



JIMMA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES
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**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA'S FRAMING OF
WAR TIME CRISIS: THE CASE OF TIGRAY AND AMHARA
TELEVISIONS**

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A Comparative Analysis of Media's Framing of War time
Crisis: the Case of Tigray and Amhara Televisions

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Declaration

I declared that this thesis (A Comparative Analysis of Media’s Framing of wartime Crisis: the Case of Tigray and Amhara Televisions) prepared and submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts in Broadcast Journalism is my own work. I have made acknowledgement to the source of material I used in the study.

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of the study was to analysis in a comparative perspective how the media in Ethiopia framed wartime crises. The study identified and purposefully selected two state-owned media: Amhara Television and Tigray Television in order to analyze how these media outlets used frames in their news to report the war held between the federal government and TPLF. The news stories were found from Amhara and Tigray Television websites within a selected timeframe between November 04, 2020 and December 04, 2020. A total of 108 news stories were used in the study, 56 news stories from TTV, and 52 news stories from ATV. Framing theory were employed as theoretical framework for the research. The research was conducted through qualitative approach; content analysis was used to address the research objective to analyze the contents of the news. To portray the framing used in the television stations, the researcher attempted to analyze the dominant frames of the news and sources of information used in the selected media outlets. The major findings indicate that the generic framing were used dominantly in both media outlets by employing different narratives to frame the war between TPLF and the federal government troops. In this regard, ATV dominantly used human-interest frame while TTV used conflict frame in its war reporting. ATV used conflict frame as the fourth dominant frame whereas TTV used human-interest frame as the second dominant frame in their war news reporting. Attribution of responsibility was the second dominant frame used in ATV while Tigray Television used attribution of responsibility as the third dominant frame. ATV used morality frame as the fifth dominant frame whereas TTV used morality frame as the fourth dominant frame. Peace frame was the third dominant frame used in ATV's news stories. However, TTV ignored this frame in its news stories. Different media sources, journalists, political and international actors may have various interpretations of the war. Based on this, both media outlets have relied on different sources of information in their news reports. Amhara Television mostly used state of emergency fact checking as sources of information. TTV largely used sources that came from Tigray Region President Office and Tigray National Defense Force as dominant news sources. Both media used local government communication offices, journalists, other media, and interviews with scholars, civil society and religious institutions as sources of information to report the war. The findings show that both of the selected media outlets gave a significant coverage for the war during the selected time frame, but both framed the news in different perspectives.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

TPLF	Tigray People’s Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian people’s revolutionary democratic front
ENDF	Ethiopian National Defense Force
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
ISIL	Islamic state in Iraq and Levant
CNN	Cable news networks
ETV	Ethiopian Television
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
ATV	Amhara Television
TTV	Tigray Television
AMMA	Amhara Mass Media Agency
FM	Frequency modulation
TV	Television
TMMA	Tigray mass media Agency
EPDM	Ethiopian People’s Democratic Movement
ANDM	Amhara National Democratic Movement
OPDO	Oromo People’s Democratic Organization
TCDF	Tigray Central Defense Force
PP	Prosperity Party

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background the Study

Tigray and Amhara regions are the two powerful northern regions in Ethiopia whose people has bonded together by various factors, including the predominant Orthodox Christian religion, language and culture in both regions. According to Simon (2020), the dispute between the Amhara and Tigray regions was arguably the bitterest of these contests, fueled in part by rising ethnic nationalism in both regions”.

The contemporary origins of the Amhara-Tigray dispute lied in the Ethiopian empire’s dismantlement by a socialist junta known as the Derg after the 1974 revolution. A year later, Tigrayans mounted a rebellion, eventually helping topple the military regime in 1991 and forming a new ruling coalition by co-opting elites from other areas including Amhara, the country’s second most populous region. (Crisis Group, 2021)

The Amhara claim that the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF), Tigray’s former ruling party, began to occupy some of their lands during its campaign to depose the Derg. They want these lands returned. Specifically, they assert that the TPLF should return the districts of Welkait, Humera, Tsegede and Tselemte (in Amharic, the last two are Tegede and Telemte) in West Tigray and North West Tigray Zones, as well as the Raya-Kobo area in South Tigray Zone.

According to Tewodrose (2019), TPLF led government has forcefully, annexed historical Amhara lands of Wolkite, Tegede, Humera, Tselemete and Raya-Azebo to Tigray. Under the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, the TPLF transferred thousands of Tigray settlers to the annexed Amhara land in an attempt to change the demographic make-up of the region. The land mass of the Tigray Region has grown by a 3rd since annexation of historical Amhara lands including lands annexed from the Afar Region. This forced annexation has had a devastating effect on the Amhara people in the Wolkite Region.

The Amhara argue that before 1991, the old provinces of Gondar and Wollo, now mostly part of Amhara, administered these chiefly rural districts, some of which produce export-grade sesame. Many Amharas complain that their politicians did not speak out against what they perceive as a TPLF land grab in the early 1990s because they were subservient to their Tigrayan coalition partners and remained so until protests broke out in 2016. “They are gangsters”, seethes an Amhara official, in reference to the TPLF (Crisis Group, 2021).

The Amhara not only assert historical ownership of the land but also charge that TPLF rebels killed and uprooted Amhara in the disputed areas, thus altering the demographic balance in favor of Tigrinya speakers and laying the basis for a TPLF claim to the lands under Ethiopia’s ethnic federal system. Conversely, most Tigrayans support their region’s claim to the territories based on ethno-linguistic patterns, which are used to form administrative areas in Ethiopia’s federal system. Meanwhile, adding to Tigrayan fears of encirclement, Amhara protesters have blocked roads leading south from Tigray to Amhara since at least 2018. Many Tigrayan-registered vehicles, including public transport, now avoid travelling through Amhara for fear of harassment and extortion (International Crisis Group, 2021).

Both Amhara and Tigray regions experienced major upheaval when protests swept the country from 2015 onward against a regime many Ethiopians considered repressive and dominated by the TPLF. The tensions over Amhara claims to land administered by Tigray sparked proxy violence in 2018 and could do so again given the lack of appetite for compromise. The dispute came into focus in 1991, when Tigrayan rebels seized national power as the heart of a multi-ethnic coalition and, as the Amhara see it annexed historical Amhara land to their own region. It remains a flashpoint under Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, whose ascent was presaged by Amhara protests over the territories and Tigrayan political domination. Federal authorities should convene political, academic and religious leaders from both regions to start healing the rift. Addis Ababa should offer concessions to politically isolated Tigray to come to the table.

After that, the Prime Minister post to the new leader of Oromia’s regional party, Abiy Ahmed. Tensions rose as Abiy embarked on far-reaching reforms, continuing to release political prisoners, dismissing many senior TPLF figures from federal institutions and the following year, transforming the EPRDF coalition into his own new Prosperity Party.

In October 2019, assailants reportedly from Amhara and disguised as shepherds staged a cross-border attack on Tigrayan militia, killing several in an isolated incident. The May 2020 Amnesty International report contains accounts of fatal violence – including Qimant reprisals – in September and October 2019 in the wider Gondar area, although not in the Amhara-Tigray borderlands. Wars are not only fought by military means. Alongside the fighting on the ground, at sea, and in the air, a media war is fought over public opinion and the willingness to fight of populations and troops (Thusu and Freedman 2003).

The media outlets also become a battleground for the interest of the media owners and journalists were drawn into the conflict either voluntarily or under orders or even unawares. Yet before the war started between TPLF and the federal government, there has no confirmed fight between Tigray security forces and the federal government troops; but renewed violence, either locally sparked or provoked by elites, could draw the federal military in further, at the risk of stretching its cohesion. During this time, some senior Ethiopian politicians warn, such a scenario could lead to “war”, pitting the Tigray region and its supporters in the federal army against the Amhara region and possibly the central government itself.

The possibility of conflict increased with the TPLF’s claim that hold its own regional elections in September 2020 because of rescheduling the general elections set for 29 August 2020 which the National Electoral Board makes a conference in Addis Ababa to postponed twice before from the regular May 2020 election date, before COVID-19 to an undetermined date in 2021 due to the pandemic of corona virus as national level. The regional election that TPLF held earned as unconstitutional attempts to undertake illegal elections. The armed conflict which broke out on 4 November 2020, the TPLF Special Force attacks Ethiopian National Defense Forces Northern command headquarters in Mekelle, the Fifth Battalion barracks in [Dansha](#), and other Northern Command bases soldiers were killed at night.

According to Stefanie (2016), explained media frames influence opinions by stressing specific values, facts and other considerations, endowing them with greater relevance. The conflict was far more complex and, like many conflicts in Africa, were about poorly-conceived borders, the effects of the splitting up of empires or mega-states and involved aggressive or poorly-judged institutional expansion policies on all sides. judgments about political actors. The long-term

danger is that frames do not give a clear image of the world and enable people to develop informed opinion and make rational decision based on knowledge.

Framing war news is important in informing people far from the conflict zone and stories of the issues. War news frame distorted reality and clouded public opinion, context or explanation had to be provided with stories about war, and the new frame became established and enabled viewers/listeners/readers to retrieve images and explanations from memory and reinforce.

The media – whether mainstream or the ubiquitous social media – is the main source of news and information about conflicts and war, especially those in distant lands. Few people directly witness or are able to directly research the nature, causes and consequences of conflicts. They rely on the media to help them better understand war and why it is being waged. The process of selection of stories and the angles of approach involve frames – frames are in the journalistic sense are ways of fitting stories into simple contexts that let the audience know how to interpret them according to existing knowledge and value systems (Stefanie, 2016).

Local, national and international media have covered this conflict. TPLF used the regional media of Tigray Television to broadcast their propaganda and reports the war as genocide of Tigriyan civilians; however, the government took a Law Enforcement Operation. Because of these, state owned local media in Amhara and Tigray regions, the Amhara Television and Tigray Television respectively, reported the war daily on their prime time news during the war. Thus, this research analyzes comparatively how both media outlets framed the war that was held between the federal government and the TPLF during the wartime.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

War has always been highly newsworthy. Depictions of the course of wars, of victories and defeats, are very dramatic and affect the fates of many people – in some cases almost the entire world. According to Gitlin & Hallin (1994), war news attracts a large audience and often deeply engages people both emotionally and intellectually. Public opinion is mobilized to an extent that otherwise has no counterpart even in the established democracies.

The media, whether local or international, will always face a considerable challenge in trying to cover conflict. There will inevitably be political pressure to focus on the immediate, most violent or dramatic incidents, at the expense of explaining the background and issues that may underpin the conflict (International Media Support, 2006).

The war got high media coverage nationally as well as internationally. From local media, Amhara and Tigray Televisions gave emphasis continuously for the war. According to Angela and Michael (2012), the nature of war journalism for itself doesn't allow media to expose everything that happens in the ground. Rather journalists select and prioritize one aspect of an issue from the other through framing. This clearly shows how media institutions select a biased reporting angle on a certain event.

According to Hoxha and Hanitzsch (2018), the story that journalists deliver can contribute to either escalation or de-escalation of conflicts. Scholars also often conclude that media's representations of conflicts come out as war journalism. An important aspect of this theorizing of war journalism is that it tends to escalate wars, since it is reported as a power game with a winner and a loser. In this essence, the media have a major role to play in controlling the spread of conflict by disseminating information to the public with the widest coverage. The media contributed a positive or negative role in conflict reporting either escalate or bring peace for a given country. For this, the Rwanda genocide is the good example of media roles in reporting serious and sensitive issues on their report.

The Rwandan civil war (also known Rwanda genocide) implicitly shows that media were escalating the conflict. Thomas Kamilindi, a former Radio Rwanda journalist, was broadcasting the war in the local media to counteract it with strong stagnation to assassinations, massacres, civil war and ultimately, genocide. In the end, the reporting continued to escalate from the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) incursion until the genocide actually started. According to Kuperman, (2003), the country had been wracked by a low-level civil war from 1990 to 1993 between the government controlled by the Hutu majority and a rebel force comprised mainly of Tutsi. The Conflict continued through decades with two ethnics, upon the outbreak of genocide on April 6, 1994, as resumption of a bloody civil war.

A study conducted by Alshatry (2015), focusing on media framing of ISIL in CNN and Al-Jazeera in their online news coverage found that both media outlets relied heavily on episodic coverage. Additionally the researcher explored that the conflict frame dominated in CNN coverage, while Al-Jazeera used more responsibility and economic-consequences framing. Regarding sources, the study found that CNN cited more U.S. officials while Al-Jazeera relied more on other media (Alshathry, 2015).

The Ethiopian Human Rights Commission reported on the November 4 attacks due to which several soldiers of Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) were killed. After that, on the nights from 9 to 10 November, 600 civilians who were targeted by their ethnicity, mostly Amharans and Welkait, were killed in a massacre in the town of Mai Kadra with machetes and knives used by local militias and police specifically youth group loyal to the TPLF called Sannri.

As preliminary investigations by the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission and by the International Human Rights Group Amnesty International had confirmed, “scores, and likely hundreds, of people were stabbed or hacked to death” in the town of Mai-Kadra (May Cadera). In addition, Tigray forces fired a rocket towards Bahir Dar and Gondar cities in the Amhara region on 13, November 2020. Following that, some Amhara region militias joined the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) to intervene in the war to support the Ethiopian army Force.

So far, some very few local studies were conducted on media framing which mainly deals with either ethnification or political approaches on the war. Some studies discussed on media framing of crises that assess how media outlets frame the war implication on their news stories.

A research by Mohammed (2014) comparatively analyzed media framing of the Syrian Conflict by international and national media Aljazeera, BBC and ETV. The study dealt with how those three media outlets framed the conflict of Syria. The researcher states in the responsibility frame, with the exception of ETV, both the global media institutions made the Assad government responsible for carrying out the chemical attack. While Aljazeera deliberately utilized experts to make the government forces responsible, BBC institutionally laid blame on the Assad government. The study found Aljazeera and BBC became biased towards the rebels, while ETV sometimes framed the conflict in Syria in a complicated way (Mohammed, 2014).

Getnet Endeg (2019) also did his paper on media framing of ethnic conflict in Ethiopia. The study focused on ethnic conflict coverage comparing private and government owned print media. In this study, the researcher focused on two regional state-owned media (Amhara and Tigray Televisions) and analyzed how the selected media outlets reflect the story in the framing of this serious crisis during the war time on the news report.

As far as the researcher's knowledge is concerned, there is no study in media framing of the war held between the federal government and TPLF. Some of the studies conducted by framing ethnic conflict showed either a negative or a positive implication of the cases in their study. Therefore, the study analyzed the framing of the war in Amhara and Tigray Televisions on their prime time news by showing the overall contents regarding war journalistic practices to fill the aforementioned gap for academic literature.

1.3 Objective of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study was to analyze media framing of the wartime crisis by comparing Amhara Television and Tigray Television on their prime time news.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

This study has the following specific objectives:

- To explore how the Amhara Television (*ATV*) and Tigray Television (*TTV*) framed the war.
- To assess the sources of information Amhara Television (*ATT*) and Tigray Television (*TTV*) used to cover the war.
- To identify the dominant frames used by the two media outlets.

1.4 Research Questions

The study has attempted to find answers for the following questions:

1. How did Amhara Television (*ATV*) and Tigray Television (*TTV*) frame the war?
2. What sources of information did Amhara Television (*ATV*) and Tigray Television (*TTV*) use in the war news stories they report?
3. What were the dominant frames used by the two media outlets in their news on the war?

1.5 Significance of the study

This study has a lot of importance. It could be used as a reference for media institutions as well as other researchers who are interested to research a similar field of study for the future. The study helps the researcher to get new and huge information on the issues and that makes matured in reading different books to use as a source for the study. This study was useful to know the problem of the issues in the study area. Finally, it helps the other researchers by using it as insight source for them. Specifically, it fills the knowledge gap and gives insightful information about the issue.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The scope of the study was limited on electronic media with a special concern on broadcast media. The media's framing of the war on the selected media was analyzed within the time frame of the war from November 04, 2020 up to December 03, 2020. It focused on the framing of the war news by comparing the two selected media outlets of Amhara and Tigray Televisions.

1.7 Limitation of the study

The study focused on analyzing news stories regarding the wartime crisis on Amhara and Tigray Televisions. The news video and visual contents are part of the study. However, from the side of Tigray Television some of the news programs transmitted were canceled from their archive. In addition, in-depth interview that would have made the analysis sounder was not included. The researcher tried to contact Tigray Television journalists via phone call and email; unfortunately, telephone and internet communication blackout in Tigray has made it difficult. Overall, the study faced inaccessibility of some of the transmitted programs on websites, shortage of time, lack of financial issues and others become challenges in data collection and accessing of related materials for the study.

1.8. Organization of the study

The study contains five chapters. The first chapter includes background of the study, statement of the problem, general and specific objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, limitation of the study and organization of the study. The second chapter deals with review of related literature and a theoretical framework of the study.

The third chapter discussed methodology of the study including research design, qualitative content analysis, source of data and data collecting techniques, sampling techniques, time frame, selection of news and the data analysis method. The fourth chapter focuses on data analysis, presentation and discussion of the findings. Finally, the fifth chapter gives conclusion remarks and some recommendations based on the findings of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Media and Conflicts

Mass media often plays a key role in today's conflict. Their role can take two different and opposed forms. Either the media takes an active part in the conflict and has responsibility for increased violence, or stays independent and out of the conflict, thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence (Puddephatt, 2006).

The media has a great responsibility in reporting on conflict. Ideally, the media's role is to observe, investigate and subsequently report its findings as objectively and as humanly as possible. If this is sometimes difficult in everyday reporting, it is exceedingly challenging in the context of an ongoing conflict.

Every day, there is a virtually endless source of potential news from which journalists must sort out the smallest fraction to report on. It can - and often has been - argued to what extent media can tell us *what* to think, but most agree that it has a great influence on what we think *about* (Bernard Cohen, 1963). If a conflict – or certain aspects of a conflict is largely absent in the news, chances are the public's awareness and understanding of the conflict will be limited.

War has always been highly newsworthy. Depictions of the course of wars, of victories and defeats, are very dramatic and affect the fates of many people – in some cases almost the entire world. War news attracts a large audience and often deeply engages people both emotionally and intellectually. Public opinion is mobilized to an extent that otherwise has no counterpart even in the established democracies (Gitlin & Hallin 1994).

The genocide in Rwanda (itself a part of an internal conflict) and the wars in the Balkans that marked the breakup of Yugoslavia have led to much debate about the powers and responsibilities of the international community, as well as triggered serious rifts inside the United Nations, making the effective work of that organization more difficult. In both of these conflicts the media played a pernicious role – directly inciting genocide in the case of some Rwandan media (and

organizing it in the case of Radio Mille Collines) while acting as a vehicle for virulent nationalism in former Yugoslavia.

Despite the amount of violent conflict in the world, there is still little common understanding of how modern internal conflicts are triggered. Although there is growing concern among the developed democracies about the problem of failed or fragile states, and the way that conflict areas nurture crime, terrorism, disease and other threats to human security, no-one has mapped the key indicators that signal the onset of violence. Wars between states can be explained in geopolitical terms – as a contest for natural resources, a means of resolving disputes over territorial boundaries and so on.

Media has considerable power in that it is able to shape discussions and to a certain extent shape reality and also policy makers have been slow to understand the importance of media in shaping modern conflict or how, with proper support, it can help create the conditions for peace. According to the scholars who oriented about peace journalism Johan Galtung argues that, whether the media producers aware of it or not, news coverage often serves to encourage perceptions of conflicts that are, in essence, war fueling

2.2 Media and War Journalism

War journalism is violence-orientated, propaganda-orientated, elite-orientated and victory-orientated. This is often linked to a dualistic method, a zero-sum game where the winner takes all (as in sports journalism). A potential consequence is that war journalism contributes to escalating conflicts by reproducing propaganda and promoting war (Galtung, 2002).

Warring parties are making ever greater efforts to influence, steer, and control the reporting distributed via international media, and this is especially true in the case of visual materials such as photographs and videos. War has always been highly newsworthy. Depictions of the course of wars, of victories and defeats, are very dramatic and affect the fates of many people – in some cases almost the entire world. War news attracts a large audience and often deeply engages people both emotionally and intellectually (Nohrstedt. 2009).

According to Entman (1993) argues that, in order to give the audience the full picture, journalists should make visible what the propaganda machinery leaves out: peace alternatives and realistic information about the consequences of war. Entman puts it like this: to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.

According to Lynch, it is not a fair or honest process when journalists choose to show some aspects of reality and can 'keep the rest in the dark' (Lynch, 2015). To simply report what the political elite says in a conflict is to camouflage facts; and by reducing itself to dualism.

The framing of the conflict with war journalism becomes a power measurement, a controversial reporting that can lead to an escalation of the conflict. Therefore, Lynch raises an objection to war journalism and emphasizes that framing a conflict without context creates more violence in response, with a winner and loser. He argues that if no underlying causes become visible, there is nothing concrete to work towards in order to find a solution. Conflict is a relationship between parties who seek incompatible goals and each party wants to present itself as a worthy winner. Therefore, Lynch believes that war journalism, without background or context, is distorted and limited.

War journalism promotes duality, which puts groups or people in opposition to each other. In the field of peace journalism, journalists are urged to ask questions about the context, which process led to a certain action, the motives behind it, and what caused dissatisfaction. Lynch maintains that peace journalism is more realistic and truthful than war journalism, as it presents causes and alternatives in every direction and casts votes for all rival parties and views at all levels.

Many researchers criticize the concepts of war and peace journalism. Loyn (2007) suggests that Galtung's (2006) method is too dualistic, with a division of conflict journalism into only two categories and, therefore, violates journalistic objectivity. According to Loyn, conflict journalism does not fit into either of the war and peace journalism categories, and he argues that content that is not considered as peace journalism should not be put in the category of war journalism (Loyn, 2007, p. 2-6).

Nohrstedt (2014) criticizes Loyn's standpoints of Galtung's model by claiming that propaganda should be detected in objective journalism. Propaganda used by great powers through PR and spin-doctors is, according to him, a challenge for journalists in depictions of conflict zones.

2.3 Peace Journalism

Ottosen and Övrebo explain that peace journalism is about seeing through propaganda and misinformation on both sides and contributing to journalists being able to make conscious choices about framing of conflicts. Peace journalism is depicted as a people-oriented, truth-based, solution-centred and non-dualistic approach and is focusing on possibilities for peace (Ottosen & Övrebo, 2016).

Peace journalism aims at focusing on the structural and cultural causes of violence, rather than a simple dichotomy. It explains the violence, frames conflict as involving many parties and pursues many goals. An explicit aim of peace journalism is to promote peace initiatives, from whatever quarter, and to allow the read to distinguish between stated positions and real goals (Galtung, 1992).

Peace journalism is people-orientated in the sense that it focuses on the victims (often civilian casualties) and thus gives a voice to the voiceless. It is also truth-orientated in the sense that it reveals untruths on all sides and focuses on propaganda as a means of continuing the war (Ottosen, 2010). Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick (2005) suggest that peace journalism is when editors and reporters make choices, about what to report and how to report it, which creates opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent, developmental responses to conflict.

According to Lynch & McGoldrick (2000) Peace journalism, promotes the role of journalists as 'part of the solution'. Peace journalism aims to find ways to report on the invisible effects, such as the long-term legacies of conflict like psychological trauma or the likelihood that those affected may be violent in the future. It will try to discover the cause and process of conflict and the effort and initiatives from all sides to encourage peace building.

To follow the peace journalism approach, journalists should avoid focusing entirely on what divides the parties involved or certain issues, and on the differences between what they say and want. In order to have a more positive influence on the situation, journalists could ask statements, which may reveal areas of common ground, for example and lead their reports with suggestions of shared or even compatible goals (Lynch & McGoldrick: 2000).

Jake Lynch (2015) stated by cited Saumava Mitra's on the conceptual 'connecting tissue' between Communication and Peace, the shared interpretative repertoires of the contributions to build a broader case for commonalities within the diverse field of communication-related disciplines and practices which share the overarching goal of contributing to the building or making of peace (Hoffmann and Hawkins, 2015). In this essence peace journalism attempts to contribute for disciplines of communication through reporting and representing of peace, intervention for peace and enacting and communicating peace as practice of peace making in the media aspects.

2.4 Role of Media in War Reporting

Mass media often plays a key role in today's conflict. Basically, their role can take two different and opposed forms. Either the media takes an active part in the conflict and has responsibility for increased violence, or stays independent and out of the conflict, thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence. Which role the media takes in a given conflict, and in the phases before and after, depends on a complex set of factors, including the relationship the media has to actors in the war and the independence the media has to the power holders in society (Andrew, 2006).

In terms of an overview of propaganda, the media play a crucial role in what is described as "psychological warfare", for example when it mobilized world opinion before the Gulf War in 1991–1992 with the help of public relations firms (Jowett and O'Donnell 2012). The role of the media in conflict and war has become even more important, reflecting changes in both the media (the rise of networks, citizen journalism, user-generated content, etc.) and the character of international conflicts that have occurred in the past 30 years (from traditional military conflicts to today's asymmetric conflicts (Ayalon *et al.*, 2014).

The power of the media coverage and the concern it aroused in public opinion proved stronger than the will of governments. As media's competition between increasingly their news corporations grew more intense as local and international level. Regarding to this the media organization was report their news related with war coverage by framing the content in responsible way on the outcome for the sensitivity of the war.

According to Andrew (2006), states that war reporting among media professionals were roundtable considered how conflict reporting impacted on war and how such reporting could be improved. The focus was on recent conflicts and participants sought to explore the distinction between peace journalism and conflict sensitive journalism through analyzing specific interventions on conflict reporting.

2.4.1 Local Media and Internal Conflict

During the time, local and international conflicts raised media were played an important role. Phillip Knightley (2004) in his book describes the eternal conflict between journalistic norms and national/military interests in controlling information flows and distributing the "correct" information.

The Balkan conflicts demonstrated the growing recognition of the importance of local media coverage in shaping and developing the conflict on the ground. This has been best documented in Mark Thompson's groundbreaking account of the role of the local media in former Yugoslavia, *Forging War*, which documents how the media aided and abetted the destruction of Yugoslavia, the rise to power of extreme nationalism and the forging of a conflict between groups of people who had lived together peacefully all their lives.

War was neither inevitable nor the only means of resolving the conflicts that lay behind the break-up of Yugoslavia, and the local media played an important role in preparing the ground for war, by ensuring public opinion was mobilized behind the different participants. Media campaigns between rival media outlets prefigured the war itself. As regional communist leaderships mutated into nationalists they saw, true to their communist heritage, the various media as important instruments of policy and were prepared to use them.

The media arena is often where that battle is conducted. The media itself becomes a rallying point for all the combatants – and every combatant aspires to control its own media. In the case of Zimbabwe the state media are a direct instrument of government control, constantly attacking members of the opposition as stooges of the British government and accusing them of launching anthrax attacks against Zimbabwean government officials.

In circumstances like these, the selected media outlets that hold out for editorial independence are rare indeed. The state government used the media for relying their propaganda by control the media. In this context, both state media (Tigray and Amhara Television) are directly instrument under the control of state government.

2.5 Background of the Media Outlets

2.5.1 Amhara Mass Media Agency

Amhara Mass Media Agency (AMMA) or Amhara Television is the media organization of the Amhara regional state government and people of Ethiopia. It is a television, radio and newspaper news organization owned by the Amhara region government in Ethiopia. AMMA was established in 1993 with the aim of promoting development, peace and democratization among the regional stakeholders to the regional government's new national building program.

According to the organization's establishment proclamation no.88/1995, it is accountable for the regional council. Since its establishment, the media institute has been engaged in providing information in different media outlets such as regional radio station, FM, TV, and newspaper.

AMMA operates one free on-air Television Station, 4 Free-on-air and two to air Radio Stations and four on circulation newspapers. Now the organization is participating at online media. It is serving the community through four Ethiopian languages (Amharic, Afan Oromo, Awi, and Himtana) and English.

Its broadcasting operation was based in Bahir Dar, but it has 10 branches in Amhara region and 1 branch in Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia. Currently, the agency has FM stations in Dessie and Debera Berehan. Moreover, the construction of FM transmission stations is going on in North Gondar and East Gojjam to solve coverage problems. The media has created its identity

by good governance public spheres since 2015. Amhara mass media agency is the credible media organization in Ethiopia.

As a young media, it passes many media structure and management systems. Starting from May 2018, it has re structured its departments. This transforms the organization in terms of structure, management style, working system and the like. Nowadays, the agency/media organization has over more than 750 employees. In December 2020, a news television studio launched in Addis Ababa and the name changed from Amhara Television to Amhara Media Corporation.

2.5.2 Tigray Mass Media Agency

Tigray mass media Agency (TMMA) also called Tigray Television is one of the two largest media houses in the regional capital city Mekelle is Tigray Mass Media Agency (TMMA), although the institution actually has a rather modest structure compared with the mass media agencies in some of the other regions.

The number of journalists is 175, and the total number of employees around 300. The first radio studio was built only in 2020. Mekelle recently got its first decent printing press, which makes publication and distribution of regional newspapers easier. The revitalization of the Tigray-based media draws little distinction between the regional state media and outlets. It is operational in broadcasting only; it produces content in 2-3 local languages in addition to Tigrigna and Amharic. (Mulatu & Tirje, 2020)

2.6 History of Ethiopia People Democratic Revolutionary Front /Tigray People Liberal Front

One of the ethno-nationalist movements which spearheaded the revolt against the military regime from 1975 to 1991 was the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), started its struggle to ensure 'self-determination' for the region of Tigray within the Ethiopian polity. It embarked on its armed struggle with a hybrid ideology that mingled ethno-nationalism with Marxism. Its Marxism was of a different variant from that of the Dergue. (Aregawi, 2008)

The movement for the 'right to self-determination' led by the TPLF began in the hills of western Tigray. The origin of this movement was neither spontaneous nor an act of a few disgruntled elite members.

Historically, the TPLF traced the origin of its struggle back to the popular uprising of 1942 - 43, called the 'Woyyane', that was crushed by the forces of the imperial state backed by the British air force, although at that time the demand was 'legitimate regional autonomy', which may be regarded as one form of self-determination or decentralization.

Ethnicity was the prime mobilizing factor of the people of Tigray, while Marxism served as an ideological tool of organizational and policy matters as well as to attract other 'oppressed social classes' outside of Tigray. 'Self-determination' for every ethno-national group in Ethiopia was also upheld as a motto that in turn attracted various marginalized groups, some of which finally joined the TPLF to forge the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) in its final march to power in 1991 (Yosief, 2020).

The initial junior partners of the TPLF in forging the EPRDF were the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (EPDM), which later changed its name to Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), and the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), ostensibly representing the Amhara and Oromo ethnic groups (peoples) respectively.

According to Aregawi (2008), stated the TPLF thus could claim success, especially over the discredited military regime of Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam and a number of other opponents, which were either ethnic or multi-ethnic political organizations. Although previously there had been a number of ethno-nationalist movements of one form or the other that rose up to challenge the Ethiopian state, none of them were able to break the backbone of the central state.

Ernest Gellner (1964) has argued that nationalism 'invents nations where they do not exist', and over four decades after, TPLF/EPRDF's ethno-nationalist banner has paved the way for the emergence of 'ethnic nations' across the country and accentuated there 'rightful' differences. This had created a conundrum of choices and political dilemmas for the multi-ethnic society of Ethiopia. In 1991 after waging a sixteen years' protracted war, the ethno-nationalist TPLF finally managed to conquer Ethiopian state power, with a host of local and external factors contributing to its success. In Ethiopia, the TPLF and subsequently the EPRDF explicitly articulated an idea of 'nationality' which formed the basis for a state structure built on the principles of ethnic federalism' (1998: 13).

2.7 Establishment and Ideology of Prosperity Party

The prosperity party is a political party in Ethiopia established on December 1, 2019 as a successor to the Ethiopian people's revolutionary democratic front (EPRDF) by incumbent Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed. The merge into a countrywide party is part of Abiy's general policy of distancing the country's politics from ethnic federalism and it will thus run for the first time in the 2021 general election.

According to Goitom (2019), the PP was formed by merging of three former EPRDF member parties, the Oromo Democratic Party, the Amhara Democratic Party and the Southern Ethiopian people's Democratic Party. The Ethiopian Somali people's Democratic Party, the Afar National Democratic Party, the Benishangul-Gumuz people's Democratic Party, Gambella people's Democratic Movement and the Hareri National League were also included in the merge. However, the Tigray People's Liberation Front the dominant party in the former EPRDF for the past 27 years and the only one not to join the new party was critical of it upon its formation.

The prosperity party has been seen as supporters of Ethiopian civil nationalism due to the merge of the all ethnic based political parties into the new multi-ethnic prosperity parties, thus moving these predecessor parties away from their ethnic nationalist and pro ethnic federalism part into party that promote Ethiopian national identity and non-ethnic based federalism in the ideology of Synergy. Many scholars stated that the need of reform in the misrule under EPRDF that ruled for three decades ago in Ethiopian is undergoing a political transition. The key objectives of it are to direct the nation along the path of democratic progress and economic prosperity to correct mistakes and injustice as well as heal divisions and a legacy of resentment.

The ideology of Prosperity Party is believes in political reform, economic reform and unification of the former party of EPRDF to make a political transformation program to spare power centralization that handled by ones ethnic group as a party. However, the EPRDF/TPLF leaders strongly oppose and refuse joining of the new Prosperity Party, they blame it up to separating with the partners of the parties and the ideas were escalate to the crisis (Goitom, 2019).

2.8 The Cause of War between the Federal Government and the TPLF

For nearly three decades – from 1991 to 2018 – the Tigray People’s Liberation Front dominated the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front. The democratic front controlled Ethiopian politics and economics. Throughout this period, the Tigray front and its collaborators were accused of gross human rights violations against Ethiopians of different ethnicities.

In 2018, after years of protest led by the Oromo and Amhara Youth Movement prime minister’s Desalegn resigned, then-coalition replaced with Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed. Tensions rose as Abiy embarked on far-reaching reforms, continuing to release political prisoners, dismissing many senior TPLF figures from federal institutions and, the following year, transforming the EPRDF coalition into his own new Prosperity Party. The last move in particular disturbed the TPLF, which had founded the EPRDF in 1989 and controlled it ever since (Samuel, 2020).

The political processes of the federal government and TPLF were waned their relationship since prime minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed took a power in 2018. During the first two years Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed’s rule has resulted in a full consolidation in the country and the TPLF Leaders oppose all administration of the central government. Since TPLF can no longer trust the federal government and not interested to continue as apartness of the party. As a result they relegated to the region’s own media for the transmission of their propaganda.

According to Tom (2020) explained by the end of 2018, Debretsion was already speaking in public about Tigray’s willingness to defend itself militarily against Abiy’s overreach, and by the end of the following year, he had accused Abiy’s government of working “to destroy the people of Tigray.” Almost all senior TPLF officials and many TPLF-connected businesspersons left Addis Ababa for the ostensible security of Mekelle in the intervening months.

To distance the country's politics from ethnic federalism, Prime Minister Dr. Abiy merged the multi-party, ethnic and region-based parties EPRDF coalition into the Prosperity Party, a unified pan-Ethiopian party, in December 2019, which had governed Ethiopia for 30 years. However, the TPLF leaders, a politically powerful entity that had dominated Ethiopian politics, refused to join the new party.

According to Tesfanews (2018), the peace agreement Isaias signed with Abiy in 2018, the details of which were never made public, was seen by the TPLF as part of a conspiracy to weaken its political dominance or ultimately topple the party. One month before the war began; Abiy gave Isaias a tour of an air force base in the town of Bishoftu in the Oromia region, setting off alarm bells in Mekelle. Three months before that, Abiy had visited the Sawa military training camp in Eritrea, reportedly the first-ever foreign leader to do so. The fear that Eritrean troops would enter Tigray at Abiy's invitation as they are reported to have done in large numbers in recent weeks, though the Ethiopian government denies this seems to have prompted the TPLF to take a more aggressive stance in the runup to the war. It may have even inspired the party's fateful decision to attack the federal military camps in Tigray.

The TPLF, led by Chairman Debretsion G/michael, went ahead with regional elections in Tigray in September 2020 that postponed at national level due to the pandemic of COVID-19. The election was defiance of the federal government, which declared the Tigray election illegal. The war began with the TPLF and the Federal Government on November 4, 2020 were the TPLF aligned Security Force attacks on the Northern Command bases and headquarters of the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) in Tigray Region (Tufan, 2020).

The Tigray War was an ongoing armed conflict between two sides: the Tigray Regional Government, led by the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF); and forces supporting Ethiopian Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed, including president Isaias Afwerki's Eritrean Forces as well as Ethiopian nation nationality and peoples of Ethiopia.

2.9 Theoretical framework of the study

2.9.1 Framing theory

2.9.1.1 Defination of Framing

The concept of framing was first posited by Gregory Bateson in 1972. He defined *psychological frames* as a “spatial and temporary bounding of set of interactive messages” (Bateson, 1972, p. 197). Framing describes the practice of thinking about news items and story content within familiar context (Arowolo, 2017).

Framing theory suggests that how something is presented to the audience (called “the frame”) influences the choices people make about how to process that information. Frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning. The most common use of frames is in terms of the frame the news or media place on the information they convey (online, 2017).

Framing theory explains that the media create this frame by introducing news items with predefined and narrow contextualization. Frames can be designed to enhance understanding or are used as cognitive shortcuts to link stories to the bigger picture. Framing focus on how media draws the public’s eye to specific topics – setting agenda, and then it takes a step further to create a frame, through which the audience will comprehend such information. Creating frames for stories is commonly a mindful choice by sources, reporters, journalists and/or editors. The in a way justifies the media as gatekeepers who mindfully collect, select, “organize and present the ideas, events, and topics they cover” ((Mass Communication Theory (Online), 2017).

Gamson and Modigliani (1987) define a media frame as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events...The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987, p. 143).

According to Entman (1993), to *frame* means “to select some aspects of a perceived reality to make them more salient, thus promoting a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Diverse scholars have defined framing differently. Goffman was the first to concentrate on framing as a form of communication and defined —framing as a —schemata of interpretation that enables individuals to —locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences or life experiences (Goffman, 1974, p.68). According to Gamson & Mogdliani (1987) conceptually defined a media frame as —a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of event and suggests what the controversy about the essence of the issue.

Robert Entman is also one of the most cited scholars in framing research. In the application of framing theory for media analysis, Entman’s (1993; 2010) study are important to mention. He defines framing in terms of selection and salience.

According to Entman (1993, p. 55), "to frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."

Media used Framing as one way of making an issue salient or not. Entman (1991) argues that media framing contributes in forming public consciousness (p. 141). Furthermore, he states, "framing essentially involves selection and salience by selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient (1993, p. 52). *Salience*' means 'making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful or memorable to audience'. In other word, when salience increase the probability of the audience receiving the information will boost. Hence, media can draw or direct the attention of audience by silencing and Omitting.

Media framing is the way in which information is presented to its audiences. Goffman was the first to concentrate on framing as a form of communication and defined framing as a schema of interpretation that enables individuals to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences or life experiences (Goffman, 1974).

De Vreese (2001) suggests that framing has been helpful when it comes to understanding the "media's role in political life." Tankard (2001) argues that framing "reflects the richness of media discourse and the subtle differences that are possible when a specific topic is presented in different ways". Furthermore, framing theory's main principle is observing an issue from a diversity of viewpoints and taking it as having implications for various moral evaluations or reflections (p. 97-104). Framing conceptualized as a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, and elaboration. (Tankard et al, 1991).

2.9.1.2 Type/Generic of Framing

The most widely used classification of frames are issue specific and generic frames. While issue specific frames are those frames that are only relevant to the issue under investigation; generic frames transcend the boundary of a single framing research and can be applicable in many framing researches.

Scholars have been identified different frame typology. Semekto and Valkunburg (2000) identified five dominant or major frames, which are categorized under generic frames. These are conflict frame, human-interest frame, economic frame, morality frame, and attribution of responsibility frame. For this study, the researcher used most of dominant types of frames.

To be able to identify framing in the stories, different scholars have identified the various types of frames that would likely occur in news stories. These include human-interest frame, attribution of responsibility, conflict frame, Consequences frame, peace frame and morality frame. It does not mean that the frame types are the only frame types, but I preferred these for this research.

Conflict frame: emphasizes or popularizes conflict between parties, individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interests. Moreover, conflict between parties can be prioritized, as opposed to the actual decision made.

Neuman et al. (1992) found that conflict frame was commonly used by U.S. news media and stated the conflict frame is used as a means of capturing audience interest. According to Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) in their study found that the conflict frame was the most common frame. The reason behind the use of conflict frame might be because journalists think that conflict is one way to catch the attention of audience. For example, political debate, election campaigns news is framed mostly in terms of conflict (Semekto & Valkunburg, 2000, p.96).

Economic consequences frame: reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region or Country. When an issue or event has wide impact, it adds value to the news, and its economic consequences are vital (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Morality frame: puts or interprets the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions; emphasizes collaboration and fellowship. As to Neumann (1992) morality frame have to be shared in the minds of the public rather than in the content of the news (Neuman, 1992).

In addition, media coverage can often moralize, sometimes due to the indiscretions of political actors; or alternative, policies can be seen as morally questionable. According to Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, in order to keep the professional norm of objectivity, journalists often make use of the moral frame indirectly by using quotation and inference.

Attribution of Responsibility frame: presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving either to the government or to an individual or to a group, party or institution; news items suggest the issue or problem requires serious action (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 95).

This frame states that certain part of the society or government officials have the responsibility for an already happened incident or for any possible solution to mitigate a certain problem.

As Iyengar (1987) quoted in Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) stated that when television news covers an issue or event, or individual rather than presenting the larger historical social context, it promotes individuals 'explanations for social problems.

It present an issue in a way as to attribute responsibility to its cause or solution (i.e., who should be credited or blamed for events) Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). Sillars (1982 cited in Hallahan, 1999) note that "attribution of an event to either personal or environmental factors determine the extent to which an individual is held responsible".

Human Interest/Personalization: presenting a story with human face, personality is promoted over aspects that are more important. Semetko and Valkenburg explained that human-interest frame brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem (Semetko and Valkenburg (2000: 95). In this type of frame the media outlets can bring emotional angle of stories to the audience. Journalist and media practitioner eager to produce that captures audience interests.

Framing a story in human interest terms is one way to achieve this. In such frame, news can be personalized, 'dramatize & emotionalize' in order to attract readers attention. The frame is also referred as "human impact" frame and is considered the second common frame in the news next to conflict frame (Neuman et al., 1992, cited in Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). The human interest frame appears more often in television news as compared to print media.

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

The basic components, frameworks, and assumptions of the theory will take and integrate into the study of media framing theory. The theory was applied on the study to identify how a war stories was framed in various contexts on the war reporting process by selected media outlets. For instance the study were take the war and it analyze the issues framed in the same way whether or not, either different frame or other generic frames implies that to understand the way that the war framed by both media outlets. Framing theory helps for the researcher to analysis of textual messages, especially in the news, it connects news frames to causal interpretations, value judgments, and policy recommendations related to news frames.

The main purpose of this study was primarily aimed to answer the question how war news stories were framed, what were the dominant frames used in reporting of war news stories. As Entman puts frame analysis serves the following purposes within the context of media research: to define problems, to diagnose courses, to make value judgments, and to suggest remedies (Entman, 1993: 52). Due to this, the researcher used the above major types of frame to respond the question.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology comprises the theoretical analysis of the body of methods and principles associated with a branch of knowledge. Typically, it encompasses concepts such as paradigm, theoretical model, phases and quantitative or qualitative techniques (Irny & Rose, 2005).

Research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem and that answers the basic research question and a guide to research and how it is conducted. The main purpose of the study was analyzing the framing of the wartime crises between federal government and TPLF on Amhara and Tigray Televisions.

3.1 Research Design

The research design is a framework for planning your research and answering your research questions (McCombes, 2005). Research design is defined by different social scientists in different terms; Zikmund (1988) defined it as “a master plan specifying the methods and procedure for collecting and analyzing the needed information” (Akhtar, 2016).

As Kothari (2004) noted, research design is the road map of a research for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. A research design is the procedure for collecting, analyzing, interpreting and reporting data in research studies (Creswell & Plano 2007). It is the overall plan for connecting the conceptual research problems with the pertinent (and achievable) research.

A cross-sectional study (also known as a cross-sectional analysis, transverse study, prevalence study) is a type of observational study that analyzes data from a population, or a representative subset, at a specific point in time that is, cross-sectional data (Jorge, 2018).

The study employed cross-sectional research design and the reason is all data is collected to measure differences between or from among a variety of people, subjects, or phenomena rather than a process of change by comparing how Amhara and Tigray Televisions framed the war. As such, researchers using this design can only employ a relatively passive approach to making causal inferences based on findings.

Cross-sectional studies are carried out at one time point or over a short period. They are usually conducted to estimate the prevalence of the outcome of interest for a given population or subgroup within the population at a given time point. In this way cross sectional studies provide a ‘snapshot’ of the outcome and the characteristics associated with it at a specific point in time (Levin, 2014).

In addition, the study also used descriptive research; all the information and data collected in the study was for the matter of describing how the media has framed the war on their news stories. It was used to identify and obtain information on characteristic of a particular issue like community, group or people. In other words, this research describes social events, social structure, social situations, etc. It is used to study the current situation. Descriptive research aims at portraying accurately the characteristics of a particular group or situation and it is concerned with the attitude or views (of a person) towards anything (Akhtar, 2016).

3.2 Research Approach

Qualitative approach is used to gain an in-depth understanding of human behavior, experience, attitudes, intentions, and motivations, based on observation and interpretation, to find out the way people think and feel (Neuman, 2000). It also used to describe and interpret the characteristics, the functions, the structure and other elements of a text in the story. Based on this, the study employed qualitative approach to make interpretation on the war news that was framed on Amhara and Tigray Televisions.

Content analysis is defined as “any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages” (Holsti (1968) as cited in Berg (2001:241).

According to Berg (2001), content analysis as a research technique is applied to any type of communication. It is often associated with counting of the frequency of a content (a word, meanings, pictures) which describes something (violence, negative portrayal of women) in a mass mediated communication. Content analysis can be used to study media content produced at different times and helps to compare its trends or developments over time (Babbie, 1998) as cited in Berg (2001).

According to Kerlinger (2000) one of the most outstanding characteristics of content analysis is its general applicability to available materials such as letters, diaries, ethnographic materials, newspaper articles and editorials, minutes of meetings, short stories, and messages of radio, television, documents, texts or any symbols. In this study, television news is used for qualitative methods to categorizing and interpreting the news stories related with the war.

3.3 Qualitative Content Analysis

According to Creswell (2005), qualitative research makes an interpretation of the data that includes developing a description of an individual or setting, analyzing data for a theme and finally making the conclusion about its meaning.

Qualitative researches are designed to provide the researcher a means of understanding a phenomenon by observing or interacting with the participants of the study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Textual analysis in qualitative research more relies on the researchers' reading capability.

The study used qualitative content analysis for making the data valid and objective inferences about the news that framed the war in the media outlets. Content analysis is appropriate for the study of topical issues; comparison of media coverage of similar events; and mass-mediated representations of historical or current events (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011).

According to Bainbridge (2011), qualitative content analysis is an effective way of assessing, comparing and understanding media texts. The study also employed qualitative content analysis to interpret the framing of war news stories in the selected media outlets. Particularly, content analysis is preferred to other methods when a researcher wants to analyze the content of any recorded information (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006). Therefore, one of the main characteristics of qualitative content analysis is relying more heavily on researchers' reading and interpretations of media text (Macnamara, 2005). In this study, qualitative content analysis was used to interpret the framing of war news stories.

3.4 Data Source and Data Collection Procedure

Data for qualitative studies can be collected from different sources of evidence, including documents, archival records, interviews and so forth (Yin, 2003). The qualitative methods most commonly used in evaluation can be classified in broad categories. These are: in-depth interview, observation, document review and focus group discussion.

Document review is a way of collecting data by reviewing existing documents. The documents may be internal to a program or organizations such as records of what components program were implemented or may be external recorded program. The researcher used news from archival records in selected media outlets newsroom. It helps to see how Amhara and Tigray Televisions framed the war news.

According to Holsti (1969), content analysis is any technique for making references by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages. Based on this, the study obtained total of 108 news stories related with the war that were aired in both media on their prime time news: 52 from Amhara Television evening (ዜና ሞፀሎት) news at 6:00p.m in Amharic language, and 56 from Tigray Television evening news at 1:00p.m in Tigrigna language that were accessed from their website archive. These two prime time news were common and main news transmission schedules for both selected media outlets for their news report. Because of updated war news stories were reported by those selected prime time news on both Amhara and Tigray Television. Due to this, the researcher chooses these times to take the news stories for the study.

The main objective of the study was to examine how those two selected media outlets framed the wartime crises between the federal government and TPLF during the timeframe of 04, 2020 November - 03, 2020 December. However, because of telephone and internet communication blackout in Tigray at this period, it has made it difficult to verify the situation from the journalists' and other media practitioners' perspectives besides the Tigray Television. For this reason, the researcher did not conduct in-depth interviews at all, because conducting interviews only with Amhara Television journalist and media practitioners was not necessary.

3.5 Sampling Technique

Sampling is the process of selecting a number of participants for a study in such a way that they represent the large group from which they were selected. A sample is made up of individual, items or event selected from a large group referred to as a population (Harwell, 2011). In qualitative research, the sampling strategy is usually chosen based on the methodology and topic, and not by the need for generalizability of the findings (Higginbottom, 2004).

According to Wimmer & Dominick (2003), mass media researchers frequently use non-probability sampling. A purposive sample is a type of non-probability sample also referred to as a judgmental, selective or subjective sampling reflects a group of sampling techniques that rely on the judgment of the researcher when it comes to selecting the units (e.g., people, cases/ organizations, events, pieces of data) that are to be studied.

The main objective of a purposive sample is to produce a sample that can be logically assumed to be representative of the population. This is often accomplished by applying expert knowledge of the population to select in a non-random manner a sample of elements that represents a cross-section of the population.

For this study, purposive sampling was used to select the news related with the war held between federal government and TPLF in Amhara and Tigray Televisions. Both Amhara and Tigray Televisions are state owned media in Amhara and Tigray regions and both media outlets used local language to broadcast their programs.

3.6 Media and News Story Selection

In framing study, choosing the media outlets becomes the primary work to study based on news stories. Therefore, the researcher has selected Amhara and Tigray Televisions because both media outlets are state owned and broadcast media (Television). Both media outlets are inevitable by political pressure for their state government to expose and cover the interest of them regarding the conflict. The other reason was both media used local languages to present their news and programs in Amharic language and in Tigrigna language respectively. Due to this, both media have a good number of audiences in their local area. The researcher used the selected media outlets' websites to download all news stories related with the war. By using purposive

sampling, the researcher identified a total of 108 news stories from both media outlets, 52 news stories from Amhara Television and 56 news stories from Tigray Television.

3.7 Time Frame

The study was aimed to compare the framing of wartime crisis on Amhara and Tigray Televisions in their prime news. The timeframe of this study is from November 04 2020 up to December 03, 2020, a 30-day of news stories.

During this time, a war was held between the federal government and TPLF and many media outlets including local and national media covered this critical conflict issues, beginning from the first date of the war, and there were follow-up reports. The researcher wanted to study the mentioned study period because, including Amhara and Tigray Televisions, different national and international media have been reporting the conflict by using type/generic of framing.

3.8 Unit of Analysis

According to Wimmer & Dominik (2006) the unit of analysis might be a single word or symbol, a theme (a single assertion about one subject), or an entire article or story in written content. The unit of analysis of this study is news stories that were explicitly reported by the selected media outlets and are related with the war taken place. A selected news story was analyzed and specific relevant information was taken to show how the two media framed the war. For this research, a theme of news stories aired by the selected television stations in the selected time related with the war was used as the unit of analysis for the study. Therefore, all stories taken as news sources from the selected media outlets used to interpret as a unit of analysis.

3.9 Data Coding and Item Categories in the Study

According to Daymon (2002), coding refers to identifying important evidences or samples from the population. It helps researchers to reduce and simplify the evidence in order to begin to make sense of it. The data in the study are coded by first reading the content of the data to group in meaningful ways and to categorize all data in clear and operational elaboration in the study.

To make the coding, the researcher made in-depth reading of all the data and understood the overall ideas of the data that helped for news analysis. It also avoids the problem of frequencies under the data used in the text analysis of the study.

The researcher used the categories developed by Entmans, Semetko & Valkenburgs (2000) to frame the news stories of the Tigray war and all news related with the war reported in the selected media outlets; they were coded to answer the questions by the type of frame categories. The researcher identified five frame types that were developed by Semetko & Valkenburgs (2000). Based on the research objectives, economic frame were substituted by peace frame by the researcher to support for analytical categories of the frame on the war news stories.

The following item categories are what the researcher used in the study to make a comparative framing analysis of wartime crises in Tigray and Amhara Televisions and that helped to answer the research questions of the study.

1. Frame: is the practice of thinking about news items and story content within familiar context. (It refers the way how both Tigray and Amhara Televisions frame the war news for the audience). Framing the war news in terms of conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality and peace frame helped the media to place the information of the war news stories.

2. Source of information: it implies the information source used as a source in the war news stories. Those sources were listed as the interviewee (any person) identity (names), news organization, governmental office, documents and other sources attributed in both media outlets for their news stories.

3. Media organization (type of media): refers to the selection of media station that gave emphasis on the Tigray war in their news reported for the audience. Those media are both Amhara and Tigray Televisions.

4. Conflict frame: In the news stories, this frame reports the interest of two parties (Federal government and TPLF) on the war. It also shows clearly the decision made to start the conflict and the issues also grabs the interest of both counties' people to involve on the war.

5. Human-interest frame: it presents the human feeling, sadness (including victims and their families) how the war affect them in their life. In contrast, the story also reported what the people expressed – their feelings emotionally to involve in the conflict.

6. Attribution of responsibility frame: this frame discussed on whom take responsibility for the war and it suggests that government, national defense force, Amhara militia, Tigray special force take responsibility for the action on the war as well as to make a solution on it. In addition to this, both media outlets report on their news stories blames for the war (TTV blames in their reports the federal government to start the war, and ATV in their news report blame TPLF for the beginning the conflict).

7. Morality frame: this frames reports in the news stories the people often to do moralize collaboration with either Ethiopia National Defense Force or Tigray Special force regarding the conflict. The stories also give emphasis on the moral fellowship with two parties as moral inference on the war.

8. Peace frame: in the news stories peace frame is elaborated as the war was over and the two regions began living in peace together. The story indicates that in the area of two regions there is no war at all.

3.10 Data Analysis Method

The study analyzed framing of the wartime crises by selected media outlets of Amhara and Tigray Televisions in their prime time news stories related with the war. For the study data was collected from the selected media's website archives, and qualitative content analysis was employed.

Qualitative content analysis is a systematic approach, which deals with analyzing, categorizing, and evaluating media texts. It is an interpretive approach, which deals with extracting meaning. In addition, qualitative content analysis can give an opportunity to examine how the producers of the text view their social world (Berg, 2001). It helps to better understand the author's perspectives through his words in the text.

According to Bainbridge (2011) it is an “effective way of assessing, comparing and understanding media texts”. Qualitative content analysis is used to describe the way of the war framed, and the researcher chooses some of the news texts of the media outlets to carry out the study on Amhara and Tigray Televisions on their war reporting process and this helps to forward some recommendations based of the final findings of the study.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

In this study, ethical issues are the main concerns to the researcher. The study considered honesty during the time of content analysis by avoiding bias, exaggeration, unnecessarily interpretation and agreement in the analysis of data presentation. In this study, the researcher gave attention for basic ethical values in the process of collecting data from the selected media outlets' news archives, which keep its academic form and essence.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

This chapter deals with data presentation, analysis, and discussion. As stated earlier, the main objective of the study was to explore how Tigray and Amhara Televisions framed the crises between the federal government and TPLF in the period of November 04, 2020 up to December 03, 2020. By employing purposive sampling technique, sample data for the study was collected from their websites.

The researcher identified some news frame genres that were used by the media organizations to frame the wartime crises between the federal government and TPLF. These news frames are conflict frame, human-interest frame, attribution of responsibility frame, morality frame and peace frame. This section presents analysis and findings of the study and hence the research questions were answered.

4.1 Data Presentation and Analysis

This research was conducted to analyze how Tigray Television and Amhara Television framed the wartime crises news stories transmitted from November 04, 2020 to December 03, 2020 in a comparative perspective, and the sources of information that the media outlets used when reporting the conflict stories. All the collected data focused on how the crisis issues were framed in those media outlets within the selected time frame.

This chapter deals with the analysis of news gathered from the two selected media outlets of their prime time news. Out of Tigray Television, 56 news stories and from the Amhara Television, 52 news stories within the selected time frame were collected based on their selection, emphasis and elaboration of information about the conflict issue that occurred from November 04, 2020 to December 03, 2020. The selected news were taken for the study since they explicitly focused on the war crisis happening in the selected period.

Ottosen and Övrebo (2016) suggest that war journalism often includes a degree of propaganda on behalf of one side of the conflict. War journalism is elite-, violence-, propaganda- and victory-oriented with a winner and a loser in a dualistic approach in a zero-sum game.

In wartime, the media mediate information about the progress of the war to the public. The media can serve not just as providers of ‘straight’ news and information but also as agents of propaganda and disinformation. This is because the very processes by which war reports are gathered at source, packaged by journalists and disseminated to a wider audience are subject to a wide spectrum of influences ranging from battlefield censorship to broadcasting standards, deception and disinformation campaigns, official information policy and propaganda (Patrick, 1990). Both Amhara and Tigray Television report the news stories for their audience regarding the war. While both selected media outlets faced a problem of fixed and one-dimensional understanding, favor of realism and ignores the insights of Peace on their news report.

For the purpose of the study, through close reading, the dominant frames identified were conflict, human interest, and attribution of responsibility, morality and peace frames used by the selected media outlets. These frames were discussed primarily under the selected media outlets. Therefore, all the news relating to crisis found from the two media outlets were analyzed qualitatively.

4.1.1 Framing of war news by the Selected Media Outlets

The qualitative data analysis was used to answer the research question of how did the Amhara and Tigray Television frame the conflict between the federal government and TPLF during the wartime. In this case, some frames were analyzed to show how the two media outlets framed the wartime crises on their news stories.

4.1.1.1 Conflict Frame

As Sematok and Patti (2000) explained this frame emphasizes on conflict between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing audiences’ interest.

Conflict frame that was used in both media outlets claimed the war as was officially started by the government, the Amhara militia and FANO and by Tigray militia, due to TPLF’s attack of the Ethiopian national defense force. The disagreement between the government and TPLF leaders’ interests led them to the war. This frame mainly explored the political crisis like ethnic tensions, war and protests in the Tigray and Amhara regions. The news stories framed by Tigray TV covered nearly half of the news as conflict frame, whereas Amhara TV framed by giving a little attention to the news as a conflict frame. Tigray Television, on their report, the war is the

issue of fighting for the freedom of the Tigray people and Amhara Television had taken the war as defending national security and ensuring the sovereignty of the country.

The following news frame from **Amhara TV** describes the issue as:

All Amhara people must be prepared to withstand the onslaught. Our Special Forces, our General Security Forces, our militia Force, the regular police are all around to protect his area based on the given instruction starting from today. In this case, there's a command post that guides the operation and we have a capacity to prevent the attacks in any area. Generally, we have this ability to work together to destroy our enemy once and for all." (ATV November 4, 2020)

The FDRE, the Amhara Regional State Special Forces and the Militia are taking legal action against the TPLF robbers. Many fortresses and camps that the TPLF was using for were destroyed through law enforcement action being taken at HUMERA front." (ATV November 8, 2020)

The key concept of the above two news explains that the federal government, Amhara Special Forces and militia were prepared to fight with TPLF to prevent the attack by the Tigray special force on ENDF. The federal government officially declared legal law enforcement operation against TPLF. Due to this the federal government took the measurement by attacking, destroying the selected enemy fortresses and camp areas in collaboration with Amhara militia and Fano. The news mainly explained the actions that TPLF took on ENDF were illegal and it made the federal government to involve on counter attack to protect others peace and security and tried to take formal and legal law enforcement action. Amhara Television on its news gave emphasis to the conflict as the only action to assure peace and security of the country, so the war was legally taken as a law enforcement operation.

Tigray TV also framed the news stories based on conflict framing as the following describes:

Any enemy entering Tigray will be buried in the land of Tigray. The invaders who are scattered everywhere are for a limited time and we will bury them, said Dr. Debra Zion, Chief Executive of the Tigray Region. (TTV November 13, 2020)

Tigray Central Defense Forces (KDF) said in a statement that it would take double action against the attack on Tigray's stronghold. According to Getachew Reda, spokesman for the Tigray Central Command, missile strikes have been carried out at selected military bases in Bhardar and Gondar. He further said that any attack on Tigray's existence will be retaliated against. (TTV November 14, 2020)

Tigray Television dominantly used conflict frame on the news stories. TTV mostly used this conflict frame to indicate fighting with the federal government. The action taken by Tigray government was construed as action for the freedom of the Tigray people. Under this frame, most of the news stories reported land of Tigray should become for enemies as land for their funerary. In addition other news stories frame stated all Tigray people and government bodies should fight with the federal government for freedom and to ensure the sovereignty of Tigray. The news largely reported in TTV focused on the conflict. In this news, TTV used the Tigray government leaders as the sources of news. Both selected media outlets reported on their news focused on conflict frame. Their difference was *TTV* gave a full image about the news selected for conflict frame in more detailed way and conflict frame was dominantly framed on the news stories, whereas *ATV* also reported the news stories as less conflict frame than TTV (Appendix A, Table: 1).

4.1.1.2 Human interest Frame

Human-interest frame refers to an effort to personalize, dramatize or emotionalize the news in order to capture and retain audience interest; it employs adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, or compassion. This framing is commonly known by bringing a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

In this type of framing, many people who lived in different areas express their feeling on how the war affected the Amhara people, those who were killed due to their ethnic group. The people defined the attack happened on ENDF as a horrific act and massacres of Mai-Kadra (May Cadera) made them to become sad. This frame significantly indicates the feeling, emotion of the people to show the feelings by interviewing some of the affected ordinary people directly or indirectly by the conflict crisis. This frame is perhaps a common frame used by *ATV* in the news stories.

ATV framed the news stories based on human-interest frame as:

On the side of the defense that is trying to make peace for the Ethiopians by claiming that they are Ethiopians too. We are saddened by the fact that such a horrific act of genocide and massacres took place on the security forces for the first time. Never before in history has such a thing happened.” (ATV November 7, 2020)

I am deeply saddened, the massacre and oppression on our people is so severe, it is so ugly and shameful. The federal government must continue to pursue this issue to the end. (ATV November 14, 2020)

The themes of the above news frame describe the people of Amhara region and other ethnic group residents were sympathized by the attack that TPLF did on ENDF. The people explained their feelings and concerns regarding the attack and harms on all society of Amhara and other parts of Ethiopia. ATV mainly showed the emotion, feeling, idea and other related things that the people concerned and the consequence of conflict that damaged human lives and materials in the country. In the framing of human interest, ATV reported how the people of Amhara were affected by the war.

Whereas, Tigray Television also framed the human interest as all Tigray people were volunteer to participate in the war and to stand by the side of the Tigray government and Tigray force. The feeling of the people was inspired for the war to fight with the federal government. The interviewed people reacted by telling how the people of Tigray should be ready to defend their enemies. The interviewees explained that the people of Tigray were ready to sacrifice their lives for their people and land.

I am ready for my country, I am ready for the people of Tigray, It is meant to defend everything that comes to us.” (TTV November 5, 2020)

As the people of Tigray have been doing for a long time, you know, we will not be ruled by dictators as a citizen or as an Ethiopian people. We will work in collaboration and sacrifice if needed. (TTV November 4, 2020)

Both Amhara and Tigray Televisions used more human-interest frame in different perspectives. ATV used human-interest frame related with the people’s feelings that mainly concerned the people who were directly/indirectly affected by the war. TTV also used human interest frames that focused on the people of Tigray were ready to support the government to involve in the war to defeat the army of the federal government for their freedom. Many interviewees said that they were ready to fight with the federal government for their country.

4.1.1.3 Attribution of Responsibility Frame

Social problems and issues usually involve a question of causes and responsibilities such as who is blamed or credited for events (Hallahan, 1999). The attribution of responsibility frame suggests what measure should be taken (Kensicki, 2004).

Attribution of responsibility frame presents an event, issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution either to the government or to an individual, group, party or institution; news items suggest the issue or problem requires serious action (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

This frame was used by the two media outlets in the war reporting in their news stories presented. Both Amhara and Tigray Televisions gave varies coverage but the news content was similar because the concerned parties like government, police commission, national defense force, other regional special forces etc. were responsible to take serious action for the problem. ATV used this frame on the news stories as follows:

Our region and the people of our country not only give us the mission fulfilling mandate, but they are also providing the necessary inputs to prepare us for the victory by providing various logistics. We declare good news for our region and our people. (ATV November 13, 2020)

Members of the military say they will continue to fight for the peace and freedom of the people by destroying the illegal TPLF. ... We will continue to be strong in the future by removing this Junta and making peace within our country by standing beside our people and our defense forces, the sovereignty of our country has been established.” (ATV November 17, 2020)

The above news indicate the federal government, Amhara militia and Amhara special force were responsible to work together to fight the group called junta for making peace for the people of Amhara and Ethiopia. All federal and state security members were to work to ensure peace of Ethiopian people in response to betrayal and plundered junta of the extremist group by TPLF's attack on the National Defense Forces and the country's sovereignty.

TTV framed the news stories as attribution of responsibility frame as the following:

Tigray militia says it will fight to stop the ongoing genocide in Tigray. The Tigray militia is on the verge of burying the fascist regime and its collaborators who came to destroy the people of Tigray. They said all efforts will be made to prevent the ongoing genocide in Tigray. (TTV November 17, 2020)

We have no doubt that we will work to prevent this enemy from taking the lives of children, looting the people's property, and to continue to defeat this enemy and to bring tangible victory, said the heroic Tigray Defense Forces. (TTV November 22, 2020)

Tigray Television also framed the news stories by attributing the responsibility on its report. In this news frame, Tigray government attempted to blame the federal government, Amhara militia and Amhara special force that were led by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed to enter the war. By the side of Amhara state, the issue of the border (Welkait Tsegede, Tselemte and other areas) was the main issues for both TPLF and Amhara people. According to Adenew and Fayera (2005), in Tigray and Amhara, land registration process is generating conflict. This is occurring at the local level and is due to illegal land grabbing, encroachments into common lands and land sales.

Tigray Television showed the war as the result of the destructive policy of Abiy Ahmed and some Amhara elites who needed the land of Tigray. Generally, TTV presented the news explaining that all Tigray Militia, Tigray special force and Tigray national defense force to fight in responsible way for the peace of their land and people.

Generally, both of the selected media outlets framed the news stories to attribute the responsibility to the other group. Both Tigray and Federal government takes a responsibility for the problem to find solution for the war held between Tigray force and Ethiopia's federal army. The news stories explained that both governments including Ethiopia and Tigray national defense force, the militias and other people should work together to defend any attack in their country.

4.1.1.4 Morality Frame

Morality frame puts certain event, issue or problem in the context of religious tenets or moral viewpoints, prescriptions, and emphasizes collaboration and fellowship. As to Neumann (1992), morality frame have to be shared in the minds of the public rather than in the content of the news.

The selected media outlets framed the war by giving emphasis on moral aspects. According to Neuman et al., in Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) journalists often make use of the moral frame indirectly by using quotation and inference. They always tend to tell their audience how to behave toward a particular issue.

In both media, the community, the government, security members and other different parties were showing their solidarity with both national defense force and militias to support them in all circumstance to victor the war were the highlighted themes by both Amhara and Tigray Televisions. Both media outlets emphasized this type of frame on their news stories in all situations to stand for their country; for ATV, supporting the national defense force was preferred as a morally acceptable action.

ATV framed the news stories in morality frame:

The youth and residents of Debre Tabor are donating blood to alleviate the blood scarcity that can face due to war. The youths said that they are donating for the Special Forces and the Defense Forces who are making sacrifices following the recent attack on the Northern Command by the -TPLF.” (ATV November 7, 2020)

Employees of the Amhara Agricultural Research Institute announced that they will stand by law enforcement members by donating their blood and providing other support. ... Following the change, the betrayal group death is approaching, I intend to donate my blood for the sake of defense and I want to support you to the best of my ability until you are at peace with your country (ATV November 18, 2020)

In ATV, the major theme of the news stories that are discussed in the morality frame was the people of Amhara and others’ support to the national defense force, Amhara special force and militias by moral messages, by providing any necessary input regarding the war. ATV used this frame to describe the people’s solidarity and encouragement to the national defense force, Amhara special force and militia by presenting food, sanitary material, essential equipment and donating blood for the defense force at the wartime.

TTV also framed news stories as moral prescriptions emphasizing collaboration and fellowship with Tigray Force, as described below:

Grace Association institution donates millions of medicines and medical equipment to the people who in line for the existence of Tigrayans. (TTV November 14, 2020)

To oppose the order of the dictatorial ruling of prosperous party to destroy the existence of Tigrayans, members of the Ganta Mas Sports donate blood to support the members of the Tigrayan army who are in the forefront. (TTV November 12, 2020).

TTV also discussed the morality frame on their news stories theme like the Amhara Television. The people of Tigray also were called to support the Tigray special force and Tigray defense force by providing food, sanitary materials, by donating blood and by providing different kinds of equipment for their militaries. This type of frame was used in the same context in both media outlets. Like Amhara Television, TTV also used this frame to describe the people's solidarity and to encourage the Tigray national defense force, Tigray special force and militia by providing different kinds of support morally and materially for their defense force at the wartime.

4.1.1.5 Peace Frame

When the news provides for the benefit of peace and that helps the societies to live together in peace. In this frame, the news report indicates that when a country is not at war or there is no war in the areas (Appendix A).

Amhara Television used peace frame in the news stories after the federal government announced ending of its law enforcement operation. When the Ethiopian National defense force, Amhara special force and militia announced their victory over Tigray Special force, all Amhara and Tigray People started living in peace. Some interviewees from Mekelle, Aksum, Adigrat, Shire and other Tigray cities and all Amhara areas were explaining their peaceful life after the war was over. Both people (Amhara and Tigray) were resettling on their homeland after they were displaced from their homes during the wartime.

Peace frame was used in these media news stories contexts; during the wartime, thousands of the two countries community were displaced from their homeland and refuged to other boarder neighboring countries. However, after the federal government victory the war over TPLF, both regions' communities resettled in their homelands and they started to live together in peace, because the war was over when the federal government controlled the situation and the Ethiopia National defense force assured the peace and security by entering their troops on those regions and living with the community.

The following excerpt supports the idea of the peace frame in the news stories ATV used to frame the stories:

The situation is peaceful, the people and the city are back to normal, the movement is good, and the work is opening up. We went out to go to church and, as you have seen, the people were moving and there was peace.) Once the defense is in place, we are moving safely. Mekelle Residents.” (ATV December 3, 2020)

There is peace now, we are in control of the lands we liberated or the areas that the extremist group controlled. The Special Forces, the Militia, and the people are working together to bring peace to that area (ATV November 24, 2020)

When Ethiopian government claims victory and declares the war was over; ENDF captures Mekelle and other Tigray areas. As a result, some of the TPLF leaders were arrested and some of them were executed by the law enforcement action. Due to this, Tigray Television cancelled the transmission from satellite and there was no programs and news aired on TTV during that time.

Tigray Television totally ignored the peace frame in their news stories in the selected timeframe from November 04, 2020 to December 03, 2020. At this time interval, rather than using peace frame, TTV allowed expressing the disagreement of TPLF with the federal government and other parties. Most of the news stories presented were framed as conflict frame than peace frame.

4.1.2 Sources of Information for War News Stories

Framing of wartime crises stories considers the type of source of information used in the selected media outlets. Due to this, both Amhara and Tigray televisions used various sources of information to report the war and both of the selected media outlets also used the same source of information but they presented them in different framing ways. Hence, not all the sources were used uniformly in Amhara and Tigray Televisions.

Media frames can further influence opinion via the chosen news sources, since news sources are essential building blocks in news coverage. Journalistic norms dictate that reporters must “rely on external suppliers of raw material, whether speeches, interviews, corporate reports, or government hearings” (Shoemaker, 1996, p. 122).

During the war, the federal government established a neutral body called state emergency of fact checking. According to Krause et al. (2020), fact-checkers attempt to define the risk of misinformation and establish themselves as trustworthy risk mitigators. Journalists, however, have advocated for clear boundaries between fact-checking and activism, emphasizing that fact-checking should be non-partisan (Mena, 2019).

Amhara Television used state emergency of fact checking that helped to clarify any information related with the war to address for the society vividly. Amhara Television used this state of emergency of fact checking more than any other sources become that was meant to be the main source to reliable information about the war. Next to this, Amhara Television used Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, Amnesty International, Federal Police Commission, Prime Minister Office, journalists, eyewitnesses (victims) and other sources; these were the most frequent sources of information that Amhara Television used as news sources. Some of the story used source on the news report as below mentioned.

“On a regular basis the details information about the state of emergency will be made available to the public.” (ATV, November 4, 2020)

(The source of the story: Prime Minister Office)

“In order for peace to prevail, conditions can bring peace making for the situation.” (ATV, October 19, 2020)

(Source: Ambassador Redwan Husen the spokesman of State Emergency Fact Cheking)

Gitlin (1980) suggests that other sources than officials should be taken into consideration by the media; Shoemaker (1996) noted a heavy reporters’ reliance on official sources due to several factors, one of which is the convenience as well as the “regular flow of authoritative information”.

The selection of specific attributes of a story reflects the perspective of the source feeding specific frames of interpretation. Sources that are seen as more credible have power that is more persuasive on opinions (Norris, Kern and Just, 2003). In addition, De Vreese (2005) links frames to various sources journalists rely on, arguing, “framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue”.

Relatively Tigray Television used various sources of information on the news report. Tigray region president office, Tigray National Defense Force spokesperson were the dominant sources; they were used frequently in Tigray Television. In addition, different international media such as BBC, Reuters, The Guardian, Associated Press, Aljazeera, Bloomberg, The South Sudan Herald and others were used as sources of news stories for TTV to report the war. Moreover, the Eritrean, the Oromo and Tigray intelligentsia also were used as sources for the news stories.

“Anyone who comes to destroy peace and Tigray will be buried in the Tigray land.” (TTV November 05, 2020)

(Source attributed from Dr. Debre Zion Gebremichael, Chief Executive of the Tigray Region)

“For any attack on Tigray's existence will be retaliated against them.” (TTV November 14, 2020)

(Source: Ato Getachew Reda, spokesperson for the Tigray Central Command)

According to Cozma (2014) “source selection is ... a key component of the final news product, and using the same sources over time has important implications”. Based on the finding, both media outlets relied on local government communication office, media, interview, public, political parties, civil society, religious institutions, and international organizations like Amnesty international as news sources, but the way that they used to frame the news stories is different. It was observed that more than half of the stories relied on government officials.

The following stories were attributed on the news report from different source for the news report.

“They kidnapped and killed my husband, who had lived with me for 16 years.” (ATV, October 19, 2020)

(Source: Personal interview with W/ro Abeba Getu ‘Victm family’)

“Our special force and militia stands with the national defence force effectively implementing his defense action.” (ATV, November 6, 2020)

(The Story Attributed from Ato Gizachewu Muluneh, Director of Amhara Region Communication Office)

“The government of Abiy is a collection of individuals rather than being a system of formal government and we understand it is not the position of the government” (TTV, October 10, 2020)

(Source: Personal interview with Mekele university experts)

“We are deeply concerned by the arrest of more than 37000 citizens, mainly ethnic Tigreans live in AddisAbeba.” (TTV, October 13, 2020)

(Source: Bloomberg Television Network)

4.2 Findings of the Study

This study aimed to compare the framing of wartime crises on both selected media outlets, which used different framing, dominantly generic, on their news stories.

The first research question asked how the selected media outlets framed the war. The results revealed that five frames were used to frame the news stories related with the war to describe the content of the stories regarding the issue of the conflict between the federal government and TPLF during the study time. From these frames, conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality and peace frame were the represented frames that Amhara and Tigray Televisions used to frame the news stories. All of these frames belong toward the war news stories and both Media contributed to use particular stories in terms of those framing generics.

Based on the second research question, the source of information used by both media outlets on their news reports were identified within the study. Both media outlets used different sources for their news and both media prioritized a variety of sources by choosing the dominant sources of information. In addition, both media outlets used on their news stories of similar sources in different perspective.

The third research question asked, what were the dominant frames used by the two media outlets about the war? The result explained that the dominant frames used in the TTV were conflict frame. In contrast, ATV made significantly more room for the human-interest frame in their news stories. This frame was dominantly used by carrying a human face or an emotional viewpoint to maintain audience attention about the war. Both media outlets used most frequent frames including attribution of responsibility, morality and human interest frames in their news stories regarding the war.

The findings generally confirmed that the content and existence of news stories reported regarding war on ATV and TTV were characterized by racial hatemonger of either Amhara or Tigray ethnics during the war. During the war serious violations of rights including ethnically motivated killings, massacre and displacement were highly experienced in both Amhara and Tigray peoples. Both media outlets reports toward the crisis were create a racial hatemonger in both Amhara and Tigray ethnic groups.

4.2.1 Dominant Frames Used in the Selected Media Outlets

According to Baysha & Hallahan (2004), the dominant frame is the single main theme of a story, while secondary themes might be considered as supplementary ideas. Most often, the supplementary frame can give strength to the main frame. Stories could also have one dominant frame and several supplementary or secondary frames. Based on this, the researcher identified the dominant frame that was used in Amhara and Tigray Televisions to frame the wartime crisis on their news report during the selected timeframe.

The implication of the result indicates that Amhara and Tigray Televisions on their evening news employed dominant five different news frames during the wartime in their presented news. Those are conflict frame, human-interest frame, Attribution of responsibility frame, morality and Peace frame.

4.2.1.1 Conflict frame

In Tigray Television, conflict frame was the most prevalent in the news stories with more local angles, reflecting political differences with the federal government, disagreement with others and interest of conflict to defeat the enemy to ensure their sovereignty. Tigray Television, in their presentation of news, reported TPLF's claim that the attack was carried out in self-defense that was taken against the federal government army and Amhara special force. Due to this conflict frame was used dominantly in the Tigray Television to explain the conflict in terms of that are comprehensible, not just to the external audience but those affected by the conflict itself. The media must have the ability to operate freely and without threat and with the capacity to report on all aspects of the conflict.

Both media outlets presented the Tigray war on their news stories as conflict frame. On TTV's side, the dominance of the conflict frame relied significantly more heavily on conflict framing compared to ATV news stories report. The stories that were presented in TTV dealt with the war between the federal government and TDF was the issue of improving the sovereignty of Tigray. TTV presented that by focusing on the news stories that dealt all Tigray individuals connected and that supported the Tigray force. In Tigray Television, the major themes of the news stories were discussed in the conflict frame; the war that raised by the federal government, Amhara special force and militia targeted to induce ethnic based genocide on Tigriyan Civilians.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) wrote that media use conflict frame to express conflict or disagreement between individual and institution as a means of capturing audience attention. By this stand, all Tigray people supported the Tigray force to fight the federal government and Amhara special force to protect their ethnic line.

Tigray Television reported the conflict frame on the different news themes as the federal government was illegal because the legal years of incumbency were finished according to the Ethiopian constitution. Due to the pandemic of COVID 19, National Electoral Board postponed the 2020 election planned for 29, August. However, TPLF held regional election in Tigray and they earned themselves as legal government while federal government taken this as an illegal and unconstitutional government, so the regional Tigray government didn't accept any rule and motto that came from the federal government. Some Tigray elites extol their regional security forces' prowess as well as their loyalists' clout in the federal army and sow further suspicion and acrimony among Amhara politicians.

Amhara Television also framed the theme of news stories that reported the federal government declared a Law Enforcement Operation that allowed a measurement on Tigray force. The other news frame ATV used to discuss the war in the conflict frame reports about the TPLF wrongdoing with the past 27 years dealt with a terrorist action. ATV in the news report explained how security issues, freedom and national interest had been under question, due to TPLF's three-decade rule was characterized by egregious violation of human rights, corruption and self-enrichment, using national resource for individuals gained and showed behavior of dictatorial rule in the country. For this reason, for the past many years they killed civilians, violated human

right against those who were not in line with their ideology etc., which classified them in the terrorist group.

Conflict frame was the most dominant frame used on TTV, but ATV had given less attention for conflict frame in the coverage of the news stories. The total news stories framed as conflict frame by Tigray TV was near half of the news covered, whereas Amhara TV also used conflict frame in the fourth dominant frame in the news stories (See Appendix A, Table 1).

4.2.1.2 Human interest frame

This frame was used dominantly by carrying a human face or an emotional viewpoint to maintain audiences' attention about the war. Human-interest frame was the first dominant frame used by ATV. Tigray Television also used human-interest frame as the second dominant frame. (See Appendix A, Table 1).

ATV made significantly more room for the human-interest frame on their news stories. In terms of human-interest framing, ATV highlighted the feeling of the victims, victim families and other people affected by the war directly or indirectly as well as the people who were displaced from their home due to the fearing and suffering at the wartime.

ATV used more feelings that are personal in the news to show that the people were affected by the war and presented the news largely focusing on people who suffered and displaced from their homeland during the war. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) defined human-interest frame as presenting a story with human face to promote more aspects that are important.

In addition, some of the people also expressed their feelings by condemning the action that Tigray Force did on Ethiopia National Defense Forces Northern command, the Fifth Battalion barracks in Dansha and this action taken was betrayal of the country. TTV also framed the theme of the news stories dealing with the human feelings in its news. The news stories focused on the people expression of their views regarding the war to protect Tigray from any external force by working together sacrificing their lives.

Moreover, TTV presented the news stories describing the people's interest, as all of them were ready for everything to ensure the sovereignty of Tigray. On the news report, the people

expressed their emotion as they inherited victory from their heroic ancestors. The interviewees also explained in the history of Tigray, no one could violate the right and sovereignty of the Tigray people.

4.2.1.3 Attribution of responsibility frame

Even though both Amhara and Tigray Televisions used attribution of responsibility frame on their news stories, both media outlets showed variation in portraying the theme of the news. On this regard, attribution of responsibility was the third dominant frame for Tigray Television. In Amhara Television, this frame was the second dominant frame that was used on the news stories (Appendix A, Table 1).

Regarding the attribution of responsibility frame, Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) stated that certain parts of the society or government officials have the responsibility for an already happened incident or for any possible solution to mitigate a certain problem. Based on this, Amhara Television on their news report blamed the TPLF on the war whereas Tigray Television also blamed the federal government.

Both media outlets used this frame in similar content, but in different presentations. TTV framed the news stories theme as Tigray special force, Tigray national defense force and other security members defeated the federal government troops to assure the freedom and sovereignty of Tigray as a country. Moreover, the Tigray government took accountability to solve this conflict in short period of time by victory over the external force and that attempted to protect the freedom of Tigray people. A study by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) revealed that “the predominance of attribution of responsibility frame in media suggest the importance and potential influence of political culture and content on the framing of problem and topics in the news”.

The theme of news frame of attribution of responsibility discussed in ATV concerned on the federal government, Amhara special force and militia were responsible to find solution for the conflict with TPLF. All Amhara security members and the federal government took a serious action for the problem to find out the solution to ensure peace for all Amhara and Ethiopian people. The Ethiopia’s federal government promised by the law enforcement operation the war became an end once they had captured the criminal clique at the top of the TPLF.

4.2.1.4 Morality frame

Morality frame was the fourth dominant frame in Tigray Television whereas it is the fifth dominant frame for Amhara Television. In both media outlets morality frame has similarities of contents on the news stories presentation (Appendix A, Table 1).

In both media houses, the major theme of the news that discussed the morality frame was moral support by standing on the side of their national defense force and improves the social behaviors regarding the war. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), morality frame puts a certain event, issue or problem in the context of religious tenets or moral viewpoints, prescriptions; emphasizes collaboration and fellowship. Both selected media outlets framed the war by giving emphasis to the morality aspects.

While Tigray Television used morality frame on the theme of the news expressed the morality like stand with the Tigray national defense force, Tigray special force and militia by providing different materials such as money, food, medical equipment (medicine), cleaning material and by donating blood for the injured who fight in the battle. TTV used this frame to mobilize the people of Tigray, religious institutions, international organizations, Tigray diaspora, etc. to express their support for the Tigray special force by donating different inputs to initiate the moral of Tigray force and to show the people of Tigray who live in Tigray and in Europe and other places.

ATV also used morality frame in similar context with TTV. ATV used this frame on the news stories to describe the people of Amhara and others in solidarity with the Ethiopian national defense force, Amhara special force and militia to defeat TPLF. Therefore, ATV emphasized in their news theme showing solidarity with ENDF and supporting them in all circumstance such as working for the country's sovereignty. In this regard, the people of Amhara and other Ethiopians supported ENDF by donating money, food, medical equipment and blood donation; these were the main moral empowerment for the ENDF and Amhara Special Forces during the war.

In both selected media outlets, this frame presented in the news stories implies that the people tended to fellowship with their national defense force as moral fiber, responsible perspective to achieve victory over their enemy even in worse situation. In addition, both media outlets described the situation related in the aspect of national sovereignty of the country.

4.2.1.5 Peace frame

Peace frame was the third dominant frame used by Amhara Television on their news stories. In contrast, TTV ignored peace frame in the news report during the selected time interval; it means peace frame was not used in the news stories on their report. (See Appendix A, Table 1).

For instance, ATV reported some stories as peace frame when the Ethiopian federal government took over to end operations declared following the victory, after its troops captured Mekelle and the TPLF leadership fled to the surrounding mountains. During the war, thousands of Amhara and Tigray regions' people displaced from their home and refuged to neighbor countries. When the federal government announced its victory over TPLF, both regions' societies returned to their homeland and resettled.

According to Galtung (1998), peace journalism suggests an advocacy and interpretive role for the media, with peace orientation, people orientation, truth orientation, and solution orientation. ATV in its news stories showed the public intention the importance of peace and its role for the people of the two regions, peace is the key of life for living in suitable area. ATV reported the main theme news of peace frame to describe the people of Amhara and Tigray started living in peace after the government announced the ending the war. The people started their day-to-day activities by opening school, market area, bank and transport service to serve the society and etc.

However, during the time interval of November 04, 2020 and December 03, 2020 Tigray Television totally ignored presenting the news stories in peace frame. When the federal government declared the victory, some of TPLF leaders who owned Tigray Television were arrested and killed by the law enforcement operation and some of them were forced to move to the mountains around Tigray area. The finding indicates that peace frame was used only in the Amhara Television; however, Tigray Television was sparser or ignored peace frame on their news report.

4.3 Discussion of Key Findings

By focusing on the framing of the war news, this study aimed to make a comparative analysis on two selected media outlets (Tigray and Amhara Televisions) on how they framed the news stories on their prime time in a given time frame. The results of the study in general suggest that conflict frame and human-interest frame dominated in Tigray and Amhara Televisions, respectively. Information that the media outlets used as a source also important indicator of how the war news was framed toward an issue to report the news related with the war. The researcher has identified the selected media outlets largely tried to frame the war news stories through the principle of war journalism.

More importantly, the two media outlets are different in predicting the outcome of the conflict. Amhara Television stated that the outcome of the conflict would have determined all Ethiopians identity and unity. Therefore, the war comes to a quick end and all Ethiopians reunited. In contrast, Tigray Television predicted that the conflict would have the consequence of dividing Tigray from Ethiopia. In this regard, the war may determine the sovereignty of Tigray as a country. In this context both media outlets are primarily driven by warring parties as propaganda that exists in war journalism, which is against the ideals of journalism as profession.

According to Ottosen & Övrebo (2016), propaganda strategies are characterized by repeating favorable buzzwords, blaming the opponent by vilifying him/her, focusing attention away from one's own mistakes and/or deficiencies, selectively reporting information and reporting incorrect information. This significantly influence both selected media outlets devoted to the involvement of conflict reporting in explaining the factors of war propaganda on their media.

In war journalism, conflict reporting in objective way is the value of fairness, which is extremely important. It is the ethics of restraining your own biases, which is also important. It is the idea that journalism cannot be the voice of any particular party or sect (Rosen 1994). In this regard, the media reports the true face of the war stories to avoid becoming a mouthpiece for particular parties. However, this practice seems like difficult and dangers of war journalism to fulfill in the media outlets, because most of the time media's attempts for propaganda manipulators for the arming parties on their media coverage.

All news stories reporting in the ATV and TTV framed in their content of the war message including conflict, human interest, morality, attribution of responsibility and peace frame. Framing theory was employed as the theoretical framework for the study and used to identify the news stories how selected media outlets framed the story of wartime crises. It helps to contextualize the stories by frame the news content that create clear understanding for the audience about the news related with war. Whereas agenda-setting theory implies on the study, it draw the public's eye on the war to comprehend the information on salience topic as the public agenda or public issues.

In this study, Tigray and Amhara Televisions have gave coverage dominantly for the war on their prime time news presentation. In the content of the war, the number of news stories that were presented in both selected media outlets gave the implication of ethnic clashes of Amhara and Tigray People. The output becomes the cause for the massacres of ethnic based genocide and massive displacement of people from homelands to other border areas. Due to this reason, hundreds of civilian Amhara people were killed by the Tigray force during the war. Thousands of Amhara and Tigray civilians also refuged to Sudan and other neighboring countries.

The researcher argued that on behalf of the journalistic profession of war journalism principle, the media should take responsibility in reporting of the news in order to minimizing crises and harms rather than reporting with a role of war propaganda. However, both selected media outlets presented the war news stories by giving ethnification implication on the conflict. This kind of reporting has created potent emotional effects in both regional peoples in negative aspects including antagonism, revenge, resentment and it may destroy the longtime relationship of the peoples in both regions.

The sorts of self-critical accounts are also important to the media's professional consciousness. It is a matter of reflecting on the relationship between professional ideals and practical results; that is to say, on the extent to which one succeeds in living up to the professional standards expressed in ethical ideals and norms (Hjarvard, 2001). In the aspect of media professionalism, the researcher pointed out that both Tigray and Amhara Television have to expose the war news to the public/audience in the condition of war journalism principle that create important significance in avoidance of crises and other related damages in both regions. This includes

reporting critical attitude, complete information and the true face of information that helps to decrease degree of crises in the conflict.

In the media frames, news sources are essential for the news reporting become reliable. According to Shoemaker (1996), journalistic norms dictate that reporters must rely on external suppliers of raw material, whether speeches, interviews, corporate reports, or government hearings. The sources used in the war news stories in selected media outlets determine the framing of the story of the war in the news presentation. Based on this, Amhara Television relied more on state emergency of fact checking that emerged during the wartime as neutral body.

ATV used this fact checking more than any other sources. Next to this, the sources that were used in the news found from state government officials, interview (includes victims, victim families, residents), public demonstrations and events related with the war, academic scholars (experts), political parties and various sources of information used in ATV. In addition, ATV used journalists of the station as the major sources; they provide news reports from the war areas in different time. Tigray Television also used various sources of information for the news presentation. The news source came from Tigray region president office and Tigray National Defense Force spokesperson who was the dominant news sources used by TTV.

The discussion of the study relied on framing theory to analyze how the war in Tigray was framed during wartime by the selected media outlets. Shehat (2015) cited Entman's idea to express what framing theory means as arguments journalists emphasizes, which sources may express themselves, how the words used are charged, the facts used and the journalistic approach. In this description of the theory, Amhara and Tigray Televisions used framing generic on their news stories to report the war while both media used various sources to report and provide interpretation of war news stories to create understanding for their audiences regarding the war.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATIONS

In this section, conclusion of the study was presented and followed by some possible recommendations of the summary.

5.1. Summary

This study was conducted to make a comparative framing analysis of wartime crises in Tigray and Amhara Televisions' prime time news. The study focused on a general and specific objective, to answer the research question. In the study, qualitative research approach was employed to conduct the study and it helped to make interpretation on the war news that was framed on Amhara and Tigray Televisions. Qualitative content analysis was employed to analyze and interpret the framing of war news stories reported in the selected media. The data was collected from websites of ATV and TTV news archives. The findings of the analysis showed that both selected media outlets employed different types of framing for the wartime crises reports on their news stories. Entman (1993) developed these types of frames and the researcher used them to frame the war news stories as conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality and peace frame. Tigray Television used four dominant frames. However, TTV ignored peace frame in their news report. Whereas Amhara Television used all frames dominantly in their war news reports.

For Tigray Television, conflict frame was the first dominant frame that was used in the news reports. Human-interest frame was the first dominant frame used by Amhara Television whereas TTV used human-interest frame as the second dominant frame in their news reports. Amhara Television, in its news reports, used attribution of responsibility as the second dominant frame. Tigray Television used attribution of responsibility as the third dominant frame on the news stories. For Amhara Television morality frame was the fifth dominant frame used in the news stories whereas TTV used morality frame as the fourth dominant frame. For Amhara Television, peace frame was the third dominant frame used in the news stories. However, TTV ignored this frame in its news reporting.

5.2. Conclusion

This study intended to compare media frames, how Tigray and Amhara Television was framed the wartime crisis on their prime time news report. It was cross sectional study that should allow reorganizing the methodology. It employed framing theory in developing the research framework, to identify the frame in news stories related with the war content that held between federal government troops and Tigray force. The result of the finding confirm that both selected media outlets were framed the war time news by using framing types to show the dominant frame that reported on the news stories at the selected time period.

This research contributed to the relevant literature from different perspectives. First, this research analysis media framing of wartime crisis by comparing Amhara and Tigray Television on their prime times news reports. Second, this study advanced the finding by applicability of framing theory on the behalf of framing generics such as conflict, attribution of responsibility, human interest, morality and peace frame for the study. Each frame was used as a dominant frame in both selected media outlets by gave priority.

Moreover, performing comparative studies on war conflicts such as the Tigray crisis, may be beneficial not only to the scientific pull of knowledge, but may also be a means of decreasing subjectivity and ideological stereotypes of both readers and journalists. Showing discrepancies in story frames on the same issue may help in explaining how various factors, such as different ideological, cultural, and professional contexts may decrease objectivity and thus reinforce stereotypes and limited perceptions toward particular political, social, or cultural groups to a wider audience.

The research on the crossroads of different ideological, cultural, and professional attitudes is a way to compare the attitudes and to explain why such attitudes exist, what logic is inherent to them. Comparative studies in war crisis on both Amhara and Tigray Televisions are mirrors of a contemporary, multifaceted the society, others, and it help to bring awareness and understanding of the same events from multiple perspectives regarding the war.

Implications

The study shows that wartime crisis framing dominated, following the trends reviewed in the literature and it focusing on the war that held between federal government and TPLF by compared two state owned media (Amhara and Tigray Television). By comparing the prime

time news of two major media outlets on their regions respectively, it helps advance our understanding of the framing theory in national level and explain how they framed the war time crisis. While both Amhara and Tigray Television focused on Human interest frame and conflict frame respectively, and news sourcing patterns varied significantly on the study.

As Hallin & Mancini (2004) pointed out, “comparative analysis is valuable in social investigation, because it sensitizes us to variation and to similarity, and this can contribute powerfully to concept formation and to the refinement of our conceptual apparatus”. The Tigray crisis involved many community, individuals and others those who live in Tigray and Amhara regions; and number of peoples were displaced from their homeland due to the crises of the war. It is important to understand how the war affects once country social, economic, political and normal life style of the society. In addition, war affects the media and influences media content that challenge the profession.

5.3. Recommendations

Based on the findings and the conclusions, the researcher tried to provide some suggestions for the selected media outlets as recommendations as follows:

- ◆ The idea of fair journalism in the representation of the story on the media cannot be the voice of any particular party or sect. Potter (2006) explains reporting all significant viewpoints in a way that is fair to those involved and that presents a complete and honest picture to the audience. Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) also stated that three convention (a bias in favor of official sources, a bias in favor of event over process and a bias in favor of ‘dualism’ in reporting conflicts) of objective reporting in natural drift to predisposed toward war journalism.
 - In this regard, both Amhara and Tigray Televisions reported the news during the wartime by reflecting the ideology, thought and interest of specific parties, people and others in their news stories/reports. Moreover, both Amhara and Tigray Televisions did not apply the conventional objectivity of conflict reporting.
 - Therefore, journalists of both media outlets should struggle to strike a balance between an objective and fair representation deprived of explicit personal opinion by practicing the value of journalism; fairness, being free from biases and become the

voice for voiceless on their news report. Due to this, Amhara and Tigray Televisions should try to report the war news in objective way of reporting in war journalism manners.

- Amhara and Tigray Televisions' journalists should be loyal for the profession of journalism principle rather than working for the particular group interest by searching for contrasting views and report them without taking one side or another. In addition, at the time of war reporting, they should not become subjective for their ethnic groups.
- ◆ In Tigray Television, some of the news stories lacked clear report and did not portray the conflict. In this regard, TTV have to report the conflict in responsible and honest way for the audience by working in the ethics of journalism.
- ◆ Tigray Television on the new report ignored (gave zero frame of news) for the peace frame on the war news stories, and conflict frame was dominantly used in the news stories. Accordingly, TTV should use peace frame in the news of war reporting rather than ignoring.
- ◆ The sources TTV used in the news report focused on one party's interest. The sources should include different ideas that help the journalist to cross check the source. Due to this, both selected media should use multiple sources of information to find out the right information.
- ◆ Both selected media must report the news in ethical and professional standard in factual and non-biased way, and without contributing to conflict because of the sensitivity of conflict reporting. Journalists do original reporting being able to differentiate between fact, opinion, and rumour.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix A

Table1: Measurement of news stories as dominant frames used in data presentation.

No	Type of frame	Amhara Television		Tigray Television		Remark
		Number of News stories	Rank	Number of news stories	Rank	
1	Conflict Frame	8	Fourth	20	First	
2	Attribution of Responsibility	12	Second	13	Third	
3	Human Interest Frame	14	First	15	Second	
4	Morality Frame	7	Fifth	8	Fourth	
5	Peace Frame	11	Third	0	Fifth	
	Total	52		56		

Note: *The ranking of the news stories were made based on the number of new frames that reported on the selected media outlet from the most dominant to the least news frame.*

Appendix B

Definitions term for the type of frames used to analyze the story;

- **Conflict frame:** It also shows clearly the decision that made to start the conflict and the issues also grabs the interest of both counties people to involve on the war.
- **Human interest frame:** it presents the human feeling, sadness (including victims and their families) how the war affect them in their life.
- **Attribution of responsibility frame:** Social problems and issues usually involve a question of causes and responsibility such as who is blamed or credited for events (Hallahan, 1999).
- **Morality frame:** this frames reports in the news stories the people often to do moralize collaboration and the stories give emphasis on the moral fellowship with two parties as moral inference on the war.
- **Peace frame:** in the news stories peace frame elaborated as the war was over and the two regions began living in peace together. The story indicates that in the area of two regions there is no war at all.
- **Source of information:** it implies the information that used as a source in the war news stories.
- **Type of media:** refers the selected media station those give emphasis on the Tigray war on their news reported for the audience.
- **Frame:** is the practice of thinking about news items and story content within familiar context.
- **Fano:** a group of organized Amhara youngest those who struggle for their country.
- **Sammri:** a group of people those who organized by the TPLF to kill others based on their ethnics.
- **Junta:** a military or illegal government that has tried to take the power by force in once country.

Appendix C

The Tigrigna version of TTV news samples used in the text.

ህዝቢ ትግራይ ካብ ዝንተኣለት ከሚፈልጦዉ ሁለጊዜ በቁልፁሙ ሽምበር ማንም ዝመፅሁ ስርሃታት ብፀጋ ካብዚጋ ወይም ደግሞ ሽህደ ኢትዮጵያዊ ህዝቢ ፅቡቅና ግብሩዊ ኮነን መዓዊ ዓርክትና መርዊ መስኦቲ ንምክፋልዮ :: (ትቲቪ 25፣02፣2013 ዓ.ም)

ኣነይ ናኣይለይ ዝግጁየ፣ ማንም በትግራይ ህዝቢ መግኸንይ፣ በሀገራ ህዝቢ መግኸንይ ዝግጁየ፣ ኩሉ ነገር ዝትመገየ ዝመከት ማለትዮ። (ትቲቪ 26፣02፣2013 ዓ.ም)

ግንባረይ ኹቁኸለነይ፣ ላዓላማይ፣ ላይህዝቢዬ ማለትዮ ለኣደይ፣ ለመሰልይ ደረተይ የቁኸምበይ ኸክህምበይ ኹቃኸይ፣ ህዝቢ ትግራይ ኹኸባኸይ ደረቱ ኸሉቓ፣ ስለዚህ ምንም ነኣጠራጠራይ ነገር የለይሙ ንኣወቲና ተሸነፍቲና። (ትቲቪ 04፣03፣2013 ዓ.ም)

በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ የተቃጠውን የዘር ማጥፋት ጦርነት ለመመከት የትግራይ ሚሊሻ ህይሉ በትጋና በቁርጠኝነት እየሰሩ እንዳለ በግንባሩ የሚገኙ ሚሊሻዎች ተናገሩ። ኣያይዘውም የህዝቡ ተሳትፎና ደጀንነት ለድሉ ትልቅ ኣስተወፅኦ እንዳለው ገልፀዋል። (ትቲቪ 24/03/13 ዓ.ም)

ፀረ-ህዝቢን ዘህጋውን ጉጅለ ኣብይ ኣህምድ ኣብ ልዕለ ህዝቢ ትግራይ ዘኣወጀም ኹናትን ምፍሻል በተኸንቀቀ ሰላም ከባቢዮም ህልወዘምሆሎ ዝኸብተላለዮም ኣካላት ፀጥታ ገሎዖም። (ትቲቪ 28/02/13 ዓ.ም)

ጉጅለ ብልፅግና ትግራይ ንምበርካክ ዝገብር ዘሎ ጻዕሪ ብወዳበኦም ከምዝምክትዎ ኣባላት ምልሻ ገሊዖመም። (ትቲቪ 25፣02፣2013 ዓ.ም)

ምልሻ ትግራይ ህዝብ ትግራይን ምብራስት ታኸንዲደም ትመዓኸም ፋሽሽታዊያን ስርኣት ኣብይን መሻረፍትን ምኸቅባር ኣብ ግምባርን ኣብ ደጀንን ብዝኣብሎን ሕራንን ኸቃለሰሎን፣ ፀጥታ ከባቢዎን ኣብ ምእላው ዘረኸብናዮም ኣባላት ምልሻ እዚ ኣብልእልና ዝካኤድ ዘሎ ዘሪ ናብ መጥፋት ኩኹናት ለመመከት ኩለ መዳይ ቃልሲ ናካይዳለ ኣሉ። (ትቲቪ 08፣03፣2013 ዓ.ም)

እቲ ዝመፁ ዘሎ ፀላሂ ካብ ኢሳያስንና ካብ ብልፅግና ተጠማሚርው ዝመፁዘሎ ኣክሸቢቲ ሕፃናት ጥጉሳት ሕዴታት ታይቀርዮ መሸላ እንደቆረፁ፣ ናይተ ህዝቢ ንብረቲ እንዳይዞረፉ ዝዎስዱ ስለዘለዉ እዚ መነሻ ኣርጌና እንደገና በዘኸራን እዚ ነትዘሉእ ፀላሂ መኪትና ለመኻድ እዙንትሆነይ ኣብ ድሉ ኣረጋጊፅና፣ ቀፃሊዮን እዚ ኣሸኒፍና ኸምንሰራ ምንም ጥርጥር ዘሎየን ነገር ኣይኮና ኣሉ ጅግና ሰራዊት ምክልኻል ትግራይ (ትቲቪ 13፣03፣2013 ዓ.ም)

ሰላም ረጊያም ዝመፁ ሓይላታት ጥፍኣት ትግራይ መቐበሪቶም ከመእትኸውን ርዕሰ ምምእዳር ትግራይ ዶክተርደብረሂሆን ገሊያም። (ትቲቪ 26፣02፣13 ዓ.ም)

ፀላቲና ዞኹንዱሩ ኮኸንን መሬት ትግራይ ዝቐበራሉዩ፣ ታይማኣል ከመይ ሶኸልትማይ ናይከንገብረሊዮም፣ ታይምልክትእሰ እዚ በትን በትን መፅሎ ወራሪ ዘኸምሸሺ ናይስተዎስነ ጊዜ ጉዳይ እኸይኑ ኸንቀብሮሚና ካምሆነ ርዕሰ ምምእዳር ትግራይ ዶክተር ደብረሂሆን ኣቢሮም። (ትቲቪ 04፣03፣2013 ዓ.ም)

ሓይለ ምክልኻል ትግራይ ኣብ ልዕሊ ትግራይ ንዝፍፀሙ ማጥቓኽታት በእጥፊ ስጉምቲ ከምዝውሰድ ብዘፍልጦም ምሠረት ኣብ ባህርዳርን ጎንደርን ወታደራዊ ቦታታትን ማጥቓኽቲ ሚሳኤል ከምዝተፈፀመ ውኣብ ቃል ሴንትራል ኮማንድ ትግራይ ኣይተ ጌታቸው ረዳ ኣፍሊፆም። ኣብ ልዕሊ ትግራይ ንዝፍፀም ዝኹነኹም ማጥቓኽቲ በቀፃሊ ኣፀፋዊ ስጉምቲ ከምዝወሰዱኹም ገሊያም። (ትቲቪ 05፣03፣2013 ዓ.ም)

ማሕበር ፀጋ ጥዕላ ውልቀ ትካላት ትግራይብልዕሊ ፍርቲ ምልዮን ብር ዝትፃደጉ መድሓኒትን ናውቲ ሕክምናን ሓጊዛ። (ትቲቪ 05፣03፣2013 ዓ.ም)

ኣባላት ማስ ስፖርት ጋንታ ኸውነት ፋሽሽታዊ ጉጅለ ብልፅግና እልውና ትግራይን ንምጥፋ ዝዎሎዎ ኣዋጅኩናት ልምምካት ኣብ ግንባር ይቐጥሱ ዛሎዉ ኣባላት ሠራዊት ትግራይ ድጀን ለመሆን ደም ልገሳ ኣካሂዶም። (ትቲቪ 03፣03፣2013 ዓ.ም)

Appendix D

The Amharic version of Amhara TV news samples used in the text.

የተቃጣብን ጥቃት ሁሉም የአማራ ህዝብ ለመከላከል ዝግጁ መሆን አለበት። ልዩ ሀይላችን ፤ አጠቃላይ ፀጥታ ሀይላችን የምልሻ ዐይላችን፤ መደበኛ ፖሊስ ሁሉም በያለበት አካባቢውን እየጠበቀ፤ ነገር ግን የተሰጠውን ትዕዛዝ መሰረት በማድረግ ተንቀሳቅሶ ይህንን ጥቃት ለመመከት ከዛሬ ጀምሮ ታዘኗል። ዞሮ ዞሮ ይህንን የሚመራ ኮማንድ ፖስት ስላለ፤ በኮማንድ ፖስቱ በሚኖር ስምሪት በየትኛውም አካባቢ ላይ የሚደርስ ጥቃት ለመከላከል የሚያስችል ቁመና አለን፤ ይህንን አቅም አቀናጅተን ጠላታችንን ለአንዴ እና ለመጨረሻ ጊዜ ለመደምሰስ እንሰራለን።

(አቲቪ ጥቅምት 25 ፣ 2013 ዓ.ም)

የኢ.ፌ.ዲ.ሪ መከላከያ ሰራዊት፤ የአማራ ክልል ልዩ ሀይል እና ሚሊሻ በዘራፊው ቡድን ትህነግ ላይ ህግን የማስከበር እርምጃ በመውሰድ ላይ ይገኛል። እየተወሰደ ባለው ህግን የማስከበር እርምጃ በሁመራ ግንባር ህወሃት እየተጠቀመባቸው የነበሩ በርካታ ምሽጎችና ካምፖች እንዲወድሙ ተደርጓል።

(አቲቪ ጥቅምት 29 ፣ 2013 ዓ.ም)

ወገኑ ወገኔ ነው ኢትዮጵያ ነኝ ብሎ ለኢትዮጵያዊያን ሰላም ሲል ሌት-ተቀን እየተጋ ያለውን መከላከያ ላይ ራስ በራስ ጥቃት መፈፀም ወደፊትም ይደረጋል ተብሎ አይታሰብም። ከዚህ በፊትም በታሪክ አጋጣሚ እንደዚህ አይነት ወገን በወገኑ ያወጡ ደግሞ ዘብ ለቆመለት መከላከያ ሀይል እንዲ ዐይነት ዘግናኝ ድርጊት እና ጭፍጨፋ ማካሄድ የመጀመሪያ ስለሆነ በእጅጉ ያሳዘናል።

(አቲቪ ጥቅምት 28 ፣ 2013 ዓ.ም)

ጥልቅ ሀዘን ነው የተሰማኝ፤ በወገናችን ላይ የደረሰው ጭፍጨፋና ግፋዊ ስቃይ በጣም ከባድ ነው፤ በጣም አስቀያሚና ነውር ስራ ነው የተሰራው፤ አሁንም ቢሆን የፌደራል መንግስት ይህን ጉዳይ እስከመጨረሻው ሊከታተልን ይገባል።

(አቲቪ ህዳር 05 ፣ 2013 ዓ.ም)

በማይካድራ በተፈፀመው አስቃቂ የዘር ማጥፋት ወንጀል ክፉኛ ማዘናቸውን የደብረብርሃን ነዋሪዎች ተናገሩ።

ማይካድራ ላይ የተፈፀመው አስነዋሪ ድርጊት ማንም ሰው ሰው በመሆኑ ብቻ ሊፈፀምበት የማይገባ እጅግ ዘግናኝ ሰብዐዊነት ያልተሞላበት በወገኖቻችን ላይ የተፈፀመውን ድርጊት ከሰማው ቀን ጀምሮ እንደ አንድ ዜጋ አዝኛለሁ።

(አቲቪ ህዳር 1 ፣ 2013 ዓ.ም)

የክልላችን ብሎም የአገራችን ህዝብ የሰጠንን ተልዕኮ ፤ ሂደት ግዳጅን ተወጦ ብሎ ብቻ ሳይሆን ከሃላ ሆኖ የተለያዩ ሎጀስቲኮችን በማቅረብ ለድል እንድንዘጋጅ አስፈላጊውን ግብአት እያቀረበ ይገኛል። ይህንን ግዳጅ በአጭር ጊዜ ውስጥ ተወተን ለክልላችንም ሆነ ለህዝባችን ትልቅ ብስራት የምናበስር መሆናችንን እንገልጻለን። **(አቲቪ ህዳር 04 ፣ 2013 ዓ.ም)**

ህገወጡን የህውሃት ቡድን በመደምሰስ የህዝቡን ሰላምና ነፃነት ለማረጋገጥ ትግላቸውን ከግብ እንደሚያደርሱ የሰራዊት አባላት ተናገሩ።

--- በሀገራችን በኢትዮጵያ ሉአላዊነት ስለመጣ ከሀገራችን፣ ከህዝባችንና ከመከላከያ ሰራዊት ጎን በመሆን ይህን ጅንታ በማስወገድና ሀገራችንን ሰላም ለማድረግ ወደፊትም በዝግጁነት ጠንክረን እንቀጥላለን። **(አቲቪ ህዳር 08 ፣ 2013 ዓ.ም)**

-ሊገጥም የሚችለውን የደም እጥረት ለመቅረፍ የደብረ-ታቦር ከተማ ወጣቶችና ነዋሪዎች ደም እየለገሱ ነው። ወጣቶቹ በቅርቡ በትህነግ ከሃዲ ዘራፊ ቡድን በመከላከያ ሰራዊት በሰሜን ዕዝ ላይ ጥቃት ማድረሱን ተከትሎ የህይወት መስዋትነት እየከፈሉ ለሚገኙ ልዩ ሀይልና መከላከያ ሰራዊት የደም እጥረት እንዳይገጥም ነው ብለዋል።

(አቲቪ ጥቅምት 28 ፣ 2013 ዓ.ም)

ደማቸውንና ድጋፋቸውን በመስጠት ህግን ከሚያሰከብሩ የፀጥታ አባላት ጎን እንደሚቆሙ የአማራ ግብርና ምርምር ኢንስቲትዩት ሰራተኞች አስታወቁ።

---የመጣውን ለውጥ ተከትሎ ግብዓተ መሬቱ እየተቃረበ ስለሆነ ደሜን ለመከላከያ በሚል ነው ደሜን ለመስጠት ያሰብኩትና እስከ መጨረሻው ሀገራችን ሰላም እስክትሆን ድረስ ባለኝ አቅምና በምችለው ሁሉ መደገፍ እፈልጋለሁ።

(አቲቪ ህዳር 09፣ 2013 ዓ.ም)

እዚህ የተሰበሰብነው የደሃ ልጆች ነን ድህነቱ ያልፍልኛል ብሎ እናት እና አባቱን አስቀምጦ የመጣ ነው እንጂ እዚህ ያሉ ልጆች ከመከላከያ ጋር ሊጣሉ ወይም ከማንም ብሄር ጋር ሊጣሉ አይደለም የመጡት። ያልፍልኛል ብሎ ብር ተቀብሎ እናትና አባታቸውን ሊረዱ ነው የመጡት። ህይወታቸው ያለፈ ይበቃል ያሉ ግን በሰላም እጃቸውን እንዲሰጡ ነው የምንመክራው።

(አቲቪ ጥቅምት 30፣ 2013 ዓ.ም)

መንግስት እየወሰደ ባለው የህግ የማስከበር እርምጃ የአካባቢ ነዋሪዎች በስጋት አካባቢያቸውን እየለቀቁ እየወጡ እንደነበር የሚታወስ ነው፤ ነገር ግን መከላከያ ሰራዊት አካባቢውን ከተቆጣጠረ ቦሃላ ነዋሪዎቹ ወደ መደበኛ ኑሮአቸው እየተመለሱ ይገኛሉ፤ መከላከያ ሰራዊትም በአካባቢው እየተገኘ ነዋሪዎቹ ወደ መደበኛ ሂወታቸው እንዲመለሱ እያበረታታ ይገኛል፤ የተለያዩ ድጋፎችም እያደረገ ነው የሚገኘው።

(አቲቪ ህዳር 22፣ 2013 ዓ.ም)

የሰላም ሁኔታው እንደሚታየው ነው፤ ሰውም ሆነ ከተማው ወደ እንቅስቃሴ ተመልሟል፤ እንቅስቃሴው ጥሩ ነው፤ ስራም እየተከፈተ ነው። እኛም ወደ ቤተ ክርስቲያን ለመሄድ ነው የወጣነው እና እንደሚታየው ሰውም እየተንቀሳቀሰ ነው ያለውና ሰላም ነው። መከላከያ ከገባ ቦሃላ ያለ ስጋት እንቅስቃሴ እያደረገን ነው። የመቀሌ ከተማ **(አቲቪ ህዳር 24, 2013 ዓ.ም)**

መንግስት ደርሶ ሁሉም ተረጋግቶ ሆቴል ተከፍቶ በጥሩ ዜና ነው ያለነው ሁሉም ሰላም ነው። **(አቲቪ ህዳር 01, 2013 ዓ.ም)**

አሁን ሰላም ነው፤ ነፃ ባወጣናቸው መሬቶች ላይ ወይም ደግሞ ፅንፈኛው ቡድን ተቆጣጥሮ የነበረውን ቦታዎች ተቆጣጥረን በኛ ስር ነው ያሉት። ለዛ አካባቢ ሰላም ለማስፈን ብለን ልዩ ሀይሉም፤ ሚሊሻውም፤ ህዝቡም እኛም ሆንን እየሰራን ነው ያለነው።

(አቲቪ ህዳር 15, 2013 ዓ.ም)

Appendix E

The Amharic and Tigrigna version of news of source used in the text on both selected media outlets.

የአስቸኳይ ጊዜ አዋጁን አስመልክቶ ዝርዝር መረጃዎች በየጊዜው ለህዝቡ የሚደርሱ ይሆናል። (አቲቪ, ጥቅምት 26, 2013) (ምንጭ: የጠቅላይ ሚኒስቴር ቢሮ)

ሠላም እንዲሆን ሠላም ሊያመጣ የሚችል ቅድመ ሁኔታ መደረግ አለበት። (አቲቪ, ህዳር 19, 2013)

(ምንጭ: አምባሳደር ፊደዋን ሁሴን የጊዜያዊ መረጃ ማጣሪያ ቃል አቀባይ)

ከኔ ጋር ለ16 ዓመት የኖረውን ባለቤቴን አፍነው ገድለውብኛል። (አቲቪ, ህዳር 19, 2013)

(ምንጭ: ከተጎጂ ቤተሰብ ወ/ሮ አበባ ጌቱ ጋር የተደረገ ቃለመጠይቅ)

ልዩ ሀይላችን እና ሚልሻችን ከመከላከያ ጎን ሆኖ የመከላከል ስራውን በድል እየፈፀመ ይገኛል። (አቲቪ, ህዳር 6, 2013) (ምንጭ: አቶ ግዛቸው ሙሉነህ, የአማራ ክልል ኮሙኒኬሽን ቢሮ ዳይሬክተር)

ሰላም ረገዳም ዝመፁ ሓይላታት ጥፍኣት ትግራይ መቸበሪቶም። (አቲቪ, ህዳር 05, 2013)

(ምንጭ: ዶር. ደብረኒሆን ገብረሚካኤል, የትግራይ ክልል ርዕሰ መስተዳድር)

ኣብ ልዕለ ትግራይ ንዝፍፀም ዝኹነኹም ማጥቓቲ በቀባሊ ኣፀፋዊ ስጉምቲ ከምዝወሰዱኹም ገሊጾም። (አቲቪ, ህዳር 14, 2013)

(ምንጭ: አቶ ጌታቸው ረዳ, የትግራይ ማዕከላዊ ኮሚቴ ቃል አቀባይ)

የኣብይ ስርዓት መንግስቲ ናይ ዝመኹን ዝሸክም ካይምሆን ናይ መንግስቲ ቁመና ሳይሆን ናይ ግለሰቢ ስብስብ መኻኑ ዝረከብካ። (አቲቪ, ህዳር 10, 2013)

(ምንጭ: ከመቀሌ ዩኒቨርስቲ ምሁራን ጋር የተደረገ ቃለመጠይቅ)

ኣብ ኣዲስአበባ ጥራይ ልዕለ 37000 ተጋሩ በማንነቶም ጥራይ ናይብልት ታሰሮም ኣት ተኣሳሲቦም መሆኑ ተገሊጾም። (ትቲቪ, ህዳር 13, 2013)

(ምንጭ: ብሉምበርግ ቴሌቭዥን ጣቢያ)