

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND
COMMUNICATION



FRAMING ANALYSIS OF CONFLICT IN THE TIGRAY REGION: THE
CASE OF ETHIOPIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION (EBC) AND
ETHIOPIAN SATELLITE TELEVISION AND RADIO (ESAT)

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**Framing Analysis of Conflict in the Tigray Region: The case of Ethiopian
Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) and Ethiopian Satellite Television and
Radio (ESAT)**

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Approval Page

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Gira Kinfu entitled — Framing Analysis of Conflict in the Tigray Region: The case of Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) and Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT) Submitted in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Abstract

In Ethiopia, an internal armed conflict has recently erupted between the federal government and the Tigray regional state ruling party (TPLF). So, this research was selected to investigate the media coverage and the framing of this conflict. The main purpose of this study was to examine how the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) and Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT) television news channels covered and framed the conflict and also to identify their contribution to peace resolution during their coverage of the conflict. In order to accomplish the research, four basic questions were prepared. To answer these fundamental questions, the study used a descriptive case study research design, a qualitative and quantitative research approach, as well as content analysis. It also used a purposeful sampling method to answer the research questions. To inform the study, agenda setting and framing theories were used. According to the quantitative content analysis findings, the conflict has received wide coverage in both media outlets. In their news reporting of the conflict, the media do not contribute that much to peace resolution. They do not depict peace-oriented journalism. The framing analysis results also show that in their coverage of the incident, both media outlets depicted the incident or the conflict as a law enforcement operation aimed at restoring law and order. In the identified war journalism frame, they portrayed the conflicting groups as winners and losers. But their perspective on portraying the incident was quite different. EBC depicted the incident as a war between the country's destroyer and its protector. ESAT, in contrast, described it as a conflict between two groups whose goals are incompatible. The law enforcement term and defeated vs victory elements are more salient in the news reports. This research recommends both the media to consider their reporting of the conflict according to journalism norms and also their contribution to peace initiatives and reconciliation during conflict reporting.

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Declaration

I certify that this research work entitled Framing Analysis of Conflict in the Tigray Region: The case of Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) and Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT) is my own work. The work has not been presented elsewhere for assessment and award of any degree or diploma. Where a material has been used from other sources has been properly acknowledged referred.

Name: Gira Kinfu

Signature _____

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

A.I.	Amnesty International
AAU	Addis Ababa University
AMMA	Amhara Mass Media Agency (cf. ATV)
CA	Content Analysis
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CSR	Conflict Sensitive Reporting
EBA	Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (now: EMA)
EBC	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
EFDR	Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic
ENA	Ethiopian News Agency
ENDF	Ethiopian National Defense Force
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
ERCS	Ethiopian Red Cross Society
ESAT	Ethiopian Satellite Television and radio
FBC	Fana Broadcasting Corporation
HRC	Human Rights commission
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICRC	International Red Cross Committee
IDPs	Internally Displaced Peoples
IMS	International Media Support
NDRMC	National Disaster Risk Management Commission
OBN	Oromia Broadcasting Network
OCHA	UN Office for the coordination of humanitarian affairs
ONC	Oromo National Congress
PP	Prosperity Party
PSB	Public Service Broadcasting
RTL	Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
TDP	Tigray Democratic Party
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
WPE	Workers' Party of Ethiopia

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The first section of the paper provides information about the study's background, problem of the statement, objectives, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, and limitations of the study.

1.2 Background of the Study

1.2.1 Background of the Tigray conflict

The term 'conflict' has a broad meaning. It has a negative tone in understanding, which is highly correlated with problematic situations. The term is sometimes used to represent a disagreement between two people or groups, regardless of how they feel about a particular idea, thought, or ideology. We could say, for example, that they have opposing perspectives. According to Miller, conflict is derived from the Latin word 'to clash or engage in a fight'. Miller also clarified the further definition of conflict, according to him; it is "a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends. Conflict may be manifest, recognizable through actions or behaviors, or latent, in which case it remains dormant "(Miller, 2005, p: 22).

Conflicts are an unavoidable element of human life and existence, and they are an essential part of it. Conflicts are required for change in human society because they aid in the formation of group relationships, the establishment of a group's identity, the development of internal cohesion in groups, and the establishment of a balance of power in society, as well as the creation of new rules and laws (Coser,1956). Conflict is divided into two broad categories: violent and non-violent. When conflicts are violent, however, and depending on the nature and type of intervention schemes used, they can go on for a long time without being resolved, disrupting policy-making and development by diverting attention away from issues that would otherwise improve the lives of those affected by the conflict (UKEssays, 2018).

As a result, it is critical to handle violent conflicts so that they do not draw attention away from development challenges. The First and Second World Wars, historically, resulted in immense devastation of property and human life, as well as a decline in socio-economic growth in underdeveloped countries (Blattman & Miguel, 2008). During the Second World War, for example, almost 60 million people perished, a new arms race erupted, and nations like Germany lost a great deal of property (Blattman & Miguel, 2008). Violent conflicts endanger human

security, peace, life, stability, and social and economic activity; they weaken institutions; shatter social cohesion; and they result in humanitarian disasters such as internal displacement, refugeeism, and rape (Zezeza, 2008,p:13). Indeed, violent conflict is a major hindrance to development since it can substantially impede cross-border development initiatives, decreasing economic growth and prosperity (Ali, 2006).

Conflict can be understood in a variety of ways depending on the situation. Conflict has existed since the beginning of mankind and is unlikely to wither away (Jeong, 2008). It also exists in the present day world in different contexts. Because the core of democracy is a clash of political ideas, conflict is crucial to politics. Nonviolent political conflicts are the facilitators of the democratic process, and it's also a fight to show what the utmost option is.

Ethiopia has been involved in numerous conflicts from medieval times to the present times. The most common sorts of conflicts in modern-day Ethiopia are ethnic based internal conflicts. Ethiopia also fought wars with its neighbors, including the Ethio-Eritrean War from May 1998 to June 2000, and the combat with Somalia from July 1977 to March 1978. Disagreements, disputes, and debates account for the majority of internal conflicts in Ethiopia.

When those quarrels become violent, they provide a primary catalyst for the emergence of internal armed conflicts and violence's. Ethiopia's recent internal armed conflict between the federal government and the Tigray regional state's ruling party, the TPLF, is an unusual occurrence. It is also uncommon in its elements when compared to the common types of internal conflicts and violence that occur in the country. Conflict is a cycle, beginning with tension that can eventually escalate to violence. Violent conflict may remain for years before it deescalates and transitions to a post conflict period, allowing for reconciliation (Grim, 2017).

The recent conflict in Ethiopia also follows the conflict cycle that starts with quarrels, disagreements, complaints and finally explodes into armed conflict. So, to understand the conflict, we must investigate the beginning of the conflict, where, why and when those quarrels started. The conflict gets a great deal of attention and coverage from the international community and the international media, and it has become a topic of debate among political analysts, scholars, elites, and journalists. The local media and international media also exhaustively covered the incident. Aljazeera, the Washington Post, the New York Times, and BBC World are among the international media outlets that have covered the incident from diverse perspectives. The Ethiopian media, particularly EBC, covered the incident extensively. Scholars have also discussed the issue since the first day of the incident.

This topic, particularly the origin of the Tigray conflict, was argued and examined by a number of academics and political analysts, human rights activists, and international and local community and media. To address the question, what are the conflict's core causes? How did this conflict begin and progress to this point? The origins of the conflict are debatable. There is no single cause of conflict, according to the Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (GSDRC). Conflict is context-dependent, multi-cause, and multi-dimensional, and can be triggered by a number of factors: Politics and institutional factors (GSDRC,2014).

Ineffective state institutions, elite power encounters and political exclusion, social contract collapse and corruption, identity politics Inequality, exclusion, and marginalization, a lack of or weakening of social cohesion, and poverty are all socioeconomic variables. These factors also revealed in Ethiopian socio political and economic contexts, Factors affecting resources and the environment include avarice, scarcity of national resources, environmental insecurity, and unethical resource exploitation are also additional factors that initiate conflicts(GSDRC, 2014).

As previously stated, political elites, academics, and political analysts raised certain hypothesis about the origins of the war, which, in their opinion, exacerbated the conflict. Their viewpoints and assumptions, which they regard as the underlying reasons for the dispute, are presented from various angles. The recurrent power struggle among political elites and parties over their varied ideas and discrepancies with each other is one of the reasons for the conflict cited by researchers and analysts. It is the battle for regional supremacy over national power, as well as the pitting of regions against each other. Political elites also believe and claim that the conflict is the outcome of the country's differing political and economic systems. Others point to ethnic federalism and the tensions that the system created as the source of the Tigray conflict and other crises. Other interpretations refer to economic power and political financial struggle, the state monopoly of the economy, and other factors as the conflict's driving forces and core causes. These reasons, on the other hand, don't explain why such disparities might lead to a military conflict.

The conflict's core causes are still misunderstood. The arguments are hypotheses that attempt to address the source of the conflict and are viewed as the catalysts for clashes. According to analysts, media experts, and political elites, the above mentioned factors led the contradictory groups to war. Within two years, Ethiopia experienced a regime change, and the most chronic power struggle began at that point, between the central government and the ruling party of the Tigray regional state, TPLF, the most dominant force since 1991 in Ethiopian politics. The central government accused the TPLF of committing different kinds of human rights violations, by engaging in corruption and looting, and by instigating ethnic-based violence's.

The TPLF was also held for questioning of the 'reform' or the 'reformist' as a power consolidator and destruct of the federal system that ethnic groups already had. The causes of the conflict need detailed conflict analysis to grasp the root causes of the conflict. According to CDA, collaborative Learning Projects (2012), "conflict analysis is the deliberate study of the causes, actors, and dynamics of conflict. Peace practitioners engage in conflict analysis in the same way that a doctor performs a diagnosis on a patient before determining how to proceed with treatment ". CDA explains the complexity of conflict analysis. "Social and political conflicts are, however, much more complex than the diagnosis of a single patient, as they involve multiple actors, groups, issues, and other factors" (CDA, 2012).

1.2.2 The accumulated unresolved dubious issues as the fermenter of the conflict

According to scholars, political analysts, and elites, most of the conflicts in Ethiopia are a result of unresolved, dubious issues in the Ethiopian political economy system. There is a worrisome lack of elite consensus in Ethiopia on a number of fundamental topics, including the national flag, language (one of numerous national languages), ownership of the capital city, the political economy system, and, most crucially, the federal structure itself (Ipss Report vol.1, 2020, P:4). However, from the above mentioned possible causes of the conflict, the study lists some possible accumulated disagreements and unresolved complaints which might intensify the conflict.

1.2.3 The quarrelsome Ethnic's based Federalism as a major catalyst of the conflict

Ethiopia is a federal democratic republic that follows an ethnic-based federal system, with ethnically defined federated regions which were implemented to meet regional autonomy demands and manage ethnic tensions inside the country. The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia preamble says "Strongly committed, in full and free exercise of our right to self-determination, to building a political community founded on the rule of law and capable of ensuring a lasting peace guaranteeing, a democratic order, and advancing our economic and social development". This description and also other paragraphs of the constitution strongly emphasizes about the autonomy and self – administration of ethnic groups. However, most Ethiopian ethnic groups still claim various political issues, identity questions; resource related questions, region demarcation, developmental issues, border case issues, the self-administration claims and other types of issues demanded by Ethiopian nations, nationalities, and peoples. Ethnic federalism was implemented to resolve these questions, but ethnic-based federalism has not yet addressed those problems. Many believe the majority of internal conflicts in Ethiopia have arisen as a result of this ethnic-based federalism system. The focus of the federal system is primarily controversial, with the system being blamed for focusing

on separation rather than unity. The Federalism system, which was implemented in Ethiopia since the coming of the EPRDF to power, is a provocative topic. It has a two-faced paradox argument. It has been raised as a cause for confrontation between political elites and ethnic groups in the country for decades, and it is also raised as a step that enables ethnic groups to have self-administration and autonomy.

In Ethiopia two dominating groups are challenging the federal system that EPRDF built in Ethiopia since 1995. "ethno nationalist/centrifugal forces that strongly support the (ethnic) federal structure and call for its effective implementation including genuine self-rule and fair representation at federal level; and centripetal forces that criticize the federal system for undermining the country's unity" (Ipss Report vol.1,2020,P:40).

According to an article published in the African Journal of International and Comparative Law by Legesse Tigabu (2015), says; "In the last 23 years, the Ethiopian ethnic federal system has encouraged ethnic groups to organize themselves and promote their identity. This identity politics has also helped ethnic groups enjoy much more autonomy than they ever had". The article goes into greater detail about how this achievement came to be and the opposing results of the ethnic federal system. Yet, all this is at the expense of the common Ethiopian identity. Shared values, including common history, humanity, and culture, are vanishing. "According to the article, the ethnic federal system also has some consequences. "The new developments in Ethiopia at the beginning of 2014 heralded that the country's ethnic federal system is prone to conflict". The argument is about 'Ethiopia first' and 'Ethiopia second'. "The confrontation Since January 2014, Ethiopians have been debating whether 'Ethiopia-First' (shared Ethiopian identity should take precedence) or 'Ethiopia-Second' (ethnicity should take precedence over Ethiopia) " (Legesse Tigabu, 2015, p: 464).

The Crises group clarifies the features of ethnic federalism that is employed by EPRDF in Ethiopia. According to the report, " The EPRDF's ethnic federalism has intensified competition among groups vying for land, natural resources, administrative boundaries, and government money, rather than reducing conflict. The report clarifies the failures of ethnic federalism more over. "Furthermore, ethnic federalism has failed to resolve the "national question". The EPRDF's ethnic policy has empowered some groups but has not been accompanied by dialogue and reconciliation". According to an additional description of the paper, the report reveals how political elites and parties active in the country's politics accept and interpret ethnic federalism. "For Amhara and national elites, ethnic federalism impedes a strong, unitary nation-state. For ethno-national rebel groups like the ONLF (Ogaden National Liberation Front; Somalis in the Ogaden) and OLF (Oromo Liberation Front; the Oromo), ethnic federalism remains artificial."

Whereas the notion failed to address grievances, it did have a significant impact on ethnic self-awareness across all groups. (Crisis group, report 153/Africa, September 2009).

There is also another article which is being debated about the consequences of ethnic federalism. According to Bekalu Atnafu Taye (2017), an article published on accord titled "Ethnic federalism and conflict in Ethiopia" mentioned that "the indivisibility of the Ethiopian nation, which has been the result of thousands of years of interaction, has been eroded and the stable ethnic composition has been disrupted by the introduction of ethnic federalism, so that Ethiopians are now at odds along ethnic lines." (Bekalu Atnafu, 2017). According to his further explanation, ethnic politics creates animosity among Ethiopia's various ethnic groups, preventing group contact and resulting in ethnic conflicts. Even now, as a result of the ruling party's policies, common doubt and hatred will erupt, resulting in ethnic cleansing and conflict. So, what are ethnic federalism's conflict-helping applications in Ethiopia? He lists out some points about the conflict, promoting claims of ethnic federalism. Ethnic federalism, through politicizing ethnic identity, is clearly the one that might lead to inter-ethnic conflict. Decentralization may result in more ethnic mobilization and secession if ethnic disparities are substantial and politicized, and if 'federal bargain' type solutions are difficult to accomplish (Bekalu Atnafu, 2017:52).

Yohannes Gedamu, Lecturer of Political Science, Georgia Gwinnett College, wrote an article for The Conversation on the 25th of June, 2019 titled "Why Ethiopia's federal system is deeply flawed." He argued that Ethiopia's federal system, which is incorporated into the country's 1994 constitution, has been upheld by the ruling coalition for nearly three decades. According to him, it's no astonishment that the EPRDF defends and promotes the system. The system is also held by some of the country's opposition elites. They feel it promotes group rights by allowing Ethiopians to exercise self-government. He went on to say that the federal system has repercussions. However, the country's federal system has generated multiple difficulties. This is due to the fact that it is divided along ethnic lines. Because Ethiopia has a population of over 108 million people and over 90 ethnic groupings, this is a concern. "Sadly, in a nation of more than 90 ethnic groups, the system created more animosity and competition for power and influence" (Yohannes Gedamu, 2019).

Debates about the ethnic-federalism system have resurfaced intensely. Since Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed took office in 2018, debates concerning the system have revived. According to Yohannes, the country's parliament has established commissions to investigate some of the most critical concerns confronting the federal system. The formation of ethnic boxes as areas, on the

other hand, resulted in violent inter-ethnic competition. Citizens' safety and freedom of movement have both been harmed as a result of this. Despite the readiness to re-debate it, establishing a political consensus continues to be difficult. There are, however, those who are adamantly opposed to the agreement being renegotiated. Others claim the federal structure was imposed through a constitution on which they were never consulted.

The contentions outlined above are among the few that have led to ethnic federalism as the root causes of conflicts. Most hostilities, including the Tigray conflict, are thought to be sparked by these arguments. They began as a disagreement and eventually turned into a military conflict. Another issue that is thought to be at the foundation of the conflict is the country's political and economic predicament.

1.2.4 Lack of consensus on political economy as an initiator of the conflict

According to the Ipsos Peace & Security Report (2020), there are several reasons for conflict in Ethiopia. The report lists the following causes of conflict in Ethiopia. Economic Inequality and Youth Unemployment are among the causes of conflict in Ethiopia (2020:4). All concerned bodies have not agreed yet on the Ethiopian political and economic system, which has been in place for decades in the country. Because it is a country-wide system, many experts and ordinary individuals believe it is a side influence or interest that has not been thoroughly examined and consulted to apply in the country.

It is the source of the argument that the developmental state and the revolutionary democracy political economic system are not appropriate for the Ethiopian context and the implementation is not in a strategic and effective way. Others are also arguing that this system is a suitable system that enables the country to make dramatic developmental progress by using East Asian countries' progress as an example. According to Will Kenton (2021), an article that was published on Investopedia, defines political economy in the following way. "Political economy is a branch of social science that studies the relationship that forms between a nation's population and its government when public policy is enacted." Will continued his explanation of political economy. He said that "it is, therefore, the result of the interaction between politics and the economy and is the basis of the social science discipline" (Will Kenton, 2021).

Ethiopia has been following a developmental state political economic system for decades. The system has helped the country to make developmental progress, but it also creates inequalities in wealth accumulation and results in political business entities dominating the country's economy. The phrase "developmental state" was coined by Chalmers Johnson to describe Japan's strong

interventionist policies that resulted in sustained, rapid industrialization and long-term economic development. "The term has grown into a shorthand for the effective emergence of East Asia's newly industrialized countries (NICs), sometimes known as the "Asian Tigers", Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore (Jewellord Nem Singh & Jesse Salah Ovadia,2018).

"Ethiopia's political economy has historically been shaped by two key factors: the strength of the state, and the divergence between the sources of political power, concentrated in the northern highlands, and of economic power, concentrated in the southern and western regions" (Christopher Clapham,2019).

According to Jon Herald, et.al (2018), from the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, describes the context of Ethiopia. His explanation goes, "Ethiopia today is characterized by two contrasting aspects: poverty and economic growth. These aspects are spatially distributed. " Jon continues to further clarify the distribution of poverty and economic growth, "Poverty is more pronounced in and characteristic of the rural hinterlands, whereas the economic growth taking place in Ethiopia is more conspicuous in central and urban areas, although urban poverty and inequalities are indeed tangible and exacerbated by proliferating urbanization and unemployment rates" (Jon Harald Sande Lie, Berouk Mesfine, 2018, p:3).

Many aspects of Ethiopian society and economy are framed by the urban–rural divide: close to 80% of the population lives in rural areas as subsistence small-farmers, vulnerable to drought and land scarcity. The urban minority looks for jobs in the industrial or service sectors, but unemployment is a problem, made worse by increased rural–urban migration (Jon Harald Sande Lie, Berouk Mesfin, 2018, p:3). The recent conflict in Ethiopia is discussed in detail in the financial struggle aspect of the conflict by Jos Meester and Guido Lanfranchi, The current unrest in Ethiopia's Tigray area has been the clearest evidence of the growing tensions in the country, which has been undergoing a difficult political transition since early 2018 (Jos Meester and Guido Lanfranchi,2021).

The commentary continues its explanation in detail to present the clear financial reasons that led the country to conflict. The article focuses on the conflict between regional forces attempting to express autonomy and the federal authorities attempting to exert control over them. This conflict has manifested itself in a variety of ways, including (but not limited to) a struggle for popular legitimacy and direct military clashes in various regions. Without ignoring the above-mentioned basic principles, the essay goes on to analyze one particular aspect of the center-periphery

conflict: the struggle for control over key sources of political financing, i.e., the economic resources used to fund political action.

According to the commentary that was published in the *Clingendael*, "the relevance of access to political finance sources has been often emphasized, not least in the case of Ethiopia. Among the many potential sources of political finance," the commentaries focus on and discuss the two main concerns of political finance. Those are "(i) control over state/party-controlled businesses, which politicians can use to allocate favors to selected constituencies;" and "(ii) control over relatively independent regional budgets, which politicians can tap into to finance preferred policies." The analysis will focus on two very different case studies: that of Tigray, a small and peripheral but historically powerful region; and that of Oromia, Ethiopia's biggest region, and yet a politically marginalized one. The analysis will show how these dynamics have been changing since the start of Ethiopia's transition in 2018 (Clingendael,2021).

There is also some argument about the political and economic faces of Ethiopia. An article published in the *Review of African Political Economy* titled *The Rise of Oligarchy in Ethiopia: The Case of Wealth Creation since 1991*, by Tefera Negash and Wil Hout (2018), the brief discusses the changing political and economic landscape of Ethiopia. It argues that the rise of the oligarchy in Ethiopia "is not, however, a sporadic abuse of power by a few members of the elite that characterizes the political economy of post-1991 Ethiopia, but the systematic emergence of oligarchic politics that the ruling party has used to establish and consolidate its position." According to the further explanation of the article, "The TPLF, the core of the EPRDF, leads the rest of the parties in building business empires. Thus, the Ethiopian economy is not just dominated by business elites, but also by political elites (Tefera Negash and Wil Hout 2018).

The war in Tigray, according to Kassahun Melesse, isn't about autonomy. It's all about economic clout. Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed is fighting the country's former revanchist administration, which wants to reclaim the country's economic and political might. According to him, the war has been linked by many observers to a recent disagreement between regional authorities and the federal administration and also with the election that postponed by federal government and held in tigray. kasahun (2020), argues that the war is eventually an economic battle he says "This war is ultimately a battle for control of Ethiopia's economy, its natural resources, and the billions of dollars the country receives annually from international donors and lenders". He raised this means "In other words, this is not a conflict over who gets to rule Tigray, It is a fight over who

gets to dominate the commanding heights of the country's economy, a prize that Tigray's regional leaders once held and are determined to recapture at any cost."

Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University INAF5610 point out how to define Ethiopian politics According an article prepared by Vinussa Rameshshanker, et.al(2020), "Interethnic tensions, power dynamics, and historical background are crucial to grasping Ethiopia's political, economic, and social affairs as a cultural mosaic of over 80 ethnic groups" (INAF5610,2020). The article, moreover added how the Ethiopian democracy is portrait according to the paper "Faulty democratic structures, declining legitimacy, persistent isomorphic mimicry, and a frail social contract are presently driving Ethiopia's fragility. These structural flaws manifest most prominently across governance, security, and demographic clusters, rendering these the primary drivers of fragility" (INAF5610, 2020). There are also other political economic related arguments and suppositions that are considered as the instigators of the conflict which drove the country to this catastrophe.

As previously stated, the Tigray conflict in Ethiopia in November 2020 drew the most attention from the international community, scholars, and the international media. Lauren Ploch Blanchard, Specialist in African Affairs, published a paper titled "The Unfolding Conflict in Ethiopia" on December 1, 2020, after the conflict's picking point had passed, and raised some important points about the conflict in Ethiopia in this paper, which was published by the Congressional Research Service. He said, " The outbreak of hostilities in Ethiopia's Tigray region in November reflects a power struggle between the federal government of self-styled reformist Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF)". Blanchard also mentioned several key aspects of the conflict's roots and implications, such as how this tragedy underscores ethnic tensions in the country, which have intensified in recent years amid political and economic reforms. He also describes the escalated conflict has already glimmered massacres, incited refugee flows, and stressed relationships among countries in the region of east Africa. In recent times Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed was criticized by different institutions, individuals, and even if by early day supporters concerning democratic regression and looking to consolidate power.

There are also additional critics mentioned by Blanchard, about Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. The conflict in Tigray will weaken the stand of the prime minister, other also criticize Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's government has become increasingly intolerant of dissent and heavy-handed in its responses to law and order challenges. Abiy and his supporter's reason out the action taken by the government actions are necessary to preserve order and prevent further

conflict. They blame the TPLF and militant ethnic nationalists for the violence that has plagued Ethiopia since he took office. Many Ethiopians viewed the TPLF's rule as authoritarian, and abuses committed under its leadership fueled resentment in many communities. The conflict was raised from this point and turned immediately to a deeper war (Ploch Blanchard,2020).

An article published in Quartz Africa on November,20,2020 by Yohannes Gedamu, Lecturer of Political Science at Georgia Gwinnett College, lists out some important elements and pick points that instigate the conflict. The political situation in the country from 2015 until 2018. The rise of different demonstrations across the country, in particular in the Oromia region and Amhara regions. The widespread dissatisfaction was driven by the 27-year-long marginalization of most ethnic groups, massive corruption that bankrupted the state, and an ethnic federal arrangement that was being used to sow tensions and ethnic violence. Those reasons were a catalyst for the 'change' or 'reform' which was ignited the EPRDF itself.

According to him, the reforms came after the former Prime Minister Desalgn Hailemariam's resignation. In the early days of 2018, the resignation resulted in the appointment of the new Prime Minister, Abiy Ahmed, as the chairperson of his party and ruler of the country. After his appointment to the office of prime minister, he made several reforms and changes to his government and political party. As Yohannes Gedamu explained in his article, "the most profound changes he made were political. He disbanded the ruling coalition, which had ruled Ethiopia since 1991, and replaced it with the new Prosperity Party. "

As Yohannes Gedamu, further explained in his article, the downfall of the (EPRDF) Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front and its consequences. The pulling out of the EPRDF from Ethiopian politics means dismantling the leading role of the (TPLF) Tigray People's Liberation Front in Ethiopian politics. As we expected, the TPLF responded desperately to Abiy's reforms, and again the tension was raised when Ethiopia's House of Representatives postponed the national elections because of Covid-19. (Yohannes Gedamu,2020).Moreover, the TPLF has taken some actions that contradict the country's constitution about the poll conducted in the region. The open war began when the TPLF committed an attack on national army bases in the Tigray region, as the central government claims. The TPLF also accused the federal government of trying to destroy the federalism system and protecting the ethnic-federal system. (November 20, 2020).

The regime change that Ethiopia experienced in 2018 is the main factor for the current conflict. Those accumulated complaints, disagreements, dissatisfaction, inequality, and demonstrations

of youth unemployment are the pushing factors for 'change' or 'reform'. Even before the war, Mr. Abiy appeared bent on breaking the power of the TPLF, which had formerly led the central government. Jen Kirbyjen, who wrote an article for Vox media? In April 2021, titled "Dying by blood or by hunger: The war in Ethiopia's Tigray region is a humanitarian and political crisis with no clear resolution" According to him, the conflict in Tigray had been brewing and finally broke out (Jen Kirbyjen, 2021).

He explains what was happening before the war erupted. He lists out some important curves that escalated the conflict to a full-fledged conflict. In regard to his explanation, "The Tigrayan-led government presided over rapid economic growth, but not all of it was equal, and many Ethiopians felt left behind. In 2015 and 2016, after decades in power, the government faced popular protests over human rights abuses, corruption, and inequality". He added that "some, including members of the Amhara and Oromo ethnic groups, were particularly angry about the TPLF's control of the most important positions in politics and the military, despite representing just 6 per cent of the country's population". So, subsequently in 2018, the situation changed. The explanation said that, "In 2018, Ethiopia's prime minister resigned, and other members of the ruling EPRDF coalition united against the Tigrayan wing. They elected Abiy Ahmed, a relative newcomer from the Oromo, as the leader." And the new prime minister was confronting the TPLF, and these arguments, confrontations, and disputes further intensified and finally erupted into an armed conflict. Ethiopia's political transition, which has been occurring since 2018, has reshaped the country's political and financial dynamics. Tigray, which was once a major financial centred, has become increasingly side-lined. These events have created fresh possibilities for Ethiopia's political settlement (Clingendael, 2021).

There was also some important escalated point before the war erupted. That intensified the disagreements to violence. One of these points is the ground-shaking election of 2005. Before this election, the ruling party had not been a major threat, but the 2005 election was a heavy shake for the EPRDF. The next pickup point for those quarrels was as it stated above the 2015-2018 demonstrations across the country, particularly in those most populous regions of Oromia and Amhara. Those escalated points of the arguments were followed by bloodshed, and also resulted in 'reform' or 'change' in the country.

After 2015-2018 demonstrations then came the resignation of the former prime minister, and the new prime minister was assigned. The new prime minister confronted the TPLF, which had a ruling role in the EPRDF. The quarrels were more climaxed during the postponement of the election because of the covid-19 pandemic, the demolition of the former party, EPRDF, and the

replacement of it by a new prosperity party. These arguments, confrontations, and disputes further intensified and finally erupted into an armed conflict.

1.3 Statement of the problem

As we mentioned above conflict is a cycle that emerged from disagreement escalated to conflict. Ethiopia has long been afflicted by a variety of conflicts, in addition to poverty, a lack of food security, gender inequality, and other issues. Citizens have died, property has been damaged, disasters have occurred, as a result of these conflicts, which have also slowed the country's progress. There are many reasons for these confrontations. These clashes, specifically the contemporary Ethiopia conflicts, have also gotten less and huge media coverage accordingly. Most of them are passed in silence, but some of them are exhaustively covered by international and local media. The media has contributed a lot on escalating and reducing those conflicts. To address the media's role in conflict situations, the coverage of the conflict and the framing of conflict, numerous studies have been conducted in Ethiopia. The majority of them are focused on the print media's role in conflict situations as there are also broadcast media related studies. The framing of local conflicts and violence by different media,. The silence of the media on addressing local conflicts, media framing of conflicts and other conflict and media related topics are being investigated.

The mass media has a powerful influence on how people view the world. It also has the role of convincing people to engage in different activities. Therefore, newspapers, radio, television and the internet are frequently the only link to events happening outside of one's neighbourhood. Mass media can be used for various purposes. Its functions have a positive or negative impact on society. The framing of the topic is the main issue of media reporting. A reporter's story on a conflict can be the sole information available to audiences.

The Tigray conflict is a recent incident that happened between the Federal government and the Tigray regional ruling party, TPLF. The local and international media have reported extensively on this conflict from diversified perspectives since it began. So, how the media, specifically the Ethiopian-based media, framed and reported the issue is debatable and also had the potential to be investigated. There is also a research gap because of the recentness of the incident. However, in the modern world, the broadcast media, particularly the television medium, is a more favorable medium with the ability to change audience perceptions. Therefore, the main purpose and motivation of this research is to contribute to this regard by examining the media

content to find out how the media sets an agenda for the conflict and frames the incident to induce the audience perception of this recent internal armed conflict.

Framing is how news stories form the perception of the audience. Entman (1993), describes framing as "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993:52). Framing is an angle or viewpoint from which a news story is told. The main factor influencing the audience's perception of the conflict and biasing them in favor of one party or one solution over another is how news reports are framed; the media can either intensify or cool the conflict. The majority of the news is about conflict, and it is framed by newsmakers, journalists, and other external bodies that have an impact on the incidents, such as the government and other political entities.

According to (majid,2000),There are three sorts of ideology that are likely to have a major impact on how news is framed: hegemonic ideology, elite ideology, and journalistic ideology (Majid, 2000). Journalistic ideology, or occupational ideology, in particular, can be considered a key source of influence on the framing of news. Journalists and news makers try to be objective and try to address the thoughts of the conflicting groups in the news report of conflicts, but occasionally it is difficult to entertain the opposing parties simultaneously. Majid and Ramaprasad (1998), clarify illustrations of the journalistic ideology system "emphasis on occasions, not issues; accentuation on the abnormal and freak; and center on tip-top sources and on-screen characters, for example." In numerous ways, the journalistic philosophy tends to fortify the overwhelming or first class belief systems, not, as it were, by being subject to control by elites, but, moreover, through keeping out, and trivialization of, other less effective groups in society. Therefore, the study tries to identify and discuss how the selected media framed and reported the incidents during the conflict period, besides the dominant sources that influenced those media in their framing of the conflict.

1.4 Objectives of the study

1.4.1 General objective of the study

- The overall goal of this study is to identify media news frames used in the reporting of the Tigray region conflict, to identify what part of the incident is more highlighted, to evaluate the contribution for peace resolution by selected media and amount of coverage given by Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) and Ethiopian Satellite Television

and Radio (ESAT), Television News Channels in reporting of the clash that occurred in the northern part of Ethiopia between the federal government and the Tigray regional ruling party, TPLF.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives of the Study

1. To find out the dominant media frames used in the reporting of the conflict between the federal government and the Tigray regional ruling party, TPLF by Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) and Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT).
2. To identify the salient elements in the news coverage of the conflict.
3. To study the contribution for peace initiatives, resolution and reconciliation based on their content of both media based on war/ peace journalism.
4. To evaluate the amount of coverage given to the conflict.

1.5 Research question

Next are the questions which the study would attempt to answer:

- 1) What are the dominant frames that journalists employ to structure the news stories in both media outlets during news coverage of the Tigray conflict and how they portrayed the incident?
- 2) What are the salient factors in each medium that support the frames and what was amplified and downplayed on the identified frames?
- 3) How much they contribute for peace initiative and resolution on their coverage of the conflict? What is the dominant frame, according to war/ peace journalism, in both media in the sample period?
- 4) How much amount of coverage given to the conflict?

1.6 Scope of the study

In Ethiopia, there are a number of private and public media stations which operate in the country. However, for the purpose of this study, the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio television news channels were selected. The study is concerned to find out of the frames used and coverage of the conflict relating to the reporting of the Tigray region conflict in Ethiopia.

The study mainly focused on analysing the content of the news coverage, in order to find out the framing of the above mentioned media news channels and their amount of coverage in reporting the northern Ethiopia clash between the ruling party of Tigray regional state, TPLF and the federal government of Ethiopia. The study used descriptive case study research design, qualitative and quantitative research approach content analysis, purposive sampling the sample period is the pickup time of the conflict.

1.7 Significance of the study

The study has some significance in depicting the role of the media and journalists during conflict reporting. It could be a one contribution on conflict reporting and news framing. For the media, scholars, researchers, students, and other interested parties. This study is also expected to contribute some important points to the country's media industry. It is also expected to encourage both selected media to reconsider their conflict news reporting and their framing of the news after the study is completed.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

This study has some limitations. One of these limitations is the lack of available data/information and legality issues to include other media in this research, which are important for this study that represents the polarization of the Ethiopian media. Indeed, in spite of the fact that the study has attempted to form the sample more representative of the media's role in conflict reporting and framing. The discoveries of this study would also be more pertinent to the media that selected for this study.

1.9 Organization of the study

The thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter one deals with the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions and scope of the study. This chapter also summarizes the significance of the study. The second chapter encompasses the review of related literature which deals with scholarly opinions supporting the study. Chapter three focuses on the research method, design, data collection instruments, and sampling and data analysis procedures employed in the study. Under Chapter four, data presentation and analysis and the findings of both qualitative and quantitative analysis are discussed to answer the major research questions in relation to the theoretical frame work of the study. The final chapter, which is chapter five, consists of summary, conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter systematically examines the available literature and studies that have been previously carried out with regard to media framing and conflict reporting. It also examines related literature and documents related to the conflict, and the communication theories guiding the study are discussed in these chapters.

2.2 Understanding conflict

Many scholars define conflict differently, but they focus on disagreement or confrontation between different groups or individuals, they have also written about the beginnings of the conflict. According to (Jeong, 2008), conflict has existed since the dawn of time and is unlikely to come to an end or disappear. "Conflict dates from the beginning of human history and will probably never end" (Jeong, 2008,p:4). Heinz-Jürgen Axt, et. al, (2006), explains the term conflict and its intonation in everyday language according to the clarification medias perception is mostly negative. "Already, in the sphere of everyday language, the term conflict has no positive intonation. It is frequently associated with dysfunctional phenomena such as discord, disputes, or fighting are associated with it" (Heinz-Jürgen Axt, et. al, 2006:2).

According to Jeong, (2008), "Our survival on this planet hinges on how we manage the various features of conflict that is fuelled not only by seemingly incompatible interests and values but also by hostilities" (Jeong 2008, p: 4).

According to the IMS Voice of War (2006.9) report, "Conflict is one of the defining features of the modern world. Since the end of the Cold War, there have been countless conflicts that have involved the deaths of millions of people and the suffering and displacement of millions more," Andrew Puddephatt on Voice of war IMS (2006:5).

In general, Conflict is frequently depicted as a fight for principles and claims. Boulding, (1962), explains this issue "as a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources" (Boulding, 1962: 5, as cited in Jeong 2008, p:5). In the absence of agreed-upon rules endorsing their evenhanded distribution, efforts to obtain desired objects have grown more intense.

In conflict circumstances, two or more social elements are associated to at slightest one shape of adversarial interaction, through intrusion with one another's endeavors to fulfill their needs and welfare at the cost of those of the others (Jeong,2008, p:11).

Change is always at the root of conflict. It's about people trying to fill unaddressed wants, strengthen their status, defend their identities, obtain more access to resources, and diminish inequalities and injustice. The Ethiopian issue that is the main concern of this study can be raised here as an example. It can also be about people stand and resisting the governments stand and need a change and fighting to maintain privilege. Conflict is an important driver of change and change is at the heart of almost all reporting.

According to peace studies and conflict analyses (PCA,2021), "Conflict occurs when tensions arise due to a divergence of interests or perceived interests between people, organizations, groups or societies. Here is also some further explanation by peace studies and conflict analysis (PCA), "conflicts arise in situations where two or more individuals or groups try to pursue goals which they believe they cannot share," or in other words, "when some people want change and others disagree". Other scholars explain conflict devices as a struggle between two opposing forces" (PCA, 2021:6).

The conflict considerations described by Jeong, (2008), as neither good nor bad. "If conflict is considered, in itself, to be neither bad nor good, an important question is what conditions give rise to a constructive or destructive conflict process" (Jeong,2008). According furthermore, explanation of Jeong (2008), the involvement of conflict in diverse dimensions. "Every conflict involves political, ethical, and psychological dimensions. Identity and power differentials underlie the social and organizational dynamics of conflict (Jeong, 2008, p:18).

Conflict is pervasive and inevitable. Although not all conflicts lead to violence, violent conflicts have left a measurable toll of devastation, and it is impossible to quantify the lasting impact of human suffering. As a global community, how are citizens expected to understand the complexities of conflicts in a way that enables conflict resolution? (kimberly Kelling & Beverly Horvit ,2017).

2.3 Internal Conflict

Internal and ethnic disputes are the most frequently occurring types of conflict in present-day Ethiopia. They have different initial reasons for these conflicts. The core causes of those conflicts are ethnic confrontations, natural resource demands, religious clashes, and identity-based issues, among the causes of these conflicts. According to Mulatu, (2017), explanations "conflicts" can be classified either as interstate or intrastate conflicts. The former denotes a conflict between two countries, whereas the latter denotes a conflict between two groups within a country" (Mulatu, 2017:4).

2.4 Ethnic conflict

According to Nguyen (2010), "The causes of ethnic conflict are densely debated by scholars across disciplines, but these arguments can be categorized into three major theories of ethnic conflict, namely primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism." (Nguyen, 2010, as cited in Williams, 2015, p:147). The above mentioned theories of ethnic conflict have detailed expectations. "Each of these theories has specific assumptions regarding the origin of ethnic identities, and, following from this, they reflect different causes of ethnic conflict. According to Cordell and Wolf, (2010), "Ethnic conflict is defined ... as a conflict where at least one group defines its goals exclusively in ethnic terms and in which the fault-line of confrontation is one of ethnic variation" (Cordell and Wolf, 2010.4, as cited in Dodeye Uduak Williams, 2015, p:147). Williams (2015), goes into greater detail about the consequences of ethnic conflict. "Ethnic conflict results in significant loss of lives, denial of basic human rights and severe material destruction and has to be prevented" (2015.149).

2.5 National power and Regional predominance (NP/RP)

The main goal of this study is to identify news frames that are used during conflict news reporting. This research believes that the conflict that occurred in northern Ethiopia, which is the main focus area of this study, was sparked by a power struggle. Many people also believe that the root cause of the conflict was a power struggle between the central government of Ethiopia and the Tigray regional government's ruling party, the TPLF. This fact is a true reflection of the NP/RP concept. Mulatu (2017) defines National Power (**NP**) as "a group fighting to demand a new government or a new structure for the state. The group is well-armed. "As well as regional predominance, defined in the following way, "Regional Predominance (**RP**) is a group that is

fighting against the government for regional power and self-administration for some particular groups" (Mulatu, 2017:6).

2.6 Armed conflict

Armed conflicts are those that are fueled by weapons and other forms of artillery. According to the Amnesty International overview of armed conflicts for 2021, it classifies armed conflicts into two types. "An armed conflict within a single state is known as (non-international armed conflicts), and those involving armed forces from two or more states (international armed conflicts)." In addition, the overview provided a detailed definition of the Armed conflicts within single states are political conflicts in which people struggle for internal change and are willing to fight in order to gain control of the government's power. National power and regional predominance are the main causes of non-international armed conflicts. It is a power struggle between different groups within the state. We can mention the Ethiopian case in this context. According to the UCDP (Uppsala Conflict Data Program), the definition of an armed conflict "An armed conflict is a contested incompatibility that concerns a government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year."

2.7 The role of media in conflict situations

Our survival on this planet hinges on how we manage the various features of conflict. Andrew Puddephatt on IMS (2006), report mentions some important points about the role of the media in conflict situations, "Mass media often plays a key role in today's conflict. Basically, their role can take two different and opposed forms "IMS (2006:4). The paper goes on to describe these functions in further detail. It is used to describe the mass media is, "Either the media takes an active part in the conflict and has responsibility for increased violence, or stays independent and out of the conflict, thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence" (voice of war IMS,2006:4).

The public looks to the media and journalists for timely information that will assist them to position themselves in the world and respond to changing social and political circumstances. as well as how to deal with conflict, how to feel about those who are involved in conflict situations, and how to approach them.

According to Yll Bajraktari, et.al (2007), from the United States Institute of Peace, explained the media's role in the conflict. "It is not only positive; it also has a negative side". Eytan Gilboa

(2009), claims that the majority of media-related studies concentrate on the negative role of the media in the escalation of violence during various stages of a conflict. "Very few studies deal with the actual or potential media contributions to conflict resolution and reconciliation. Indeed, the media, particularly radio and television, played a role in inciting conflict and violence in places like Rwanda and Bosnia (Eytan Gilboa, 2009).

The role of the media in escalating and reducing conflict is discussed by quoting different incidents. "The media can play a great role in escalating or reducing conflicts. If hate speech is released from the media to the audience, the role of the media will escalate conflict". He cited the media's role in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia as examples (the media also has a positive role in reducing conflict situations by inciting peace initiatives and by providing resolutions to the conflict. The solid affiliation between the media and conflict can be differently portrayed. On the one hand, the media reports on conflicts to improve its readers' welfare (Puddephatt, 2006:5).

Some scholars have examined tried-and-true approaches in light of the major challenges confronting the international media development community at the local and regional levels. These efforts to foster quality journalism as a public good in itself can support the realization of other human rights.

The role of proficient and pluralistic media environment, is explained by Nadine Jurrat, "the role the professional independent media and journalists can play in circumstances where people's survival may rely on trustworthy information about conflicting factions, violence, or rescue efforts" (Nadine Jurrat,2016).

Reports of conflicts fill the news media. Conflicts, by their very nature, always attract massive media attention. Past research has pointed out that conflict reporting is often sensationalized for the sake of boosting circulation and ratings (Lee & Maslog, 2005). The media and conflict as a field have been getting more consideration since the media has been able to bring numerous outstanding changes to conflicts and their solutions. The media plays a critical role in the escalation of conflicts. They can, moreover, play a pivotal part in subduing clashes if we give them a chance to do so. The media plays both a positive and negative role in conflict resolution (Teshale ,2020)

2.7.1. Positive Role

The task of a reporter is to narrate the facts as they are, impartially, accurately and responsibly, and not as one or anyone else would wish them to be reported, in order to help the readers and viewers to create an informed public opinion. This important reporting task can be performed relatively easily when a society is at peace.

The media plays a wide range of roles in our lives. Some of these roles are very constructive, "if the media works properly as an information provider and interpreter, as a watch dog, as a gate keeper, as a policy maker, as a diplomat, as a Peace Promoter and as a Bridge Builder".(Bratic and Schirch, 2007, p:9). In general, if we use the media properly or the reverse, the role is directly reflected in courageous and ignoble journalism respectively. This is the positive role of the media. In conflict situations, the media has a responsibility to deliver accurate and balanced information to the audience. It is also promoting peace initiatives about the conflict.

2.7.2 Negative role

The negative role of the media is the evil side of the media; it contributes to a harmful approach and intensifies conflict situations; and it does not accept peace initiatives and reconciliation. To explain the negative role of the media, most studies bring up the case of the Rwandan genocide in 1994. The media played a malicious role in the Rwanda Genocide in 1994, as well as in the inter-ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia. The negative affect of the media on the intellect and state of mind of our society is a question.

The Mark Thompson document is essential to showing local media coverage of shaping and developing conflicts. "The Balkan conflicts demonstrated the growing recognition of the importance of local media coverage in shaping and developing the conflict on the ground. This has been best documented in Mark Thompson's groundbreaking account "according to Andrew Puddephatt," the role of the local media in the former Yugoslavia, Forging War, which documents how the media aided and abetted the destruction of Yugoslavia " (Ims, 2006).

2.8 News Media and Conflict Coverage

As a researcher mentioned above, the media and conflict have a great association. People are extremely sensitive to conflict issues, and the media reports on them to meet the interests of the audience, since people naturally seem willing to share the pain of others, journalists cover conflicts not only to inform, as one of the functions of the media is to inform, but also to share

feelings, emotions, and to show the social, political, economic and psychological crisis. Then, they suggest possible solutions. Again, conflict issues are mostly unpredictable and this newness usually attracts journalists to coverage.

In the process of writing and reporting a given story in the media, journalists hold the prime responsibility for selecting an issue and producing it in a format that is to be disseminated. Journalists participate in the entire production process of a story in order to inform, educate, and entertain society, journalism is described as a profession that produces, reproduces, and disseminates knowledge to large audiences through the media (McQuail, 1987; McNair, 2011, as cited in Mulatu, 2017, p: 35).

Globally, magazines, newspapers, radio, television as well as other media platforms shape social disturbances such as conflict, war, social injustice, among others. Having this information, people can plan, judge, decide, and execute their activities (Francis, 2017).

The coverage of war/conflict forces major duties on correspondents. On the one hand, they must exercise extreme caution not to spread rumors, and on the other hand, they must put themselves in danger if the size of a war event is critical.

But whatever they do, they must always be conscious that careless war reporting can cause untold harm in a tense situation. The greatest care must be taken in reporting killings, injuries, prisoners, property loss and the area captured, etc. The kinds of weapons being used in the war can also be reported. The position of armies on land, in the air or oceans, bombing of different areas and types of bombing can be explained. The cause of the war, the start of the war, the major areas of conflict, and who is to blame must all be covered in war reporting. The fundamental precautions regarding war should be followed. Different news story types can be used in war reporting to give full coverage of the war.

2.9 Conflict sensitive reporting

Communication is one of the most significant factors that can aid in the reduction of disputes. While there is an increasing recognition given to the importance of the media and its positive and negative potential in relation to conflict. To work toward a nonviolent conclusion, all parties must first converse. This is where smart reporting comes into play (Howard, 2009). According to Peter Du (2012), the definition of conflict sensitive reporting is not only adopting conflict-sensitive approach he said " Not only does this mean adopting a conflict-sensitive

approach to the gathering and presentation of news, but it also means finding ways to tell conflict-sensitive stories in an engaging and compelling manner "(peter du,2012:4).

The leading proponent of conflict-sensitive reporting is Ross Howard. Conflict sensitive reporting, according to him, should contain the context, cause, and repercussions of conflicts by laying out the history of the violence's emergence. He believes that CSR contributes to reporters who are engaged in covering cases of conflict, tensions, violence, and other incidents (Howard, 2008).

The key issues of conflict sensitive journalism include the importance of news selection, what is being reported on, how it is conveyed, and the ramifications for the public and what the public requires. It covers the fundamentals of good journalism. It is deeply rooted, and persistent conflicts are notoriously difficult to resolve. Conflict sensitive journalism's techniques and methodologies enable the media to present the public with more comprehensive, neutral, and accurate information about the conflicts. Reporters who practice conflict sensitive journalism are better able to report on conflicts in a professional manner without adding fuel to the fire. Conflict-sensitive journalism entails in-depth reporting on all sides, as well as allowing persons involved to speak freely about any topic related to the conflict (IMS, 2016).

Worthy journalism is challenging work in the best of circumstances. There is never enough data or time. Journalists rely on their training and standards to get through these challenges and present accurate and unbiased news. That has always been journalism's traditional role: to help the public make well-informed decisions. "Good journalism is difficult work at the best of times. There is never enough information and not enough time. Reporters rely on their training and standards to overcome these difficulties and deliver news which is accurate and impartial" (Howard, 2004:5). Journalists are also products of the conflict that a country experiences or has experienced. The fact that journalists are often persecuted, threatened or harmed during conflicts may very well affect their ability to report freely. Professional journalists do not set out to reduce conflict. Rather, they seek to present accurate and impartial news. And as a result of this good, responsible reporting, conflict can be reduced. There are several elements of conflict resolution that good journalism can deliver, automatically, as part of its daily work (IMS, 2014).

IMS's study goes on to clarify what professional journalism comprises; as part of routine good reporting, professional journalism entails accomplishing all of the above. We can better comprehend how essential our involvement is in a conflict if we understand the impact of what we do (IMS, 2014:19). According to IMS In countries like Ukraine, where there is conflict and

severe human insecurity, the media can play an important role as an active promoter of human rights and democratization, as well as a facilitator of conflict reduction and resolution through the gathering and dissemination of non-partisan information. The traditional role of "good" journalism is to provide information to the public so that they can make informed judgments. Good journalism, on the other hand, is challenging labor even in the best of circumstances. Journalists confront even higher challenges in a country threatened by armed conflict. They work in an atmosphere of fear and threats, with conflicting forces vying for control of the media (IMS, 2016).

2.10 Peace journalism

Peace journalism is a model that arose from the study of peace and war. Peace journalism was founded by a Norwegian scholar, Johann Galtung, with a long career in the field of peace studies. In his well-known article *The Structure of Foreign News*, he claims that some media help to the polarization of the conflict by using certain language orientations (Galtung 1965). He later coined the term "war journalism" to describe this type of reporting. Another type of journalism, peace journalism, should be used to counterbalance this effect (Gavilán, 2011).

The peace model was introduced in Rune Ottosen (2010)'s article. "The model of peace journalism" is based on a dichotomy between what he calls "war journalism" and a "peace journalism" approach, according to the introduction. The model includes four main points of contrast between the two approaches: war journalism is violence-orientated, propaganda-orientated, elite-orientated and victory-orientated "Rune Ottosen (2010:262).

"Peace journalism can be described as a theory and a tool for journalists and others who strive to understand conflicts in a larger context" (Kvinna till Kvinna, 2013:3). The peace journalism theory idea is based on studies of peace and violence that reveal how journalists make decisions. make while reporting on conflicts have an impact on not only our understanding of the conflict, but also how we perceive the war. As a result, the dispute and its conclusion are affected (Kvinna till Kvinna, 2013:3). According to Lynch and McGoldrick, (2005), "Peace Journalism is when editors and reporters make choices of what to report and how to report it – that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict" (2005:5). Johan Galtung's model of peace journalism inspires and provokes: it has inspired journalists to write critical articles from war zones (Lynch, 2008: 143); it has been used by teachers as a platform to encourage students to think critically about the way the mainstream

media report on wars (But the peace journalism model has also been used as a point of departure for studying other media outlets, such as computer games on real wars (Ottosen, 2008: 73).

2.11 War journalism

War journalism is Violent, propaganda-driven, elite-driven, and victory-driven journalism are all hallmarks of war journalism. As a result, war journalism has the ability to contribute to the escalation of wars by duplicating propaganda and encouraging war (Galtung, 2002). Conflict coverage in the news is linked to the idea of conflict as a news value. As a result, conflict coverage is frequently sensationalized and utilized to increase circulation and ratings (Kim, Lee, & Maslog, 2006).

According to Kim, Lee & Maslog, War journalism is depicted the confronting groups as a winner and loser it uses military triumphalist language; a tale with little context, background, or historical perspective; and a superficial narrative with little context, background, or historical perspective (Kim, Lee, & Maslog, C, 2006). War journalism portrays conflict similar to a sport where participants are grouped into opposing sides (i.e., us-versus-them') in a zero-sum game, highlighting the visible effects of war while ignoring the intangible consequences (Galtung, 2002). War journalism portrays warfare as a zero-sum game in which players are divided into opposing factions (i.e., us-versus-them), with the visible repercussions of war overshadowed by the intangible ramifications. By replicating propaganda and supporting war, war journalism has the ability to contribute to the escalation of conflicts. Galtung (1998) criticized the news media for taking the "low road" in reporting on conflicts and the elites involved, and urged journalists to follow the "high road" in reporting on peace, in which the news media did not focus on a win-lose conclusion or sports-arena style reporting.

2.12 Post conflict reporting

In conflict reporting, post-conflict reporting is very important. According to Orgeret and Tayeebwa (2016), Post-conflict reporting has a vital role in "nation building, state building or peace building, and sometimes post-conflict reconstruction is considered as a part of the more general peace-building process" (2016:13). When it comes to the Ethiopian case, both the federal government and the interim administration of the Tigray region emphasize the importance that the interim administration and the federal government place on building and restoring infrastructure that has been damaged as a result of the conflict. It also firmly explained the region's guaranteed peace and security.

“The media have a significant position in addressing issues of identity in post-conflict society, as well as communicating the story to the rest of the world. Johan Galtung stresses the role of reconciliation in the processes a war-struck society ultimately has to go through” (Orgeret and Tayeebwa ,2016).

2.13 Theoretical Frameworks agenda setting and framing theories

The theoretical framework comprises the whole of media language, representations, industries and audiences, which also includes the theories associated with each area. All theories must be studied in conjunction with in-depth studies of news, online, and television. This section will go over two of the theoretical frameworks: agenda setting, and framing. The concepts and ideas behind how those frames work are explained. Those theories are included in this study because both theories are the main concern of the study. Framing is the extension of agenda setting when we set an agenda on a specific topic at the same time we select some part of the topic to be a more noticeable framing of that topic. So this is the reason for mentioning those concepts in this study.

2.13.1 Agenda setting

One of the fundamental theoretical frameworks used in mass media research and media and communication studies is agenda setting. It has been nearly a century since the concept of agenda-setting was introduced to mass communication and other fields of study. Lipmann explains that "the world that we have to deal with politically is out of reach, out of sight, and out of mind" (Lippmann 1922, p. 17, as cited in Mulatu 2017, P.64).

Relating Agenda Setting to Media Framing, According to Chyi and McCombs (2004:22), the news media frequently reframe the event by highlighting diverse characteristics of the happening, intentionally or unknowingly, in order to keep the story alive and renewed; it is often the case that different media outlets have divergent lookouts on high-profile news stories. The difference between framing and agenda setting therefore is agenda setting on what issues are given existence by the media; framing is concerned with how such issues are depicted in the media and what recommendations go into them in shaping public opinion (2004:22). “The basic agenda-setting role of the news media is to focus public attention on a small number of key issues and topics. Although there are dozens of issues and other aspects of the world outside competing for attention, the news media can cover only that handful deemed most newsworthy” Chyi and McCombs (2004:262).

"The agenda-setting theory also draws from Cohen's observation that the press may not be successful in telling people what to think much of the time, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (Cohen, 1963:120,as cited in Getnet 2019, p:14).

The fundamental assumption of agenda-setting: The basic assumption of agenda-setting is primarily the power of the media to set the agenda for the public (McCombs & Shaw ,1972). They further discuss how the media makes the occasion or issue prominent, and how the issue affects public awareness. They list some examples. These are "the extent of the coverage (the frequency), the size of the coverage, and the placement of. The content of the news media has been partitioned into "major" and "minor" levels, so as to see whether there was any considerable contrast within the mass media's accentuation on issues" (McCombs & Shaw, as cited in Mulatu 2017: p.66).

But in some cases, agenda setting could seem, with so much media focus and scrutiny on a single occasion, that the mass media loses or even ignores other critical stories. This is often the core of the agenda-setting theory. The main interest of this research is to assess how framing has been constructed in the Ethiopian local media in order to set an agenda of the conflict. In the case of last November's conflict between the Federal government and the ruling party of the Tigray regional state, the TPLF. So agenda setting is the basement of framing is the extension of agenda setting they are interconnected theories in setting an agenda and on highlighting some part of that agenda.

2.13.2 Framing

Framing is a concept which was first posited by Gregory Bateson in 1972. He defined psychological frames as a "spatial and temporary boundary of a set of interactive messages" (Bateson, 1972, p. 197). Framing is about shaping the perception of the audience of a particular issue (as cited in Mass Communication Theory Online, 2017). Framing is the main concern of this study, how the selected media frame the agenda of the conflict, how they form the perception of the audience. The study is focusing on investigating, based on the contents of the media, what is selected, what is emphasized and what is omitted from the happenings of the conflict. Based on the basic issues of this study, the main sayings of framing by different scholars are discussed below.

Linström and Marais (2012) state that there is no consensus on the definition of framing. They explain the fact in the following way: "Although there is no broadly accepted definition

of framing, those that have evolved strongly resemble one another” (Linström and Marais 2012).

Scheufele,(1999) ,explain about a process model of framing, which is developed by himself. According to his clarification, “identifying four key processes that should be addressed in future research: frame building, frame setting, individual level processes of framing, and a feedback loop from audiences to journalists.” (Dietram A. Scheufele,1999,p.103)

According to Vreese (2005), in his description about news framing he explains Millions of people focus to the news media every day and the media’ could be a foundation institution in our democratic system. Framing involves communication source presenting and defining an issue (Vreese,2005.p.51).

Framing is a concept which is commonly used to understand the media effects. It is regarded as an extension of the agenda setting theory in that it prioritizes an issue and causes the audience to consider its consequences. Framing is based on the idea of how the media an event or an issue within a particular field of meaning, which plays an important role in people’s decision making procedures (Davie, 2019).

Early media researchers (scholars) believed that the media's power to influence the audience was direct and unlimited during the first half of the twentieth century. They acknowledge that the media has the power to influence people's opinions on a wide range of issues. Another stage of media effect studies has started to take place. In the early 1960s, limited effect studies came to criticize previous studies that gave the media unlimited power (Tesfagebriel, 2017:22).

The concept of framing is similar to the agenda-setting tradition, but it expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a specific subject. The idea of the framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain occasions and, after that, places them inside a field of meaning.

Entman (1993) provides an in-depth explanation of how the media provides viewers with schemata for rendering events. For him, the basic variables are selection and salience: He furthermore explains "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text," (p: 52,).

Functions of Frames Frames have been discussed by a variety of researchers. According to Dunwoody and Diminshes (1992), one of the functions of a frame is to make people act without requiring much cognitive vitality.

In particular, a frame functions to influence the audience's perceptions of topics or issues by addressing certain values, considerations or realities with more self-evident significance to the topic than they might have in another frame. (Scheufele, 2000), moreover, recommends that framing is based on "the presumption that modest changes within the wording of the depiction of a circumstance might influence how the audience thinks about issues" (Scheufele, 2000, p: 309). Entman (1993) clearly states that frames serve four functions for media organizations when reporting on a specific issue or event. These are problem definition, causal interpretation, ethical assessment, and proposing remedies (solutions) in Entman (1993).

According to the explanation by Billings (2004), "the three functions of media frames are: selection (who/what to show), emphasis (how much to show), and exclusion (what not show)" (Billings, 2004). He claims that the media controls the information that the audience receives by selecting issues, angles, words, and expressions, emphasizing certain aspects of the issue, and omitting information.

Entman (1993) also described framing based on the role it plays. According to Entman (1993), "frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies". In a similar manner, Vreese, (2005) argued that the frame includes source presentation and defining an issue. Vreese, (2005), defined the frame "by virtue of emphasizing some elements of a topic above others, a frame provides a way to understand an event or issue." (Vreese, (2005,p:53). For Parenti (1986), framing is a persuasion mechanism and, "just short of lying, the media can mislead us about what to think about a story before we have had a chance to think about it for ourselves" (Parenti,1986,p:220). Parenti (1986) argues that propaganda relayed through framing is effective. According to his explanation, "By bending the truth rather than breaking it, using emphasis, nuance, and innuendo, and peripheral embellishments, communications can create a desired impression without resorting to explicit advocacy and without departing too far from the appearance of objectivity" (Parenti,1986,p:220). Entman (1993) also agrees with Parenti to some extent by stating the danger of framing. "The danger of understating or omitting information is that it limits the alternatives or knowledge the public is exposed to" (Entman, 1993,p:52).

Frame Locations: As Entman (1993) explains, where frames are located in the communication process. Entman explains that frames can be found in four areas of the communication process.

(1) The first one is the communicator, (2) The next location is text-consisting of frames (ibid, p.52). (3) The third one is the receiver or we can call it the audience. (4) The fourth location is culture-is demonstrated in executing customs.

Framing process According to Kuypers, (2010), "Framing is a process whereby communicators, consciously or unconsciously, act to construct a point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be interpreted by others in a particular manner". The framing process is a critical component of the framing concept. The process consists of frame building, frame setting, and individual and societal level consequences of framing. Frame building refers to the factors that influence media institutions or journalists in the process of creating news frames.

The major principle point of the framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values and considerations. Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue (Druckman and Chong, 2007). The processes of framing consist of frame building, frame setting, and the individual and societal level consequences of framing.

Frame-building refers to the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames. Factors internal to journalism determine how journalists and news organizations frame issues (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, cited in Vreese, 2005, p.52).

Frame setting According to the Vreese, 2005 discussion, "Frame setting refers to the relationship or interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and tendencies" (Vreese, 2005). In short, it deals with the effects of media frames on the audience.

The consequence of framing refers to the influence of media frames on the individual's attitudes towards a certain issue. On the societal level, frames may contribute to shaping society's political actions and decision making processes (ibid).

2.13.2.1 Types of Frames

Framing Researchers Based on characteristics, nature, and content of frames sort out frames in to two broad classifications: Issue-specific frames and generic frames. Issue-specific frames are found only in specific topics/issues that do not have broad socio-cultural implications. These kinds of frames are utilized to different issues/topics differently; thus, making framing researches difficult to generalize, compare, and to make an all-inclusive theory (Vreese, 2005).

Generic frames are applicable to different topics at different times and even with different cultural contexts (ibid). Furthermore, generic frames are used at two levels of study. One group of study contain.

Communication online (2017) explains framing categories as specific and generic. **Specific types** of frames are reported on specific issues. The page points out, for example, that the idea of specific frames for reporting the Asian Tsunami was linked to consequences, how many further deaths there could be if aid was not received, and issues of responsibility. **Generic** – For instance, conflict and the diversion of legislative issues have contradicted the frame of values.

2.13.2.2 Framing Studies

In the 1960s and 1970s, the framing theory was established, motivating scholars to perform substantial research in the topic. Though it is impossible to list all of the study that has been done in the field, it is necessary to view some of it.

Entman's (1991) examination of news reports of the US shooting down an Iranian airliner and the former USSR shooting down a Korean airliner is a notable example in this regard. Vreese's study on media framing is another noteworthy example that may offer additional light on the power of media framing (2004). Vreese (2004) investigated the impact of frames in political television news on viewers' perceptions of the news.

Jin Yang (2003), on the other hand, using a frame analysis technique, compared how the Chinese and US media covered the 1999 NATO air strikes in Yugoslavia. He found that both framed the event on the basis of their national interests. As a result, the Chinese newspapers framed the airstrikes as an intervention into Yugoslavia's sovereignty, whereas the US newspapers framed the air strikes as a humanistic aid to the Albanians in order to stop the ethnic cleansing initiated by the Serbians.

Talking about framing studies, Matthes (2009) has listed five major problems in framing research. He argues that problems in framing research include a lack of operational precision, the descriptive focus of many analyses, neglect of visuals, and insufficient reporting of reliability.

The importance of framing theory to this study is that, generally, as the study is based on analyzing the two media effects, framing is considered to have a significant influence on shaping the research. It is because of this important role of framing that various actors struggle to make

their frame dominant. So, in this study, framing helps to come up with clear findings for defining and differentiating issues in research.

Identifying frames similarly to the definitions of framing, various scholars propose and employ distinct approaches to framing research. There is no universal standard and steps to follow to identify frames in the news. However, "there are two approaches: inductive and deductive in nature, widely pursued by scholars" (Vreese, 2005, p. 53).

2.13.2.3 Critics on framing

Critics on Framing One reason for this is that, in the absence of a clear explanation of classifications and typologies, the application of framing varies across contexts and disciplines. In other words, framing may not commonly be an applicable notion as a result of the absence of a clear explanation.

The second criticism concerns the theory's relationship to the media's direct effect theory, which disregards audiences' autonomy in making and making meaning.

Framing suggests the notion of dominant meaning, which consists of problem definition, causal interpretation, evaluative and treatment interpretation with the predisposition that it will be accepted and understood by the audience. But this notion is debatable as to whether people can recall their own experiences and facts that were not given in the text to decode the meaning. In other words, audiences are not passive recipients who may absorb framed media texts (Entman, 1993).

Though various types of frames are identified, it has been difficult to find clear-cut guide lines as to how to identify the indicators of those frames. According to Entman (1993), the presence of frames can be manifested in — key words, stock phrases, and stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments

Chapter Three

Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The methods used in this investigation are described in this chapter. Research design, research locations, sample selection, data collection instruments, data collecting processes, and analysis are all covered in this chapter. This part of the study also explains how these components are employed in the collecting and analyzing the data. Different types of procedures or techniques are also discussed in this chapter. Finally, the chapter discusses some of the legal and ethical issues that the researchers considered.

3.2 Research design

In the research world, research has its special significance in solving various operational and planning related problems in many fields of study. To conduct research, there is a procedure which helps a researcher to identify the problem and to answer the research questions. One of these procedures is preparing an applicable research design for our study. Research design is defined by different scholars in various contexts.

In addition, research design was also defined as a theoretical plan by Kothari, (2004). "Research design is a theoretical structure or plan for conducting research; it can be thought of as the blueprint or basic plan for research operations. Data collection, measurement, and analysis are all part of it" (Kothari, 2004, p: 31).

According to Kothari, (2004) "Research design is needed because it facilitates the smooth sailing of the various research operations, thereby making research as efficient as possible, yielding maximal information with minimal expenditure of effort, time and money" (Kothari, 2004, p:32). To detect, examine, and discover the news stories and frames used in both media in covering conflict news reporting, this research employs a descriptive case research design.

3.3 Research approach

Study approaches are research plans and procedures that cover everything from general assumptions to specific data collecting, analysis, and interpretation methodologies. This plan necessitates a number of decisions, none of which must be made in the sequence in which they make sense to me or in which they are presented here.

The primary goal of this research is to look into conflict reporting in Ethiopia's private and public media, with a focus on the recent Tigray region conflict. This research used both quantitative and qualitative research approaches.

3.4 Research population, Sampling Technique and Procedure

The important factors that are employed in the development of the sample design are listed by Kothari (2004). "When developing a sampling design, the researcher must pay attention to the following points: type of universe, Sampling unit, Source list Size of sample, Parameters of interest, Budgetary constraints, Sampling procedure Finally, the researcher must decide the type of sample he will use" (Kothari 2004, p. 56-57).

Purposive sampling was utilized in this study endeavor. A prospective sampling strategy that allows the researcher to use or include the information required to achieve the study's objectives. The Sample period, sample size population, and unit of analysis are selected purposely. Non-probability sampling techniques are explained by Kothari (2004), who says, "Non-probability sampling is also known by different names, such as deliberate sampling, purposive sampling, and judgment sampling." In this type of sampling, items for the sample are selected deliberately by the researcher; his choice concerning the items remains supreme" (Kothari, 2004, p. 59).

3.4.1 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis helps the researcher to define what is being studied as well as what aspects are being studied. The unit of analysis in this study is news report or story, News reports that reported about the conflict between the Federal government and the Tigray regional state ruling party, TPLF. News that discusses the topic, either directly or indirectly is selected carefully and included in this research as unit of analysis.

3.4.2 Selection of Media Outlet

The media outlets are selected based on the accessibility and coverage rate of the issue. Their accessibility is identified by area coverage as well as information accessibility, which means that both selected media are available on different platforms, and they have access to cover the conflict exhaustively. In particular, ESAT has also different access and sources to cover the incident extensively, rather than other private media in the country. Therefore, this is the reason for giving them an advantage prior to selection.

3.5 Data Collection Method

The study adopted content analysis method to gather data: In this research, data will be collected from you tube channel of Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) and you tube channel of Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio by using content analysis of both media.

3.5.1 Identifying Media Frames through Content Analysis

Content analysis is a widely used qualitative research technique. It is also a preferable research tool among researchers. Content analysis is of one a research tool which is used to determine the presence of certain words, themes, or concepts within some given qualitative data (i.e. text). Content Analysis is used to assess sampled broadcast content of both media. A systematic coding sheet (Appendix A) was used to assess and record each news story selected for the study. According to Hsiu-Fang Hsieh and Sarah E. Shannon (2005), “Content analysis is a widely used qualitative research technique. Rather than being a single method, current applications of content analysis show three distinct approaches: conventional, directed, or summative” (Hsiu-Fang Hsieh and Sarah E. Shannon ,2005).

Quantitative Content analysis is one of the methods applied in this research to examine the coverage of Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio conflict reporting news. It includes very essential parts of the news such as the headline of the news, duration of the each news. Sources quoted in the news, news no types of reporting its relationship with news direct or indirect and other important elements of the news.

3.6 Research site

The research site is in Addis Ababa, and the electronic content was carried from both media's YouTube channels, and it was all broadcast on both media. Their studio found in Addis Ababa and Washington, DC. The news story is analyzed using sources found on YouTube, channels from both media, and its reliability is confirmed by the stations.

3.7 Research instruments / Data Analysis Procedure

Research instruments: to perform the overall activities of the study, the research used codec (coding sheet). Appendix A (coding sheet) is used to record all the necessary elements of a news story that help to execute quantitative content analysis. A (coding sheet), Appendix B was utilized to assess and examine, and detect the frames used in each news story in both media, and it was employed in a methodical and exhaustive manner. various analytic procedures provide a

way of drawing inductive inferences from data and distinguishing the signal (the phenomenon of interest) from the noise (statistical fluctuations) present in the data.

Data analysis and presentation: Data Analysis is the process of systematically applying statistical and/or logical techniques to describe and illustrate, condense and recap, and evaluate data. According to Shamoo and Resnik (2003), the data was thematically analyzed and used to validate the findings. The findings were then discussed to enrich the results. Finally, the researcher attempts to link the results of the study with theoretical frameworks used in the study with the aim of providing supportive arguments for the claims (Shamoo and Resnik, 2003).

The quantitative analysis: The quantitative analysis of this study provided an overview of both media coverage of the conflict: Frequency distribution and percentages were used and the findings will be presented using frequency tables.

Qualitative analysis: Qualitative analysis, on the other hand, examines the meaning of texts, words, or phrases utilized in conflict news stories in greater depth in order to identify the frames applied in the news stories.

3.8 Inter coder Reliability

There are several methods for determining levels of agreement among independent coders who use the same coding instrument to code the same content. Without an appropriate establishment of intercoder reliability, the findings cannot be valid and replicable. It is used to assess the degree to which a result can be achieved or reproduced by other observers. There is no consensus on a single "best" way of assessing the inter coder reliability. One of the most commonly used formulas is that of Holsti's (1969) formula. $R = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$. Where M is number of coder decisions on which coders agree; and N1 and N2 are the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder, respectively.

3.9 The Code Book

Codes are defined as "tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study" (Miles and Huberman 1994: 56, as cited in Jessica et al, 2011, p:137). A code book was created for this investigation, which consisted of easily understandable variables and categories. In order to do the content analysis of the sampled media, it is also necessary to use a code book. Code books are developed through an iterative process that may necessitate revising definitions as the researchers gain clearer insights about the raw data.

Chapter Four

Data Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation

4.1 Introduction

On this chapter quantitative content analysis of the conflict news coverage and framing analysis presented.

4.2 Quantitative Content Analysis Results

4.2.1 Ethiopian broadcasting corporation (EBC)

From Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC), 60 news stories were carefully chosen purposely for this study. The news stories are selected according to their direct and indirect relationship with the conflict. The sample period is selected purposely according to the pick point of the conflict. So the study takes this pick point as a sample period. The news reports are gathered from the EBC YouTube news channel, all-news stories are selected from one of EBC's prime time news hour, also known as ETV 57, airs at 2:00 p.m. local time in the evening.

4.2.2 Ethiopian Satellite Radio and Television (ESAT)

The Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT) news stories are selected according to the above mentioned sample period. The selection is also made purposely according to their relationship with the conflict. A total of sixty (60) news stories were selected from The Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT), for this study. The news is broadcast on the Ethiopia-ESAT DC Daily News program, which is broadcast from a studio in Washington, DC, and the Ethiopia-ESAT Amharic News program, which is broadcast from a studio in Addis Ababa. The transmission time of the two news cast programs is 6:00 p.m. at mid night local time and 1:30 p.m. evening local time.

4.2.3 Number of news stories

Total number of news selected from (EBC) and (ESAT)

Media	Total number of news
Ethiopian broadcasting corporation (EBC)	60
Ethiopian satellite and radio television (ESAT)	60

Table 1: Total number of news stories covered and selected news stories for the study

The sample period selection was made on purpose, and the news stories that had a linkage with conflict across the span period were selected. The assumption is one news for one day, but this does not mean that every and every day news is selected. Because the sampling method is purposive sampling, the transmission period is dependent on the above-mentioned period. This kind of sampling technique allows the research to select the case that it wants.

The transmission period is also dependent on the research sample period. According to the findings of this research from the total news selected by the Ethiopian broadcasting corporation (EBC), 38 news were broadcast on November, 2020, and 22 news stories were aired on December, 2020. From Ethiopian satellite television and radio (ESAT) selected news, 37 news were broadcast on November, 2020, and 23 news stories were aired on December, 2020.

Table 2 Transmission period of the news stories on both media

Media	Total Number of selected news	Transmission period	percentage	
Total number of news	120	Transmission period December and November	Number of news transmitted	Percentage
Ethiopian broadcasting corporation (EBC)	60	November	38	63.63 %
		December	22	36.66 %
Ethiopian satellite television and radio (ESAT)	60	November	37	61.66 %
		December	23	38.33

4.2.4 Coverage of the conflict related issues

In general assessment, Ethiopia Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) and Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT) television news channels covered the conflict in a large amount and in high intensity.

They were exhaustively reporting conflict related news in the sampled period. After the conflict happens, coverage of other issues is decreased, like of meetings, events and other types of news reporting. ‘Conflict reporting’ and ‘conflict related reporting has increased. However, the data showed while there was an increase in the number of conflict reports substantially in November, in contrast, the number of conflict related news reports decreased in December, especially in the third part of the month in both media.

News reports on other topics are also increasing in December. The Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) is primarily responsible for this case. According to specific conflict news coverage, Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT) is more focused on direct conflict related news, whereas the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) covers the incident in a diverse manner, including indirectly conflict related news such as public support and press releases from various regions that condemning the TPLF's actions are also included.

Duration of conflict related news

Media	Number of news	Total duration	Percentage duration	Avg duration	Maximum duration	Minimum duration
Both media	120	8:00:25	100 %	4:03.85	9:41.5	31.5 second
(EBC)	60	3:18:29	41.31 %	03:23.1	10:32	24 seconds
(ESAT)	60	4:41:46	58.65 %	04:44.6	8:51	39 seconds

Table 3 Duration of conflict related news

4.2.5 Length or duration of the news stories

The above table indicates the duration of conflict-related reports and the number of news stories in the sample period. The length of news stories is calculated based on the news stories' association with conflict. The total selected news story of both media duration is 8 hours and 25

seconds. Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) takes the total news duration of 3 hours 18 minutes and 29 seconds, accounting for 41.31% of the total. Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT) have total news duration of 4 hours 41 minutes and 46 seconds, accounting for 58.65% of the total.

4.2.6 Sources of the news stories

The next table displays the dominant and frequently cited sources which are quoted in the news stories. Sources have an impact on the production of news stories. During the sample period, EBC cited mostly government sources from the total of news stories selected by EBC. 49 news were used. Government sources (81.66%). From the total number of news stories selected from ESAT, 35 news stories are cited by government sources. It accounts (58.33%) of the total selected from ESAT. 84 news stories from a total of 120 news quoted by government sources is (70%) of the total.

Sources of the news stories

media	Total number of news	Gov. sources	Esat sources	Other sources
Both media	120	84 70 %	6 5 %	30 25 %
(EBC)	60	49 81.66 %		11 18.33 %
(ESAT)	60	35 58.33 %	6 10 %	19 31.66 %

Table 4 Presents the most quoted sources of both media

4.2.7 Byline reporting

Throughout the study period? In this research, most of the EBC news is byline reporting. 24 news is reported by line, but the trend of by line reporting in ESAT is infrequent. Only 6 news stories are reported by line. The media focuses on experts’ opinions, eyewitnesss and other sources directly through phone conversation.

4.2.8 Repetition of news stories

The following section shows the rate of repetition of EBC and ESAT news stories based on the selected day's news hours. The research sample unit is single news and the sample news hour is the evening 2 p.m. local time news cast program for EBC and midnight 6:00 p.m. local time and 1:30 p.m. local time evening program for ESAT. According to EBC sample news hour, only one news is repeated in the same news hour. There were no other repeated stories in the same news hour. It is the same for ESAT.

4.3 Framing Analysis

The article prepared by Vreese (2005), claims that becoming aware of different types of frames is necessary to understand when and why divers. This part points out about identified news frames in the test period. de Vreese, (2005), clarifies about the typology of news frames, he point out the connection of news makers and frames they applied, newsmakers may applied numerous diverse frames in their reporting of an issue, researchers concur that this plenitude in selection in how to tell and develop stories can be captured in investigations as certain unmistakable characteristics (de Vreese, 2005,54).

This researcher also identified the following types of frames, in both media which were directly related with the conflict. These are the law enforcement frame, war journalism frame, labeling or grouping frame.

4.3.1 Law enforcement frame

This frame has become widespread and dominantly revealed in the news reports of both media. After Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's announcement about the military operation in the Tigray region, he disclosed that "Our operation is to restore law and order in Ethiopia's Tigray Region". Law and order, crime, and justice frames are defined by Amber E, et al. (2013). They described them as precise policies in practice, as well as the enforcement, incentives, and consequences of those rules. It includes stories about the enforcement and interpretation of laws by individuals and law enforcement, breaking laws, loopholes, fines, sentencing and punishment, and court proceedings. Increases or reductions in crime (Amber E, et al.,2013).

This frame is fully reflected in the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation news reports. Each news report contains the term law enforcement. Every battle is also called a law enforcement operation. The term law enforcement was more salient in the news of EBC. The first round, the second and the third round of law enforcement began and ended. The law enforcement operation continued with success and victory. The people of one city or region support the law

enforcement operation. Ethiopian ambassadors in different countries explain to the international community about law enforcement operations and other news reports also contain this law enforcement term. Next, the study will present first sentences of news reports as an example that represents how this law enforcement frame was dominantly revealed in EBC news reports. “Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed says the last phase of the law enforcement operation has begun” *EBC, November 26 News no 1* “It is stated that because of the ongoing law enforcement mission the TPLF armed forces is get heavy losses and the law enforcement action will continue with strength. The law enforcement mission against the extremist TPLF militant group has been successfully continue with strength”. *EBC, November 16 News no 4*. “Raya Front Media Coordinator Colonel Dejene Tsegaye said law enforcement action against the extremist militant group is on the verge of victory. Residents of Mohoni, for their part, called for law enforcement action to be completed soon and ensured lasting peace.” *EBC, November 20 News no 2*. “Israel supports law enforcement efforts in Ethiopia , Ethiopian Ambassador to Israel, Reta Alemu, said, to the country's top government officials were briefed about the ongoing law enforcement in the Tigray region.” *EBC, November 20 News no 8*. “State Department condemns TPLF attack on innocent civilians in Maikadra US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Tibor Naj, while briefing journalists on the ongoing law enforcement campaign in the Tigray region and related issues.” *EBC, November 20 News no 10*. “Senior officers and members of the army said that the army, which is carrying out the last law enforcement operation in Raya Front, is performing a better job.” *EBC, November 26 News no 4*. “Addis Ababa residents say the Maikadra massacre is highly condemned and the government should intensify its law enforcement efforts. they said there is no need for foreign intervention in the government's law enforcement activities.” *EBC, November 26 News no 15*. “Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed praised the Defense Forces' law enforcement mission over the past few days.” *EBC, November 21 News no 3*. Here is also another notable example from EBC news which contains the law enforcement frame. The news told us how the law enforcement operation exists, "The government has repeatedly stated that the Junta's forces have in the past created conditions for the environment and bloodshed for innocent civilians, and provided explosives. This harassment paved the way for law enforcement action against the group, and two law enforcement actions were successfully completed and the third and final phase began. The third law enforcement action is the last law enforcement exercise by controlling the junta and removing the TPLF's destructive forces from Ethiopian politics. After the apostate TPLF is removed from politics and the rule of law is upheld, good opportunities are expected in Ethiopian politics. "

ESAT also depicted this frame moderately for example the news that transmitted from ESAT reflected this frame are presented below "Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed says the last phase of the law enforcement operation has begun. The 72-hour deadline for members of the junta to surrender has also come to an end. The campaign will prevent Mekelle and its people from being targeted." *ESAT DC Daily News Thu 26 Nov 2020 news no 1*. Ethiopian diplomats in various countries have informed the regional and international community about the government's ongoing law enforcement campaign in Tigray State. *Ethiopia - ESAT Amharic News Sun 15 Nov 2020 news no 3*. "This is beyond question. It is stated by the Ethiopian people. The situation of the government is also known by the people. This is not about ethnicity, but about law enforcement and controlling the companies from financing various terrorist activities specially TPLF by these organizations" *ESAT DC Daily News Tues 17 Nov 2020 news no 4*. "Prime Minister's Office announces ... the completion of law enforcement campaign and controlling mekelle without harming the innocent and destroying property." *ESAT Amharic News Mon 07 Dec 2020 news no 1*. The Minister of Peace, Muffriat Kamil she also said that during the government's law enforcement operation the participation of the Federal Police, Amhara and Afar Special Forces and other security forces work is respectfully supported by the public. *ESAT Amharic News Sun 13 Dec 2020 news no 1*.

4.3.2 War journalism frame

This war journalism frame is one and the most prevailing news frame during the sample period in both media. most of the battle field reporting is depicted as a winner vs loser. They highlighted one sides victory and also highlighted other sides defeat

Winner Vs loser

Winner vs loser in war journalism depicts the antagonistic group as a winner and a loser. The depiction of the Iraq war in various media is a worthy example, with the media portraying the rivals, the United States and Saddam Hussein's government, as a winner and a loser. In war journalism, the winner vs. loser equation is a zero – sum game. It conceals the opportunity for peace initiatives.

A zero-sum orientated narrative means that the winner and loser are clearly identified and there is just one goal, to win the war (Hyunyoung Ju, 2007.p.16). A win-win oriented narrative focuses on solution and persuasion to overwhelm the war (2007.p.15-16).

It's crucial to pay attention to how conflicting groups are portrayed in the media. According to the existing literature, the tone in which conflicting groups are covered matters, as more positive coverage can improve the conflict situation and initiate peace resolution in contrast negative coverage of can escalate and intensify conflict. War news coverage makes the number of parties two, so one could be a companion and the other side is naturally an foe. It disregards or conceals peace activities from the other side or third parties, especially any choice for a non-violent result which does not donate add up to triumph to “our” side (Lynch, 1998). Here, the center is on elites as peacemakers, with the accentuation on triumph in a zero-sum amusement and each move evaluated in terms of who should give ground and being constrained to form concessions. It looks for prove of peace breaking out within the shape of settlements and educate (Lynch, 1998).

The framing of the conflict through war news coverage becomes control estimation, a contentious reporting that can lead to an escalation of the conflict. Therefore, Lynch raises a complaint about war journalism and emphasizes that framing a conflict without context creates more violence in response, with a winner and loser (Sandra Andersson, 2019.p.14).

Meanwhile, the media centers on the government authorities as a source of information in covering the conflict stories. It may be a truth using the expressions of government sources. **Table 4:** indicates how much the government sources are quoted in the sample period.

This research also tries to find the most prevailing frames dominating the narrative. In relation to the concept of winner and loser. The question is, is there the usage of zero-sum orientation (winner vs loser) alignment, in the news stories of (EBC) &. (ESAT) mostly reflected.

Victory in the war journalism has a sense of a winner. It highlights and reflects the victory and supremacy of the party. As a result, it is a victory-oriented frame; in contrast, loser defeat sub frame focused on the antagonists' defeat. As the researchers mentioned above, the war journalism frame was one of the most prevalent news frame during the study period. To create clarity, the researcher presents two news stories from both media outlets.

The following two news reports from both media, one from each, were chosen to exemplify the frame. Those sample news frames go beyond simply illustrating the frame; it also helps to identify the basic differences between both media. Overall, the news coverage of the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) about these conflicts is dominated by this winner and loser orientation.

The next news story was one example of a news story that contains this frame. It is a better representative news story to illustrate the winner and loser news frame. Under this category, one identified news story was the story produced on November 8 as news no 6. A news story was aired by the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation, and quoted Major General Mohamed Tesema, Director General of Indoctrination of the FDRE Defense Forces. The news lead says:- “The FDRE defense army took control of Mai Dali, Dansha, Baker Legudi, Humera Airport and Humera Sudan Road. “ The quoted military official, Major General Mohamed Tesema, went on to explain the West Front victory and how the fight was intensified during his time with the Ethiopian News Agency (ENA), which was used as a secondary source for the news. He recalled the TPLF group attacking Public Hope, the defense army, in an attempt to seize power by force. He also said that the attack was carried out in a planned manner by disrupting infrastructure such as electric power and telecommunications.

In this news story, a quoted military official reflected and highlighted the opposing side's defeat and the victory of his side. As the researchers mentioned above, if there is a winner, there is also a loser. He said that, after the attack, the army had prevented the attack and began to counterattack, and that it was registering a number of victories and gaining ground, adding that several areas, including Humera airport, had been captured in the offensive.

The quoted military official exclusively mentions the incident as a battle to save the country from destruction and it will end soon. The news story presented here under the war journalism winner and loser frame had a strong winner framing approach. In addition, the news story coverage is dominated by military triumphalist language. The coverage of the news story depicts a zero-sum game scenario of events. The story completely focused on describing the opposing side's attempt and its failure. The group was assigned a huge number of troops, but it didn't succeed. Next, what does he say about the mission that the armed forces are on to save the country from destruction? “That the army has intensified its offensive operations in the West . The Armed Forces will soon complete its mission to save the country from destruction. ”

He also explains the army's seizure of weaponry and the TPLF's heavy damage in that area. A large number of its forces have surrendered and been dispersed. it no longer had to claim that it have a force in that zone. He also added to the misleading information disseminated by the TPLF. "The group was disseminating misleading information and that, as a result, it didn't obtain what it wanted."

Major General Mohammed Tesema's expression below explains and intensifies the occurrence by demonstrating how the opposing side was beaten. The opposing side saw that area, particularly the Humera Sudan road, as a pillar and assigned a large number of troops to protect him, but the troops were unable to prevent him from being crushed. He also compared his challenger to a wing-struck eagle who wants to soar but is unable to do so. The general vividly depicted the action, emphasizing the opposing side's failure as much as his own side's success. The news was discussed further during the conflict. The expression of the General is below.

The enemy used the Humera Sudan line as a backbone, allocating a significant number of troops to the front lines, including retired generals, but they couldn't keep it from being beaten. So it is now possible to say that an eagle with one wing struck now flies with only one wing, but it is a defeated force that cannot fly.

As previously said, the main focus of the overall storyline is on stressing the opposing group's failure. He highlighted the defeat of the antagonistic fighting group (TPLF) when describing his side's achievement and, therefore, the news had essentially a winner vs loser narrative. The news was also based on government sources. It follows a one-sided narration, which excludes other sources. To some extent, a military official raised opposing leaders' statements and sayings, but it was used to for blaming purpose, so the news story could create a quandary for the audience. It was a news story that focused on one side.

The next step is to compare the overall news reporting and framing approaches of the two media using Entmans' (1993) selection and salience concept of how the two media frame the same news with diverse approaches. Which parts of the news are chosen and emphasized, and which are omitted? The researchers presented the following one news story from Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT), which fit into the conflict of winner vs loser sub frame. These news stories correspond to the news mentioned above in the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) news story about the victory in the Humera, areas. However, the news stories are about the same topic but presented from different perspectives.

The next news was aired on Nov, 09, 2020, as news number 1 from ESAT DC studio. The difference here is the sources quoted by both the media. EBC used higher military officials as a source. In contrast, ESAT quoted the so-called ESAT sources. A member of the Amhara Special forces who participated in the battle. According to the source, defense forces have taken full control of Bakaker and Maykadra, in addition to Humera's other cities. He further explains that all things are over. Now the forces of the TPLF exist in Maytsebri, but they are in the middle, so

they cannot move in any direction. According to the source, the offensive is taken by cutting off, and everyone is cut off.

The journalist also inquired about the fight at Humera. "I think we heard the fight was intense, so what happened there?" The source responded, "Nothing happened to us. They tried to attack us as they seemed to deliberately flee." An extract from the lead of the news story is the following "The Ethiopian Defense Forces have taken full control of the key town of Humera. After two days of fighting, the Defense Forces, together with the Amhara Special Forces and Militia, liberated Humera from TPLF."

According to a source who participated in the battle, the news also explains how the victory was obtained. The sources explain further how the fight was tactical and the TPLF group failed because of their tactics, as he said the TPLF forces wanted to break into the middle, but the defense turned around and blocked the roads. They have no way out of Shere and the road to Wolkait is being cut. According to the source, after the TPLF group was defeated, it damaged the city's hotels and other infrastructure with a sense of hopelessness. The next expression is based on the source.

According to ESAT source, the TPLF, which was leaving Humera, without good sense, inflicted heavy damage on hotels and other facilities in the city. That the Defense Forces were advancing after liberating Humera and Maikadra. A member of the Amhara Special Forces, who spoke to ESAT, said the TPLF has been beaten strongly and the journey continues.

The news source also clarified that the defense forces' action was very exciting, according to the source. He also stated that the TPLF forces intend to destroy Humra, and how the defense force prevents them as much as possible, but they destroy and beat houses and hotels. They ultimately decided to destroy it. He explains how the defense force shut the door and blocked their path. According to the quoted source, who is a participant in the battle, everything is over today, and the capture of Humera would be a major setback for the TPLF. They gave up and finally delivered their message, saying, the people of Tigray must stop, and it should not bring them closer. The news stereotypically represents the winner vs loser set-up. The implication is that one group wins while others lose. The surrendered soldiers and seized weapons indicate that the TPLF group has been defeated.

4.3.3 Labeling or Grouping Frame

Labeling or Grouping Frame was identified during the identification of frames in this research on selected news stories and during the sample period. Labeling or Grouping Frame was reflected in most of the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation news reports.

Labeling or Grouping Frame is about reporting or presenting by categorizing the contradictory groups between _us-them. Frames play an important role in the creation of "us" and "them" in a conflict situation (Shinar, 2002, cited in Rasaan Muhammed Adisa, Rosli bin mohammed,2016, P:298). Most of the EBC news which was transmitted in the sample period labeling and grouping the opponent's side as the enemy of the country, adversary of the country. The opposition was labeled as destructive, robbers, extremists, and other derogatory and insulting words by the media. and most of news story is also trying to set an agenda about the enmity of the opposition groups by telling incidents happen in the conflict area and also beyond that by quoting higher government officials and military officials. As the researcher mentioned in the theoretical framework, the media framed the stories to transmit the message they want, not what the audience needed.

Under this classification, news stories focus on blaming the antagonistic group. By highlighting the terms mentioned above and calling the opposition group by different terms, those terms are frequently reported in every news story. It is known this kind of news story has a substantial impact on the perception, insight and awareness of the audience.

This frame is extremely reflected in the selected media because the media is considered as the main representative of the country and also government allied media. The media oriented itself to the critical stand of the government about the conflict. The media speaks the voice of the officials. This labeling or grouping frame was documented in order to evaluate the stories by organizing and connecting them. The foremost news stories are blaming others or opponents. Most news presenters also thoroughly overstate the stories when they are reading the news headlines and leads. These kinds of presentations are mostly reflected in the new stories. The tone they use is exaggerated and inflated.

In contrast the ESAT news stories was less exposed on labeling and blaming others there was some news categorized in this frame specifically those transmitted from Addis Ababa studio. Those news stories more expose for labeling they call the opposing side TPLF as junta and extremist. But the media is especially the news which is broadcasted from DC studio attempting to be neutral further than respecting the countries national interest.

Blaming the others is a technique to describe how the causes of the conflicts have been reported blaming the other (externalization) the blame strategy is employed in tales to divert attention away from the incident's cause, which could have been caused by the media's ally. This can also be used to label specific groups as the cause of a problem. It is a deliberate approach to accuse a group ((Mulatu, 2017:180, Skerjel and Mulatu, 2021).

This research used this technique to describe how the causes of the conflict issues have been reported in the sample media. The Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) broadcasts certain news stories by categorizing or grouping the conflicting groups the federal government as supporting and referring to "us" and blaming the opposing group TPLF as referring to "them".

These are not taking responsibly but blaming others for all of the misdeeds in most news stories. Most officials who are identified as sources in the news stories steadily present the information to the public as the opposition group is the enemy of the nation and it is trying to destroy the nation. Those government sources, especially higher officials of the state, when they give information about the incident they talk hilariously and they want to try to give emphasis that the other group are accountable for all of the wrongdoings.

On the other hand, Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio are more focused on the conflict news reports rather than labeling and blaming others.

For example, the researcher selected two news stories from both media which contain this labeling news frame. The following news story illustrates how the incident is depicted in the news story and how blaming others is represented in the news story. The next example is a statement given by the federal government about the current affairs and broadcast on November 5 2020 as news no 3. By Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) The statement blames the TPLF group exhaustively, stating that the TPLF group is responsible for all wrongdoing in the last 30 years, particularly in the last two years following a change, and that the federal system implemented during the EPRDF era is verbally bounded. Here is some part of the statement:-.

Two years ago, the Ethiopian people turned their backs on bullets and their chests on spears, and they went out to protest because pretended federalism had dimmed their hopes. Even when the EPRDF operates under the cloak of federalism, the people, even in their own country, have been denied the opportunity to decide on their own affairs.

The statement continues its assertion against the opposing party and his complaint, emphasizing how the group has disrupted the reform and is unable to withstand with the change. The statement below expresses and emphasizes the term "verbally bounded federalism," as well as the front and partnerships that existed during the EPRDF era. This partnership and front is the idea to highlight the small role played by regional administrations and parties, as well as coalition groups within the EPRDF itself before the change. The statement also said that the group cannot sustain with reform and departed itself from the reform. How the change is ignited from EPRDF itself, and also the TPLF opposing the change because as the statement disclose the change protect TPLF from robbed whipped and kills citizens.

As a result, they spent years in a nutshell Fenced by the name of front and partnership. By the name of verbally bounded EPRDF federalism it was whipped, kill people. Because of a change which is ignited in EPRDF itself True federalism and democratic culture began to emerge and enable the nation, nationalities and the people of Ethiopia Become crucial in their own affairs and in the affairs of their country.

The statement goes on to blame and how the TPLF is an impediment to the change and has not been able to keep up with the pace of the change. According to the statement, the TPLF opposed the change because it protects it from human rights violations and ends its journey to honor through public death; the words listed in the statement imply a negative message, according to the TPLF. Here are the more detailed parts of the statement. It described the about TPLF confrontation with the change.

However, when this flash of light indicates the line of prosperity for citizens. The TPLF destructive Group which was robbed whipped and kills citizens, by the name of verbally bounded federalism. The coming of the change prevented it from theft and human rights abuses and closed its journey to honor by public death, Harassment and the wishes to Continuation of his self-interest. Because this destructive force cannot keep pace with the change it departing himself from the journey of change.

The news also continues his claim against TPLF according to the statement the group has been fighting until the death and knell to maintain his former supremacy and the kidnapping system it is doing until now. The statement also have a message to the people of Ethiopia

Distinguished people of our country, A destructive group who is operating in the name of the TPLF by advancing his own political agenda puts the country at greater risk. Especially by grouping the people along ethnic lines make them not to trust each other, and by creating conflict and it is reason for abolishing the peace of the country.

The statement not ended up its assertion against TPLF it continues its claim next is also some extract from the statement it represent the blaming others frame.

It has been make a hidden plot to blur the great image of Ethiopianness in the name of identity and it is doing so. By advancing the politics of disintegration rather than unity and pushing people into conflict with each other, and has also led to conflict and displacement of people.

The statement also disclose the change the economical fluctuation happened in the country, according the statement there were many reasons for the economic fluctuation, but the main reason was the accumulation of Wealth and Scratching ,by the members of TPLF take a major Share.

The following news story is from Ethiopian Satellite Television And Radio (ESAT). The news story was broadcast on November 15,2020 from ESAT Addis Ababa studio as news no 4. The news is about the office head of the Tigray Prosperity Party discussing the about the TPLF. The news explains how much suffered the Ethiopian people had during the EPRDF era and also the oppression of Tigray people in the past and also present .according the news story, He also tell for Addiszemen newspaper which is used as a source for the news ,the group deprive the people from development and democracy, the news exhaustively blaming TPLF for all wrong doing the of tigray story exhaustively blames the opposing group TPLF as the source of suffering for Ethiopian people The following some part of the lead of the news story.

Tigray Prosperity Party Office Head, Nebiulul Sehul Michael, said the TPLF, which has been following the divisive regime and has been a source of suffering for the Ethiopian people, its sun is sinking by the heroism of the Ethiopian Defense Forces. And through the common arm of the Ethiopian people.

He told Addis Zemen newspaper, that the TPLF has been oppressing the people of Tigray for the past45 years, depriving them of development and democracy, as well as creating divisions in Ethiopia and creating suspicion among the people.

Chapter Five

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

The primary findings and suggestions of this study are clearly given in this final section of the study. These include the key, quantitative content analysis and discoveries from qualitative analysis. In addition, the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study based on the data analysis will be presented. The summary presented in relation to the main concern of the study, which was to investigate how television news channels framed and covered the conflict and also how they contributed to the peace on news reports of the conflict with the media, Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) and Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT) as the case study. The conclusion comprises the overall activities of this research, while the recommendations are in regard to possible areas of further study and, depending on the findings, forward recommendations to both media and policy makers.

5.2 Summary of Findings

This study examines how the national public broadcasting medium, Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC), and the private medium, Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT), covered and framed the conflict and also how they contributed to peace resolution during reporting of the conflict that occurred between the Federal Government of Ethiopia and the Tigray local regional state ruling party, TPLF. This study was precisely designed to study conflict reporting trends and the framing of the conflict between the two media by employing major research questions. The study basically involved answering the following research questions.

1. What are the dominant frames that journalists employ to structure the news stories in both media outlets during news coverage of the Tigray conflict and how they portrayed the incident?
2. What are the salient factors in each medium that support the frames and what was amplified and downplayed on the identified frames?
3. How much they contribute for peace initiative and resolution on their coverage of the conflict? What is the dominant frame, according to war/ peace journalism, in both media in the sample period?
4. How much amount of coverage given to the conflict?

The conflict in Ethiopia that is the main focus of this study is far from the conflicts that were common in the country. It was a heavy-armed conflict; we can call it a heavy battle. This conflict led the country to catastrophes and crises, and human rights violations. During this conflict, more than thousands of deaths, human disasters and property damage have been registered. Many believe the "change" that occurred in the entire country, as well as in the ruling party, in late 2018 was the source of the conflict.

That "change" or "reform" leads the opposed sides to wrangle each other and finally leads them to disastrous armed conflict. So the concern of this research is to identify and detect the most dominant frames that journalists employ to structure news stories in both media. How did both media frame or portray the conflict? And how much contribute to peace initiatives and how much coverage is given to the incident? What factors are amplified and what are downplayed in the employed frames? These are the questions that will be answered in the research process.

According to the conflict, both media mentioned above were efficacious in delivering the government's agenda to the audience Cognition. The research is a case study of both media. Thus, the study used a mixed methods approach, combining qualitative and quantitative research methods, and analyzed conflict-related news content from EBC and ESAT to identify news frames.

To identify the media frames used in both media, the portrayal of the incident, to detect the sources quoted in the news and to perform the overall activities of the research. During the content analysis process, the duration of each news story, the news's relationship with conflict (direct or indirect), the quoted sources, the headline of each news story, types of reporting, and other important features of the news stories were recorded using codec (coding sheet). After registering the main elements of the news story, then a detailed content analysis was conducted based on the data that got from the coding sheet. After the content analysis was analyzed, frame identification and framing analysis (textual analysis) was done based on a framing (coding sheet).

According to the findings of the framing analysis, the law enforcement frame was the most prevalent frame employed by both the media to build their news items. According to both media, this frame is depicted in a variety of ways. EBC depicted the incident mostly as a law enforcement operation that took place to restore law and order. ESAT also, to some extent, depicted this law enforcement operation in some of the news. According to identified war journalism frame, the battle is depicted by both the media as a winner and a loser. EBC is mostly

depicted as a clash between the country's adversary and protectors, a conflict between us and them. The implication of most of the news is that we win, they lose. ESAT, on the other hand, described the dispute as a struggle between two opposing parties with divergent goals and political views.

Most of the news which is categorized in the war journalism frame from both media was winner vs loser oriented. The winner vs loser orientation is reflected in both media, typically in EBC news. Another major finding according to both media is the significant difference in the process of news making: the usage of words, sources, framing approach, portrayal of the incident and tonality of the news, the content of the lead of the news and other differences were observed. Labeling or grouping frames is reflected in EBC dominantly. Most of the news stories started with insults and slander, labeling or grouping. The rate of ESAT was slightly lower than EBC. But, some news from ESAT also contained this frame. Both media have delivered the agenda of law enforcement and the conflict. Specifically, EBC has exhaustively set this agenda in all of its news content.

5.3. Major Findings

The focus of this study is to investigate news reports which are related to the conflict that happened between the federal government of Ethiopia and the TPLF, the ruling party of the Tigray regional state. The researchers selected one public media and one private media for this research, depending on their accessibility and coverage rate of the issue. Television news stories were selected according to the medium. Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio were selected. A total of 120 news stories are reported related to the conflict. 60 from each media are analyzed. Based on the analysis of the news stories, the following findings are attained.

- Law enforcement frame is the most dominant frame on both media.
- War journalism frame is also the most dominant frame on both media revealed as winner and loser.
- The law enforcement term and we win they lose elements are more salient in the news reports.
- The framing analysis results also show that in their coverage of the incident, both media outlets depicted the incident or the conflict as a law enforcement operation aimed at

restoring law and order. In the identified war journalism frame, they portrayed the conflicting groups as winners and losers.

- The frames are amplified the government side and downplayed the TPLF side.
- The findings of the news content shows that both media have not that much covered peace resolution related issues in their conflict news reporting both media focuses on war journalism a victorious and defeat oriented narrations.
- The findings of quantitative content analysis shows that, the two media gives huge amount of coverage to the direct conflict related issues in the sample period. Especially ESAT devotedly report about the conflict somehow EBC included other related news likes of public support a condemnation of TPLF action by different sections of the society.
- According to the usage of sources both media are dependent to the government sources with minor difference between them. However, ESAT was using in addition to the government forces other sources in some news stories. EBC also try to comprise extra source, but it was infrequent. In giving equal opportunity and in integrating diverse voices both media have some insufficiency.

A total of 120 primary sources were identified in the coverage from this total number of sources 84 primary sources are government sources, it accounts 70% of the total. those government sources included government officials and institutions; security forces (army and police); parliament (including plenary, committee sessions and press conferences); the federation council, minister offices different statements from different institutions. According usage of sources ESAT was used other secondary sources in some news as additional sources. The prime minister is highly quoted from higher officials of the country and also Military leaders in various positions of responsibility.

- The media framing approach the selection and salience concept is well-defined on both media. Based on Entmans (1993) frame definition. On making some part of the news story more salient and noticeable.
- EBC focuses on blaming others, slandering and insulting them, and categorizing the conflicting faction's us' and 'them.' This type of presentation is mostly presented in almost all news stories, but in particular news stories that are included in labeling or grouping frames. In contrast the ESAT news stories was less exposed on labeling or grouping blaming others there was some news categorized in this frame specifically

those transmitted from Addis Ababa studio. Those news stories more expose for labeling they call the opposing side TPLF as junta and extremist.

- From the frames identified the researcher concludes that both media are offering some important points in regard informing the audience.

5.4 Conclusions

It is revealed from the finding of the study that both broadcasting TV channels are given enough coverage and consideration to the conflict and conflict related issues and also to inform the audience based on their interests and perspectives. Both media depicted the incident in different ways. EBC focuses on blaming others, and highlights the opposing side's faults and wrong doings.

According to the framing analysis findings, the law enforcement frame was the most dominant news frame. The portrayal of the incident in the EBC conflict news focuses on winner vs loser orientation, victorious and defeat-oriented. The incident is depicted in EBC as a battle between the country's adversary and its protector, between "us" and "them." On the other hand, most of the news was also focused on blaming others. To some extent, beyond blaming others, EBC also presents news that shows how the government is taking responsibility and fulfilling its duty, As does ESAT. The battle field-related news is victorious and defeat-oriented. But except for a few news stories, ESAT does not concentrate on labeling or grouping or on blaming others. EBC needs to break free from labeling and grouping thinking. It must maintain its public service stance by providing enough coverage and access to the public's interests and opinions.

5.5 Recommendation

5.5.1. Recommendations to EBC and ESAT

The researcher suggests the following points based on the findings of this framing study, for both media which are included in this research.

5.5.1.1 Recommendations to EBC

Keeping public media principle As the essence of public media suggests the main purpose of public media is to serve the public; its main concerns are include issues of the public, education, entertainment, and act as a fourth state with vital public themes. While there is little doubt that Ethiopia's official media channels, both federal and regional, are affiliated with particular

political interests, the term "public media" refers to outlets that are not affiliated with particular political interests (Skjerdal and Mulatu,2021).

According to the above explanation, and the findings of this research, Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) must have to work intensely to function under the umbrella of public media essence and serve the audience with full commitment, beyond keeping the national interest, serving the public must be its prior agenda. It is required to work for the people without favoring one party or party beyond the national interest.

Barbara Cochran write a paper on the Aspen Institute , about public media in titled rethinking Public Media: More Local, More Inclusive, More Interactive , in December 2010, She recommended in meeting a community information needs. Building on a strong base of trust, public media should become more local, more inclusive and more interactive.

According to the above statement Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) must have to be more focus on local issues. Some essential and commonly acknowledged principles of public service broadcasting are listed by ace, the electoral knowledge, 2012. Some of the very important points recommended for EBC are special attention to minorities, contribution to a sense of national identity and community, Independence from vested interests. It means impartiality and independence. (*ace, electoral knowledge,2012*).

Usage of source The findings of this study also revealed that usage of news source in both media. Mostly government sources are quoted on the conflict related news. this shows us how much the media institute is dependent on government sources this means it exposed to the interests of these bodies. Dependent on particular source means that reflected one sided agenda and also an ability of to distort the content and message of news. Sources have a significant impact on the news content's theme. As a public broadcasting channel, EBC need to entertain variety of voices. According to Anderson (2017), suggestion use of variety sources in news is a journalistic norm that shows impartiality and independence of the media. The researcher recommend to EBC that to handle diverse sources in the news structure. It is known elites are routinely privileged by news media due to their authoritative position and the considerable resources. Journalistic standards recommend that a range of alternate voices be used to provide a range of viewpoints (2017.3). So that if variety of voices included in the news content everyone might feel represented in the media. Sources have an Influence on shaping the theme of the news content. As a public broadcasting channel, EBC need to compromise diverse and plural views. This means not all sources have an equal opportunity of being accessed by the news media.

According to Anderson, 2017 based on (Hall et al., 1978) study raised a Conceptualizing Source-Media Relations. Hall and colleagues have put a primary definer's model they are mention Official sources have privileged access to the media by virtue of their status in society the media operate as secondary definers through reproducing the views of the powerful.

Competitive Definers Model (e.g., Anderson, 1991, 1997) suggests Emphasizes competition among sources over news frames Official sources have structural advantages but are not guaranteed dominance On occasion media can act as primary definers.

Usage of words: According to the findings of this research, the usage of words during the sample period on the news broadcast by Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation have hateful expressions against the opposing side. Most of the news starts with insults and slander. So EBC must have to do some corrections according to the usage of words.

According to Ethiopian Proclamation No. 1185/2020 Hate Speech and Disinformation Prevention and Suppression Proclamation, "Hate speech" means speech that deliberately promotes hatred, discrimination or attack against a person or an discernable group of identity, based on ethnicity, religion, race, gender or disability. So Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation must evaluate it stance according to this proclamation and In this regard, he must examine itself.

5.5.1.2 Recommendations to ESAT

Usage of source the finding shows us, according to ESAT, the usage of sources was moderately diversified. It also tries to include different voices, even the opposition side, especially in the first days of the conflict before the Tigray region media institutions were closed. By quoting these media as a source. On the other hand, ESAT sources have an inclination towards one side and those sources are repeatedly invited to the phone conversation. So the media must handle more diverse and neutral sources to entertain different perspectives and viewpoints. As I mentioned above on the recommendation of EBC the use of a wide range of sources in the news is a journalistic standard that demonstrates objectivity and independence.

5.5.1.3 Recommendations to EBC and ESAT

Both media are focusing on conflict issues that magnify the winner and loser orientation victory and defeat-oriented narrations fill both media during the sample period. but as the media channel that work for the public's interest this is expected to contribute for peaceful resolution of the conflict, however, they are not contribute that much to conflict resolution and peace initiative on

their news reporting. According to addressing different parts of the society in some extent EBC try to embrace the news about the victims of the incident the voices of different region residents and other voices but it was used to blame the opposing side. If there is a war there is also a victim of war so A proficient and pluralistic media environment does not only offer the necessary information to survive from one day to the next, it can also maximize the chances for dialogue and help reconciliation and political transformation processes Nadine Jurrat (2016). According to their contributions to the reconciliation, neither media has played a significant role. And also covering the victims of the incident without favoring one side was rare.

5.5.1.4 Recommendations to Policy Makers

As mentioned above, the findings of this research show how both media are, especially the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation, inclined to one side. Most of the news focuses on slandering, blaming and insulting the opposing side. According to usage of the sources EBC was dependent on government sources. As a result, it is reasonable to conclude that the government's position on the issue was reflected in the majority of the news.

The other issue that the finding discloses is the tone of words that are used in the reporting of conflict news. This fact undermines the neutrality of journalists and the standards of journalism; EBC must serve the nation, the public rather than one side's interests. As a result, the government and policymakers have been tasked with resolving the above mentioned short comings and challenges.

5.5.1.5 Recommendation for further Research

This research focuses on how both media framed and covered the conflict which happened in northern Ethiopia. Its main concern is the activities of media institutions in shaping the conflict in their coverage. The study identified the media frames which are employed in conflict reporting. For this analysis, the researchers used both qualitative and quantitative research approaches, in order to meet the goals of the study. So the research topic is not much exploited. It is not that much investigated, because it is a recent incident.,

So it has prospects for future study. Although the statistics presented here cannot attest to how media coverage of the conflict influenced public opinions, it is presumed that the EBC set a conflict agenda. Future Studies From the study it would expect to initiate future studies this study paved the way in relation to conflict and media issues and reporting. Future research should focus at examining the media effects according to conflict reporting that on audience perception by conducting audience survey.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Coding sheet of quantitative content analysis

Sample coding sheet used for content analysis

Date of transmission Geregorian calander	Date of transmission Ethiopian calander	Air time duration of news package	News number	News relation to the conflict		Duration of each news stories	headlines of the news story	sources	type of reporting	Types of frame
				Directly related	Indirectly related					
5-Nov thru	ጥቅምት 26 2013 ሐምሰ	56 minute	News no 1	✓		5.43	የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት በትግራይ ክልል ተፈጻሚ የሚሆነውን የአስቸኳይ ጊዜ አዋጅ በሙሉ ድምጽ አጸደቀ : 'House of Peoples' Representatives unanimously approves state of emergency which is applied in Tigray State.	Parlamant meeting	by line	Law and order

Appendix B: Framing coding sheet

Read (script text) and watch the complete stories attentively before categorizing them.

1.Labeling or grouping frame		yes	no	partially
	Categorization between _us-them‘ in reporting conflict.			
	Supporting _us‘ & blaming _them‘ in covering of the story.			
2. war journalism frame				
	Whether a story reflected an armed conflict. The battle field reporting That reflected winner and loser scenario. If that news highlighted or make noticeable on sides victory and downplayed other side			
3.law enforcement				
	If a story law enforcement issues, law related policies in practice, as well as the enforcement, incentives, and consequences of those rules., breaking laws, loopholes, fines, sentencing and punishment, and court proceedings.			



Picture 1 Surrendered weapon at Raya front copyright EBC

Appendix 1

እየተወሰደ ባለው ህግን የማስከበር ተልእኮ በጽንፈኛው የህወሃት ታጣቂ ቡድን ላይ ከፍተኛ ኪሳራ እየደረሰበት መሆኑ ተገለጸ ህግ የማስከበር እርምጃው ተጠናክሮ እንደሚቀጥልም ነው የተገለጸው። በጽንፈኛው በጽንፈኛው የህወሃት ታጣቂ ቡድን ላይ እየተወሰደ ያለው ህግን የማስከበር ተልእኮ ስኬታማ በሆነ መንገድ ተጠናክሮ ቀጥሏል።

በዚህም በጽንፈኛው ታጣቂ ቡድን ላይ ከፍተኛ ኪሳራ እየደረሰበት መሆኑን የራያ ግንባር የሚደታ አስተባባሪ ኮሌኔል ደጅኔ ጸጋዬ ገልጸዋል። ኮሌኔሉ እንዳሉት የወገንን ምት መቋቋም አቅቶት ከ230 በላይ ክላሽንኮፍን ከ 1ሺህ በላይ የእጅ ቦንብ በርካታ ተተካሾችን አንጠባጥቦ ነው የሄደው።

It is stated that because of the ongoing law enforcement mission the TPLF armed forces is get heavy losses and the law enforcement action will continue with strength. The law enforcement mission against the extremist TPLF militant group has been successfully continue with strength. According to Raya Front Media Coordinator, Colonel Dejene Tsegaye, the extremist group is suffering heavy losses. the colonel said that, Unable to Resist the beat of the army and dropped more than 230 Kalashnikovs , more than 1,000 grenades Several cannons.