

**International
Institute of
Social Studies**



Analyzing the Media Framing of Armed Conflict- Induced Food crisis in Tigray, Ethiopia

A Research Paper presented by:

Tigist GeberMariam Yohannes

Ethiopia

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Social Justice Perspective

SJP

Human Rights, Gender, and Conflict Studies

Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Jeff Handmaker – Supervisor

Prof. Wil Hout – Second Reader

The Hague, The Netherlands

November 2022

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

International Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460
e: info@iss.nl
w: www.iss.nl
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>
twitter: [@issnl](https://twitter.com/issnl)

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this research paper to my late father Gebermariam Yohannes and the people of Tigray, who are currently suffering due to the ongoing armed conflict and humanitarian crises.

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I want to give gratitude to God, for guiding me in this journey. then I would like to express gratitude to my research supervisor, Dr. Jeff Handmaker and my second reader Prof. Wil Hout. I'd also want to express my gratitude to the International Institute of Social Studies for offering any support I needed and my friends who have supported me throughout my journey in ISS.

And most importantly; I would like to thank my mom Abeba G/Tsadik, and my sister Hiwot G/Mariam for their support.

Table of Contents

LIST OF FIGURES	VI
LIST OF ACRONYMS	VII
ABSTRACT	VIII
RELEVANCE TO DEVELOPMENT STUDIES	VIII
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 BACKGROUND	1
<i>A humanitarian crisis that is being ignored</i>	1
1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT	2
1.2.1 Humanitarian crisis the result of extreme brutality	2
1.2.2 Alleged Forced Starvation in Tigray Province	2
1.2.3 Humanitarian crises and the Role of the International Media	3
1.3 RELEVANCE AND JUSTIFICATION	4
1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE	4
1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION	4
1.6 POSITIONALITY AND OTHER ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	5
1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH	5
1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH PAPER	6
CHAPTER 2 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: ARMED CONFLICT AND MEDIA FRAMING	7
2.1 MEDIA'S IMPACT ON THE PUBLIC OPINION	7
2.2 MEDIA FRAMING	7
2.3 MEDIA ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK	8
2.3.1 Framing Theory	8
2.3.2 Galtung's model	10
2.4 CONTEXT	12
CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	15
3.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF DATA	15
3.1.1 Research methodology	15
3.1.2 Sources	15
3.1.3 Parameters	17
3.2 ANALYTICAL TOOLS	18
3.2.1 Qualitative content analysis	18
CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS	20
4.1 GENERAL FRAMING OF THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN TIGRAY	20
4.1.1 General Framing of the Guardian and AP Articles	20
4.2 FRAMING OF FOOD CRISIS	28
4.2.1 Dominant Framing within The Guardian Media	28
4.2.2 Dominant Framing within Associated press	33
4.3 THE INFLUENCE OF UN ON THE MEDIA FRAMING	38
4.3.1 UN Framing of Tigray food crisis	38
4.3.2 The Difference Between the UN Framing the Guardian And AP	39
4.3.3 Evaluating UN influence on the media framing of Tigray food crisis	39
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION	42
BIBLIOGRAPHY	45

List of Figures

Figure 1 Galtung, Johan: Peace and War Journalism, Source Galtung, 1965	12
Figure 3 Projection of Most Likely Food Security Situation in Tigray, August – September, Source FEWS NET, 2022	14
Figure 2 Analysis of the Food Security Situation in Tigray, Source: FEWS NET, October 2020	14

List of Acronyms

AP	Associated Press
BBC	The British Broadcasting Corporation
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
ICRC	<i>International Committee of The Red Cross</i>
IDF	International Diabetes Federation
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
IPC	Integrated Food Security Phase Classification
OCHA	Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
TDF	Tigray Defense Forces
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WFP	World Food Program
WHO	World Health Organization

Abstract

The research paper aim to examine how the humanitarian crisis in Tigray is framed by the guardian and Associated press specifically the food crises and how UN influence those two media framing. The research seeks to read the humanitarian viewpoints presented to the public by those two prominent media outlets between 2021 and 2022 by looking at textual framing. The research specifically maps out media framings using two main theories. First theory used is Galtung's Peace and War Journalism model, which views journalists as proactive actors in conflict and war circumstances who may foster peace possibilities rather than focusing on war and triumph and Entman framing theory, which used to shed light on general societal problems by identifying their causes and the people who are most responsible for advancing them. The findings of the study reveal that the two media outlets' general framing of the humanitarian crisis as peace journalistic framing while their specific framing of the food crisis was framed as a hunger and famine and this framing had been affected by UN, even if UN still frames the food crisis as a food insecurity.

Keywords

Tigray, Media Framing, Humanitarian Crisis, Food crisis

Relevance to Development Studies

This paper addresses the current humanitarian situation and food crises in Tigray region of Ethiopia. These crises emerged as result of ongoing conflict between regional government of Tigray and Federal Government of Ethiopia. The paper addresses how this conflict continuous to negatively contribute to the current humanitarian situation in the region.

Researching about the food crises and humanitarian situation in relevant part of international development discussions. Therefore, this thesis analyses how the ongoing conflict in Tigray region of Ethiopia continues to contribute to unfolding nature of famine and food crises in the region. Thus making it relevant for development studies.

Keywords

Tigray, Media Framing, Humanitarian Crisis, Food crisis

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

A humanitarian crisis that is being ignored

According to Deutsche Welle, the UN stated that the world concentrates on the conflict in Ukraine while other conflicts that can also result humanitarian crisis are at risk of being neglected (DW, 2022). Among those conflicts that have received little attention recently from the international media and community is the ongoing armed conflict in Ethiopia's northern region of Tigray. This armed conflict began on the night of November 4th, 2020, following an attack by the Tigray Defense Forces (TDF) on federal military camps in the Tigray region (Gesese, et al., 2021). The 2019 Nobel Peace Prize winner Abiy Ahamed, the prime minister of Ethiopia, with military support from Eritrea, Somalia, allied Amhara regional forces, as well as other regional forces of Ethiopia, launched an attack against the regional government of Tigray (Gesese, et al., 2021).

As the result of this armed conflict, Tigray region is currently facing the second-worst humanitarian crisis in the world (ICR, 2021), which has been made worse by the de facto blockade on the region by the government Ethiopian and its allies (CEOBS, 2022). Since the beginning of the war, very little overland transport has arrived, which has decreased or stopped the provision of necessary food and fuel as well as the distribution of humanitarian aid. Additionally, there has been a power outage, banking and telecommunications services have been also cut off (CEOBS, 2022). Put together, all these blockages have contributed to getting more information about real situation about in Tigray region.

Despite being the second worst humanitarian crisis, the world seems to ignore the humanitarian situation in Tigray region. According to by the head of World Health Organization (WHO) director Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus (as cited in Beaumont, 2022, p. n.p), the world seems to ignore the conflict in Tigray region. Dr. Tedros adds that over six million Tigray people have been essentially cut off from the outside world and had been living “under siege” for the past 21 months that was inflicted by Ethiopian government (Beaumont, 2022, p. n.p).

1.2 Problem statement

1.2.1 Humanitarian crisis the result of extreme brutality

According to Michelle Bachelet, the UN high commissioner for human rights, “Tigray war has been marked by extreme brutality “ (UN, 2021, p. No), which contributed to the humanitarian crisis in the region. According to ICR's emergency “Top 10 watch list” Ethiopia has the second-worst humanitarian crisis in the world After Afghanistan (ICR, 2021).

According to the Dutch government, the humanitarian crisis has been caused by the violent conflict, which was followed by mass murder, sexual assault, and famine throughout the Tigray region (Government of the Netherlands, 2021). The situation in Tigray, according to Luuk van de Vondervoort, Senior Policy Officer for Ethiopia and Djibouti for the Dutch Foreign Minister, is quite alarming. “The world is currently experiencing the worst famine in the past ten years in Tigray, a famine that is unrelated to drought or poor harvests, this famine is completely the result of the war” (Vondervoort, 2021, p. n.p). Vondervoort also argues that the fighting parties are deliberately blocking humanitarian relief (Vondervoort, 2021).

Besides creating worst humanitarian crises in the world, after Afghanistan, the armed conflict also has so far resulted in the death of hundreds of thousands of civilians, 2.3million people internally displaced, and 63,110 people to crossing neighboring Sudan (Gesese, et al., 2021). In general, the armed conflict “leaves 90 percent of the population of Tigray region to require immediate humanitarian aid” (OCHA, 2021, p. 1)

1.2.2 Alleged Forced Starvation in Tigray Province

According to The World food program (WFP) and The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) over 5.5 million people are at risk of starvation and the region is among the highest hunger hotspots in 2022 (WFP and FAO, 2022). Among the 5.5 million people in need “2 million people (37%) are severely food insecure (equivalent to IPC 4 & 5 levels)” (WFP, 2022, p. No).¹

During an interview with Reuters, early in the conflict, UN Relief Chief Martin Griffiths noted that during the first half of September 2021 assessment in Tigray, “instead of a

¹ Phase 5 of the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) Famine classification “is the highest level on the IPC Acute Food Insecurity scale, and it occurs when at least 20% of families are food insecure, at least 30% of children are malnourished, and two people per 10,000 die each day from starvation or the combination of malnutrition and illness” **Invalid source specified..**

regular consistent meal, people have been eating roots, flowers, and plants which resulted in the malnourishment of 22.7 percent of children under the age of 5. and also, more than 70% of 11,000 pregnant or lactating mothers are critically malnourished while 400,000 people were predicted to be in famine-like condition” (Nichols, 2021, p. no).

1.2.3 Humanitarian crises and the Role of the International Media

Doctors Without Borders (MSF) has reported that significant number of humanitarian crises have been overlooked in politics and the media since 1998. In a related manner, Sande, (2011, as cited in Ardevolabreu, 2015) thinks that the Sahel belt, which is located south of the Sahara Desert, is a region that has historically been ignored by the media (Ardevolabreu, 2015). Due to the fact that those regions frequently experience violence but that war in other regions or conflict involving significant figures in international politics receives more media attention than conflict in those regions, among those conflicts that is attracting a lot of media coverage is the current Russia and Ukraine, whereas other cases didn't get as much attention or were ignored. (Elayah & Al Majdhoub, 2022).

Prior to the start of the Russia and Ukraine War, the Tigray War was one of those conflicts that gained a little coverage from the international media. It is now one of those conflicts that are overlooked after the Russia and Ukraine War started. (Tofa, et al., 2022). There is hardly any coverage of the Tigray War or the problems it caused in the world media. This demonstrates how the media is more biased towards some conflicts than others.

There are various reasons why some conflicts get more attention than others. Some of these reasons include inaccessibility of news and information by the media from conflict affected areas. This can be partially contributed to by governments in conflict affected regions blocking the access of local information by the media. This can be relevant in Tigrayan conflict because the Ethiopian government has been controlling the media narratives and coverage of the conflict as Tofa, et al., argues. that the Ethiopian government detained and revoked the credentials of journalists, sent letters of warning to the international press, and denied visas to foreign journalists, forcing the media to rely on less qualified journalists who were only broadcast from Ethiopia government-led media outlets. Regardless of their motivation, the federal government consistently perceived those who rejected the dominant narrative as being sympathetic to the Tigray regional government (Tofa, et al., 2022).

1.3 Relevance and Justification

Numerous studies have been undertaken on various armed conflicts, including the conflicts in the Ukraine and Russia, Yemen, and Syria wars, as a result of media attention and the length of some of these conflicts. This research paper has chosen to examine a war that has received comparatively less-attention despite the fact it's the second worst humanitarian crisis currently in the world (ICR, 2021). This study is important as it seeks to shed lighter on a war that usually gets overlooked in the politics and in the media and provide readers a comprehensive picture of the humanitarian crisis in Tigray region.

Given that information both creates and bestows power, it is one of the most important resources or commodities in use today and regularly impacts public opinion. When it comes to international media it has the power to draw attention to any war or catastrophe. According to Baum & Zhukov, (2016 as cited in Elayah & Al Majdhoub, 2022) the main goal media is to persuade individuals to take action by either influencing or molding the general public's attitudes and opinions regarding a certain topic (Elayah & Al Majdhoub, 2022). By examining how the humanities crisis play out in various media platforms, readers can see how the media portrays the situation for their audience. On the other hand, given that the conflict is still ongoing, most research that are available are mainly concentrated on the war in general rather than the food crisis, the findings of this study can be utilized as a reference by academics and other individuals interested in this subject.

1.4 Research Objective

This study's main objectives are to examine how the media has portrayed the humanitarian crisis in Tigray specifically the food crises and influences from UN, other international organizations and governments. By employing theoretical components of Galtung's concept of peace and war-oriented journalism and Entman framing theory This study will look into the humanitarian crisis with a focus on the food crisis in Tigray

1.5 Research Question

This study is guided by one central question which is: How has the humanitarian crisis in Tigray been framed by the international media? and three sub questions which are:

Sub Questions

1. What has been the general framing by the Guardian and Associated Press Article of the humanitarian crisis in Tigray?

2. How has the food crisis in particular been framed by the media?
3. How has this media framing been influenced by the UN and other organizations?

1.6 Positionality and Other Ethical Considerations

Before doing any research, researchers must be aware that their positionality differs from others' and that it can influence their finding and intenerating of their research. According to Foote and Bartell (2011 as cited in Holmes, 2020). "Identifying the positionality that researchers bring to their work, and the personal experiences through which positionality is shaped, may influence what researchers may bring to research encounters, their choice of processes, and their interpretation of outcomes" (Holmes, 2020, p. 3). In order to provide transparency with this research paper, this study indicates that it is crucial to identify the researcher and the research context.

In the interest of self-reflection, I acknowledge my viewpoint as a Tigrayan woman. I spent five years in the region's capital city of Mekelle while pursuing my B.Sc. at Mekelle University, and like many other Tigrayans, who had the majority of their family members residing in Tigray, my family and I are directly affected by the armed conflict in the region. I acknowledge that in some ways, my positionality will impact my research; yet, the materials I had access to as a community member will also be helpful tools that will aid in comprehend the research. for the ethical obligations associated with this research, The sources that are utilized are appropriately credited, and all information and related findings are accurate. On request, the actual data could be made available for review and verification of the results.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Research

The northern Ethiopian region of Tigray is the subject of this research. While Tigray's bordering areas have also been impacted by the conflict and are currently experiencing a humanitarian crisis, the research exclusively focuses on Tigray Since the de facto blockage imposed is only on Tigray region, which is mostly affected by the ongoing armed conflict.

Due to the de facto blockade, it is difficult to enter the region in person. Another issue or constraint is safety. Due to armed conflict in some parts of the region, entry to the region is also impossible. Due to the absence of any telecommunications, or internet it is impossible to conduct interview vie telephone or online and evaluate information provided by government authorities or humanitarian organizations operating in the area. Due to the

difficulties in obtaining primary data from different actors currently in the region the research has only utilized secondary data from two media outlets, that's the Guardian and Association Press.

1.8 Structure of the research paper

This research paper covers five main chapters. The first chapter is general background and overview of the topic. The chapter has also research questions, objectives, purpose, justification and scope of the research. Second chapter of the study is Analytical framework. Third chapter is about research methodology. Fourth chapter is analysis of key findings, discussion and arguments of the study. fifth and final chapter of the study is conclusion of the thesis.

Chapter 2 Analytical Framework: Armed conflict and Media Framing

2.1 Media's impact on the public opinion

According to Luhmann (1996 cited in Santos, et al., 2022) "Everything we understand about our society, or even about the world in which we live, we know through the mass media," (Santos, et al., 2022, p. 31). The statement goes on to say. As a result, the media significantly influences public opinion by deciding which topics are discussed in public and how they are presented. However, if the media shape's public opinion by choosing which subjects are given, how they are framed, and whose viewpoints are heard, it also reflects the people's interest, and media actors choose what should be published depending on it. The public's approval of the chosen topic is always a determining factor in the success of media projects (Santos, et al., 2022).

With the intention of restricting the social world that the public may access, the media provides particular interpretations and makes attempts to govern the importance of certain educational components by choosing some subjects and muting others. Therefore, media ventures go beyond just straightforward, objective presenters of events and ideas. In fact, they decide what is and isn't of the public realm, and similarly, the issues covered by the media show public concerns, which are felt to require attention (Santos, et al., 2022).

By acting on the agenda of public opinion, the media serves as a tool that connects the agenda setting with the objective of different systems. For instance, the media produces the communication routes between the political structure and the general population. As a result, it serves as a mechanism for political decision-making and control, facilitating the political topics that the public discusses and assisting the political structure in understanding society's expectations and the appropriateness of political decisions (Santos, et al., 2022).

2.2 Media Framing

Simply put, the perspective from which a news article is presented is referred to as media framing (critical media review, 2015). While news is frequently believed to be unbiased and devoid of bias, this is almost never the case. In actuality, both the production and the substance of the majority of news articles are important. News is a reconstruction of a small portion of reality from multiple angles rather than an exact picture of reality. This is not to

suggest that journalists always tell the truth or deliberately misrepresent it, but rather that journalists construct reality through a selective process by covering certain stories, employing certain sources, and adopting a certain news stance. Additionally, they are limited by their relationship to shareholders, as well as by resource limitations, work habits, and other factors (critical media review, 2015).

The frame is the general perspective taken on how various topics are portrayed once they have been covered, whereas agenda setting or gatekeeping determines what a newspaper or television station reports or does not report (critical media review, 2015). Like agenda-setting, framing is a fundamentally ideological act. A story's frame will affect how it is researched and reported, who the journalist selects to speak with, what questions they ask, how the information is perceived, and how it is published (critical media review, 2015).

2.3 Media Analytic Framework

2.3.1 Framing Theory

Over the past 20 years, framing theory has been recognized as a core theoretical framework in media studies. In addition to the other two communication theories which are Agenda Setting and Priming. Priming theory “has signaled the latest paradigm shift in political-communication research” (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 10). Agenda setting theory, however, refers “to the idea of a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues” and the weight that general audiences have given these concerns (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 10). According to the theory of framing, framing is “how an issue is characterized in news coverage can have effect on how viewers understand it” (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 11).

The concept of framing as a theory was initially developed by Goffman Erving (1974) who incorporated sociological overtones to clarify how people struggle to make sense of both their own life experiences and the world around them because they do not fully grasp it (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Goffman saw frames as outlines and frameworks that, respectively, integrate available information and provide perspective for reality. As journalists also interpret reality for their audiences, a theory based on interpretive sociology was applied to communication in this way (Sábada Garraza, 2001).

Although there have been prior studies conducted about media framing but framing as a theory was used but this changed. Due to Robert Entman's groundbreaking work, framing became a framework in communication research, but due to its conceptual ambiguity

around what framing was, how it formed, and how it influenced viewers, he originally identified it as a fragmented paradigm. Entman suggested doing this to “transform an apparent weakness into a strength” (Entman, 1993, p. 51).

Entman described framing as “a way to describe the power of a communicating text” (Entman, 1993, p. 51), and as a procedure that entails choosing “some aspects of a perceived reality [and making them] more salient in a communicating text in such way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Frame, Therefore, serve the purpose of illuminating societal issues, identifying their root causes and key players, passing moral judgement on the causative agents and the consequences they have on the occurrence of the event or situation, and offering remedies or answers. (Entman, 1993) argued further that a single statement may serve more than one of these purposes.

Entman (1993) claim that “frames have at least four locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture” (Entman, 1993, p. 52) The transmitters (news outlets) give the viewers (the receiver) certain frames through which they can understand the events or problem. Depending on how they are presented in a communication text, which is distinguished by specific keywords or phrases, several interpretations might be attached to the issue (Entman, 1993) A culture is a collection of norms based on how most members of a certain social group interact with one another (Entman, 1993)

Entman's theory is mostly used by journalists when they are formulating problem and issues, in order to control the public discourse on factual issues. Additionally, it concerns the arguments that journalists stress, the sources that may speak for themselves, the language that are utilized, the facts that are employed, and the journalistic method (Entman, 1993). when it comes to the conflict frame Journalist frequently focuses on disputes and develops a narrative structure around a dual spectacle rather than analyzing how politics effect society in a war where several parties involved in framing conflicts who try to influence public opinion in order to advance their point of view (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

Therefore, the sources used to create the framing play a significant effect in terms of the power elements. Manning (2001) contends that the decline in the number of journalists employed, the rise in commercial production, and the consolidation of media outlets have led to an increase in the reliance of journalists in the popular Western media on political

sources, which have come to dominate how conflicts are framed in recent years (Manning, 2001).

2.3.2 Galtung's model

The father of peace journalism, Norwegian professor Johann Galtung, has devoted most of his career to the study of peace. According to his renowned article 'The Format of International News' stated that certain media outlets polarize the conflict through certain linguistic preferences Galtung, (1965 as cited in Nicolas-Gavilan, 2011). Later, he referred to this material as war journalism. Peace journalism should exist as a new genre of journalism to neutralize this effect. (Nicolas-Gavilan, 2011)

2.3.2.1 War Journalism

War journalism and propaganda allude to the fact that propaganda for one side in a fight is frequently included in war journalism. Elite-, violent-, propaganda-, and victory-focused, involving a dualistic winner and loser, characterize war journalism (Ottosen & Øvrebø, 2016). War journalism raises the possibility of a war's escalation, in which the media is crucial to the success of the propaganda war. Since battles are depicted as a two-sided power struggle between victors and losers, as well as being in black-and-white and without nuance, war journalism may contribute to the escalation of hostilities (Ottosen & Øvrebø, 2016).

Thus, war journalism leads to a viewpoint that is unfavorable by the general people via discussions and that may have fatal repercussions (Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2014). Researchers have concluded that propaganda, which goes against the principles of journalism and is largely motivated by belligerents in armed conflict, exists in war journalism. Repeating positive phrases, demonizing the opposition, drawing attention away from one's own errors or shortcomings, reporting facts selectively, and providing false information are all characteristics of propaganda methods (Ottosen & Øvrebø, 2016).

Propaganda must have motivating elements if it is to succeed in persuading its audience to follow a chosen course of action. This is accomplished through evoking an emotional response in the audience, such as disgust, terror, or hope, which prompts them to call for "justice." These feelings make it difficult for people to reason clearly and coherently (Simons, 2016).

2.3.3.2 Peace Journalism

Another theoretical framework explored in this thesis is peace journalism. Over the past several decades, a growing number of scholars and practitioners have started to focus more

to the notion of peace journalism as a viable instrument for de-escalating wars and bloodshed. In the 1960s, the discipline of peace journalism was developed by combining the fields of conflict analysis and peace research. Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge initially proposed the origins of this idea in 1965 (Santos, 2021).

Peace journalism employs media to explain the root causes and conditions—whether they be religious, structural, cultural, need-based, resource-related, political, etc.—that lead to violence and their impact on people who reside in these conflict zones. Other than media censorship, interdependence and cooperation between media and governments, media bias, and profit-driven media businesses, peace journalism is regarded as another approach to challenge journalistic quality (Shank, 2010)

According to Ottosen and Øvrebo, peace journalism entails exposing falsehoods and propaganda from both sides and assisting journalists in making deliberate decisions about how to frame disputes (Ottosen & Øvrebo, 2016). The Galtung's peace journalism media framing model has four indicators which, are people-centered, truth-based, solution-centered, and non-dualistic methodology that focuses on prospects for peace (Ottosen & Øvrebo, 2016).

Nohrstedt and Ottosen (2014) claim that “A peace journalism strategy offers viewers/readers other possibilities. In that it places a strong emphasis on the victims—often civilians—and so provides the voiceless a voice, peace journalism is people-oriented. It is also truth-oriented in that it exposes dishonesty on all sides and emphasizes propaganda as a strategy for escalating the conflict” (Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2014, p. 86).

Galtung divided peace journalism and war journalism into 4 groups: people vs elite, truth vs propaganda, peace vs war, and solution vs victory. Galtung claims that while framing conflicts, mainstream media more frequently uses the 8 criteria of war journalism. The table above lists the distinctions between war journalism and peace journalism (Ottosen & Øvrebo, 2016).

PEACE/CONFLICT JOURNALISM	WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM
I. PEACE/CONFLICT-ORIENTED --explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, z issues, general "win, win" orientation --open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture --making conflicts transparent --giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding --see conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity --humanization of all sides; more so the worse the weapons -- proactive : prevention before any violence/ war occurs --focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)	I. WAR/VIOLENCE-ORIENTED --focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation --closed space, closed time; causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone --making wars opaque/secret --"us-them" journalism, propaganda, voice, for us" --see "them" as the problem, focus on who prevails in war --dehumanization of "them"; more so the worse the weapon -- reactive : waiting for violence before reporting --focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)
II. TRUTH-ORIENTED --expose untruths on all sides --uncover all cover-ups	II. PROPAGANDA-ORIENTED --expose "their" untruths --help "our" cover-ups/lies
III. PEOPLE-ORIENTED --focus on suffering all over; on women, aged, children, giving voice to the voiceless --give name to all evil-doers --focus on people peace-makers	III. ELITE-ORIENTED --focus on "our" suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece --give name of their evil-doer --focus on elite peace-makers
IV. SOLUTION-ORIENTED --peace = nonviolence + creativity --highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war --focus on structure, culture the peaceful society --aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation	IV. VICTORY-ORIENTED --peace = victory + cease-fire --conceal peace-initiative, before victory is at hand --focus on treaty, institution the controlled society --leaving for another war, return if the old flares up

Figure 1 Galtung, Johan: Peace and War Journalism, Source Galtung, 1965

The concepts of war and peace journalism are criticized by several academics. Hanitzsch thinks Galtung's approach underrepresents complicated issues by dichotomizing and oversimplifying them. Hanitzsch contends that advocating for peace is no more honorable than advocating for military action to stop human rights abuses, and that peace journalism thus gets in the way of objective public relations. He thinks that peace journalism's promotion of exposing lies, cover-ups, and war crimes may simply be viewed as good journalism (Hanitzsch, 2007).

2.4 Context

Tigray is region in northern Ethiopia's highlands. Tigray is characterized by persistent food insecurity, where rural residents face starvation when harvests fail. In the highlands, rocky soils contributed to consistently low agricultural yields, and rural communities resorted to non-farm activities to supplement scant harvests (Clark, 2021)

From the time of Emperor Haile Selassie famine was a common event that was happening especially in the Tigray region, like the 1888 famine, which was caused by "disease that killed the cattle, drought, and war" (De waal, 2018, p. 139). Worst famine occurred in

1980's when Ethiopian was under a military regime. There were multiple civil wars during this period that also contributed to the famine in the region (De waal, 2018).

The acting foreign minister for the Ethiopian military regime Tibebe Bekele told USA charge affairs in December 1984 that “food is a major element of our strategy against the secessionists” (De waal, 2018, p. 140). Soldiers destroyed harvests, lived off the land, and erected roadblocks. Due to Tigray's famine in 1984-5, which afflicted between one-third and one-half of the general population, food was used as an incentive to tame the rebellious people. Tigrayans were not able to receive any relief aid during that time. According to Alex de Waal “Derge's military tactics and political policies caused a food crisis to escalate into a massive famine” (De waal, 2018, p. 153).

However, following the end of the civil war in 1991 and the overthrow of the military regime, The Tigrayan regional government launched an extensive program of “agricultural rehabilitation and risk reduction that turned Tigray from an agriculturally unproductive, chronically food insecure region into one of Ethiopia's most food secure region” (Clark, 2021, p. 14).

Due to the different strategy the regional administration of Tigray adopted to fight deforestation and drought the area became more food secure nationally and went on to win the 2017 Gold Future Policy Award, besting 26 other submitted strategies (World Agroforestry, 2022).

According to The Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET as cited in Clark, 2021), a non-profit supported by the US government, the first publicly available analysis of Tigray's food security condition. Early November 2020 saw the beginning of hostilities, categorized the majority of Tigray as food secure (IPC Phase 1), with some stress in small areas in Tigray (IPC Phase 2), Which puts Tigray as one of Ethiopia's areas with the highest levels of food security (Clark, 2021).

According to FEWS NET updates on Tigray after the war started prediction that Tigray will likely experience Emergency (IPC Phase 4) levels of food insecurity from February to May 2022 based on the data available in March 2021. (Clark, 2021). Put together, all these shows current food insecurity that Tigray experiences as the result of the ongoing conflict.

Figure 3 Analysis of the Food Security Situation in Tigray, Source: FEWS NET, October 2020

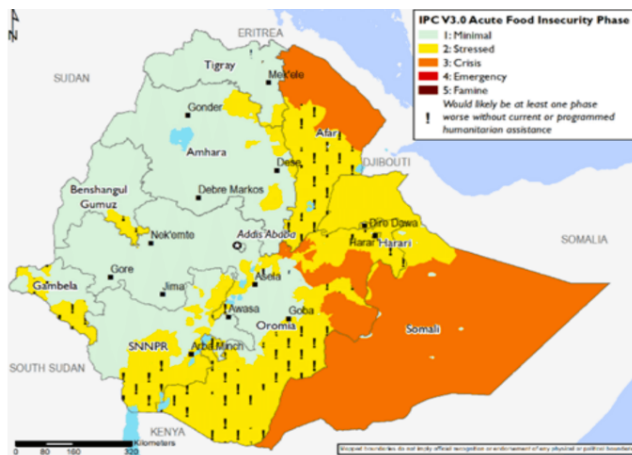
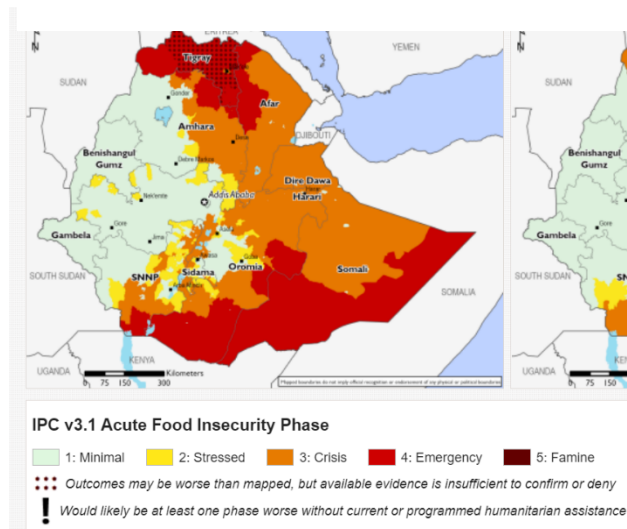


Figure 2 Projection of Most Likely Food Security Situation in Tigray, August – September, Source FEWS NET, 2022



Chapter 3 Research Methodology

3.1 Research Methodology and Sources of Data

3.1.1 Research methodology

This research paper uses qualitative research methods. Qualitative method is used to gain a deeper understanding the patterns, trends, and relationships of words in the articles that are analyzed, something that may not be achieved through quantitative research methods. Qualitative methods are also used because they help when acquiring detailed and in-depth information about people's experiences. Within the context of this research qualitative methods are used to understand how media frames the humanitarian crisis in Tigray by two media outlets—the guardian and Association Press and to analyze how international organizations and UN has affected this framing. Among the qualitative methods used on this research paper is qualitative content analysis to identify the existence of key words, and analyzed the use of specific terms, themes, or concepts that the two international newspapers utilize to frame their articles about the crisis in Tigray.

In order to answer the first and second research questions, the research process incorporates empirical work that is done with the collection of data. The data for this research paper came from two international newspapers that reported on events in Tigray. By tracking how frequently Tigray and Ethiopia are mentioned in story headlines and body text across all newspapers from 2021 to 2022 was the first stage in choosing those articles from these two media. The total frequency data for Tigray and Ethiopia were then searched for specific phrases relating to famine, humanitarian crises, and conflict. Then, three pieces from each newspaper's coverage of the humanitarian crisis in Tigray were randomly chosen to be analyzed. To address the final research question, the study used factual media coverage, including journal articles, insightful newspaper articles, reports from the UN and other non-governmental organizations.

3.1.2 Sources

To answer the research question secondary source data are used like factual newspaper reporting and data recordings, but most of which are found in secondary sources like journal articles, analytical newspaper pieces, and reports from different organizations. The data sources were selected on basis of Numerous criteria. These criteria' include the country in

which it is published, political inclinations, etc. But in the end, the sources were picked based on three primary factors: the reputation's general popularity, the simplicity of gathering articles for data analysis and third their relation to the conflict. The news outlets that are chosen are: The Guardian, The Associated Press (AP) from international media

The Guardian is a daily newspaper published in the United Kingdom (UK) It began as "The Manchester Guardian" in 1821 and changed its name in 1959. "The Scott Trust" owns the "Guardian Media Group", which includes "the Guardian", "TheGuardian.com", as well as other international websites (dbpedia, 2021, p. No).

The Guardian was chosen to include a British perspective on humanitarian crisis in the Tigray It should also be emphasized that the Guardian is a left-leaning publication, which will undoubtedly affect how it covers significant events. It is nevertheless interesting to see how public discourse and national British interests interact with media coverage of Tigray. Britain's advantage as an English-speaking nation is also advantageous for data analysis since it helps to avoid the challenging subtlety of translations that would arise with other publications and Last but not least, it's one of the media sources that the Ethiopian government hasn't charged with disseminating information that offended its people and threatened its sovereignty. It's crucial to pay attention to what media outlets not accused by the Ethiopian government are saying and how they're portraying the crisis in Tigray.

The second western media that is chosen is Associated Press, The Associated Press (AP) is a cooperative, round-the-clock news agency , the oldest and biggest in the United States, and for a long time the biggest and foremost news organization in the whole globe. Since its founding in 1846, AP News has spent 170 years reporting on the biggest stories happening around the world (Britannica, 2022).

AP was chosen to include a US perspective on humanitarian crisis in Tigray and AP news being one of the largest news agencies in the world operating in 250 locations worldwide makes it valuable to address more people worldwide. Additionally, it's one of the few news agencies that is actively reporting the war on Tigray and also one of the media that is backlisted by the Ethiopian government additionally like the guardian as an English-speaking country is useful for data analysis, in order to prevent the challenging subtlety of translations that would happen with other publications and Last but not least, AP news is selected it is one of the media outlets that the Federal Republic of Ethiopia Media Authority has issued a warning letter for publishing material that incited resentment among its citizens and jeopardized the nation's sovereignty in this list Reuters, CNN, and British Broadcasting Corporation

(BBC) are so included. AP News was chosen from those outlets with particular care because since the majority of the media, including the BBC, CNN, and Reuters, rely on the AP for much of their material, particularly their photos, it is shown that the AP news has more information on Tigray than the other outlets on the list of the media that the Ethiopian government has accused.

The other document that is chosen to analyze is The WFP report in “Tigray Emergency Food Security Assessment Tigray Crisis response on” (WFP, 2022, p. 1) The World Food Programme (WFP) is The United Nations' food aid division that was founded in 1961 and is the biggest humanitarian agency fighting world hunger currently. “At the moment, WFP employs about 14,500 people, 90% of whom are located in underdeveloped nations 90 million people receive food from WFP annually, 58 million of them are children” (WFP, 2014, p. n.p). The WFP works to assist individuals who are unable to produce or receive enough food for themselves and their family from its headquarters in Rome and more than 80 national offices throughout the world. It is a participant in the UN Development Group (WFP, 2014).

WFP was chosen among other UN agencies because of it works to support of local and national initiatives to achieve food security for everyone, particularly the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children, women, and men (WFP, 2014). Additionally, it is the sole UN agency on the ground bringing all humanitarian assistance to the region of Tigray on behalf of the Doctors Without Borders, World Health Organization, and other organizations (Davies, 2022).

3.1.3 Parameters

This data set's parameters were purposefully produced. To balance the information by choosing one from Europe and one from USA news sources, which is helpful for comparison. The notion of "international" on this study is defined as newspapers originating from the United States and Europe. Due to the limited timescale of this research, only three news articles from each newspaper published are chosen to be studied. Additionally, the theoretical time span for the data set is from 2021 to the present since the conflict is a continuous conflict, which influenced the choice of this time period.

3.2 Analytical Tools

3.2.1 Qualitative content analysis

Hsieh and Shannon provide the following definition of a qualitative content analysis: “A qualitative content analysis is a research technique that involves the systematic categorization process of coding and the identification of themes or patterns to allow for the subjective assessment of the content of text data” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. s.1278). In order to categorize texts into different groups, qualitative content analysis looks at how a text is written. The goal of a content analysis is to identify trends and topics in the material being studied (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Deductive or inductive methodologies can be used to create a qualitative content analysis. When there are no existing ideas about an event, inductive content analysis is used to categorize information by uncovering new patterns in it. When prior hypotheses have already been grouped into techniques, the deductive approach is utilized. It seeks to test previous ideas in various circumstances or compare categories across time in order to reach precise conclusions (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

The three types of qualitative content analysis according to Hsieh and Shannon (2005) are Summative, Directed, Conventional (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The significance of a text's content is interpreted using each of the three techniques. In summative content analysis Key concepts and variables are introduced by prior study or hypotheses, which combines inductive and deductive methodologies.

In the directed content analysis, which is a deductive approach that uses an existing theoretical framework to increase the focus on the research question. This research paper used the directed approach to analyze the first research question. With the first research question based on the Galtung's peace and war journalism model. This model is considered to analyze the two international media outlets have generally framed the humanitarian issue in Tigray in order to determine whether this framing has the potential to worsen or alleviate the crisis in Tigray.

The Conventional content analysis uses induction to characterize a phenomenon. The content is coded using keywords and variables that identify key ideas or concepts and group them into groups. This research paper used the directed approach to analyze the

second and the third research question by drawing on Robert Entman's framing model. This model is considered to examines the dominant frames circulated via those international media articles about the food crisis in Tigray in order to understand the narratives allowed for certain interpretations of the food crisis in the region. Furthermore, this research was helped by the software AntConc, which allowed for the computation and visualization of concordances items that are related to the vocabularies of food crisis.

Chapter 4 Analysis

4.1 General Framing of The Humanitarian Crisis in Tigray

This chapter illustrates the findings of the general framing of the humanitarian crisis in Tigray from six articles—three from the Guardian and three from the Association Press—by utilizing Galtung’s media framing model as an analytical framework. Galtung classifies peace and war journalism as the two major approaches of media framing model (Ottosen & Øvrebø, 2016). This chapter therefore, utilizes these two approaches to answer first research question of the study.

Within peace journalism approach the aim is to provide audiences with alternative possibilities to limit the further escalation of armed conflict. Peace journalism is solution, peace, people, and truth-oriented approach (Lynch, 2005). On other hand, there is war journalism that sees conflicts as thug of war which two powerful opponents are fighting. Within this approach, the outcome of the war is zero sum game (Lynch, 2005). War journalism is war, propaganda, elite, and victory-orientated (Lynch, 2005). Using Galtung’s media framing model, articles from two international media outlets—The Guardian and AP are analyzed in the following section with specific focus on the general framing of the humanitarian crises in Tigray

4.1.1 General Framing of the Guardian and AP Articles

Both The Guardian and AP articles examines how the Tigray humanitarian crisis coincides with escalating hostilities between the Tigray regional government and the Ethiopian federal government, placing the conflict in the context of broader humanitarian issues. Both media outlets had information on the causes of the war and its humanitarian consequences in Tigray.

In The first Guardian article by George headlined as “The looming famine in Tigray is an avoidable catastrophe” (Monbiot, 2022, p. n.p), The Guardian covered the humanitarian crisis in Tigray with a particular emphasis on the food security before the war. The author described the crises as neither “natural or inevitable” but as result of failure from Abiy and his allies in Eritrea (Monbiot, 2022, p. n.p).

While the second Guardian article author by Lizzy headlined "Humanitarian crime: fighting cuts off Tigray's supply of insulin" (Davies, 2022, p. n.p). The article concentrated mostly on the critical shortage of insulin, a life-saving medicines in the Tigray region as a result of the

de facto blockade put in place there. In connection with this, the article quoted A number of doctors from Tigray's largest referral hospital saying that if the blockage is not lifted, they will run out and be unable to treat their patients. Additionally, it outlines the work that international organizations are undertaking and how the conflicting parties are obstructing their efforts. It also included a statement from the president of the international diabetes federations (IDF) calling the situation in Tigray a "humanitarian crime" (Davies, 2022) and urging the prime minister of Ethiopia and the minister of health to take immediate action so the region may receive essentials like insulin.

The final Guardian article author by Lucy headlined "Hunger in Tigray forcing women and girls into sex work" (Kassa, 2022) focuses on how the region's lack of banks and other essential services has forced women to engage in sexual activities exchange for money so that they can feed themselves and their families, showing readers how the armed conflict is directly affecting women, and demonstrating how their lives have changed for the worse. In this article the author cited various women and young girls who have taken on this activity in order to survive as well as a testimony from money smugglers who are attempting to smuggle money into the region and how the Tigray administration is making their job more difficult.

Like The Guardian, In The first AP article author by Rodney headlined "In Tigray, food is often a weapon of war as faming looms" (Muhumuza, 2021) The author, reported the humanitarian crisis in Tigray with a focus on the area's food crisis. As one international news organization with a team on the ground the AP news, was funded by the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting, to report the situation on the ground, with this funding AP news had the opportunity to speak with the people directly and reported various stories about people who are affected by the conflict. Among the people they interviewed were farmers and pregnant women or mothers who gave birth during the war.

While the second AP article author by Cara is headlined "God have mercy: Tigray residents describe life under siege" (Anna, 2021). This article in question focused primarily on the lives of the people of Tigray's capital city Mekelle while every service that is available to a person is blocked. In this article, AP article shows the people's lives in Mekelle and other parts of Tigray in detail through pictures, demonstrating how the people are living despite the blockage of all access to the outside world.

The final AP article by Cara is the same author as the second one Anna is headlined "Ethiopia expels UN officials amid Tigray blockade pressure" (Anna, 2021) . The article focuses on how the international community and organizations are responding to the crisis

in Tigray and the action taken by the Ethiopian government, including the expulsion of international organization personnel and media representatives and restrictions on the movement of aid workers. It also discusses the criticism that the Ethiopian government receives from the United Nations and the United States of America for its action to expel the UN personals.

The following sections show the findings of above-described articles. Specific focus is given to how they frame the humanitarian situation in Tigray region. The analyses in the following section is done using elements from Galtung's media framing approach. Specific focus is given to how these articles frame the humanitarian situation in Tigray.

4.1.1.1 Peace- oriented versus war-oriented

The articles in the Guardian concentrate on the pre-war realities of food security in Tigray and how Tigray became a food-secure region after the civil war ended in 1991 by using various methods to combat famine and drought in the region. By presenting this pre-war condition the author takes readers back to the 1984 famine that happened in Tigray and how the Mengistu Hailemariam regime uses food as a weapon of war against Tigray population and compared it with the current food crisis in the region. This comparison of the two events in Tigray shows the readers the economic, political, and cultural aggression perpetrated against Tigray by the Mengistu Hailemariam and Abiy Ahmed governments. While presenting each claims guardian linked to its previous publications on Tigray armed conflict as well as articles about the conflict from the AP, BBC, and VOX as well as online reports from organizations like OXFAM. The reason the Guardian provided those links is to support its statements with evidence, and to make the reporting of the crisis transparent to its readers by offering alternative sources that may corroborate those findings, and help them comprehend more about how violence is affects people generally which is a peace -oriented approach indicators.

The Guardian articles also focuses in all form of violence and trauma, especially young women, girls and other vulnerable groups in Tigray went through as a result of the burden that the conflict actors placed on them. This was accomplished without endorsing any of the sides involved in the armed conflict or dehumanizing any of the actors identified in the article from all in, which is a peace-oriented approach's indictor.

According to McGoldrick & Lynch, Galtung peace-oriented framing “frames conflict as involving many parties and pursuing numerous aims while also allowing the reader to perceive the impacts of violence while focusing on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture” (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000, p. 29). Because Guardian

focused on issues that include the victims and how the war is worsening the situation in Tigray, its approach to the conflict can be classified as peace journalism. By employing this approach, the guardian offered to its readers the context of the violence and trauma that people of Tigray are facing without creating “us vs them” scenario between any of parties that were mentioned in the article which is also one of the major peace -oriented indicators as a result, it can be argued that the Guardian's articles tend to be peace-oriented given the key indicators mentioned above.

Similar to the Guardian, the AP authors examine how this humanitarian crisis coincides with escalating hostilities between the Tigray regional government and the Ethiopian federal government, placing the conflict in the context of humanitarian crises as a whole. In which every AP article included details about the causes and impacts of the humanitarian crisis in Tigray. which shows the readers how conflict can lead to human suffering due to humanitarian crises.

AP articles mainly concentrate on interviews and personal accounts of those who are impacted by the humanitarian crisis brought on by the armed war. Additionally, it adopted a new approach by presenting how the international community and international organizations are addressing the crisis in Tigray. The fact that AP is offering a space to all those who are worried about the crisis that is impacting millions of people by presenting these many views, both from Tigray and from other parts of the world, demonstrates that AP has a peace-oriented tendency in its articles.

However, AP also featured some war-oriented content in its articles. One is that it focusses on the confrontation that the Ethiopian government have with the media, humanitarian organizations, and the United States of America this has created “us vs them” scenario in the reporting of the crisis. That can take away the focuses from the people that are being affected. The other war- oriented indicator in AP is that it consistently refers to the Ethiopian government and its allies by their correct names, but it consistently refers the Tigray's elected regional government and its defense force as rebellious leaders, guerrillas loyal and fugitives.

According to McGoldrick & Lynch, in Galtung model using dehumanization words is one of the indicators of war -oriented approach (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000). Even though those word used by AP to name the Tigray regional government are not inherently dehumanizing, but most people associate them with negativity when hearing those phrases, can trigger a negative image for them. In addition, by using those words AP is delegitimizing a party that was elected by the people to rule the Tigray region and sending the incorrect message to its readers about its validity of the actors involved in the armed conflict. Despite

those two-war tendency content, AP generally emphasis on giving voice to the victims, and presenting the violence that the people of Tigray to its readers more than Guardian because of the rare access it has to the region it strongly focused in advocating about the problem than other media out lets this makes AP a peace -oriented with a slight tendency toward a war-oriented

4.1.1.2 People-oriented versus Elite-oriented

The Guardian offer background information and a broader context about what's happening in Tigray by giving a voice to not just numerous officials, such as the prime minister of Ethiopia, spokesman of Tigray government, UN officials, OXFAM, the International Diabetes Federation (IDF), the World Food Program (WFP), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), but also to medical professionals from the Ayder referral hospital in Tigray, money smugglers, and most of all it give a voice for the ordinary people who are not involved in the armed conflict that are considered to be the most vulnerable members of society.

By providing voice to those who are directly impacted by the armed conflict and to organizations that wish to assist but are unable to do so due to the challenges posed by the conflicting parties the Guardian proven to its readers that its focuses on the people and the organization that want to help the people in need and makes its readers understand the situations of the people who have been under siege for the past two years than acting as the mouthpiece for the elites who are engaged in conflict. This makes Guardian more people-oriented approach.

According to Galtung media framing model, an article that emphasizes suffering of women, elderly, children, and gives voice to the voiceless is considered to be People-Oriented approach, while "Elite -Oriented focus on 'our' suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece" (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000, p. 29).The newspaper's emphasis on the people in its articles demonstrates how people-oriented it is.

Similar to the guardian AP articles also focuses on the stories of people in Tigray. As the only international media outlets operating in the region the articles in AP conducted a Numerous interview with farmers, women, mothers, and experts at the Ayder Referral Hospital were done by AP. However, the interviews weren't limited to just ordinary people; they also included humanitarian aid personnel which are working in Tigray in order to give the readers broader background and what is happening in the ground from the people that are there to help the civilian population among them are ; the United Nations children's agency, the U.N.'s humanitarian leader, and it also speaks with religious leaders, who are usually

forgotten by other media, it also presented politicians that are concerned for the people like U.N. Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken, and Ethiopian government officials were also included in the AP articles.

In addition, rather than focusing just on the major city of Mekelle, AP travels to other parts of Tigray to speak with diverse organizations and people about the situation there. and aid in explaining to its readers what is happening in the region's rural areas. The other thing that makes AP unique from the Guardian is that AP substantiated their findings in the area with photographic evidence of malnourished mothers and children. which is been used by different organizations and media like Guardian.

In its dedication to represent all and shows its readers that its focus is on the masses, not just the elites, but also by presenting different institutions that are frequently ignored by the media shows that AP is people- oriented. According to Galtung's model, "people-oriented framing emphasizes the suffering of women, the elderly, and children" (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000, p. 29)

AP proven its self to be people-oriented approach rather than an elite-oriented approach that emphasizes the winner rather than the suffering by breaking the news of the first starvation-related death in Tigray before the UN. This shows to the reader how AP is closely tracking the crisis and its impact on the people, even ahead of the international organization operating on the ground, and supporting its stories by the visual documentation to draw emotional attention from its readers.

4.1.1.3 Truth-oriented versus Propaganda-oriented

The guardian exposed the Ethiopian government for its attempt to use the rhetoric of a declared ceasefire to “enable farmers to till their land” (Monbiot, 2022, p. n.p) by the Ethiopian governments for its withdrawal of its troops from Tigray in late June 2021. However, the article exposed this claim by noting that the farming season had already ended three months ago in Tigray before the Ethiopian government left Tigray's capital city, Mekelle in June and accused Ethiopian government for using food as a weapon of war which follow with A link that takes readers to a Reuters website where representatives from various UN organizations plead with the governments of Ethiopia and Eritrea to permit humanitarian aid to the region and accusing them for using food as a weapon of war.

It also exposed the regional government of Tigray for sizing money from smuggles and making it more difficult for them to smuggle money into Tigray by establishing border controls. which is affecting the people of Tigray since that is the only way that the people

can receive money from their family members abroad or who live in other parts of Ethiopia because blockage imposed by the Ethiopian government there is no banking service system, making it impossible for them to access their money in the bank.

The articles by The Guardian sees propaganda for what it was, and exposed both sides for their wrongdoing. This helps readers to become aware of the situation in Tigray, and helps them to spot propaganda and finger-pointing between the two conflicting parties. According to Galtung's model, "truth-oriented approaches expose all sides and uncover all cover-ups" (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000, p. 29) by exposing and uncovering both sides propaganda it is safe to say that Guardian is truth-oriented.

Similar to Guardian, Associated Press also exposed Ethiopian government's propaganda and denial that there is no food shortage in Tigray. it did so through interviews with people from different social and economic backgrounds as well as showing the malnourished children in Tigray's hospitals, the AP revealed that there is indeed a food crisis in the region. It also exposed propaganda spread by the Ethiopian government and its allied forces that international organizations providing humanitarian aid in Tigray to support the TPLF, which led the government to limit what equipment aid workers could bring into Tigray. A report from the media uncovered the reason why the government restricted the equipment that aid workers could transport to Tigray with the equipment that are restricted by the government is because the administration wished to keep the public out of any information regarding the situation in Tigray.

In the AP's articles not only, exposed the Ethiopian government it also fact-checking the UN claim that the Ethiopian government and its allies are using food as a weapon of war. Through the numerous interviews with farmers and aid workers and it was able to confirm that food has been used as a weapon of war in the Tigray region. The AP demonstrated its truth-oriented approach in its newspapers by exposing the wrongdoings of the Ethiopian government and its allied forces and fact-checking the claims against the Ethiopian government that it is using food as a weapon of war by the UN from its own sources to show its readers what actually is happening in Tigray. This makes the AP truth-oriented approach.

4.1.1.4 Solution-oriented versus victory-oriented

Guardian articles tended to be more solution oriented by providing diplomatic solution than to the humanitarian blockade imposed in the region so that people in Tigray could survive. Among Diplomatic solutions that are were suggested by Guardian are to fully complying

with international law; opening the humanitarian corridors, which is thought to be at the root of the problem and let necessary lifesaving into Tigray and lastly to distributing food in the capital city of Tigray for the people living in that city properly. By offering this diplomatic solution, and avoiding any winners on either side and preventing the situation in Tigray from worsening the guardian is demonstrating that there is only one solution to the issue and it is diplomatic solution. This is what characterizes the guardian as solution oriented. Based on these findings, the study argues that guardian's approach to the conflict is more of solution oriented rather than victory oriented. The guardian does this by mostly covering what could be the solution instead of focusing on which party is winning the war. The guardian's approach is in line with Galtung's model that this study uses. According to Galtung's solution-oriented approach is the one "that provided a nonviolence way of resolution to a problem and which focuses to solve the structure violence" (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000, p. 29). By covering how the conflict can be resolved to its readers and the wider international community, the guardian is more solution oriented than victory oriented.

Unlike the Guardian the articles by AP didn't prove neither solution- nor victory-oriented; they simply tell the stories of the people and their lives in Tigray without communicating with the outside world. However, in the article, the people that was interviewed stated that they need immediate action form the world to stop this atrocity.

Also, AP reported the steps that the United States took to address the situation, such as adopting sanctions mechanisms in response to the issue in Tigray region. That is only aiming toward the two conflicting parties and their allies. Therefore, the study argues that AP has also some solution oriented framing approaches to the conflict. According to Galtung model, solution oriented is also a when the coverage of the situation includes necessary steps taken to resolve the issue and "de-escalate the violence" (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000, p. 29) Therefore, by mentioning the US action, refusing to support any of the conflict parties, and only emphasizing the steps that other countries have made to resolve the situation in Tigray , the AP established that it is solution-oriented.

In summary, the framing of the humanitarian situation in Tigray by the Guardian and AP articles mainly takes peace- oriented approach because they both emphasized horrifying effects of the conflict and how it is causing humanitarian crises in Tigray region. The two outlets analyzed aimed to offer a genuine depiction of all parties involved in the armed conflict without defining any of them as either good or bad, the victor or the losers. The outlets also adopt a people-oriented approach by offerings voices to individuals other than the political class. Both media outlets have adopted and used a truth-centered approach because

they do not cover any war propaganda, rather they cover and illustrate the negative consequences of the conflict in Tigray region. By advocating a diplomatic response and proposing solution to the situation both medias proven themselves to have a solution-oriented approaches. to conclude this, the two media outlets -Guardian and AP general framing of the humanitarian crisis in Tigray fall under peace journalistic framing, which Helps to advocate the crisis in Tigray by de-escalating it rather than escalating it and helping find a solution. After identifying how the two news outlets have generally framed the humanitarian crisis, The next section of the paper will analyze how the Guardian and AP specifically framed the food crisis.

4.2 Framing of food crisis

This chapter illustrates the findings of the dominate framing of the food crisis by Drawing from the Entman framing theory approach, which focuses on “identifying, revising, consolidating, and grouping new ideas in order to create bigger frames” (Halfpenny, et al., 2009, p. 7). AP and the Guardian were both examined for dominant frames and recurring themes related to food crisis in Tigray using qualitative content analysis. AntConc software then used to identify the dominating term that used to frame the Tigray food crisis. In which, the Guardian frame the food crisis as hunger, According Mercy Corps “hunger is considered by the United Nations to be undernourishment that lasts at least one year where people are unable to consume enough food to maintain a healthy weight and continue necessary physical activity” (mercycorps, 2017, p. n.p).

Draw from the Entman framing theory approach, which focuses on “identifying, revising, consolidating, and grouping new ideas in order to create bigger frames” (Halfpenny, et al., 2009, p. 7).AP and the Guardian were both examined for dominant frames and recurring themes related to food crisis in Tigray using qualitative content analysis. AntConc software then used to identify the dominating term that used to frame the Tigray food crisis.

4.2.1 Dominant Framing within The Guardian Media

The dominant frames of guardian regarding food crisis in Tigray were obtained by qualitative content analysis, which each qualitative set of data was read and interpreted for frame analysis, using an inductive process of “identifying, revising emerging, and consolidating and clustering them together just to create larger frames. and recurrent themes” (Halfpenny, et al., 2009, p. 7).

While still mostly qualitative, this study also benefited from the use of AntConc software, which made it possible to compute and show concordances of the words that are related to those in the research article. also looked at frequency lists using AntConc (words recurring in the guardian articles) as the result ‘Tigray’ is the most frequently used key term, appearing 48 times in the Guardian articles. It is followed by ‘Ethiopia’ and ‘Hunger’, which are both mentioned 15 times in the article, and is then followed in third place by ‘war’ and ‘food’, which are both mentioned 9 times. In fourth place, ‘crime’ is mentioned 8 times, in fifth place ‘famine’, and ‘dying’, are mentioned 7 times, sixth place ‘starvation’ and ‘humanitarian’, are mentioned 6 times.

The results of the frequency search show that the guardian is obviously more concerned about the present Tigray humanitarian situation than with the actual armed conflict. The phrases hunger, food, starvation, and famine are the most often used terms in the articles by the guardian to address food crisis in Tigray.

A cluster search was conducted using the key terms Tigray, hunger, food, starvation, and famine that the Guardian used in those articles. search results show the word "Tigray," which is frequently used, is followed by the negative action nouns ‘crime’, ‘obstacle’, ‘cruel’, and ‘besieged’ in the left concordance, while the same for the right concordance. The key word Tigray is preceded by a number of adjectives and verbs, including ‘blocked’, ‘terrible’, and ‘stopped’. the key word in the second place after Tigray is ‘hunger’ right concordance followed by those adjectives and words is ‘being used’, ‘caused’, ‘weapon’, Tigray ‘besieged’, ‘claimed’ are the and the left concordance preceded by ‘face’, ‘died’, ‘evidence suggested’, ‘survived’, ‘allied using’.

The other key word is “food” this word left concordance is preceded by ‘need’, ‘either’, ‘improve’, insufficient and the right concordance followed by word like ‘aid’ and ‘medicines’. The other key word is ‘starvation’ the left concordance for this word is ‘flee’, ‘dying’, ‘lost’, ‘million’, already and the right concordance of this word is ‘forced’, ‘needed’, ‘death’. The last key word is ‘famine’ this word left concordance is preceded by ‘suffering’, ‘looming’, ‘massive’, ‘explanation’, ‘denies’, ‘1984’. the left concordance for this word “Tigray”, ‘unflooding’ Appears.

By employing this concordance search, we know can gather and group those concepts in order to build larger frames that can support salient framing and makes the reader see how the author is utilizing this essential phrase to build a bigger farming that help influence the audience.

According to Robert Entman (1993), frames are manifested “by the presence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Drawing from this Guardian articles Key terms and concordance, readers may understand the context of the important phrases the author chose to frame the food crisis in the article is ‘hunger’, This frame of hunger was presented in three subframes in order to gather new ideas and show a more complete frame by the guardian.

4.2.1.1 Hunger as a political failure

The Guardian's articles, employed the salient frames of hunger in their headlines to draw readers in to further reading the whole article. By using this salient framing guardian swiftly emphasizes that hunger as a political failure. According to Entman “some aspects of a perceived reality [and making them] more salient in a communicating text in such way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Guardian uses this salient framing to show its readers the political failure in the country that caused an armed conflict and led to crimes like the blocking and destruction of essential basic services to the region and led the region to hunger.

“The Ethiopian and Eritrean armies have blocked supply lines, turned back convoys of food and medicine, burned grain stores, felled orchards, slaughtered oxen and ordered farmers not to till their fields” (Monbiot, 2022, p. n.p)

“Hunger in the besieged region of Tigray is pushing people to increasingly desperate measures as the authorities are systematically blocking and confiscating remittances needed by millions of people” (Kassa, 2022).

This salient framing of The Guardian also reframed hunger as man-made disaster that is caused by political failure. It does so by comparing current war in Tigray and 1980 famine which claimed one million lives (Monbiot, 2022, p. n.p) . This juxtaposes the previous dominant framing about hunger as naturally occurring disaster by the public and some scholars like Thomas Robert Malthus who frames famine as natural disaster resulting of uncontrolled population growth (Malthus, 1798)

“The traditional explanation of famine, which appears to resist all evidence, is that hunger is caused by a surfeit of people. A rising population overtaxes the land, which can no longer provide sufficient food for those who depend on it. But a fascinating study shows

that in Tigray the opposite has happened, no part of the catastrophe in Tigray is natural or inevitable” (Monbiot, 2022, p. n.p) .

This shows sub framing of Guardian articles, the failure of politics framing of hunger is not just related to country politics failure, but also to global politics, which has failed to put an end to this type of man-made disaster. In addition to failing to take action and stop the blockage, the Guardian also pointed out that the person who is the 2019 Nobel Peace Prize laureate is the one who is to blame for the region's hunger, this demonstrating the world politics failure by honoring individuals that is capable of committing such crimes.

“Abiy, with his allies in Eritrea, is turning a thriving, prosperous region into the scene of another historic disaster. And he won’t stop until the world wakes up” (Monbiot, 2022, p. n.p).

“Tigray. Like the last cataclysm, this has nothing to do with “natural causes”. It’s caused by war and its associated crimes. This time, however, the man in charge is a Nobel peace laureate: the Ethiopian prime minister, Abiy Ahmed” (Monbiot, 2022, p. n.p).

As can be seen from the quotation from above , The Guardian held Ethiopia's government and its allies responsible for the failure as well as the cause of the region's hunger.

4.2.1.2 Hunger as a weapon of war

Guardian articles, also sub- framed hunger as a weapon of war. By discussing hunger alongside issues such as the difficulties blockades, erratic limits on the amount of money one can bring into Tigray, absence of essential amenities as power, communications, and banking, seizing of fuel and money, and refusing to return aid trucks; turning back convoys of food and medicine; burning grain stores; felling orchards; slaughtering oxen; ordering farmers not to till their fields, and distraction of health services. which are all the major path for weaponization of hunger According to Messer’s theories (Messer, et al., 1998). According to Entman, Frame serve the purpose of illuminating societal issues, identifying their root causes (Entman, 1993) Guardian By serving those crime in the articles it gave emphasis and made it clear to readers that the issue is not just that people are hungry as a result of the consequence of the war but also that the Ethiopian government is purposefully starving the population.

“It’s caused by war and its associated crimes. This time, however, the man in charge is a Nobel peace laureate: the Ethiopian prime minister, Abiy Ahmed. A great weight of evidence suggests that his troops, and those of his Eritrean allies, are using hunger as a weapon of war” (Monbiot, 2022, p. n.p).

In this framing of the guardian also presented the IDF President Andrew Boulton letter to Abiy Ahmed's and Lia Tadesse the health minister of Ethiopia urged them to take action so that Tigray could access supplies like insulin and other necessities (Davies, 2022), And state what they are doing is a humanitarian crime and ask them to respect international law.

By linking those framing to UN accusation of food been used as weapon in Tigray and presenting those crimes to block the essential goods and services for the people to survive combine with phrases used by other non-governmental organizations. Guardian try draws its readers attention, and shows them how this sub framing of hunger as a weapon of war is also been used by other media and organizations.

“This is really a sort of humanitarian crime,” he said. “Even at times of war, there are agreements that essential medications should get through to the population. And this appears not to be occurring at the moment, in the best evidence that I have” (Davies, 2022, p. n.p).

“Boulton has written to the Ethiopian health minister, Lia Tadesse Gebremedhin, urging her to end the ongoing regulatory and security obstacles and urges the government to “fully comply with international law and ensure the necessary humanitarian access” (Davies, 2022, p. n.p).

As can be seen from the quotation from above, by presenting the IDF presidents statement about Ethiopian government committing humanitarian crime , The Guardian supported its argument for framing hunger as a weapon of war.

4.2.1.3 Hunger us a health and social issues

The last sub- framing in the article of the guardian, is hunger as a health and social issue. in the articles, Health professionals from the area as well as the IDF were questioned about the difficulties that hunger is causing, particularly in women, children and on people with chronic diseases. While taking about this health issues the experts employ words like ‘death’, ‘malnutrition’. The use of this words shows the readers how hunger is causing death, and malnutrition among Childers and elder people in Tigray. In addition, Tigray is experiencing a social problem as a result of the dispersion of its people due to their inability to provide for their children and their tendency to commit suicide. By focusing on these specific stories and employing specific sources from medical professionals, the guardian sub frame hunger as a health and societal framing.

“I watched my father die from malnourishment. He died in my hands. My mother is all bones. Said Zufan (Kassa, 2022, p. n.p)

“Last month, the news about a civil servant who killed himself in Mekelle after finding it unbearable to watch his three children starve and his wife beg for food, was widely circulating in the city” (Kassa, 2022, p. n.p).

“The doctor said he was scared that Ayder hospital would see a repeat of last year, when supplies into Tigray were stopped for months. “We will see patients dying and falling in the street,” (Davies, 2022, p. n.p).

The Guardian has also made reference to another social issue that is brought about by hunger which particularly affecting the women’s and girls in Tigray. Due to hunger and the obligations that society has placed on women, and girls. Tigrayan women are forced to engage in sexual activity in exchange for money. Despite leading mostly comfortable lives before the conflict, these women's lives have now been irreversibly transformed as a result of the war, which has given rise to the social issue

“Reports from inside Tigray say many women and girls are being forced to turn to sex work to survive while others suggest there has been an increase in suicide” (Kassa, 2022, p. n.p).

As can be seen from the quotation from above, The Guardian showed the sub framing of hunger as a health and social issue by highlighting the physical and mental suffering of Tigrayan women.

4.2.2 Dominant Framing within Associated press

Similar to the guardian in order to find the dominate framing by AP regarding food crisis in Tigray this research paper obtained a qualitative content analysis using an inductive process. And the result of the most frequent word using AntConc in AP are the words ‘Tigray’ (appearing 75 times), ‘Ethiopia’ (appearing 46 times), and ‘Food’ (appearing 39 times), followed by ‘war’ (appearing 37 times) and ‘malnutrition’ (appearing 35 times). Humanitarian and aid are both mentioned 22 times, followed by famine and starving, which are both stated 14 times, before ‘hunger’ that is mentioned 10 times and ‘acute’ is 5 times mentioned.

In a same vein as the Guardian, AP also emphasizes the humanitarian situation in Tigray rather than the actual armed conflict. The fact that food has been mentioned more frequently than every other survival necessity also tells readers that the Ap is more focused on the hunger crisis as AP described the crisis than any other humanitarian crisis. The terms food, malnutrition, humanitarian, starvation, and famine, are those that appear most

frequently in the articles shows the framing of the food crisis by the AP. After finding the key words then a cluster search was conducted using the key terms that the AP used in those articles, starting with the commonly used terms that are relevant to the food crisis. These terms include humanitarian, malnutrition, hunger, food, starvation, and famine. 'Food' is the third most frequently used word in AP articles; the left concordance of this word is preceded by the words 'received', 'stolen', 'blocking', 'destroyed', and while the right concordance is followed by the words 'donated', 'aid', 'shortage', and 'distribution'; this shows the context that AP wants to show the readers about the food distribution or aid is being blocked or destroyed, and some have been received by the people.

Another often used term is 'malnutrition', which is followed by the word's 'weight', 'medical', 'heart failure', 'and death', on the right concordance and the words 'acute', 'treatment', and 'suffering' on the left. One may see the writers' attempt to convey to their audience that malnutrition is a problem in the area and that people are either dying from it or suffering from it by looking at the right and left concordance terms.

The word 'humanitarian', which comes second in terms of frequency, is followed on the right concordance by 'groups', 'workers', 'aid', and 'chief', and on the left by the phrases 'United Nations', 'United States', and 'obstacle'. It makes it clear to readers that the authors were referring to aid workers rather than the humanitarian problem. This demonstrates that the term 'humanitarian' is used to assist rather than serve as the primary framing of the concerns.

The next word that appears frequently in AP articles is 'famine'. The left concordance of this word is preceded by the word's 'face', 'Tigray', and 'man-made', 'worst', while the right concordance is followed by the words 'according', 'in Ethiopia', and 'terrifying', 'looming', 'the world's worst', and 'killing'. In this left and right concordance AP illustrates the reader about the food situation in Tigray while highlighting its causes and consequences and framing the situation as a famine.

As the same as 'famine' 'starving' was also mention 14 times make them both frequently used words so in order to determined which key term is the salient framing. we conducted left and right concordance and the result for the starving shows that the left concordance of this word is preceded by the words people, 'mass', and 'hunger' while the right concordance is followed by the words; 'many', 'AP', and 'being'. So, it can be argued that the author uses the word 'starving' to describe the situation of the people how they are starving due to a shortage of food than framing it as a starvation.

This search by the AntConc software conclude that AP frames the food crisis in Tigray as famine. According to mercy corps “Famine is the most disastrous form of widespread hunger. While famine is declared in an area when one in five households or more lack adequate food and other basic needs and acute malnutrition is greater than 30 percent — meaning people are underweight and unable to access and eat enough nutritious food” (mercy corps, 2017, p. n.p) in below section we analyzed how This frame of famine is presented in three subframes in order to gather new ideas and show a more complete frame by AP.

4.2.2.1 Famine as a historical recurrence

Famine as Historical Recurrence is one of the sub framings in the AP. The past famine in Ethiopia is the main emphasis of this framing. History demonstrates how starvation is a delicate problem that constantly arises and that famine has long been connected to the name of the country. And discuss the 1980 Ethiopian famine on many occasions throughout the articles. And demonstrates the causes of the previous famine, such as wars, droughts, and blockage. But it also informed its readers that the present famine is distinct from other ones in that it is solely due to the conflict and it’s all man-made unlike the pervious one that is both natural and man-made.

“Hunger is particularly sensitive for Ethiopia, where images of starving children with wasting limbs and glassy eyes in the 1980s led to a global outcry” (Muhumuza, 2021, p. n.p).

“If things don’t change soon, mass starvation is inevitable,” said a humanitarian worker in the region, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to escape retaliation from armed groups. “This is a man-made disaster” (Muhumuza, 2021, p. n.p)

In this sub framing, AP often draws parallels between the 1980s famine and the current one even with mortality and suffering and show its readers that a famine that occurred in claimed many lives and people are currently dealing with the same type of difficulties as those in 1980’s, this helps to connect the past to the present.

“The world’s worst hunger crisis in a decade, with some 400,000 people facing famine conditions. Memories of the 1980s famine in Ethiopia, which killed around 1 million people and produced images that shocked the world are vivid in his mind, Griffiths, The U.N.’s humanitarian chief said, “and we fervently hope (this) is not happening at present” (Muhumuza, 2021, p. n.p)

The AP's historical repetition framing also conveys to its readers the concern that politicians and humanitarians have that the situation may worsen to the point of a famine similar to that of the 1980s and urges that action be taken.

“Famine may already be happening in certain areas. ... It’s unconscionable especially in the very place that woke the world up to the scourge of hunger,” she said. “I ask those who refuse to address this issue publicly, do African lives not matter?” said Linda Thomas-Greenfield, U.S. ambassador to the U.N. (Anna, 2021, p. n.p) .

By bring this concern from different people AP shows it readers that the international communities also did not forget what happen in Tigray in 1980s.

4.2.2.2 Famine as a weapon of war

Similar to the Guardian, the AP stoked readers' emotions by sub framing the issue as a weapon of war. During this sub framing the newspaper asserted that the Ethiopian government and its allies used famine as a weapon of war. in an effort to appeal to the readers' emotions the article emotive response was created through the argument that the government of Ethiopian blocked the food aid, its forces steal food and seeds for planting, killing livestock, looting farm equipment, massacres, gang rapes, mass expulsions of residents from their homes, and the destruction of health centers were among that was used by the article to create the reader emotion express.

“The Associated Press found. In farming areas in Tigray to which the AP got rare access, farmers, aid workers and local officials confirmed that food had been turned into a weapon of war” (Muhumuza, 2021, p. n.p).

Through this sub framing, the paper highlight how the USA, leaders that were nominated by Abiy Ahmed to govern Tigray for eight months and international aid workers in Tigray described the crisis as ethnic cleansing.

“United States has declared “ethnic cleansing” in western Tigray” (Muhumuza, 2021, p. n.p).

“The deputy CEO of the region, Abebe Gebrehiwot, “echoed the assessment of “ethnic cleansing” and said combatants are blocking food aid from reaching those who need it” (Muhumuza, 2021, p. n.p).

“There is no other way to define what is happening to the people of Tigray than by ethnic cleansing,” InterAction, an alliance of international aid groups” (Anna, 2021, p. n.p).

By including ethnic cleansing equation to those articles, AP asserts that the problem in Tigray extends beyond just a famine. and demonstrates to the reader how food is utilized as a weapon of war to eradicate the Tigrayan ethnic group.

4.2.2.3 famine us a health issue

Famine is also sub framed as a health problem in the articles by AP. Similar to the guardian, health specialists from several places were questioned for the AP publications. However, the AP has not only concentrated on the content but also on the imagery that depicts how children are suffering from malnutrition. This shows readers the need of taking humanitarian action to eliminate malnutrition among those that are unable to provide for themselves. The newspaper established a link between escalating food crises, severe nutrition shocks, and child mortality and the violent conflicts that are occurring in a number of Tigray areas.

“Across Tigray, the number of children hospitalized for severe acute malnutrition has surged” (Anna, 2021, p. n.p)

“Most of the malnourished children, they die there,” said Dr. Kibrom Gebreselassie, chief medical director of Ayder Hospital in Mekelle. “This is a tip of the iceberg” (Anna, 2021, p. n.p) .

Regarding this sub-frame, AP has consistently underlined the severity of famine in terms of the cost to human life, which is measured by the yearly child malnutrition in communities that have been forced to evacuate their homes due to the conflict and the number of individuals in need of humanitarian help. This is even difficult because the government has limited humanitarian organizations’ capacity, more people are dying and more children and mothers are malnourished. By presenting this measurement and concerns from different experts AP shows to its readers how famine has turned into a health issue.

“According to the U.N. children’s agency — 18,600 from February to August, compared to 8,900 in 2020. The U.N. says hospitals outside of Mekele have run out of nutrition supplies to treat them (Anna, 2021).

“The world must take immediate action to help Tigray, because we can no longer live on our own land” (Muhumuza, 2021, p. No) In summary, the framing of food crisis in Tigray the articles selected for analysis by the Guardian and AP each produced two frames and three each sub framing in which the two are the same: - guardian frame the crisis as hunger and AP frame the crisis as famine. This salient framing of the two media is different and it demonstrates how those two international media outlets view the Tigray food crisis and the severity of the

suffering it has inflicted on the population. This has an impact on how the public perceives the issue. It also affects how the country reacts to a food crisis. However, despite the variations in the framing, the way the framing was sub-framed was some similarity. AP sub frame it as a historical recurrence, weapon of war and health issues. while Guardian sub frame it as a political failure, weapon of war and health and social issues while

The salient framing that the AP and Guardian employed, which was discovered by the AntConc software in order for the readers to grasp, was given depth by those sub framings. They view hunger/famine as a historical recurrence that keeps happening in the same area and claiming many lives each time it does. They also see it as a weapon of war that the Ethiopian government and its allies are using to deal with the people of Tigray. Finally, they both portray it as a health and social concern that is harming the most vulnerable individuals, including women, children, and those with chronic illnesses. As this section of the research paper, it is analyzed the salient framing and supporting framing that the two media used to frame the food crisis and aid in understanding or influencing their readers, the next section will evaluate how those media are influenced by the UN.

4.3 The Influence of UN on the media Framing

4.3.1 UN Framing of Tigray food crisis

Before discussing how the UN affected the framing of the Guardian and AP, this research paper first examines the framing of the food crisis by UN drawing from Entman framing approach, which “focuses on identifying, revising, consolidating, and grouping new ideas in order to create bigger frames” (Halfpenny, et al., 2009, p. 7).. For the purpose of this research paper, only The UN's WFP august report on “Tigray Emergency Food Security Assessment Tigray Crisis response on” (WFP, 2022, p. 1) framing of the food crisis is discussed.

As the result of AntConc frequent word search to see how the word the use to frame the crisis, the most frequently used word from the WFP report is ‘food’ which is mentioned 301 times, then followed by ‘insecurity /insecure’ is mentioned 72 times, ‘emergency’ which is mentioned 61 times, then ‘hunger’ which is mentioned 12 times and lastly ‘famine’ which is only mentioned once. According to Robert Entman (1993), frames are manifested “by the presence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Drawing from the argument, it can be observed that the key term chosen by the

WFP to frame the food crisis in Tigray in its report is as "food insecurity" based on this, this study argues that UN framing is different from the framing of guardian and AP,

4.3.2 The Difference Between the UN Framing the Guardian And AP

This research examined how the two media and the UN frame the food crisis in Tigray and discovered that there are significant differences between them. For example, the Guardian frames the crisis as hunger. Regarding AP, it Framed the Tigray food crisis as a famine. While UN frame the food crisis as food insecurity. According to FAO "food insecurity is when A person lack regular access to enough safe and nutritious food for normal growth and development and an active and healthy life. This may be due to unavailability of food and/or lack of resources to obtain food" (FAO, 2022, p. n.p).

This description of this framing illustrates how those entities view the Tigray crisis and how significant or insignificant it is to them. Given that the formation, repetition of key word in the content, and significance of the issues is likely to have a direct impact on how the issue is understood in both public and policy debates, it is also influencing the determination of the appropriate measures to be taken to resolve the issue. However, despite the differences between them, the UN reports had a significant impact on both AP and The Guardian media framing.

4.3.3 Evaluating UN influence on the media framing of Tigray food crisis

In order to capture the potential influence of UN on the media framing of the Guardian and AP of the food crisis in Tigray, this research paper examines to what extent that UN has appeared in the Guardian and AP articles as a benchmark for their increased relevance in the eyes of media in order to capture the possible influence of UN on the media framing of the food crisis in Tigray.

This measure of visibility in those medias does not necessarily indicate that the UN is seen favorably as a reliable source of news, since they may also be covered for their activities on the ground. Being visible, however, is a sign of significance and a requirement for other sorts of influence. So, to better understand how the UN influence the media this research paper will take being visible frequently in the articles of both AP and guardian as a form of influence. Then will follow up with a qualitative content analysis to determine how the UN was cited.

4.3.3.1 Influence of UN on Guardian and AP

The following sections presents the discussion of the results how frequent UN was mention by The Guardian and AP using AntConc software. The frequencies of UN references have been retrieved based on their occurrences in individual articles of both medias. As a result, UN agencies were cited 4 times in Guardian news articles while other groups including the ICRC, IDF, and OXFAM were each mentioned 1 time. The UN has been cited 31 times in AP news articles, and organizations including Doctors Without Borders, the Norwegian Refugee Council, and InterAction Aid have each been referenced 1 time.

Based on the above findings, this research paper makes the argument that the UN has influenced the Guardian and AP News because it gives them the information they want directly from the field and because it is an intergovernmental institution with greater authority than the media. This offers the UN an edge over media outlets that are thousands of kilometres away in terms of access and information from Tigray.

The UN was the only source cited by the media to support their argument regarding the use of the rapidly evolving crisis, and in specific evidence about blockades, the suspension of essential services, and food theft that was almost entirely attributed to the Ethiopian government and its allies. Due to the facts, the information they acquired from the UN and its personnel, both media outlets sub frame hunger and famine as a weapon of war. While framing this they use UN as evidence by linking an article published by, provide a link to Reuters' page, where Reuters interviewed the UN humanitarian personal that accused Ethiopian and Eritrean forces of this crime.

"The UN's top humanitarian official, Mark Lowcock, accused Eritrean forces of "trying to deal with the Tigrayan population by starving them. Lowcock said Eritrean soldiers and local fighters are deliberately blocking supplies to the more than 1 million people in areas outside government control. "Food is definitely being used as a weapon of war" (Paravicini & Houreld, 2021, p. n.p)

In addition to using evidence, the media frequently uses the UN as a source of factual information. This is because the UN has experts on the ground, many of whom work as humanitarian aid workers. The media frequently uses these experts and chiefs of staff to provide information about those in need, children who are hospitalized due to malnutrition, the need aid that entered to Tigray, and the mount of the aid that need to save lives. due to differing justification the majority of factual media accounts come from the UN, with the exception of a few occasions where they cite data from the ICRC and Doctors Without Borders regarding assistance supplies entering Tigray. The UN's statistics, in particular regarding the people in need and the extent of malnutrition in the region, this paper argue that

by using this information from UN both media had an idea how many people are suffering from hunger and famine this make them sub frame the hunger and famine as health issues. And on the basis of this, it can be argued that UN has a larger influence on how those media frame crisis by giving them the facts they need to do so.

“Across Tigray, the number of children hospitalized for severe acute malnutrition has surged, according to the U.N. children’s agency — 18,600 from February to August, compared to 8,900 in 2020” (Anna, 2021, p. n.p).

The UN was most frequently cited not only for its findings regarding the crisis in Tigray, but also for its recommendations on how to alleviate human suffering and avoid a repeat of the 1980s tragedy that claimed lives in the region and the country. UNSC representatives were also quoted as calling for an end to the siege and urging other members to hold a meeting at the UNSC about Tigray. This information from the UN and the reptilian concern from the UN about the worry that it would happen again also had an influence on framing of AP as a Historical Recurrence.

“U.S. ambassador to the U.N., said Thursday. She called for the U.N. Security Council to hold a meeting on Tigray” (Muhumuza, 2021, p. n.p).

In summary, UN information is more reliable than that of other NGOs, at least in the eyes of the AP and Guardian media, even though they sometimes use data from other NGOs to bolster the media arguments. In the selected media articles, more space was given to UN coverage than to that of the other NGOs. Particularly in AP articles, detailed references to UN reports were made and helped to frame the crisis. This shows how UN data has played an important data source for both news outlets. The main reason being that since the ongoing conflict has restricted physical access of the media to cover the real situation on the ground.

The UN received much attention in media coverage, particularly in pieces from AP News, but the Guardian also uses UN statistics and cites UN sources as reliable accounts of what took on the ground. Again, this shows how UN’s data and information have had substantive impact on how the guardian frames the situation in Tigray. The UN had a substantial impact on gathering information, offering knowledgeable opinion, forming evidentiary frameworks and views, and outlining action plans for both media, although their effect varied greatly across these topics. The UN not only exerts influence but also supports analytical assessments about the need for aid and the suffering of people, which are used by both media. This has helped the media comprehend the reality on the ground and has helped them frame their articles to exert influence on their audiences.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

The thesis set out to answer the following question: How has the humanitarian crisis in Tigray been framed by the international media? And three sub-questions on: the general framing of humanitarian crisis in Tigray by the guardian and AP, how those two media outlets frame of the food crisis and how the media are influenced by the UN.

Regarding the general framing of the humanitarian crisis in Tigray, the research paper employed deductive approach to analyze the general framing of two international media by using Galtung's peace and war journalism theory. Based on this approach, the thesis has found that both Guardian and AP tend to defuse situations by focusing on peace than war. However, AP tends to have some indicators of war journalism. For instance, AP creates “us vs them” scenarios specifically when covering Ethiopian government’s expulsion of international community and Media from the country. in sum, both news outlets tend to have more peace-oriented approach to the humanitarian crises in Tigray region of Ethiopia.

Regarding the second indicator of Galtung’s model, the study has found that both the Guardian and AP are people-oriented and offer other people's and different organizations voice in order for the readers to get a clearer picture about the humanitarian crisis in Tigray. Both outlets do not give space and voice to political elites from conflicting parties but rather show the humanitarian situation in the region. AP, however, is more people-oriented than the Guardian because it has more access to the region and covers how people in the region are suffering as result of the conflict and presented the situation to its readers using visual evidence.

As for the third indicator on truth vs propaganda approaches, both news outlets have exposed the government's use of food as a weapon of war. Both outlets cover how government uses propaganda such as “there is no hunger in Tigray”, and denies blockage of essential goods and services to the Tigray region. For the fourth indicator of Galtung’s model that addresses how news coverage have either “solution or victory” oriented-approaches, both the Guardian and AP have solution-oriented approaches. While Guardian tends to focus on proposing solutions to end the humanitarian crises in the region, AP has presented actions that have been taken by other countries to limit the severity of the humanitarian crises. Based on these findings, the study has found both the Guardian and AP has peace journalistic

media framing which de-escalates the situation and advocates for solution of the humanitarian crises in Tigray region.

To answer the second sub-question of the research about the framing of the food crisis in Tigray region, Entman's framing approach has been used. The study has found two salient frames, one from each news outlets. The first framing from the Guardian framed the food crisis in Tigray as hunger. While AP, Framed the Tigray food crisis as a famine. These two framing shows how these two news outlets have framed the food crises. Though both outlets have tried to cover the food crises, AP tends to have stronger framing because it refers to the food crises situation of the region as famine. The guardian's framing has warning tendencies so that the international community can address the food crisis before it become famine but AP's framing strongly focuses on how the famine is unfolding in the region.

Despite the variations in the framing, there are some sub-framing similarities of the Guardian and AP. The first sub-framing focuses on political failures and historical reoccurrence of hunger. They both see hunger and famine as political failures that have repeatedly occurred in Tigray region and costed countless lives under many regimes throughout the nation's history. This gave rise to the second framing, "food as a weapon of war," which both outlets use to illustrate how different governments in Ethiopia have used food to subjugate the Tigray people. By doing so, the media conveys to readers that the government is not only failing to end the crisis but is also using it as a tactic to subjugate the people. the third and last sub-framing is "social and health issues." By using this framing, the Guardian and AP highlights the effects it has on the people, particularly the most vulnerable groups, such as women, children, and those with chronic diseases. By framing and sub framing the food crises on this approach, the Guardian and AP news outlets have simultaneously warned against crime, hoping that the international community can address the food crises in Tigray region.

To answer the third and final sub-question of the research, Entman's framing approach was also used to assess how the guardian and AP framing are influenced by UN. Prior to answering this sub question, this research paper first compared the framing of the two media outlets and UN framing of the food crisis in Tigray. And found that UN frame the food crisis as food insecurity. Nevertheless, despite their differences of the framing about the food crisis, the UN reports had a substantial impact on both AP and The Guardian framing of the food crisis in Tigray. Based on the findings, the UN significantly influenced how the two media outlets covered the Tigray food crisis by filling the information gap that

was created by the blockage of media and other crucial services like telecommunication, internet, and other means of communication, that created an obstacle for the media to directly which made the media organizations more reliant on direct reporting from the UN to cover the Tigray crisis.

Moreover, the majority of the information obtained from the UN, such as statistics on the number of people in need of humanitarian aid, the prevalence of malnutrition in the area has all contributed the guardian's and AP's framing and sub-framing the food crisis in Tigray region. Even though this paper did not address other international actors that influenced the media framing. The results of this research paper demonstrate that even though UN has remained important source of data for the Guardian and AP, their framings are different., Despite the fact that 40% of the population in Tigray is directly impacted by severe food shortages in the region, UN still labels it as food insecurity. Further research can explain why UN continuous to label the situation as food insecurity but not as famine

Bibliography

Scheufele, D. A. & Tewksbury, D., 2007. Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication* , Volume 57, p. 9–20 .

Anna, C., 2021. *apnews*. [Online]
Available at: <https://apnews.com/article/ethiopia-tigray-crisis-hunger-malnutrition-a772602d2caac96e8024769c012ce8c6>
[Accessed 16 10 2022].

Anna, C., 2021. *apnews*. [Online]
Available at: <https://apnews.com/article/only-on-ap-united-nations-africa-business-897bed43c6743c4575298ba5cf7bdd1c>
[Accessed 16 10 2022].

Ardevolabreu, A., 2015. Framing countries in humanitarian crisis.A deductive content analysis of press news. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 21(2), pp. 705-722.

Arowolo, S. O., 2017. UNDERSTANDING FRAMING THEORY. *researchgate*, pp. 1-4.

Baden McIntyre, D. & Homberg, . F., 2019. The Impact of Constructive News on Affective and Behavioural Responses. *Journalism Studies*..

Beaumont, P., 2022. *the guardian*. [Online]
Available at: <https://amp.theguardian.com/cdn.ampproject.org/c/s/amp.theguardian.com/world/2022/aug/18/tigray-ethiopia-conflict-crisis-who-chief-hits-out-over-global-indifference>
[Accessed 28 8 2022].

Britannica, 2022. *The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Associated Press"*. [Online]
Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Associated-Press>
[Accessed 7 8 2022].

CEOBS, 2022. *ceobs*. [Online]
Available at: <https://ceobs.org/the-war-in-tigray-is-undermining-its-environmental-recovery/>
[Accessed 29 10 2022].

Chong , D. & Druckman, J. N., 2007. FRAMING THEORY. *Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois 60208*;, Volume 10, p. 103–126.

Clark, H., 2021. *Starving Tigray,How Armed Conflict and Mass Atrocities Have Destroyed an Ethiopian Region’s Economy and Food System and Are Threatening Famine*, s.l.: The World Peace Foundation.

critical media review, 2015. *critical media review*. [Online]
Available at: <https://criticalmediareview.wordpress.com/2015/10/19/what-is-media->

framing/

[Accessed 30 10 2022].

Davies, L., 2022. *theguardian*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/sep/23/fighting-cuts-off-insulin-supply-tigray-diabetic-ethiopia>

[Accessed 11 10 2022].

dbpedia, 2021. *dbpedia*. [Online]

Available at: https://dbpedia.org/page/The_Guardian

[Accessed 20 3 2022].

De waal, a., 2018. *Mass starvation: the history and future of famine*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press..

DW, 2022. *DW*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.dw.com/en/un-calls-for-billions-in-yemen-aid-under-shadow-of-ukraine-conflict/a-61142875>

[Accessed 19 8 2022].

Elayah , M. & Al Majdhoub, F., 2022. Framing Conflict in the Middle East: Yemen and Syria in European Media. In: *Europe and the MENA region : media reporting, humanitarianism, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding*. s.l.:s.n., p. 173.

Elo, S. & Kyngäs, H., 2008. The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of advanced nursing*, 1(62), pp. 1365-264.

Entman, R. M., 1993. Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp. 51-58.

FAO, 2022. *fao*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.fao.org/hunger/en/>

[Accessed 2 11 2022].

Galtung, J., 1969. Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), pp. 167-191.

Gesesew , H. et al., 2021. The impact of war on the health system of the Tigray region in Ethiopia: an assessment.. *BMJ Global Health* , 6:e007328. doi:10.1136/(bmjgh-2021-007328), pp. 1-9.

Government of the Netherlands, 2021. *government.nl*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.government.nl/latest/news/2021/07/22/ethiopia-situation-tigray-and-un-resolution>

[Accessed 19 8 2022].

Guardian, 2021. *guardian*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/gnm-press-office/2021/dec/14/the-guardian-reaches-one-million-digital-subscriptions-milestone#:~:text=The%20news%20publisher%20has%20114%2C251,in%20the%20last%2012%20months>

[Accessed 20 3 2022].

- Halfpenny, P., Lin, Y. & Pieri, E., 2009. *Using text mining for frame analysis of media content*, Manchester: JISC e-Infrastructure Programme.
- Hanitzsch, T. & Vos, T. P., 2019. A new look into journalistic roles in political and everyday life. *Journalism beyond democracy*, 19(2), pp. 146-164 .
- Hanitzsch, T., 2007. Situating Peace journalism in Journalism Studies: a critical appraisal. *conflict & communication online*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2007, 6(2).
- Hermans, L. & Drok, N., 2018. Placing Constructive Journalism in Context. *Journalism Practice*, pp. pp.679-694.
- Holmes, A. G. D., 2020. Researcher Positionality - A Consideration of Its Influence and Place in Qualitative Research - A New Researcher Guide.. *Shanlax International Journal of Education*, 8(4), pp. 1-10.
- Hossain Khan, T. & MacEachen, . E., 2021. Foucauldian Discourse Analysis: Moving Beyond a Social Constructionist Analytic. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, Volume 20, pp. 1-9.
- Hsieh, H. & Shannon, S., 2005. Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis Article. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), pp. 1277-88 .
- ICR, 2021. *rescue*. [Online]
Available at: <https://www.rescue.org/uk/article/10-worst-humanitarian-crises-2022>
[Accessed 30 10 2022].
- IPC, 2022. *reliefweb*. [Online]
Available at: [https://reliefweb.int/report/world/ipc-famine-factsheet-updated-december-2020#:~:text=A%20Famine%20classification%20\(IPC%20Phase,each%20day%20due%20to%20outright](https://reliefweb.int/report/world/ipc-famine-factsheet-updated-december-2020#:~:text=A%20Famine%20classification%20(IPC%20Phase,each%20day%20due%20to%20outright)
[Accessed 25 4 2022].
- Jaspars, S., 2020. *theconversation*. [Online]
Available at: <https://theconversation.com/nobel-peace-prize-hunger-is-a-weapon-of-war-but-the-world-food-programme-cant-build-peace-on-its-own-147872>
- Kassa, L., 2022. *theguardian*. [Online]
Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/aug/19/hunger-in-tigray-pushing-women-and-girls-into-sex-work>
[Accessed 11 10 2022].
- Lynch, J., 2005. *transcend*. [Online]
Available at: <https://www.transcend.org/tms/about-peace-journalism/1-what-is-peace-journalism/>
[Accessed 1 11 2022].
- Malthus, T., 1798. *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. london : Printed for J. Johnson, in St. Paul's Church-Yard.
- Manning, P., 2001. *News and News Sources: A Critical Introduction*, london: SAGE Publications Ltd..

McGoldrick, A. & Lynch, J., 2000. *PEACE JOURNALISM WHAT IS IT? HOW TO DO IT?*. s.l., s.n.

mercy Corps, 2017. *mercy Corps*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.mercycorps.org/blog/quick-facts-famine#:~:text=Famine%20is%20the%20most%20disastrous,and%20continue%20necessary%20physical%20activity>.

[Accessed 2 11 2022].

Messer, E., Millman, S. & DeRose, L., 1998. *Who's hungry? And how do we know? Food shortage, poverty, and deprivation*. TOKYO - NEW YORK - PARIS: United Nations University Press.

Monbiot, G., 2022. *theguardian*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/sep/23/fighting-cuts-off-insulin-supply-tigray-diabetic-ethiopia>

[Accessed 10 10 2022].

Muhumuza, R., 2021. *apnews*. [Online]

Available at: <https://apnews.com/article/only-on-ap-united-nations-africa-business-897bed43c6743c4575298ba5cf7bdd1c>

[Accessed 16 10 2022].

Nichols, M., 2021. *reliefweb*. [Online]

Available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/ethiopia/un-aid-chief-ethiopia-famine-tigray-get-those-trucks-moving>

[Accessed 3 5 2022].

Nicolas-Gavilan, M. T., 2011. *Framing the news: from political conflict to peace. How the 'framing theory' and the 'political context model' can enhance the peace journalism model*. México: Universidad Panamericana Sede México.

Nohrstedt, S. & Ottosen, R., 2014. *New Wars, New Media and New War Journalism Professional and Legal Challenges in Conflict Reporting*. Gothenburg: Nordicom..

OCHA, 2021. *humanitarianresponse*. [Online]

Available at:

<https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/operations/ethiopia/document/press-statement-acting-humanitarian-coordinator-operational-constraints>

[Accessed 25 4 2022].

Ottosen, R. & Øvrebø, S., 2016. Who's Blame For the Chaos in Syria? The Coverage of Syria in Afenposten with the War in Libya as Doxa. *Journalism in Conflict and Post-Conflict Conditions Worldwide Perspectives*.

Paravicini, G. & Houreld, K., 2021. *reuters*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/exclusive-un-official-accuses-eritrean-forces-deliberately-starving-tigray-2021-06-11/>

[Accessed 2 11 2022].

Puddephatt, A., 2006. *Voices of war: Conflict and the role of the media*, s.l.: International Media Support.

Sábada Garraza, M. T., 2001. Origen, aplicación y límites de la “teoría del encuadre” (framing) en comunicación. *Communication & Society*, 14(2), pp. 143-175.

Santos, F. O. d., 2021. Peace Journalism: a tool with in media development. *Research Reviews for Media Development Practitioners*, Volume 2, pp. 1-30.

Santos, I., Carvalho, L. M. & Melo, B. P. e., 2022. The media's role in shaping the public opinion on education: A thematic and frame analysis of externalisation to world situations in the Portuguese media. *Research in Comparative & International Education*, 17(1), pp. 29-50.

Shank, M., 2010. *GPPAC Media Training Manual*. [Online]

Available at:

<http://www.gppac.net/documents/130492842/130493035/GPPAC+Media+Training+Manual.pdf/ec359a9c-efc2-4cd1-bd07-872d3caf654e>

[Accessed 8 10 2022].

Simons, G., 2016. News and Syria: Creating key media moments in the conflict. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 2(1), pp. 1-16.

Thankachan, K. & Dr Thomas, P., 2021. Media framing and its effects on conflict: A thematic approach to framing as a means of control. *International Journal of Advanced Academic Studies*, 3(4), pp. 06-13.

Tofa, M., Kifle, A. A. & Kinkoh, H., 2022. *POLITICAL AND MEDIA ANALYSIS ON THE TIGRAY CONFLICT IN ETHIOPIA*. brussels: European Institute of Peace.

UN, 2021. *UN news*. [Online]

Available at: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/11/1104742>

[Accessed 19 8 2022].

Vondervoort, L. v. d., 2021. *government.nl*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.government.nl/latest/news/2021/07/22/ethiopia-situation-tigray-and-un-resolution>

[Accessed 19 8 2022].

WFP and FAO, 2022. *Hunger Hotspots. FAO-WFP early warnings on acute food insecurity*, s.l.: s.n.

WFP, 2014. *world food programme*, rome: s.n.

WFP, 2022. *Tigray Emergency Food Security Assessment Tigray Crisis response*, Addis Ababa: WFP.

WFP, 2022. *wfp*. [Online]

Available at: [https://www.wfp.org/news/severe-hunger-tightens-grip-northern-ethiopia#:~:text=2%20million%20people%20\(37%25\),say%20the%20same%20\(45%25\).](https://www.wfp.org/news/severe-hunger-tightens-grip-northern-ethiopia#:~:text=2%20million%20people%20(37%25),say%20the%20same%20(45%25).)

[Accessed 25 4 2022].

Willig, C., 2008. *Introducing qualitative research in psychology. Adventures in theory and method (2nd ed.)*. Maidenhead, UK: McGraw-Hill.. Maidenhead, UK: McGraw-Hill.

World Agroforestry, 2022. *worldagroforestry*.. [Online]
Available at: <https://www.worldagroforestry.org/news/environmental-leader-tigray-region-wins-future-policy-gold-award>
[Accessed 10 9 2021].