiary information (**PM STORIES**) are interviews, briefings, statements or other remarks the Prime Minister or his administration gave regarding the peace agreement in the given time frame of the study. The headlines, the lead, concluding statements or quote and source selection of the news stories are studied as **EBC AND FBC NEWS STORIES** separately.

This chapter presents answers the research deemed to answer in the first chapter. First, the chapter aim to elaborate the dominant news frames which were exhaustively employed during the given time frame. The study asses to what extent the standard news frames were used in reporting news stories regarding the historical meeting of the two nations' officials and other events during that time. Therefore, 4 dominant news frames are selected to analyze the news stories. These news frames are: **Prognostic Frames, Human Interest Frames, Attribution of Responsibility Frames and Economic Consequence Frame**. The frames are separately discussed so as to show how they are used in various news stories of EBC and FBC.

Second, the chapter attempts to analyze the existence and importance of catchy phrases, symbols and images in framing the news stories. Frames are usually embodied through metaphors, stories, contrast, tradition, slogan or artifacts. The chapter attempts to investigate the existence of these phrases, symbols or images and their contribution to underpin the frames employed in the stories. Last, the chapter asses the influence of the frames were intended to bring on the audience. Framing is shaping news to give it more importance in order to influence audience's view on the issue (Entman, 1993). The study investigates if there are any intended meanings the audience is wanted to consume in using the frames.

## **4.1. Prognostic Frames**

### **4.1.1. Identified Frame**

Prognostic frame is commonly known as solution frame. The frame describes the effect and consequence of a problem. It explains how the problem occurred, and how it affects the audience. The frame also suggests solutions and remedies for the stated problem. It implicates strategies and tactics for a problem (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

The two media coverage of the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea are predominantly employed prognostic frames. The media used the frame to illustrate the impact of the Ethio-Eritrea war. The media used the frame also to suggest possible solutions to be taken to improve the relationship between the two countries.

### **4.1.2. ANALYSIS OF THE PM STORIES**

This section presents analysis of EBC and FBC news stories on the speech, the interview, the briefing, the background statement, press statement, and other remarks of Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed and his administration (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and others).

Following the election of Abiy Ahmed as the new prime minister of Ethiopia, the two media frequently analyzed Prime Minister Parliament speech on Ethiopia and Eritrea relation. The Prime Minister when he swore in parliament he pledged to work to improve the relation of Ethiopia with neighboring country serially Eritrea.

*We want the prolonged disagreement with Eritrean government to end  
(EBC: April 2, 2018)*

EBC again on its April 3, 2018 afternoon coverage of The Prime Minister's briefing on accepting Algiers Agreement, the usage of the prognostic frame is quite oblivious. Frames are usually manifested through selection of quotes. EBC in its report frequently quote the Prime Minister's speech on the devastation effect of the war and the steps the countries need to take to improve the situations. The prime minister explained the situation between the two countries were scholarly viewed in three perspectives. One is war and the other one, which the Prime Minister stressed and EBC quoted, is "deathless war."

*Ethiopia above anything else needs for this situation to end and to go to a  
prosperous and peaceful potential. To help foster economic integrity with*

*the construction of roads and railways between Addis and Asmara, and to help people from brother nation meet is expected from each Ethiopian.*

*(EBC: April 3, 2018)*

EBC further quoted Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. The Prime Minister made a speech during a dinner program in the National Palace to honor the Eritrean delegates. The news program quoted the Prime Minister explaining what he believed the future held for the two countries, and what was the important thing to do so as to improve the situations between the two countries.

*Abiy Ahmed said:*

*On our part, we need peace and reconciliation among ourselves and our neighbors especially Eritrea because we found hatred, badger and indignity are vainglorious. ... We are longing to come to Asmara and embrace our brothers. Any questions besides this are a trivial matter for us. Nothing is greater than love.*

*(EBC: June 27, 2018)*

The quotes selection of the news program was designed to support what had been manifested through the headline and the lead earlier. The Prime Minister explained the effect of the conflict on both nations, and he proposed solutions and future prospects. The news story employed prognostic frame for it described the sources of the problem and the future aspect the peace process.

EBC and FBC on July 8 and 9, 2018 coverage of the Prime Minister Abiy's first visit to Eritrea, the speech he made in Eritrea was quoted numerous times. The Prime Minister was quoted underlining the importance forgiveness and brotherhood for better future. The news stories regarding the visit circulated on what the Prime Minister said during his visit.

*Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed said:*

*Today, the people of Eritrea especially the people in Asmara practically showed us rather than a sophisticated arsenal-missile that love is way grate.*

EBC on July10, 2018 covered news on the bilateral agreement signed between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The news featured Dr. Workneh Gebeyew, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs.

*Workneh said:*

*A situation where hatred, civil war, and economic warfare existed is now revoked with the signature of the peace agreement.*

Source and quote selections of the news stories signify the employment of prognostic or solutions frame.

#### **4.1.3. ANALYSIS OF EBC AND FBC NEWS STORIES**

This section presents analysis of EBC and FBC news stories regarding the peace agreement. The section emphasizes on headlines, lead, concluding statements or paragraphs and source and quote selections of guests in the news programs. Symbols, phrases and words and images usage also analyzed in this section separately so as to give emphasis on the medias' frame –building.

EBC reported the speech of the Prime Minister on April 3, 2018 afternoon news with a headline that promotes regional stability and new relationship with Eritrea. The headline reads: **Solution to the region and to brother countries.** Frames are usually reflected in headlines. The headlines locates where the news is heading. The news story narrates how the two nations are inflicted by the long standing disagreement, and how the Prime Minister's new approach to the issue changes the whole nature the relation.

FBC on April 3, 2018 Fana 90 news program quoted two scholars discussing on Algiers Agreement, the war and the Prime Minister's move to change the situation between Ethiopia and Eritrea from a different show the broadcast held earlier that day. The former air force general Abebe Tekelhaymanot and another scholar Belay Mengistequoted talking about the core reason for the war and what should be done to improve the situation between the countries.

*Abebe said:*

*The war wasn't a border conflict. It had other reasons. Eritrean government has been reluctant in respecting the decisions by international institutions. The war was largely the fault of the Eritrean government. The Ethiopian government should work with its Eritrean counterpart in standard principles and for the benefit of our country.*

*(FBC: Fana 90: April 3, 2018)*

FBC ran what the scholar suggested should be done to improve the relations between the two nations from various perspective. From the quote of the program we can understand the news is framed so as to offer solutions for the problem. The program quested to learn what went wrong between the two nations; how the war impacted the people in both countries. The basic descriptions of a prognostic frame its attempt to find the cause of a problem and to suggest possible solutions. The selection of the quotes proves that the news is framed with solution

frame. The other sign we have to conclude the news used solutions frame is the headline of the news. The headlines runs: **Algiers Agreement: its questions and its practicality in view of scholars.** The other way of framing news is source selection. FBC hosted a former air force commander and a scholar on international law. The source selection tells us that the media framed the news in prognostic frame; it offered suggestions after finding out the cause of the problem.

EBC on June 26, 2018 after noon program quoted from the interview of Hassan Khanneji , an expert on East African economic development, talking the importance of the peace agreement for the two nation and the region as a whole.

*Khanneji said:*

*Eritrea was held back with various economic sanctions for many years. The peace process helps the countries to manipulate their potential economic development and reach resources. The countries can utilize their resources together. The war damaged both countries. They lost countless lives. The emergence a new leader in Ethiopia and the change in Asmara side in the notion of conflict that it has no advantage for any side brings an opportunity to work together in the future.*

*(EBC: June 26, 2018)*

The source and quote selection of the news describes how the news was framed. The news was presented in prognostic frame. It tells us how the war harm the countries and it presented the possible solutions. EBC quoted Anteon Gutiérrez, the Secretary General of UN, regarding the first visit of Eritrean delegation to Ethiopia and the peace process between the two countries. The Secretary General hailed the effort as *a blessing for the whole region*. EBC source selection tells that the news was wanted to come from a reliable source. The source of news has great impact on audience reception of the news stories. The quotes selection manifests that the frame is designed to be solution frame. The guests quoted saying the peace agreement solves the long standing conflict between the two countries.

FBC as well on its news development on the first visit of Eritrean delegation on June 26, 2018 quoted two scholars from earlier shows. The Journalism and Communication lecturer Dr. Biruk Haile and Doctor BereketBirhane, an Eritrean medical doctor were the guests of the show. The news included the scholars view on what should be the next steps in the peace process.

*Biruk Haile said:*  
*The main thing the governments need to focus now is strengthening people to people relation, opening borders and working to improve economic relations. ... the process has to follow standard procedure and strong principles to benefit the countries and the people in the countries.*  
(FBC: FANA 90: June 26, 2018)

Doctor Bereket was quoted underlining the points mentioned earlier by Dr. Biruk. The quote selection and source of selection of the news story can describe how the news was framed. First, source selection was the news was one from each nation that could help the news to be reliable when it was received by audience. Second the guests were quoted explaining the solutions which should be taken to improve the situations between the two countries. Third the news came with a big headline that prognosticates the future relation of the two nations.

FBC on June 27, 2018 news featured two prominent scholars on Ethiopia and Eritrea affairs: Professor MedhaneTadese, a researcher on African Leadership in Kings College and Dr. Yakob w/Mariam, a scholar in international law. Both scholars predicted what the future holds for both countries, and suggested what should be done to make things better in the two countries.

*MedhaneTadese said:*  
*The two countries had been par oft a long conflict and proxy wars. This peace process prevents the conflict that stands between the two countries for 20 years. The primary thing the countries should work is to settle old differences peacefully, and to avoid mistrust in both countries. We shouldn't expect things to be normal this fast, but at least the countries should create conducive and workable atmosphere for future relations*  
(FBC: FANA90: June 27, 2018)

*Yakob said:*  
*The region has been a subject of many insurgents and rebel group. They have been roaming around for long, and this has created tensions among nations. The peace agreement between the two countries helps to stabilize the region.*  
(FBC: FANA90: June 27, 2018)

It can be concluded that the news framed in three ways. First sources selection: the selection of the source tells that the news was wanted to make reliable effect on audience. Since the guests

are prominent figures on the issue, the audiences easily receive the news. Second quote selection: the scholars were quoted explaining the prospect of peace and stability in the countries. Third the concluding lines of the news summarize the scholars view in metaphorical way.

*The concluding lines reads:*

*Ethiopian prefers to embrace their Eritrean brothers. 4 kilo believes peace, development and prosperity are born from hands which hold together and from shoulders which loved one another*

*(FBC: FANA90: June 27, 2018)*

On June 27, 2018 EBC ran a new story on the first visit of Eritrean delegates to Ethiopia with a headline that reads: **The new chapter of Ethiopia and Eritrea**. The news story continued with a lead that projected the headline.

*The lead continues:*

*Nations who have similar values, had been ruled as one sovereign country, and later became two different sovereign countries- Ethiopia and Eritrea are now working to improve their conflict –inflicted relations.*

*(EBC: June 27, 2018)*

EBC on June 27, 2018 evening news program covered the visit the Eritrean delegate made in Hawasa Industrial Park. In the news story, the reporter discussed the overall impact the visit might have on the countries future relations. The news was concluded in a prognostic conclusion with full of metaphors and contrasts.

*The conclusion reads:*

*Years of battlefield tensions are now transposed to entertaining talks around dining table. One people of two nations rather prefer brotherly relations than politics. The dinner program was started with the blessing of religious leaders.*

*(EBC: June 27, 2018)*

EBC evening July 8,2018news program on the coverage of Prime Minister Dr. Abiy,s first ever visit to Eritrea started the news with metaphorical lead.

*The lead goes:*

*After many years the Ethiopian air plane landed on Eritrean soil peacefully for peace.*

*(EBC: July 8, 2018)*

On the same program EBC hosted Professor Medhane Tadese, a leading figure on the Ethio – Eritrea issues, to share his thoughts and perspectives regarding the implications of Dr. Abiy’s visit on the relation of the two countries.

*Medhane said:*

*The region has been dominated by external forces. Various efforts for peace process had been obliterated by other forces. These two countries are engines to promote peace and stability, and to facilitate economic growth in the region. Conflicts in the region as well as the stability in the region of Red Sea and the international political atmosphere are changed decisively.*

*(EBC: July 8, 2018)*

On the same day the news program included the coverage of international media on Ethiopian first ever visit of Eritrea after twenty years. The news included the major international media and their praise towards the new beginning. The report quoted the media reporting the visit as **the dawn of the new beginning**.

The program made news featuring Eritrean people projecting their attitude towards the visit of the Prime Minister of Ethiopia after 20 years. VOX-POP described the people’s positive attitude towards the peace process. Most of them confessed the war torn apart families and relations in both countries. It damaged the both nations. They shared their belief that hatred worth anything. The news on July 8, 2018 employed various types of frames. Prognostic or solution frame was used to indicate causes for the long –standing conflict, and to implicate the promising future in the relation of the two countries through the visit of the Prime Minister. The frame was employed through two means. First the lead describes the desired outcome in the coverage of the event. It proposed possible atmosphere to receive the news: an atmosphere of optimism and sanguinity. Second the source selection led audience to believe on the reliability of the news story. The news featured reports from prestigious international media like BBC, Al Jazeera, The Guardian, Washington Post and so many others. These selections might help to have positive reception. Above all, the program featured the prominent scholar on the issue, and that provided huge boost to the news stories. The employed frame was prognostic frame since the focuses of the news were to offer future prospect between the two countries from all perspective.

On July 9, 2018 Fana 90 had a news story on the visit of the Prime Minister with a headline that reads: **Dr. Abiy’s Visit on views of scholars**. The news featured three scholars: Dr. AbaeEzra, a

lecturer on Addis Ababa University and Cambridge University; Dr. Tigist Yeshiwas, a lecturer on Addis Ababa University; and Professor Medhane Tadese, a researcher on African Leadership in Kings College. The scholars explained the source of the conflict, and how the conflict damaged the two countries. The scholars further proposed strategies for future relations.

The quote selection and source selection of the news is the sign for its framing style. The news was framed in prognostic ways, for it described the problem and offered suggestion for future engagements.

EBC on July 9 news program hosted Bereket Abreha, an exiled Eritrean journalist. The journalist exclaimed on the fervent reception of Dr. Abiy by the Eritrean people. He was asked to explain what was expected of the media to help improve the situations between the countries.

*Bereket said:*

*What is expected from the media is clear. The peace between the countries is already restored so talking about past events may exasperate the matter. Media have to report about peace, prosperity and unity.*

*(EBC: July 9, 2018)*

The headlines, the lead, the concluding statement and quote and source sections of the news stories easily give away how the media preferred to build the frames of the news. Solutions frame is intensively used to explain the situations between the two countries and the solutions which are proposed.

#### **4.1.4. Identified phrases, images or symbols**

During the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the media utilized various terminologies, symbols and catchy phrases. Since this is a qualitative analysis, it justifies the existence of the traits in supporting of a given frame not their frequencies of appearance.

#### **WORDS OR PHRASE**

The dominant words used in prognostic frame were **peace, brotherhood, deathless war** and **one people of two nations**.

June 26, 2018 EBC the news coverage on the arrival of Eritrean delegates the lead used the word peace and brotherhood frequently.

*The lead reads:*

*The executive committee of EPRDF passed a decision to accept the decision made by EEBC without any precondition. On the meeting the committee showed determination to all necessary actions for **peace and brotherhood**.*

*(EBC: June 26, 2018)*

June 26, 2018 EBC with another news story- the headline reads: **Anteon Gutiérrez hailed the peace and brotherhood between Addis Ababa and Asmara.**

EBC on June 27, 2018 covered news story on the relation between Ethiopia and Eritrea following the visit of Eritrean delegates to Hawasa Industrial Park. The conclusion shows the usages of some words or phrases frequently to stabilize new stance on the presentation of the news.

*The conclusion reads:*

*Years of battlefield tensions are now transposed to entertaining talks around dining table. **One people of two nations** rather prefer **brotherly** relations than politics. The dinner program was started with the blessing of religious leaders.*

*(EBC: June 27, 2018)*

On April 3, 2018 Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed explained on the nature of the conflict between the two countries. He termed the situation **deathless war**. The media frequently used the phrase to describe the situation between the countries. One example is FBC news coverage on the Visit of Dr. Abiy to Eritrea the lead of the story used the phrase to express the nature of the problem.

*The lead reads:*

*For years a situation where a **deathless war** dominated the region it was hard to foretell days like this would come any time soon.*

*(FBC, FANA90, July 8, 2018)*

The use of these phrases can be seen extensively during this period of the study. The words may appear with headlines, lead of the story or conclusion of the story, yet they were used exhaustively.

## Images or Symbols

As the study employs qualitative textual analysis, it doesn't provide statistical information to show how frequent the symbols and images appeared in the news stories; it only affirms their existence.

Images and symbols are common features of print media. They may not be a mandatory part of digital media, yet framing of news using photos and captions, images as the backdrop and common symbols are common to reflect the media attitude towards the issue the media reports.

During the period of the study (from June 26 to July 18, 2018), particular symbols, photos and captions and images were employed to support the frame which was utilized to shape the attitude of the audience to certain points.

## Symbols

- ❖ **Hands shaking:** two hands with flags of Ethiopia and Eritrea painted on them shake hands before and after news stories regarding the relation between the two countries. The symbol, a popular symbol to show cooperation and agreement, had been used throughout the news coverage of the visit of Eritrean delegates to Ethiopia for the first time on June 26, 2018.
- ❖ **Birds facing:** Two birds with flags of Ethiopia and Eritrea facing each other was the symbol exhaustively used in both media during the news coverage of Dr. Abiy Ahmed, prime minister of Ethiopia, first ever visit to Eritrea on July 8, 2018. The symbol very common globally signifies peace and stability.
- ❖ **Spreading flower:** typically used in EBC during the news coverage of President Isayas Afwerki's visit to Ethiopia after 20 years. The symbol was used as opening and transitioning during the reporting of the news regarding his visit.

## Images and Photos and Captions

- ❖ **Dr. Abiy with big laughter:** the Prime Minister's pictures with big laughs are not new in the media, yet his welcoming laughter at the airport to the Eritrean delegates dominated the screens of media's news studios during the news coverage of the Eritrean delegates' visit.
- ❖ **The two leaders holding hands each other laughing:** the picture of Dr. Abiy and President Isayas holding hands each other very tight laughing while looking at each other had been the picture that was taken as prophetic and symbolic meeting of the

leaders. The picture was used frequently as a back drop image during the news coverage of the visit.

#### **4.1.5 Intended meanings**

EBC and FBC ways of reporting the news during the time frame of the study unveil how the media framed the news and what messages were intended to be consumed by the audience. Regarding prognostic frame or solutions frame concerns, the following messages can be drawn out.

- ❖ The war damaged both countries
- ❖ Ethiopia and Eritrean one people
- ❖ We need love and forgiveness
- ❖ Peace and stability benefits both nations

## **4.2. Human Interest Frame**

### **4.2.1. Identified Frame**

Human-Interest frames are used by the news media to bring the human element to stories by focusing on people who are or will be affected by an issue; this frame brings an emotional element to the presentation of an event. Due to the nature of the incident being covered, the use of emotionally charged language is extremely high and found frequently. Quotations were the most common method the journalist used to achieve human-interest.

Human Interest frame emphasizes on the personal stories of people and brings a human face, an individual's story or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or a problem. The frame stimulates the psychological pulse of people, which ultimately leads them to a more negative or positive attitude toward the crisis (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

Human interest frame was widely used during the time frame of the study. Particularly, the news coverage from July 8 (Prime Minister Dr. Abiy's visit to Eritrea) to July 18, 2018 (the first Ethiopian Airline flight to Eritrea after 20 years) including the emotional welcome of President Isayas Afewerki's visit to Ethiopia after 20 years on July 14, 2018 dominantly employed human interest frames. The reports in both media outlets pursued to devour all emotions of the audience.

### **4.2.2. ANALYSIS OF THE PM STORIES**

This section presents analysis of EBC and FBC news stories on the speech, the interview, the briefing, the background statement, press statement, and other remarks of Prime Minister Dr.

Abiy Ahmed and his administration (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and others).

On the news coverage of the visit the Eritrean delegation had in Ethiopia for the first time, EBC and FBC gave frequent coverage of the Prime Minister's speech on Sheraton Hotel. From the whole speech, the Prime Minister's optimistic view on the future relation of Ethiopia and Eritrea attracted the media.

*Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed said:*

*Our Artists, you, should be ready, for we celebrate New Year in Asmara. Families should be ready to stroll along Maswa. We all need to know how to say welcome in Tigrigna.*

*(EBC: June 26, 2018)*

*(FBC: FANA 90: June 26, 2018)*

The speech of the Prime Minister aroused the emotions of the public towards the issue positively, and the media frequent quoting of this particular line of the speech could create a big impact on the audience in understanding the problem.

The other humanistic quote of the Prime Minister speech was the speech he made upon his reception in Eritrean palace on July 8, 2018. The speech was very metaphoric and full of contrast.

*Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed said:*

*Today, the people of Eritrea especially the people in Asmara practically showed us rather than a sophisticated arsenal-missile that love is way grater. Missile, tank, Kalashnikov – can surrender the body of a person but not his heart. What surrender the heartof a person doesn't cost us fortune, doesn't force us to go to china or Russia, it is our innate resource: love.*

*(EBC: July 8, 2018)*

*(FBC: FANA 90: July 8, 2018)*

The Prime Minister's speech was an ode to the Eritrean people. The contrasts in speech described how the speech was framed to arouse the feelings of the audience. The media used this line of the speech as opening video wall during the news coverage of the Prime Minister's visit to Eritrea.

On July 8, 2018 on EBC and FBC news coverage of Prime Minister's visit to Eritrea, the news stories featured the interviews of the high officials in Prime Minister's administration. Minister Muferiyat Kemal, Minister Dr. WorknehGebeyew and Ahmed Shede, the then Communication Minister were quoted expressing their feeling towards the 'historical event.'

*Workneh said:*

*This is love. This a sign of peace and love that manifests how the people in the two countries love each other, and how they lost this precious thing for the past twenty years.*

*(EBC: July 8, 2018/ FBC: FANA 90: July 8, 2018)*

#### **4.2.3. ANALYSIS OF EBC AND FBC NEWS STORIES**

This section presents analysis of EBC and FBC news stories regarding the peace agreement. The section emphasizes on headlines, lead, concluding statements or paragraphs and source and quote selections of guests in the news programs. Symbols, phrases and words and images usage also analyzed in this section separately so as to give emphasis on the medias' frame –building.

On July 8, 2018 news coverage of the Prime Minister Visit, there are various news with human interest frame in their headlines and conclusion lines. In one the news the reporter concludes the news with poetic lines.

*The conclusion goes:*

*Now, the Prime Minister is in Eritrea not like a leader of neighboring country but like someone from a homeland with honor.*

*(EBC: July 8, 2018)*

On July 9, 2018 on evening news program, EBC hosted the Eritrean journalist Bereket Abreha to share his opinion towards the visit of the Prime Minister.

*Bereket Abreha said:*

*When I saw the reaction the mothers in the streets of Asmara , I couldn't control my tears. It was oblivious how the martyrdom of their children, the death of their children and the grief of their children broke their heart. It was a historical ending.*

*(EBC: July 9, 2018)*

The news was visibly framed to win the heart of the audience. Quote selection and source selection of the story signify how the news was framed. First the source of the story is an

Eritrean journalist which could be a reliable source to tell stories of loss and grief that easily captivates the interest of the audience. Second quote selections of the news story described the news was intended to grasp the interest of the audience.

FBC on July 9, 2018 FANA 90 news coverage of the Prime Minister's visit to Eritrea, the program interviewed prominent politicians of Ethiopia. Professor Beyene Petros and Doctor Kebede Chane are the leading figures in Ethiopian politics especially in the opposing sides for years. The program quoted both politicians talking about the significance of the Prime Minister's visit to Eritrea.

*Beyene said:*

*When I saw the people burst in to the streets to welcome the Prime Minister, I was touched. It was emotionally arousing. Specially seeing the mothers and the elderly in the streets welcoming the leaders is very exciting.*

*(FBC: July 9, 2018)*

The source selection of the story described how the story was wanted to be reliable, and the quote selection signifies the news story was framed to captivate the interest of the audience. The media narrative, that if the politicians despite their years of difference with the governing party felt this way to the event anyone should be, could hold the feeling of the audience.

EBC on July 10, 2018 news program ran a story with headline that reads **Families who have longed for years meet.** The story continued narrating the story of Henok an Ethiopian Airline crew who flew to Asmara with the Prime Minister as one –man story. The story ceremoniously started the story with interesting lead.

*The lead reads:*

*In addition to the delegates which are already on board on this Ethiopian Airlines plane, it carried the years' long dreams of many people. When the plane landed in Asmara, a definition of many people's life, a life which were parted for 20 years, a love of mother and son became alive.*

*(EBC: July 10, 2018)*

The one man story continued to narrate how long the mother and the son couldn't see each other. It narrated the feeling the story teller. The story teller expressed his raw feelings upon meeting his mother and his relatives that he hadn't seen for over 20 years.

The story employed human interest framing to the story. This is can be seen with various framing techniques. One – the headline was intended to captivate audience attention. It was very humanistic. Two- the lead was designed to excite audiences with sharing personal stories. Three- source selection of the story was designed to share personal emotional experience with the audience so that the audience may feel the same feeling towards the issue. These are typical techniques of human interest framing of news.

EBC on July 10, 2018 evening news program featured the EBC’S long –serving journalist Hadisalem Hadegu. The program opened with the journalist hosting a radio program in Tigrigna language, the continued with dramatic lead.

*The lead goes:*

*Journalist HadisalemHadegu , however; he has been broadcasting news in radio for many people for many years, his eyes were longed; his ears hungered with hopelessness and hope to hear one voice. A voice he lost due the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea: a voice of his childhood love – his wife and his children.*

*(EBC: July 10, 2018)*

The one –man story continued narrating how Hadisalem lost his wife and his children. He expressed how devastating had been the situation. He shared all his grief with sob and emotional narrations. The story was clearly framed to arouse human interest towards the issue of the news story. Source selection, angle of narration, the headline and the lead are clear signs that the news is designed to attract the feelings of the audience.

Stories of families who were separated for years were featured throughout the stories with given time of the study in both media: FBC and EBC.

EBC hosted Journalist Yonas Abreha , a famous journalist and playwright on July 13, 2018. The journalist expressed how he suffered due to the separation. He explained how devastating the situation was to extent that he understood the death of his father through social media. He expressed his excitement of seeing his family after many years of separation.

FBC featured a family (Bereket Haile and his wife and sisblings) on July 17, 2018 who couldn’t see their family for 10 years in FANA 90. The family narrated how damaging it had been the war to their family. The program featured the family attempting to connect their family in Eritrea

through telephone. All the family members express how relieved they became after they saw the countries restored the peace. The program was closed with the family singing.

EBC featured Yishak Banjaw, a musician who had been in Eritrea for decades. The musicians described how terrible the situation was for his family. His Eritrean wife couldn't even hear the death her loved ones, for there was no means for the new to reach her. He explained music has the power to restore things to their normal state.

The emotional meetings of families in airports of Asmara and Addis Ababa were featured in media on July 17 and 18, 2018. The news stories presented families who hadn't seen their close relatives for years some even for 20 years. The news stories people who were stormed by emotions upon meeting their loved ones. These stories show how the media exhaustively manipulate human interest frames. Personal stories of people who were victims of the conflict could easily captivate the interest of the audience.

Human interest frame was employed in several news stories with other themes as well. EBC on July 10, 2018 news coverage of Prime Minister Dr. Abiy's visit to Eritrea, presented a story that portrays the Eritrean president Isayas Afewerki in very humane approach.

*The lead of the story reads:*

*Isayas Afewerki the leader whom many things were said about leads a very ordinary life neighboring his people. His simple life style captured the attentions of Ethiopian delegates.*

*(EBC: July, 10, 2018)*

The news story continued quoting Dr. Abiy stating similar statement with lead paragraph. The Prime Minister hailed the simple life The President leads and underlined other leaders should follow the example. The news story attempted to make the President closer to the heart of Ethiopian audience. FBC and EBC frequently released videos and photos of the two leaders along with the delegates of Ethiopia drinking coffee while the Prime Minister sharing the snack among the guests in an ordinary Eritrean house- the President residence. These stories could win hearts of millions of Ethiopian for they were very natural and humane.

#### **4.2.4. Identified phrases, images or symbols**

##### **Words or phrases**

**One people: Two nations** is again the dominant phrase in this framing. Words were not frequently used to support the frame. Specific usage of phrases are not common in this framing style, yet

one people- two nations is frequently employed in describing the similar traits the people in the two nations have.

## **Images or Symbols**

### **Images – photos and captions**

Sine it is a qualitative study, the objective of this section is describe the existence of images or symbols to support the frame being discussed.

- ❖ **Welcoming Mothers:** Mothers' welcoming Dr. Abiy in the streets of Asmara was a heart touching dominant picture on the walls of both media screens.
- ❖ **Dr. Abiy sharing snack:** during a coffee program in the residence of President Isayas, the Prime Minister was captured sharing snacks with guests around. The picture became a vibe; many media were using it with various captions.
- ❖ **Leader's laughing:** it is not one or two, but several pictures of the two leaders laughing hysterically were walls of media screens
- ❖ **The first flight:** emotional photos of people when they meet their loved one after years of separation, or entering their country after they left for many years used frequently in the media.

The images and photos could help to support the news stories which talk about the relation of people in the two nations, and the theme that the two people are one and inseparable.

### **Videos -Video walls**

- ❖ **Fervent welcome from Eritrea:** Eritrean people running after Dr. Abiy's car chanting his name, people holding the photos of Dr. Abiy and President Isayas, people hugging and kissing Dr. Abiy were common videos to support the claim of the new story had in arousing emotions of the audience.
- ❖ **People in the street of Addis:** people calling the Eritrean president by name and "Issu", and dancing around the streets on welcoming the President were videos to attract people's interest
- ❖ **Gifts for the President:** During a dinner program in honor of President Isayas, many gifts were given for the President. The gifts included a portrait from the renowned painter to symbolical ring and bridge from a lady. The two leaders were seen thanking the people who gave gifts with hugging and wiping tears.

- ❖ **Music “ Selam”**: the popular artist Mahamud Ahmed song ‘ ’ Selam” or “peace” revived through the video clips of many events. “Selam “- a new Eritrean music in praise of the relation the two countries started was made through many events.

#### **4.2.5. Intended meanings**

Having observing the overall usages of human interest framing in various news and new stories, it can be concluded the following themes were intended to be consumed by the audience.

- ❖ The people in the two countries have the same cultures and identity. They are inseparable.
- ❖ Everyone in both countries is happy despite their difference with the government.
- ❖ Eritreans love Ethiopian
- ❖ President Isayas is a decent leader who has good heart for Ethiopia

### **4.3. Attribute of Responsibility Frame**

#### **4.3.1. Identified Frame**

Attributive of responsibility frame is a frame that presents an issue or a problem in such a way as to attribute for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group. This frame states that certain part of the society or government officials have the responsibility for an already happened incident or for any possible solution to mitigate a certain problem (Meriem, 2016). The attribution of responsibility frame was most commonly used in serious newspapers.

Attribute of responsibility frame though it was not used as exhaustively as the first two frames discussed earlier, it has left its marks in some of the news or news stories. The frame was largely used to attribute Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed for the changes he brought about in the country.

#### **4.3.2. ANALYSIS OF THE PM STORIES**

This section presents analysis of EBC and FBC news stories on the speech, the interview, the briefing, the background statement, press statement, and other remarks of Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed and his administration (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and others).

EBC on June 28, 2018 news coverage of the Ethiopia and Eritrea agreement following the visit of Eritrean delegates, quoted Dr. WorknehGebeyew, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Foreign Minister explained about the agreement and the benefit the countries thrive from the new relation. EBC quoted Dr. Workneh talking about the process of the peace agreement.

*Dr. Workneh said:*

*This (the peace process) had been attempted for many years by previous leaders of the government. Many tried but they were not successful. But this time it became successful within a week. After the Executive Committee of EPRDF passed the decision, Prime Minister Dr. Abiy stretched his hands for peace, and the answer came quick.*

*(EBC: June 28, 2018)*

Source selection and quote selection of the news stories describe how attribute of responsibility frame is used to emphasize the role of the Prime Minister in the peace process.

### **4.3.3. ANALYSIS OF EBC AND FBC NEWS STORIES**

This section presents analysis of EBC and FBC news stories regarding the peace agreement. The section emphasizes on headlines, lead, concluding statements or paragraphs and source and quote selections of guests in the news programs. Symbols, phrases and words and images usage also analyzed in this section separately so as to give emphasis on the medias' frame –building.

EBC and FBC on April 3, 2018 reported the decision the Executive Committee of EPRDF with leads that attributes appreciation to the committee for passing such decision. EBC in reporting the visit of Eritrean delegates to Ethiopia gave an emphasis Dr. Abiy's role in the peace process. The news showed the courtesy of the Prime Minister quoting the twitter page of Eritrian Press.

*The quote reads:*

*The media praised the effort of Dr. Abiy to the peace process. Eritrean press on its twitter pages claimed for a Prime Minister to welcome delegates was never seen in history of the world. The media praised what the Prime Minister did as beginning of a new world history. Addition to that, Eritrean Press appreciated Prime Minister Dr. Abiy's concern to the peace process.*

*(EBC: June 26, 2018)*

The source selection and the quote selection of the news story describe how the media framed the story. It can be inferred that the audience was wanted to give the responsibility for the process to Dr. Abiy.

EBC on July 8, 2018 on the news coverage of the visit of the Prime Minister to Eritrea for the first time started new story with dramatic and metaphoric lead.

*The lead goes:*

*Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed pledged to restore peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea; now it became true. The Prime Minister's stretched hand for peace embraced a friendly reply from Eritrea. War was not able to solve the conflict between the countries; the Algiers agreement couldn't bring any peace. What took these one people two nation to restore their unity and harmony was days of political determination. This determination changed the political conflict to cooperation. Now the national anthem of Ethiopia was sung in Asmara with honor.*

*(EBC: July 8, 2018)*

EBC on July 8, 2018 on the news coverage of the Prime Minister's visit to Eritrea quoted the speech of President Isayas. The President was quoted appreciating Dr. Abiy and pledging alliance with the Prime Minister.

*President Isayas said:*

*The measure Dr. Abiy took was not easy. It was a decision that changed the course of the two nations' journey, and opened a new beginning. Congratulation Dr. Abiy !we are with you for the future.*

*(EBC: July 8, 2018)*

These news stories employed attributive of responsibility frame. First the source selections of the stories were designed to convince the audiences the information were reliable. Second quote selections of the news stories described what was intended to give through the news. Third the leads and headlines of the news stories had focused on who was responsible for the changes the audience witnessing. Similar quotes were also available.

On July 10, 2018 report EBC quoted Anteon Gutiérrez, the General Secretary of UN. The General Secretary was quoted explaining the importance of the peace relation for both countries, and he exclaimed what Dr, Abiy did was a remarkable job.

EBC on July 10, 2018 news program featured two prominent figures in Ethiopian army: General Tshadkan G/Tensay and General Abebe T/Haymanot.

*General Tshadkan G/Tensay said:*

*Dr. Abiy's effort to change the country's politics which were in discriminatory practice was appreciable. The change that is seen in the country is very promising.*

*(EBC: July 10, 2018)*

*General Abebe T/Haymanot said:*

*The coming of Dr. Abiy was the last chance the people gave to EPRDEF: Dr. Abiy used it properly.*

*(EBC: July 10, 2018)*

Attributive of responsibility frame was employed in other themes as well. FBC on the coverage of the Prime Minister featured two prominent politicians: Professor Beyene Petros and Dr. Kebede Chane. After the politicians praised the reception Prime Minister Dr. Abiy enjoyed in Asmara, they criticize the government for causing such damage on the people.

*Chane said:*

*Having seen these separated by the government's fault, we understood that government should learn a lot from these things.*

*(FBC: FANA 90: July 8, 2018)*

Other news stories employed attributive of responsibility to bestow the responsibility of the peace agreement to particular person or group. Dr. Abiy was pictured as the main actor for the peace agreement. President Isayas shared the praise as well. The news stories called them frequently "symbols of love and unit."

This frame was not supported in any particular symbols, images or captions. As the name itself declare the meaning that was intended to give in using this frame was Dr. Abiy in particular and President Isayas were the persons for the positive change happened between the two countries. On July 15, 2018 on the coverage of the news on departure of the Eritrean President Isayas after 3 days of his official visit to Ethiopia, FBC quoted Dr. Mulatu, the then president of Ethiopia. The President was quoted calling Dr. Abiy engineer of the whole change.

## **4.4. Economic Consequences Frame**

### **4.4.1. Identified Frame**

This frame presents an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country. When an issue or event has wide impact, it adds value to the news, and its economy.

Economic consequence frame was the least used frame during the period of the study. Only a few news stories employed the frame.

### **4.4.2. ANALYSIS OF THE PM STORIES**

This section presents analysis of EBC and FBC news stories on the speech, the interview, the briefing, the background statement, press statement, and other remarks of Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed and his administration (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and others).

EBC quoted Prime Minister Dr. Abiy on June 27, 2018 on the news coverage of the visit of the Eritrean delegates.

*The Prime Minister said:*

*On our side, the people of Tigray in the Tigray region want to open a border trade with their Eritrean brothers. I hope there is the same interest on your side as well.*

*(EBC: June 27, 2018)*

EBC on the report of Eritrean Delegates visit to Hawasa Industrial Park quoted Spokes Person of Ministry of Foreign Affairs- Meles Alem. Meles Alem explained the effort that was being carried out to use Port of Asab. He explained a task force from different institutions was organized to facilitate the work. The news reminded that the beginning flight and other transportation to Asmara help to facilitate economic integration. The quotes and source selection of the story signify how the economic consequence frame was employed

### **4.4.3. ANALYSIS OF EBC AND FBC NEWS STORIES**

This section presents analysis of EBC and FBC news stories regarding the peace agreement. The section emphasizes on headlines, lead, concluding statements or paragraphs and source and quote selections of guests in the news programs. Symbols, phrases and words and images usage also analyzed in this section separately so as to give emphasis on the medias' frame –building.

On June 27, 2018 FBC featured Dr. Yakob W/Mariam, a scholar in international law. The scholar explained how the countries can benefit themselves and the region in general.

*Yakob said:*

*There are things Ethiopia excels at some things like coffee. It is same for Somalia, Kenya and others. If these countries exchange their resources, if they form unity or economic integration, they foster their development.*

*(FBC: FANA 90: June 27, 2018)*

EBC on July 9, 2018 Bussiness news reported the rise of bond market with a headline that reads: **Ethiopian International bond market rises in price.** The news featured Jibril Kurash, economic analyst in Nairobi Standiz Bank.

*JibrilKurash said:*

*In general the interest the East Africancontries are showing to have an economic integration can be a good reason to create opportunities for various international markets.*

*(EBC: July 9, 2018)*

The quote and source selection of the news stories signify how the news were shaped to emphasizes economic situations the two countries will have in the future.

There were no particular symbols, images or captions used to support the news stories in this frame. The intended meaning was the relation between the two countries help economic growth.

#### **4.5. Qualitative data analysis: In depth interview**

Journalists have their professional autonomy to exercise while shaping a certain story. Editors have the highest authority in exercising journalistic framing practice. To triangulate the findings through textual analysis, the study included interview three editors from the selected media. They were the editors in charge during the time frame of the study, and they played major roles in shaping the news stories regarding the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The responses are analyzed through narrative description based on the research questions. The data are given with the interview questions as follows:

**Q1. Do you *determine* the frames of the news or the news stories before they are presented?**

**If so, who has the right to determine the frame?**

*ANS (EBC): When an event like the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea occurred, the editorial team determined the agenda. The editorial team has a weekly meeting every*

*Saturday. The team discuss on weekly plans. We have also daily meetings. In our weekly editorial meeting, we determine the agenda and angle of an event like the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea. In the case of the peace agreement between the two countries, various angles of stories like economic angle, relation of people in the both countries and use of ports and other angles were set. During the meeting we decide who should report every angle of the news stories, the duration of the news stories, and guests for every angle*

*ANS (FBC): We have three sources to determine the frame or the angles of the stories. First, we comply with the government interest. We angle stories based on how the government wants to be framed. The government may want the people to take the stories about the relation of Ethiopia and Eritrea in a certain way. Second, we rely see the interest of the people I both nations. Third the journalist may determine how certain stories should be framed.*

**Q2. Who give you the agenda of the stories? Is there any external body that sets agenda?**

*ANS (EBC): Agendas come from two sources. One especially these days, we receive monthly agendas from the Prime Minister's office. Prime Minister's Press Secretariat sends issues to be agendas for every month. For example, the office may determine this month is economic month or rule of law month and so on. If the office doesn't send the monthly agenda, the editorial team sets its own monthly agendas. For example census was our agenda. The editorial team decided to work with this issue.*

*ANS (FBC):The editorial team was the main body who sets weekly agenda. The editorial team has a weekly meeting, and in the meeting it determines the agenda of a certain event based on the interest of the government and the existing situations in the country. Every morning, there are briefings in every department. The briefing details what should be done in every department.)*

**Q3.What determines the source and quote selections in the news stories?**

*ANS (EBC): Once the editorial team determines on the agenda and angle of the story, it decides how to report and how it should be reported. For example angles like economic or human interest will be identified. After we set the angles of the news stories, we determine who we should invite. If the angle is on relation of people, we may invite a professional on the issue. After the production of the news, we determine who we should include. We determine if the guests are hosted through telephone, Skype or in person.*

*ANS (FBC): Source selection and quote selection for the news story is the right of the journalist. After the journalist studied the content of the new story, he/she determines who should be invited to the program. The editorial team may reject the journalist proposal to invite a certain guest due to some political or other factors, but it doesn't have the right to invite guests without the knowledge of the journalists. The quote selection of the news stories is the privilege of the journalist. The journalist determines which part should be quoted based the script of the news stories.*

**Q4. What was the angle of the news stories during the time frame of June 26, 2018 (the time the Eritrean delegates visit)?**

*ANS (EBC): Our agenda was promoting peace and unity. Regarding the change, we made programs on the effort of the Prime Minister and the “change actors” to bring the peace agreement. We had also programs on Algiers Agreement and the impact of the agreement. There was some confusion so that we invited to clear the confusion that the problems were not part of this government. We made programs on the event on Sheraton Hotel with the angle of showing cooperation between the two countries.*

*ANS (FBC): Our agenda in our news stories of the visit of the Eritrean delegates was to promote unity. We wanted the stories to tell that the visit of the delegates mark the new era of peace and cooperation between the two countries. We were saying there was no more conflict between the nations.*

**Q5. What was the agenda of the news stories during the visit of the Prime Minister (July 8, 2018)?**

*ANS (FBC): The program focused on personal stories. We gave emphasis for human interest frames. We interviewed former players of both nations, and we interviewed musicians. Our agenda was the relation of people after many years. We made news on the reception Prime Minister Dr. Abiy, and how the welcome was fervent.*

*ANS (FBC): The visit of the Prime Minister was framed so as to give the message of unity of the two people. We focused on stories human interest. Stories that tell relations of people, and that affirms the relation is not only in leaders level, but it goes down to the people. After reporting on personal stories, we angled stories on the economic advantages the two countries thrive from the new relations. We talked about economic integration, and the usages of ports.*

**Q6. What was the agenda of the news stories during the visit of President Isayas (July 14, 2018)?**

*ANS (EBC) :Before the arrival of the President, we made programs on the historical relation of the two countries. We had news stories on how the Eritrean people welcomed Prime Minister Dr. Abiy.*

*ANS (FBC): On the visit of the Eritrean President, our focus stories were showing the effort of the two leaders in maintains peace and stability. The two leaders worked hard to restore peace between the countries after 20 years.*

**Q7. What was the agenda of the news stories on the first flight? (July 11, 2018)?**

*ANS (EBC): News stories on beginning of flight and telephone communication between the two countries focused on personal stories of individuals. For example we made a program on EBC journalist Haddisalem Hadegu. We had a one-man story. He narrated how he lost his wife and his grief. We had also programs on people meeting their families after 20 years of separation for the first time in airports.*

*The stories were personal and emotional arousing. The individual stories were framed to engage the audience with various personal experiences.*

*ANS (FBC): Our format is not a news format. It is more like a show. We focus on personal stories. We showed families meeting like the husband and the wife who were apart for almost twenty years and other human interest stories were our focus. We wanted to show our viewers how people were feeling upon meeting their loved ones.*

**Q8. What were the implications of the symbols and images?**

*ANS (FBC): Symbols and uses of captions were purposefully designed to support the theme of the news stories. We used shaking hands and birds because they are international symbols of cooperation and peace. We used videos and photos of important events to strengthen the message we intended to give.*

*ANS (EBC): The editorial team suggested symbols and images we use in our video-walls. The symbols like the birds, the maps of the two countries dressed with their flags and other images were used based on the angle of the story the editorial team decided to use.*

The in-depth interview describes how the journalists and the editors framed the news in various techniques so as to shape the information in specific ways. The editorial team determines the angles of stories in a weekly basis. The editorial decisions comply with the interests of the

government and other factors in the country. The use of symbols and images are deliberately used to support the frame the news stories used. The use of symbols, words, phrases and images are the decisions of the editorial team and the journalist. The Prime Minister Press secretariat or any other external force does not dictate the editorial team or journalists to use certain symbols, images, phrases or words. The use of all the images, symbols or others were the creative works of the journalists or the editorial team.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5.1. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION**

The objectives the study were to investigate the dominate news frames in the news and news stories regarding the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The study asses the existence of symbols, images, phrases or words in the news stories that are utilized to support the news stories and the study investigates the intended meanings the media want to put across in using the studied frames.

Four standard news frames are assessed to investigate their impact on the news stories EBC and FBC produced during the time frame of the study. The time frame included the visit of Eritrean delegates on June 26, 2018 to the launching of the first flight after 20 years on July 17, 2018. All the news stories regarding these events were subjects of the study. To triangulate the findings of the textual analysis, the study conducted an in-depth interview with senior editors of EBC and FBC.

#### **5.2. Findings of the Study**

The study finds out the following points:

1. Four frames are used exhaustively through all news stories from June 26, 2018 to July 18, 2018. The frames are used in different techniques frame setting. Most of the frames are used in quote selections and source selections of the news stories. Source selections were the dominant features which are used to frame the news stories. The other techniques in framing the news were quote selection. Quotes of government officials, and prominent political and economic scholar were featured as integral part of the news stories. The news stories intended to underline the news reliability through source selection and quote selection in producing the news.
2. Solution Frame was the dominant news frame which was employed in large numbers of news stories. The frame describes causes of problems, solutions of problem and strategies and suggestions for future commitment. News stories from June 26, 2018 to July 8, 2018 were dominantly framed with Solutions frame. Prognostic frame is used with themes of unity, cooperation and peace. Following the visit of Eritrean delegates the news stories extensively employed prognostic frame. It was to project the unity and cooperation the two countries expected to have

The frame was used with symbols and captions that magnify the theme the frame was expected to transfer. Symbols of birds and hands shaking were the thematic symbols employed in the news stories.

3. From July 8, 2018 to July 18, 2018, Human Interest Frame was the second most dominant frame in the news stories regarding the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea especially with the news stories during the news coverage of the visit of Dr. Abiy to Eritrea, the visit of President Isayas and the beginning of the flight and telephone. The frame was employed to attract the attention of the audience with personal experience of individuals. The frame projected lives of individuals so as to captivate the interest of the public, and it intended to say that the people of the two nations are the same.

The frame was also used to sympathize the leaders so as to create humane portrays of the leaders. The frame largely used captions and music to support the theme of the frame.

4. Attributive of Responsibility Frame used to give the credit for the peace agreement between the two countries to the new change actors especially to Dr. Abiy Ahmed. News stories were shaped to esteem the leaders of the countries for their relentless effort to bring the conflict between the two nations to an end.
5. Economic responsibility Frame is a least used frame during the time frame of the study. The frame was employed in the news stories which implicated the benefit the two countries may thrive through their relation.
6. Editorial teams and journalists shaped the stories of the peace agreement in positive and constructing atmosphere. The use of symbols, images, and caption were their creative works.

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