

Addis Ababa University

Collage of Humanities, Language Studies, Journalism and Communication

**Media Representation of the Ethio-Eritrea Peace Deal: the Cases of
Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC Websites**

Heran Menkir

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Advisor: Yohannes Shiferaw (PhD)

Addis Ababa University

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Heran Menkir

Signed by the Examining Committee:

Examiner_____sig._____Date_____

Examiner_____sig._____Date_____

Advisor_____sig._____Date_____

Graduate Program Coordinator

Abstract

The objective of the study was to analyze how the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal was represented by Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC websites. For the purpose of this, media representation, stereotype and social construction theories were used as theoretical frameworks to analyze the data. The time frame of the data was from April 2018 up to December 2018 and gathered from <https://www.africanews.com/>, <https://www.aljazeera.com/> and <https://www.bbc.com/>. Mixed research design was used. Thus, quantitative content analysis and qualitative discourse analysis were employed for this study. The aim of the quantitative content analysis was to categorize and analyze the representation and sources cited by the selected media. The aim of the discourse analysis was to give detailed explanations of the words and phrases used by the selected media in describing the peace deal and to clarify the representations that couldn't be elaborated only in numbers. The quantitative data was categorized in line with the stories nature of positive, negative, mixed and neutral representations and it had two categories which are representation analysis and sources cited by the selected media. The findings of the study showed in percentage that Africanews represented the deal as positive in 28 of its 46 stories which is 60.9% of its total. 5 stories (10.9%) represented the deal as negative. On the other hand, this website also had mixed representation that accounted for 6 (13%) of the stories. The website had 7 (15.2%) of its stories as neutral representation. Thus, the Africanews stories representation of the peace deal mostly appears to be positive. Aljazeera's website represented the deal as positive in 19 of its 29 articles which is 65.6% of its total. The website represented the peace deal in 6 (20.7%) stories in a negative way, 3 (10.3%) stories showed the representation of the peace deal as mixed and 1 (3.4%) story represented the peace deal in a neutral way. Therefore, Aljazeera's representation of the deal appears mostly positive. The other selected website, BBC, represented the peace deal as positive in 9 of its 22 stories which is 40.9% of its total. 4 (18.2%) stories represented the deal as negative. On the other hand, 6 (27.3%) articles out of the total stories posted by BBC had mixed representation. The remaining 3 (13.6%) stories had a neutral representation regarding the issue. Concerning sources, Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC cited people and documents as their sources of information in the articles. Africanews cited total of 65 sources in its 46 articles among the 65 sources 34 which is 52.3% belongs to people while the remaining 31 sources that is 47.7% goes to documents. Aljazeera cited total of 61 sources for its 29 articles, thus 44 which is 72.1% sources were people while the rest 17 (27.9%) were documents and BBC cited 39 sources for its 22 stories. Among the sources cited 32 (82%) belongs to people though the remaining 7(18%) were cited as documents. Findings from the qualitative discourse analysis showed that BBC and Aljazeera used different words to define the Eritrean President Isaias Afewerki such as "strongman", "secretive and paranoid" "charismatic and brutal" and "austere". This shows that the selected media were using certain words to represent the President; this might create a picture in the heads of readers who do know or don't know about him. The discourse analysis also showed that the Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed was described by the BBC as an "astute politician with impressive academic and military credentials". Aljazeera mentioned Abiy as "brand-new" and "young". Africanews also called him a "peace maker". Thus, over all Prime Minister Abiy was represented favorably by the selected media. Regarding the peace deal, Africanews, represented the deal as a source of integration, collaboration and better future for the Horn of Africa. BBC and Aljazeera also had positive inclination about the peace deal, however they also had more doubts that it might change nothing for the lives of Eritreans by reasoning out that it might reinforce President Isaias regime. Based on the findings, the researcher suggested some recommendations such as International media reports stories about other countries so this study suggests that they should give more attention to know what is happening on the ground of the other country. Moreover, historical events such as the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal should be represented correctly by the international media because in the future the international media would serve as a crucial reference for that history.

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to those who paid the ultimate price in the 1998-2000 Ethio-Eritrea war.

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List of Abbreviations

AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ELF	Eritrean Liberation Front
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
Ethio-Eritrea	Ethiopia and Eritrea
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PFDJ	Peoples' Front for Democracy and Justice
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
UN	United Nations
UNMEE	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Ethiopia is in a political reformation since February 2018 when the Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn, who had led the country since 2012, resigned suddenly. He stated that he wanted to be part of a solution to end years of protests and political turmoil in Ethiopia. Hundreds of people lost their lives in three years of anti-government protests in the country. Following his resignation, a new Prime Minister was elected by the Parliament after the governing coalition nominated him for the position. Since Dr. Abiy Ahmed took the Prime Minister office in April 2018, major political reforms have taken place (Council on Foreign Relations, 2018).

One of the major issues that has attracted the local and international media attention was the decision of Ethiopia to make peace with its neighboring country, Eritrea. Eritrea became an independent state from Ethiopia following a referendum in 1993 (Paulos, 2015). The Ethiopia and Eritrea border war was fought from 1998-2000 (Edwin, 2010). It was started with Eritrea's deployment of its army to the town of Badme and its surrounding area which was under Ethiopia's control, but both countries claimed this territory (Kalewongel, 2008). Following the Eritrean invasion into these territories, the Ethiopian parliament passed a resolution requiring the unconditional withdrawal of the Eritrean forces. The unwillingness of the Eritrean government to do so directed the two countries to organize their armies and to fully engage in the war (Kidist, 2011).

However, other sources stated that the cause of the war was different, going back to the days when the forerunners of the ruling parties of each country were both rebel movements fighting the communist regime of Ethiopia, the Derg. The Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) had disagreements prior to Eritrean independence on political and national concerns such as their stance towards the Soviet Union and the rights of nations and nationalities to self-determination and separation (Seyoum, 2012).

On the other hand, some scholars claimed that the reason for the conflict between the two countries were only border disputes. The disagreements were concerning some towns on the border namely: Badme, Zelambese and Tserona (Carbone, 2006). Efforts were made by the US and Rwanda to reconcile the two nations. However, they were unsuccessful to end the quarrel, mostly as the Eritrean government refused to withdraw from these areas. The second effort to mediate between the two states was through the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now African Union (AU), in November 1998. The OAU offered a peace agreement that required the two nations to go back to the pre-May 1998 situation, but it also failed to bring peace (Kidist, 2011).

The Security Council of the United Nations issued in January 1999 the Resolution 1226 that Eritrea must consent to the OAU agreement to settle border disputes with Ethiopia. After a period of a cease-fire, the clash began again due to differences regarding the four hundred kilometers of the border around Badme (Carbone, 2006). However, by May 2000, Ethiopia took back all the territories, which had been occupied by Eritrea. With this, the Ethiopian government publicly declared the end of the war (Kidist, 2011).

In December 2000, the two parties engaged in a peace treaty in Algiers known as the Algiers Peace Agreement. The agreement had six articles that intended to bring an end to the conflict. The fundamental goal of the agreement was to form a neutral boundary commission with an obligation to come up with a verdict that couldn't be appealed regarding the border. Therefore, the commission was given the authority both to mark out and define the boundary. Based on this, in April 2002, there was the resolution of the Boundary Commission that recognized the border between Ethiopia and Eritrea which granted Badme to Eritrea. Ethiopia rejected the decision; consequently, the definite demarcation never took place (Kalewongel, 2008).

In 2004, Ethiopia acknowledged the decision "in principle" and wanted more dialogue. Nevertheless, Eritrea denied these pleas for talks, saying carrying out the peace agreement will resolve their territory disagreement peacefully and legitimately (Carbone, 2006). Subsequently, Ethiopia's and Eritrea's circumstances became commonly known by the "no war no peace" expression.

Accordingly, it is understood that Ethiopia and Eritrea fought one of the most tragic wars in the contemporary history of the world. The war was the largest military commitment between two nations during the last decade of the 20th century (Paulos, 1999 as cited in Kalewongel, 2008). For Reid (2003) the Ethiopian and Eritrean boundary war was possibly the biggest war of its kind after the Iran- Iraq war in the 1980s.

Concerning media, media plays crucial roles during war and peace situations in any country. Various reasons initiate countries to use the media in war and peace times, particularly the motives during war times is that to show one's nation victory over the other, to get acceptability and for misleading and mystifying the rival and spreading propaganda (Carruthers, 2000).

Likewise, in their effort to safeguard prevalent legitimacy governments use the media to convince their people the fairness of their war and the brutality of the opponent and this image of the enemy is an essential requirement for war. In such cases, the journalists principle to tell the truth will be in question it might said that war and peace contains two different compasses, in which journalists essentially work contrarily in peacetime, they supposedly tell the truth, whereas during war, partial-truths, propaganda and fabrications. In peace time as well, countries interfere in media even they set a legal and policy outlines to make the media function in order to prevent defamation, protect good name of individuals and security of their people (Carruthers, 2000).

In the case of Ethiopia the country's constitution in its article 29 mentioned that the public have the right to freedom of speech and expression but it limits in its sub articles that this right by reasoning out that to protect the reputation of individuals, the welfare of the youth and national security. Therefore, it is obvious that interference of governments in the media happens in peacetime too (Blen, 2006).

During the Ethio-Eritrean war the Ethiopian media both the private and government press showed their patriotism for their country. In guaranteeing the 'national interest' of the country the private press seemed to have had even more patriotic stance than the government, which was reflected in the position they assumed on the ruling of the border commission which seemed to be in disfavor of Ethiopia. Conversely, the media in a wide range showed anger not against the

Eritrean people but the Eritrean government and portrayed the profound entrenched peaceful relation of the Ethiopian and Eritrean people. Almost all the domestic Ethiopian media were overwhelmed by the flow of patriotism that made them play a part in supporting the Ethiopian military, protecting the sovereignty of the country and upholding the confidence of the army via making the public oblige itself to the war (Blen, 2006:59).

The international media coverage of the Ethio-Eritrea war in 1998-2000 showed that most international media outlets such as BBC, Reuters, AFP, VOA, New York Times and the Guardian were devoted airtime and space in reporting the war updates and they were reporting how the war was going between the two nations. During the beginning of the war their report mainly focused up on how the international organizations such as UN and AU's demanded to end the hostilities between the two countries. Following that their report emphasized in describing the situation how it was miserable when the two countries expelled the citizen of the other (Zekeriya and Mesai, 2002).

In relation to the above, Reuters mainly portrayed the reason of the war as mainly related with a currency dispute and described the situation of how the two countries were accused each other invading the territory. According to Reuters's report during the war, peace efforts were tried by different organizations and countries, as a result, at the beginning of the war Ethiopia was interested to solve the issue peacefully. However, Eritrea refused such deals but then after the war escalated Eritrea wanted the peace deal to be processed while Ethiopia claimed that "no peace deal without sovereignty". Likewise, BBC covered the war catastrophe at a time and emphasized on the economic crises that the war brought for the two countries. Also BBC labeled the war as "Africa's insane war" (Zekeriya and Mesai, 2002:68).

After the above circumstances, 2018 brought a fortune for the two countries. After Prime Minister Abiy took the office major political and economic reforms have taken place in Ethiopia. Such as the reformation paved the way for the release of political prisoners in Ethiopia and allowed foreign companies to engage in the sole government owned companies such as Ethio telecom. Similarly, in April 2018, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed indicated in his inaugural speech that a key policy move may possibly happen between the two countries. He stated the willingness of Ethiopia's government to make peace with Eritrea, articulating eagerness for

discussion and commitment. He also rejected the narrative of relations among the two nations as a "no war no peace" situation, saying that the two neighbors were not only entangled in interests but also shared a common background (Stauffer, 2018).

Two months after describing this readiness, the government followed up with a statement pledging Ethiopia to a full consent with the Algiers Agreement. After that, the two states that were enemies for more than two decades and fought a war that left more than 80,000 people dead and many more evacuated, became involved in a peace process (Africa Up Close, 2018). The reason why the two states came to peace is believed as a mixture of political and economic aspects, that is to say, the coming of new political governance in Ethiopia and the raised economic interest among the two countries (Yoel, 2018).

Thus, this research analyzes the selected international media representation of this peace deal. To begin with the conceptual definition of media representation, media representation is assumed as media cannot tell the definite truth of issues, happenings and notions as they are rather it represent (re-produce) them in a means of reflecting the real one. As a result, addressees might have information concerning what they have no awareness or have an incomplete familiarity about the topic to be shown (Workineh, 2016).

Bailey and Harindranath (2005) pointed out that media representations are perceived as significant in the cultural and political scope for the reason that they vigorously construct sense and do not simply mirror social reality. Hall (1997) stated that representation implements by shaping a distinction with the 'other', the distinction perhaps depend upon sex, ethnicity or nationality. The construction might work through language in a way of identifying one from the other.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

It is supposed that people in Ethiopia and somewhere else depend upon news media for information about what is happening around them. Nowadays, it is assumed that online media outlets are the other options as well. This provides a chance for the media to portray the reality for the public in a particular way (Baysha and Hallahan, 2004).

Some scholars claim that how people think about an issue, particularly a political issue that is characteristically unique is dependent on how the issue is portrayed by the media (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Thus, media can promote some interests or actors who seek power and disapproval of their opponents without the audience's conscious awareness (Entman, 2010). Therefore, the media can inform the audience about an issue in a particular way of representing it.

Likewise, sometimes it seems that media represents countries, group of people, individuals and political leaders in a certain way. Hence, media representation refers to the construction of reality, particularly how the mass media portrayed some aspects such as events, people, places, objects, and cultural identities. Such representations may be in speech, writing or pictures. Most of the time identity, class, age, gender and ethnicity supposed to be emphasized (Griffiths, 2010). In a media representation, the source of information a particular media cites in a certain story has an implication whether the media would have a positive, negative or mixed slant towards an issue (Inzunza-Acedo, 2017).

In relation to the above notion, international media covers stories from different places of the world this lets the media to represent an issue about people, groups and countries in a certain way (Dimitrakopoulou, 2015). The representation of a particular nation in the international media can be identified by the words and pictures used by the media (Hanan, 2006).

The researcher believes that Ethio-Eritrea peace deal attracted not only the local media but the international media attention as well. One reason the researcher of the current study selected Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC websites, in particular, is that the researcher thinks that it would be useful to assess how these three media outlets based in different regions of the world represented the issue. As a result, it would be useful to give the background of the media houses.

Aljazeera is a state-funded broadcaster based in Doha, Qatar, owned by the Aljazeera media network. Aljazeera is run by an independent board. It is mostly believed that it focuses on covering protests from different countries (Najjar, 2006). Scott (2006) states that the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) based in the UK is a state-supported broadcaster and believed to be known by its practice of independent reporting. The other website media that was under

study is Africanews. Africanews is a news media headquartered in Congo, Brazzaville. It stated on its website that it provides news from an African perspective (Africanews, 2019).

The researcher of the current study considers that it might be useful to analyze the peace deal from the media representation angle. The researcher believes that the coming of peace between the two neighboring countries that fought this war and then remained hostile for two decades is a historical occurrence. Moreover, the peace deal is not only major news for the nationals of the two countries but also big news for Africa as a continent and came to the attention of world figures.

The insights, thoughts and names grasped by overseas people about a country are constructed as of the stories offered in the international media (Edmund, 2016). Even if, national image, is described as a mental representation that an individual embraces of a particular country and its public, media also have an effect regarding nations, tribal groups or topics in people's life (Tarasheva, 2014).

McNelly and Izcaray (1986) stated that in spite of increasing world economy and modern technology the vast majority of people in the world do not travel internationally thus media have a crucial role in representing other countries images. Media can contribute to people's understanding or misunderstanding of other countries and media representation can affect people's perception towards the portrayed in a negative and positive way.

When we come to Ethiopia and Eritrea, the international media most of the time previously seemed to represent the two countries as a starvation and war showground. The basic to these two representations was supposed that the media have seen the Horn of Africa either a drought arena or a battlefield (Thomas, 2014).

During the Ethio-Eritrean war the Ethiopian media both the private and government press showed their patriotism for their country. During that time the Ethiopian media in wide range showed anger not against the Eritrean people but the Eritrean government and portrayed the profound entrenched peaceful relation of the Ethiopian and Eritrean people (Blen, 2006).

As far as the researcher's knowledge is concerned, several media studies were carried out on representation, but there are probably no researches that have been conducted on how the recent Ethio-Eritrea peace deal was represented by the selected international media. As a result, this study will find out how the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal was represented by the selected international media.

1.3 Objective of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general aim of the study is analyzing how Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC represented the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal in their websites.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are to:

- Analyze how the Ethio- Eritrea peace deal was represented by Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC websites.
- Identify the sources cited by Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC websites in covering the issue.
- Look into the differences and similarities between the website texts of Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC in representing the peace deal.

1.4 Research Questions

1. How did the selected media represent the Ethio- Eritrea peace deal in their stories?
2. What sources were cited by the selected media in covering the peace deal?
3. What were the differences and similarities between the selected media in representing the peace deal?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The researcher believes that the study may provide the most recent information about how the selected media represented the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal on their websites. As a result, the findings of this study is hoped to have vital importance to the students of journalism.

The researcher also expects that the outcome of the study might benefit for the two countries portrayed and to see how the selected media represented the issue. Furthermore, this study would most likely be contributing crucial information for the readers who wants to know how this historical issue was represented by the selected Websites.

Furthermore, the findings of this research may initiate other researchers to conduct a study on the other dimensions of the topic and may help as a reference to support their hypotheses who are interested to study in the same or related areas.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The scope of the study is limited to the Websites of the selected media houses, that is to say, Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC and only text will be studied. Alongside, this research will only focus on the selected media representation of the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal. Therefore, it is all about representation analysis and the study would not include any evaluation on the selected media mainstream channels (Television, radio, newspaper and magazines). The study is also limited to the months April 2018 to December 2018. Any prior Ethio-Eritrea stories would not be included.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

The researcher faced limitation that hindered the study. The main limitation is that websites are multi-media that include video, audio, pictures and text contents. However, this study only assessed the texts of the selected media outlets and excluded the video, audio and picture contents of the selected websites.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of Literature

2.1 Historical Background of Ethiopia and Eritrea Relations

Ethiopia and Eritrea are located in the east part of Africa. They are bordered by Sudan, Kenya, Djibouti and Somalia (Ethiopian & Eritrean cultures, 2015). Ethiopia and Eritrea are amid the world's earliest civilizations categorized beside China, Egypt and Persia. The country is prominent for its Axumite Empire that was structured by the first century AD as a valued market center. Axum was the most influential state amongst the Roman Empire and Persia. It controlled huge portions of the current highlands of Eritrea and the Arabian coastline through the Red Sea (Bahiru, 2001).

The highland of contemporary Eritrea was part of the Ethiopian area of Tigray up to the late nineteenth century. Its dwellers ethnically, traditionally and linguistically were similar. The frontiers of present-day Eritrea were created during the era of Italian occupation that started in the late 1800s. The Italian existence in the east part of Africa was dignified in 1889 with the ratification of the accord of Wuchale with Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia, while Menelik would far along reject the treaty. For the following half-century, dealings between Ethiopia and Italy, despite irregular diplomatic contracts, were tense by frequent Italian determinations to enlarge their colonial base in Ethiopia, in 1896; Ethiopia defeated the Italian army in Adwa, Tigray (Library of Congress, 2005).

Eritrea turned into part of the Italian colony in 1890. Eritrea is composed of different tribal groups namely, Tigre, Beni, Amer, Bilen, Saho, Baria, Kunama, and Afar. Hence, in 1890, Italy joined all these distinct ethnic groups to create the state of Eritrea as their primary colony in Africa and called it after the Latin term for the Red Sea - Erythraeum Mare (Edwin, 2010). Eritrea, as Italian colonial base, served numerous significances. The harbors of Assab and Massawa were used as channels for a ship with northern Ethiopia. Besides, the Italians continued their control into Ethiopia and used Eritrea as a strategic site to occupy Ethiopia in 1935. With

the intention of enabling armed suppleness for the defeat of Ethiopia, Italians financed comprehensively in Eritrea's communications setup (Trevaskis, 1960).

Furthermore, Italians constructed massive all-season highways and long railway from Massawa-Asmara-Agorat and also extended the ports. Besides, military connections, garages, shops, granaries, cabins and suites were quickly put up amongst 1935 and 1941 (Longrigg, 1945). Modern airports were made in Asmara and Gura. Eritrea became the key armed storehouse along with the communication and economic focus of the Italian East African Province (Sherman, 1980 as cited in Edwin, 2010).

Tekeste (1987) explained that ensuring the substantial Italian supplies in Eritrea, a discrete Eritrean uniqueness founded on the rising difference among the socio-economic actualities of Eritrea and Ethiopia. This distinctiveness was more strengthened by the Italian propaganda that the Italian rule had enlightened the Eritreans and that Ethiopians remained retrograde so that they need the Italian enlightening task. Also as, Howe (1966) added that separately from forming an Eritrean distinctiveness, in the course of their administration the Italians fortified racial partitions.

Italian colonization continued half a century in Eritrea. In 1941 Italians defeated as a result of the combined armies of British, French and Ethiopian forces (Kalewengel, 2008). Edwin (2010) stated that following the Italians colonization the British occupied Eritrea for the subsequent eleven years for two core motives. Such as a facilitator for army procedures counter to the axis powers and to build a solid British compass of impact in Northeast Africa. To attain their warfare goals, the British has chosen to keep the Italian method of administration for the sake of decreasing expenses and protect manpower.

The British free up the media and permitted the foundation of political parties that commenced to partake in the argument about the fate of the Eritrea future (Cumming, 1953). However, the political parties stood mainly over religious and ethnic appearances, due to this; they couldn't reach over an agreement. For example, the Muslim League backed for wide-ranging liberty and independence of the serfs of western and northern Eritrea, whereas the Unionist Party mostly

collected of Christian highlanders supported for unification with Ethiopia. The Liberal Progressive Party encompassing the Tigrinya speaking people from both edges sought the formation of an independent Tigrayan country (Roberts, 1986).

Alternatively, the Four-Power commission which goes to see Eritrea in 1947 and 1948 was seemed incapable to decide on the future eminence of Eritrea. Consequently, the obligation to resolve the destiny of Eritrea remained given to the lately founded United Nations (Tekeste, 1997).

However, Ruth, (1995) explained that the UN's resolution to the difficult query of liberation or union worked to reinforce and legitimize Ethiopia's assertion of Eritrea on the foundation of a pre-colonial historic relation. The UN brought Eritrea with a liberal constitution that ought to adequate provisions to maintain inalienable rights, essential liberties together with a scheme of division of powers, transparency and accountability. Contrarily, Ethiopia was ruled by the royal monarchy of 1931 constitution.

Thus, the federal structure shaped legal and structural paradoxes among freedom-oriented Eritrea and entire monarchical Ethiopia (Ruth, 1995). Also, Ethiopia's rulers were separated on what federal prominence really intended. Despite the fact that the advanced ministers saw the possible way of using Eritrea's organizations as an example for a broader coalition of Ethiopian provinces, the centralist ministers contended that Eritrea's case could encourage other provinces towards requesting a federal status similar to Eritrea with altogether its democratic institutes. This better step of liberalization in Eritrea was very dangerous for Emperor Haile Selassie to stand. In 1956, press freedom was restrained, next to an entire prohibition of political parties plus trade association activities. More, the Monarch started taking different procedures to decline the federation and unite Eritrea into Ethiopia. On November 1962, the Eritrean congress with tough stress from Ethiopia, supported for unification with Ethiopia, and Eritrea came to be the fourteenth province of Ethiopia (Edwin, 2010).

In 1961, the initial armed struggle group emerged called the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in reaction to the growing tension of federal defilements. The group directly opened a prolonged

regimentally besides economically draining civil war (Bereket, 1980:40). The ELF embedded the aforementioned resistance in Pan Arab ways and Islam as an instrument of general enlistment. Iraq and Syria existed as main supporters of this struggle as they wanted Eritrea to be an actor in global Arab political affairs. However, disgruntlement grew among the group and the Christian public of Eritrea (Reid, 2003).

Later, the ELF does not accept a Christian folk who ought to link its reason merely since it was the only structured political movement at that moment. But then resistance swiftly intensified into a clash between the Christian and Muslim ELF officials. Due to this, in the 1970s, three different fronts founded as main players. The sturdiest of these was headed by Isayas Afewerki. In 1974, Isayas's group stated a socialist program and named the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and the party unlike, ELF, was secular (Reid, 2003).

In the late 1970s, the EPLF seemed to be the influential political movement in Eritrea because of its strong army and truce with ELF then through military collaboration with Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the ELF was exiled from Eritrea and escaped into Sudan. As a result, the EPLF come to be the main and principal rebel group in Eritrea. The TPLF was founded in 1975 by Tigray students at Addis Ababa University (Tekeste & Tronvoll, 2000).

2.2 Overview of the Ethio-Eritrea War

Several reasons initiate countries to war. There are combats of invasion and wars for the sake of getting resources. On the other hand, some warfare looks like to have further complicated bases. Sometimes, war appears predictable. Thus, it seems a boundary invasion in the two of the Horn of Africa countries driven to involve into war for two years even though some world media at that time described it as expectable. Though, 1991 hopefulness holds sway in Ethiopia next to an extensive era of civil war. The chief revolutionaries in Ethiopia at that time, the TPLF and the EPLF occurred from hostilities to friendship and prepared to get on a new period of harmony. However, seven years late, Eritrea occupied Ethiopia and war followed that cost lives and did huge destruction on both sides (Lasley, 2015).

Some scholars claimed that the Ethiopia and Eritrea war of 1998-2000 was different from other recent conflicts in Africa due to various reasons. Above all, the range of its neighboring and detached historic grounds, tied by way of its varied kinds of indicators, shrinks it to fit into clearly conventional war type (Leencho, 2003). However, Dias (2008) contends that the 1998-2000 war among Eritrea and Ethiopia reaches the conventional standards for labeling as an inter-state war that is to say by means of the concentration of ferocity and the position of the characters. The figures of evacuated Eritrean origin from Ethiopia were 75,000. And Eritrea expelled Ethiopian origins too.

The turning point of the clash was a boundary town named Badme, in which the two states demanded possession, causing a complete war in May 1998. The boundary war came to a formal culmination on 18 June 2000 after the two nations engaged in the Treaty to End of Warfare among Ethiopia and Eritrea (Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities) (UNMEE, 2006). However, some argued that the known core reason of the war to own Badme was not the only reason. Conversely, there were other entwined fiscal, tactful and political matters as well. More or less of these disputes could even instigate when both liberation movements (TPLF and EPLF) were struggling against the Derg regime (Lasley, 2015).

The Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities smoothed the approach to the all-inclusive armistice consensus, the Algiers Peace Agreement that was taking on through both nations in December 2000. Before that, in June 2000, the UN Security Council, with Purpose 1312 (2000), proven the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE). One of the main tasks of UNMEE stood to check the instrument aimed at proving the end of aggressions (UNMEE, 2006). For the sake of this, the whole territory among the two states was overseen by UNMEE's intermediation armies, which were based in the boundary zone and preserved separately the soldiers of the two nations. However, UNMEE stopped playing its role in the area after Eritrea put restraints in its activities in July 2008.

Algiers Peace Agreement obligates Eritrea and Ethiopia to clarify their disagreements for two neutral groups, operated autonomously from interferences to each other. Primarily stayed the Boundary Commission, its role was to delimit and demarcate the colonial treaty border based on

pertinent colonial treaties (1900, 1902 and 1908) and appropriate international law. The following role was the Eritrea Ethiopia Claims Commission, its power was to resolve, bypassing obligatory settlement, on the entire dues for injury and destruction that were linked to the war and were the outcome of harms of universal humanitarian law, together with the 1949 Geneva Conventions and further violations of international law (Daniel & Paulos, 2011).

Concerning to the dispute of possession over Badme, the Boundary Commission, in its decision in 2002, judged that the town of Bademe fits to Eritrea. Thus, the Commission grasps that Eritrea violated Article 2, of the Charter of the United Nations for conquering Badme and other villages while it is below Ethiopia's government and is accountable to reimburse Ethiopia for the harms triggered by the violation of international law. In August 2009, the Claims Commission also passed a verdict that on the expanse of compensations each administration has to recompense the other so of the defilements committed in the two-year border conflict. Hence, the Eritrean rule has to pay Ethiopia a sum of \$174, 036, 520 while the Ethiopian regime has to pay Eritrea a sum of \$163, 520, 865 which means Ethiopia was awarded a net payment of \$10, 515, 655 (Daniel & Paulos, 2011).

Effects of the War

It is supposed that any war has consequences. Similarly, the Ethiopia and Eritrea war had economic, societal and political impacts on both sides.

Regarding the economic effects of the war, Kidist (2011) explained that both counties paid out an enormous sum of money on the war, likely up to 1 billion USA Dollars. Undeniably, Eritrea missed millions of dollars that would have been gained as of port facility and trade then again; Ethiopia's change from the Eritrean seaports of Assab and Massawa to the harbor of Djibouti was a loss of Ethiopia's economy. Two of the countries were using their properties to preserve a huge number of soldiers alongside the boundary as well.

Wuhibegezer (2014) added that the Ethio-Eritrea conflict carried out a considerable economic decline. Trade, service sector and savings reduced at a high degree as a result of a delicate sense of danger. It also endangered organizations and the supremacy of law. Likewise, it led to big insecurity into the financial situation by creating a government and individual business risky.

Reid (2018) stipulates the human cost of the war that is estimations of war deceased differ, but most records put the whole people died in both countries from 80,000 up to 100,000. The humanitarian circumstances were assumed to be serious when both countries immensely expelled the citizens of the other. Ethiopia deported Eritreans since 1998, without any trial, for the sake of national safety. The Eritrean administration also deported 125,000 Ethiopians formerly to the war. Politically speaking after the war, the leaders of the two counties get too much consolidates political power. In addition, the war had an effect on the regional stability of the Horn of Africa (Kidist, 2011).

2.3 Foreign Countries Interest in the Horn of Africa

Herui (2007) stated that the word ‘Horn of Africa’ was initially used to signify Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti. Far along, it was stretched to contain Sudan. In another account, it is stipulated that the Horn of Africa embraces Kenya and Uganda too. The area has been hit through repeated droughts, famine, and economic lack, internal displacement and the surge of refugees. In 1982– 92 alone, two million people lost their lives in the Horn due to war and famine, and more than 25 million faced serious food shortages in 1992 (Prendergast 1992 as cited in Kassahun, 2013).

In relation to the above, the Horn of Africa is one of the politically vital areas in the world. Practically, geopolitical powers and local drives jointly produced unpredictable outcomes. From the independence of post-colonial countries such as Eritrea in 1991 and South Sudan in 2011 to the disorders of the Cold War, these are the collapse of King Haile Selassie reversed Ethiopia from the American to the Soviet sphere almost dramatically. From the dreads of the Rwandan ethnic cleansing and the War in DRC to the foundational bombardments of the Global War on Terror like that of the blasting of American embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, the area might not control the geopolitical scenery however has frequently been the ground for bigger geopolitical argument (IRIS, 2017).

Containing Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan, the Horn of Africa is one of a disputed area in the African land. The contemporary manifestations of these clashes are revealed

in the North-South Sudan civil war and the war in Darfur in addition, the Ethiopia–Eritrea war of 1998–2000, which overwhelmed the section (Jacquin-Berdal and Plaut 2004 as cited in Redie, 2013).

Most global actors considering this area as an influence base in acquiring their interests in international political affairs. Consequently, states like China, Russia, the United Arab Emirates, and Turkey have tried to improve respectable dealings with the Horn of Africa countries. Djibouti has accommodated military bases of international actors such as the United States, France, and Italy (Telci, 2018).

Likewise, subsequently, to the 9/11 attack, the area has turned out to be one of the threats of the international war on terrorism, due to the issues associated to the downfall of Somalia and the rise of al-Shabaab. In general, the clashes devastated the region as a result of historic, financial and natural matters. Also, they have been instigated through regional and global interference. Supposedly, such involvements have been motivated via tactical contending national wellbeing and several causes. Thus, it is believed that global involvements have helped to the complexity of the disputes and uncertainty of the Horn (Cliffe 2004: Woodward, 2006: Sörenson, 2008: Zeleza, 2008 as cited in Redie, 2013).

In relation to the above-mentioned reasons, the strategic significance of the Horn has appealed external interests, particularly the nearness of the Horn of Africa to the Middle East, in which two aspects such as oil and the Arab–Israeli fight meet. Besides, Bal el Mandeb and the Red Sea are the core delivery path for properties from the Middle East and the Far East to Europe and the Americas. The sighting for natural capitals also sorts the region of planned concern to foreign actors (Sörenson, 2008 cited in Redie, 2013).

Thus, the following sections will particularly explore the foreign nations interest such as the Western, Eastern and Gulf counties interest in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

2.3.1 Western Countries Interest

Some scholars stated that the labeling “Western Countries” is not merely a classification that relates to geographic locations such as countries like USA, Germany and other Western Europe nations, but rather a value judgment that incorporates countries out of the western geographic region as well. For example, it comprises countries such as Canada, Japan and Israel (Hachten as cited in Szpunar, 2011).

To begin with assessing the interest of the United States of America in Ethiopia and Eritrea, the United States has one of its main interest in the African continent in Ethiopia. Ethiopia is a strategic pact to safeguard US interests in the region. It depends on its connection with the intelligence facilities of Ethiopia, The USA perceives Ethiopia as a forward-facing in the international war on terrorism and as a tactical area player. The USA understands Ethiopia as vital for its own intervention and the overall steadiness of the Horn of Africa as strategic connection that is shared by the Ethiopian participation in the war on terrorism (Lie & Berouk, 2018).

On the other hand, Eritrea has long been marked out as a “spoiler” by the USA and blamed of helping extremism. In 2009, it is believed that based on USA’s advice, Eritrea was authorized by the United Nations for subsidizing al-Shabaab and for rejecting to resolve a boundary quarrel with Djibouti. However, Eritrea has been through improvement in its dealings with distinct European countries and with the European Union. Particularly, as of migration, the EU has a conferred interest in Eritrea’s growth. That sorts Europe an intrinsically friend for Eritrea, the interest of Europe in general and Germany, in specific, are getting the market ways via the Red Sea and contributing with Horn of Africa nations in issues of illegal migration (Bruton, 2016).

2.3.2 Eastern Countries Interest

It is believed that Eastern countries have had an interest in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Among the Eastern countries, Russia and China are expanding their influence in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Russia has an interest in establishing a military base on the red sea and had a plan to build a Russian marine logistics center there. China is also trying to fill the influence spaces that are sometimes happened because of Arab countries. Of course, scholars agreed that China has also an interest in

engaging in the Ethiopian economy (Estelle, 2018). China and Russia are also thinking of founding military centers in Djibouti and Eritrea (Telci, 2018).

The Ethiopian rule developmental state appeals from the Chinese development model, mainly in the targets to advance an industrial economy through cheap work power. Even though Chinese corporations have interests like the other African countries focused on industry and agriculture in Ethiopia, Ethiopia also swallowed army materiel from China that includes airplanes and armaments. It is believed that there are numerous calls of governmental representatives including intelligence issues and the ratification of numerous contracts among the two nations has significantly combined their mutual relations in job, savings, learning and health (Lie & Berouk, 2018).

2.3.3 Gulf Countries Interest

The “Gulf states” are nations neighboring the Persian Harbor in the Arabian Peninsula such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Kuwait, Bahrain, Iraq, Oman and Qatar. They are known by their oil wealth, high income, and religious similarity that is Islam. In the political arena, all except Iraq are ruled through royal family. Thus, these countries are believed to have interest in Ethiopia and Eritrea. According to various sources Eritrea lends out its seaports and flight exclusion zone to Saudi Arabia. Regarding this, a UN Observing Group report indicated that Eritrea perhaps have got economic support, and oil for its setting up (Lidet, 2016).

The Gulf States are crucial trade allies and have been recognized to combine administrative, commercial and religious drives in their collaborations. In latest ages, the Gulf nations have become gradually involved in the Red Sea, somewhat in reaction to the conflict in Yemen. Particularly Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Qatar are involved in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Money from the UAE and Saudi Arabia into Ethiopia and Sudan for an investment made a huge share of the entire Gulf countries involvement in the Horn of Africa (Meester, Berg & Verhoeven, 2018).

The UAE has been one of the countries in evolving its strategy in Eritrea because of the following intent. It is believed that control naval undertaking and to take up the main part in working with the seaports in the area, which signify links for the region (Telci, 2018).

Some scholars argued that the current formation of various army foundations by Saudi Arabia and the UAE in Eritrea has given the Saudis an initiation to wipe out Iranian effect in the region. With the UAE's new navy system in the area of Somaliland and the army foundation in Assab, Eritrea, Saudi Arabia and its Gulf partner have effectively detached the area from Iranian impact (Feierstein & Greathead, 2017).

The interest between Iran and Saudi over Eritrea increased for the reason that in 2008, Eritrea allowed Iran to enter Assab Harbor, so long as Tehran with a funding place from which to make marine activities in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. The Saudi and Yemeni rulers bothered that Iran could use Eritrean zone in the Red Sea, as a channel for weapons delivery to Shia Houthi revolutionaries in northern Yemen. The UAE has also seemingly decided to construct a new main road amongst Berbera Port and the Somaliland/Ethiopia boundary town of Wajaale (Lefebvre, 2012; Al Arabiya, 2015 as cited in Cannon & Rossiter, 2017).

The Red Sea of Eritrea is a lane for properties, individuals, weapons, and cattle. European market with Asia goes via there, oil as of the Gulf to the Mediterranean, and a large volume of the international naval load is pulled via the Suez Canal and the Red Sea into the Indian Ocean. Besides, the Red Sea is a route for immigration among the Gulf and the Horn of Africa. Its sea links the Horn of Africa with the Gulf countries, while it divides African and Arab governmental and community values (Weber, 2017).

What makes Gulf counties markedly unique from other foreign countries, for instance, America and European nations is their experience of giving credits instead of donations. They are also dissimilar from countries such as China in that of their financial interests are not related to tangible economic outlets however to the service area (Lidet, 2016).

2.4 The Ethio-Eritrea Peace Deal

Twenty years following the eruption of conflict among Eritrea and Ethiopia, eighteen years subsequently to the ceasefire unanticipated progress lay a culmination to an era of “no war – no peace”. As it is believed, both nations and their folks ought to undergo through anguishes for

years nonetheless currently it seems hope triumphs. On July 9, 2018, Eritrea and Ethiopia declared a dual assertion of peace. The leaders, Prime minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed of Ethiopia and President Isayas Afeworki of Eritrea stated the spirit to solve the previous situation between the two countries. President Abiy's official visit to Asmara, Eritrea and president Isaias's visit to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia build up the hope among many people (Stauffer, 2018).

Hence, after twenty years of fight, the Eritrean and Ethiopian societies are today officially at peace as President Isaias and Prime Minister Abiy join hands in friendship. It gave the impression that the Eritrean public cheered Dr. Abiy and his idea of peace, through admiration and sense of friendship. The Eritrean and Ethiopian flags were signaling in the skies of Asmara and Addis Abeba. Most folks put on t-shirts and photographs of both rulers and had their looks decorated in the colors of the Ethiopian and Eritrean flags. Slogans of notable phrases of both head of states, for example, "Love Wins" as well as "Game Over" were mentioned by the people of the two countries during the welcoming ceremonies (Billion, 2018).

"Indeed, there are decades where nothing happens; and there are weeks where decades happen." Next to the ages of impasse and conflict among the two countries now it seems things are happening and going quickly (Fikrejesus, 2018: 19).

As Stauffer (2018) stipulates the following timetable shows the step of the peace deal.

- 5 June 2018: The Ethiopian administration stated that it will totally consent and apply deprived of any prerequisite the Algiers Agreement.
- 20 June 2018: The Eritrean regime proclaimed that will send a high-level delegation to Addis Ababa to see the recent changes and to make plans for constant upcoming accomplishment.
- 8 July 2018: Prime Minister Abiy of Ethiopia reached in Asmara, Eritrea for two days official visit.
- 9 July 2018: Eritrea and Ethiopia publicized a joint declaration of Peace.
- 14 July 2018: President Isaias attained in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia after twenty two years for an official visit.

- 18 July 2018: Ethiopian Airlines commenced a trip from Addis Abeba to Asmara.

On the visit of Dr. Abiy Ahmed to Asmara, Eritrea, from 8-9 July 2018, Eritrea and Ethiopia have signed up a Joint Declaration of Peace and Friendship. The Joint Declaration tells a termination of conflict among Ethiopia and Eritrea and pledges the two nations to have governmental, societal, commerce, recommence transportation, diplomatic relation, applying the resolution on the boundary and striving to confirm regional harmony, growth and assistance. The peace deal also opened the way for exciting endorsements against Eritrea by the UN and Eritrea's return to the IGAD (Eri-platform, 2018).

According to Fikrejesus (2018) the *Joint Declaration of Peace and Friendship among Eritrea and Ethiopia*, signed by the two leaders in Asmara describes that:

1. The state of war between Ethiopia and Eritrea has come to an end. A new era of peace and friendship has been opened.
2. The two governments will endeavor to forge intimate political, economic, social, cultural and security cooperation that serves and advances the vital interests of their peoples.
3. Transport, trade and communications links between the two countries will resume; diplomatic ties and activities will restart.
4. The decision on the boundary between the two countries will be implemented.
5. Both countries will jointly endeavor to ensure regional peace, development and cooperation.

On September 2018, the two leaders Prime Minister Dr. Abiy and President Isaias met in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia to sign a peace treaty for the termination of the conflict among the two neighboring countries. Saudi Arabia's monarch King Salman, and the Crown Prince, Mohammad bin Salman held the two leaders of the nations in the meeting. The reason why the two states come to peace now is a mixture of political and economic aspects, that is to say, the coming of new political governance in Ethiopia and the raised economic interest among the two countries (Yoel, 2018).

According to Dr. Fikrejesus (2018), peace amid the two nations will endorse regional security and support Eritrea to raise foreign direct investment and will contribute to strengthening significant economic and tourism sectors. On the other hand, the Ethiopia-Eritrea peace deal permits land-locked Ethiopia to use Eritrea's Assab harbor later numerous years of dependence on Djibouti's seaports to export its stuff. For example, the UAE showed its interest in constructing an oil channel amongst Addis Ababa and Assab, which can be described as one of the fruits of the new peace (Yoel, 2018).

2.5 The Role of Media in Peace Process

Conflict is inevitable in human history and perhaps will not end. Human existence in this world depends on achieving the numerous ways of conflict that are instigated not only by apparently mismatched welfares and morals but also by aggression. Conflict holds individual harm and public damage (Jeong, 2008). One of the tools to maintain peace in such situations is that the use of media.

Media plays a vital part in representing wars. Particularly when media organizations are situated in countries at war or discover themselves in the physical or traditional closeness of these situations, the media's claims concerning impartiality, accuracy and truth-telling would get burdens (Carpentier and Terzis, 2005).

2.5.1 Peace Journalism

One of the roles of the media is to help maintaining peace; peace journalism can be taken as an example. Peace journalism deals with giving a say to all involved people in conflict. It emphasizes on individuals peacemakers also focuses on peace creativities for the sake of avoiding more war. As it helps for the intensification of peaceful society it focuses on resolve, restoration, and understanding. In the process of peace, it is preferable for the media if it doesn't propagate war (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2005).

Peace Journalism (PJ) uses conflict inquiry and transformation to inform the notion of balance, impartiality and truth in reporting stories. The PJ method paves a way to trace the relations

among journalists, their sources, the stories they report and the outcome of their stories. It lets knowledge of non-violence to guide the media. Peace journalism allows peace oriented journalism to prevail, gives a chance to all concerned bodies a say and shows the negative impacts of conflict. It is also an effort to prevent violence before it happens and focuses on peace-maker individuals; also it emphasizes peace initiatives (McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000).

On the other hand, war or violence oriented journalism focuses on conflict subjects and creates a distinction among different people for the sake of propaganda. It also focuses on exposing the untruths of the enemy and focuses on elites through showing the victory of one side over the other (McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000).

2.6 News Bias

Media practitioners are usually recommended to avoid their partialities as much as they can. Keeping impartiality and neutrality in their job has been considered as a crucial principle in the profession. Biased reporting in journalism is not advisable for the reason that it twists the fact. However it has been contended that it is not possible completely to avoid bias. But it appears that there are no differences in the practicality of avoiding systematic and intentional biases. Particularly in issues where stories include two or more people or countries, a deliberate bias could favor one over the other and affect the truth. It can also turn out in losing public reliance in the media credibility (Hailemarkos 2006).

Bias can have diverse ways. These days in most media outlets around the globe stories with a good value to the audience could be rejected by journalists who choose to report sensational issues, which might not have as such significance to the audience. Preferring to cover sensational stories might have different causes mainly it depends on the economic and political interest of a certain media outlet and other issues as well. On the other hand, some scholars stated that the news media have a duty to be biased during war time. In war time, failure of the media to support the war of their country would be wrong, which is to mean that topics of national interest cannot treat factually (Williams, 2003).

In relation to the above notion, a source of information a particular media cites or uses has a great impact in the neutrality of a story. Sometimes the media's dependence on a particular

source to write stories can also affect to report certain parts of a story that could make the media as biased. Likewise, a favorite group by the media will be given higher space or air time to tell its opinions. It could also happen that media outlets can reject access to sources, which they do not want their voice to be heard (Hailemarkos 2006).

2.6.1 News structure

Any news, articles or feature stories have a structure; these are lead, body and ending. The lead is the beginning of a story and expected to catch the audiences mind and it shows what the story contains. Once an appropriate story structure is selected and the lead written, journalists hold the body of the story. Although journalists differ in their approaches to writing but the body of the story contains paragraph order, transitions or grammar. Writing the end of the story summarizes the story and in most cases writing for broadcast media requires the end to tell the least important issue (Friedlander and Lee, 1996).

In the case of website stories, website headlines can carry enthusiasm to the readers and they can show their support or disapproval regarding a certain issue. Besides, they can convey concealed positive or negative bias towards an issue. Headlines by their nature of grasping readers' attention could be a basis of deliberate or unintended biases. Journalists are supposed to be impartial in handling all sides of a story (Michelle 2004 as cited in Hailemarkos 2006).

2.7 Theoretical Frameworks

2.7.1 Media Representation Theory

To begin with the conceptual definition of media representation, media representation is assumed as media cannot tell the definite truth of issues, happenings and notions as they are rather it represent (re-produce) them in a means of reflecting the real one. As a result, addressees might have information concerning what they have no awareness or have an incomplete familiarity about the topic to be shown (Workineh, 2016).

Bailey and Harindranath (2005) pointed out that media representations are perceived as significant in the cultural and political scope for the reason that they vigorously construct sense and do not simply mirror social reality. Hall (1997) stated that representation implements by

shaping a distinction with the 'other', the distinction perhaps depend upon sex, ethnicity or nationality. The construction might work through language in a way of identifying one from the other.

McQuil (2000) stated that media representation works through preparing and presenting unbiased information to assist the audience to perceive the issues for themselves as if they are seeing at actualities through a window, in this case, media could also offer reflection of the reality with slight misrepresentation and they possibly will also deliver partial reality intentionally to impact the audience in a certain means. Thus, media representation theory is as (Gongo, 2007) defined construction of what is represented, however, not an echo of the reality. In this definition, it is supposed that the word initially meant 'present again'.

Hall (1997) defines two methods of representation: mental representation and language. A mental representation lets to recognize the realm in an expressive system. Lacking these mental representations, it would not be capable to understand the story to sort it clear. Hall's other system of representation is language, language in a sense to use some method of symbols that are anticipated to carry meaning.

The main principle of media representation is to show, it is to say that, their main purpose is to create importance. Thus, media representations refer to writings that go in the media and convey representative content. 'Representation' refers to the process of representing, the process in which members of a culture use systems of signs to produce meaning. Thus, the study of media representations takes on middles on scrutinizing representations so as to create a better empathetic of the 'work' that is the process of making meaning (Orgad, 2012).

The representation of media content can also described through the tone of voice the media uses to portray about the issue. Tone could be optimistic, neutral or negative (Brunken, 2006). If tone is applied to the idea of media content, it has been create that some media contents are suggestive of encouraging or discouraging elements, or both (Gosselt, 2016).

Studies indicate that tone in media coverage has numerous impacts. For instance, tone affects audiences to consider in a definite way about a subject. It seems that if the content is negatively presented, audiences incline to have more undesirable attitudes regarding the topic (Brunken, 2006). In relation to this, when the media represent an issue in a particular way it lets the audience to have judgments recognized through the existence or nonexistence of particular words, phrases and sources (Brouwer, Woude & Leun, 2017).

2.7.1.1 Approaches to Media Representation

There are two approaches for media representation these are the reflectionist and constructionist approaches.

2.7.1.2 The Reflectionist Approach

The main notion of the reflectionist approach is focused upon a language that can work as a mirror that reproduces the right implication as it happens in the universe (Hall, 1997). The reflectionist approach considers that reality is reachable by representation, so the duty of representation is sufficient to reflect the notions of reality.

2.7.1.3 The constructionist approach

The constructionist approach rejects the idea of representation as a reflection of reality. It contends it as fundamentally and unavoidably a construction and specific portrayal of some features of actuality, which continuously makes some messages and omits others. This approach believes that we give meanings by how we represent things, the words we use, the issues we articulate, the pictures we took, the reactions we connect with them, the worth we place on them (Hall, 1997). Thus, in this case, the role of media representations resides neither in reproducing or misrepresenting the reality and commanding a particular opinion of certainty nor in tenderly appealing agreement and founding domination. Relatively, their influence lies in creating definite reality effects and validating particular ideas, whereas interpreting others different and wrong (Orgad, 2012).

2.7.2 Social Construction Theory

The cultural philosopher Stuart Hall stated that people give issues and happenings understanding through how we symbolize them. Regarding media, he claimed that we construct our

comprehension inside an ideology and that ideology allows us to create the meaning of our social reality and our stand inside it. This idea states that representations are ideologically built, thus, they consequently come to be the actuality. Due to this, when we think through the subject of ethnicity, belief, sex the effect of an absence of inquiring of media representation seeming as they efficiently permit us to categorize crowds and people based on the ideology that depends on the pictures/depiction (Young, 2012).

Constructs are different constructions we use to classify other people and ideas (Griffin, 2006). Baran and Davis (2012) stated that social construction of reality considers a continuing communication of meaning through this process individuals creates “mental images” that allow society to rapidly categorize things and construct reality to have values which originate from a social store of facts to design relations with the atmosphere and things and individuals in it.

2.7.3 Stereotype

Even though the notion of stereotype was familiarized into England in the 20th century; it is now broadly used in everyday phrasing. Usually, to label a certain thing 'stereotype', or to say that somebody is contributing in 'stereotyping', has a negative connotation (Blum, 2004).

Stereotypes are generalities concerning social-features that are attributed to the entire affiliates of a certain group. Stereotypes are not inevitably depending on publics' direct experiences with adherents of stereotyped groups. They could be grown from listening others or from the media (Seiter, 1986).

Stereotypes might be untrue or deceptive simplifications about people and countries held for long period of time. However, they would strongly form the stereotype insight of labelling groups as a homogenizing identity. A stereotyper links a given criteria with a stereotyped people (Blum, 2004).

Consequently, numerous ways of stereotyping and representation comprises: stereotype, either overemphasis, or under-emphasis things. Accordingly, media stereotypes are intended to place burden on the public awareness of reality. Constructed media subjects are not only replicating

reality rather it creates predominate descriptions of what should be known as reality. By this means, language and several terms matters concerning with forming dominant political discourse in a particular group and how it forms media representations (Berhanu 2013).

2.8 International Media Coverage

Howard (2003) states that the word media denotes regularly to the news media that transmits stories for the public through print, electronics and internet channels. The news media is assumed to include news, commentary, opinion, and analysis. Journalism of the news media varies from other media through the following values these are correctness, neutrality and obligation for the public interest.

In relation to this media can cover stories that have local, national or international concerns. The difference among local, national and international media is primarily geographic plus content and setting associated. Local media reports happenings inside an indigenous situation and are pertinent to a close by distinct and reserved viewers or listeners. National media works limited to the territories of a particular country and reports issues that are of concern to a wider community. On the other hand, international media covers issues from various corners of the world (Dimitrakopoulou, 2015: 1).

The coming of the internet and digital access contributes to the growth of international media. Internet goes beyond all country territories and the dissimilarities among various cultures and people. They turn into separate from the places of state traditions to the definite by further 'universal' values of the international user (Morley and Robins, 1995). Omatta (2011) stated that the internet has minimized the time delay for information.

As it is stated above, the international media reports stories from different places of the world this lets the media to represent an issue about people, groups and countries in a certain way. The portray of a nation in the international media can be identified by the language used by the media, comprising the words, phrase and sentences which are used in the backing or antagonizes to that nation's rule strategies on several local and global matters. One nation's appearance can then be stimulated as a depiction of a state's optimistic or pessimistic stance in media,

concerning past, current, governmental, financial, army, tactful and spiritual situation for the sake of having a good name is crucial in global relations and dealings (Hanan, 2006).

According to Edmund (2016) the globe is now one market, the quick progress of globalization means that each nation, each town and each region must strive with the other for its benefit of the international users, visitors, financiers, scholars, international cultural programs, and to get the courtesy and admiration of the other governments, and the society of other nations.

The national image can show a country's authority and power. It mirrors the country's position in the world. A nation's name could impact the nation's capacity to form partnerships and coalitions to attain global political aims. The insights, thoughts and names grasped by overseas people about a country are constructed as of the stories offered in the international media (Edmund, 2016). Even if, national image, is described as a mental representation that an individual embraces of a particular country and its public, media also have an effect regarding nations, tribal groups or topics in people's life (Tarasheva, 2014).

In an ideal world, the media are likely to report issues as they happen in life. Though, it has been upheld that they do not show an unbiased mirror to the truth. According to the Glasgow University Media Group (1976: 1 cited in Tarasheva. 2014:8), “the news is not a neutral product; it is a sequence of socially manufactured messages, which carry many of the culturally dominant assumptions of our society”. Aspects identified to touch the choice of news are the possession of the media, commercial fears, the target group and the principles incorporated thru the editorial board.

2.9 Review of African Representation by International Media

Africa has a deprived reputation in Western media. For years, the continent has been portrayed as poor, war-ravaged 'dark continent', cursed and reliant on others for donation. This representation of Africa in Western media products has continued since the late nineteenth century in the period of slavery and colonization. Africa has been recognized as the poor “dark continent” considered by tribal chaos, civil war, political uncertainty, bribery, hopeless governance, drought and widespread illnesses. This overriding representation of Africa in the

Western media mostly ignores some realities in the continent. This image also disregards the various governmental and fiscal achievements that have been happening in the continent (Michira, 2002: Jarosz, 1992 as cited in Henry, 2015).

In TED talk show in 2009, Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie explained about the “dangers of a single story.” Adichie said that a single story generates stereotypes that are not only wrong, then again inadequate. “They make one story become the only story” (Chimamanda, 2016:87). Undeniably, the general stereotypes of Africa in international media have basically twisted the continent into a one story topic. There are barely any encouraging issues concerning Africa apart from stories of conflict, risk, blackness, ferocity, deficiency and impossibility. Michira (2002) cited in Henry (2015) indicated that Africa is repeatedly represented as an identical unit containing uncivilized people who are traditionally, academically, administratively, and officially backward.

Similarly, they used to represent Ethiopia and Eritrea as a starvation and war showground. The basic to these two representations was that the media have seen the Horn either a drought or a battlefield. To grasp the reporting of famine, it is important to see where this coverage comes from. Famine is unavoidably tangled to politics because it is frequently political strategies that brought famine situations. The war among Ethiopia and Eritrea was not connected to the famine by the media. However, the media picked not to report the case till it touched a catastrophe point. In 1983, pictures of the hunger were reported by CBS which weakened to release the issues because they did not portray people really failing of famine. It was just when the problem had been gotten merciless and when the most dramatic parts of grief were accessible for the cameras that the famine suited to their media stories at a time (Harth, 2012).

Media Selection of the current study

2.10 Al Jazeera

Al-Jazeera TV network, the primary all-news network in the Arab sphere, was opened in 1996. It understood as the area's most watched and most trustworthy news network (El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003 cited in Fahmy & Emad, 2011). In an endeavor to internationalize the network and touch English-language online users in international level, Al-Jazeera formally opened its English-language news site in September 2003 (Fahmy & Emad 2011).

Al-Jazeera supposed to begun to compete against the media control of the West in Qatar (Graaf, 2008). Then recently it ensures more than seventy offices in the world most of them in developing countries (Youmans, 2012). Thus, this media organization is believed to be an influential media outlet in the Middle East. And it dominated the Middle East's media scenario (Hashmi, 2012). Al-Jazeera's website <https://www.aljazeera.com/> is the primary face of the organization. Operated through a different team, it presents news, articles and opinion sections, prepared by Aljazeera reporters (Youmans, 2012).

2.11 BBC

The BBC is a state service broadcaster founded by Royal Charter and subsidized by the television license payment. BBC Online includes the BBC's collection of online outlets, comprising News, Game, Weather, Awareness and Knowledge. BBC Three was the initial BBC television station to go online in 2016. BBC News Online is the UK's one of the most visited online news source (National audit office, 2017).

BBC Online is the third greatest watched online service in the UK, next to Facebook and Google. The BBC's online news has a greater credibility score than other online media (Department for culture media & sport, 2016). <https://www.bbc.com> is the international Website address of BBC (Muluken, 2013).

2.12 Africanews

Africanews is a news media based in Congo Brazzaville and started a transmission in January 2016. As it is stated in their website, their objective is empowering Africans by providing free, reliable and pertinent local, regional and international news. It is accessible in all media platforms and is reachable worldwide through <https://www.africanews.com>. This news media was instigated by Michael Peters, CEO of Euronews and the staff of Africanews in 2013. He said that the vision of Africanews is to have a media that Africans' have a say not only about their continent but also in the international issues from Pan-African perspective. This media covers African and international news in French and English languages and follows similar editorial policy as its fellow channel Euronews, assuring its independence (Africa news, 2019).

CHAPTER THREE

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design

Research design mainly deals with the objectives and significance of a research so as to achieve the aims of a particular study within the applied time and money suitability and through this process a researcher has to address the research questions. There are three different approaches of research design these are qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods (Hakim, 2000).

This study analyzes the media representation of the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal with the selected international media outlets. Thus, the study is going to use mixed research approach. According to Creswell & Clark (2011) mixed research approach is a method that emphasis on gathering and analyzing a data in a quantitative and qualitative way in a single research. Its crucial aim is the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches together offers an enhanced way of understanding research problems instead of using one or the other approach only. To gather and analyze the data this study is going to employ content analysis method.

3.2 Content Analysis

Content analysis is a research method used to analyze the content of a media text; text data includes print, broadcast and online media contents such as news and articles (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Content analysis has various functions for a particular study. According to Gunter (2002) the main drive to use content analysis is to deliver a vivid explanation of what a media story contains, and it plays a vital purpose through equating several media outlets inside a specific nation or among different states reporting a topic. Thus, considering that this method will help the researcher to analyze contents and sources of information used by the selected websites.

Content analysis can be qualitative or quantitative. Before 1940's content-analysis was commonly a quantitative study of written outlets regarding some features that could be known and calculated. Though after 1950's content-analysis is becoming frequently qualitative analysis

relating to the overall meaning of certain outlets (Kothari, 2004). Thus, in this research both quantitative and qualitative analysis will be applied. In this study, the qualitative analysis will be done through discourse analysis.

3.3 Qualitative analysis

Qualitative research approach focuses upon exploring and understanding “the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2014:4). This method also explores perspective of issues from examining them in their own context and the meaning that individuals bring to them.

Qualitative approach in media studies is that a research approaches that emphasis with the evaluation of opinions, word usage and contents of media outlets. In this approach the researcher’s insights and reasons could be included and it makes assessments and findings in non-quantitative form or in the form which are not subjected to rigorous quantitative analysis (Kothari, 2004). Thus, in this study the contents that were not assessed through the quantitative content analysis will be analyzed qualitatively.

3.4 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is a qualitative technique that helps to study media content. This technique mainly focuses on the role of texts in which the word usage and sentences play in audiences. Besides, it analyzes the three specific aspects of language such as the term and context of language with how language is used in social contexts and how people make meaning of one another’s messages, in addition it deals with institutional and organizational factors that probably shape the way language is used (Talbot, 2007).

Data collection in this type of technique includes collecting texts and themes that are appropriate to the problem being studied. This technique usually focuses on the language of a given text for the sake of identifying words, messages and to analyze how different ideas are constructed. This method has various advantages such as it permits the researcher to reveal hidden attitudes and views that are crucial in communication area that might not be uncovered by other methods (Talbot, 2007). Accordingly, in this research the qualitative analysis will be done through

discourse analysis of words, sentences and explanations of the selected media outlets in representing the peace deal.

3.5 Sampling and Sampling Technique

It is supposed that for any researcher it would be difficult to address the entire population of a topic under investigation. Thus, it is predictable to take samples from the appropriate subjects of a research (Ketema, 2015).

The researcher considered using a purposive sampling technique to select the sample stories. Purposive sampling technique as its name suggests focuses on taking samples purposefully and the use of the researcher's information of the sample for the sake of attaining study aims (Gizachew, 2013). For the purpose of the topic chosen, the researcher took samples from Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC websites. The sample of the study encompassed the stories that were published by the selected media websites regarding the peace deal depended upon a specified time frame.

In this study, the total population of the stories published in the chosen time frame in the selected media houses is that 97 stories regarding the peace deal. Thus, the researcher decided to make the sample size of this research all the stories, that is to say 97 stories of the selected international media. Therefore, in this study, stories were selected purposefully though using the following keywords such as 'Ethiopia and Eritrea', 'peace deal', 'Dr. Abiy Ahmed' and 'Isaias Afewerki' to search stories from each websites.

In total, 97 stories from the websites of the selected media outlets were gathered and analyzed. Africanews posted 46 articles, Aljazeera posted 29 articles and BBC posted 22 articles. The analysis includes stories that the websites labelled as news, opinion or feature. Based on these distinctions, Africanews and BBC published the stories regarding the peace deal only in their news category. In contrast, Aljazeera categorized 21 stories as news, 7 pieces as opinion and 1 as a feature story.

3.6 Time Frame

The time frame of the study includes stories from April 2018 to December 2018. The aforesaid time frame is proposed for the reason that, April 2018 is a month in which Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's inaugural speech that offered the peace deal was heard.

Furthermore, the research includes the time frame up to December 2018 because throughout this period many major events were taking place between the two countries and the researcher thinks that it would be manageable to analyze the stories covered by the selected media organizations throughout the chosen time frame. Consequently, the researcher assumed that the time frame might be fitting to get the right data for the topic of the study.

3.7 Unit of Analysis

One of the steps and considered as the crucial component of content analysis is to decide the unit of analysis. Deciding a unit of analysis depends up on what data is vital for the purpose of the study (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). Accordingly, in this research the unit of analysis emphasized on the contents of website stories of the selected media that directly deals with the Ethio-Eritrean peace deal and it only assessed the written texts.

3.8 Analytical Categories

Fundamental to any content analysis is the category used to sort out the media content. Therefore, it could be done through the messages that come from the data (Wimmer & Dominick 2011). In this research, two categories were identified for the quantitative analysis those are representation analysis and the sources used by the selected media. For the purpose of this, coding sheet was prepared by the researcher to make analytical categories. Along this, inter coder reliability is done after the coding process in this study. Inter coder reliability is a way used by researchers to create reliability to the coders coding process (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). For the purpose of this, conceptual and operational definitions were made to make clear the words used in the classification of the categories. Thus, the categories with their operational definitions are defined below.

Conceptual definition

Media representation: The conceptual definition of media representation in this study is that media representation is assumed as media cannot tell the definite truth of issues, happenings and notions as they are rather it re-present (re-produce) them in a means of reflecting the real one. As a result, addressees might have information concerning what they have no awareness or have an incomplete familiarity about the topic to be shown (Workineh, 2016).

Stereotype: The conceptual definition of stereotype in this study is that generalities concerning social-features that are credited to the members of a certain group. Stereotypes are not inevitably depending on the publics' direct experiences with members of stereotyped groups. They could be coming from hearing others or from the media (Seiter 1986).

Coding Guide

1. Operational definitions for the category of representations used in the stories:
 - **Positive representation:** in this research a story was coded as positive when the stories mainly appreciated and favored the peace deal between the two countries and when the tone of the story slanted in giving positive image about the deal.
 - **Negative representation:** in this research a story was coded as negative when the stories inclined in criticizing and having doubts that the peace deal might not bring any positive outcomes.
 - **Mixed representation:** in this research a story was coded as mixed when the stories have both positive and negative tones regarding the peace deal.
 - **Neutral representation:** in this research it refers to when the stories only explain events without referring to possible negative or positive outcomes of the peace deal.
2. Operational definitions for the category of sources used in this study:
 - **Activists:** in this study it denotes for people who actively calls for political, human and democratic rights through participating in social media, mainstream media and other social gatherings.
 - **Anonymous:** it refers to sources that are not stated by name.
 - **Contending Political Parties:** it refers to the political parties who have a different political opinion than the political party who is in power in a certain country.
 - **Documents:** it means a published book and journals cited in the stories.

- **Experts:** it refers to people who are cited as specialties like political analysts and economic analysts.
- **Government Officials:** are officials who have a say in governmental hierarchy and works for the government such as leaders of countries and ambassadors.
- **Ordinary Citizens:** Anyone who is a resident of a certain country and doesn't represent any institution or government office in giving comments about certain issues.
- **Other Media:** Any media those who were cited than the selected media in the study.
- **Organizations:** Any governmental or non-governmental institutions like the UN and AU.
- **Reporters' Observation:** a story narrated based on the journalist's personal observation.
- **Social Media:** in this research it refers to social network platforms especially Twitter and Facebook.

3.9 Data Analysis Process

This research analyzes the representation of the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal in the selected international media. Both quantitative and qualitative content analyses were employed. The data analyses process was started through presenting the data. The representations acquired from the data were presented both in quantitative and qualitative methods. The findings were discussed based on theoretical frameworks and various literatures.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

This study analyzes how Aljazeera, Africanews and BBC websites represented the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal. Accordingly, this chapter focuses on the data presentation, analysis and discussion of sample articles regarding the peace deal. These sample stories were posted in these selected media during the time frame from April 2018 to December 2018.

4.1 Quantitative Data Presentation and Analysis

In this research, two categories were identified for the quantitative analysis those are representation analysis and sources cited by the selected media. For the purpose of this, operational definitions were made to make clear the words used in the classification of the categories. Thus, the representation category has used four terms to categorize the representation of the stories. These are positive, negative, mixed and neutral.

Table 4.1.1 Representation of the Peace Deal by the Selected Media

Representation	Websites					
	Africanews		Aljazeera		BBC	
	No. of stories	%	No. of stories	%	No. of stories	%
Positive	28	60.9%	19	65.6%	9	40.9%
Negative	5	10.9%	6	20.7%	4	18.2%
Mixed	6	13%	3	10.3%	6	27.3%
Neutral	7	15.2%	1	3.4%	3	13.6%
Total	46	100%	29	100%	22	100%

As the above table shows that the selected websites represented the peace deal in positive, negative, mixed and neutral ways. Africanews represented the deal as positive in 28 of its 46 stories which is 60.9% of its total. 5 stories (10.9%) represented the deal as negative. On the other hand, the website also had mixed representation that accounted for 6 (13%) of the stories.

The website had 7 (15.2%) of its stories as neutral representation. Thus, the Africanews stories representation of the peace deal mostly appears to be positive.

Aljazeera's website represented the deal as positive in 19 of its 29 articles which is 65.6% of its total. The website represented the peace deal in 6 (20.7%) stories in a negative way, 3 (10.3%) stories showed the representation of the peace deal as mixed and 1 (3.4%) story represented the peace deal in a neutral way. Therefore, Aljazeera's representation of the deal appears mostly positive.

The other selected website, BBC, represented the peace deal as positive in 9 of its 22 stories which is 40.9% of its total. 4 (18.2%) stories represented the deal as negative. On the other hand, 6 (27.3%) articles out of the total stories posted by BBC had mixed representation. The remaining 3 (13.6%) stories had a neutral representation regarding the issue. Hence, it seems that BBC's representation had higher positive than negative, mixed and neutral representations however, it is a lower percentage than the other two selected websites. The selected media outlets had differences in the way they represented the deal as it is showed above.

4.1.2 Sources Cited by the Selected Media

Source cited in this research mean sources cited by the selected international media outlets. Based on that, two categories were outlined these are people and documents. Under people's category the following sources were cited by the selected international media these are: activists, anonymous, contending political parties, experts, government officials, ordinary citizens, organizations, and reporters' observation and under documents category the following sources were categorized these are documents, social media and other media.

All the selected websites cited people and documents as their sources of information in the articles. Africanews cited total of 65 sources in its 46 articles among the 65 sources 34 which is 52.3% belongs to people while the remaining 31 sources that is 47.7% goes to documents. Aljazeera cited total of 61 sources for its 29 articles, thus 44 which is 72.1 % sources were people while the rest 17 (27.9%) were documents. and BBC cited 39 sources for its 22 stories. Among the sources cited 32 (82%) belongs to people though the remaining 7(18%) were cited as documents.

Table 4.1.2 Sources cited by the Selected Media

Sources		Websites					
		Africanews		Aljazeera		BBC	
		No of sources	%	No of sources	%	No of sources	%
People	Activists	0	0%	1	1.6%	1	2.6%
	Anonymous	1	1.5%	0	0	0	0%
	Contending Political Parties	0	0%	0	0	2	5.1%
	Experts	2	3.1%	7	11.5%	2	5.1%
	Government Officials	19	29.2%	18	29.5%	10	25.6%
	Ordinary Citizens	2	3.1%	7	11.5%	12	30.8%
	Organizations	10	15.4%	11	18%	4	10.2%
	Reporters' Observation	0	0%	0	0%	1	2.6%
Total		34	52.3%	44	72.1%	32	82%
Documents	Documents	0	0%	0	0%	1	2.6%
	Other media	13	20%	7	11.5%	5	12.8%
	Social media	18	27.7%	10	16.4%	1	2.6%
Total		31	47.7%	17	27.9%	7	18%
Total		65	100	61	100	39	100

As shown on the table above, from the people category government officials were Africanews top cited source of information as they were 19 out of its 65 sources which is (29.2%). Aljazeera also used government officials as its highest source which was 18 out of its 61 sources (29.5%). While BBC used ordinary citizens at its top category with 12 out of its 39 sources (30.8%) and government officials as its second source with 10 cited sources (25.6%).

Africanews cited from documents category social media as its largest source of information with 18 (27.7%). Also this website used other media sources 13 times (20%). Back to people's category, organizations accounted for 10 (15.4%) sources. Experts and ordinary citizens were each cited 2 times (3.1%) and anonymous sources mentioned 1 (1.5%). Though, activists, contending political parties, documents and reporters' observation were not cited in Africanews stories.

Aljazeera from people's category cited organizations 11 times (18%), ordinary citizens 7 (11.5%), experts 7 (11.5%) and activists 1 (1.6%) as sources of information. In addition, this media used documents as source of information which is social media 10 times (16.4%) and other media 7 (11.5%). Nevertheless, anonymous, contending political parties, documents and reporters' observation were not brought up as sources.

The other selected media outlet that is BBC's website cited sources categorized as people which belongs organizations 4 (10.2%), experts and contending political parties 2 (5.1%) each and activists and reporters' observation stated each 1 time (2.6%). where as in documents category other media 5 (12.8%), and documents 1 (2.6%). However, anonymous sources hadn't been quoted as sources in BBC's website regarding the peace deal.

In overall, as the above data showed that the selected media outlets cited people and documents as sources in their articles and in all of the selected media people were cited higher than documents. In relation to this, all the selected media had similarities in citing source, it is to say that, Africanews and Aljazeera had similarities in using sources with the biggest difference being that BBC was much higher in citing ordinary citizens while significantly lower in citing social media.

4.2 Qualitative Data Presentation and Analysis

In this section, the researcher presents the data that were not assessed through the quantitative method and believes that the qualitative discourse analysis will give a more detailed analysis of the issue. In the following sections, the analysis will be done based on news structure those are the lead, body and ending of the stories. thus, the analyses will be assessing the headlines the body of the stories.

4.2.1 Africanews

Africanews represented the peace deal in most of its stories as hopeful for integration and peace not only for Ethiopia and Eritrea but also for the Horn of Africa in general.

Lead

Some of the articles that represented the peace deal as optimistic were headlined as “It's a season of peace in the Horn of Africa region”, “Ethiopia and Eritrea say war over, UN hails ‘wind of hope’ in Africa”, “Ethiopia-Eritrea peace deal boost for regional security – AU, EU”, “Eritrea-Ethiopia border re-opening fuels trade, transport and peace”, “Eritrea – Ethiopia hailed by Nobel laureate on 2018 World Peace day”, “Eritrea considers new port for potash trade after Ethiopia peace deal”, “Ethiopia's allies welcome Eritrea peace deal, commit to invest in the region” to mention a few titles.

Body

An example of an optimistic representation is in the article posted on July 11, 2018 entitled as “Ethiopia PM says Eritrea peace deal to be accelerated to 'make up for lost opportunities’”. The following statement taken from the body of the article shows how the peace deal is promising not only for the two countries but also for the neighboring countries and in reducing the emigration of citizens.

The historic reconciliation could transform politics and security in the volatile Horn region, which hundreds of thousands of young people have fled in recent years in search of safety and opportunities in Europe.

In relation to the above, an article published on July 10, 2018 and headlined as “Ethiopia-Eritrea peace deal boost for regional security – AU, EU” Quoting the AU and EU in different passages of the article it states as follows:

The normalization of relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea is a boost for peace and security in the Horn of Africa region and on the continent as a whole.

The ongoing normalization process between Eritrea and Ethiopia is a milestone in Africa’s efforts to silence the guns by 2020.

Breaking a twenty year old deadlock in bilateral relations, it raises unprecedented prospects for reconciliation and paves the way for enhanced regional cooperation and stability in the Horn of Africa.

Based on the above quotes taken from the article the peace deal is represented as a contribution for the peace in Africa, considered as a landmark to end hostilities and contributes to regional collaboration.

Also the peace deal between Ethiopia and Eritrea is depicted as historic. For instance an article published on September 18, 2018 and headlined as “Eritrea - Ethiopia accord signed in Jeddah: Here are the details” citing the U.N head says “‘historic’ and key to regional security”.

Some stories also represent the deal as a sign of hope to expect some changes in Eritrea. Citing Eritreans, activist and Tibor Nagy, the U.S. State Department’s assistant secretary for Africa, a story posted on September 14 titled as “Eritrea insists on lifting of 'unwarranted' U.N. sanctions” stated as follows:

The July declaration by Eritrea and Ethiopia which effectively ended two decades of hostilities, has given several Eritreans and human rights activist hope that Isaias Afwerki’s government would reform now that the existential threat of a powerful Ethiopian enemy is no more.

“Up to now for the last 20-plus years Eritrea has used Ethiopia as an excuse to maintain what I would almost call a ‘fortress state’,” Nagy said. “With the opening of peace they really will no longer have a reason to do that.”

The africanews website represented Abiy Ahmed the prime minister of Ethiopia as a reformer. For example, an article posted in July 10, 2018 entitled as “Ethiopia and Eritrea say war over, UN hails ‘wind of hope’ in Africa” stated:

The shake-up by Abiy, a polyglot former soldier from the Oromo ethnic group, Ethiopia’s largest, has won plaudits from Asmara to Washington and drawn comparisons to the 1980s ‘perestroika’ reforms of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

A news article from this website quoting a statement delivered by the US state department appreciated the two leaders for their role in directing their peoples towards change. For example, news posted on July 11, 2018 headlined as “Ethiopia’s allies welcome Eritrea peace deal, commit to invest in the region” describes the leaders as follows:

A statement issued by the US state department commended Ethiopia’s prime minister Abiy Ahmed and Eritrea’s president Isaias Afwerki for ‘leading their citizens towards peace, prosperity and political reform’.

On the other hand, some articles from the Africanews show the peace deal is contributing to an increase in refugees from Eritrea to Ethiopia. Quoting a group based in Geneva called ACAPS that follows world crises, an article posted on October 12, 2018 headlined as “Eritrea-Ethiopia border crossing: women, children form 90% - ACAPS” describes the situation as follows:

90% of the new arrivals are women and children, in contrast with the current population of the Eritrean camps in Tigray, where young men were the majority. Main humanitarian needs are shelter and healthcare.

Until the peace deal, borders were closed and the areas heavily militarized with armies of both countries on a war footing. Some young male Eritreans, however, managed to sneak into Ethiopia as they escaped political and economic conditions back home.

Some articles on this website also show the peace deal has not changed Eritrea's human rights circumstances. Quoting German Foreign Affairs Minister Heiko Maas' a story posted October 29, 2018 titled "Unlike Ethiopia, Eritrea stagnant on human rights: Asmara jabs Germany": stated that:

Reforms similar to the bold ones being carried out in Ethiopia have not been initiated in Eritrea so far. On the contrary, there's still no strategy to indicate how an orderly opening up within the country could look.

A story published on October 10, 2018 compares Eritrea with North Korea and tells how the "North Korea" label for Eritrea was originated. It also mentioned the name of two other international media that have used this label. The story added that Eritreans don't like the representation in the media of their country as "North Korea". The story headlined "Pyongyang unlike Asmara: Eritrea's distaste for 'North Korea' label" states that:

BBC and the Economist are among outlets that have historically and recently referred to Eritrea as 'North Korea,' a label that Eritreans have argued is misplaced and without basis. The media that make these references have pointed to the rather closed nature of both countries.

The government in Asmara in the wake of peace with Ethiopia has demonstrated that it will do things – changes – at its own pace. Very little has been let out on changes to come.

To sum up, the discourse from this media showed that the peace deal was represented as hopeful for integration and peace not only for Ethiopia and Eritrea but also for the Horn of Africa in general. The africanews website represented Abiy Ahmed the prime minister of Ethiopia as a reformer and compared him with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. On the other hand, some articles from the Africanews show the peace deal is contributing to an increase in refugees from Eritrea to Ethiopia. Some articles on this website also showed that the peace deal has not changed Eritrea's human rights circumstances. However, Africanews contended the label that frequently used by some other international media that is "Eritrea as North Africa's label".

4.2.2 Aljazeera

Lead

Aljazeera represented the peace deal in most of its headlines as a sign of optimism. However, some headlines depicted the peace deal in mixed representation that encompasses the positive side with its doubts. For instance, stories titled as “Eritreans are happy about peace and wary of Isaias's promises” and “Business hopes and refugee woes after Eritrea-Ethiopia peace deal” can be stated as examples. Alternatively, there were also stories published which presented the peace deal as pessimistic. Articles headlined as “Wary Eritreans say Ethiopia deal 'means nothing' without reforms” and “Ethiopia or Eritrea? Border community fears split” can be taken as examples.

Body

The Eritrean government is represented as a dictatorship that is challenging to rely on regarding the peace deal. In relation to this, despite the peace deal, the officials in Eritrea still appear to have their longstanding problems with part of the ruling party. A story posted on September 18, 2018 and titled “Ethiopia and Eritrea's second rapprochement” described:

Eritrea, for its part, is a state that is not governed by a constitution or parliament. The extreme centralization of the regime around the figure of the president makes it a highly unpredictable partner. In addition, in a deliberate effort to sow resentment and suspicion, Eritrean diplomats keep insulting the TPLF on Twitter, despite the fact that the latter is a constitutive member of the ruling EPRDF.

An opinion piece published on October 12, 2018 headlined “The peace deal with Ethiopia has not changed Afwerki's Eritrea” explained, in spite of the peace deal with Ethiopia, Eritrean residents don't have the right to move out of the country.

Under normal circumstances, it is impossible for any Eritrean above the age of five to leave the country legally. As no one knows when the border with Ethiopia may be closed again, many families are choosing to send their children to the refugee camps in Ethiopia now. They believe these children would be better off in a refugee camp in Ethiopia than they would be at home, living under a repressive and unpredictable regime.

The same story also stated that the peace deal didn't improve anything but actually strengthened Isaias's power. The article depicted President Isaias as follows:

While the rapprochement between Eritrea and Ethiopia had not really changed much the lives of Eritreans, it has boosted Afwerki's regime. The Eritrean president, who until recently was facing international isolation, now enjoys attention from global powers. That, of course, would not be out of character for President Afwerki, who has enjoyed personalized power in Eritrea for decades. The peace deal with Ethiopia and renewed attention from global powers will allow him to retain his grip on power.

However, in an opinion piece published on September 18, 2018 titled "Ethiopia and Eritrea's second rapprochement" the usually strict President Isaias was represented as openly friendly towards the new Ethiopian leader. A quote from the article expressed the situation as follows:

During Isaias Afwerki's visit to Addis Ababa on July 14, the strongman who is known for his stern image and carefully choreographed speeches, emotionally declared to the Ethiopian prime minister "you are our leader now".

An opinion article was published on May 6, 2018 headlined as "Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict, 20 years on: Brothers still at war". The article stated that the war was often seen as a rivalry between the leaders of the two political parties representing the Tigrigna speaking communities on both sides of the national border. However, Prime Minister Abiy's ethnicity, who the article classified as Oromo, helped him to bring the peace deal. The story also represented Abiy Ahmed would be a better negotiator for peace than the two former Prime Ministers of the country.

Although officially an armed conflict between two sovereign nations, the Ethiopian-Eritrean War was largely viewed as a conflict between the ruling elites belonging to Peoples' Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) and the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF), the two political movements which dominated the politics of the two countries at the time. At most, it is a conflict between the Tigrinya speaking people of the Eritrean highlands, and the Tigrayans of Ethiopia. As Gerbru Asrat, former Politburo member of the TPLF observed, "only Tigray, not the whole of Ethiopia, is Eritrea's target."

Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, from the Oromo ethnic group, has a unique chance of ending the stalemate and opening a new chapter towards a peaceful coexistence by highlighting the transformative economic and social opportunities peace would bring both sides. He does not have the baggage that Meles Zenawi had and has a much better room for manoeuvre than his predecessor, Hailemariam Desalegn.

To sum up, the Eritrean government is represented as a dictatorship that is challenging to rely on regarding the peace deal. The same story also stated that the peace deal didn't improve anything but actually strengthened Isaias's power. Words such as "strongman" and "stern" were used to describe the Eritrean President Isaias Afewerki. The 1998-2000 war was described as a rivalry between the leaders of the two political parties representing the Tigryna speaking communities on both sides of the national border. However, an article stated that Prime Minister Abiy's ethnicity, who the article classified as Oromo, helped him to bring the peace deal. The story also described Abiy Ahmed would be a better negotiator for peace than the two former Prime Ministers of the country.

4.2.3 BBC

Lead

BBC represented 40.9% of the stories about the peace deal as optimistic. Yet, there were headlines that depicted the deal as pessimistic, mixed and neutral. Some examples of the headlines of the stories that represented as optimistic are "Eritreans hope for democracy after peace deal with Ethiopia", "Ethiopian reunited with long-lost daughters in Eritrea after 16 years" and "Ethiopia offers Eritrea chance to end Africa's longest war". There were also stories that have a mixed representation, for example, "Eritrea President Isaias Afwerki 'both charismatic and brutal'" and "Jailed without trace in Eritrea: 'I haven't seen my parents for 17 years'".

Body

A story published on BBC's website on May 6, 2018 titled "Remembering Eritrea-Ethiopia border war: Africa's unfinished conflict" started by giving a background about Ethiopia and

Eritrea as well as Badme the place where the war started. A quote taken from the article states about the two countries and the war in general:

Two decades have passed since two of Africa's poorest countries began the continent's deadliest border war.

The war began on 6 May, 1998, sparked by a battle for control of the border town of Badme - a humble, dusty market town with no apparent value. It had neither oil nor diamonds, but it did not matter: both Eritrea and Ethiopia wanted it on their side of the border. At the time, the war was described as "two bald men fighting over a comb".

BBC's website in its stories gave a background of the two countries. In this case, it was explaining the famine in Ethiopia. However, Aljazeera and Africanews websites didn't describe the Ethiopian famine in their stories regarding the peace deal. Similarly, the famine is recalled in the article published on July 10, 2018 titled "Can Ethiopia's Abiy Ahmed make peace with 'Africa's North Korea'?" The story told how Ethiopia has long been negatively represented, but now things have started to improve. A quote from the article explains Ethiopia as follows:

A country that was for so long stereotyped in the West as a symbol of all that was wrong in Africa - the nation of famine and Bob Geldof's BandAid - is evolving into a standard-bearer of change.

In the same story, Eritrea was depicted as a country where its citizens flee to other countries. The Africanews story questioned the North Korea label by citing Eritreans who don't like this label, whereas, the BBC's reporter mentioned "Africa's North Korea" without questioning the label.

For those who reported on the migration crisis of 2015, it was striking how many Eritreans were among those arriving on European shores or who found their way to the "Jungle" camp in Calais. All those I interviewed described an atmosphere of unrelenting fear in a country sometimes dubbed Africa's North Korea.

The UN has accused [Isaias'] government of actions that "may amount to crimes against humanity".

The peace deal between the two nations was described as a deal that brought happiness and enthusiasm among the two people. A story published on July 18, 2018 titled “Ethiopian Airlines makes historic flight to Eritrea” quoted passengers on the first flight from Ethiopia to Eritrea after the war started in 1998. One of the passengers, former Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn said, "It's a golden moment for the two countries and the two people".

The passengers included 33-year-old Izana Abraham, who was deported from Eritrea during the war because he was born in Ethiopia. “I’m super excited. You have no idea,” Mr Izana was quoted by AFP news agency as saying”. "This is history in the making," he added.

In relation to the peace deal BBC’s website also had mixed representation. A news story published on July 17, 2018 headlined “Eritreans hope for democracy after peace deal with Ethiopia” stated as follows:

With Eritrea the only one-party state in Africa, many of its citizens are hoping that President Isaias Afwerki will introduce sweeping political reforms following the end of the "state of war" with neighbouring Ethiopia.

While seasoned observers of Eritrea welcome the progress towards peace with Ethiopia, there are those who remain sceptical that [Isaias] will bring change at home. Many want to know about the thousands imprisoned before they can be optimistic about the future of the country.

Another BBC story represented President Isaias with two opposing characteristics. A description taken from an article published on July 13, 2018 headlined as “Eritrea President Isaias Afwerki 'both charismatic and brutal’” defines the Eritrean president as:

The 72-year-old independence leader who has been isolated diplomatically and seen as secretive and paranoid... He appeared austere, serious and scary from a distance, but some who met him had a different impression. They speak about a helpful and supportive man who had a good sense of humour and made people laugh.

BBC’s website citing Andebrhan Welde Giorgis, a former Eritrean ambassador and independence movement fighter now living in exile, stated that Isaias has a “split personality”.

As a result, he believes that the cheerfulness that he showed during the peace deal was deceiving.

He was always charismatic and persuasive but was also "quite merciless and vindictive," On the one hand there is the inspirational leader and then there is the "dark and brutal" side....So how is this squared with the jovial scenes when Mr Isaias met the Ethiopian prime minister? "He was acting. Most dictators are good actors and he's able to suck people in," Mr Andebrhan says.

The Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, in contrast, is described in different stories as a change maker. For example, a quote taken from a story published on September 14, 2018 titled "Abiy Ahmed: Ethiopia's prime minister" described him:

Mr Abiy has lifted the state of emergency, ordered the release of thousands of prisoners, allowed dissidents to return home and unblocked hundreds of websites and TV channels. He has also ended the state of war with Eritrea by agreeing to give up disputed border territory, in the process normalizing relations with the long-time foe.

In general, the stories were positive towards Abiy's personality and leadership. For example, a story published on July 10, 2018 titled as "Can Ethiopia's Abiy Ahmed make peace with 'Africa's North Korea'?" stated as follows:

Coming from a mixed Muslim-Christian background, Mr Abiy has also championed religious and ethnic tolerance...He has taken risks for change and peace that will surely bring him to the attention of the Nobel Prize committee. It is of course early days but not too early to acknowledge the arrival of an extraordinary politician on the world scene.

To sum up, BBC named Ethiopia and Eritrea "two of Africa's poorest countries" and described the border town Badme "dusty market town with no apparent value". And it reminded the war by using the expression "two bald men fighting over a comb". This website also recalled the famine in Ethiopia. On the other hand, Eritrea was labelled as "Africa's North Korea" in BBC's website. The peace deal between the two nations was described as a deal that brought happiness and enthusiasm among the two people. This media used words such as 'both charismatic and brutal' "secretive and paranoid", "austere", "serious" and "scary" to describe the Eritrean President

Isaias and it also stated the other character of Isaias that are “a helpful and supportive man who had a good sense of humour”. In general, the stories were positive towards Abiy’s personality and leadership.

4.3 Discussion of the Findings

Media can represent issues, countries, individuals and situations in various ways. In representation, media cannot tell the definite truth of issues, happenings and notions as they are rather it re-presents (re-produces) them in a means of reflecting the real matters (Workineh, 2016). When the media represents an issue in a particular way it causes the audience to have certain judgments through the existence or nonexistence of particular words, phrases and sources (Brouwer, Woude & Leun, 2017).

In their reporting of the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal, the selected media outlets have represented the peace deal through re-representing some reality while avoiding the other reality. Likewise, they also used certain words and expressions to define the two countries, their head of states and their people.

The data presented showed that different ways of representations were used by the selected websites. The quantitative data categorized the representation as positive, negative, mixed and neutral. On the other hand, the qualitative data analyzed the data through discourse analysis.

Sources of information matter in media representation. The source or sources a particular media uses may affect the way stories are represented in media (Inzunza-Acedo, 2017). In this study, sources were categorized in to two these are people and documents. Under people’s category different people were mentioned as sources by the selected media outlets in covering the peace deal such as activists, government officials, ordinary citizens and so on which might indicate what kind of representation that they used in depicting the issue. Similarly they also cited documents as sources of information and under documents category social media, documents and other media were cited.

Therefore, based on the data presented previously, in the following section, the data presented and analyzed is discussed based on the review of literature and theoretical frameworks presented in Chapter 2 of the study.

4.3.1 Representation of the Deal, the Two Countries and their Leaders

The international media reports stories about most countries in the world. Due to this, reporters from a different country might not have enough knowledge about the other country or countries that they are reporting about, because, they might not have much familiarity and experience with the culture, the people or the system. These factors might contribute for the media to depict a certain country in a particular way in their story or stories. The representation of a nation in the international media can be identified by the language used by the media, comprising the words, phrases and sentences (Hanan, 2006).

As the presented data previously shows that the BBC in its coverage of the peace deal, represented Ethiopia and Eritrea as “two of Africa’s poorest countries” and recalled Ethiopia as a country of famine and how the aid helped the country. These expressions seemed to ignore the economic growth of Ethiopia that is often reported in other media. This is an example of how the stereotype of Ethiopia’s past starvation is still mentioned regularly by the Western media.

According to Seiter (1986), stereotypes are generalities concerning social-features that are credited to the members of a certain group. Stereotypes are not inevitably depending on the publics’ direct experiences with members of stereotyped groups. They could be coming from hearing others or from the media. In this case, BBC’s repeated use of the historical event (famine) that happened in Ethiopia could affect the audience’s current image of Ethiopia.

Henry (2015) stated that Africa has a deprived reputation in Western media. For years, the continent has been portrayed as a poor, war-ravaged, 'dark continent' and reliant on others for donations. This dominant representation of Africa in the Western media ignores some realities on the continent.

Eritrea portrayed by BBC’s website as “Africa’s North Korea”, a country without freedom of speech and no human and democratic rights. One headline of BBC even referred to Eritrea as

“Africa’s North Korea” instead of mentioning the country’s name of Eritrea. However, unlike BBC’s headline, Africanews questioned the label of Eritrea as “Africa’s North Korea” by mentioning how Eritreans dislike the label. Aljazeera didn’t call Eritrea North Korea; however they mentioned how Eritrea is a nation without constitutional law and no freedom of movement and no specific time for national service. In this regard the difference of the selected media is that Africanews mostly quoted people in its depiction about Eritrea and the peace deal in general relative to Aljazeera and BBC.

A country’s reputation in the media either positively or negatively could impact one nation's good name in the global level. The international media’s dissemination of insights, thoughts and names to overseas people might affect the representation of a particular country received by the audience in a distant place (Edmund, 2016).

Regarding the peace deal, the selected media’s headlines were slanted mostly to positive. Africanews, represented the deal as a source of integration, collaboration and better future for the Horn of Africa. BBC and Aljazeera also had positive inclination in their stories, however they also had represented more doubts that it might change nothing for the lives of Eritreans by reasoning out that it might reinforce President Isaias Afewerki’s regime.

In relation to the above, BBC and Aljazeera used different words to define the Eritrean President Isaias such as “strongman”, “secretive and paranoid” “charismatic and brutal” and “austere”. This shows that the selected media are using certain words to represent the President; this might create a picture in the heads of readers who do know or don’t know about him. According to the constructionist approach, media can construct a careful and specific portrayal of some features of actuality, which continuously make some messages and omit others. This approach believes that the word usage, the issues articulated, the reactions connecting with them and the techniques have an impact in representing an issue (Hall, 1997).

Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed was described by the BBC as an “astute politician with impressive academic and military credentials”. Aljazeera mentioned Abiy as “brand-new” and “young”. Africanews also called him a “peace maker”. According to Griffiths (2010) in media representation, some aspects could be emphasized more than others such as ethnicity, age,

religion and gender. In the stories of BBC and Aljazeera, his religious and ethnic background was mentioned as a source of his peace making ability.

In general, one nation's reputation can be inspired by a state's positive or negative portrayal in the media, concerning past, current, governmental or economic issues (Hanan, 2006). Bailey & Harindranath (2005) pointed out that media representations are perceived as significant in the cultural and political scope for the reason that they construct meaning and do not simply mirror social reality.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

The objective of this study was to analyze the media representation of the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal in the selected international media. For the purpose of this, Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC websites were selected and their data were presented and analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitative content analysis and qualitative discourse analysis were employed for the study. The aim of the quantitative content analysis was to categorize and analyze the representation and sources used by the selected media. The aim of the discourse analysis was to give detailed explanations of the words and phrases used by selected media in describing the peace deal and to clarify the representations that couldn't be elaborated only in numbers.

Media representation, stereotype and social construction theories were used as theoretical frameworks. Different literatures such as the historical background of the two countries, foreign countries interest in the region and Africa's representation by the international media were also reviewed for this study. The time frame of the data was from April 2018 when Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed showed his government's readiness to make peace with Eritrea until December 2018. Throughout this period many major events were taking place between the two countries. Based on that, the total population of the stories published in the chosen time frame in the selected media houses was 97 stories regarding the peace deal. Thus, the researcher decided to make the sample size of this research all the stories, that is to say 97 stories of the selected international media.

Therefore, in this study, stories were selected purposely though using the following keywords such as 'Ethiopia and Eritrea', 'peace deal', 'Dr. Abiy Ahmed' and 'Isaias Afewerki' to search stories from each websites. In total, 97 stories from the websites of the selected media outlets were gathered and analyzed. Africanews posted 46 articles, Aljazeera posted 29 articles and BBC posted 22 articles. The analysis includes stories that the websites labelled as news, opinion or feature. Based on these distinctions, Africanews and BBC published the stories regarding the

peace deal only in their news category. In contrast, Aljazeera categorized 21 stories as news, 7 pieces as opinion and 1 as a feature story.

The quantitative analysis had two categories; which were representation analysis and sources cited by the selected media. The findings of this study showed that all the selected media had a larger positive representation than other representations, but BBC's positive representation was at significantly lower percentage than the other two. Thus, the outcomes in their percentage showed that Africanews represented the deal as positive in 28 of its 46 stories which is 60.9% of its total. 5 stories (10.9%) represented the deal as negative. On the other hand, the website also had mixed representation that accounted for 6 (13%) of the stories. The website had 7 (15.2%) of its stories as neutral representation. Thus, the Africanews stories representation of the peace deal mostly appears to be positive.

Aljazeera's website represented the deal as positive in 19 of its 29 articles which is 65.6% of its total. The website represented the peace deal in 6 (20.7%) stories in a negative way, 3 (10.3%) stories showed the representation of the peace deal as mixed and 1 (3.4%) story represented the peace deal in a neutral way. Therefore, Aljazeera's representation of the deal appears mostly positive.

The other selected website, BBC, represented the peace deal as positive in 9 of its 22 stories which is 40.9% of its total. 4 (18.2%) stories represented the deal as negative. On the other hand, 6 (27.3%) articles out of the total stories posted by BBC had mixed representation. The remaining 3 (13.6%) stories had a neutral representation regarding the issue. Hence, it seems that BBC's representation had higher positive than negative, mixed and neutral representations however, it is a lower percentage than the other two selected websites. The selected media outlets had differences in the way they represented the deal as it is showed above.

Concerning sources, Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC cited people and documents as their sources of information in the articles. Africanews cited total of 65 sources in its 46 articles among the 65 sources 34 which is 52.3% belongs to people while the remaining 31 sources that is 47.7% goes to documents. Aljazeera cited total of 61 sources for its 29 articles, thus 44 which is 72.1% sources were people while the rest 17 (27.9%) were documents. and BBC cited 39

sources for its 22 stories. Among the sources cited 32 (82%) belongs to people though the remaining 7(18%) were cited as documents.

Findings from the qualitative discourse analysis showed that the selected websites used various words and expressions to describe the peace deal, the two countries and its leaders. BBC and Aljazeera used different words to define the Eritrean President Isaias Afewerki such as “strongman”, “secretive and paranoid” “charismatic and brutal” and “austere”. This shows that the selected media are using certain words to represent the President; this might create a picture in the heads of readers who do know or don’t know about him.

The discourse analysis also showed that the Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed was described by the BBC as an “astute politician with impressive academic and military credentials”. Aljazeera mentioned Abiy as “brand-new” and “young”. Africanews also called him a “peace maker”. Thus, over all Prime Minister Abiy was represented favorably by the selected media. Regarding the peace deal Africanews, represented the deal as a source of integration, collaboration and better future for the Horn of Africa. BBC and Aljazeera also had positive inclination in their stories, however they also represented more doubts that it might change nothing for the lives of Eritreans by reasoning out that it might reinforce President Isaias Afewerki’s regime.

5.2 Recommendations

The findings of the study showed that some headlines and stories from the selected media were labelling the peace deal, the two countries and their leaders in a way that can give readers positive or negative representation without quoting sources. However, this research recommends that it would be preferable if the selected media would be more careful to avoid portraying the issue mainly from the journalists' perspectives. It would be helpful to include what the concerned bodies think about certain labels.

Representation of a country by a media can positively or negatively affect the reputation of a nation. International media reports stories about other countries so this study suggests that they should give more attention to know what is happening on the ground of the other country. Historical events such as the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal should be represented accurately by the international media because in the future the international media would serve as a crucial reference for that history.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Coding Sheet

Name of the website _____

Date of publication (month/date/ year) _____

Title of the story _____

Analytical Category

1. Representations used in the stories

- Positive representation _____
- Negative representation _____
- Mixed representation _____
- Neutral representation _____

2. Types of sources cited in the stories

- Activists _____
- Anonymous _____
- Contending Political Parties _____
- Documents _____
- Experts _____
- Government Officials _____
- Ordinary Citizens _____
- Other Media _____
- Organizations _____
- Reporters' Observation _____
- Social Media _____

Appendix B

Coding Guide

3. Operational definitions for the sub category of representations used in the stories
 - **Positive representation:** in this research a story was coded as positive when the stories mainly appreciated and favored the peace deal between the two countries and when the tone of the story slanted in giving positive image about the deal.
 - **Negative representation:** in this research a story was coded as negative when the stories inclined in criticizing and having doubts that the peace deal might not bring any positive outcomes.
 - **Mixed representation:** in this research a story was coded as mixed when the stories have both positive and negative tones regarding the peace deal.
 - **Neutral representation:** in this research it refers to when the stories only explain events without referring to possible negative or positive outcomes of the peace deal.
4. Operational definitions for the sub category of types of sources used in the study
 - **Activists:** in this study it denotes for people who actively calls for political, human and democratic rights through participating in social media, mainstream media and other social gatherings.
 - **Anonymous:** it refers to sources who are not stated by name.
 - **Contending Political Parties:** it refers to the political parties who have a different political opinion than the political party who is in power in a certain country.
 - **Documents:** it means a published book and journals cited in the stories.
 - **Experts:** it refers to people who are cited as specialties like political analysts and economic analysts.
 - **Government Officials:** are officials who have a say in governmental hierarchy and works for the government such as leaders of countries, ambassadors.
 - **Ordinary Citizens:** Anyone who is a resident of a certain country and doesn't represent any institution or government office in giving comments about certain issues.
 - **Other Media:** Any media those who were cited than the selected media in the study.
 - **Organizations:** Any governmental or non-governmental institutions like UN, AU.

- **Reporters' Observation:** a story narrated based on the journalist's personal observation.
- **Social Media:** in this research it refers to social network platforms especially Twitter and Facebook.

Appendix C

1. A sample story from Africanews retrieved from <https://www.africanews.com/>
(Unedited)

Pyongyang unlike Asmara: Eritrea's distaste for 'North Korea' label

10/10 - 06:00

Two countries located nowhere near each other but oft compared especially by the international media. This is the case of Far East's North Korea and Horn of Africa's Eritrea.

North Korea is essentially a communist country in the northern half of the Korean Peninsula; established in 1948. And Eritrea: An African country to the north of Ethiopia along the Red Sea; achieved independence from Ethiopia in 1993.

But what essentially accounts for the comparison between the 70-year-old half of Korea and the liberated and till recently, supposedly sidelined 25-year-old Eritrea.

The Eritrean news sequence was of crackdown on dissent – be it political, religious or media; its diplomatic spat with Ethiopia, Djibouti; lack of freedom, mass 'production' of migrants, compulsory national service were what was reported and then a reordering and replay of the narrative.

Prior to July 2018 when Eritrea signed a peace deal with Ethiopia in Asmara. The country did come up in the news, but hardly for the right reasons.

The deal signed between President Isaias Afwerki and Ethiopian Prime Minister ended decades of hostilities after Addis Ababa refused to implement the Algiers Agreement.

We suffered deliberate bad press but never isolated

Eritrean Information Minister in an interview with the BBC's Emmanuel Igunza post peace with Ethiopia admits that the country has over the years suffered deliberate bad press but insists that it never at any point experienced isolation.

He said in the interview: "There may have been attempts to isolate Eritrea but I don't think Eritrea was isolated. I can look at diplomatic ties we have or we had, I can look at our representation, I can look at development cooperation and trade relations we had with a good number of countries in Africa, Europe, Middle East and so on and so forth.

"But there was a stigma, there was a certain portrayal of Eritrea, there was a demonization campaign of Eritrea. The country was portrayed in a certain light by some countries who wanted to pursue basically an agenda of regime change that was not accurate before, that was not fair before and it cannot be relevant anymore."

Eritrea's good days in international press stemmed largely from the July peace deal agreed with Ethiopia. Asmara was in the news for all the time that Ethiopian PM Abiy Ahmed visited and signed the peace deal with president Isaias Afwerki.

It was not long before pro-democracy and human / media rights proponents began asking questions. Amongst others: when was indefinite national service going to end, when was opposition going to be allowed, political / religious / media prisoners released etc.?

Proponents of North Korea label and why

Over in North Korea, the country until recently was seen as one cut off from its more outgoing neighbour South Korea, and from the world at large.

Its insistence on nuclearization had brought it at odds with the United States. Chairman Kim Jong-Un traded threats from Pyongyang media through to Twitter – where Donald Trump 'fired' his diplomatic missiles.

But like the Ethio-Eritrea peace deal, the U.S. finally agreed a meeting between Trump and Jong-Un – at which event the two all but made peace whence the world has been spared the nuclear threats and diplomatic jibes of ‘fire and fury.’

BBC and the Economist are among outlets that have historically and recently referred to Eritrea as ‘North Korea,’ a label that Eritreans have argued is misplaced and without basis.

The media that make these references have pointed to the rather closed nature of both countries. Eritrea with the excuse of a potent security threat from Ethiopia had suspended its constitution and all but quashed all political opposition.

In Korea, Jong-un took over as the Supreme Leader of the country since 2011. The 27-year-old has since maintained the firm grip on affairs in the country, there also, independent media is almost non-existent, much like Eritrea – comparisons have suggested.

The Economist’s journalist, Tom Gardner, authored recent pieces that addressed why and how Eritrea is indeed fit for the ‘North Korea’ label. He cites similarities like one-party state, that both countries are led by persons labeled as strongmen:

Relatively younger Jong-Un is reported to exercise strict control over state machinery in Pyongyang. Over in Asmara, the face of government has always been Isaias Afwerki – the country’s sole president since 1993.

Eritrean deep dislike for North Korea label

The locking up of critics and military conscription plus strict rules of leaving the country are other similarity pointers that he refers to. Eritrea has long been accused by human and media rights groups of mass jailing of persons believed to be against government. The government rarely responds to such reports.

Gardner’s articles titled “How to make Eritrea, Africa’s North Korea, less horrible,” and “Why Eritrea is called Africa’s North Korea” were as usual received with indignation by Eritreans especially on Twitter.

The usual fightback has been that Eritrea has its peculiar realities that had forced it to become what it is or is perceived as. Eritreans have often fired at critics that they did not need ‘others’ to come and tell their stories.

Indeed, one of Gardner’s pieces elicited a response that was published on the website of the Information Ministry. The stern rejoinder to Gardner was titled: The Economist’s Tom Gardner – Saviour Complex?

Africanews has in the past encountered one such situation after we published an article with a ‘Africa’s North Korea’ label.

The piece elicited an unexpected heap of critique by Eritreans, including a harsh publication by Tesfanews targeting the writer of the particular article.

Germane questions that remain over current Eritrea

- With no active threat from Ethiopia as per the peace deal of July 2018, what next for Eritrea and Eritreans is a good question to raise.
- National service – There has been an indication that it will be given a new direction
- Constitution – Promulgated since 1997 never implemented, till how longer?
- Detention of political prisoners – Will government account for and relook into cases?
- Media rights and freedoms – How long till independent media are allowed into the country?
- Political opposition – Any chances that a democratic timeline will be rolled out soon and what will be in it for opposition groups?
- Elections – Participation of people in electing representatives, how long maybe longer will Eritreans have to wait?

One thing is clear: Eritreans detest the North Korea label, those that postulate its validity seem to think it is valid insofar as specific Eritrean local policies persists.

Again, the government in Asmara in the wake of peace with Ethiopia has demonstrated that it will do things – changes – at its own pace. Very little has been let out on changes to come. Many a people are in wait and see mode.

2. A sample story from Aljazeera retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news>
(Unedited)

The lifting of UN sanctions will not solve Eritrea's problems

Having gotten rid of international sanctions, the Eritrean regime is unlikely to change its repressive ways at home.

19 Nov 2018

On November 14, the United Nations Security Council unanimously agreed to **lift the sanctions** it had imposed on Eritrea with Resolution 1907.

The measure, which included an international **arms embargo**, travel bans and the freezing of assets of high-profile Eritrean officials, had been in effect since 2009, when the UN accused Eritrea of supporting armed groups in Somalia - something the regime in Asmara always denied.

East African nations and the international community welcomed the UNSC's decision, which came on the back of a landmark peace deal between Eritrea and Ethiopia.

While the withdrawal of sanctions is a major diplomatic win for Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki, it is unlikely to change much for ordinary Eritreans. In fact, the regime continues to maintain its own form of crippling "sanctions" on the general population, limiting its rights and freedoms. And there are no serious signs that these sanctions are going anywhere.

Domestic sanctions

People living in Eritrea have long known that the lifting of the UN sanctions would not improve their lot much, despite the fact that the Eritrean regime regularly used them as a justification for some of its failures.

Likewise, the much celebrated Ethiopian-Eritrean deal also failed to bring major change to the lives of ordinary Eritreans. Months after it was concluded, the mandatory military service is still in place and civilians are still required to work as guards of official institutions as a form of national service. In fact, military drills and re-armament of civilians have intensified in recent days.

The crippling economic policies of the regime are also likely to remain in place. Import and export businesses were banned in 2003 and construction was outlawed in 2006. The movement of goods and labour was severely restricted and Eritrean nationals were banned from withdrawing more than \$300 a month from their saving accounts.

These extreme measures crippled the country's business sector and scared away investors. This, in addition to a massive brain drain caused by the regime's repressive policies, stripped the nation of its most talented and entrepreneurial people.

As a result of these policies and regardless of the UN sanctions, Eritrean nationals who had the potential to invest and develop businesses relocated to other African countries and non-Eritreans simply did not see the country as a safe investment environment.

The peace deal and rapprochement with Ethiopia also has not done much for the handful of remaining Eritrean businesses so far. In fact, the normalisation led to an informal Ethiopian business "invasion".

Ethiopians are now able to enter the country and freely sell their goods in the streets of Eritrea, participating in the open market without paying any taxes or being required to acquire expensive licenses. Even for their daily bread, Eritreans are now dependent on Ethiopian producers.

As a result of this highly unbalanced and unfair trade arrangement, no Eritrean business managed to thrive following the rapprochement with Ethiopia.

In this context, probably the only economic sphere that could benefit from the lifting of the UN sections would be mining. But the proceeds from that industry are also unlikely to trickle down to ordinary Eritreans as the regime keeps tight control on mining contracts and profits.

An emboldened Afwerki

Some experts have expressed hopes that the peace deal with Ethiopia and now the lifting of the UN sanctions could usher in changes in the domestic affairs of the country. The absence of a conflict with Ethiopia and some form of international rehabilitation seemingly leave the Eritrean regime no excuse to continue its repressive militarisation of society.

But these major diplomatic developments could also have the opposite effect. They could encourage President Afwerki to continue ruling the country with an iron fist and even embolden to tighten his grip on power even more. After all, none of these diplomatic breakthroughs came in exchange for concessions on human rights or internal political reforms.

For the last two decades, being a pariah in the eyes of the international community, Afwerki was relying on his loyal military commanders to help him hold on to power. However, he has now secured a powerful and widely popular ally in the face of Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed.

With Ahmed on his side and increasing international backing, he no longer feels the need to consult even his most trusted commanders when making decisions. He is now signing treaties and deciding the faith of a nation of over 5 million single-handedly.

Since the peace deal, Afwerki visited Ethiopia three times and Ahmed came to Eritrea twice. The two leaders met twice more - once in the UAE and once in Saudi Arabia - to receive awards. However, the results of these meetings, just like the details of the peace deal between the two countries, have never been shared with the Eritrean people.

Afwerki had always prioritised regional politics over domestic affairs and so far nothing appears to have changed. It looks like he is still more concerned over his own international standing and regional ambitions than improving the lot of his people at home.

He still has old scores to settle in Ethiopia, especially with the old guard of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). It is not unlikely that Afwerki played an indirect role in the recent **arrests** of former top TPLF officials.

Thus, the rapprochement with Ethiopia has provided the Eritrean leader with the opportunity to pursue his regional grand ambitions at the expense of the Eritrean people. The last week's decision by the UN will likely allow him to make himself more acceptable in the eyes of the international community and come one step closer to becoming an influential and internationally accepted regional actor.

In light of all this, Eritreans have little reason to celebrate the lifting of the sanctions that will likely benefit no one other than Afwerki himself. What the Eritrean people really need the UN to do is pressure the Eritrean regime to lift the devastating sanctions it has imposed on its own people.

3. A sample story from BBC retrieved from <https://bbc.com> (Unedited)

Eritreans hope for democracy after peace deal with Ethiopia

17 July 2018

With Eritrea the only one-party state in Africa, many of its citizens are hoping that President Isaias Afwerki will introduce sweeping political reforms following the end of the "state of war" with neighbouring Ethiopia.

Mr Isaias has been in power since leading Eritrea to independence from Ethiopia in 1993.

He was heavily influenced by Marxism during his early political career and - unlike other African leaders - has so far resisted pressure to embrace multi-party democracy.

His grip on power was strengthened following the outbreak of a border war with Ethiopia in 1998. Tens of thousands of people were killed in the conflict,

Mr Isaias and Ethiopia's Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed signed a declaration last week to end the "state of war", and to resume ties between the two nations.

BBC Tigrinya's Desta Gebremedhin writes about the basic freedoms that many Eritreans are now yearning for:

The vote

Eritrea has no opposition parties, and has never had a national election.

In fact, there are no limits to the president's powers. Some of his critics say he is like a supreme leader who is more powerful than the ruling party, and the national assembly, or parliament.

They point out that the national assembly last met in 2002, and Eritrea's only legally recognised party, the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ), last held a national congress in 2002.

The PFDJ has a Soviet-styled central committee - its 75 members automatically qualified for seats in the national assembly while another 75 were chosen mostly from elected regional assemblies.

Many Eritreans long for the constitution, which envisages multi-party democracy, to be implemented.

It was drafted when Eritrea was still gripped by the euphoria of independence, and ratified in 1997.

It was shelved the following year after the outbreak of the border war with Ethiopia.

Eritreans have lived under a virtual state of emergency since then.

Several government ministers, military generals and prominent officials demanded the constitution's implementation, following the signing of an earlier peace agreement with Ethiopia, in 2000.

The government ignored their demand and, instead, detained 11 of them. They include three former foreign ministers - Mahmoud Ahmed Sherifo, Petros Solomon and Haile Woldetensae. They have never been charged or convicted and their whereabouts remain unknown.

Empty jails

Eritrea's leader Isaias Afwerki (L) is under pressure to follow the example of his Ethiopian counterpart Abiy Ahmed (R)

The 11 are the most high-profile political detainees in Eritrea, but thousands of others are languishing in jail, many for well over a decade rights group Amnesty International says.

Exiled activists in Europe and North America say Mr Isaias should release prisoners as the first step towards making Eritrea a multi-party democracy.

They point out that Mr Abiy has also released thousands of prisoners in Ethiopia, showing that he was genuine about achieving national reconciliation with opposition groups.

Eritrea's government rejected Amnesty's report as "wild accusations" and the ministry of information released a statement saying the report that Eritrea had jailed at least 10,000 political prisoners was "unsubstantiated".

End to indefinite national service

Young Eritreans make dangerous journeys to escape forced conscription.

Introduced in 1995, national service is compulsory for all Eritreans.

In the beginning, all citizens were supposed to undertake 18 months' national service - including six months' military training. However, the terms of service become indefinite in 2002, as the government said the country remained under threat from Ethiopia.

Young Eritreans begin their national service when they complete their penultimate year at school. Then they go to the Sawa camp, where they complete their final year at school and receive military training at the same time.

The students live under military rules and regulations, and their movement is restricted.

As a result, national service, once a source of pride for Eritreans, has led to many young people fleeing the country, risking their lives to reach Europe via the Sahara desert and Mediterranean Sea.

Many young people want indefinite national service to be scrapped so that they can pursue their studies, and fulfil their career dreams.

A free press

Eritrea has one of the world's worst records when it comes to media freedom.

Media watchdog Reporters Without Borders ranks it 179 in its World Press Freedom Index - above only North Korea.

The government shut down all private media in 2001 to suppress calls for multi-party democracy.

At least 10 journalists were arrested following the clampdown on the press, according to the international media watchdog body, the Committee to Protect Journalists.

The government said these newspapers were financed by foreign governments to distort the political situation in the country.

It also said that some of the journalists had been arrested because they had not performed national service.

Only state media operates in Eritrea: TV-Ere; Radio Dimtshi Hafash and four newspapers published in the most-spoken languages - **Tigrigna, Tigre**, Arabic and English.

Religious freedom

Most Christians in Eritrea are followers of the Orthodox Church

The government recognises only four religions - Orthodox Christianity, Sunni Islam, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Evangelical-Lutheran church of Eritrea.

Other religious groups are considered illegal. The government says they are instruments of foreign governments.

The US government's Commission on International Religious Freedom estimates that thousands of Eritreans have been detained because of their faith.

The prosecution of Jehovah's Witnesses started shortly after independence - they had refused to vote in the referendum which led to Eritrea seceding from Ethiopia.

Jehovah's Witnesses have been denied citizenship, identity cards and business licences because of their refusal to participate in "earthly" political affairs, including doing national service.

Many Eritreans hope to see a nation where its citizens can practise their faith freely.

Declaration

I, the under designed, declare that this study is my original work. And it had not been presented anywhere and that all the sources used in this study are acknowledged.

Heran Menkir

June 2019

Signature_____

Addis Ababa University

School of Journalism and Communication

I, the undersigned, MA thesis advisor of the student Heran Menkir recommend the student to submit his/her completed MA thesis entitled, *Media Representation Analysis of the Ethio-Eritrea Peace Deal: the Case of Africanews, Aljazeera and BBC Websites* to the graduate program of School of Journalism and Communication for defense.

Advisor:

Name _____

Signature _____

Date _____