



**THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION**

***Global Media Coverage of the War between Federal  
Government and Tigray Armed Forces: The Case of BBC and  
Reuters***

By: Temesgen Endale

Advisor: Mulatu Alemayehu (PhD)

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Journalism and Communication Addis  
Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts  
in Journalism and Communication

Addis Ababa University

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

September, 2021

## DECLARATIONS

I Temesgen Endale, do hereby declare that this Thesis is my original work and that it has not been submitted partially; or in full, by any other person for an award of a degree in any other university/institution.

**Name** Temesgen Endale

**Signature** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date** \_\_\_\_\_

## **ENDORSEMENT**

This thesis has been submitted to **Addis Ababa University**, College of Humanity Language Studies, Journalism and Communication Studies for examination with my approval as a university advisor.

**Mulatu Alemayehu (PhD)**

**Signature & Date**

**Advisor**

---

# **Addis Ababa University**

## **School of Graduate Studies**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Temesgen Endale, entitled: Global Media Coverage of the War between Federal Government and Tigray Armed Forces: The Case of Reuters and BBC and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in journalism and communication complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality. Signed by the Examining Committee:

Examiner \_\_\_\_\_ sig. \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Examiner \_\_\_\_\_ sig. \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Advisor \_\_\_\_\_ sig. \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

---

Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator

## **ABSTRACT**

*The news of the conflict between the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) and Ethiopia's federal government has got massive attention from the local and global media outlets. Several hundreds or even thousands of people are believed to have been killed in this conflict. We have observed significant amount of differences in the ways followed by various media outlets in reporting the conflict. This study was explored how some of the globally renowned media outlets have covered the conflict by taking Reuters and BBC as a case study. The study was conducted by taking media framing and priming as theoretical frameworks. In doing so, relevant data for the study was gathered by examining one month news stories produced by the two global media outlets from November 4 2020 (actual commencement of the conflict) up to December 3 2020 i.e. the week Ethiopia's government disclosed the end of law enforcement operation in Tigray. This study had employed an exploratory sequential mixed method as a research design. Sixty purposively selected news stories from both media were analyzed and interpreted to examine types of news frames and news sources used while reporting such issues. The findings of this study showed the media employed various types of news frames to treat their interest. While BBC focused on broadcasting the government actions based on military action frames. In other hand Reuters framing stressed on TPLF war advancement and attribution of responsibility frames. This study determines that both media organizations employed several framing technics that would harm the coexistence of people and puts endorsements on how to improve the gaps. In conclusion, both media narratives are focused on TPLF military activities and western world interest.*

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

First and foremost, I thank God for all that have happened in my life.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor Dr. Mulatu Alemayehu for his guidance and provision of constructive feedback throughout our stay. I have benefited enormously from the conversations we have had be it at the office or even at a tea break. I would also thanks my teachers for those intellectual advices.

My especial appreciation also goes to my friend, Fasikaw Taddese and Begashaw Anmut for those who are unconditional and wholehearted intellectual advices throughout the two years period that I spent on the study.

Finality, I would also like to extend my gratitude to my families and friends without whose enduring support I could not have gotten this far.

## ACRONYMS

ANDM -	Amhara Nation Democratic Movement
AU-	African union
BBC-	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN-	Cable News Network
ENDF -	Ethiopian National Defiance Force
EPRDF -	Ethiopian people's revolutionary democratic front
EU-	European Union
ISIS-	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
NATO -	North Atlantic treaty organization
NGO-	Non-governmental organizations
OPDO -	Oromo people Democratic Party organization
SEPDF -	Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement
TPLF-	Tigray People's Liberation Front
U.S. -	United State
U.S.A.-	United States of America
UK-	United Kingdom
UN-	United nations
WWI -	World War I

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>ABSTRACT</i> .....	i
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	ii
ACRONYMS.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLE AND FIGURES.....	vii
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background of the Study .....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	2
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	4
1.3.1 General Objective .....	4
1.3.2 Specific Objective.....	4
1.4 Research Questions.....	5
1.5 Significance of the Study .....	5
1.6 Scope of the Study .....	5
1.7 Limitations of the Study.....	6
<b>CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE</b> .....	<b>7</b>
2.1 Introductions .....	7
2.1.1 Ethnic Federalism during EPRDF .....	7
2.1.2 The Rising of Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia .....	9
2.2 An Overview of Media during EPRDF .....	11
2.3 Global Journalism.....	11
2.4 An Overview of Global Media Trends in War News Report .....	13
2.5 Theoretical Framework.....	16
2.5.1 War Specific Framing Theory .....	16
2.5.2 Framing Devices .....	18
2.5.3 Local Related Studies .....	19



<b>CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHOD .....</b>	<b>21</b>
3. Introduction.....	21
3.1 Research Design.....	21
3.1.1 Qualitative Method .....	22
3.1.2 Quantitative Method .....	23
3.2 Data Sources .....	24
3.3 Research Subject and Samples.....	24
3.3.1 Subject.....	24
3.3.2 Sampling Method.....	25
3.3.2.1 Sample Size and Unit of Analysis.....	26
3.3.2.2 Sampling Procedures.....	26
3.3.2.3 Time Frame for Story Selection .....	26
3.4 Method of Data Collection, Organization and Analysis.....	27
3.4.1 Content Analysis.....	27
3.4.2 Reliability and Consistency .....	28
3.5 Data Analysis Tools .....	28
3.6 Framing and Coding Techniques .....	29
3.7 Ethical Considerations .....	30
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION .....</b>	<b>31</b>
4.1 Data Presentation and Analysis .....	31
4.1.1 Dominant Frames.....	31
4.1.2 Story Sources .....	33
4.2 Discussion of Findings.....	34
4.2.1 Dominant Frames.....	34
4.2.2 Story Sources .....	57
4.3 News Balance.....	64
4.3.1 News Balance Distribution in General .....	64

4.3.2 News Balance.....	65
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES...</b>	<b>68</b>
5.1 Conclusions.....	68
5.2 Recommendations.....	71
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>77</b>

## **LIST OF TABLE AND FIGURES**

Table 4.1: News Frame Sub-categories in BBC and Reuters .....	32
Figure 4.1: Percentage of story sources used in BBC and Reuters.....	33
Figure 4.3.1: News balance distribution in general .....	65

# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background of the Study

Ethiopia is rich country which endowed with diverse language and culture. According to Summary and Statistical Report of the 2007 Population and Housing Census, a little less than 80 ethnic groups, speaking twice as many dialects, inhabit the country. Despite its numerous ethnic groups, however, two-thirds of the population belongs to three major ethnic groups. The Oromo are the largest ethnic group accounting for 34.49 per cent of the population, followed by the Amhara (26.89 percent) and the Somali (6.2 percent); the next four numerically strong ethnic groups are the Tigray (6.07 percent), Sidama (4.01 per cent), Gurage (2.53 percent) and Welayta (2.31 per cent). With no single ethnic group accounting for the majority of the population, however, Ethiopia, like most other African states, can be appropriately described as a country of minorities.

In the early 1990s, Ethiopia undertook a major political transition from a military government to the new EPRDF government, which has transformed the country from a unitary state to a federal government centered on 'ethno-linguistic identities' that has "vigorously redefined citizenship, politics and identity on ethnic grounds" (International Crisis Group, 2009, p1). Even though Ethiopia's new political arrangement is praised for giving full recognition to ethnic autonomy, some critics have highlighted on its potentials of inviting ethnic conflicts and alleged risk in state disintegration (Alem, 2003).

Economically speaking, the country has been hailed as one of the fast growing economies in Sub Saharan Africa. For instance, as noted by the reports of World Bank (2016), Ethiopia has achieved a "remarkably rapid and stable" economic growth over the past decade with an average GDP of 10.9% between the years 2004-2014. As a result, Ethiopia moved itself from being the second poorest country in the year 2000, to becoming the 11th poorest nation in the world. While these reports indicate Ethiopia's quick economic growth, it still is a highly contested issue as 33.5% of the population live below the international poverty line (\$1.90 per day), which in fact, according to an Oxford University's Poverty and Human Development Initiative (2016) report 71.3% of Ethiopians get less than \$3.10 a day.

In spite of its success in economic growth over the past decade, Ethiopia is facing with multifaceted challenges in other areas such as the development of a democratic system. Political environment in the country has slid backwards as the country had been hit with wave of recurrent popular protests from 2015-2018. This has result a significant shift in the political arrangement which led the TPLF to the peripheries. In April 2018, the TPLF lost its control over the EPRDF party.

The dramatic turn of events in the post 2018 period had been difficult to catch up. The dominant EPRDF party has changed its name to prosperity party and three of the four core members also changed their names.<sup>1</sup> In this conundrum, TPLF declined to the proposal to join the Prosperity Party (PP) further leading its conflict with the central government. The standoff between TPLF's oligarchy mostly concentrated in the regional capital Mekelle town and the central government pushing with a full scale war which was triggered by TPLF's preemptive strike on the northern command.

The news of the conflict between TPLF and central government has gained tremendous attention from media across the world. The reporting of the war in Northern Ethiopia by global media outlets was seen to be varied from media to media. While the central government considered the war as a law enforcement operation, in contrary some other western media and countries also acknowledged it as if it is a civil war. Thus, this study aims of looking at media coverage of the war by taking Reuters and BBC as case studies.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Conflict is a human interaction, which involves different parties with incompatible interests having incongruities resulting from the awareness of the unsuitability and the ensuing choice of confrontation that could have been solved through communication (Peleg, 2006). In this increasingly mass mediated world, conflicts are channeled in a variety of media platforms. However, as Philips (2013, p.81) rightly observes, the ways the media cover conflicts has been area of subject to criticism by scholars. The reporting of conflicts in the media and the ways it shapes public opinion has been the focus of debate among journalists and academics in the last

---

<sup>1</sup> The Amhara National Democratic Party changed its name first to ADP-Amhara Democratic Party and later APP-Amhara Prosperity Party. Likewise OPDO changed its name to first to ODP and later OPP-Oromo Prosperity party.

two decades (Rukhsana, 2014). A key concern regarding media coverage is that the reports have a tendency to present conflicts as disproportionately violent, lacks context and diversity of views, and portrays a win/lose binary. While the power of mass communication in its ability to affect public perception and knowledge among individuals is widely recognized, media are being targets for misinformation, manipulation and suppression by interests seeking to profit from violent conflict (Howard, 2009).

As Lynch and McGoldrick (2007) indicates news representations of conflict forms a key site for the exercise of power by primary players and many actors. This is partly of the fact that most of the world's biggest media houses are still dominated by state and corporate organizations, which are tied "to the logics of commodity and identity fetishism (Tehrani 2002, p.48)". Consequently, these media outlets will be generating political or commercial propaganda which constructs skewed hostile images of the other while creating a 'global fishbowl' whereby the excesses of the world's wealthiest are on "tantalizing display to the vast numbers of desperately poor"(ibid).

The global news coverage of the war between TPLF and the federal government seems to have reflected the exercise of power by global powers. A lot of these global media outlets have tried to represent the conflict through divergent types of frames.

According to Nawaway and Powers (2010,) the use of technology and new media has brought a move from "traditional forms of industrial war towards mass mediated conflicts, or 'information wars' placing the varied media outlets and technologies at the center of discussion of how to best navigate and understand contemporary international conflicts".

The major argument here is that military assets alone no longer govern the outcome of international conflicts, and the success and failure are increasingly dependent on controlling the flow of information and the associated 'hearts and minds' of the global citizenry.

Lacasse and Forster (2012) argue people rely heavily upon the news to learn about pressing issues around the globe. But, the media institutions do not provide the full picture of an event or issue. Instead, the journalists working in media organizations seemed gatekeepers who select what information should be shared to the audiences and what must be omitted. Hence, the researcher believes such gatekeeping culture affects the attitude or perception of audiences.

Framing of news articles can heavily affect people's perceptions by "highlighting on particular elements through choice, repetition, or trying in meaningful cultural symbols (p. 223)". This shows that media products are prone to influence from several bodies starting from individual professional journalists to media owners and the wider dominant political system. In the case of coverage of conflicts, media organizations are often being treated as actors within international conflicts that are able to shape opinions of people and even governments (Nawaway & Powers, 2010, p63).

It has been seen that media can influence policy makers and overall public opinion by more coverage to an issue or even by applying selective interpretations. Although the world is getting overwhelmed with varying depictions of the situation in Tigray region from global and local media outlets, no study has been done to systematically examine the media coverage of the conflict. Thus, this study aims to how globally renowned media outlets have covered the war between the federal government force and TPLF force by taking the Reuters and BBC as a case study.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.3.1 General Objective**

The general objective of the study is to investigate how the Reuters and BBC media outlets have been covering the war between the Federal Government of Ethiopia and the TPLF armed force in their daily news reports posted on their official websites.

#### **1.3.2 Specific Objective**

- To examine how Reuters and BBC global media outlets have presented a balanced picture of the war
- To identify major media frames employed in the news coverage of the two samples media
- To investigate the main news sources used in the news stories of the two selected media

## **1.4 Research Questions**

The study will address the following research questions:

1. How do the selected global media outlets have presented the war between the federal government and TPLF armed group?
2. What kinds of media frames have been employed in the news reports of the selected global media?
3. What kinds of sources have been widely used in the news reports of the selected media?

## **1.5 Significance of the Study**

This research is believed to show the different perspectives of the two selected international Media framings in reporting the war between the two forces. By taking a glance about the reviewed literatures and the study cases of this research, the readers may become familiarize with the conceptualities and practicalities of various media framings materialized on the international news agencies while interpreting the issue in their different point of views. Thus, this study can help the theoretical and practical users of the research to understand what kind of news framings were deployed by the selected global Medias as well as to be aware of how they have been reported the war. With this different implications of the two global media news report the national and international socio political contexts of the war. The study also help the readers to anticipate what kind of positive and negative impact could those news reports bring to Ethiopia. Generally this study can be used as a source of literature and also a source of inspiration to conduct further research investigations on the area.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

This research is delimited to analyzing the news frames in the stories of two selected international Medias: Reuters and BBC. The study particularly focused on the news coverage between The war began militias attacked an Ethiopian national defiance force base near Mekelle on, November 4 2020 up to Ethiopia's federal government seized control of the Tigray region's capital city of Mekelle and declared victory over the ruling Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) on November 28, 2020 and the government announcing the first phase of military operation December, 3, 2020. The units of analysis for this research are news reports from



selected Medias. The study is limited to studying frames of the written documents in the news of the visual frames, headlines, sub-headlines, etc.

## **1.7 Limitations of the Study**

The study aims to investigate media coverage of the war in Tigray by taking the BBC and Reuters. It had conducted by analyzing the content of stories published in the website of the two globally renowned media organizations. Thus, relevant data for study was collected by looking at one month coverage November 04, 2020 to December 03, 2020.

This study covered only two international Broadcasters: BBC and REUTRS. But media framings of the war also be studied in other international too. Moreover, the study could have been conducted on a larger sample size by widening the scope to include the print media and local media outlets to see different perspectives. News framing effects, journalists and media houses pressure to frame issues concerning the topic could also be studied. But due to lack of resources and time the researcher limited to analyzing media frames of selected media.

## **CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

### **2.1 Introductions**

Under this chapter, related literature that reviewed in a way to discern their similarities and differences with the overall concerns of this Research investigation. In addition, different conceptual and theoretical frameworks which can support and guide the data analysis part of the research are also the main issues to be discussed within the next subtopics of this chapter.

#### **2.1.1 Ethnic Federalism during EPRDF**

The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) is a party that ruled Ethiopia from 1991 to 2019 with an ideology of ethnic federalism which was formed through political coalition of different rebel groups who are combined together to overthrow the Dergue regime with an armed struggle. The political that was fight against the military junta with an armed struggle is the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), Oromo Democratic Party (ODP), and the Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (SEPDM). These four partakers were first formed independently then allied to overthrow the Dergue regime and subsequently agreed to rule the country through form the EPRDF party after they victoriously controlled the capital city of the country in May 1991.

Thereafter to the overthrow of the Dergue regime and its unitary state ideology, the new succeeding EPRDF party has come up with its ethnic-based federalism ideology that classified Ethiopia into ethnic based territorial units structured with administration of different regional governments. The main tent of ethnic-based political ideology was to prioritize the democratic rights of ethnic groups through acknowledge their identity as well as the right of self-determination and autonomous regional administration. The first phase of the EPRDF administration was considered as the transitional period which stayed for the consecutive four years from 1991 to 1994 without the presence of formally acknowledged written constitution.

The second phase of the EPRDF party was started in 1995 with the amendment of its first constitution which endorses the central political ideology of ethnic federalism. Regarding this, the study of Alem (2005) also indicated that:

Ethnic federalism in Ethiopia was supposed to be supported by what appears to be constitutionalism, namely, the principle of power-sharing among ethnic leaders at a federal level, balanced recruitment, and proportional resource allocation. Ethnic leaders weren't to be restricted to the political arenas of their respective states; they were to possess access to federal political resources also. Article 39 of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia's Constitution guarantees ethnic groups 'equitable representation in state and Federal governments.

The overall tone of the constitution was echoed about the rule of law, the supreme power of the constitution to affirm the democratic political system by which all ethnic groups and citizens are treated equally as well as to be abiding by the rule of law, tough out their responsibilities and benefited in all aspects their legal rights.

But the constitution of the EPRDF was criticized as if it is only a paper value that do not applied to execute what it stand for through allow all citizens and ethnic groups to be served equally in service sectors, fairly judged in courts, proportionally represented in the higher administrative positions of federal organs as well as in the police and army, to the contrary it tends to close the loopholes that ethnic entrepreneurs abuse it for the sake of their personal and group interests (Alemseged,2004).

Further explaining the criticisms raised about unfair dominance of a single ethnic political power the study of Alem (2005) also showed that “to several critics, Ethiopia's federal system may be a de facto one-party state during which ethnic organizations are mere satellites of one ethnic organization, the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF)”.

Accordingly, multifarious inconveniences have been happened in Ethiopia due to the miss-implementation of the concepts of ethnic-federalism political ideology and the abusive usage of the constitution in the hands of the TPLF to rule the country and also benefit its parts. To support this claim, the study of Alem (2005) affirmed that: The TPLF is that the leading unit within the

multiethnic ruling coalition, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). But, supporters of multi-ethnic federalism claim that the new federal system has thus far maintained the unity of the Ethiopian peoples and the territorial integrity of the state while providing full recognition to the principle of ethnic self-determination. The dominance of the Tigray ethnos within the EPRDF has led to a scarcity of ethnic pluralism.

Gradually the opposition of TPLF with the citizens as well as with the miss-represented coalition parties becomes reached on its peak to crackdown the longstanding ethnic-federalism based political party EPRDF. Regarding this, the study of Alem (2005) further explains that: The style of state appears to be authoritarian, lacking liberal democratic practice. Since 2001, the EPRDF has faced an organizational and ideological crisis. In a series of party meetings in June 2001, the OPDO and the SEPDP, also because the allied regional parties, complained publicly of TPLF/EPRDF "tutelage." The EPRDF's crisis was manifested in its employment of Leninist organizational practices while espousing pluralist principles. The direction would be toward a region-based (in contradistinction to an ethnic-based) federal system. There also are indications that the EPRDF might transform itself from a coalition of ethnic parties into a national (meta-ethnic) party of citizens.

Finally, the TPLF dominated EPRDF party has dissolved in November 2019, and the new Prime Minister of Ethiopia and the EPDRF chairman Abiy Ahmed has merged three of the constituent parties and officially formed the new Prosperity Party on December 1, 2019 whereas TPLF remain alone by rejecting the new face of Ethiopia.

### **2.1.2 The Rising of Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia**

Ethiopia is among the countries that come along through the journey of three thousand years through maintaining the tolerance of its ethnic diversities that has been stand strong to keep the independence of their country. Though an ethnic based conflict likely happen in a country where there are mosaic of culture and ethnic diversity like Ethiopia.

However, studies also implied about the important to realize that in a diversified nation ethnic conflict isn't the only reason that could be consider as cause of conflicts raised in a country. The study conducted by Kidane (2003) also noted the very fact that, if there are a diverse nations and nationalities in a country it doesn't imply the probability to happen wide range of conflicts.

Rather in the findings of their study they associate the presence of chaos and destructive social conflicts with conditions that favor insurgency, including violations of civil rights, poverty, from which identified by the fair distribution of resources and bureaucratically corrupted weak states.

According to the reports of International Crisis Group (2009, p.1) “The early 1990s political transitions from the military system ‘Derg regime’ to the EPRDF government has transformed Ethiopia from a unitary state to a federal government centered on ‘ethno-linguistic identities’ and has “vigorously redefined citizenship, politics and identity on ethnic grounds”. Various claims that articulated the dangerousness of the ethnic-based political ideology have been raised through oppose the transformation from the strong nationalist sense of Ethiopians into its contrary that mainly linked the concept of nationalism, identity and citizenship on the heart of ethnic basis. To this regard the study of Alem (2003) and Bach (2014) also showed that, “Though the kind of Ethiopian federal government is praised for giving full recognition to ethnic autonomy, opponents of ethnic federalism argue that such arrangement will invite ethnic conflicts and risks state disintegration”.

On the same side, the study of Tsegaye (2004) also implied that “ethnic based federalism in Ethiopia faced major challenges in reconciling conflicting issues on secession and internal fragmentation, managing extreme interstate imbalances, power sharing in the executive offices, and the quest for having more than one working language”.

The recent reports of human right commission also implied that, violent ethnic-conflicts that has been consistently happened across the different regional boundaries of current Ethiopia is also linked with the problematic narratives that have been rooted by the previously governing ethnic federalism political ideologists has played a lot to setup those life taking incidents.

Ethiopia is not only exposed to conflicts originating in the country. Its regional location in the Horn of Africa where countries are struggling to overcome a range of complex development, security challenges and persistent threats posed by violent extremism and transnational terrorism remains another national security concern for Ethiopia. For many decades, Ethiopia has been known for its high level of regional and internal conflicts. For instance, it had been in war with Somalia in 1970s, and border conflict with neighboring Eritria by the late1990s. There were also furious clashes with insurgents, which the Ethiopian government claims to be supported by the

Eritrean government and other groups in Somalia (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2009)

## **2.2 An Overview of Media during EPRDF**

The culture of Electronic and print media management during the imperial period and the military regime of Ethiopia were pass through the challenging policies that constrict the idea of press freedom and private ownerships. The period thereafter to the downfall of the Dergue regime and the early administration period of the EPDRF in the late 1990s have signaled some changes in the development of governmental media stations marked by the expansion of regional radio stations, magazines and regional language based TV programs transmitted on the national station. The other remarkable change was also come along with the state decree that granted the right to own private media stations. During this period proliferation of private owned print Medias, FM radio and TV stations becomes increase in number. However, the issue of press freedom during the ruling time of EPRDF remains problematic.

Moreover, the media policy of the EPRDF administration also demanded the local Media to integrate their editorial policy and portrayal of their program contents in accordance with the philosophical stands and ideals of ethnic federalism political ideology.

According to Mulatu (2020, p.55.), the media are inclined to behave in a way that meets the interests of ethnic politics in the country. This might be the reason that most of the sampled media feature the selected cases in line with the inter-ethnic political differences in the country.

## **2.3 Global Journalism**

The globalization of journalism developed practical with the beginning of satellite distribution. It motivated global journalism that transcends borders and has no artificial boundaries. This globalization was further speeded up by the fairly uniform policy throughout the world of deregulation and privatization of existing broadcasting organizations.

According to Herbert (2001) Globalization excited all western media organizations, and their owners. Technology let loose vast new markets for electronic media. Viewers and readers all over the world now use western news and programming to find out what's happening in the rest

of the world. What is happening and it's important for journalists in the global workplace to understand is that local media companies and their newsrooms are beginning to hit back; to master western journalistic and production techniques for their own local ends and for their own markets.

Yet, international news flow and cultural problems are important in global journalism, perhaps too significant. In his look at television coverage of natural disasters, Adams (1986: 122) found that it wasn't so much the magnitude of the disaster that accounted for the amount of coverage but deaths.

Cassara (1998) suggests that factors of political power and conflict dominate news choices more than news selection because of economic or cultural ties. And global news almost always is centered in the West. As Stuart Hall says: Western technology, the concentration of capital, the concentration of techniques, the concentration of advanced labour in the western societies, and the stories and the imagery of western societies: these remain the driving powerhouse of this global mass culture. In that sense it is centred in the west and it always speaks English. (Hall, 1996: 28)

The global context the reaction to globalization of course is localization of news and reporting. However, journalism needs global journalism; it needs journalists who practice journalism in the global context (Featherstone, 1996).

Global news sources are very irregular. Some cities have hundreds of reporters from around the world covering stories that happen there; some countries and even continents inevitably the poorer more remote ones have hardly any journalists from outside covering events at all. This of course affects the picture of the world as a whole and the picture of individual trouble spots. The other problem about global news coverage is the pressure to over simplify. Time and space constraints inevitably tend to reduce what is happening. However important and whatever the global repercussions to simplicity, often to one basic story around which all other events float. Practicing global journalism also means allowing for other attitudes, other cultures and other approaches. It means that there can often be many truths, not just the one western certainty that western journalists have grown up with. News implies views and that means subjectivity. (Herbert, 2001).

But with subjectivity of reporting there can also be truth. International reporting all too often is about mega disasters. International reporting of the life of countries and people should be about more than disasters and wars. It should give outsiders considerate of the people of a country to others, elsewhere. The global context Global journalism demonstrates us that there are many ways of working, of thinking, of understanding what is going on in the world. Different approaches may indeed have equal value. However, traditional journalism now takes place within global media and its crucial role of watchdog of democracy is being increasingly valued by the audience in countries where this role of western journalism is perceived contrarily.

The practice of global journalism also means not becoming too dependent on official sources; we should see for ourselves, be there, judge, and report for ourselves. News manipulation can be easy when reporters don't know the country, the people, and the politics. (Herbert, 2001).

## **2.4 An Overview of Global Media Trends in War News Report**

The world has been blow over with a speculum battles that makes the human planet to be surrounded by continents with a war torn countries. This study enactment characterized by the repugnant frictions and hostile collisions that whip up warfare between groups, countries and allied super powers is also the leading common phenomenon in the agendas of the Global Medias daily news report.

According to Farida (2011, P.3) Reporting about war and peace, however, requires journalists to adhere to different demands. The journalists whom conduct war news report demands to approach the army generals in war fronts, the leaders of the warring states, official spokespersons and public relations officers as well as the leaders who are in charge of leading their troops.

Usually in conducting and transmitting war news reports, journalists should have to be critical in selecting the appropriate words in their language usage even though they are challenged with the terminologies used by their interviewees found to be victimizing and demonizing language. Among the basic tents in the objectives of journalism, the use of qualified and accredited news sources along with personal objectivity is an essential code of ethics within the domains of the professional standard. Through associate the concept of objectivity with the individual's personality Roscho (1975) also explains that, essentially



objectivity do not reside in the news stories themselves instead it resembles to be found within the personal behavior of the journalists.

Accordingly, with an accredited diversified sources and balanced presentation of facts, the war journalists must be able to loyal to the ethics of journalism rather than to overtly and covertly planed goals of social, economic, political and personal agendas. Regarding the type of news sources citing Gans (1980) Zenebe (2012, pp.1-2) indicated that “there are two types of news sources, the known and the unknowns. In a study of U.S television networks and a news magazine, Gans (1980) found that know sources appeared four times more frequent as news sources than the unknown sources”.

However, media plays fundamental role in providing trustworthy and essential news stories, it is also fact that history has witnessed various wars that has been resulted from the inappropriate usage of media through disobeying the basic ethical code of journalism. To support Zenebe (2012, pp.1-2) cited Kissopos (2007, p.13) indicated that “From Central and Eastern Europe to the guts of Africa countries that have recently undergone political change experienced ethnic violence partially due to the told stories in media. In Serbia, elite persuasion and manipulation of Serb public opinion was increasingly done through control of the media” (Zenebe 2012, pp.1-2).

Further explaining about the media caused war by indicated the ethnic massacre happened in Rwanda, Zenebe (2012, PP.1-2) cited M’Bayo and Strauss (2005, 2006 and 2007) showed that, “In Rwanda, Hutu extremists, who felt threatened by the peace agreement between the Habyarimana government and RPF, manipulated historical myths and exaggerated past grievances to incite violence”. (Ibid, 2012 pp.1-2)

When we come to see the relationship between the responsible bodies in charge of the war and journalists, war journalism of the global media has experienced various denials, restrictions and collaborations while reporting the war news and live media coverage. One of the collaborative examples for war journalism is what the British government practiced while Britain was at war with Argentina in 1982 over the Falklands islands. Regarding this, Blien (2006) cited Carruthers (2000, PP.4-5) indicated that “The British Ministry of

Defense's accreditation paper given to journalists covering the War says "the essence of successful warfare is secrecy; the essence of successful journalism is publicity".

Various studies also indicated that, the British government and its ministry of defense has its own media policy to secure support and denial of access for war news reports and media coverage. To support this, Blien (2006, PP.22-28) citing Gorman and McLean, 2003:176 p77) shows that "deception, misinformation, disinformation and media manipulation through denial of access, control of communications and politically based censorship". Studies also affirmed that the British government has its own technique employed to control journalists to take part in reporting the war news in a way to gain acceptance from citizens via advocating them about the justness of intervening in the war for their domestic and foreign significance. Concerning to this technique, Blien (2006) citing Knightley (2000, P.482) indicated that "in addition to securing support at war front and home front under the pretext of patriotism and regarding deviants as traitors".

The mainstream media within the US appeared to have supported the utilization of force over continued economic sanctions against Iraq, or the diplomacy brokered by the UN at the time of Operation Desert Shield "when the USA mustered in Saudi Arabia the largest coalition of forces deployed since the Second World War".

Global Medias also criticized about their negligence and silence to protect the interest of one side when they deserve to give the proper news coverage that reveals the truth about the war. To this regard the war against Iraq was the main example taken to show the ineffective role of Medias to give the intended news coverage. To support this, citing Knightley (2000, p.529) Blien (2006, PP.22-28) explains as follows:

The war against Iraq further witnessed the ineffective role of media in spite of extensive coverage. Nearly one thousand media personnel on the bottom, within the air and stumped would miss nothing. It would be the most important news gathering operation within the history of television. Money would be no object CNN alone would have a budget of 35 million USD. A radical American plan for managing wartime media perpetuated an illusion that the Iraq war was a triumph for contemporary media and its technology. In reality, it was an overwhelming victory for the military and its propagandists.

A review of the connection of the media and government during wars of the 20th century is a reminder that in most cases media cooperated with governments, complied with measures like censorship, implemented to guard the national interest in war time, or indeed acted in such how that regulation was unnecessary. In the case of political conflict, the media take on an important mediating role and this is why warring parties always try to ensure that media reporting serves their propaganda aims. Accordingly, the role of global medias in the current scenario has tends to become provoking the ideals of supper power states.

## **2.5 Theoretical Framework**

As it has been indicated on the first chapter, the general objective of this study is to investigate how the Reuters and BBC media outlets have covered the war between the Federal Government of Ethiopia and the Tigray armed force in their daily news reports posted on their official websites. Thus, in order to achieve the objective of the research using the guidance of an appropriate framing theory as a theoretical framework the following sub-topic mainly focuses on the news framing theory.

### **2.5.1 War Specific Framing Theory**

As indicated on Hailesilasse (2013, p.24) “framing is a result of the media’s continued dominion in constructing reality for people who live far apart from one another”. With the rise of mass Medias in the United States of America as a powerful influencing device framing becomes emerged as a media theory during the 1970s (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009).

According to Baran & Davis (2012 p. 330) “the roots of framing theory can be traced to symbolic interaction a theory that attributes individual interaction in the creation of reality and social constructionism a theory that treats reality as a social construct”.

In order to frame news reports framing devices are vital to condense and categorize information into a centralizing theme. According to Gamson and Lasch (1983, PP. 407-408) “framing devices that condense information and offer a media package of an issue. These rhetorical framing devices are metaphors, exemplars, catch-phrases, depictions, and visual images”.

Tankard (2001, p.101) suggests the following technical framing devices which are instrumental in identifying and measuring news frames, these are “headlines; subheadings; photo captions; leads; source selection; quote selection; and concluding statements and paragraphs”.

For Entman (2007) framing is “the process of culling a couple of elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to market a specific interpretation” (as cited in Groshek, 2008, p. 316). Accordingly it is about shading emphasis on what the media believed is the appropriate representation of a situation. Influenced by the media house rules, owners or subscribers, practitioners pick and emphasize on certain aspects of issues by repeatedly mentioning and incorporating it in their coverage. They make issues as important and appropriate as deemed necessary. By framing certain aspects of issues prominently, media elicit the kind of interpretation they seek in their audience thus bringing about the desired feedback.

The function of such a subjective “selection” and “salience” is to define a specific problem, understand and pass an ethical judgment which will help add up of the events taking place: frames. Define problems determine what cause is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values; diagnose causes identify the forces creating the problem; making moral judgments evaluate causal agents and their effect; and suggest remedies offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects (Entman, 1993, p. 52) Entman puts these four functions of framing in perspective of the “cold war” frame which was a common news frame in the international news items of U.S. media until recently. Accordingly, for example, the media dealt with issues of civil war (the problem), caused by communist rebels (the cause) that is believed to be an “atheistic aggression” (the moral judgment) which will be averted by U.S. support to the anti-thesis (the remedy). Another communication scholar Griffin (2012 p. 381,) defines framing as “the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a specific object or issue is discussed.”. In this definition Griffin capitalizes on making a consistent appeal to a certain aspect of an issue in every viable and related discourse in order to acquire the kind of feedback solicited from the audience.

There are various kinds of news framing techniques implemented on the Mass-Medias while organizing and presenting their news concerned about a given scenario. Explaining the meaning

of framing citing Broadly, Daniela V. Dimitrova and Jesper Stromback (2005, p.404) stated that “framing refers to the ways in which mass media organize and present issues and events”. In differentiating the types of news frames as part of the study of media coverage, Daniela V. Dimitrova and Jesper Stromback (2005, p.404) mentioning Scafele (1999) explained the most comprehensive typologies of framing into four categories of framing research as follows:

- 1) Independent variables (2) dependent variables and studying (3) individual frames. Individual frames are sometimes described as mental schemas, heuristics or scripts. They help and individual perceive, interpret and discuss public events. Media frames, on the other hand, are contained in journalistic stories across different Medias (e.g. print, television, or internet).

In this study, the researcher is concerned in investigating the media frames that are employed by BBC and Reuters in conducting their news reports about the war between the Federal Government of Ethiopia and the TPLF armed forces.

Therefore, among the types of media framing techniques this study has employed the one that have a particular focus and interests on the area of war news coverage known by a name “war-specific frame”. According to Daniela V. Dimitrova and Jesper Stromback (2005) war-specific frame is a method used to develop several specific frames with regard to the coverage of the news story tone that are included within the specific coding categories of central organizing theme.

Accordingly, war specific framing theory is employed to undertake this study to develop different frames that helps the data analysis process by coding the research data under the eight central organizing themes. Moreover, the framing and coding process is briefly discussed in chapter three.

### **2.5.2 Framing Devices**

Gamson and Lasch (1983, p: 407-408) identify framing devices that condense information and offer a media package of an issue. These rhetorical framing devices are metaphors, exemplars, catch-phrases, depictions, and visual images.

Frames can be acknowledged and studied by the presence or absence of particular keywords, stock phrases, images, sources of information (Entman, 1993, p. 52). There are several framing devices (technical and rhetorical) helpful to look at and identify frames within the news stories.

Tankard (2001, p.101) suggests the following technical framing devices which are instrumental in identifying and measuring news frames: headlines; subheadings; photo captions; leads; source selection; quote selection; and concluding statements and paragraphs.

### **2.5.3 Local Related Studies**

Ethiopia is found in the increasingly volatile and most conflicted region where instability tends to spill across borders in the horn of Africa. As Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS, 2011) the country faced danger of transnational conflicts with potential security impact in the homeland.

Though, Ethiopia fought with its neighbors and faced several security challenges in and out, the study conducted regarding the media coverage of the wars in which Ethiopia has/had participated is very limited. Even the media coverage of the war with Eritrea gained little academician investigation. Most of the studies concerning the Ethio – Eritrea war focused on the international intervention and the causalities of the war. Among the little research works, Blen's, 'Ethiopian government management of the media during the Ethio-Eritrean war 1998-2000', a Master's Thesis, 2006', is worth mentioning. The researcher believes Blen's study was the only research which investigated the management of local media's since Ethio-Eritrea war. However, Mulatu (2017) studies internal conflict and local media coverage. Under the title of: "Why Silence? Reporting Internal Conflict in Ethiopian Newspapers" This study examine how these internal conflicts were reported in selected Ethiopian local newspapers, namely, Addis Admas, Reporter, The Daily Monitor, and The Ethiopian Herald in the period 2005-2013. Similarly, the period (2005-2013)

Moreover, there are studies which mainly concentrated on examining the political, cultural and economic influences of western media. For example, Sleshe's, 'A study on media reports of Ethiopia politics: the case of selected western media' (2014), and Martha's, 'Global media in

local context: the effect of BBC and CNN news on cultural belongings of viewers' (2007), explored the effects of western media reporting.

Recent war between Federal government and the TPLF armed force gained the attention of the media, including the western media. However, due to the newness of such type of internal conflict/war and past experiences, the research endeavors is very inadequate. Studies which would emphasize on the disparities of the federal government and TPLF officials and media coverage of this gap should be studied. Fasikaw's, 'Framing of Identity and Boundary Disputes by Regional Media in Ethiopia: Amhara TV and Tigray TV in Focus'; a Master's Thesis, 2020), tried to investigate the tensions between two regional governments mouthpiece media's. Therefore, the audience reception research of local media's and other international media effects needs academic research. Furthermore, the coverage of recent war between the federal government and TPLF armed force by the local and international media should be examined. Hence, to the knowledge of the researcher, there is no research on the Media Coverage of the War between Federal Government and Tigray Armed Force and considers that this research can fill the gap. Therefore, this study examined how BBC and Reuters reported the Tigray war and assessed their framing variation.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHOD**

### **3. Introduction**

The main intent of this study is to investigate global media coverage of the war between Ethiopian federal government and the Tigray armed forces by taking the news coverage of Reuters and BBC as a study cases. More specifically, it assesses how the selected media outlets have framed the conflict in their daily news coverage. Hence, in this chapter the research methodology, data-gathering tools and procedures, sampling strategies and ethical issues will be discussed.

### **3.1 Research Design**

This study had employed an exploratory sequential mixed method as a research design. The solid reason for this researcher to apply these research design is due to the fact that, the appropriateness of materializing an exploratory sequential mixed methodology to successfully undertake this study with regard to the nature and structure of the study objective and research questions that demands to collect data from various sources through deploying qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

As it has been indicated on the first chapter the main objective of this research is to investigate how the Reuters and BBC media outlets have covered the war between the Federal Government of Ethiopia and the Tigray armed force in their daily news reports posted on their official websites. In order to achieve the general and specific objectives, the researcher should answer the main study questions such as; how the selected global media outlets have presented the true picture of the war in a balanced way?, what kind of news frames have they utilize?, and also what type of sources they used in their news reports.

Therefore, employing mixed research methodology is found to be vital to answer those study questions through collect the diverse data which can be able to present a fuller picture of the study cases with a complete understanding of the research problem from the triangulated data gained by using the qualitative and quantitative approaches.



To support this, John And David (2018, P.50) asserted that, when using mixed research methodology “the researcher bases the inquiry on the assumption that collecting diverse type of data best provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either quantitative or qualitative data alone”. Addressing the steps to conduct a study using an exploratory sequential mixed method research design, they also add that “the researcher first begins with a qualitative research phase from which the data are then analyzed and information used to build in to a second quantitative phase” (Ibid, P.50).

The prominent advocator of a mixed-method research approach Van Gorp (2007: 72-73), also asserted that, usually the case study researchers utilizes mixed methodology to frame and analysis their research data, by using quantitative techniques to examine overall trends in a large data sets, and also using a qualitative techniques to examine subtle framing effects in smaller data sets.

Thus, as it is acknowledged by various research scholars, it’s very appropriate and sounding reason to use an exploratory sequential mixed method as a research design to undertake this media framing case study where in the data gained from the qualitative approach is utilized dominantly while the quantitative data used as a supportive method in framing and building the data analysis phase. Furthermore, under the next sub topics the application of the qualitative and quantitative approaches will be discussed separately as part of the domains of the mixed methodology.

### **3.1.1 Qualitative Method**

As it has been discussed previously in conducting a study using an exploratory sequential mixed method research design the researcher should first begin with a qualitative research phase using the collected information to build various categorizations that are framed under different centralizing themes from which the data are then analyzed in supported with the quantitative one. In this regard scholars also indicated that using qualitative techniques can help the researcher to examine subtle framing effects in smaller data sets as well as to obtain more naturalistic, contextual and holistic understanding about the issues at hand.

To support this, Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2007, pp.557-558) also underpinned that, “qualitative research approaches are preferred by researchers to obtain more naturalistic, contextual and

holistic understanding of human beings in a society”. Accordingly, using this method it’s possible to gain a closer and deeper understanding with a textual qualitative content analysis technique to examine the content, expressions, and themes of the texts regarding the issue under study.

The quantitative content analysis helped identify frames used in discussing Tigray war in BBC and Reuters. On the other hand, the qualitative content analysis that required analyzing the textual component provided a ground to explain why the specific frames are selected. In identifying news frames in international news the quantitative method will help establish a pattern in the selected news.

Furthermore, regarding the advantages of using qualitative method Wimmer and Dominick (2011, p.45) also stated that “with meaning making and interpretation it has special advantages in enhancing a researcher’s depth of understanding of different phenomena under investigation”. Therefore, it has a paramount importance to employ the qualitative approach as a leading research method of this study to gain meaningful data to answer the study questions and attain the research objective.

### **3.1.2 Quantitative Method**

In order to examine the overall trends of the study cases in a large data sets to support the qualitative method in framing and building the data analysis process the researcher also used a quantitative method. Employing quantitative approach has its own advantage because it helps the researcher to quantify and identify major news frames that are employed in the chosen international media organizations with a view of establishing a pattern in the selected news.

Quantitatively identifying, recording and organizing the samples of news under the established frames also gives a permissible ground to establish common themes consequently setting a shared account to similar news in a set. Concerning this Mack, et al. (2005, p. 3) also describes that, “this method is a means of quantifying variation, predicting causal relationships and describing characteristics of the population under study”.

Here of, utilizing quantitative method is found crucial in conducting this study due to its advantage to support the qualitative approach through quantify the variation in news frames to

make comparisons between frames and also to build the overall analysis process with the data triangulated by the variant techniques from the two different domains of the mixed methodology.

## **3.2 Data Sources**

This study is mainly reliant on the primary data source. Primary sources of data for this study were news stories of selected media. All the news stories (60) were collected from the selected media official websites.

## **3.3 Research Subject and Samples**

### **3.3.1 Subject**

The study subjects in which this research has tried to investigate is the well-known global Media that have been intervened to disclose the overall scenario of the war between the Federal Government of Ethiopia and the TPLF armed forces through broadcast news reports for the international community. Amongst the global Medias, are selected as a research subjects to be examined in this case study.

The first reason to select BBC and Reuters as a study subject is their continuity with a long running news coverage of the critical time that started from the first breakout of the war in November 4 up to December 3 in which the federal government armies become first subdued the town of Mekele through drive away the TPLF armed forces.

The other reason for selecting the two international Media as a study subject is due to the reason that, their level of international prominence to be chosen by the global TV broadcasters and newspapers as a news source along with the readability of their website news by billions of the digital media consumers across hundreds of the world countries. To support this, the official news website of Reuters [WWW.reutersagency.com](http://WWW.reutersagency.com) also indicated that, “Reuter’s news is read and seen by billions of peoples worldwide every day, including 780bTV broadcasters in 100+ countries, 2000+ media customers in 128 countries, 1000+ publishing clients including 8 of the top 10 newspapers globally and every major US”.

In addition to the above reason the international influence of the two global Medias in establishing trust, shaping the perception and attitude of their worldwide media consumers

through framing of issues with their daily news stories can be taken as a rationale to select those study subjects. To this regard, Reuters [WWW.reutersagency.com](http://WWW.reutersagency.com) also add that ,“ with unmatched coverage in 16 languages and reaching billions of peoples worldwide every day, we provide trusted intelligence that powers humans and machines to make smart decisions”.

Furthermore, we may be familiar with how the issue has been entertained by the local media news coverage but we can't anticipate about how it was covered with the news framings of global Medias unless it is presented with the scholarly research investigations. Therefore, instead of using the local Media those global news Media are selected as a study subjects because it helps the researcher to see the international perspective of the study phenomenon.

### **3.3.2 Sampling Method**

To undertake this media framing case study through select representative cases along with methodologies that can purposefully provide the intended research data which helps the inquirer to gain a deeper understanding about the study phenomenon so as to answer the study questions and achieve his objectives, this researcher has employed purposive sampling method.

Scholars also indicated that, researchers who tried to explore any area of interest using multiple case study research approach has usually utilized purposive sampling method to select multiple cases. To support this, Stake (1995) mentioned on Cresswell (2007, p.74) asserted that “often the inquirer purposefully selects multiple case study to show different perspectives on the issue”.

Besides to select representative cases to his study, the researcher also purposefully selects the studied sample individuals and sites. To this concern, Cresswell (2007, p.125) further describes that, “the inquirer selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully informs an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon”.

Accordingly, using purposive sampling method this researcher has selected BBC and Reuters as a representative cases among from the global news Medias as well as to select 30 news reports from each case because of their importance to provide meaningful data and helps the researcher to gain complete understanding about the issue at hand.

### **3.3.2.1 Sample Size and Unit of Analysis**

As indicated above using purposive sampling methodology, 60 news stories are selected as a total sample size of the study from both media outlets. Therefore, the units of data analysis which are going to be thematically analyzed under this study are individual news stories that are posted on the official news websites of BBC and Reuters global Media.

Babbie (1979, p. 235) stated that, “individual components about which or whom descriptive or explanatory statements are to be made.” Accordingly, as part of the unit of analysis individual news stories are coded and framed in an organizing central theme and exploratory statements are made using quantitative content analysis method.

### **3.3.2.2 Sampling Procedures**

By examining the news articles in accordance with the fact basis of the news reports to answer the five "WH" questions, using a purposive sampling method this researcher has selected 60 news stories that are posted on the official news website of BBC and Reuters from November 4, 2020 to December 3, 2020 as a total sample size of the study. There are 55 BBC and 148 Reuters news posted on the media's websites of these respective media.

For this study individual stories were selected manually by searching for specific words containing Tigray war, Tigray Crisis, Tigray,law enforcement, Ethiopian National Defense Force, TPLF, etc. By using this mechanism, a total of 60 news stories were purposively collected from BBC's and Reuter's websites in equal proportion. The news stories were collected selectively to address the research questions well.

### **3.3.2.3 Time Frame for Story Selection**

The time boundary from which the study sample news reports to be selected is scaled from November 4/2020 up to December 3/ 2020 within a thirty day time frame. The main reasons to select this time frame are due to the criticality of this period: in costing the resource of the country with huge amount of human and economic loses from the side of combatants; in creating social instability, displacement and chaos across the warfronts; in catching the attentions of the global media and community.

Moreover, this time frame is selected because the first moment that the prime minister of Ethiopia has officially announced on the national media about the beginning of the war due to the betrayal and deadly attack of the TPLF armed forces on the northern front national army was November 4 and it was December 3 in which the prime minister has announced about the end of the first round battle through dislodge the TPLF armed forces from their commanding regional capital Mekele. Thus, taking these reasons into account the time frame of selecting the BBC and Reuter's news reports are bounded from November 4 up to December 3.

### **3.4 Method of Data Collection, Organization and Analysis**

The relevant data collected from the selected news stories of BBC and Reuter's media news website were categorized into different centrally organizing themes then individually analyzed.

Hence, in order to get the relevant data for the study there must be tools. Content analyses were used to collect and analyze relevant data for the study.

#### **3.4.1 Content Analysis**

This study used content analysis to gather the data sets from the selected global Medias. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this study employed qualitative and quantitative content analysis to answer the research questions. Content analysis becomes the fastest-growing technique in quantitative research. It is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Berelson, 1952, p. 18, cited in Neuendorf, 2002). It helps to analyze both printed and spoken materials which are found in books, magazines, newspapers, and the contents of all verbal materials (Kothari, 2004).

As a technique, content analysis involves specialized procedures. As stated by Krippendorff (2012) it is a scientific tool that is learnable and divorceable from the personal authority of the researcher. In this research content analysis was used in both qualitative and quantitative senses. With the help of the framing model, the researcher has conducted quantitative content analysis on the televised news from the selected media. Additionally, the study implemented textual analysis in order to provide supportive arguments for quantitative findings of identified frames in the prior content analysis.

Finally, content analysis is used as a starting point where other researchers could build on the statistic findings to carry out further investigation like conducting media effects research that explain the impact or consequence. With respect to this research, quantitative content analysis is used to investigate the frames used to represent the war in global media, i.e., BBC and REUTERS.

### **3.4.2 Reliability and Consistency**

The important objective in content analysis is consistency and reliability. The issue of consistency and reliability in coding refers the uniformity and similarity of selection of war issues among coders during tallying and coding of articles. The contents to be analyzed were selected according to explicit and constantly applied rules.

Only one set of guideline was used throughout the study to which all coders had to adhere. In this research, therefore, the operational definition given to Tigray issues and the five genres of the content of the newspaper (News contents) were used as coding frames. Two trained coders have catalogued the war issues to a prescriptive frame work devised. To achieve the best possible reliability and consistency on the coding, each coder has checked all sample editions turn by turn by going through what the others have catalogued.

### **3.5 Data Analysis Tools**

This study aims to investigate media coverage of the recent conflict in Northern Ethiopia by the BBC and Reuters the two globally renowned media organizations. Thus, qualitative data which are collected by textual analysis technique will be analyzed using thematic analysis method. Whereas, the quantitative data was analyzed by descriptive statistics this incorporates the use of frequency, percentages and mean distribution.

Besides, quantitative data collected in the research presented in tables and analyzed through statistical tools. The statistical analysis tool SPSS version 26 had employed for doing the task of analyzing quantitative data. According to Walliman (2006) statistical methods are valuable tools that enable a researcher to present and describe the data and, if necessary, to discover and quantify relationships.

### 3.6 Framing and Coding Techniques

There are various kinds of news framing techniques implemented on the Mass-Media while organizing and presenting their news concerned about a given scenario. Explaining the meaning of framing citing Broadly, Dimitrova and Stromback (2005, p.404) stated that “framing refers to the ways in which mass media organize and present issues and events”. In differentiating the types of news frames as part of the study of media coverage, Dimitrova and Stromback (2005, p.404) mentioning Sceufele (1999) explained the most comprehensive typologies of framing into four categories of framing research as follows:

- 2) Independent variables (2) dependent variables and studying (3) individual frames. Individual frames are sometimes described as mental schemas, heuristics or scripts. They help and individual perceive, interpret and discuss public events. Media frames, on the other hand, are contained in journalistic stories across different Medias (e.g. print, television, or internet).

In this study, the researcher is concerned in investigating the media frames that are employed by BBC and Reuters in conducting their news reports about the war between the Federal Government of Ethiopia and the TPLF armed forces.

Therefore, among the types of media framing techniques this study has employed the one that have a particular focus and interests on the area of war news coverage known by a name “war-specific frame”. According to Dimitrova and Stromback (2005) war-specific frame is a method used to develop several specific frames with regard to the coverage of the news story tone that are included within the specific coding categories of central organizing theme.

Accordingly different war-specific frames are developed and coded under the following eight central organizing themes:

1. Human Interest Frame: - which emphasis on the human participants and involved parties on the course of events from both opposed parts.
2. Responsibility Frame: - emphasis on the parties and individuals who are considered as responsible for a given scenario, issue or event of war.
3. Violence of War Frame: - focuses on various destructions caused by the war.



4. Anti-War Protest Frame: - emphasizes on oppositions against the war that condemns one or both parts that can be take a form of demonstration by the protesters against the war.
5. Military Conflict Frame: - focusing on the military conflicts, troops, equipment and the like.
6. Advance Frame: - emphasis on the progress and advancement of the war, captured places by the combatant parts and the outcome of the war.
7. Profile Frame: - emphasis on the profiles of the two opponent parts, their officials as well as supporters.
8. Civil War Frame: - interprets the war as regional conflict.

During the development of these war-specific frames as well as in the coding process the individual news stories, the researcher of this study has selected two individuals who have accumulated previous professional experiences in framing and coding of the research data during their academic courses.

Moreover, the researcher had also employed a number of variables which were used in previous studies to prepare the code sheet and the code book. The coding scheme for this analysis follows prior studies (e.g. Iyengar (1991), Entman (1993) which identify salient elements in news reporting.

### **3.7 Ethical Considerations**

Ethical consideration is assumed to be greater for those conducting researcher, given the direct contact researchers have with people. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2011), some common areas where researchers might face ethical dilemmas include; willing involvement with informed accordance, disablements, cons and also protection of participant's incognito.

Although the uses the secondary data sources, this researcher has gave his consideration in to account while conducting his study to minimize bias through give an extended careful time with the research data analysis and utilizing direct quotation technique.

# CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

## 4.1 Data Presentation and Analysis

### 4.1.1 Dominant Frames

This research is set out to identify how the war between the Ethiopian national defense force and Tigray armed force is represented by BBC and Reuters, two global mainstream media from the western world. To fulfill the aims of this research, by identifying and investigating major frames the selected media used to covering the Tigray war, the study uses an inductive approach of frame classification. It is limited to examining how BBC and Reuters framed the war between the Ethiopian national defiance forces and Tigray armed force starting from November 4 to December 3 2020.

In the process of this study every news piece, i.e., the headlines and sub-headlines as well as background stores were analyzed. This original analysis was made by implementing emergent coding to establish system categories to catalogue related toned news. These frame categories are the areas of both global media reported concerning the war between two opponents Group. Then, in the second step, textual evidence was identified using qualitative analysis. Accordingly, overarching categories, which were broad enough to include all textual sub-frames, were established. This helps to reduce data to a manageable size and come up with a concentrated finding.

However, in theoretical terms, this means that one-sided coverage might function as a ‘consensus heuristic’, which means that information regarding a certain issue may function as a clue to which viewpoints are valid or acceptable. As explained by Mutz (1998: p210): ‘When media emphasize who or which side of an issue or controversy is ahead or behind, they may inadvertently cue the consensus heuristic, thus altering attitudes toward a candidate or issue.’ By doing this, the media might also trigger a ‘spiral of silence’ (Noelle-Neumann, 1984), deliberately or not. Our study shows empirical evidence that there were differences in tone, war framing and use of sources in the Tigray War coverage between BBC and Reuters. The possible consequences of such differences are that media coverage may reinforce or even increase

divisions among world opinion about the war and the parties involved in the war. We also found some similarities in how the war was framed for the international audience. These similarities indicate consistency in news reporting patterns on an international scale. They may also suggest a trend toward westernization of the journalism process.

Consequently, Framing of the war between the Government of Ethiopia and Tigray armed force by BBC and Reuters News Media After analyzing about 30 news reports about the war on BBC and about 30 news reports about the war on Reuters, i.e., the headlines and sub-headlines, background stores and news analyses equivalent were posted, the following 8 sub-categories of the frame were identified. All the frames were identified and defined after the coding process was complete.

**Table 4.1: News Frame Sub-categories in BBC and Reuters**

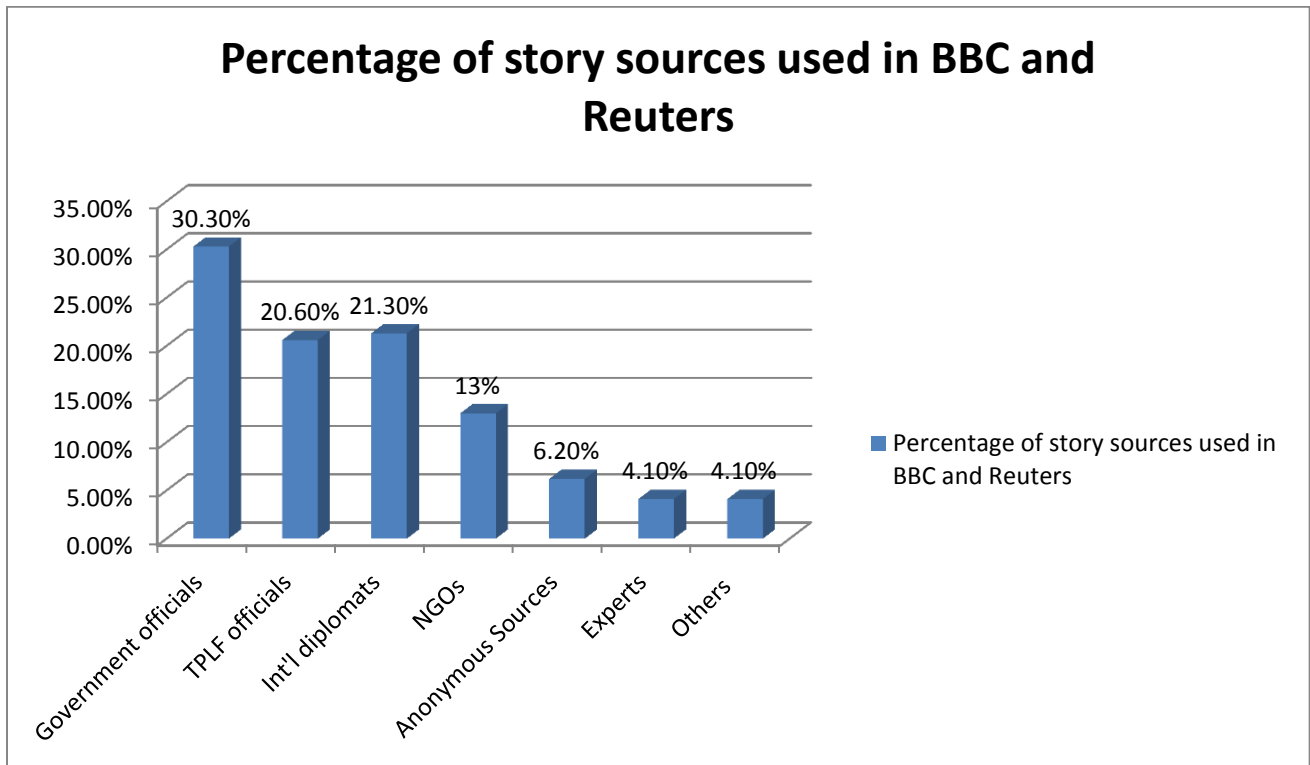
<b>Types of Frame Sub-categories</b>	<b>News Media</b>					
	<b>BBC</b>			<b>Reuters</b>		
	No	of	%	No	of	%
		stories			stories	
Advance	2		6.66%	7		23.33%
Anti - war	3		10%	3		10%
Attribution of Responsibility	3		10%	6		20%
Civil War and Regional Crisis	5		16.66%	3		10%
Human Interest	5		16.66%	1		3.33%
Military Conflict	8		26.66%	4		13.33%
Profile	2		6.66%	1		3.33%
Violence of War	2		6.66%	5		16.66%

The finding showed that the dominant frame used in BBC was military conflict frame. Whereas, Advance frame was the leading news frame employed by Reuters. Violence of war, Attribution of responsibility, Civil war and regional crisis frames were also the dominant frames used in both media. Many of the news stories were framed in accordance with the interest of selected media.

### 4.1.2 Story Sources

In this section, the researcher examined sources that were used in the news stories. Sources are classified into 7 sections: these are Ethiopian government officials, TPLF officials, International organizations and Diplomats, NGOs, Anonymous sources, experts and others. Other sources included residents and media organizations.

**Figure 4.1: Percentage of story sources used in BBC and Reuters**



The main source distribution across BBC and Reuters is indicated in figure 7 above. The dominant news source of both media was Ethiopian government officials, which accounted for 30.3 percent, followed by the international organizations and diplomats, counted as 21.3 percent. TPLF officials, Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and anonymous diplomats and humanitarian workers were also used for their reference. Among the news sources TPLF officials constituted 20.6 percent. NGO's and anonymous sources contributed 13 percent and 6.2 percent, respectively. The remaining news sources were experts and other sources which accounted for 4.2 percent each.

## 4.2 Discussion of Findings

The study examined how Tigray war was framed by global media, particularly by BBC and Reuters. In the discussion part of the study, findings were discussed in terms of frames and news sources used while reporting the war in Tigray. This part discusses the outcomes presented in the finding section by correlating the findings with the theoretical frameworks of the study.

### 4.2.1 Dominant Frames

The finding showed that the dominant frame used in BBC was military conflict frame. The same advance frame was the leading frame in Reuters. Attributions of responsibility, human interest, conflict, diagnostic and prognostic frames were also the dominant frames used in both media.

Many of the news stories were framed in various ways. Therefore, the researcher further extracts subordinate news frames. Among them political, Law and order, Security and defense, Fairness and equality and Public opinion frames are worth mentioning.

#### **Military conflict frame**

The specific frames included in the content analysis were, military conflict frame emphasis is on military action, focusing on troops, military equipment and related issues. In this regard, under the military conflict frame, BBC and Reuters presented both sides of the war between the federal government of Ethiopia and the Tigray armed force. As result, Out of 30 BBC news reports about the war 7 (26.66 %) used the military conflict frame. However, Reuters out of 30 news reports used military conflict frame about 4 (13.3%). both media respectively presents the national defiance force, regional force and Tigray armed force military action. News stories that used the military conflict frame were published under such media website heads as;

*Ethiopia orders military response after army base seized”, “Ethiopia carries out airstrikes Abiy Ahmed”, and “Ethiopia's Abiy Ahmed vows to continue military offensive”.*

For instance, on 23 November, 2020 BBC published a news story posted on the websites home page in the headline of “Tigray crisis: Debretsion Gebremichael vows to fight on” The quote indicates that the Tigray armed force was ready to take military action. The same Reuters

published military conflict content stories. For example, on November 4, 2020, Reuters published a news story with the following titles;

*“Ethiopia mobilizes for war in the northern region”,*

*“Ethiopia sends army into Tigray region, heavy fighting reported”. (Reuters, November 5, 2020).*

Moreover, the BBC news stores dominantly focused on military actions, war operations, troop’s mobilizations and the two opposing group’s conflicts. Comparatively, Reuter’s news coverage of the Tigray war used military conflict frame had less than BBC. But, at the time of the war beginning both global media frequently uses military conflict frames.

### **Profile Frame**

Next to the military conflict frame, BBC and Reuters use the Profile frame to discussing the background stories of the war and the biography of the two opponent force leaders. TPLF what it is, its ideology, and related issues covered on both global media news stores. Accordingly, in one month of this study, BBC had used this frame for two stories from 30 selected news 6.6 % of the total news coverage. All profile framed news shows TPLF armed force as a powerful group, with a strong leadership hierarchy. As a result of my study, profile framed news stores are more glorifying an individual’s personality. In this particular news report posted on BBC home page;

*“Debretsion Gebremichael, the man at the heart of the conflict” (BBC, November 22 November 2020).*

Under the headline above, the news story explains who the leader of TPLF and his role is. However, when we see the Reuters one month news coverage about the war only one story uses a profile frame (3.33%). Similarly, with BBC the selected profile oriented news is moreover focusing on the TPLF, leaders and armed forces than opponent force. For example, Reuters published under the head of *“Battle-hardy Tigray back in the spotlight as Ethiopia conflict flares”*. The central news body presents how the Tigray armed forces came to power and simply challenges the national defence force.

*“Accounting for just 5% of the population, Tigrayans dominated politics and the military from 1991 until Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed” (Reuters, November 10, 2020).*

On the selected news using profile frame both media coverage’s and journalist, reporter refrains from restating the expert’s description of the armed force and supporter’s strength.

*“Conflict and hardship are nothing new to Tigrayans”* is an unexampled quote, what the Reuters magnifying the profile of the people of Tigray rather than the opposite side of the government of Ethiopia and people. The Reuters news motive indicates the Tigray armed force stronger than the national defiance force of Ethiopia. The Reuters report states that;

*“Tigrayan forces and militia are battle-hardened, have large stocks of military hardware and number up to 250,000 men”.*

In news reports under the profile frame, Reuters and BBC loosely applied to balance reports.

### **Civil war and regional crisis frame**

A civil war, also known as intrastate war, is a war between organized groups within the same state or country. It is a high-intensity conflict that often involves regular armed forces. Theoretically, civil war overlaps with other categories of armed conflict, particularly revolution, political violence, ethnic conflict, and terrorism. A civil war, also known as intrastate war, is a war between organized groups within the same state or country (Kalyvas and Kenny, 2017).

The complex civil and regional war stores include in the categories of civil war frame. According to this frame this study measures both selected media news coverage. In one-month news coverage of the war, BBC uses Civil war and regional crisis frames 5 times about (16.66%). However, Reuter’s uses civil war and region crisis frame in one-month news coverage counted 3 (10%). Both media attempt’s to show the issue as civil war and regional crisis. The two media had not to identify ‘who’ and ‘why’ of the war occurred.

According to Kayayas and Kenny (2017) of civil war research, the causes of civil war include economic motivations or greed, and political or social grievances. Greed-based explanations focus on individuals’ desire to maximize their profits, while grievance based explanations centre

on conflict as a response to socioeconomic or political injustice. But BBC and Reuters are not reporting the reason why narrate the Tigray war as a civil war?

However, BBC in the coverage of one-month duration in the regional circumstances caused the war as an East Africa trait. Eritrean presents military activities in the Tigray region. For instance, the BBC home page posted under the head of;

*“Tigray crisis: esidents ordered to defend against Ethiopia army” Eritreans army involvement. “The regional authorities also repeated the accusation that neighbouring Eritrea was involved in the conflict, something both Eritrea and the federal government have denied. (BBC Published On 11 November 2020).*

Accordingly, the regional actors involved are identified the Tigray war as a Sudan trait.

*“Hundreds of people have reportedly been killed since the fighting started on 4 November, and thousands have fled into neighbouring Sudan”.*

As for internal actors, under this frame, BBC presents ongoing violence between the national army and forces loyal to the leaders of the northern Tigray region has prompted fears that Ethiopia is on the brink of a civil war. BBC News reports in the war starting first days using the word civil war frequently.

*“For some, civil war has already begun” (BBC, 11 November 2020)*

According, to scholars there is no consonance about civil war schema. One of the reasons for the lack of consensus in the study of civil war is disagreement over what exactly civil war miens. (Kalyvas & Kenny, 2017) In addition, Eritrea is mentioned as an actor, which resonates with BBC the war is still seen as a regionally triggered war involving the Tigray. *(BBC published, 11 November 2020).*

*“Fears are growing of civil conflict in the East African country”.*

On the other hand, the civil war frame, clearly labels the war as a ‘civil war’ and a ‘war of everyone against everyone. Civil wars since the end of World War II have lasted for over four years on average, a considerable rise from the one and a half year average of the 1900–1944 period. While the rate of emergence of new civil wars has been relatively steady since the mid-



19th century, the increasing length of those wars has resulted in increasing numbers of wars ongoing at any one time. Since 1945, civil wars have resulted in the deaths of over 25 million people, as well as the forced displacement of millions more, along with economic collapse. According to the above-mentioned study, the Reuters news coverage of the war of Tigray is under question. For instance, Reuters published under the head of; *“Hundreds dead in worsening Ethiopian conflict.”* Reuters presents the war between the different groups as the cause of hundreds of dead.

*“An escalating conflict in Ethiopia’s restive Tigray region has killed hundreds of people, sources on the government side said, even as the prime minister sought on Monday to reassure the world his nation was not sliding into civil war”.* ( Reuters, November 9, 2020)

Reuters presents the war as an east African crisis. This is an unexampled quote on how Reuter frames the news.

*“The flare-up in the northern area bordering Eritrea and Sudan threatens to destabilize Africa’s second-most populous nation, where ethnic conflict has already killed hundreds since Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed took over in 2018.”* (Reuters, November 9, 2020)

Even though, after the federal government announcing of the first phase military operation is finished Reuters reports the war is continuing in another character. For instance, in the frame of civil war and regional crisis, Reuters posted on the home page

*“Ethiopia war may turn into guerrilla insurgency”, in the headline* (Reuters DECEMBER 1, 2020)

The reports discussed the one-month war process and what look like next.

*“Fighting since Nov. 4 is believed to have killed thousands of people, as well as forcing refugees into Sudan, dragging in Eritrea, and worsening hunger and suffering among Tigray’s more than 5 million people”.* (Reuters December 1, 2020).

The two global media under the civil war and regional crises frame news report mentions who countries involve in the Tigray war. Despite not giving an interpretation, it can be read as a war that had its political reasons, emerging as a civil conflict, in which everyone was involved.

### **Anti-war frame**

The Framing theory examines how news media organize reality. As war frame by selecting some aspects of war reality such as military success and ignoring other aspects such as anti-war protest the media text constrains audience interpretations. This is especially important in the case of war where national media may engender different interpretations and presentations for the national audience. As a result, the public in one country may acquire quite different beliefs and attitudes toward the event compared with the public in another country exposed to different media coverage. Possibly it is feasible that audiences who do not see much reporting about anti-war protests and war victims may become more inclined to support war efforts. Those who perceive war as a military success may be more supportive of it in the end.

In this regard, under the anti-war frame, BBC and Reuters reporting the issue counted equally 3 news from 30 selected news (10%). The media thus seem to 'blind' the audience to alternative interpretations of events and imply the reality on issues, by not offering opposing views. Anti-war frame emphasis is on existing opposition to the war, with war protestors or demonstrations against the war. On the contrary, of the others frame BBC and Reuter's uses anti-war frame slightly. Of course, both media using this frame in news reporting more over cover about peace talks issue. For instance, BBC media posted on the home page under the headline,

*"Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed rejects peace talks"*

*Tigray's leader, Debretsion Gebremichael, wrote to the African Union (AU) to request talks. (BBC, 11 November 2020)*

The report further indicates *PM Abiy Ahmed said in a tweet that there would be no dialogue "until our efforts to ascertain the rule of law are achieved". The report covering the issue Tigray armed force leader Mr Debretsion wrote to the AU asking for help. For this question, the chairman of the African Union Commission, Moussa Faki Mahamat, urged the federal government and the Tigray state authorities to engage in dialogue.*

In the same way, Reuters slightly uses an anti-war frame during the first phase of the military operation. Hence, this media posted on the home page;

*“African envoys head for Ethiopia as ultimatum expires for assault”. (BBC, November 25, 2020)*

Reuter’s uses an anti-war frame during the news coverage of the Tigray war negotiation issues. The following news story is unexampled of the news coverage of the Reuters.

*“African envoys went to Ethiopia to plead for peace on Wednesday, hours before an ultimatum was to expire for Tigrayan forces to surrender or face an assault on the northern region’s capital that rights groups fear could bring huge civilian casualties.”*

Moreover, the centre of news body discussing Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s government set a 72-hour ultimatum for the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) to lay down its arms or face an assault on Mekelle the highland regional capital city of 500,000 people. On the other hand, the writer of this news story included the Human Rights Watch said.

*“Human Rights watch both sides must avoid putting civilians in danger. And also the news story discusses Human Rights watch concern. “We are also concerned about reports that the TPLF has deployed its forces in heavily populated areas. They need to ensure the safety of civilians under their control,”*

Reuters try’s to include International diplomats involved in the news coverage opponent force to sit peace talk.

*“Three African Union (AU) envoys ex-presidents Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, Elle Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia and Kgalema Motlanthe of South Africa were due in Ethiopia’s capital on Wednesday for meeting”( Reuters, November 25, 2020).*

### **Attribution of Responsibility Frame**

As discussed in the data presentation attribution of responsibility frame was the second dominant frame used by Reuters while reporting the Tigray war which contributed 20 percent of the

analyzed stories. Whereas, BBC's stories employing attribution of responsibility frame accounted for 10 percent. In both media attribution of responsibility, the frame has been used to represent responsible bodies for the occurrence of war in Tigray. This type of frame reports a subject or problem to attribute responsibility for its root cause or solution or an explanation to either the government or to an individual or group (Valkenburg, 1998).

The Attribution and responsibility news frames of both BBC and Reuters focused on mainly accusing the federal government as a war propagator and consequent mistakes. While discussing why the war had broken out, the media gave huge emphasis to the causes which tightened the tensions between the federal government and TPLF. The background of TPLF dominated the news content. Instead, the real cause of the Tigray war, the Northern Command Attack, got little attention. For instance, BBC's news published on November 13, 2020 reads;

*Mr Abiy ordered the military operation against the TPLF after he said its fighters had crossed "the last red line".*

*He accused them of attacking a military camp hosting federal troops on 4 November, calling the action "treasonous". The TPLF has denied attacking the camp.*

*... Mr Abiy accuses some TPLF leaders of being "fugitives from justice" and opposing his moves to reform the way Ethiopia is run, but they say they have been unfairly targeted.*

*The disagreement represents a deep fracture in the very core of power in the country. (BBC Nov 13 2020).*

The news coverage of Reuters also emphasized blaming Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed as a real cause for the Tigray war. Its news framing attributes the powerful tension between the Federal government and TPLF as the main problem. Once, powerful and guerrilla fighter, now neglected and unfairly treated by the Abiy administration, news contents discussed. The ethnic background of the new leader had also stated numerous to attribute the real cause of the Tigray war.

*Abiy, Africa's youngest leader and the 2019 Nobel Peace Prize winner, launched air strikes and a ground offensive on Nov. 4 after accusing ex-comrades and the local ruling party, the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), of armed revolt.*

*Tigrayan leaders say Abiy, 44, who comes from Ethiopia's largest ethnic group the Oromo, has persecuted and purged them from government and security posts since taking office in 2018. (Reuters, November 18, 2013).*

The Prime Minister, who wins a Nobel Peace Prize, had also been blamed for “unkindness” and unwillingness for peace. Both selected media news stories stated that ‘it is unexpected to see a Nobel Peace Prize winner waging war on its people’. The issue of negotiation was also attached to the Nobel Prize.

*Abiy took office pledging to open up one of the most restrictive political systems in Africa and won the Nobel Prize for ending a conflict with neighbouring Eritrea. But ethnic violence has exploded in many parts of the country on his watch, forcing hundreds of thousands of people to flee their homes. (Reuters, November 6 2020)*

*Mr Abiy won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2019 for his efforts to bring peace with long-standing foe Eritrea - but the TPLF feels that Tigray's interests have been overlooked. (BBC 13 November 2020)*

*Governments around Europe and Africa are clamouring for talks and even the Nobel committee voiced concern in rare comment on a past laureate's actions. But Abiy has said he will only negotiate when rule of law is restored in Tigray, whose leaders are former military comrades whom he also partnered in government until 2018. (Reuters Nov 18 2020).*

The media also used attribution and responsibility frame while reporting ‘Mai – kadra massacre’. Both selected media employed this frame to attribute the blame regarding civilians mass killing. BBC in its November 13, 2020, news headlined ‘Ethiopia Tigray crisis: UN warns ‘war crimes’ may have happened’, stated hundreds of people had been stabbed and hacked to death in Mai - Kadra. The media entertained the Amnesty International report, the accusation by the Federal

government of Ethiopia and the response of TPLF officials, which said the blame was ‘baseless’. But witnesses were quoted as saying ‘TPLF was the mastermind of the horrific massacre’ as follows;

*The human rights group said it had confirmed that "scores, and likely hundreds, of people, were stabbed or hacked to death in Mai-Kadra (May Cadera) town".*

*It said it had seen and "digitally verified gruesome photographs and videos of bodies strewn across the town or being carried away on stretchers".*

*Amnesty said the victims appeared to be labourers not involved in the conflict. It is not clear where they came from.*

*It said witnesses had spoken of wounds "inflicted by sharp weapons such as knives and machetes". Some witnesses said the attacks were carried out by forces loyal to the TPLF after they had been defeated by federal troops in an area called Lugdi. (BBC, Nov, 13 20 20).*

Reuters had also covered the *Mai – Kadra* massacre via attribution of responsibility frame. The media incorporated the exclusive text message response of the leader of the TPLF, Debretsion Gebremichael, who dismissed the allegation. In its November 12, 2020, news coverage headlined, ‘*Ethiopia claims big advance in Tigray, Amnesty reports mass killing*’, Reuters couldn’t emphasize the mass killing of civilians. Instead, the report accused the Nobel Peace Prize winner of barring the media to investigate who is behind the massacre impartially.

*“Amnesty International has not yet been able to confirm who was responsible ... but has spoken to witnesses who said forces loyal to the TPLF were responsible for the mass killings, apparently after they suffered defeat from the federal EDF forces,” it said.*

*Tigray’s leader Debretsion Gebremichael, who chairs the TPLF, denied his forces were involved.*

*“This is unbelievable ... this should be investigated,” Debretsion said in a text message to Reuters, accusing Abiy of “creating facts on [the] ground”. (Reuters November 12 2020).*

The media had also covered the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission findings of November 9 attack in *Mai Kadra* via attribution of responsibility frame. The youth group called Samri was accused of the mass killing of 600 civilians, mainly of Amharic descent. But Reuters underlined its stance by stating the difficulty of verification.

*They were beaten to death, stabbed, set on fire and strangled with ropes, the report said, though some residents protected neighbours by hiding them in homes. The commission accused local forces of colluding in the “massacre”.*

*The Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) was not immediately available but has previously denied involvement.*

*Reuters has been unable to verify statements made by either side since phone and internet connections to Tigray are down and access to the area is strictly controlled. (Reuters November 24 2020).*

Analyzed stories of both BBC and Reuters implied the air strikes and ground combat between Ethiopian government forces and the TPLF had caused the killing of many innocent peoples. The flooding of refugees to Sudan had also been associated with ‘the war which ignored the safety of civilians’. The media framed their stories as air or drone attacks triggering civilian’s death and displacement through the mouths of TPLF officials.

*Civilians were also killed in a government air strike in Tigray's capital, Mekelle, and in the city of Adigrat close to the border with Eritrea, Mr Debretsion told AFP.*

*"People are running in every corner. So the most important consequence of the conflict currently is displacement. Of course, there are casualties, but we don't have the numbers. This is too big to manage," he added. (BBC November 13 2020)*

The federal government, on the other hand, blamed TPLF for using churches and mosques as a fort. It also accused the group of using civilians as a human shield.

*In a statement, Abiy's office accused TPLF leaders of hiding in the regional capital Mekelle and "using the civilian population as human shields".*

*"Members of the TPLF, who ruled the country for the previous 27 years through means of oppression rather than law, have been fugitives from justice," it said. (Reuters November 6 2020).*

Besides the civilian casualties, the physical infrastructure damages by two combatants were also covered through the attribution of responsibility frame. Both warring sides blamed each other on different occasions. The media organizations selected for this study, therefore, entertained each side claim. The destruction of Aksum Airport and bridges connecting towns were dominant issues covered by the media.

*Later on Tuesday, Abiy's special task force on the Tigray conflict accused rebel forces of destroying bridges connecting the regional capital Mekelle with the rest of the country in attempts to hold back federal government forces. There was no immediate TPLF comment on the accusations. (Reuters Nov 18 2020)*

*The Ethiopian government has accused TPLF forces of destroying infrastructure including the airport in the ancient tourist town of Aksum, state-affiliated Fana news site reports. It shared images of a ploughed runway, accusing the fighters of harming the region's economy.*

*The TPLF has not commented on the accusations but its leader Debretsion Gebremichael told Reuter's news agency on Sunday that his forces had managed to stall advancing federal troops. (BBC, Nov, 23 2020)*

On the other hand, TPLF officials accused the federal government of violating international law by bombing electric dams and sugar factories. Its claim about aerial bombardment's result on various infrastructure projects had got both media's coverage. Even though using UAV's (drones) in war is not new, Reuters news content published on November 16 2020 quoted



Debretsion Gebremichael, as saying ‘Abiy administration is using high-tech weaponry including drones...’ and UN and AU should consider this hazardous action.

*“Abiy Ahmed is waging this war on the people of Tigray and he is responsible for the purposeful infliction of human suffering on the people and destruction of major infrastructure projects like the Tekeze Dam and the Wolkait Sugar Factory by air strikes,” Debretsion Gebremichael added in a statement dated Sunday. (R Nov 16 2020).*

The Ethiopian government accusation of World Health Organization Chief Tedros Adhanom had also been treated via attribution of responsibility frame. News content titled, ‘Ethiopia accuses WHO chief Tedros of backing Tigray rebels’ entertained the accusation and the response of the WHO chief as follows;

*“He has been doing everything to support them; he has campaigned to get the neighboring countries to condemn the war. He has worked to facilitate weapons for them (the TPLF),” he (army chief of staff General Birhanu Jula) said in a televised news conference.*

*Tedros, in a tweet posted in the evening, denied taking sides in the conflict in his home country Ethiopia and called on all parties there to work for peace and the safety of civilians.*

*“There have been reports suggesting I am taking sides in this situation. This is not true and I want to say that I am on only one side and that is the side of peace,” said Tedros, 55, who is of Tigrayan ethnicity. (Reuters November 19 2020)*

However, the overall news framing seemed to support the WHO chief. The news report which gave huge space to the profile of Tedros Adhanom, questions the credibility of General Birhanu’s allegation. Western diplomats in Geneva were also quoted as said ‘in the absence of any evidence of wrongdoing, there was no rush to judgment or move to challenge Tedros at the WHO’.

The framing also tried to divert the attention by associating the recent allegation issue to the international Covid 19 outbreak standoff. The background information stated the US and China tension and the WHO chief position has nothing to do with the Ethiopian federal government and TPLF war.

While covering the Tigray war, BBC and Reuters, accused the federal government of cutting down the phone and internet communications in the region. Moreover, they criticize the ban on media to cover the war on the spot. These two huge obstacles hindered the independent verification of opposing assertions, their reports discussed.

To sum up, both media used the attribution of responsibility frame to expose what had happened? Who was responsible? And future prospects of the war. However, the accusations more or less rest up on the federal government side. The analyzed stories showed that both media seemed to prefer to leave the Abiy administration accusations by simple statements like ‘TPLF officials could not respond’ or ‘we are not on the spot’.

### **Human Interest Frame**

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) stated that because of news story market competition, media practitioners are exerting greater effect to produce stories that capture the public’s interest. Moreover, the human interest frame emphasizes the personal stories of people and brings a human face, an individual’s story or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem. This means the human interest frame will have the ability to catch the audience’s attention easily and influence them to have a responsibility towards the subject.

In the reports under this textual news frame, both BBC and Reuters used human interest frames to catch the interest of their audience. The contribution of human interest frames in BBC and Reuters constitute 16.6 percent and 3.3 percent respectively. Human interest frame was the Second dominant frame used by BBC while covering the Tigray war. The media used human faces to show the suffering of people due to the ongoing war. A heart touching story titled, ‘Ethiopia's Tigray crisis: *‘my little brother needs medicine’* could be worth mentioning among news stories that grabs the audience attention. The story written by BBC’s journalist Hana Zeratsyon portrayed her 11-year-old brother suffering from cerebral palsy and epilepsy.

*... I am extremely worried about whether he will get his medication following the outbreak of a new conflict in Ethiopia's already war-scarred Tigray region.*

*He lives in the regional capital, Mekelle, with my parents and siblings and - just days before the conflict started - I had what has turned out to be my last video chat with them about his treatment.*

*I miss my little brother the most. As he cannot talk, I used to see him during video link-ups of my family.*

*Now, I cling to the photos I have of him - and hope that the conflict ends soon so that he can get his medication. ... What will then happen to my family and other families? Will there be a scarcity of food? Will prices rise? How will families cope with a shortage of cash, especially if they rely on remittances sent by relatives living abroad? (BBC November 13 2020)*

The media had also covered the concern of humanitarian organizations through the human interest frame. In its November 12, 2020 news, BBC quoted Catherine Sozi, UN country director in Ethiopia as said "Shortages of basic commodities such as flour and fuel are being reported". The news contents focusing on the refugees flooding to Sudan and the dire shortage of aid commodities used the testimonies of refugee's hardship and aid agencies apprehension.

*Al Sir Khalid, a commissioner for refugees in Sudan's Kassala state, told the BBC's Focus on Africa programme that some of those fleeing had walked for two or three days to escape "bombardment", and that they included Ethiopian soldiers. (BBC November 12 2020)*

*The refugees arriving in Sudan, the majority of who are believed to be children, are hungry and frightened, aid agencies say, and an immediate ceasefire would allow them to help thousands of civilians still trapped inside Ethiopia.... Aid agencies are appealing for \$50m (£38m) for food and shelter for the new arrivals. (BBC November 20 2020)*

The regional capital, Mekele, residents' security and wellbeing issues were also covered in a way that grabs the attention of readers. Since the 72-hour deadline ultimatum Prime Minister Abiy gave for TPLF officials over on November 22 2020 fear had grown. The then news coverage of both BBC and Reuters was also fear arousal. Their news framing tended to focus on 'what would happen to the city 'encircled' by Ethiopian Defense Force?'

*Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed on Sunday announced a 72-hour deadline for the region's fighters to surrender.*

*The army warned Mekelle's 500,000 residents that soldiers would "encircle" the city and attack it.*

*On Sunday an Ethiopian army spokesman told residents of the city to "save themselves" before an offensive in the city began.*

*...Meanwhile, Human Rights Watch Executive Director Kenneth Roth said that "Ethiopia has a duty to spare from harm even those who stay in Mekelle, not just threaten that 'there will be no mercy'." (BBC November 23 2020)*

The terrible experience ordinary citizens faced due to the war were also covered via the human interest frame. For instance, BBC incorporated what the communications blackout had put a black stamp on the life of one individual as follows;

*Moges, a resident of Alamata in his 20s, told the BBC that people in the town were terrified when they could hear the battle between government and TPLF forces.*

*"Since we didn't have any information, we were just imagining things. That was all we were thinking about," he said. "It was only in the last two or three days that we have started thinking about our future."*

*With communications now restored, life in Alamata - which Moges said did not suffer damage in the fighting - is getting back to normal.*

*But he said the family was worried about an uncle living in Humera, on the other side of Tigray, near the border with Sudan.*

*"We don't know what happened to him as the network is not restored there yet."  
(BBC December 2 2020)*

Reuters rarely used the human interest frame while reporting the Tigray war. Among the analyzed stories only 3.3 percent constituted a human interest frame. Even the stories which would grab the audience's attention lack elaboration.

*Ethiopia's Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed said on Thursday that the national military had found bodies of its members who were tied and shot in Tigray, a region in the north where his forces are fighting local troops.*

*He did not say how many bodies were found and there was no immediate comment from the ruling party in Tigray, the TPLF. (Reuters November 12, 2020)*

The analyzed stories showed that both media especially BBC used human interest frames to cover the human catastrophe of the war and the shortage of aid. This type of frame was also used to put pressure on both warring sides to open up a 'humanitarian corridor'. Personal stories have huge potential in attracting and influencing media audiences.

### **Violence of war**

The violence of war frames focus on the destruction caused by war, including statements about the aftermath of bombing and injury/casualty totals (Dimitrova and Stromvack, 2005). Hence, BBC and Reuters used the Violence of war frame while reporting damages caused by the Tigray war. Civilian and physical infrastructure damages by the air bombing and ground fighting had been conveyed through this type of frame. BBC's and Reuters's news stories which used the Violence of war frame constituted 6.6 percent and 16.6 percent respectively.

The Ethiopian government forces bomb strikes on TPLF militias and their possessions had dominated the news coverage at the beginning of the war. Though the news stories lacked details of the damages, the bombing of the group's possessions draw the attention of selected media. Reuters, for instance, in its November 6, 2020, coverage headlined 'Ethiopia's PM says air force bombed arms depots around Tigray region' used violence of war crime, which discussed the bombardment of TPLF possessions.

*The Ethiopian Air Force bombed arms depots and destroyed military hardware in the northern Tigray region on Friday, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed said.*

*The strikes hit sites in and around the regional capital Mekelle and destroyed heavy artillery including rocket launchers, Abiy said in a statement broadcast by state-affiliated Fana on Friday evening. (Reuters November 6, 2020).*

Similarly, the BBC had covered the ‘air strike’ on TPLF targets with detailed information compared to the Reuters. The damage of the air strikes was also briefly reported. Additionally, the response of TPLF officials which denied the damages was also entertained.

*Speaking on the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr Abiy said airstrikes had happened on Thursday and Friday and would continue.*

*He said missiles, radar equipment and rockets had been destroyed, adding that the rockets had a range of 300km (186 miles).*

*... But officials in Tigray have denied to the BBC that an air attack took place on Friday. (BBC November 6 2020)*

The damages of the airstrikes by the federal government on civilians had also been reported via the violence of the war frame. A news story focused on the Mekele bomb attack which caused civilian death cited Former Ethiopian diplomat and TPLF adviser Fesseha Tessema having said ‘civilian sites in Mekelle were being bombed by federal forces’. To make it weight the eyewitness testimony of BBC reporter based in Mekele was also part of the news story.

*A deadly air strike just before noon on Tuesday killed two people and injured others in Mekelle, doctors said. It is not yet clear who carried it out.*

*I was out on the streets shortly afterwards and saw an ambulance carrying people to the hospital. Witnesses told me a young boy - one of the wounded - died on arrival, and three others are still receiving treatment.*

*Because the banks had reopened, people in the city were out shopping at the time the incident took place. There have been other strikes in the city that did not cause casualties but caused a lot of damage to buildings.*

*I went out to assess the situation and found houses with collapsed walls and roofs, and bridges destroyed. Artillery has created craters on key roads. Local people have been milling around in the affected areas, discussing the attacks and the damage. (BBC November 18 2020).*

The missile strikes by TPLF to Amhara regional State and Eritrea were also portrayed via the violence of the war frame. The rocket fire targeting Gondar and Bahir Dar airports were mentioned as retaliation for air strikes by the federal government, the TPLF officials claimed. But, the Tigray leaders denied the occurrence of air strikes a week ago. Both media, however, ignored previous statements of TPLF officials. BBC had also covered the rocket strike by TPLF on the outskirts of the Eritrean capital, Asmara. Since then the tension between Eritrean and Tigrayan forces and the allegation regarding Eritrea involvement in the Tigray war (against TPLF) dominated the media arena.

*The Tigrayan forces fired rockets across the border into neighbouring Eritrea, after claiming Ethiopian soldiers were using an Eritrean airport to attack Tigray.*

*On Saturday night, residents of Asmara - Eritrea's capital - reported hearing loud explosions, amid reports of rockets landing near the city's airport. No casualties have been reported yet.*

*... The Tigrayans have accused Eritrean forces of crossing into Ethiopia to back federal forces there.*

*On Sunday, in a tweet, Mr Abiy appeared to deny that Ethiopian national forces were working with Eritreans, saying that Ethiopia was "more than capable of attaining the objectives of the operation by itself".*

*But while Eritrea and Ethiopia have denied co-operating in the conflict, our regional editor says reports of fighting along the border, and of Ethiopian soldiers being treated in Eritrean hospitals, suggest the opposite is true. (BBC November 15 2020)*

The news framing of both media underlined that rocket attacks by the TPLF on the Amhara region or neighboring Eritrea would threaten to destabilize the wider Horn of Africa region. Such

kind of generalization might build the confidence of the group and the perception of the international community which would tighten its pressure on the federal government. Hence, the violence of the war frame helped the media to publish stories related to TPLF's victory claims. The Reuters news content published on November 29 2020 under the headline *'Tigray forces claim to have shot down Ethiopian plane, taken town'*, underlined the 'war is not over'. Its lead reads;

*Rebellious forces from Ethiopia's northern region of Tigray said they had shot down a military plane and retaken a town from federal forces on Sunday, as war dragged on a day after the government announced its military offensive was over.*

*There was no immediate comment from the government or the military on the claims made by Debretsion Gebremichael, leader of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), in text messages to Reuters. (Reuters November 29, 2020)*

In the same way, BBC employed violence of war frame to propagate the war in Tigray was not done. Under the headline, *'Ethiopia crisis: Tigray force 'still fighting' despite army Mekelle push'*, the media covered the TPLF victory claims with much emphasis to 'fighting is continue around Mekele'.

*... The TPLF leader said his forces had shot down a federal warplane and captured the pilot.*

*Mr Debretsion said the TPLF was "close to Mekelle, fighting".*

*He also said the TPLF had retaken the city of Aksum from the federal army.*

*In a BBC interview on Monday, Minister of Democratisation Zadig Abraha, denied the TPLF's claims that they had captured Aksum and shot down a plane. (BBC 30 November 2020)*

The violence of war frame was employed to report the destruction caused by the war (either by federal government force or TPLF). The selected media, BBC and Reuters, mainly used this frame to uncover the impact of the ongoing fighting. Moreover, the violence of the war frame



was instrumental to show the war in Tigray was/is not over. Thus, the fighting would endanger the safety of civilians and worsen the humanitarian crisis, their framing all about.

### **The Advance Frame**

In the Advance frame, both BBC and Reuters presented both sides of the war between the federal government of Ethiopia and Tigray forces fighting to control. Out of 30 analyzed stories Reuters news reports about the Tigray war, 7 (23.3 %) used the Advance frame. whereas, BBC Advance frame constituted only 6.6 %. Both media used this type of news frame to cover stories related to the progress or advancement of the war, captured cities and battlefield outcomes along with its implication. Stories that used the Advance frame focused on the advancement of the federal government to capture Mekele and other cities and the comeback claim of TPLF forces. Reuters had covered major advancement of the federal government as follows;

*Ethiopian military seizes airport in town of Humera, says state-affiliated Fana TV (Reuters November 10, 2020)*

*Ethiopia says military offensive has 'liberated' west of Tigray (Reuters November 12, 2020)*

*Ethiopia claims Tigray victories, says army marching to state capital (Reuters November 17, 2020)*

*Ethiopian forces capture town, move toward Tigrayan capital, senior armed forces officer says (Reuters November 27, 2020)*

While the federal government claims a victory in the eastern and western part of Tigray, Reuters preferred short stories (not more than two paragraphs) and mentioned the unavailability of TPLF officials. It also underlined the phone and internet blackout and the ban on media to cover the war in the region made the verification of both sides' claims.

However, the media easily access the TPLF leader while reporting the advancement news stories of the group. Even, the group officials could send them text messages to the news stories which was against the government forces progress or victory news.

*The leader of rebel forces in Ethiopia's northern Tigray region said on Thursday that the town of Axum remained in their hands though another locality, Shire, had fallen to federal troops seeking to close in on the state capital Mekelle.*

*"Shire has fallen three days back but Axum is with us, but there is an army sent to control Axum, but there is a fight," Debretsion Gebremichael, who heads the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), said in a text to Reuters. (Reuters November 19, 2020)*

*The leader of Ethiopia's Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) denied on Monday that federal troops had surrounded the regional capital Mekelle at a distance of about 50 km (31) as the government had said.*

*"There is no such encirclement so far," Debretsion Gebremichael told Reuters by text of the statements from a spokesman for a special Tigray taskforce set up by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's government. (Reuters November 23, 2020)*

On the contrary, BBC did not use Advance frame frequently than Reuters. Its headlines intentionally ignored the advancement news of the federal army. Among the analyzed stories headlines only one mentioned the progress of the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF); 'PM claims capture of regional capital Mekelle' (BBC November 29 2020). The remaining 29 stories headlines in one or another way focused on the advancement of the TPLF force and the 'crimes committed by the federal government'. The following headlines and subsequent statements imply that the advance frame of BBC was in favour of TPLF forces.

*Tigray crisis: Local residents ordered to defend against Ethiopia army*

*Residents of Ethiopia's northern Tigray region have been ordered to mobilise by authorities who say they must "defend" themselves from "flagrant aggression" from the federal government. (BBC November 11 2020)*

*Ethiopia crisis: Tigray leader vows to keep fighting as government advances*

*Ethiopia's forces have captured two towns in the northern region of Tigray where soldiers loyal to the local political party are fighting the central government.*

*Tigray's leader confirmed the losses but said it was a temporary setback and vowed to defeat the government. (BBC November 18 2020)*

*Ethiopia's Tigray crisis: Debretsion Gebremichael vows to fight on*

*The leader of Ethiopia's Tigray region has rejected the prime minister's ultimatum to surrender by Wednesday and has pledged to fight on in the conflict engulfing the north of the country.*

*Debretsion Gebremichael denied federal government claims that the regional capital, Mekelle, was surrounded. (BBC November 23 2020)*

*Ethiopia crisis: Tigray force 'still fighting' despite army Mekelle push*

*The head of local forces in Ethiopia's northern region of Tigray says they are still fighting near the regional capital, Mekelle, which was seized by government troops at the weekend.*

*Debretsion Gebremichael, who leads the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), also says his fighters have retaken another key city. (BBC November 30 2020)*

Furthermore, both BBC and Reuters employed the advanced frame to imply what would be the fate of TPLF shortly. Underscoring the military capability and warrior background, the media forecasted that TPLF group would begin guerilla warfare. A news story under the headline, 'Ethiopia's PM savours victory, Tigrayan leader says war not finished', Reuters used an advance frame to explain the progress of the war and a shift in its nature.

*Ethiopia's Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed lauded his troops on Monday for ousting a rebellious northern movement, but the leader of Tigrayan forces said they were still resisting amid fears of a protracted guerrilla conflict.*

*It is not clear how many fighters the TPLF has left, but Debretsion's defiance raises the spectre of a drawn-out insurgency. The battle-hardened TPLF helped topple Ethiopia's Marxist dictatorship in 1991 and knows how to exploit its mountains and borders with Sudan and Eritrea. (Reuters November 30 2020)*

BBC also tried to show the military position and progress of the TPLF force and its ability to carry on the fighting through the advanced frame. Corresponding to Reuters, the media attempted to magnify the strength of the group. It highlighted the military personnel numerical advantage and the topography of Tigray for the advancement of the TPLF forces.

*ICG Ethiopia analyst William Davison says the TPLF may be able to call on more than 200,000 fighters - from militias in villages to Special Forces in the regional government.*

*The ICG does not give an estimate of the strength of the Ethiopian military, but Reuter's news agency quotes the Janes security data group as saying that it has around 140,000 active personnel, most of them in the army.*

*If these estimates are correct, the Ethiopian military may have fewer soldiers than the TPLF, ...There are also more flat areas in the west, giving a conventional army more advantage," he said, adding that this was unlike the terrain in the "core" of Tigray, around cities in the east, like Mekelle, where it was rugged and mountainous, making it more conducive for guerrilla warfare.*

Generally, both media employed the advanced frame to cover the progress of the war. Though some news stories which concentrated on the federal government force victory and advancement to finalize the 'law enforcement operation', a huge emphasis was given to propagate 'the Tigray war is not over, TPLF is still fighting'. The analyzed news stories framing show that both media position was tilted to one side, to the TPLF group.

#### **4.2.2 Story Sources**

When the same events are covered, the choice of sources tends to make a substantial difference, as do the selected narrative and the interpretation of events. News sources play a paramount role in framing issues. According to Pan and Kosicki (1993: 60), who is quoted, how they are identified, and where the quote is placed in the story is very significant.

Accordingly, the main source of the news stories of BBC was the Ethiopian government and military officials which accounted for percent of the analyzed news 28.7% percent. The BBC news sources were Ethiopian Government officials working at deferent level. The war between

both opposing forces and actions are case interviewed following the media motive. Two or individual officials commented about the issue were mentioned. Similarly, government and military officials are the dominant sources of Reuter's during the coverage of the first phase of the military operation. Reuters used Ethiopian Government officials as a source about 31.9%. Both global Media uses government officials as a source to define certain political, socioeconomic and military issues. The more government, the more power the news media will have Instead of watchdogging and containing this massive explosion of government, the press became one of its principal beneficiaries" (Crain and Tollison,1997). Similarly, efforts to expand government may be newsworthy in themselves and increase the public's demand for news. According to this in my study BBC and Reuter's media uses the government officials as a source is mainly for balancing purposes. For instance, the following BBC news sab headline is unexampled

*"Tigray's leader, Debretsion Gebremichael, wrote to the African Union (AU) last week to request talks". . . . .But PM Abiy Ahmed said in a tweet that there would be no dialogue "until our efforts to ascertain the rule of law are achieved". (BBC, 11 November 2020)*

On the other hand, BBC uses the government officials as a background news story source. For example;

*... "But in a tweet on Thursday, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed said his government was assisting in the areas of Tigray controlled by the federal army." (BBC, 12 November 2020)*

The expansion of government might create a good story for a long time, as a period of problem recognition and discussion typically precedes actual legislation to magnify the government. The recognition of a problem typically involves identification of a crisis, crime, shootings, lack of access to medical care and related issues that hold an audience's attention and extends everywhere, permitting news organizations to do the local version of the story. However, in the news coverage of the Tigray war, BBC uses frequently the government position of Ethiopia's Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed.

According to Anderson and McLellan (2002), to get government officials, politicians try to create a perception of crises that require government action, and the news media can magnify that perception to increase their audience. But, when the Reuters using the government officials as a source is not only a balancing purpose. My study result shows this media uses government officials and military officers to magnify the war between two opposing forces. For instance;

*“The Ethiopian Air Force bombed arms depots and destroyed military hardware in the northern Tigray region on Friday, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed said.”  
(Reuters, November 6, 2020)*

*Ethiopia’s Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed said on Thursday that a military offensive had “liberated” the western part of the Tigray region where federal troops have been fighting local forces for a week. (Reuters, November 12, 2020)*

Journalists choose not only what types of sources to use but also what questions to ask these sources, and which sources will ultimately be printed or broadcasted. This can have a profound impact on how issues are framed and perceived by audiences since a story dominated by scientists, economists, or political elites gives cues to readers as to what kind of issue is being debated (Bennett, 1996).

In countries where media and politics are highly intertwined the selection of news sources is serious. Both media under study used different types of news sources in framing Tigray war. These sources contributed in the divergence of both media framing.

As mentioned previously BBC news stories over-relying on TPLF officials news sources. 21.9 percent of the media news sources were TPLF officials. Similarly, Reuters employed TPLF officials as a news source constituted 19.4 percent. Both media relied on higher officials of TPLF to cover the progress of the war and to balance the claim and accusation of the federal government. This, in turn, helped the group to initiate the fighting and put pressure on the federal government.

Among the group sources, the leader of TPLF, Debretsion Gebremikael was dominant. Reuters had received an exclusive text message from the leader which contributed nearly 80 percent of

TPLF official sources of the media. Yet, news balance is central to journalistic ethics, confirming the authenticity of the source is very critical.

In this regard, Reuters had given a huge emphasis to incorporate the comments of the group's authorities. If TPLF officials could not be reached, it would mention their unavailability. It also underlined the hardship of verifying the claim and allegations of the federal government. The telephone and internet blackout and the bar on media to cover the war were frequently mentioned while underscoring 'unable to verify the government side of victory claim' independently. However, since covering the advancement claim of the group the media gave a deaf ear to ask the federal government or ignore the issue of news balance. One-sided story reflects a passive orientation whereby news acts as a conveyor belt rather than a testing ground for what powerful figures are saying (Davis, 2002).

On the other hand, using multiple sources sometimes means that media are providing checks on what is said, bringing more variety and balance to the views presented. Different sources also often indicate a more active news media orientation as they seek out information themselves rather than trusting on limited, lucky sources or reproducing media releases.

Former Ethiopian diplomats and TPLF's higher officials had been also mentioned in various stories. Such sources were used to tell the political background and current position of the group. Furthermore, it was instrumental to politicize each move of the federal government.

The Facebook page of TPLF was also another news source used by BBC and Reuters. The daily or weekly press release of the regional government was referenced while covering the Tigray war. The group spokesperson, Getachew Reda, was also a news source. Thus, all TPLF news sources employed by the media helped to propagate everyone should know and join the 'the federal government war against Tigrians' and to let know the international community the crisis unfolding.

TPLF authorities were the third dominant news source of BBC, which accounted for 21.9 percent of the analyzed stories. The group leader, spokesperson and other higher officials were referenced in its stories. Tigrayan leaders were quoted as said 'they have been unfairly targeted by purges and allegations of corruption' by the Abiy administration in numerous news storied. They were also cited for delegitimizing the prime minister.

Among the analyzed stories which mentioned the TPLF officials, 62.5 percent cited the group's leader, Debrezion Gebremikael. The leader was cited in stories that condemned the federal government for 'waging war on Tigrayans'. The preparation for counter fighting was proliferated through such sources. The media used TPLF officials sources while reporting the 'Northern Command weaponry take over and army attack' and related advancement issues. The accusation of the group which emphasized the involvement of Eritrean forces against the region, the federal government air strikes that 'targeted civilians' were also entertained via such sources. The denial reports regarding the *Mai – Kadra* massacre, infrastructure damages and other stories were told through TPLF officials.

The humanitarian crisis, 'ethnic profiling' and 'Prime Minister Abiy unwillingness' to negotiate was also framed following the media interest via the mouths of these sources. The media tried to show the adversity to verify the claims and denials of the group officials' comments due to the telecommunication shutdown. Though, it mentioned the difficulty of independent verification of the allegation of both conflicting sides, BBC news stories that used TPLF officials sources magnified the atrocities committed by the federal government by mentioning 'the government officials could not be accessed'. It also recited the historical background of the group in each news story. Hence, the media news framing inclined to amplify the TPLF's statuesque.

The analyzed news of both media institutions indicated that the objectivity of journalists covering the Tigray war was questionable. Some journalists seemed to have the privilege to get the group's leader text messages easily. They sometimes made a hasty generalization and take positions in the cover of mentioning TPLF officials. This might happen due to the social, cultural, economic or political attachments of journalists to the issue. As for Hess (1989) rather than testing a hypothesis to find out whether it's true or false, journalists simply "marshal facts or quotes" that are consistent with their presumptions. The news producers continue to call around until they find someone who will say "the magic words that they are looking for." Therefore, the linkage between TPLF officials and journalists of BBC and Reuters needs further scrutiny.

In different cases non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have become increasingly evident in media discourses more over on armed conflict and related issues. Yet, large international NGOs such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch had dominantly mentioned as a news



sources for both media. BBC used NGOs as a news source accounted for 17.8% percent. In contrast, this type of source was rarely quoted in Reuters, constituted 8.3% percent.

As a principle during the war time, the actual advantage NGOs can bring is a degree of independence from the donor/peacekeepers or international agency. Inevitably these bodies are afflicted by the political interests of the dominant governments, which can be fickle and self-interested (USAID makes it clear in dealings with them that their job is to further the US national interest). (Andrew Puddephatt, 2006)

Independence allows NGOs to shape and develop programs that genuinely reflect local needs and local conditions. On other hand, this means avoiding donor-driven imperatives although it would be naïve to think they can be wholly avoided. Accordingly, during the one month, Tigray war BBC and Reuters use NGOs as a news source, especially human rights and aid-related issues.

From the outside conflict area The International Community In a growing number of conflicts of recent years the international community which in this case means states acting in concert through the United Nations or regional bodies such as NATO, the European Union or the African Union, or informal coalitions has, at some point decided to intervene in a country or countries marked by conflict. (Andrew Puddephatt, 2006) In this case, during the first phase of the Tigray war, most international organizations, communities and diplomats reflected their concern. Due to this reason, Reuters and BBC frequently mentioned international organizations as a news source, in relation to both opposing forces to sit peace talk. For instance, BBC used international organizations and diplomats in its stories, accounted for 24.6 percent of the analyzed contents. Whereas, Reuters uses international organizations and diplomat's constitute 18.05 percent out of the data set. Both media are frequently mentioned as international organizations and diplomats sources. A story based on anonymous sources was also broadcasted on the selected media. Especially Reuters used anonymous diplomats and humanitarian workers in its stories, accounted for 9.7 percent of the analyzed stories. Whereas, BBC's anonymous sources constituted 2.7 percent out of the data set.

BBC and Reuter's anonymous sources were employed to convey the commencement of fighting in different parts of the Tigray region. The causality on civilians, the refugee's crisis and other

consequences of the war were also told by such sources. The unnamed diplomats were also cited having said the international community concern was growing at indications of ethnic violence which might lead to ‘civil war’. For instance, Reuters quoted one anonymous diplomat as said, *“Ethiopia is like an empire crumbling before our own eyes”*. The ‘reluctance’ of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed for negotiation was also portrayed through anonymous diplomats as follows;

*Abiy had already rebuffed calls for calm from the regional African group IGAD over the weekend. “He is about to take the country to a very dangerous situation. He is not listening to anyone,” the diplomat said, speaking on condition of anonymity. (Reuters Nov 9 2020)*

News stories claiming the involvement of ‘Eritrean army’ in Tigray war and its countrywide and regional consequence was also told via the mouths of anonymous sources. Reuters used two unnamed Addis Ababa residents who condemned the war between ‘two brothers’. But among the anonymous sources, diplomats and humanitarian workers were principal. Do the media use anonymous sources for their protection? Or for other reasons such as ‘simple fabrication of information’, not clear.

Experts and analysts were also news sources used by BBC and Reuters which accounted for 2.7 percent and 5.5 percent of the data set respectively. These sources helped illustrate the war in Tigray that would scramble Ethiopia. Besides, the refugees flooding would endanger the security of the horn of Africa. Thus, the federal government should seat for dialogue, experts and analysts warned. Both media attempted to advise ‘not to undermine the TPLF’ through analysts.

*Ethiopia expert Alex de Waal said Abiy may have underestimated the Tigray leaders’ skills at both politics and war.*

*The Tufts University academic recalled the words of Tsadkan Gebretensae, a Tigrayan who once commanded Ethiopia’s army against Eritrea, in a conversation with him: “War is primarily an intellectual activity.” (Reuters Nov 10 2020)*

The experts and analyst news sources were employed to imply the future of TPLF. Mentioned the long history of the group’s guerrilla warfare and its fighters numerical and weaponry

superiority against the federal government, these sources forecasted the group would be a guerrilla fighter. Rather than covering the loss of TPLF by the federal government, the media focused on inferring the comeback opportunities of the group. The TPLF could be preparing to return to the mountains to launch a guerrilla war against the federal government, the analysts underlined. The selected media also used such news sources to give the war in Tigray a regional picture. Stories that used experts and analysts deduced that Sudan, Tigriyan refugee's host, and Eritrea would join the Tigray war in one or another way. They also projected the involvement of other east African countries. Hence, these sources were helpful to challenge the Abiy Administration claim of the Tigray war as a 'law enforcement operation'. The media institutions, thus, used experts and analysts to widen the scope of the war and its consequence. This news framing strategy might aim to tighten the pressure on the federal government.

Last but not least, BBC and Reuters used other news sources (residents and media organizations) constituted 1.36 percent and 6.9 percent of the data set. Residents of different Tigray cities were cited rarely. The communication blackout and bar on media to cover the ground war was mentioned as cause frequently. However, both media institutions used residents which were cited as eyewitness account to uncover the civilian suffering instigated by the war and the overall situation of the region. Since the media couldn't contact its sources directly (through phone), the credibility issue is in doubt.

The impartiality and credibility of news sources of both media were questionable. Traditionally, the concept of "objectivity" emerged to describe a quasi-scientific practice through which the journalist distanced him or herself from the story and its sources, to provide an independent account of events (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014).

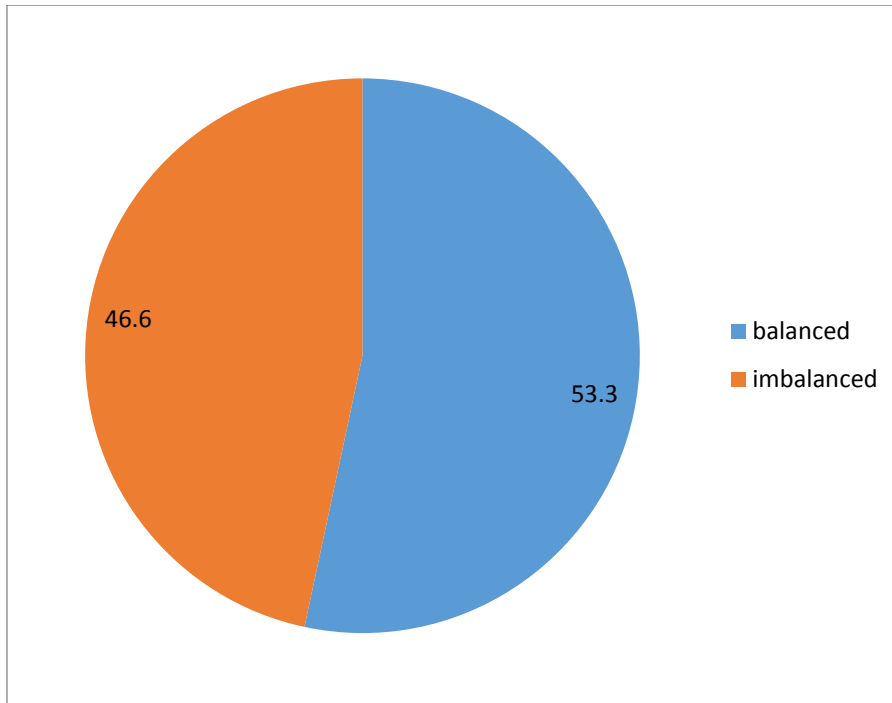
## **4.3 News Balance**

### **4.3.1 News Balance Distribution in General**

As Geis, (1958 p.58) the issue of balance is not associated with the correctness or inaccuracy of the story. An imbalanced news report can be quite accurate. Consequently, balance in the media dealt with entertaining conflicting ideas or the other sides of the story. A news report could also be said to be unfair if it brings inaccurate, misleading or irrelevant information in some way. An

unfair report will also involve or encourage some sort of error in reasoning. On this point, both global media news coverage entertaining the war between government and TPLF armed force as the following.

**Figure 4.3.1: News balance distribution in general**



As fig 1 shows among analyzed stories balanced news stories accounted for 53.3 percent. The rest 46.6 percent news stories were one sided. BBC’s news stories which treated both sides (the federal government of Ethiopia and TPLF officials) equally contributed 66.6 percent. Whereas, Reuters’s imbalanced stories accounted for 53.3 percent of the data set. This implies the media rarely entertain different viewpoints compared to BBC.

### **4.3.2 News Balance**

According to Andrew (2017. p 1.) Balance in journalism is considered one of the most important characteristics of any news piece. Balance means a lack of bias, and it is the ethical imperative of a journalist to transmit the news in an impartial manner.

As cited on data analysis section BBC and REUTER’s news coverage of different viewpoints were entertained slightly. For instance, from the selected news balanced news stories accounted

for 53.3 percent. That means 46.6percent news stories were one sided. It indicates, both media seemed to have preferred covering one side of an issue repeatedly. Among analyzed stories balanced news of BBC 66 percent and REUTERS constituted 46.7percent.

A reporter should, whenever possible, demonstrate the opposing viewpoints at play in a story dynamic; it is important to note that there are often more than two sides to any story. Yet, both global media news were not balanced as expected. As journalist or media organization expect well treated multiple sources for news stories. A source is an individual whom you quote in the news piece. A balanced news story contains quotations from at least two individuals. For instance, Reuters used unnamed sources were on the sided of TPLF. In extreme cases, journalists may cite an anonymous source. In certain instances in which privacy is of extreme importance this may be acceptable, but the Reuters used unnamed source is not acceptable. Because, they should be generally avoid calling upon sources that are not under pressure to be accountable for what they say.

Avoid unnamed sources whenever possible Write the story from a neutral point of view. It is the job of the journalist to dictate the direction the story goes, so she should determine an angle that does not side with one party. The journalist should let the reader make a decision for himself; rather than assign value, a journalist's job is to present the facts. Andrew (2017, P1.)

Comparatively, BBC used balanced news. But, that not mean all news stories were fully treated opposite viewpoints'. For instance, 34 percent news stores were unbalanced. On the coverage of Tigray war the government officials entertaining as a source redundantly. The same, Reuters used one sided TPLF sources excessively.

However, The Ethiopia Broadcasting Service Proclamation (2007), Article 30 sub article 1 states that *“Any program to be transmitted shall reflect different and balanced viewpoints to serve the public at large.”* Sub article 3 of this article also mentioned *“Every news shall be impartial, accurate and balanced.”* My study result shows, in related to balance issues both global media had not fully entertain opposite viewpoints. An imbalanced news report can be quite accurate. Consequently, balance in the media allocated with entertaining different ideas or the other sides of the story. A news report could also be said to be unfair if it brings inaccurate, misleading or unrelated information in some way. An unfair report will also include or encourage some sort of

error in reasoning. Although, a report that takes a point of view on a debated issue when the facts do not fully sustain it can be said to be unfair.

The researcher believes to conclude the both global media coverage of such issues were fair or unfair, biased or unbiased, needs additional study. But as stated above the reporting of both global media lacks entertaining different side of the war issue.

# **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES**

In this chapter, there are general conclusions and possible implications for future studies.

## **5.1 Conclusions**

This research was conducted to examine how global media covered the war between the government of Ethiopia and the Tigray armed force. In light of this, two global media outlets were selected from both the western media hemispheres: Reuter's news agency from the United States and British Broadcasting Corporation from Britain London.

The news contents of both media outlets were analyzed dominantly qualitative sported by quantitative. Quantitative content analysis was first applied to identify and establish frames used by each news media outlet. Then, the qualitative context analysis (textual analysis) was used to identify textual shreds of evidence and supporting arguments for the news frames.

Based on the analysis, it was found out that the military conflict was the most predominant frame used by BBC and the advanced frame used by Reuters.

However, the news coverage of Reuters had focused on Tigray armed force and military actions, the response of international organizations and TPLF war advancement. On other hands, BBC news coverage mainly the government military actions and the response of the Tigray Armed force.

Such a presentation from BBC indicated that the broadcaster is intense on promoting a discourse of human rights. Yet, in the exposure of human right issue BBC reflects westerns interest during the coverage of the war. Similarly, Reuters with the reported news outlets promoted TPLF armed force and westerns interests.

BBC applied the civil war and regional crisis frame next to the military conflict frame to focus on the human aspect of the conflict. The stories under this frame centered on the real damages of the opponent's force causing to human beings living in Tigray. BBC in the first phase of military operation also shows as intra state war had a war between organized groups within the same state

and the war between the people. The BBC news report shows the war image had a high-intensity conflict that often involves regular armed forces. But theoretically, civil war overlaps with other categories of armed conflict, particularly revolution, political violence, ethnic conflict, and terrorism. A civil war, also known as intrastate war, is a war between organized groups within the same state or country. (Kalyvas & Kenny, 2017) The BBC reported casualty, which is the only result of the government military action. But BBC news stores had not entertained victims of other part of Ethiopian people.

While for Reuters, the civil war and regional crisis frame was the 5<sup>th</sup> level used in its news. This media had not identify in the news coverage 'who' and 'why' of the war. According to the cause Kalyvas & Kenny, (2017) the causes of the civil war included economic motivations or greed, and political or social grievances. Greed based explanations focus on individuals' desire to maximize their profits, while grievance based explanations center on conflict as a response to socioeconomic or political injustice. Reporting Reuters under the civil war frame is not a clear reason why narrate the war as a civil war. However, BBC the war coverage of one-month duration in the regional circumstances caused the war as an East Africa trait and portrayed the Eritrean presence and military activity over the Tigray region as crisis cause. In addition, the regional actors involved are identified the Tigray war as a Sudan trait.

For Reuters, the dominant frame used to report issues had the advanced frame. For BBC the Advance frame came at the least. In the Advance frame both BBC and Reuters attempt to present both sides of the war between two opposing forces fighting to control. However, Reuters uses advanced frames frequently to report the issue related that TPLF armed force and recent military advancements. On the contrary, BBC did not use Advance frame frequently than Reuters. Its headlines intentionally ignored the advancement news of the federal army. But both media used this type of news frame to cover stories related to the progress or advancement of the war, captured cities and battlefield outcomes along with its implication. As result of data presentation attribution of responsibility, the frame was the second dominant frame used by Reuters. But BBC's news stories employed the attribution of responsibility frame at least. In both media attribution of responsibility, the frame has been used to represent responsible bodies for the occurrence of war in Tigray. The Attribution and responsibility news frames of both BBC and Reuters focused on mainly accusing the federal government as a war propagator and consequent



mistakes. While discussing why the war had broken out, the media gave huge emphasis to the causes which tightened the tensions between the federal government and TPLF.

However, both media used Violence of war frame. Moreover, Reuters frequently uses this frame in news outlets. Both media focus on the destruction caused by war, including statements about the outcome of blasting and damage. BBC and Reuters used the Violence of war frame while reporting damages caused by the Tigray war. Civilian and physical infrastructure damages by the air bombing and ground fighting had been conveyed through this type of frame. BBC's and Reuters's news stories which used the Violence of war frame constituted 6.6 percent and 16.6 percent respectively.

Human interest had one of a frame used to both media. When we compare both media usage of human interest frame BBC dominantly used than Reuters.

According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) human interest frame emphasizes the personal stories of people and brings a human face, an individual's story or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem. This means the human interest frame will have the ability to catch the audience's attention easily and influence them to have a responsibility towards the subject. In the reports under this textual news frame BBC more used human interest frame to catch the interest of their audience. Reuters used this frame only 1 time from the selected news. However, both media used human faces to show the suffering of people due to the ongoing war under a heart touching story titled.

The alternative news frame used by both Media is an anti-war frame. Under this frame, BBC and Reuters reporting the Tigray war issues equally accounted 3 news from 30 selected news (10%). Anti-war frame emphasis had on existing opposition to the war, with war protestors or demonstrations against the war. On the contrary, of the others frame BBC and Reuter's uses anti-war frame slightly. Of course, both media used this frame in news reporting moreover to cover peace talk and negotiation issues.

The least used by both media are the profile frame. Reuters and BBC used profile media slightly. BBC and Reuters use the Profile frame to discussing the background story of the war and the biography of both opponent force leaders. TPLF what it is its ideology and related issues covered in both global media news? Accordingly, all profiles framed news showing TPLF armed force as

a powerful fighter group, with a strong leadership hierarchy. As a result of my study profile framed news stores are more glorifying individual's personalities.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

This study was made based on an analysis that involved a particular set of website news stories, from November 4, 2020- December 3, 2020, the global media news coverage about the war between federal and Tigray armed force in the case of BBC and Reuters. The study only focused on English news stories of both media. There are also documentaries, special programs, interviews with authorities, press briefings, news commentaries, etc. prepared about the Tigray war, which the researcher didn't consider bound by the scope of the study. Consequently, to fill this gap, it would be advisable to further study. In addition, the study did not consider the images and video footages portrayals of the media's while covering the issue. Thus, for the findings to be whole in all aspects, the researcher recommends future studies consider visual framing analysis. Moreover, this study only focuses on both media web home pages. But, the televised news should be studying. According to the issue, more than two global media covered the news. Hence, our study were focused only two western global Media. But further study needed. Moreover, out of western media perspectives. In the same way, local media news coverage must be examined. In addition, after content analysis research it is suggested to conduct a media influence study that measures the impact of media framing from the slant of the audience reception. Furthermore, the media organizations or scholars should be study factors affecting journalists in reporting the challenged issue. Headlines, sab headlines, Quotations and news sources choice must be surveyed. The researcher also recommends to both media to the governed journalistic profession and its ethics.

My study is only focused on the first phase of military operation. Upcoming studies should continue in this manner, exploring whether and how the war coverage continues. As the war in Tigray still develops, alternative frames may be introduced by the international media.

The researcher believes to conclude the both global media coverage of such issues were fair or unfair, biased or unbiased, needs additional study. But as stated above the reporting of both global media lacks entertaining different side of the war issue.

## REFERENCES

- Alem Habtu (2003). *Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: Background, Present Conditions and Future: Prospects*. Paper Submitted to the Second EAF International Symposium on Contemporary Development Issues in Ethiopia
- Alem Habtu (2005). *Multiethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: A Study of the Secession Clause in the Constitution*: Oxford University Press
- Alemseged Abbay. (2004). *Diversity and State-Building in Ethiopia*. Published by Oxford University Press
- Allan, S. & Zalizer, B. (2004). *Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime*. New York: Rout ledge Publishing Group
- Andrew cross. (2017). *How to Create Balance in Journalism*.
- Andrew Puddephat (2006). *Voices of war: Conflict and the role of the media report*
- Aridah Ibrahim, L. P. (2011). *Journalists and News Sources: Implications of Professionalism in War Reporting*.MALAYSIA: The Innovation Journal
- Baran, S. J., & Davis, D. K. (2012). *Mass Communication Theory, Foundations, Ferment and Future*. Boston
- Bennett, L., Lawrence, R. G., & Livingston, S. (2006). *None dare call it torture: Indexing and limits of press independence in the Abu Ghraib scandal*. *Journal of Communication*
- Blen Fisum (2006). *Ethiopian Governments Managemnet Of The Media of The Ethio-Eritrian War 1998-2000*.Addis Ababa.
- Bobbie, E. R. (1979). *The Practice of Social Research*. California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.
- Carruthers L., Susan. 2000 *The Media at War: Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Palgrave McMillan

- Creswell, J. W., & Tashakkori, A. (2007). Editorial: Differing perspectives on mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1, 303-308.
- Daniela V. D and Jesper S. (2005). Framing of the Iraq War in the Elite Newspapers in Sweden and the United States. *Journal of Communication*
- De Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal*, 51-62
- Entman, R. M. (1991). Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives
- Entman, Robert M. (1993). Framing: Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents. Journal of Communication*
- Fasikaw Tadesse (2020) Framing of Identity and Boundary Disputes by Regional Media in Ethiopia: Amhara TV and Tigray TV in Focus. Addis Ababa
- Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1987). The changing culture of affirmative action. *Research in Political Sociology*.
- Geis M.L. (1987). The Problem of Bias in Political Journalism. In: *The Language of Politics*. Springer, New York, NY
- Griffin, E. (2012). *A First Look at Communication Theory*. New York.
- Groshek, J. (2008). Coverage of the pre-Iraq War debate as a case study of frame indexing. *Media, War & Conflict*, 315-338.
- Hailesilasse, A. (2013). Ethiopian Print Media Coverage of the Arab uprisings: The Case of Addis Zemen, Fetehe, and Reporter. Addis Ababa
- Hess, Stephen. (1989). "Confessions of a Sound Bite." *Washington Post*. October 22, C5.
- Howard, R., (2009). *Conflict-Sensitive Reporting: State of the Art a Course for Journalists and Journalism Educators*. France: UNESCO:
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (2009) .ETHIOPIA: Human rights violations and conflicts continue to cause displacement: A profile of the internal displacement situation

- International Crisis Group. (2009). Ethiopia: Ethnic Federalism and Its Discontents: Africa Report Number1
- Iyengar, S. (1991). Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues. Chicago
- John Herbert, (2001). Practicing Global Journalism
- Kidane Mengisteab. (2003). Identity Politics, Democratization and State Building Federal Arrangement
- Kothari C.R., (2004). Research Methodology: Methods and techniques. New Delhi: New Age International (P) Ltd., Publishers
- Kothari, C.R. (2004). Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques (2nd revised edition).
- Lacasse, K., & Forster. L., (2012). The war next door: Peace journalism in US local and distant newspapers' coverage of Mexico. *Journal Media, War & Conflict*, 5(3) 223–237
- Little, D. (2008). The United States and the Middle East since 1945. The University of North Carolina
- Littlejohn, S. W., & Foss, K. A. (2009). Encyclopedia of Communication Theory. California: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Lynch, J. (2002). "Using Conflict Analysis in Reporting." Available online at <http://www.transcend.org/database/articles>.
- Mack, N., Woodson, C., & et al. (2005). Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide. North Carolina: Family Health International
- Marta Hailu. (2007). Global media in local context: The effects of BBC and CNN news on cultural belonging of local viewers. Addis Ababa
- Mulatu Alemayehu. (2017). Ethiopian journalism from self-censoring to silence: a case of reporting on internal conflict. Oslo: ESSACHESS.
- Mutz, Diana C. (1998) Impersonal Influence: How Perceptions of Mass Collectives Affect Political Attitudes. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Nawawy M & Powers, S. (2010) Al-Jazeera English A conciliatory medium in a conflict-driven environment? *Global Media and Communication* [1742-7665(2010)6:1] Volume 6(1): 61–84
- Neuendorf, Kimberly A. (2002). *The content analysis guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. (2003). Framing as a strategic action in public deliberation. In S. Reese, O. Gandy, & A. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life* (pp. 35–65). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. (2003). Framing as a strategic action in public deliberation. In S. Reese, O. Gandy, & A. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life* (pp. 35–65). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Peleg, S. (2006). Peace Journalism through the lens of conflict theory: Analysis and Practice. *Conflict and Communication Online* V.6 No 2
- Phillips, H. Book Review, (2013) (*Expanding Peace Journalism: Comparative and Critical Approaches*). *Global Media Journal -- Canadian Edition* Volume 6, Issue 1, pp. 81-83
- Rukhsana, A. (2014). *The role of media in conflict: Integrating Peace journalism in the Journalism Curriculum*. Doctoral thesis. School of Communication Studies, AUT, New Zealand
- Scheufele, D.A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects: *Journal of Communication*
- Semetko, Holli A., and Patti M. Valkenburg. 2000. "Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News." *Journal of Communication* 50:93–109.
- Skjerdal terje and Mulatu Alemayehu Moges. (2020). *The ethnification of the Ethiopian media*. Addis Ababa,
- Sleshe S (2014). *A study on media reports of Ethiopia politics: the case of selected western media*, Clarion University of Pennsylvania.
- Stathis N. kalyvas and Paul D Kenny (2017). *civil wars: oxford research*

- Stempel III.G.H., & Westley. (1989). *Research Methods in Mass Communication*: Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey
- Tsegaye Regassa (2004). *State constitutions in the federal Ethiopia: A preliminary observation: Summary for the Bellagio Conference*
- Van Gorp, B. 2007. The constructionist approach to framing: Bringing culture back in. *Journal of Communication* 57(1).
- Walliman, N. (2006). *Social Research Methods*: London. Sage Publications
- Webel, C., & Galtung, J, (Eds). (2007). *Handbook of Peace and Conflict studies*. USA: Routledge
- Wimmer Dominick J., (2011.).*Mass Media Research: An Introduction*. Boston. Wadsworth, Cengage Learning during the official war period.
- World Bank. (2016). *Ethiopia's great run: the growth acceleration and how to pace*. World Bank Group
- Zenebe Beyene, (2012). *The role of media in ethnic violence during political transition in Africa; the case of Rwanda and Kenya*: university of Nebraska

# APPENDICES

## Appendix A

Coding Guide Name of coder---.....

The coder should write her/his name Media ----- .....

The coder should write name of the media Data of publication---.....

Write the date the story was publishes-month, day and year Headline- .....

Writes the headline and sub-headline if the story has.....

### Type Frames

**Please check if any of the following frames are used in the news and editorial articles**

Which frame is dominant in the story?

1. **Military Conflict Frame:** - focusing on the military conflicts, troops, equipment and the like.
2. **Civil War Frame:** - interprets the war as regional conflict
3. **Advance Frame:** - emphasis on the progress and advancement of the war, captured places by the combatant parts and the outcome of the war.
4. **Responsibility Frame:** - emphasis on the parties and individuals who are considered as responsible for a given scenario, issue or event of war.
4. **Human Interest Frame:** - which emphasis on the human participants and involved parties on the course of events from both opposed parts.
5. **Violence of War Frame:** - focuses on various destructions caused by the war.
6. **Anti-War Protest Frame:** - emphasizes on oppositions against the war that condemns one or both parts that can be take a form of demonstration by the protesters against the war.
7. **Profile Frame:** - emphasis on the profiles of the two opponent parts, their officials as well as supporters.



## **Appendix B**

Coding sheet

Name of coder \_\_\_\_\_

Name of the media \_\_\_\_\_

Date of broadcast \_\_\_\_\_

Headline of the news \_\_\_\_\_

### **Sources**

Government officials \_\_\_\_\_

TPLF official's \_\_\_\_\_

Local resident's \_\_\_\_\_

NGOs \_\_\_\_\_

Anonymous sources \_\_\_\_\_

International organizations and Diplomats \_\_\_\_\_

Experts and others \_\_\_\_\_

Appendix C

### **News links BBC**

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-54932333>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-54964378>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-54960150>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-54984056>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-54985545>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55010678>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-54972908>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55023029>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55037162>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55043375>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55064746>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55056577>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55043373>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55083098>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55065229>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55120572>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55111061>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55127820>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55158182>  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-55080825>

**News links Reuters**

<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27K0ZS>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27L1L8>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27M29V>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27M12S>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27P15A>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27Q0V1>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27Q2BK>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSL8N2HY1V1>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27S12S>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27S0K3>

<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27T2AC>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27T0SN>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27U0C4>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27W0UT>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27W1CG>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27X26X>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27X2D9>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27X2VG>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27Z0ZG>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27Z13Z>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN27Z2B3>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSL4N2I703I>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN28206X>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN2840IO>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN2851HY>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN2860H1>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN2870XR>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN28809E>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN28905M>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN28A0PV>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN28B58K>