Media Discourse and Framing of Ethno-political Conflicts: A Case Study of the Oromo-Somali Groups in South Eastern Ethiopia

By

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, announce that this PhD thesis titled: **Media Discourse and Framing of Ethno-political Conflicts: A Case Study of the Oromo-Somali Groups in South Eastern Ethiopia** is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university or academic institution and that all sources of materials used in this thesis are fully acknowledged and appropriately referenced.

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Approval Sheet for the Supervisors

This is to certify that this PhD dissertation entitled: **Media Discourse and Framing of Ethno-political Conflicts: A Case Study of the Oromo-Somali Groups in South Eastern Ethiopia** is prepared by Gebremedhin Weldemariam Areaya (ID. No. 57635684) and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (in Sociology) conforms with the rules and regulations of the University, meets the putative scholarly standards and is thus agreed to proceed to examination.

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Approval Sheet for the Board of Examiners

This is to confirm that the dissertation prepared by **Gebremedhin Weldemariam Areaya,** entitled: **Media Discourse and Framing of Ethno-political Conflicts: A Case Study of the Oromo-Somali Groups in South Eastern Ethiopia**, submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (in Social science and humanities Studies) fulfills with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted criteria with regard to the quality and originality.

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Thank you all. Mighty God, in His Unrestricted Mercy, reward you all (Amen)

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this research to the memory of my late father, Weldemariam Areaya, whose unwavering support and guidance have been a constant source of inspiration for me. Equally, I dedicate this research to the people of Oromo and Ethiopian Somalis, who have endured immense suffering and hardships as a result of the ethno-political conflict and subsequent humanitarian crises.

Abstract

This dissertation explores the framing of violent ethno-political conflicts through media discourse, with a specific focus on the Oromo-Somali (sometimes interchanged as Somali-Oromo conflict, without changing the intention of meaning in the study) conflict in Ethiopia. Employing an exploratory qualitative research design, the study draws on two theoretical frameworks: Galtung's War and Peace Journalism approach, and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method. Data for the research were drawn from extracts of 30 African regional and Ethiopian national online news articles published over a period of 17 months, from August 2017 to December 2018. These online news articles were accessed through search engines, thereby making the sampling strategy purposive.

The findings reveal a predominant war discourse/primordial explanation in the media, with a tendency to downplay anti-war narratives. The newspapers present the conflicts in a discriminatory manner utilizing demonizing, victimization, and sensational and escalatory discourses that can exacerbate the violence. Within the media discourse, the two ethnic groups involved are often portrayed as both victims and perpetrators, with a grading system that categorizes them as "violent villains" and "innocent victims". Additionally, there is a notable inclination to place blame on one ethnic group more than the other. Almost all the selected news articles were heavily biased towards the Oromo ethnic faction. The victimization of the Oromo ethnic group was given high priority in the newspapers, which maximized news discourses which are unfavorable to or critical of the Ethiopian Somalis. This unfair representation can further intensify the conflicts and reflects a hegemonic view that serves the interests of a few Oromo political elites and citizens, rather than considering the well-being of the broader population, and the victims from both ethnic groups. The media discourse is skillfully manipulated and exploited by the Oromo to advance their own veiled interests. Furthermore, the newspapers provide superficial narratives of the conflict, lacking in-depth analysis. It is evident that the frames employed by online newspapers do not contribute to peace-building or to the de-escalation of the conflicts. Therefore, this study highlights the pressing need for responsible journalism and unprejudiced reportage to foster peace and reconciliation in

societies affected by ethno-political conflicts. It reflects the urgent necessity for decolonial approaches and Afro-centric philosophy/African parlance. By adhering to these approaches, the media can play a vital role in addressing a more peaceful and inclusive narrative surrounding such conflicts. To gain a more comprehensive understanding of the media's role in such conflicts, the study recommends assessing the reception of media texts by the audience and employing instruments such as questionnaires and interview guides in future studies. Additionally, future research should delve into the editorial policies of newspapers covering conflict and wars in particular.

Key Terms: Media discourse, media framing, critical discourse analysis, ethno-political conflict, war journalism, peace journalism, textual framing, generic framing, ethnic Oromo, Ethiopian Somalis

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List of Acronyms

ANDM: Amhara National Democratic Movement

ASRAT TV: Amhara Satellite Radio and Television

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CUD: Coalition for Unity and Democracy

DA: Discourse Analysis

DTWV: Dimiti Woyane Tigray Television

EPRDF: Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

ESAT: Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio

ESPD: Ethiopian Somali People's Democratic Party

FDRE: Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

HRW: Human Rights Watch

IGAD: The Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IRIN: Integrated Regional Information Networks.

OCHA: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

OLF: Oromo Liberation Front

OMN: Oromia Media Network

ONLF: Ogaden National Liberation Front

OPDO: Oromo People's Democratic Organization

RTLM: Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines

SEPDF: Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Front

SRS: Somali Regional State

WSLF: Western Somali Liberation Front

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background and context for the study

Ethiopia has long grappled with ethno-linguistic antagonisms, hatred, and violent conflicts. These conflicts are deeply ingrained in the daily lives of its inhabitants, making them a pervasive social phenomenon in the country. However, the drivers, intensity, and dynamics of these conflicts are subject to change over time, owing to Ethiopia's complex political, social, economic, and cultural history (Teferi, 2012; Yusuf, 2019).

Ethiopia is a country characterized by its diverse population, comprising more than "80 ethnic groups" and "over 200 dialects" (Teferi, 2012: 62). Following the overthrow of the Derg regime in 1991, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) emerged as a coalition of four ethnic-based political parties: the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO), and Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Front (SEPDF). They established a federal form of government, primarily organized along linguistic and ethnic lines, resulting in inter-ethnic conflicts sporadically arising. Although ethnic conflicts are not new to Ethiopia, their intensity and persistence have escalated dramatically over the past two decades (Addis-Fortune, 2019), while their frequency and intensity have grown exponentially since the introduction of the Federal System in the early 1990s. According to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) Attorney General (2019), clashes among dominant ethnic groups in 2018 resulted in the murder of 1,229 individuals and the injury of 1,393 others, due to their ethnicity. In 2018, Ethiopia witnessed the highest number of new internal displacements globally, with approximately 2.9 million people displaced as a result of brutal ethnic violence (Yusuf, 2019). The severity of this violence has not merely resulted in material and human losses, but also significantly impacts the social, economic, and political fabric of the nation (FDRE Attorney General, 2019). These conflicts poison the coexistence of various ethnic groups, jeopardizing the unity of the nation and its people (Anteneh, 2013; Dagnachew, 2018).

Some argue that ethnic violence cannot be blamed on ethnicity, but rather on the politicization of ethnicity by self-seeking politicians, meaning that, among all the modalities of federalism (territorial, multinational, ethnic, quasi-federal), ethnic federalisms the one that can cause inter-ethnic problems (Taye, 2017). Similarly, Ayele (2019) noted that the EPRDF's ethnocentric federal administration system transformed historically resource-stimulated violence into politically driven and financed ethnic conflicts, resulting in discontent, by politicizing all forms of conflicts, ethnicities, and other socio-political ramifications.

The 1991 EPDRF federal structure aimed to address the ethnic-nationalist concerns that had prevailed in the country for a long time and formulate a new constitution different from the past "imperial" and "socialist" constitutions and policies. The EPRDF's assembly discussed the draft constitutional structure, including numerous new provisions and plans to establish a federal system of administration that accommodated the interests and well-being of different ethnic groups in the country (Habib, 2010). The notion of Nations, Nationality, and Peoples' right to autonomy and right to self-government up to secession as a resolution to the question of ethnic groups, profoundly influenced the characteristics of the federal structure (Fiseha, 2012). However, various ethnic-territorial-based acts of violence have occurred since 1991 (Mohamed, 2018). This is partly because the federal arrangement, which emphasized and encouraged diversity without balancing unity, posed a potential risk for national unity and led to violence, tension, divisions, and fragmentation among the many ethnic groups of the nation (Adamu, 2013). Thus, from a practical point of view, the EPRDF system did not reduce conflict in the country, but instead amplified antagonism and rivalry among ethnic groups and political parties that already existed before 1991 over natural resources like land, territories, and administrative borders (International Crisis Group, 2009). For example, Mohamed (2018: 42) has noted the well-known conflicts that have occurred since 1991:

> The Silte-Gurage conflict, the Wagagoda language conflict, the Sheko-Megeng conflict, the Nuer-Agwa conflict in the Gambella region, the Berta-Gumuz conflict in Benishangul Gumuz, the Gedeo-Guji conflict, the Oromo-Amhara conflict, the Borana-Gerri conflict, the Afar-Issa conflict, and the Oromo-Somali conflict.

These realities, alongside other factors, confirm that Ethiopia is plagued by long-lasting, ferocious inter-ethnic violence and the Oromo-Somali conflict is seen as part and parcel of the country's history of violent ethnic conflicts. This Oromo-Somali (Somali-Oromo) conflict is singled out of the many conflicts in Ethiopia because it is the most recent and violent conflict with fundamental and far reaching humanitarian consequences. Recently the two ethnic groups enter into violent conflicts arise over resources, ethnicity and politics (Kenee, 2023). Plus, to that the conflict gets an transnational and regional attention that reported by the regional and global news agencies.

According to Catley and Iyasu (2010) and Shide (2005), a number of occurrences fueled the conflict: the conflict from 1970 to 1974 in Eastern Ethiopia was one of the factors that drew the two ethnic groups into rivalry. Additionally, from 1984 to 1991, the supply of automatic weaponry to the Oromo by the EPRDF government, and to the Somalis by the Republic of Somaliland and Djibouti, fueled further violent conflicts between the two ethnic groups. Moreover, in the early 1900s, the movement of Oromo pastoralists, from the western Hararghe highlands to access grasslands for their livestock in the Shinile zone of the Somali region, created violent conflicts between the two communities. The formation of the Somali Regional State (SRS) in 1991, without clear borders in key disputed areas, has also contributed to violence. These events, along with uncertain delineation and disputed areas, led to a referendum in November 2004, which similarly became a source of disputes between the two ethnic groups.

A report from Amnesty International also reveals that external actors and factors have been causing conflicts between the two ethnic groups, including Greater Somalia and Eritrea providing training and logistics to Ethiopian insurgent fighters (Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF)) operating in their country (Amnesty International, 2017/2018). These external dimensions of the conflict are intertwined with the political elites of the Republic of Somalia's vision to create a "Greater Somali Land" by unifying all the "Somali-speaking populaces" living in Somalia, Kenya, Djibouti, and Ethiopia (Assefa, 2019). In that respect, the supporters of the Somali Republic and their sympathizers took

advantage of the violent conflicts. The interest from these external forces has heightened the incidence and intensity of the violent conflicts between the two regions.

Several other researchers have been studying the primary causes of the Oromo-Somali conflicts. The overall consensus is that there are many causes of the violence, ranging from ethnic disputes to political violence. This highlights that ethnic identity and politics are the leading causes of the conflicts. It can be said that the conflict is an ethnic-centered political conflict, although there are other internal and external actors, spoilers, and interest groups who politicize every political and economic issue concerning the two ethnic groups. Starting in 2015, ethnic tensions raised due to border disputes, which can be considered conflicts over resources, demands for ethnic self-assertion, and the difficulties of ethnic boundary delimitations. This resulted in a political disagreement between the regional ruling parties' leaders–the OPDO, and the Ethiopian Somali People's Democratic Party (ESPD). Consequently, hundreds of people died, and around 161,538 households, and one million individuals, were internally displaced (Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 2017; Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), 2018). Ethnic Oromo living in Somalia were assaulted and attacked by the Somali ethnic group. Similarly, ethnic Somalis living outside their designated geographical boundaries were attacked and targeted by Oromo communities (Ayele, 2019). Thus, the conflict resulted in the loss of thousands of lives, social dislocation, social tensions and damage to properties worth millions of Ethiopian birr.

As noted by Mohamed (2018), the direct involvement of regional special-force police in the conflict was another factor that caused tensions between the two regions. The Oromia and Somali special police directly participated in the conflict, and are responsible for many stabbings and violent clashes (IRIN, 2017). On both sides, various levels of government structures, regional armed police forces, and local clan armed men, local government actors, and aggrieved and unemployed youths, in addition to defense forces and the Federal Government, participated in the 2017-2018 Oromo-Somali conflict (Mohamed, 2018).Kenee (2023) likewise pointed out the dynamics and causes of the violence along the Somali-Oromia boundary in eastern Ethiopia, including political ecology, political economy (greed vs. grievance), the self-centered behavior of political

elites, and politicization of ethnicity have amplified the complexity of the violent conflict. Thus, it is implausible to maintain that ethnic dissimilarity is the only cause of violence. Other socio-economic, socio-cultural, socio-political, media discourse and geo-political factors have also contributed to the conflict (Mohamed, 2018).

Therefore, despite several studies exploring the role of socio-economic, socio-cultural, socio-political, and geo-political scenarios in the ethno-political conflict between the two regions (Ayele, 2019; Catley & Iyasu, 2010; Mohamed, 2018; Shide, 2005), there is a lack of research addressing how this conflict was covered by various newspapers media, which could contribute to understanding the framing of violent conflicts and help minimize their consequences. More explicitly, by primarily relying on Galtung's (1998a) War and Peace Journalism approaches and Fairclough's (1995a) method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this dissertation attempts to answer the following questions:

How ethno-political conflicts are constructed and represented in online news discourses? What sources are employed to gather data about the conflicts? What generic frames are applied to build and depict the conflicts?

1.2.   Statement of the problem

In recent times, the field of sociology of conflict has witnessed a surge in interest in the role of media in framing and/or exacerbating ethno-political conflicts. This has created a pressing need to enhance our understanding of how media representation influences the dynamics of such conflicts, with a particular focus on African countries like Ethiopia. As noted above, Ethiopia is a nation characterized by its diverse population. Given this intricate socio-cultural fabric, studying the media's impact on ethno-political conflict in Ethiopia becomes even more crucial in order to grasp the complexities and nuances of these conflicts within the African context.

The recent Oromo-Somali conflict in Ethiopia, violent clashes and disputes that occurred during the period from August 1, 2017, to December 30, 2018, drew significant attention and raised concerns about the dynamics of inter-ethnic tensions within the country. The conflict primarily took place in the border areas between the Oromia and Somali regions

of Ethiopia, but had the potential to spread to other East African countries, becoming a significant national and regional security concern. This drew the attention of African and international media (OCHA, 2018).

The Oromo and Somali are two of the largest ethnic groups in Ethiopia, each with distinct cultural, linguistic, and historical backgrounds. The conflict between these communities has been fueled by a variety of factors, including competition over resources, land disputes, political representation, and historical grievances. These tensions have escalated into violent confrontations, leading to loss of life, displacement of people, and significant social and economic consequences for both communities. This conflict highlighted the complex nature of Ethiopia's ethno-political landscape and the challenges faced in managing inter-ethnic relations. The conflict also sheds light on the role of regional and national governments in addressing these issues and the need for inclusive governance, dialogue, and conflict resolution mechanisms.

During the recent Oromo-Somali conflict, I was teaching the impact of mass media on ethnic violence at "Mettu" University in the Oromia Region of Ethiopia. I observed how various media outlets reported on this conflict during that time. Therefore, this current study has been inspired by my idiosyncratic experience as a teacher of sociology of media in the Oromia region in the last five years. This personal experience provided me with an interest in forming in-depth insights and a critical perspective on the impact of media reporting on similar political matters, and their framing in national and regional newspapers. In addition to my eyewitness, scholars like Bekele (2018) also posit that the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict had great tendency to attract the international and regional media attention because of its fundamental and far-reaching humanitarian consequences, which has uprooted millions of people and resulted in the deaths of millions more. In the region, the two ethnic groups have entered a political era where their borders policies are underpinned by violent conflict (see also OCHA, 2018).

This research applies qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and conflict studies to analyze the discourses and narratives of news articles based on the Ethiopian-Oromo-

Somali conflict. However, in the literature, it is hard to find studies that adopted CDA to examine the representation of ethno-political conflicts when specifically analyzing newscast stories from various media sources. Only a few studies are available on this topic, particularly in Ethiopia. One example is Bekele (2018), who conducted a study titled *Critical Discourse Analysis on the Portrayal of the Oromo and Ethiopian Somali Peoples' Conflict: The Case of Addis Admass Reporter and Addis Zemen Newspapers*. The author applied CDA to examine the portrayal of ethno-political conflicts in two privately owned national newspapers. According to the author, government-owned media outlets openly serve the government's ideological interests, resulting in biased coverage. On the other hand, privately owned news media attempt to present both sides of the event to gain insights into their audiences. This study problematizes this, as well as contributes to the research on applications of CDA in media representations of political controversies, which is an underdeveloped topic.

Similarly, Bekalu (2006) conducted research titled *Presupposition in News Discourse*, analyzing news discourses surrounding a conflict that occurred in the western part of Ethiopia, in a region called Gambella, in December 2003. The author examined five news articles from three Ethiopian national newspapers, namely The Ethiopian Herald, The Reporter, and Addis Tribune, using CDA. The author revealed that, through unfair presumptions, the media obscured certain matters, indicating the presence of ideological discourses in the news texts. Failing to minimize biased presuppositions may result in a loss of viewership for the media. However, these two studies have gaps while they conduct research on Ethno-political conflict, as they only analyzed news articles from national Ethiopian newspapers and did not examine the framing and sources used by national newspapers. As is evident from the literature, previous research has not adequately addressed this issue (the Oromo-Somali conflict). Therefore, conducting a detailed investigation into this phenomenon is essential to gain a deeper understanding of how news media frame and depict violent ethno-political conflicts. It is essential to comprehend how different narratives and discourses shape public opinion and influence the dynamics of the conflict, by devoting particular attention to the relations between the ethno-political violence and the news stories.

This study thus critically identifies and examines the news reports of 30 sampled articles, using Norman Fairclough's CDA method as a robust theoretical and methodological framework, taking the recent Oromo-Somali conflict as a case study.

1.3.   Objective of the study

This thesis initiates research into the nature of media discourse and framing of the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict, in South Eastern Ethiopia. The aim of this research is to identify the discourses and the main frames that are utilized to report the conflict by the selected online news articles. The study focuses on the period between August 1, 2017, and December 30, 2018.

1.4.   Research questions

This research is guided by a crucial question: how has the ethno-political conflict between the Oromo and Somali ethnic groups been constructed and described in regional and national newspaper articles in Ethiopia? There are three sub-questions that further elaborate on this inquiry:

1.   How do Ethiopian (national or in-country) newspapers, as well as African regional newspapers more generally, represent the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict?
2.   How do these newspaper articles cite their sources to gather information while constructing discourses related to the ethno-political conflicts?
3.   What types of generic framing strategies do the newspaper articles utilize when narrating and covering the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflicts?

1.5.   Significance of the study approach and relevance to new knowledge

The impact of newspapers representation on violent ethno-political conflicts cannot be underestimated, both within the African continent and worldwide. This issue directly affects the lives of millions of innocent civilians (OCHA, 2018; Thompson & Annan, 2007). Therefore, it is crucial to analyze how conflicts are portrayed by newspapers. One

notable example is the Oromo-Somali ethno-political violent conflict that erupted on August 1, 2017, and persisted for 17 months. Throughout this period, the conflict engulfed several disputed adjacent borders between the two regional states, resulting in numerous civilian casualties and the displacement of millions of people from their homes (OCHA, 2018). The extensive coverage of this conflict by regional and national news media became a phenomenon worth examining, although this study focuses solely on the context of African and Ethiopian newspapers.

Despite the comprehensive coverage by newspaper media, little attention has been given to analyzing how these media outlets portray or represent such civil conflicts. Therefore, conducting a detailed investigation into this phenomenon is essential to gain a deeper understanding of how news media construct and depict violent ethno-political conflicts. This research aims to analyze how the news media portray to the conflicting events. By analyzing the constructed discourses, media sourcing, and framing approaches employed by regional and national newspapers during the violent ethno-political conflict, it will be possible to ascertain whether these media outlets tend to promote peace or war. Considering the current relevance of media's impact on discourse studies, particularly through communication platforms like on line magazines and newspapers, it is important to provide a clear perspective on the effects of media.

Furthermore, the findings of this study could be beneficial for the democratization of African media, and the improvement of reporting standards. The outcomes will be of interest to organizations such as the Ethiopian Sociological Association (ESA), and other civil, political, and non-political associations. This study has the potential to contribute to the promotion of a nonviolent and peaceful Africa through the intervention of peace-provoking media. It is also valuable for peace practitioners and conflict managers, as they play a significant role in humanitarian interventions. In essence, this research will demonstrate how news media can foster peace, reconciliation and bridge divides within ethnically and politically fragmented communities through its representation.

Additionally, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society organizations (CSOs), peacekeeping groups, and other humanitarian organizations can also benefit from the study's insights, particularly regarding engaging in news media discourses to achieve reconciliation through media and through democratize the African media institutions, decolonizing conflict report, liberalizing media reports and by the utilization of peace journalism model. This study also aims to contribute to the development of a process model of media discourse and framing, addressing the lack of previous research and providing guidelines for future studies on media narratives and the representation of violent ethno-political conflicts. Overall, this work raises and presents some very important and pertinent issues pertaining to the media and political journalism, and journalism in conflict times.

1.6. The scope of the study

The study looks into how African regional and Ethiopian national media represented the events of the violent Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict located in the South-Eastern parts of Ethiopia. The period of the study covers newspaper media published from August 1, 2017 to December 30, 2018. The selection of the study period was clued-up by the realization that the years 2017 and 2018 marked the climax of the Oromo-Somali conflict characterized by phenomenal political violence leading to loss of property and human life and the eviction of more than a million dwellers from both ethnic communities. The conflict happened in a polarized political climate (OCHA, 2018).There was also a sharp upsurge in media reportage of the violence conflict. It was a critical discourse moment that offered journalists a chance for wider, more long-term reportage and explanation of the ethno-political conflict (Chilton, 1987).

To be precise and focused on the analysis, the data used for this research are mined from regional (African) and national (Ethiopian) newspapers, focused on the preliminary pages, inside pages, and final pages. Other global newspapers that covered the conflicts were not the focus of this research and were not included in the analysis, as the study assumed that coverage by international media was a duplication of what had been covered by the regional and national newspapers.

In terms of levels of conflict, the study aims to present and analyze news reports of the violent conflict between the two communities. It focuses on specific ethno-political violence, such as organized violence galvanized and triggered by different actors and spoilers. Hence, this study does not include how low-level or non-violent conflicts, like verbal opposition and demonstrations, are framed and conveyed by the news articles. The focus is instead on how the irregular violent clashes that happened during the sampled limited periods are constructed and covered by the newspapers.

1.7.   Limitations and challenges

There are limitations to the research conducted in this study. Firstly, the focus was solely on newspaper articles available online, excluding television, radio broadcasts, and social media depictions of the conflict. Including these sources could provide a different perspective on the portrayal of the Oromo-Somali conflict (Smith, 2019). Additionally, the study did not consider the diverse interpretations of readers, nor did it gather the viewpoints of journalists, editors, and audiences, which could have provided valuable insights (Brown, 2016; Wilson, 2017). The research was also limited to a specific time period, from August 01, 2017 to December 30, 2018, overlooking potential developments or events that occurred before or after this timeframe.

Several challenges were encountered during the research process. The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, which restricted movement and hindered data collection, and the ongoing war between the Ethiopian federal military force and the Tigray Regional special force from 2020 to 2023, resulted in internet service shutdowns and limited mobility in the Tigray regional state. These circumstances posed significant obstacles to conducting this research. Furthermore, time and financial constraints were additional challenges that affected the scope and execution of this study.

This study topic is still relevant in 2024: firstly, the conflict is ongoing and some important institutional issues surrounding war or conflict times/periods in Somali-Oromos relations have not been resolved; secondly, the institutional role of the media in Africa, and specifically in Ethiopia, has been compromised by the ongoing extended war and disruption of institutional life, which this study highlights.

1.8. Key terms and concepts

De-escalation: In this study, de-escalation means the decline or de-persistence in the conflict, in terms of casualties, trends and termination.

Discourse: For the sake of this research, "discourse" is defined as language in use. It is linguistic in context, and denotes expressing ourselves via words in ways of valuing, experiencing and knowing the world (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1994).It is primarily concerned with linguistic use in a societal context, mainly with the dialectical connection between languages, the leading semiotic modality and society, along with the shared or dialogic properties of daily communications as societal practice (Fairclough, 1989; see also Chapter 2). It focuses on the way that discourses are produced and represented (i.e., textual representation), not as a social/discursive practice and socio-cultural practice of the media.

Escalation: In this research, escalation means the growth or persistence of the violence in terms of casualties, continuation and trends.

Ethiopian Somalis: Refers to ethnic Somalis present in Ethiopia, essentially in the Somali Region (a breakaway state of Somalia, or the region that broke away from the Greater Federal Republic of Somalia in 1991).

Ethnic Oromo: The Oromos are a Cushitic people native to the Oromia region of Ethiopia, whom they speak the Oromo language. The Oromo people constitute the major ethnic band in the country, with some estimates suggesting they make up 40% of the populace. Though economically, socially and religiously diverse, Oromo are integrated by a shared language, also widely spoken in parts of Somalia and northern Kenya.

Ethno-political conflict: For this research, it refers to disputes over issues such as ethnicity, politics and resources, since the Oromo-Somali conflict includes competition over limited natural resources (like water and land) and territories, as well as for political power in the country.

Framing: In this study, framing denotes the presentation style, sentences; frames source, phrases, and type of framing approaches that were utilized by the selected news articles in presenting the Oromo-ethnic Somali conflict within the 17 months covered by this research (see also Chapter 3).

Media: The term media, the plural of medium, refers to the communication channels through which we disseminate news, music, movies, education, promotional messages and other data (Stoltzfus, 2020). It includes physical and online newspapers and magazines, television, radio, billboards, telephone, internet, fax, films, recordings, books, as well as new categories like smart mass media, which comprises smart phones, tablets, and smart TVs (Wimmer & Dominick, 2012). Nevertheless, in this study, media mainly focuses on newspapers articles available online and some website publication.

1.9.   Thesis layout

This study examines how regional and national newspapers characterized violent ethno-political conflicts, using the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict as a case study. The dissertation is organized into eight chapters.

Chapter 1 highlights the context of the research by providing accounts of the study's background, problem statement, rationale and objectives, research questions, challenges, key concepts, scope, and limitations.

Chapter 2 focuses on the theoretical and conceptual considerations of the dissertation. It discusses three main aspects: the role of the Ethiopian national media in times of conflict, an overview of the African regional media landscape, and the functions and roles of media in other regions of the world. This chapter also conceptualizes the term discourse, and reviews the critical literature on the roles of media in wartime, including the dichotomy introduced by Galtung (1998) that divides journalism framing into war journalism and peace journalism.

Chapter 3 adds to the framework of (critical) discourse analysis, as both a theory for critical discussion, and as a method of analyzing media discourses. It frames the ethno-political conflicts from a social constructionist perspective. The chapter begins by

highlighting the significance of media discourses in shaping public perceptions and understanding of ethno-political conflicts, emphasizing the crucial role that media plays in constructing and framing these conflicts and influencing how they are interpreted by the audience. The chapter then delves into the theoretical underpinnings of discourse analysis, explaining its relevance in examining media framing. Discourse analysis is presented as a comprehensive approach that considers language, power dynamics, and social context in understanding how meanings are constructed, negotiated, and contested. From a social constructionist perspective, discourse analysis recognizes that media discourses are not neutral or objective representations of reality. Instead, they are influenced by social, cultural, and political factors, and can reinforce or challenge dominant ideologies and power structures. The chapter further discusses the use of textual linguistics and the analysis of language features, such as grammar, vocabulary, and rhetorical devices, to uncover underlying meanings and discursive strategies employed by the media.

Chapter 4 describes the methodological framework and methods for data collection and analysis, explaining how the study was conducted. Specifically, it focuses on the process for selecting 30 news articles on the Oromo-Somali conflicts. After the initial screening, systematic sampling was employed to ensure a representative sample of articles, with the goal of capturing a comprehensive view of media framing and discourse during the conflicts. The selected articles were then subjected to a thorough qualitative content analysis, aiming to identify patterns, biases, and discursive strategies employed by the media in portraying the Oromo-Somali conflicts. This chapter emphasizes the rigorous approach taken to ensure the representativeness of the sample and the systematic analysis of the data.

Chapter 5 presents the data extracted from the newspapers. The first section discusses how newspaper articles use different textual methods to shape the discourses of the Oromo-Somali conflict, examining the grammar, sentence structure, vocabulary, transitivity, argumentation, and rhetorical tropes employed. The second section focuses on the sources of information relied upon by the newspapers to construct their discourses. The third section provides information about the types of generic news frames adopted by

the newspapers to build their discourses on the conflict, indicating whether a thematic or episodic frame was followed.

Chapter 6 offers a detailed discussion of the research findings. It presents three criteria characterizing media genres and analyzes the data accordingly. This analysis is divided into two sections. The first section describes the significant textual characteristics of the discourse of the conflict, while the second section explains the characteristics of the newspapers in using sources, and the type of frames used to construct the discourses. These findings shed light on the dynamic and idiosyncratic properties of the discourses in the Oromo-Somali conflict.

Chapter 7 provides the interpretation of the results or findings of the study conducted in chapters 5 and 6 to bring forth novel or ground-breaking ideas.

Chapter 8 draws conclusions and recommendations from the findings/results presented in Chapter 5, 6 and interpretations in Chapter 7. It is organized into four major themes: major findings, study contribution, recommendations and limitations, and expectations for future studies. The chapter summarizes the primary empirical evidence regarding how newspaper articles represent the ethno-political conflict, provides possible recommendations based on the empirical findings, acknowledges the study's limitations, and suggests future research.

1.10. Conclusion

This chapter provides the study's background and problem statement. It adopts a case study approach, using newspaper representations of political conflict. It presents the research objective, research question, and relevance. Additionally, it outlines the study's scope and limitations. The subsequent chapter will delve into a comprehensive discussion of relevant theories derived from a literature review, focusing on the role of media in society and in times of violence.

CHAPTER TWO: THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN SOCIETY

2.1. Introduction

In the modern world, extensive research in mass communication has consistently demonstrated the significant influence that the media can have on shaping public perceptions, particularly regarding issues such as violence (Reuben, 2009). As a primary source of information on violence for most people, the media wields substantial power to influence citizens' opinions, behaviors, and overall perceptions. By selectively depicting and framing acts of violence, the media strongly impacts the dynamics and outcomes of violent situations, ultimately shaping the perceived success of conflicting parties (Vladisavljević, 2015). While different media outlets may employ varying strategies to shape public consent, reinforce existing power structures, or advocate for public interests, they collectively represent a potent form of communication (Herman & McChesney, 1997).

The aim of this chapter is to analyze diverse theoretical perspectives on the social functions of media. By providing a comprehensive understanding of different types of media and their political role within society, this chapter aims to delve into the discussion surrounding the impact of media violence on society. The chapter is organized into five sections. Following this introduction, the first section provides an overview of the Ethiopian national media landscape and surveys the relevant theoretical viewpoints. In the second section, attention turns to an examination of the African regional media landscape. Subsequently, the third section explores media operations in other parts of the world. This is followed by an exploration of discourse and how discourse theory can enhance our understanding of media framing. Specifically, this section focuses on the deployment of dominant and counter-dominant discourses by the media. The fourth section delves into the role of the media during violent conflicts, highlighting two contrasting approaches to media reporting: war journalism (WJ) and peace journalism (PJ). The concluding section synthesizes and summarizes the aforementioned analyses.

2.2. An overview of the Ethiopian national media landscape

Ethiopia's national media industries is heavily involved in news coverage on the African continent, and have also played an essential role in mitigating and escalating conflicts (Jr & Vultee, 2012; Meshesha, 2014). The first conflicts covered at length in the Ethiopian media began when Ethiopia annexed and invaded Eritrea in 1962. From 1962 to the early 1990s, Eritrean political parties were banned in Ethiopia. More vocal media channels were forced to close and journalists who raised concerns about state domination were arrested. Throughout this period, under the totalitarian Mengistu regime (1974–1991), news media were used to disseminate political propaganda, which aggravated the already considerable violence in the country (Jr & Vultee, 2012). Throughout this period, the national media in Ethiopia served as an extension of this governing regime and did not fairly represent events within the media.

In addition, the civil war between the Derg regime and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) began in 1974 and lasted for 17 years, and was largely provoked by news media institutions in Ethiopia (Stremlau, 2018). Indeed, print magazines and newspapers were the first news platforms used by the TPLF to broadcast wartime actions. Stremlau (2018) also identified a variety of TPLF newspapers and pamphlets that were published throughout the armed struggle, including "Tattek" (Get armed), "NiKah" (Be conscious), "Tegadele" (Struggle) and "Woyen" (Revolt). Each of these publications played a role in conveying the TPLF's ideology and disseminating its propaganda, focusing primarily on the brutality of the Derg regime, particularly within the Tigryan communities (Stremlau, 2018). While these publications were significant for TPLF communication, slogans, songs, and poetry, they were also vital for reaching the largely illiterate and uneducated Ethiopian peasantry through radio broadcasting, via "Dimtsi Woyane Tigray" (the Voice of Revolution of Tigray, VoRT).

As Dodolla (2013) argues, contemporary Ethiopia's media policy and legal frameworks have deprived political parties and religious institutions of the right to their own media. The Press Declarations of 1992 and 1999, and the Broadcast Pronouncement of 2007, could not guarantee reporters, journalists, and other media personnel the freedom to

easily carry out their journalistic responsibilities and duties. Although laws and policies allow private broadcast media ownership, this is rarely realized, particularly in TV station ownership. As a result, Dodolla concludes that it is inaccurate to say that Ethiopian newscast media is a public media agency. The private press, magazines, and newspapers persistently produce content highly critical of the government. Some of these media even appear to advocate for oppositional political parties, whereas public media are pro-government.

After liberty (the overthrow of the Derg regime) in 1991, pockets of conflict and disagreement among the elites arose, concerning the nature of the state and constitution. The mass media were intensely polarized, reflecting the divisions among the elites and ethnic groups (Price, Ibrahim & Nicole, 2009). Price *et al*. (2009) point out that Ethiopia's media was vivacious but polarized until the aftermath of the contentious 2005 national election. The media served as a major forum for expressing perceptions that differed from those of the dominant party, and reported on matters that have historically divided Ethiopian people, such as land ownership, a federalist constitution, and the rights of different ethnicities. In the post-election period, private media has for the most part been silenced, and can no longer serve and function as the medium for alternative representations of nation-building (Price *et al*., 2009).

Throughout the 2005 national election, many independent media publications, such as Lisane-Hezeb, Tobiya, Meyisaw, Menelik, Addis Zena, Netsanet, Seife Nebelbal and Satenaw, supported opposition parties in Ethiopia, particularly the Coalition for Unity and Democracy party (CUD) (Afework, 2013). Many of these publications reported that the Amhara ethnic group dominated and monopolized the intellectual class, and was thus the major force in Ethiopian politics for generations. However, this group was marginalized, oppressed, relegated, and ignored after the EPRDF came to power in 1991 (Price *et al*., 2009). On the other hand, government-backed media publications, such as Addis-Zemen, Ethiopian News Agency, Ethiopian Herald, and Ethiopian Television Agency, have intervened in sensitive issues and in their coverage have been careful to avoid conflict, confrontations, and other news stories considered politically contentious (Skjerdal, 2008). State-owned news media have thus reported on election campaign

issues with a negative tone when covering the opposition party, and a positive tone when covering topics related to the government. Thus, they closely reflect the opinions of the government. This reporting method has inspired conflicts among the different ethnic groups in Ethiopia (Assefa, 2010; Price *et al*., 2009).

In addition to the private and state-owned media mentioned above, some media outlets, such as the Oromia Media Network (OMN) and Ethiopian Satellite Television and Radio (ESAT), have reported in Ethiopia in ways that have contributed to the conflict in the country (Depart of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), 2017; Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2015). For example, the ethno-political conflict in the Amhara and Oromia National Regional in 2016 and 2017 was partly activated by the anti-Tigrean rhetoric of the ESAT and OMN. Both media networks disseminated and propagated fabricated news stories that depicted Ethiopia as ruled by the Tigryan minority ethnic group (Ibid). In other words, the foreign-based Ethiopian media transmitted false information, reporting that the Tigryan ethnic group monopolized and controlled power in mass media agencies, governmental administration, vital economic sectors, and military and secret services (HRW, 2015).Tigrigna speakers were represented as foes of the country. In part because of the media's animosity towards the Tigryan community and because of the political elites' propaganda against the Tigryans, many ethnic Tigryans have been killed, arrested, thrown into jail without trial, evicted from their homes, tortured, and had their homes scorched (Ibid).

Similarly, some media outlets, such as Amhara Satellite Radio and Television (ASRAT TV), OMN, and Dimiti Woyane Tigray Television (DWTV) have reported in Ethiopia in ways that have contributed to hostility in the country, using enmities and hatred frames (Gessese, 2020). For example, OMN called Ethiopia's king, Menilik II, castrating and accused him of cutting off Oromo women's breasts. The media, specifically which related to the Oromo and Tigre, tried to frame Menilik II, Emperor Haile Selassie, and other former leaders from the Amhara ethnic group, as colonizers. For instance, OMN framed Menilik II as a settler colonizer who committed genocide against the Oromo ethnic group. Conversely, ASRAT TV and Amhara TV framed Menilik II as the hero of the country (Gessese, 2020).

2.3. An overview of the African regional media landscape

The control exerted by the military, political, and economic elites over many African regional media outlets remains a pressing concern (Alozie, 2008). This control hampers the media's ability to operate independently and fulfill its crucial role as a watchdog, informer, and public forum for diverse perspectives. Media in the African region also suffers from a lack of professional training, poor sources of revenue or income for journalists, and a dependence on the government for information. It has been claimed that social unrest has been engineered and escalated by the media, who propagate economic and ethnic division and exacerbate violent conflict among peoples and ethnic groups (Chebii, 2015). For example, the media's role intensified conflict during the "Arab Spring" in the Middle East and North Africa, as the overthrow of the Tunisian, Egyptian, Yemeni and Libyan governments occurred primarily through mass action engineered by traditional and social media (Chebii, 2015). Media in Rwanda also incited violence and social turmoil (Odine, 2013; Ruth, 2015), while in Darfur, Sudan, news media played a role in the 1990s in mobilizing people to support the war (Mohamed, 2012). News media agencies in Nigeria have also incited violent religious conflicts between Muslims and Christians by spreading false information (Hackett, 2003). Thus, the media can mobilize political leaders who seek to gain from social upheaval (Chebii, 2015; Mohamed, 2012).

Media in Rwanda used a moral superiority frame to dehumanize the "other" ethnic group, while praising the supposed superiority of their own ethnic group. This was typically done by collectively humiliating the "other." Before the Rwandan genocide, the "hate" media, such as Kangura and Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM), attempted to portray the Tutsi as evil using culturally coded dehumanizing discourses (Ruth, 2015). These media supposedly promoted Hutu interests by dehumanizing Tutsis (Thompson & Annan, 2007) such as by labeling them "Inyenzi cockroaches" (James, 2008; Ruth, 2014). For example, in 1993, Kangura published an article claiming, "a cockroach cannot give birth to a butterfly" (Ruth, 2015), aiming to degrade Tutsi to the level of pests. This assisted in encouraging Hutus to think that, since a cockroach is something revolting, it must be murdered without thinking (James, 2008). RTLM also framed Tutsi as on the same level as hyenas. On 3 July, 1994, Kantano Habimana, a

famous newscaster and host on RTLM, was still counseling his audiences to "keep this small thing in your heart" meaning the intention to eliminate the ferocious and arrogant "hyenas" (Chrétien, 1995).

However, some news media initiatives in Africa have played an essential role in conflict reduction, and have challenged how media propagate animosity. For example, Myers (2009) describes how, in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), news media like Radio Okapi have been utilized for counter-hegemonic purposes, peace-building and truth-telling. Myers (2009) also refers to another example, TerYat, a weekly political talk show broadcast on public radio in northern Uganda, which was set up to facilitate dialogue and defuse public tensions surrounding the conflict in that region. Thompson and Annan (2007) also highlight that Nigeria's Guardian and Kenya's Daily Nation represent two major African news media outlets that assisted in bringing an end to the 1994 Rwanda civil war, by consistently calling for national resolution and dialogue to halt the cycle of violent conflict. These media, and others like them, have been used to articulate a regional solution to and explanation of war, and have attempted to deconstruct and resist the backward depictions and representations of African conflicts in Western news media (Thompson & Annan, 2007).

The following section will discuss the roles and functions of media of other regions of the world

2.4.   Understanding the functions and roles of media in other regions

In most scenarios, mass media not only serves to amuse, entertain, and inform the populace, but also to mold opinion through dominant values, beliefs and codes. Because of their ability to reach a large public, the media can be used to steer public opinion and awareness in particular ways (Nasir, 2013), by influencing popular perceptions, beliefs and behaviors (Vladisavljević, 2015). Media can help us know more about global and local events, and can have a significant social and cultural impact on society, including bringing about positive social change (Chebii, 2015). Thus, media have multiple purposes in society, huge impact and responsibility in conveying social events. Ideally, the media have a role in detecting, inspecting and covering its findings as objectively as possible.

Because news stories are perceived as a reflection of realism, what is being conveyed in news stories affects the lives of the public (Galtung & Ruge, 1965).

2.4.1 Introduction to perspectives on the role of the media

As noted above, mass media is a powerful social institution that assumes many of the functions formerly served by traditional social institutions such as the church, government, school, and family (Silverblatt, 2004), particularly in developed societies. In an era of mass communication technology, mass media appears to be more pervasive than ever before, rendering the world a global village of communication (Haque & Hossain, 2012), with media playing a vital role in socio-political and cultural change (Mohamed, 2012). The mass media act as an intermediary vehicle that reflects public opinion, responds to public concerns, and makes people aware of state policies, important events and prominent viewpoints (Klaehn, 2002). The traditional role of mass media is to inform, educate, entertain, and convince the public through persuasion, manipulation, and dissimulation (Haque & Hossain, 2012). Thus, mass media effectively manipulates information, facts, and beliefs, and invokes human emotions and feelings, generating fears and psychological shock among citizens (Cui & Rothenbuhler, 2018).

At this point, it is important to differentiate between two competing perspectives on media theory: the political economy position, and the liberal pluralist position. According to Allan (2004), both of these perspectives involve several factors pertinent to the broader social contexts within which reporters engage, though in recent decades, particularly in the USA, these categories and the differences between these two models have become blurred in practice. Thus, there is now more collaboration or collusion (depending on your perspective) of the private media with the government (Jansen, 2013). This collusion leads to a situation where the public interest takes a back seat. This happens mainly in the USA, but also in parts of Europe, and even in the previous Soviet context (Ibid).

2.4.1.1 The political economy perspectives

Political economy is a more recent model of media, which displaced older models such as the "hypodermic"model. This model understands media as one of the most important

parts of the reproduction of the politics and economics of mass media (Jansen, 2013). A propaganda model emerges from a social-psychology approach, not political economy, because it seeks to "inject" information into audiences (Jansen, 2013). This perspective emphasizes that, when there is limited public awareness around how news is ideologically framed, the public lacks the critical tools required to understand how the media fails to focus on people's economic and social rights by continually reproducing neoliberal ideology (Jansen, 2013).

Similarly, Garnham *et al.* (2012) maintain that the political and economic school of critical thought sees mass media as an ideological apparatus of the ruling class. It follows, then, that one of the key features of the mass media within monopolistic capitalism has been to exercise political and ideological domination through economic and political hegemony. In other words, through the media, political elites can disseminate dominant discourse and ideology according to their interests (Wyszomierski, 2015). Thus, journalism tends support dominant groups and classes, rather than society as a whole (Wyszomierski, 2015). The political-economic perspective argues that it is difficult to constitute the media as a democratic public sphere because of the media ownership structure. This is to say, criticizing government policies is difficult when the state controls the means of doing so. In short, according to the political economy position, capitalist structures have profoundly shaped news journalism (Devereux, 2014).

Political economy views capitalist society as being one of class domination; the media are seen as part of an ideological arena in which various class views are fought out, although within the context of the dominance of certain classes; ultimate control is increasingly concentrated in monopoly capital. Media professionals, while enjoying the illusion of autonomy, are socialized into and internalize the norms of the dominant culture. Taken as a whole, the media relay interpretive frameworks consonant with the interests of the dominant classes (Davis &Abelman, 1982).

2.4.1.2 The liberal pluralist perspectives

The liberal pluralist approach argues that every citizen's right to freedom of speech is best protected by a market-based media structure, where news media function as a kind of

watchdog (Sen, 2016) and play a crucial role in holding the state accountable at both national and local levels. The media thus represent a critical communicative interface between the state and its citizens, which helps ensure the government's responsiveness to the people (Gadzekpo, 2017). From a liberal pluralist perspective, the news media acts as a system of checks and balances over a society's democratic structures and processes (Sen, 2016). In this way, the media is understood to represent a public good. The liberal pluralist approach argues that citizens should access various news media to be informed about and understand multiple pertinent issues (Sen, 2016). This was indeed the traditional position of the liberalist media model (Jansen, 2013), which focuses on having alternative media which can work in the interests of those who are not represented in the mass media (Alankuş, 2009).

The liberal-pluralist view of how media systems work in society is, therefore, based upon the notion that the media constitute a "fourth estate", which acts as a guardian of the public interest by monitoring how the state exercises power. In this way, the media contribute to a system of checks and balances which comprise modern democracy (Mullen & Klaehn, 2010). Media organizations are seen as bounded organizational systems, enjoying an important degree of autonomy from the state, political parties and institutionalized pressure groups. Control of the media is said to be in the hands of an autonomous managerial elite, who give considerable flexibility to media professionals (Davis & Abelman, 1982). A basic symmetry is seen to exist between media institutions and their audiences, which is entered into willingly and on equal terms. Audiences are seen as capable of manipulating the media in an infinite variety of ways, according to their prior needs and dispositions, and as having access to the plural values of people, permitting them to accommodate, conform, encounter or reject (McQuail, 1969).

Considering both liberal pluralist and political economy approaches to media theory, it seems that media can work differently within a given society. It can bring positive change, but can also have detrimental effects on public opinion and awareness. Examples of both the constructive and destructive impacts of media are: the Open Broadcast Network (OBN), a media network in Bosnia that has dealt with intentional attempts to lessen violent conflict in that context (Chebii, 2015), and the private RTLM news media

in Rwanda that played a major role in triggering violence, by disseminating abhorrent messages such as, "you cockroaches ought to know you are made of flesh. We won't let you kill. We will kill you" (Terzis, 2002: 2).

When examining the general roles of media in society, Christians *et al* (2009) identify three. The ''monitorial role'' sees the journalist as a detached observer, having the main (and only) task of documenting what is of public interest. It is a radical role where the journalist speaks on behalf of citizens, while challenging political authority and holding the powerful accountable. A second 'facilitative role' denotes the journalist's duty to provide citizens with the information they need to make decisions. The third role of the media is a 'collaborative role', which implies the journalist's cooperation with the state or other centers of power in sustaining a national agenda. Through such roles, the media works to change the behavior and attitudes of people by emphasizing specific issues, while downplaying others (Haque & Hossain, 2012).

In the subsequent pages, the role of media in manufacturing public consent, (re)producing hegemonic discourse, and influencing public interest will be discussed.

2.4.2. *The role of media in manufacturing public consent*

Much research has attempted to demonstrate the impact of news media on audiences. In particular, the media's manufacturing of consent through selective reporting or propaganda is a pertinent issue in contemporary politics (Herman & McChesney, 1997; Rahman & Marjan, 2013). In what they call the Magic Bullet Theory, Rahman and Marjan argue that the content of news media functions like a bullet; that is, messages are shot through to the audience and in this way, political agendas can be directly transferred. When working to distribute a political agenda among audiences, news media can positively or negatively impact public opinion and therefore carry the potential for psychosocial change (Haque & Hossain, 2012). Media, like all communications, have ideological and political biases which have social effects. For instance, negative information provided by the media can foster negative attitudes toward a particular issue (Happer & Philo, 2013; Wanta, 2004; Yılmaza & Kirazoluğub, 2014). Likewise, as an operational ideological device, media can bind people to sovereign powers through coercion (Yılmaza & Kirazoluğub, 2014).

During a conflict, media are usually partial to one viewpoint, and can contribute to conflict escalation. They may also stay neutral and independent, potentially contributing to peaceful conflict resolution (Hussain & Munawar, 2017). Unfortunately, the ability of media to inform, educate, and entertain is being eroded through disinformation, resulting in media being relied upon to propagate news to create public consent to the capitalist social order. For example, Zahid (2016) reports that, following the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre, CNN, Fox News, and other mainstream print and electronic media networks worked on manufacturing an outside enemy, Osama bin Laden, who had been held up as the primary threat to the West. These outlets worked to justify the legitimacy of the USA's imperialist foreign policy, which President Bush frequently described as a defensive war, and a war to protect freedom (Zahid, 2016). In this sense, the media assisted the political elite to construct an enemy which could sustain the American military-industrial complex and preserve American political and economic hegemony (Ibid).

To take another historical example, Haque & Hossain (2015) recount that, during the Cold War, the USA media propagated malicious generalizations about communism, today, in a post-Cold War world, and these generalizations have been placed onto Islam. Consequently, a coherent set of journalistic labels have been developed concerning "Muslim terrorism", "Islamist militancy" and "jihad journalism." Such distorted reporting and biased analyses thus became the hallmark of the post-9/11 era (Steuter & Wills, 2009).

War is inextricably linked with propaganda, which feeds disinformation into the news cycle to construct "official" news values (Haque & Hossain, 2012; Zahid, 2016). Lasswell (1927) stated that such propaganda mainly highlights how Western nations use media to attain specific strategic interests during times of war. Supporting this view, Chomsky & Herman (1988) highlight how capitalist news media serve elite political interests. They argue that powerful groups utilize media through filters to mobilize the public consensus, to provide the appearance and presence of democratic consent, and to create abundant misunderstanding, apathy and confusion within the general populace so

that elite social programme and interests can be carried forward with minimal opposition (Hussain, 2017).

2.4.3. *The role of media in producing hegemonic ideology*

As noted by Gramsci (1971), hegemony is the dominance of a particular set of opinions and their associated tendency to become instinctive and rational, thereby obstructing the dispersal or even the expression of alternative thinking. Hegemony is used to identify the class, actor, group, or state that exercises hegemonic control or disseminates hegemonic thoughts. Fairclough (1992b) also defined hegemony as not merely dominance, but also a procedure of negotiation beyond which emerges a consensus regarding meanings. The existence of such rival elements bears the kernels of resistance, since rudiments that encounter the dominant meanings provide persons with resources for resistance.

Consequently, hegemony is never steady, but rather incomplete and changing, and consensus is merely an ongoing matter of degree– an unstable and contradictory equilibrium. Continuing this line of thought, Yılmaza and Kirazoluğub (2014) stated that hegemony is the domination of one group over the other. Societies tend to maintain stability through a mixture of hegemony (coercion) and domination (force). Thus, social orders depend on some groups and institutions exerting domination and power over others to maintain rules and boundaries. In contrast, other institutions (such as media, schooling or religion) induce consent or agreement to the dominant order by instituting ideological dominance.

Within the media, hegemony occurs when a dominant political or economic structure coheres with media production, distribution, and ideological practices (Artz, 2013). Therefore, media not only reflects and sustains consensus, but also helps to produce consensus (i.e. manufactured consent), helping to establish cultural and ideological hegemony (Dhakal, 2011). In this way, mass media plays a significant role in the (re)production of dominant discourses and ideologies (Van Dijk, 1995), producing a "discourse of elites," and reinforcing the hegemonic social order (Ndlela, 2010). As instruments of hegemony and vehicles for manufacturing consent, the media not only discursively constructs reality, but also defines, creates, and shapes material reality. That is, the messages embedded within languages are dominant ideologies that reinforce social

actions. Although the media tends to reproduce the perspectives of those in political power (Fairclough, 1989), there are always multiple, conflicting ideologies struggling for dominance (Lau, Seedat & McRitchie, 2011).

Hegemonic ideologies are asserted through persuasive and carefully crafted discourses, which suggest that the interests of the dominant classes in society represent the interests of the entire society, and that the production and preservation of specific forms of socio-political structures, economic policies, consciousness, beliefs, attitudes, values, and practices are natural and universal (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008). For these discourses to remain dominant, the economic elite must work to ensure that the discourses occupy a primary and authoritative position in society. Thus, the media operates to ensure that news content resonates with dominant discourses (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008). In this regard, the media are crucial in solidifying hegemony (Collins *et al*., 2004).

Media tends to reflect a given society's dominant ideological and political positions, and assesses events according to these positions (Volcic & Dzihana, 2011). Thus, media does not passively describe or record news events, but actively reconstructs them through a prism of ideological affiliations (Volcic & Dzihana, 2011). The media, in other words, not only manufactures consent and reproduces discourse, but also plays a role in vilifying those who transgress hegemony (Zahid, 2016). However, because media control is dictated by capital, the media only operates under the illusion of autonomy. While audiences sometimes negotiate and contest the dominant discursive frameworks reproduced by the media, they generally lack alternative or critical meaning-making systems that would enable them to reject the definitions offered by the media (Ibid).

In an effort to reproduce hegemonic discourse, the media often favour adverse events because negative stories can be readily recalled when constructing an "us vs. them" discourse, which is crucial for establishing hegemony (Van Dijk, 1988). Indeed, that which is hegemonic gets defined against an "other", which violates the commonsense of the media discourse. Van Dijk (1988) details a crucial theoretical concept, the "ideological square," which summarizes the twin strategies of optimistic "in-group" explanations and negative "out-group" explanations. In this way, the media can be hostile to the "out-group'' when covering the conflict, and play a significant role in stating and

spreading ethnic bigotry, which is one of the discriminatory practices that delineate racism as a societal system of ethnic power exploitation (van Dijk, 2012).

The media tends to construct war as a conflict between two sides, one good and one bad. Here, the bad or "other" side is usually established as unfavorable, so the good side appears especially virtuous (Bratic, Ross & Graham, 2008). Compounding this, news reports on peace processes frequently reproduce elite interests and propaganda. Thus, such reporting tends to be pro-conflict and escalation-oriented (Bratic *et al*., 2008). For instance, Coban (2016) argues that CNN's global broadcasting helped to solidify the USA's cultural hegemony in the 1990s by achieving social cohesion and political consensus supporting their engagement in combat during the First Gulf War.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, theorists of the political economy generally view mainstream media as an essential ideological tool of the state. Indeed, Fairclough (2003) argues that news discourse adjusts individuals to the state's political ideology, while feeding them daily doses of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism and morality. Various discursive devices within the news (i.e. hegemonic narratives, sensational language, and an "us vs. them" rhetoric) then act to sustain capitalist ideology, discourses that organize social reality according to specific doctrines are therefore especially effective political tools (Cook, 1997). In sum, through its adherence to dominant ideologies, the media can gain public support for political and economic agendas that, in many instances, serve the interests of the powerful.

2.4.4. *The role of media in advocating public interests*

The media is complex and does not always operate in the service of elite interests. MacRitchie & Seedat (2008) argue that the media can work in the interests of the public good, and on behalf of the socially marginalized. Indeed, the media can challenge and reconstruct the dominant discourses on social and political phenomena, with media audience actively selecting, comprehending and evaluating media content. Space dedicated to letters to the editor, for example, can affirm the written media's commitment to a public agency, challenge dominant presentations of events, and give voice to the public, some of whom may be under-represented in broader society. Mwendia (2013)

points out that the media can act as a catalyst for peace-building by performing different roles, such as information provider, watchdog, political mobilizer and activism promoter.

Although corporate media hegemony is advanced through international media structures and practices, other non-global structures and practices have appeared and continue to represent alternative modes of communication. Such non-global or/and counter-hegemonic media structures and practices can produce alternative narratives and stories outside the dominant discourse (Artz, 2013). Examples of these "contra-flows" through non-western satellite broadcasting networks are Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya (Rai & Cottle, 2007), as well as media from Venezuela (Telesur), Argentina (Todo), Chile (CNN Chile), China (CCTV), and Russia (Russia Today) (Coban, 2016; Rai & Cottle, 2007). These outlets produce counter-hegemonic discourses and practices that can yield alternatives to the hegemonic discourses that may be affecting world politics, by producing an arena for arguments, assumptions and narratives against the hegemonic Western perspectives in the news (Rai & Cottle, 2007).

Alternative media theory looks to understand the production of counter-hegemonic media representations which have the potential to contest mainstream media (Jeppesen, 2016). It is believed that alternative media can challenge mainstream media production, content, distribution, and audience reception by producing oppositional discourses that resist dominant ideology (Fuchs, 2010). Such media can therefore play an important role in generating public interest and demand for alternative news and creating awareness of and building social support for different social issues. These alternative media can play two kinds of advocacy roles: support development initiatives by disseminating messages that encourage the public to support development-oriented projects, and provide decision-makers with the information and feedback needed to reach a decision (Servaes, 2009). Thus, the production of alternative media represents a set of practices that allow people to have their say in a democratic society and engage in dialogue with others (Murru *et al.*, 2016).

In this way, we can envision media that exists outside the narrow interests of the elite and powerful, and plays a role in broadening our understandings of the world and each other (Wasserman, 2017). As already discussed, the liberal pluralist school views the media as

a constituting source of information independent of the government, which plays an essential role in the democratic processes of a given society. This generally means that the media serves as a guardian of the public interest and a watchdog over the exercise of power, contributing to a system of checks and balances (Klaehn & Mullen, 2010; Sen, 2016). Thus, alternative media attempts to improve social responsibility and social activism within the media by supporting a democratic project premised on critical thinking. All-inclusive journalism seeks to foster an alternative perspective and to challenge prevailing forms of social exclusion and inequality in representations of events (Sen, 2016).

As Atton (2003) has noted, alternative media can have three central objectives: (1) to function as a more critical or analytical form of communication than institutionalized forms of mainstream journalism; (2) to propose other non-hegemonic ways of reportage on the news stories; and (3) to provide professional training and skills to those who are working within the media form. Through critical journalism, alternative media can create counter-publics and foster public participation in political discussions (Rossand Nightingale, 2003). Alternative media are thus alert to the communicative needs of the majority (Miklian *et al*., 2015). They privilege a reporting style that is carefully wedded to ideas of social responsibility. Alternative media tends to stress first-person, eyewitness interpretations by participants, reworking populist approaches of sensationalist or tabloid media in an effort to recover a radical popular approach, instituting collective and anti-hierarchical forms of journalism (Atton, 2003).

Sen (2016) expounds that the role of the media in a democratic society is to encourage public participation. As such, a fairly oriented media that rejects the free market approach to media manufacture is essential to representing various societal interests (James, 2011; Sen, 2016). A common goal of alternative media, Sen (2016) explains, is to enable people to participate in news production. Groshek & Han (2011) maintain that alternative media can also contribute to fostering solidarities among different social groups. These authors argue that alternative media are often controlled by activists and are thus sensitive to social issues not addressed in the mainstream media. Groshek & Han (2011) state that alternative media coverage can transmit counter-hegemonic ideas, values, and visions and

create a shared language that radicals and dissidents can draw on to communicate with each other.

In short, the alternative media represent a philosophy that is opposed to hierarchical, elite-focused and profit-oriented notions of reporting, and reflects and advocates for public interests by resisting hegemonic ideologies and discourses. More than this, alternative media privilege social responsibility by replacing notions of media objectivity with advocacy and oppositional practice that radically challenges mainstream media (Sen, 2016). Robie (2004) argues that alternative media are like an ombudsman of democracy, guarding the people's interests and needs and holding the powerful liable. Indeed, herein lays the democratic responsibility of the media to protect freedom of speech, equality, and social justice (James, 2011).

2.4.5 Conceptualising the term 'discourse'

Theorists of discourse hold varying views regarding its definition and study. Different meanings have been ascribed by scholars, drawing from diverse theoretical perspectives and empirical standpoints (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). This subsection aims to critically examine several theoretical perspectives and interpretations of discourse.

Discourse is generally defined as social relations represented in a text (Tebbens, 2016). It is socially conditioned as well as socially constructive, and constitutes circumstances, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relations between groups of people and peoples (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Teubert (2010) describes discourse as the entirety of all texts manufactured within a discourse community, while Tebbens (2016) noted that, through language, discourses construct meaning. Thus, discourses are social texts that do not merely describe things but also do something, thereby reflecting the social and natural world and, at the same time, constructing a version of these worlds, ascribing to them social and political meanings. MacRitchie and Seedat (2008) understand discourse as a set of regulated statements built upon the described object.

Rahim (2015) understands discourse as symbolic signals and language that give meaning to all audience. Written and spoken language contains connotations and is understood by readers or listeners. According to Omar (1986), discourse is the entire language of the

author or speaker, the linguistic system and external rudiments of the linguistic system that contribute to creating the writing or speech. Rahim (2018) likewise suggests that discourse is a unit of linguistics that is aware of the complete mind and goes beyond the verse's borderline. In the linguistic hierarchy, discourse lies at the uppermost level, which is present after the stanza level. Discourse is an organised event established in the language behaviour of linguistics or others (Edmonson, 1981), while Locke (2004) defines discourse as a rehearsal, not only of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constructing and constituting the world in meaning. Alternatively, McGregor (2010) denotes discourse as articulating oneself using phrases, words and so on. In summary, discourse includes meaningful spoken or written texts or interactions that have a set of metaphors, organisation of sentences, representations, sub-phonemic feature contrasts, larger sequence meanings, grammaticality, canonical discourse, utterances, intuitions about discourse orders, images, words, phrases, statements and stories that produce a specific version of events and inform how we understand the world (McGregor, 2010). As Matthews (2005) noted, discourse is a segment of linguistic which may be smaller or bigger than a single word, phrases, sentences and paragraphs, but the adduced connotation is always beyond sentences, words and paragraphs.

Fairclough (2003) likewise emphasizes the ideological effects of discourse, which represent aspects of the world which can contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation. Fairclough & Wodak (1997) argued that discourses do ideological works and are not neutral, while Van Dijk (1988) maintains that the key functions of ideology are to promote and organise the interests of groups, as dominated groups require ideologies as a base for resistance. Accordingly, Van Dijk (1988) argues that ideologies are legitimate and manage group relationships through relations of power and dominance. It is clear, therefore, that different discourses represent different perspectives associated with varying ties that people have to the world (Fairclough, 2003) and are linked to power and social interests (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Chouliaraki (2010) notes that there are two views of discourse which focus on the textuality of language as the primary object for studying mediated representations: the

performative and the communicative view. The performative theory emphasises the historicity of such textuality whereby, if linguistic text reflects societal power relations, then the analysis of this text serves to identify not just its linguistic properties but, more importantly, broader social processes of contestation, domination, and resistance (Chouliaraki, 2010). Conversely, the communicative view recognises the entrenchment of language in struggles for power among multiple and diverse interests, where public communication can put forward a dominant ideal (Chouliaraki, 2010). According to the communicative view, linguistic utterances come from a position of social interest (be it race, gender, or class) and make a claim on the truth that seeks to reclaim these interests and re-establish their power through particular meanings (Foucault, 1980).

As Rothe (2016) opines, discourses cannot be reduced to the realm of language. They should be understood as a relational multifaceted of representing sequences wherein and action and language have been momentarily woven jointly to form a totality. This means that discourses denote not only semantic aspects of words, but also pragmatic aspects of deed impacting the relational structures of meaning which constitute the world in which we live. Thus, a discourse represents the primary terrain of any objectivity, not just because there is no world external to thought, but also because there is no pre-existing meaning (Kalliojärvi, 2017). Thus, different discourses represent different ways of discussing and understanding the social world (Demmers, 2012). These discourses constantly struggle with one another to achieve hegemony and fix the meaning of language (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Discourse theory emphasises the social impact of discourse and pays attention to its inherent power struggles. In my research, informed by a critical lens, this power struggle is explored by examining how war discourses and peace discourses are drawn on or perpetrated in the media during ethno-political conflicts.

2.4.6. *Hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses in media*

The media frames news and generates discourses, which can either be hegemonic or counter-hegemonic, aligned with the ideology of a specific media platform. The subsequent section will delve into how the media perpetuates a dominant discourse, such as War Journalism, or a counter-dominant discourse, like Peace Journalism, particularly

during times of war or conflict. This sub-section examines the production of both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses within the media.

In discourse theory, hegemonic discourse is associated with hegemonic power. Its goal is to manufacture acceptance, legitimacy and consensus of dominance (Van Dijk, 2001). Hegemony can be achieved by articulating unfixed rudiments into partially fixed instants in contexts crisscrossed by conflicting forces – i.e., using relatively stable and fixed interpretations of contested and polysemous signifiers around a nodal point or two points (Hodges, 2013). Hegemonic projects, therefore, aim to naturalise or objectify meanings and interpretations (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000). When discourses appear natural, we fail to recognise that they result from political practices and social constructions (Rear & Jones, 2013). Elaborating on this, Hodges and Nilep (2007) emphasised the political aspect of discourse, arguing that language is used to generate meanings, and this process is integrally political because it is infused with relations of powers that come together to contest, negotiate and manoeuvre the purpose at stake. The primary aim of hegemonic schemes is constructing and stabilising systems of meaning by articulating nodal points (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). Indeed, the hegemonic struggle is always the construction and the fixing of the "other" and the "self" (Mouffe, 2005). In other words, although politics does not necessarily entail antagonistic relations in the sense of a friend/enemy distinction, the ever-present possibility of antagonism reveals that there is always a constitutive "outsider" which holds the potential to activate an antagonistic friend/enemy distinction (Mouffe, 2005).

Violent conflicts are, in many ways, reliant on hegemonic discourses. Indeed, conflict is never waged without the intervene force of such a discourses (Hodges, 2013). However, complete dominance or hegemony is not possible. Every hegemonic discourse is exposed to counter-hegemonic practices that, through day-to-day communicative practices or deliberate and strategic acts, attempt to challenge and disarticulate existing hegemonic discourses (Rear & Jones, 2013). When there are gaps, where marginal discourses can take a more central position, MacGilchrist (2007) argues that the discursive struggle over meaning shows the fluidity of what is predominant and what is dissenting, opening space for alternative representations to move into the mainstream. Contrary to hegemonic

discourses, which make certain decisions appear natural, counter-hegemonic discourse questions such naturalness. In aiming to transform conflicts constructively, peace journalism (i.e. counter-hegemonic discourse) attaches great value to conflict analyses, critiques and resists hegemonic discourses, and thus provides constructive proposals for conflict resolution (Kempf, 2003).

Various scholars have introduced strategies and methods that help understand how media produces counter-hegemonic discourses. Tehranian (1993), for example, suggests that new cultural forces (such as responsible mass media and peace discourse journalism) challenge hegemonic discourse in an attempt to transition to a culture of peace. MacGilchrist (2007) identifies five strategies of counter-hegemonic discourse: rational inversion (reversal framing), distortion (skewed), complexification (complex framing), partial reframing (biased for one side in violence), and radical reframing (interpretative or critical framing that counter-dominant discourses produced by political authorities.)

According to Kempf (2003), war discourse is framed in conflict-escalation oriented and win-lose ways. Hence, war discourse obscures facts in order to produce a hegemonic ideology. This approach concentrates exclusively on war as a moral struggle between good and evil. Proponents of war discourse strive neither for a neutral, detached perspective nor for the de-escalation of war. Instead, they take sides and are primarily interested in mobilising people. They are not against war but are opposed to a so-called "enemy," and eventually replace the rules of journalism with the rules of propaganda.

Scholars like Mandelzis (2003) and Kempf (2003) maintain that, to help create an awareness of news values and responsibilities in both the local and the global spheres, and to deconstruct and resist war discourse, counter-hegemonic peace journalism utilises a two-step strategy. The first step is known as de-escalation-oriented conflict reporting, which helps to de-escalate antagonisms by remaining distanced from all parties and open to a peaceful settlement, while searching for information on war and questioning military values. The second step is referred to as solution-oriented conflict reporting, which is people-oriented as it focuses on common rights and peace initiatives, humanises all sides, and redirects anger towards war instead of a particular enemy.

Discourse frames can reflect which ideas or opinions are legitimate or illegitimate. For example, while war discourse tends to ask questions like "who is the aggressor," and "how can this aggressor be stopped," peace discourse typically asks, "what are the objects of the conflict," and "how could a solution which satisfies the needs of all parties be found?" As discussed in this chapter, the media not only justifies and employs war and peace discourses, but also uses framing to represent events in particular ways (Hodges, 2013).

2.5. The media's role in times of violent conflict

The media can play a harmful role in conflicts by reporting the cases in biased or dramatic ways that incite people to violence against those considered foes. Alternatively, the media can serve as the best means to bring sustainable resolution to a given conflict (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005). In a word, media plays a vital role in provoking or pacifying conflict, enhancing or subverting peace, and protecting human rights (Mohamed, 2012). Just as they can propagate messages that incite hatred, violence and hegemony, the media can also strengthen peace by delivering statements of tolerance and justice (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005). Pertinent here is the work of Johan Galtung (1998), which categorizes journalism into two contradictory models: war journalism (WJ) and peace journalism (PJ). Galtung (1998) argues that there are two ways of viewing conflict: the low road or the high road. In the low road of WJ, the media see conflict as a kind of battle, while the high road of PJ focuses on conflict as transformation and as a challenge to the world (Galtung, 2013).

2.5.1 *War journalism*

War journalism is made manifest through the polarization and escalation of conflict. This approach aligns with the neo-fascist theory of war termination: "let them fight and kill each other until they are ready for the negotiating table" (Galtung, 2013: 99). WJ is observed within hegemonic media that seek to manufacture consent in particular ways during periods of conflict and war, tending to demonize Global South contexts and to rely heavily on negative cultural stereotypes and othering discourse (Nerone, 2012). War journalism plays a vital role in promoting nationalist xenophobia, intolerance and ethnic chauvinism, engaging in elite-centered news broadcasting that gives voice primarily to

government officials, politicians, military officials, and state authorities (Ersoy, 2010). It follows that WJ does not contribute to reconciliation, but rather acts to escalate conflict (Ersoy, 2010), relying on sensationalism to sell the news. Rather than making violence transparent and understandable, WJ represents violence through the feelings and impressions it creates (Ersoy, 2010), using journalistic values like objectivity to justify reporting on violence without sufficient contextual detail. Conflict is often presented as a spectacle (Gadzekpo, 2017).

Mainstream media have traditionally been dominated by WJ, which is a product of the modern state system (Galtung, 2007). Because WJ reflects dominant western and USA ideologies, it has become the default mode of reporting for most journalists (Galtung, 2007). According to Hällgren (2012), WJ often intensifies its dehumanization strategies according to perceived threat levels, typically informed by the dominant ideology. As a news framing approach, WJ bases itself on the notion that negative news sells and that important people will say essential things (Gadzekpo, 2017). Consequently, it presents conflict or war as a matter for politicians, rather than one to be comprehended or questioned by ordinary people (Gadzekpo, 2017).

2.5.2 *Peace journalism*

The PJ approach, which evolved during the first Gulf War in the 1990s, questions the media's function in warfare and conflict (Ersoy, 2010), explicitly condemning many of the values embodied by WJ. Indeed, Gavra & Savitskaya (2011) and Galtung (2013) describe PJ as a healthy form of journalism. It focuses on solving problems and being fair, representing balanced, humanistic, critical journalism and standing opposed to propaganda and lies. Ersoy (2010) states that PJ seeks to unearth the truth and provide a voice to actual and potential victims of conflict. This does not mean, however, that the task of PJ is necessarily peace advocacy, but rather to report on the conflict in as transparent a manner as possible and to render conflict transparent to the public (Ersoy, 2010). Lynch & McGoldrick (2015) define PJ as journalism that creates opportunities for people to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict, by supplying audiences with the means to challenge dominant accounts of war and resist propaganda. This is not to say that PJ constitutes reporting in a manner that opposes WJ. Instead, PJ draws on

conflict concepts and theories to analyze a conflict and practice a kind of journalism that actively promotes peace. Thus, PJ gives room in reporting to all parties involved in a conflict and aims to facilitate audience interpretations that promote empathy between groups.

Shinar (2007) states that PJ has five aspects: (1) exploring the backgrounds and contexts of conflict formation; (2) giving voice to the views of all rival party members, not just the leaders from the antagonistic sides; (3) giving airtime to creative ideas that are geared towards conflict resolution, peacemaking and peacekeeping; (4) exposing lies and revealing how violence has been enacted during conflict; and (5) paying attention to peace stories and post-war development. Ersoy (2010) argues that, while some scholars define PJ as "good journalism", others (such as Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005) refer to it as "accurate journalism", "post-realistic journalism" and "conflict analysis journalism". In essence, we might think of PJ as "responsible journalism" (Ersoy, 2010).

Lynch (2015) argues that, during times of conflict, PJ requires facilitated or eased circumstances so that people share experiences, respect differences, employ ethics focused on non-violent actions, and love one another. The practice of PJ is about standing on the side of peace when reporting on conflicts (Odine, 2013). Thus, PJ is viewed as producing opportunities for people to make meanings and interpretations of events by disclosing the truth (Shinar, 2007).

In PJ, mass media plays an essential role in critiquing dominant ideologies, revealing how these feed into and bolster the violation of fundamental human rights, group superiority, and the devaluation, humiliation and dehumanization of the other (Sommer, 2013). For example, educational radio programs in Burundi and Rwanda played a significant role in denaturalizing unequal economic and political conditions and developing a vision for a positive future (Sommer, 2013). Therefore, PJ's role is to go beyond merely reflecting on violence during wartime, by revealing the root causes of conflict and pointing towards avenues for peace-building (Bui, 2012). Contrary to the WJ approach, PJ is envisioned as a kind of health reporting, in which journalists seek to understand wars' causes, cures and preventive measures (Lynch, 2014). In this way, PJ constructs and portrays violence as two-way or give-and-take, and tries to implement de-escalation strategies when covering

ethnic conflict (Hällgren, 2012). PJ inspires a new broadcasting style on war that is proactive in producing discourses of peace that counter the hegemonic discourses and ideologies delivered by WJ (Bratic *et al*., 2008). Diagram 2.1 below summarizes Galtung's (1998) concepts of PJ and WJ modes.

Diagram 2.1. Summary of PJ and WJ

Features of PJ	*Features of WJ*
I. Peace-oriented news framing	*I. Conflict-oriented news framing*
• *Explores conflict formation and scrutinizes each party's goals and the issues it represents* • *Assumes a comprehensive viewpoint on the conflict* • *Is sensitive to contextual issues* • *Makes disputes transparent* • *Provides voices to all parties* • *Humanizes both sides (not partisan)* • *Sees conflict as a problem* • *Places respect for fundamental human rights and dignity in high regard* • *Is prevention-focused* • *Focuses on unseen consequences of conflict, such as trauma and damage to culture/ structure*	• *Assumes a narrow perspective on the conflict and focuses on 'winners' and 'losers.'* • *Looks for causes and effects* • *Is didactic in its reporting* • *Can obscure causes* • *Takes aside* • *Sees conflict as problematic* • *Often relies on dehumanizing discourse* • *Reactive, responding to conflict* • *Emphasizes impacts of conflict, such as numbers of people killed or injured, and material damage*
II. Truth-oriented	*II. Propaganda-oriented*
• *Exposes falsehoods on all sides* • *Goes beyond ethnic and ideological partialities in reporting on violence*	• *Exposes falsehoods of the Other and not the self*
III. People-oriented	*III. Elite-oriented*
• *Emphasizes grief and suffering, particularly among children, elders and women* • *Provides voice to unrepresented people* • *Is assertive in its condemnation of illegal conduct* • *Focuses on oppressed people in an attempt to represent and empower them*	• *Stresses the suffering of only one side* • *Focuses primarily on the experience of non-disabled males,* • *Uses the standpoint of young, virile soldiers* • *Names enemies* • *Stresses processes undertaken by elite peace-makers*
IV. Solution-oriented	*IV. Victory-oriented*
• *Peace = non-violence + creativity* • *Represents conflict to pursue peaceful solutions and create shared ground* • *Places an accent on peace initiatives to stop war or violence* • *Focuses on culture, structure and peaceful societies*	• *Peace = victory +ceasefire* • *Places attention on treaties* • *Reporting moves from conflict to conflict*

Generally, the WJ and PJ approaches are rooted in distinct assumptions about the roles and functions of media in times of conflict, which give rise to contrasting news reporting patterns and values, resulting in specific news frames and discourses (Bratic *et al*., 2008).

WJ is characterized by: (1) an elite orientation, (2) a focus on the present moment, (3) an engagement in revealing the consequences of war, (4) a partisan standpoint, (5) an emphasis on differences, (6) a tendency to dichotomize conflict actors, (7) a reactive stance, (8) a bipartisan approach, (9) a win-lose, victory-oriented mindset, (10) the utilization of demonizing language, (11) the use of emotive terms, and (12) the deployment of victimizing language.

On the other hand, PJ can be described as: (1) people-oriented, (2) covering the causes and costs of conflict, (3) concerned with obscuring the effects of war, (4) cautious in avoiding the dichotomous categorization of war sides, (5) convention-oriented, (6) non-partisan, (7) solution-oriented, (8) focused on multiparty perspectives, (9) proactive, (10) careful not to demonize, (11) restrained in the use of emotive language, and (12) mindful not to employ victimizing language (Fahmy & Eakin 2014; Galtung 1998; Lee & Maslog 2005).

2.6.   Conclusion

This chapter examined the social roles of the media and different perspectives on their functions in society. It explored how media shapes public consent, manufactures domination, and advocates for public interests. Additionally, it delved into the functions of media during times of violence, conceptualized discourse, and analysed how dominant and counter-dominant discourses are employed by the media.

The chapter began by considering the social roles of the Ethiopian national and African regional media environments. In Ethiopia, the media industry extensively covers news on the African continent, and has played crucial roles in escalating conflicts (Meshesha, 2014). The media landscape in Ethiopia is highly polarized, reflecting divisions among different ethnic groups (Price, Ibrahim & Al-Marashi, 2005).

Similar trends of ethnicity-centred media exacerbating disputes through their news coverage can be observed across Africa, where media outlets facilitate and propagate psychological conflicts between warring communities (Chebii, 2015; Mohamed, 2012; Odine, 2013; Ruth 2015). However, some African media have also played a vital role in

conflict mitigation and confronting the spread of animosity (Myers 2008; Thompson & Annan 2007).

Furthermore, the chapter examined the general functions of global media in society, including shaping public attitudes, strengthening society, and acting as watchdogs to protect the public interest and raise awareness (Happer & Philo, 2013; Haque & Hossain, 2012). They also serve as intermediaries, reflecting public opinion and informing people about state programs and significant events (Klaehn, 2002). The traditional functions of media include informing, entertaining, educating, and influencing people (Haque & Hossain, 2012). However, media can also control information flow, manipulate information, distort realities and perspectives, spread ideologies, induce anxiety, and contribute to social problems, intimidation, and fear (Cui & Rothenbuhler, 2018). Thus, media differ in their production of public consent, advocacy for public interests, and creation of hegemonic discourse.

Two competing theoretical perspectives on the functions of media in society were discussed: the political economy perspective and the liberal pluralist perspective. Political economy theorists argue that the media, as an ideological apparatus of the dominant ruling class, serve to control the dominant discourse and perpetuate the interests of the elites (Fairclough, 1989; Jansen, 2013; Lau *et al*., 2011; MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Ndlela, 2010; Van Dijk, 1995). In contrast, the liberal pluralist approach, also known as peace journalism or advocacy journalism, emphasizes the importance of citizens accessing a range of news media to develop a comprehensive understanding of events. Media following a liberal pluralist approach contributes to an accountable state by facilitating public discourse and ensuring government responsiveness to the people (Gadzekpo, 2017; Moyo, 2009; Mullen & Klaehn, 2010; Sen, 2016).

Moreover, the chapter provided a broad definition of discourse, encompassing texts, actions, conversations, and sets of beliefs, narratives, and interpretations of the world. Discourse is seen as a locus of both connotation and action, a vehicle for meaning-making and the performance of various functions, and acknowledged as motivated and influenced by power relations, political interests, rhetorical positioning, ideologies, and more (Edmonson, 1981; MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Tebbens, 2016). Different

discourses represent diverse ways of speaking about and understanding the social world, engaging in continuous struggles to establish meaning and achieve hegemony (Demmers, 2012; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

The chapter then examined the power struggle between dominant discourse (war journalism) and counter-dominant discourse (peace journalism) in times of war and conflict. Hegemonic discourse, associated with hegemonic power, aims to manufacture acceptance, legitimacy, and consensus of dominance, while counter-hegemonic discourses are linked to counter-power, with cultural forces seeking to shift towards a culture of harmony (Tehranian, 1993; MacGilchrist, 2007). Counter-hegemonic discourse can take different forms, including rational overturn, misrepresentation, complexification, biased reframing, and fundamental reframing. The following chapter will present discourse analysis, both as a theory and as a methodology.

CHAPTER THREE: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND MEDIA FRAMING

3.1. Introduction

This chapter inspects media framing in the context of the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict by looking at the general pragmatic meaning of the texts used, sources of information adopted, and framing strategies applied by the newspapers. Scholars do not yield a uniform or single definition of either media framing or discourses, defining these terms differently, depending on their theoretical assumptions. Touri & Koteyko (2014) expound that studies that apply frame analysis methodology draw from various theoretical and methodological approaches, which has led to definitions of media framing being tentative and specific to the purposes of a particular study. This is because the meaning of discourse is often contingent on a study's specific contexts or approach (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). In this chapter the concept of decolonizing conflict reporting and the factors that addresses the political economy or sociology of news media that in turn influence the dynamics of media discourse and framing are illustrated.It is essential, therefore, to have a theoretical and conceptual framework to establish a clear and precise understanding of media framing and the theory of discourse analysis in this study.

Methodologically, theories are selected based on their applicability to the subject matter, and to set up an analytical framework appropriate for the observation and conceptualization of the study (Maxwell, 2010). Specific media framing and discourse theories must be selected to establish an analytical framework for examining how various regional and national media frame and represent events; in this study, how ethno-political conflicts construct discourses in relation to war and peace. The following section will explore discourse analysis as a theory, before the chapter turns to discourse analysis as a methodology. Subsequently, diverse theoretical perspectives on framing will be examined, with a particular focus on framing in media discourse research. The chapter will conclude with a summary.

3.2. Discourse analysis as theory

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) views discourses as a societal phenomenon, and looks to improve the theoretical foundations for performing discourse analysis, in addition to situating discourses in society. An essential feature of CDA is that it takes its starting point in a social theory. Two directions can be recognized. On the one hand, CDA demonstrates a vivid concern for theories of ideology and power. Most common is the usage of Foucault's (1977) structures of orders of discourses and power knowledge and Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony. Althusser's (1971) ideological state tools and interpellation work, wherein connections amid power and discourse processes are being spelt, out are also widely cited, such as in Laclau & Mouffe (1985) and Thompson (1989). In Fairclough (1992), these concepts and theories are given a language translation and applied to communicative patterns and discourse objects to explain the relations between social structure and linguistic practice, and offer linguistically grounded accounts for alterations in these relations. Fairclough's work is also conspicuous in studies on media practices.

The second direction that might be distinguished is an attempt to overwhelm structuralist determinism, commonly found in Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration, where a vigorous model of the relationships between structure and agency is proposed. Giddens claims that actual language products tend to be in dialectic relation to social structure, i.e. that language communication might determine larger social systems and processes. When the link between the linguistic communicative act and social procedures is discussed, persistent references are made to the works of Habermas (1987) and Bourdieu (1991).

The usage of these theories may be traced back to the impact of cultural studies on CDA, specifically at the Centre for Modern Cultural Studies of the University of Birmingham. CDA stays up to date with cultural studies in that it constantly, although critically, takes part in new research tendencies in, for instance, feminist, postmodern, globalization and postcolonial studies for a re-considering of CDA, which ground it more decisively in social theory (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). It is imperative to realize that, notwithstanding the input from a range of social scientific disciplines, CDA ought to be

primarily situated in a language milieu, and its successes have to be measured by the yardsticks of dialectology and linguistically angled pragmatics and discourse analysis. In CDA, Wodak and Busch (2004) have distinguished that mass media are imageries of public space and could be studied as places of social struggle and power, mostly in terms of the linguistics of the media; and that language is interplanetary for public discourses, echoes states of affairs neutrally, and portrays the often merely apparent, in ways clear as crystal. Media organizations repeatedly purport to be unbiased in delivering arguments and perceptions of the news creators, yet they commonly have unseen sociopolitical agendas that hide the nature of the problem (Herman & Chomsky, 2010). Central problems in the framework include racism, nationalism, capitalism, anti-Semitism, war reporting, and identity politics. Some areas of CDA study on media and war reporting are expounded below.

Critical discourse analysis takes the crucial tradition of social analysis into linguistic studies, and donates to critical social analysis a particular emphasis on discourse, and relationships between discourses and other societal elements. The media's war reportage is a good context to use the CDA model. Davies (2007) examined Sunday Mirror news narratives of the February, 2003 protest in London, in contrast to the Iraq warfare, to study the textual group of oppositional sets in news stories in the UK national media. He observed the much-cited response by George Bush towards the assault on the World Trade Centre in 2001, "Either you are with us or with the terrorist," which rhetorically made groups of demonstrators either unacceptable or acceptable. Davies argued that, while Bush had employed "either" he used the unusual framing of "us" and "terrorist," rather than "us" and "them," thereby looking to unite the USA, and the rest of the globe, against a common enemy, leaving no opportunity of an intermediate way.

On the other hand, schemes of press discourses in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War (1990-1991) seemed to provide a broad understanding of America's master story of warfare, which had been damaged by the Vietnam experiences (Hackett & Zhao, 1994). Kellner (1992) highlighted how the government used the media to further its interests through media manipulation, as the Bush government had clandestinely released misinformation to the newspapers to legitimate sending the US military into the Middle

East, and to mobilize public backing for this action. In the subsequent period of warfare, the mass media became an instrument for US policy, privileging those opinions which sought for a military resolution to the war.

By and large, along with work on online news stories (e.g., Sani *et al.* 2012a, 2012b), CDA application has dealt with social media and networking sites, such as Facebook (Eisenlauer, 2013), television and radio, to highlight with their related discourses (as an example, see Chouliaraki's (2004) investigation of film or footage on TV of the September 11th assaults in New York.). With this in mind, the succeeding sections will explain DA as methodology.

3.3. Discourse analysis as methodological design

On a methodological level, DA can be used to examine many problems, texts and situations (Hamuddin, 2012), as it presents a varied picture, and has become increasingly common. Uncovering the meanings and patterns used in discourse provides an overview of the theoretical language used in texts, and use of the methodology has become increasingly predominant in recent years (Partington, Duguid & Taylor, 2013). In a similar vein, Norris (2002) described DA as a heterogeneous field, as the study of linguistics goes beyond the sentence, with an emphasis on naturally occurring linguistics, encompassing the recording and interpretations of texts. To add, Stubbs (1983) defined DA as on the road to studying larger language units, such as written texts. Although there are many approaches to DA, such as ethnographic, multimodal and corpus-based DA (Waugh *et al.*, 2016), my research employs critical discourse analysis as a methodological paradigm to examine how the discourse, rhetoric, meanings or arguments of the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict are structured and presented in newspapers articles (Fairclough, 1995b).

3.3.1 *Critical discourse analysis as a tool of enquiry*

In normal parlance, critical discourse analysis (hereafter CDA) is a branch of the school of DA that goes beyond why and how discourses contribute toward the reproduction of structures, and highlights the ideological and cultural meanings (Fairclough, 1995b). According to Rogers (2004: 3), CDA varies from other DA methods in that it comprises

not just an interpretation and description of discourses in context, but also offers an elucidation of how and why discourses work. Hence, methodologically, CDA scrutinizes how language works in political and sociocultural contexts, concentrating on ideological perspectives and power relations reproduced in discourse texts, and their broader effects on society (Chiluwa, 2016). Van Dijk (2006) argues that CDA requires an accurate multidisciplinary understanding of the intricate relations between talk, power, text, social opinion, cultures and society, and is essential for interpreting, describing, examining and critiquing social life reproduced in the text. According to Dirks (2007), discourse analysis can be characterized as a way of approaching and thinking about a problem, and making the world meaningful. Interpretation arises from an act of reading or analyzing. CDA can be traced back to the Frankfurt School and Hungarian sociologist Karl Mannheim. However, CDA as we know it today can be attributed to developments in critical linguistic studies during the 1970s and 1980s (Ezeifeka, 2013). In the early 1990s, several theorists, including Teun Van Dijk, Gunther Kress, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Theo van Leeuwen, developed a formalized CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). As Van Dijk (2001) has argued, CDA was created as a reaction to the dominant paradigms of the time, which was not critical and sought to either explain or sustain the prevailing social order. CDA, on the other hand, attempts to analyze discourse for purposes of social change.

As Wodak & Meyer (2009) illustrate, CDA does not encompass a single methodology or homogenous theory. Rather, Wodak & Busch (2004) remark that CDA is used to refer to the critical linguistic approach of researchers who engage the larger discursive unit of texts as the rudimentary unit of communication. CDA understands language as a form of social practice and explores how discourses, hegemony, and ideology are embedded in the language (Wang, 2016). Moreover, it looks to analyze spoken and written texts to reveal the discursive sources of dominance, power, inequality, and prejudice within particular contexts (Paniagua *et al*., 2007). CDA takes a clear political position and attempts to unmask, understand and ultimately resist social inequality (Van Dijk, 2004; Widuna, 2018).

As specified by Fairclough (1995b), CDA aims to systematically determine the link between existing texts and discursive practices as they exist in broader cultural and social

structures, processes, and relations. More recently, Amer (2017) asserted that CDA is concerned with textual meanings and connotations constructed between the producers of a text, the text itself, and those who consume it. This is especially important for media studies. There is no single or monolithic meaning of discourse in this respect. Indeed, numerous contestable reasons exist why a particular discourse comes into being. Hillary Janks (1997: 329) explicates that:

> CDA stems from a critical theory of language which sees the use of linguistics as a form of social practice. All social practices are tied to particular historical contexts and are how existing social relations are reproduced or contested and various interests are served. It is the interrogations about claims that relate discourse to relations of power. How is the text positioned? Whose interests are served by this positioning? Whose interests are negated? What are the consequences of this positioning? When analysis seeks to understand how discourse is implicated in power relations, it is called critical discourse analysis.

Other practitioners of CDA (such as Fairclough, 1995b; Van Djik, 1988; Wodak, 2009) summed up the principles of CDA like this:

1. Language is a social practice through which the world is depicted;

2. Discourse is a social practice in itself and signifies other social practices, such as domination, prejudice, and social resistance;

3. Texts acquire their meaning through a dialectical relationship between social subjects, texts, writers, and readers;

4. Linguistic structures are not arbitrary; they are systemic;

5. Power relations are manufactured, exercised, and reproduced through discourse;

6. Discourse is historical; texts attain their connotations via ideological, cultural, and social contexts;

7. All writers and speakers work within particular "discursive practices" that stem from specific aims and interests.

As might be guessed from the preceding discussion, discourse is not arbitrary, but is always political. Journalists, for instance, can cover the news in various ways, engage information selectively (e.g. whom to quote), employ language/vocabulary for particular purposes, and rely on grammar to emphasize different points (e.g. active voice vs passive). Thus, CDA provides the analytical tools to help us see how the media do not merely report on phenomena but, through discourse, construct these phenomena. While CDA draws upon an eclectic array of approaches to examining texts, I draw primarily on Fairclough's approach, and in particular, his socio-linguistic approach, to examine whether the identified newspapers could de-escalate or escalate the Oromo-Somali conflict. In what follows, I discuss Fairclough's version of CDA in more detail.

3.3.2 Norman Fairclough's approach to CDA

In the social theory of discourse, Fairclough offers one of the most influential frameworks for using CDA to analyze media discourse, arguing that media can manipulate and inform people (Kress, 1993). In line with Hallidayan Functional Linguistics, Fairclough's approach to CDA has three dimensions in its approach: text analysis (e.g. news reports), discourse practice (e.g. production and interpretation of discourse), and socio-cultural practices (e.g. culture, values, and social structures) (Fairclough, 1995b; Yaghoobi, 2009).

Text analysis deals with the description of events in the news (Fairclough, 1995b), looking to identify the formal features of media texts, including grammar, sentence structure, and vocabulary (Chiluwa, 2016). For example, newspaper headlines have unique syntactic properties that determine the meaning (Paniagua *et al*., 2007). As Fowler (1991) asserts, media texts use language to deploy, organize and reproduce the viewpoints and interests of powerful groups, with ordinary people having very little influence on how media texts are produced. The ultimate concern of text analysis is how language is used.

The second dimension is discourse practice, which looks at how media messages are produced, interpreted, and consumed (Fairclough, 1995). Discourse practice is related to institutional procedures, such as news selection, newsgathering, editing, writing, and how

audiences interpret media texts. When looking at discourse practice, we approach the content of media stories, not as mere value-free reflections of events, but as constructed and partisan interpretations of events (Putnam & Shoemaker, 2007). However, audiences may interpret and understand a particular text differently, and aligning with their ideological affiliations (Sheyholislami, 2006).

The third dimension concerns socio-cultural practices (Widuna, 2018). Crucial here are the socio-cultural contexts in which communicative action occurs. There are various elements to consider when looking at socio-cultural practices in the media, such as the political (e.g. ideology, economy and power), economic (e.g. the economy of news media), cultural (e.g. social values), and access (i.e. who has access to news media) (Fairclough, 1995b; Yaghoobi, 2009). Figure 3.1 below summarizes Fairclough's dimensions of CDA.
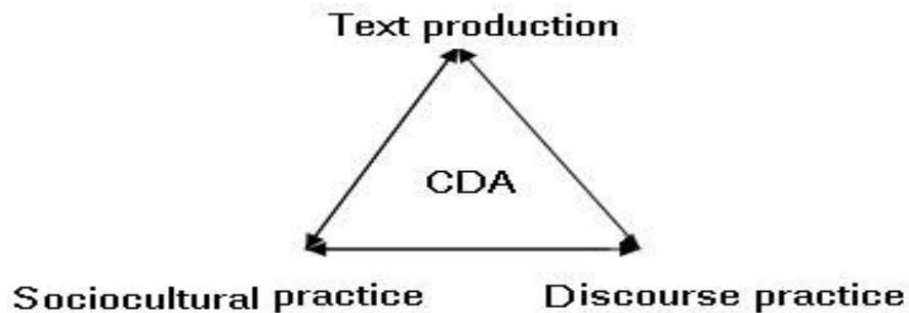
Source: Yaghoobi (2009)

Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) also suggest a three-dimensional framework for considering and investigating discourse, namely:

- Discourse as text; that is, the language organization and features of concrete examples of discourse;

- Discourse as discursive practice, as something that is manufactured, distributed, consumed, and circulated in society;

- Discourse as social practice, the sociopolitical effects and hegemonic procedures where discourse is a feature.

In this study, the primary focus is on text[1] analysis. Although this typically includes an analysis of existing texts and inter-textual commentaries (Paniagua *et al*., 2007), inter-textual research will not be used in this research[2]. The aim is to examine how various online newspapers produce and utilize multiple texts to represent the Oromo-Somali conflict. In this case, emphasis will be placed on headings, keywords, phrases, paragraphs, connotations, and sentences that highlight specific concepts within the texts themselves, rather than analyzing how one text refers to or interacts with other texts. The following sub-section demonstrates the application of Fairclough's methodology.

3.3.3. The application of Fairclough's CDA in news media

As stated above, CDA is indebted to systemic or functional linguistic theory (Halliday, 1976). CDA approaches media texts in a functionalist manner in three main ways: interpersonal (language works within the space between audience and speaker, or reader and writer), ideational (languages represent events), and textual (language is organized into texts) (Paniagua *et al*., 2007). Based on this approach, linguistic representations are selected which carry ideological weight. Indeed, they represent a combination of agentic and structural forces. For Fairclough (2003), textual analysis is an essential part of CDA, precisely because the linguistic analysis of grammar, words, statements, and vocabulary is so central to his conception of CDA (Fairclough, 1995a). Fairclough argues that the emphasis of CDA should be on how situations, people, relationships, and events are symbolized in texts. Therefore, a given media text does not mirror reality; it constitutes reality through the social interests, positions, and objectives of those who construct such texts (Fairclough, 1995a). In any textual representation, two aspects must be considered when conducting a CDA. One is the structuring of the propositions involved in depicting particular issues. The other is the arrangement and organization of single clauses into a comprehensibly and coherently structured whole (Fairclough, 1995b).

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[1] 'Texts' refers to manifestations of discursive practice. They may encompass written and spoken languages and can be defined widely as discursive units that can take different forms, encompassing spoken words, written texts, pictures, symbols, artefacts and so on (Leitch & Palmer, 2009).

[2] The concept of intertextuality refers to the links that texts have with other texts, and to the way that interpreters make sense of texts by drawing upon their knowledge of other texts, including the conventions that exist within particular textual genres. An intertextual analysis is one that takes account of the historicity and genre of texts (Leitch & Palmer, 2009: 1198).

Fairclough also espouses that linguistic structures and features should be examined to understand a particular text's implicit and explicit meanings (Fairclough, 1995a). Thus, the analysis serves as an intermediary between what is absent/omitted and what is foregrounded/present. Therefore, in any textual analysis, we must be alert to a combination of overt and hidden meanings (Fairclough, 1995a). What is unnoticed in the texts? How do the exclusion and inclusion of facts construct a specific purpose? Accordingly, discourse analyses should not only examine words and sentences, but also the organization of meanings and connotations, such as how language becomes meaningful on societal and structural levels (Richardson & Matlock, 2007).

In applying Fairclough's approach to CDA, I analyze how online newspaper platforms narrate and present the ethno-political conflict. In so doing, I examine the texts used, the sources attributed, and the generic framing approaches used in the various newspaper reports, and how these tie into broader social processes and ideologies (Putnam & Shoemaker, 2007).

3.3.3.1 Linguistic tools employed to analyze the media

In examining the micro-and macro-structures of media discourse, Fairclough uses several linguistic tools (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). I discuss each of these tools in turn below.

Transitivity: When examining news media, some CDA scholars (e.g. Richardson, 2007) draw on the notion of transitivity to highlight back grounded and fore grounded meanings within sentences (Simpson, 1993). Transitivity refers to the choice of words used in a sentence, which influence an audience's reading. It allows analysts to categories the vast array of incidences covered in the news (Teo, 2000), and assists us in ascertaining which social actors are involved in causing an event, and who carries the costs of specific actions. This is to say that transitivity deals with "who or what does what to whom or what" (Iwamoto, 1995: abstract). For instance, describing the Ethiopian Somalis as having committed a "massacre" evokes particular connotations of violence.

Argumentation: Wodak & Busch (2004) think that that argumentation is often drawn on to construct a negative other, while at the same time reporting positively on an in-group. Argumentation aims to justify negative and positive representations. For example,

Somalis are often labeled in news media discourse as villains, delinquents, and perpetrators, with Oromos, by contrast, appearing innocent. This is done through the use of derogatory slurs and other forms of discourses that overtly express and enact prejudicial discourses and lack of respect to the Ethiopian Somalis.

Rhetorical Tropes: According to Richardson, the term "rhetorical tropes" comprises metonyms, hyperboles, metaphors, neologisms, puns, and synecdoche. They evoke judgments on phenomena rather than concretely explaining them (Richardson, 2004). For example, the statement "ONLF calls upon the AU, UN and the international community to look seriously into the current state of Ethiopia and take measures to avert another Rwanda or Bosnia" (TesfaNews, 17/12/ 2017 par.11) constructs Rwanda or Bosnia as metaphors for bloodshed and genocide.

3.3.3.2. Source attribution structure

According to Chana and Tangkiengsirisin (2012), the source ascription is another required element of news discourse construction, because a news author frequently quotes the details of a situation from involved parties. Examining source ascription from news texts assists in identifying the veiled ideology of the news authors or organizations manufacturing the piece (Chana & Tangkiengsirisin, 2012). Thus, the media depend on various sources when covering conflict (Francis, 2018). In relation to this, Van Dijk (1993) argued that analyzing media sources can indicate whom the media are accessing and why. In their chief work, *Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power*, Gamson & Modigliani (1989) stated that how media evaluate their cited sources can tell their ideological affiliation because, like journalists, authorities are influenced by a range of social forces, institutions, and ideologies. In this sense, the choice of the source is of utmost importance in news reporting (Sigal, 1974). Reporters skew how a particular issue is interpreted by selecting only influential people and those adjacent to or aligned with power (Rouner, Slater & Buddenbaum, 1999).

In the same vein, Fairclough (1995b) argues that news itself is often a collection of selected sources, which can serve to conceal inherent biases, as sourcing those who oppose hegemonic discourse is rare within mainstream news media. If they serve

democratic purposes and relay reliable and credible information, news media ought to be free from government control and the dominance of powerful sources (Graber, 2003). Some theorists (like Richardson, 2004), believe that references should be balanced and comprise the political elite and everyday people.

3.4. Understanding Media Framing

As discussed in the previous chapter, mass media play a major role in the manufacture of prejudice, beliefs and dominance over the societal context, as the media are inclined to relegate "others" to the margins, and misconstrue events (Van Dijk, 2009). In others words, the media do not represent a socially neutral agent, as they hold positions in the ideological and political structure of a given society. Indeed, by selecting news for publication and setting a news agenda, the media socially construct and frame reality in certain ways. The media therefore play a role in how events are interpreted and represented (Ruth, 2015; Trčková, 2011; Zahid, 2016).

3.4.1. *Framing theory*

Broadly speaking, framing refers to selecting certain aspects of reality to make them more salient, to promote the desired interpretation of that reality (Wasike, 2013). Much scholarly work on framing is based on the work of Goffman (1974), who laid the sociological foundations of the frame, defining it as a "schemata of interpretation." Thus, framing means the primary frameworks that enable individuals to understand certain events and perceive, identify, locate and label reality (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Touri & Koteyko, 2014).

In communication research, framing originates from photography and cinematography, and refers to how a photographer would angle the camera to get the desired perspective. Just as a photographer can turn the camera to alter the perspective, a journalist can bend a story to achieve a particular perspective. In a sense, framing is a technique that journalists can use to present a report to their audience in a specific way (Turner, 2016).

In the context of news media, we might understand frames as social constructs, and the result of editorial norms or institutional constraints subsidized by political and social

actors (Touri & Koteyko, 2014). Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) refer to modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information that resonates with existing schemas. Framing shapes news reports to and for specific audience, and constructs a particular notion of what an issue should be (Mohammed & Dalib, 2017). With regards to conflict, framing relies on specific stock phrases, keywords, sources of information, sentences and stereotyped images that provide thematically strengthening clusters of judgments or facts (Pecen, 2018). As a fundamental part of political communication and news reporting, framing shapes people's opinions and understanding of an issue by stressing specific features, while at the same time reducing complexity to one or two central aspects (Entman, 1993).

In communications, framing is thus concerned with how news media reportage can shape mass opinion by using particular frameworks to help guide their spectators to understand the events they report (Cissel, 2012). Frames, then, "define problems- diagnose causes- make moral judgments- and suggest remedies" (Entman, 1993:52) and usually focus on how people's viewpoints are influenced by opposing ways of presenting an issue or event (Afzal, 2016). Framing therefore speaks to how messages are encoded with meaning so that an audience can efficiently interpret them. Indeed, framing leads us to accept one definition over another (Afzal, 2016).

In an effort to offer insights into the forces that shape media interpretations of reality, and how media influence audiences, several researchers have used frame analysis since the early 1990s. Although employed in many different ways, frame analysis seeks to understand what effects news production processes have on public perceptions (Cissel, 2012; Entman, 1993; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Touri & Koteyko, 2014; Vliegenthart & Van Zoonen, 2011). As Assefa (2010) indicates, framing is sensitive to the effects that the media has on people, and is cognizant of the fact that these cannot be determined merely by examining how audiences receive media messages. Instead, the interaction between the media messages and the audience decides how audiences make meanings from these messages. That is, journalists, draw the public's attention to specific topics by selecting which items or salient issues are reported on (i.e. agenda-setting), and

putting these in a particular perspective (i.e. framing). They can influence opinion in times of social turbulence, such as ethnic conflicts.

The chapter now moves to a discussion of theories of media framing, and how these speak to news framing.

3.4.2 *Media framing theory*

As explicated by Quinsaat (2014), media framing determines what is and is not newsworthy. Pavelka (2014) reported that journalists depend on media frames to decide what to include and leave out in their news reporting. Framing therefore represents a process that may be conscious, culture-bound or instinctive. Media frames can manifest via headlines, key phrases, omissions and sentences that reinforce a particular representation of reality or a specific emotion accompanying that reality. Abreu (2015) notes that, by selecting items or salient issues for reporting (agenda-setting) and putting them in perspective (framing), journalists can influence and shape opinion, particularly in times of social conflict (Assefa, 2010). Even when media draws their message from the same sources of information, different media may frame this information differently (Abreu, 2015). The effects of media thus emerge not just within an audience's reception of a media message, but as a result of the interaction between the already framed messages and the audience, whereby audiences make meanings from the messages received (Assefa, 2010).

In order to give prominence to some aspects of a story and to suppress others, the media uses different strategies, techniques, tools, devices or/and mechanisms, which may include emphasizing "trustworthy" sources of information, relying on stereotyped images and sentences (Entman, 1993), and employing emotive headlines and/or lyrical language descriptions (Van Dijk, 1995). Scholars such as Van Dijk (1988) and Camson and Modigliani (1989) have classified framing devices into four categories: syntactical structure, thematic structure, script structure and rhetorical structure (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Others, like Iyengar and Simon (1993) have introduced notions such as the episodic versus thematic framing types. Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) have adopted five generic frames: responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality, and economic

consequences (Dreijere, 2013; Lau *et al*., 2011; MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008). Details of these types of frames are provided below.

I begin with Pan and Kosicki's (1993) four structures of news discourses, for detecting news narratives from a constructionist approach.

3.4.2.1 Syntactical structures

Syntactical structures refer to the arrangement of words or phrases into sentences. In news discourse, these structures are organized by an inverted pyramid structure and by the rules of source attributions. According to these writers, the inverted pyramid refers to the sequential organization of structural elements (i.e., headline, lead, episodes, background, and closure) which signify power differentials. For example, while a headline appears to be the most hermeneutically salient cue, a lead becomes the next most crucial device in interpreting a news event. The most important or 'catchy' items are often at the top of a page, starting with the headline, while further reading reveals more background information and, finally, a conclusion (Mikkonen, 2017). Here, some strategies – such as word selection, emphasis, omission, or exclusion of data – are used as framing devices to produce syntactic construction of discourses (Boydstun *et al*., 2013).

3.4.2.2 Script structures

Speaking to the script structures of news discourse, Pan and Kosicki (1993) expound that news reports are often conceived of as stories with social functions. They give two reasons for this. First, because news reports cover newsworthy events, most reports are said to be stories in the literal sense of describing events. Second, the news is expected to assist the public to better understand their social environment, which cannot be perceived fully because of our limited sensory capacities. The writers also note that news discourse has a recognizable internal organization called a script. News scripts are thus the established and stable sequences of activities and components used to construct an event. In news writing, scripts consist of five W questions and one H question: What, When, Where, Who, Why and How. This, in essence, means that news scripts are supposed to contain complete information about an event, including a beginning, a climax and an end. Scripts also have drama, action, characters, and human emotions, which hold an

audience's attention. Primarily distinguished by these features, the script structure of news discourse often appears to be fragmented, personalized and dramatized.

3.4.2.3 Thematic structure

Regarding the thematic structure of news discourse, Pan and Kosicki (1993) have referred to the research finding or hypothesis-testing feature of news discourse, which consists of stories that focus on one issue or topic at a time, and that report on several events, actions, or statements related to the issue or topic. Stories that fall within this structure of news discourse contain certain hypothesis-testing features. For example, events are cited, sources are quoted, and propositions are pronounced, all logically supporting a hypothesis. As such, a news story is viewed as a set of schemes that form a system or a structure of logical, empirical or causal relations. The thematic structure of news discourse is thus concerned with covering an event, an issue and a topic. It hence contains a hypothesis, a selected theme, and evidence to support this hypothesis, based on a journalist's observations (Mikkonen, 2017). However, this hypothesis does not have to be the headline or lead sentence. It may be folded into the body of the news text (Mikkonen, 2017).

3.4.2.4 Rhetorical structures of news discourse

Pan and Kosicki (1993) also pointed out that rhetorical structures of news discourse are the journalists' stylistic choices that are made in relation to the intended effects of these choices. Key rhetorical features of a news story are often shaped by proactive news-making. For example, by placing the image of a prominent person in front of a national flag, the audience associates that person with nationalism. Journalists also use rhetorical devices, such as a catchphrase, to strengthen their argument, amplify the vividness of a news report, and reinforce the legitimacy and authority of a story. By framing a political issue through particular rhetorical devices, the journalist defines the relevant problem and designates potential solutions.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) proclaim that because the aforementioned structural dimensions contain only slots with varying powers of significance, these slots are filled with lexical

elements. They explain that lexical choices constitute an essential feature of news discourse construction, and are often made to conform to structural rules, particularly those which designate one of the categories in syntactic or script structures. These authors speak of the notion of a designator, which is the choice of words or labels – such as "sources: or "the administration" – that gives a statement authority, and that helps to establish a correspondence between a signifier and signified. A designator may be selected based on an individual journalist's professional considerations, specific news preferences, or organizational processes. Thus, a particular designator's choice is a clear and sometimes powerful indicator of an underlying frame.

In addition to these four structural dimensions, media agencies may adopt other generic framing types, which assist in understanding how conflicts are presented within the media. These include the consequences, human-interest, conflict, morality, attribution of responsibility, economic consequences, prognostic, and diagnostic frames (Dreijere, 2013; MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). I expound upon each of these below:

1. The consequences frame sees the conflict's human and material consequences. It understands human life loss and broader human impact.

2. The human-interest frame speaks to whether a story seeks to put a human face on the issues it covers by emphasizing how groups or individuals are affected, or whether a story adopts personal vignettes that look to affect audiences. It emphasizes emotions.

3. The conflict frame concerns whether news stories reflects differences or disagreements between individuals, groups, and countries.

4. The morality frame looks at whether a story references morality, ethics, gods, and other religious themes. This frame puts the occasion, problems, or issues in the context of social prescriptions, religious tenets and morals.

5. The attribution of responsibility frame concerns whether a news story attributes responsibility and the ability to solve an issue/problem to a specific party.

6. The economic consequences frame concerns recent or future financial losses. It looks principally at costs, expenditure, and broader economic impact.

7. The prognostic frame stresses the prognosis and effect of the event.

8. The diagnostic frame emphasizes the causes of the event.

All the structures and types of media framing mentioned above are manifested in the form of either episodic or thematic frames that emphasize the action/event and the issue/topic of news stories. While episodic framing concerns specific issues, thematic framing focuses on more general ones (Cacciatore, Scheufele & Iyengar, 2016; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Many researchers (like De Vreese & Lechler, 2016; Dreijere, 2013; Zhang & Jin, 2016) viewed thematic framing as the portrayal and presentation of issues via information about the systemic causes, trends and consequences of these issues. Such framing not only demands in-depth, interpretive analyses, but also places a topic in a more general context. Episodic framing, on the other hand, is seen as the portrayal and presentation of issues through the use of a specific event that serves to represent a broader issue. This kind of framing describes problems in terms of individual instances or particular circumstances. It may be said that the predominance of episodic framing in the media reveals the failure of the media to play a watchdog role (Iyengar, 2011). Indeed, such failure arises from the episodic frame's focus on events, its incomplete presentation of a story, and its refusal to consider the broader social context (Kiwanuka-Tondo, Albada & Payton, 2012). Such a frame not only diverts public attention away from systemic socio-political and economic issues, but also downplays the importance of society-level solutions such as regulatory efforts, policy changes, and alteration of social injustices and inequalities (Zhang & Jin, 2016). For example, an episodic frame strategy on terrorism might emphasize the victim or casualty, while a thematic frame strategy might discuss terrorism in historical or religious terms (Reuben, 2009).

Indeed, as Iyengar's (1991) experimental study concludes, while episodically framed news reports under-consider societal responsibility for events, thematically prepared news reports under-consider individual responsibility for issues. For example, MacRitchie & Seedat (2008) indicated that, while those who have viewed episodically

framed stories about poverty have tended to attribute poverty to individual failings, those who watched thematically framed stories about the same issue have tended to understand poverty as relating to governmental policies and other factors that were beyond a poor individual's control. Thus, my study also examines whether the nature of media reportage reflects thematic or episodic framing.

In the subsequent pages, the decolonizing conflict reporting and the socio-economic or socio-political factors that affect media discourse and framing of violence will be discussed.

3.5. Decolonizing conflict reporting

Media in Africa are implicated in the colonial experiences of African countries.They still entrenched in transnational mass media structures (Chari, 2021).The media position themselves to the transnational media that they have propensity to reproduce damaging and racist stereotypical narratives about Africa (Nothias, 2020). They have closely duplicated the professional norms and ethics of the United States a country whose news media have been tantamount with the world's media (Kasoma, 1996).The practice of transnational journalism is manifested by neocolonial hegemonies that menace not merely the human dignity and quality of news of its practitioners across the news production chain, but as well with nothing on lives. Especially in conflict reporting, the interplays of inherited and new imperial/ colonial power vectors and hegemonies are evident on an everyday tangible basis (Kotišová & Deuze, 2022).

Coloniality refers to a condition where colonial relationships of power remain intensely entrenched in spheres of sexuality, knowledge, authority, politics, economy and the broader understanding of being (Chari, 2021). Coloniality is distinct from colonialism in the sense that it refers to economic and a political relation in which the power and sovereignty of a people or nations rests on the powers of other nations, which makes such nations an empire (Ibid, see also Maldonado Torres, 2007). Because coloniality continues to exist beyond colonialism, it concerns longstanding patterns of power that arise out of

colonialism and is upheld in the postcolonial stage through books in the criterion of academic performances, in commonsense, in cultural patterns, in aspirations of self, in the self-image of peoples and in numerous other features of our modern knowledge. In a way, as modern subject matter we breathe coloniality all the time (Maldonado Torres, 2007).

Postcolonial that naturally political scrutiny seems to be a precise answer to these hegemonies. Postcolonial thinking allows more socially accountable problematization of communication and thus can lead to more equitable and just forms of knowledge and news production (Kotišová & Deuze, 2022). In turn, visualized creative justice, involving an ethical responsibility of care and the duty of all news staffs and media institute to lessen harms, must be rooted in the values of partnership and equity rather than "othering" and "exoticization" which are not possible without admitting the richness of the transnational news gatherers' identities (Ibid). Postcolonial theory imbues African political thinking with the analytic and theoretical vitality of an emancipatory rhetoric that could engage with contemporary inquiry of, inter alia, African mass media and global capitalism. Second, it displays how African political thoughts have influenced the function and structure of the mass media in Africa. It concludes that local/native resistances to colonialism and the following construction of statehood created dynamics spaces of African mediations and that the postcolonial propensity for self-determination underpins the dynamics of media localizations in the neocolonial era of globalization (Banda, 2010).

Decoloniality offers a lens to clarify the perpetuation of coloniality in the media and other knowledge institute in the postcolonial states (Maldonado Torres, 2007). Decoloniality emphasizes on defying the coloniality of powers knowledge and being (Ibid). Decolonized reporting techniques assist journalists and their spectators move beyond the political and socio-historical myopia that averts us from understanding the realism of a complex world (Giotis, 2022). It helps to disentangle or delink the western theory practices that dominate both the disciplines and the fields of political communications in Africa and other parts of the world (Chari, 2021).

Since the media shape people's knowledge concerning to conflict, decoloniality is a vital lens to interrogate universalized Western rationality usually encouraged by the mainstream media concerning the postcolonial conflicts. This is for the reason that decoloniality is concerned on the liberation of knowledge and the abolition of the coloniality of world power (Quijano, 2007). It is a move away from the imperial way of thinking (American centric and Eurocentric or else) and decolonial mind sets in theory, critique and politics (Maldonado Torres, 2007).

Epistemological decolonization like decoloniality is desirable to lucid the method for new inter-cultural communications for an exchange of meanings and experiences as the foundations of another rationalities that could legally pretend some universality (Quijano, 2007). Addressing transnational coverage clearly from the postcolonial perspectives would permit scholar to do impartiality to the complexities of the postcolonial conditions. Decolonization is necessary and possible for the developments of a truly transnational public sphere (Giotis, 2022). New transnational narratives need to meaningfully comprise the knowledge and voices of those with the slightest power that are caught in resource fuelled violence. Drawing on insight from postcolonial studies, development studies, philosophy and international relations, which are brought to being by auto ethnographic descriptions and scrutiny of behind the scenes events (Ibid).

The Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung (1998, 2002) suggested conflict sensitive journalism which is more nuanced approach and wide ranging knowledge paradigm that accommodates other alternative approaches (i.e. peace journalism approach) of understanding violence in postcolonial perspectives. Galtung (1998) distinguishes peace journalism which is peace oriented from war journalism approach which he sees as violence/war propaganda, victory and elite oriented journalism. Consistent with Galtung the violence arena consists of two parties pitted against each other featuring "Them" vs. "Us" whereby the "them" are dehumanized and the "US" is humanised (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000). In this way, the media give deeper insights into the extent to which the existing journalistic practices in the conflict coverage subtly are responsible for coloniality in the media. This is because hegemonic struggles and hegemonic may play themselves on the reporting of the ethno-political conflicts.

Against this backdrop, peace sensitive journalism has gained traction. It obtained its moral foundation from the fact that professional mass media can optimistically influence peace building by dissemination of knowledge about local issues, consensus building and politics (Howard, 2008). Peace sensitive journalism corrects misperceptions amid the different sides in conflicts in addition to making news human by having real people in a story and unfolding how events affect them (Galtung, 1998). It highlights a refinement of the novel values of the media and is entrenched in the belief that the news media could be a powerful instrument for conflict solution in society. Reporters are equipped with critical skills to better comprehend violence, convey it in a context which help them circumvent the use of prejudice and narrow views on the causes of violence (Ibid). The media can thus contribute to a broader understanding of violence through conversation among various communities and can give information concerning ways of conflict solution in society while at the same time uphold the original core values of media such as fairness, balance, accuracy and responsible conduct by representing both-sides of the stories/ rhetoric equally (Khalid, 2023; see also chapter 2). This means that journalists must give both side equal spaces on the media platforms. They should not ignore certain communities and kept out their voices of conversation deliberately. They can perpetuate systems of violence by giving equal weight to their voice. For example, representing equally the arguments of the Palestinian and Israeli people when they come into violence is one way of decolonization of journalism or dismantling the colonial oppressive political and social structures (Khalid, 2023).

So, in this thesis the researcher will also see whether the online media follow decolonised conflict reporting approach anchored on Afro centric values and decoloniality approach by incorporating elements of peace sensitive journalism model that can deliberately subvert coloniality and the dominant Western based philosophy of journalism or not.

3.6. Factors that Influence the dynamics of Media Discourse and Framing

News framing in media sociology do not operate in a vacuum–there are many economic, organizational and political factors in the ecology of news organizations that affect how

they construct and report conflicts (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) argued that even though news media are independent institutions, their embeddedness in various fields of power makes their independence highly constrained. News media can be argued to be institutions that are influenced by both formal structures and informal rules and procedures. These authors expound that if you were an eyewitness to an event and then read or viewed a story about that event in the news media, there were be similarities and differences between what you saw and what the news media reported (Ibid).This shows that while the news is frequently thought to be value-free and objective, this is seldom, if ever, the case. Most of the information in the report is value-laden in both its manufacture and content. News stories are not an exact depiction of reality but a reconstruction from different angles of a small fact section. The same story could be told differently (Gouse *et al*., 2018). This is because news framing and coverage of an event demonstrate remarkable variation and are influenced in large part by how writers and producers choose to present the facts in accordance to ideological factors (Cherkaoui, 2018), characteristics of the conflict (Zakareviciute, 2016), geographical location (Ojala and Pantti, 2017), institutional schemata and sourcing, personal opinion, individual idiosyncrasies (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008), and external pressure from political actors and systems (Camaj, 2010).Carragee and Roefs (2004) stated that framing research needs to be linked to political and social questions regarding power. They suggest that frames should be traced back to specific economic or cultural resources used by sponsors to promote certain frames. These resources are implicated in the way frames enter the news discourse and become dominant or hegemonic. Therefore, framing analysis should have been combined with one of the theories discussed above or critical political economy of the media to explain why certain frames did or did not dominate the news articles discussed.

Carragee and Roefs (2004) also specified that the media processes and practices can be influenced by habitus (entrenched skills and dispositions that reflect the socialization of past experiences), extra media, doxa (learned, fundamental, deep-founded, unconscious beliefs, and values), and capital (cultural, social and symbolic resources), the structural arrangements and institutions that individual journalists bring into the field or situations.

In pursuit of this, Bourdieu (1984, 1986) demonstrates how the technical, market and legal concerns affect media news. He stated that media texts do not come out of the sky nor does it come directly from an institution. It comes from practices that emerged from past experience that are concomitantly constrained and enable by structural arrangements (including market, legal and technical concerns) and owe their existences to the strategic orientations of those whose labor are directly tied up with creating media discourse. One of the most well-traveled hypothetical for this would be the situations of the U.S. newspapers reporters, whose practices comes not so much from the declared goals of a journalism discipline or a proclamation of professional values and principles as from the day to day interactions with superiors and subordinates, colleagues and sources. Through this, the reporters or any other producers of media texts gets a feel for the games: a feels that are embodied and hence irreducible to simple logical seeming rules and a games that is taken critically, though perhaps seldom understood in terms of the bigger structural forces at play. This signify that the individual journalists develop the means through which to accommodate themselves to institutional functions /needs and links media discourse to political economy to construct audiences as commodities. Here, Pierre Bourdieu (1980) gets us beyond thinking merely about corporations, regulations and other large structures but also how media producers come to comprehend and act toward people in specific ways to commodified them given the particular arrangements of media corporate activities and the over-arching desires of the capitalists' marketplace.

Hanitzsch and Hoxha (2014) as well provide an essential media production and coverage typology. The typology provides two domains that influence news production (i.e., generic and specific influences). These are divided into sub-domains that affect how particular events are framed in and by news media. Hanitzsch and Hoxha similarly offer three levels at which the abovementioned domains of influence are manifested (i.e. the society/community level, organizational level, and individual level, see Diagram 3.1).

Diagram 3.1: Classification of influences

No.	Domain of influence	Origin of Influences	Level of Analysis
1	Generic Influences	Journalism-Related	• Level of Community/society • Level of Organization
2	Specific Influences	Conflict-Related	• Level of Individual

Source: Adapted from Hanitzsch & Hoxha (2014).

According to Hanitzsch and Hoxha, generic influences are those journalism-related influences that apply to all kinds of journalism regardless of focus (e.g. politics, economy, sports) or medium (e.g. print, television, radio). Such influences emanate from the mass media themselves, their professional procedures, and the journalists who drive reporting toward intensification or de-escalation (Hanitzsch & Hoxha, 2014). The same writers describe seven sub-domains from which the generic influences originate: political, socio-cultural identity, reference groups, economic imperatives, professional practice, professional routines/structure, and professional ideology (see Diagram 3.2 below).

Diagram 3.2: the Generic factors that affect media discourse and framing

No.	Sub-domain	Level of community	Level of organization	Individual-level
1	Socio-cultural identity	Social or cultural Values	Organizational culture	Personal values and beliefs
2	Political influences	Government intervention	Editorial policy	Political stance
3	Economic imperatives	Concentration of ownership	Business models/editorial resources	Salaries, pay
4	Reference groups	Audience	Competing media	Colleagues, sources
5	Professional structures	National conventions	Editorial structures (beats, desks, etc.).	Position in hierarchy
6	Professional ideology	Professional norms	-----------------	Professional roles
7	Professional practice	Professional standards	Editorial guidelines	Ethical views

Sources: Hanitzsch & Hoxha (2014); Hanitzsch *et a*l. (2010).

- **Socio-cultural identity** takes account of the fact that reporting operates within an existing set of social and cultural value systems. These value systems find

manifestation in all three levels of analysis, that is, at the level of the institution in the form of organizational culture in the newsroom ormedia routines, at the level of community/society in the form of normative prospects (e.g. an appropriate behavior), and at the personal/individual level in the form of the cultural beliefs and societal values which journalists hold.

- **Political influences** rely on the political system or ideological circles. Political involvements can include particular censorship kinds of media coverage. Other means of political interference at the community/social level include, among others, mass media press subsidies, broadcasting regulation, and media laws. On the institutional level, political influences are noticeable when several media subscribe to a particular editorial policy. Journalists also have a political stand that may play out in the news production process.

- **Economic influences** are particularly relevant at the individual and organizational levels. A particular media market can influence the costs of the overall reportage. At the institution level, economic imperatives are strongly linked to the business models adopted by media corporations. At the personal level, economic imperatives play out concerning salaries and payment, most conspicuously with the prevarication of journalistic work.

- **Influences from reference groups** relate to the stakeholders of media organizations. At the community level, it is the spectators to which reporters and the media turn as a reference. Nonetheless, news reporting is highly competitive. News media contests audience shares and attention, and reporters compete for reputation and recognition. As a result, reporting is a very self-referential enterprise. What creates excellence in reporting is less reliant on how the audience reacts than on how other reporters and news institutions recognize a reporter and the news institution.

- **Professional structures** explain the measures applied by journalists to handle an immense amount of data. To this end, different kinds of news are usually covered by particular journalists, with other staff taking on different roles (e.g. reporter, editor,

and commentator). Newsroom hierarchies also serve to eliminate the time taken in democratic decision-making procedures.

- **Professional ideology** denotes the attitudes, beliefs, and values of societies, journalists, and news organizations reporting. At the society level, they appear as normative orientations and represent reporting expectations, and on the subjective level, they include the occupational values and principles which individual reporters embrace.

- **Professional practices** regard the implementation of reporting on the ground. At the societal level, there are common professional values of reporting in almost every community of reporters. These are usually decorated into professional national codes of conduct. Besides these standards, some news media organizations have clear organizational editorial guidelines. At the hidden/implicit level, nevertheless, all newsrooms have to some degree a common or shared understanding of 'how we do things here. Lastly, reporters as individuals have their own opinions on ethical issues.

3.7. Summary

In this chapter I have tried to presented critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a theory and methodology for analysing media framing in news coverage. It also expounds about decolonizing conflict reporting and the factors that influence the media discourse and framing. The chapter began by describing discourse analysis as a theoretical framework that provides a roadmap for exploring media discourses, and their role in shaping power dynamics and legitimizing societal practices. CDA sheds light on how those in positions of authority construct versions of truth that serve their interests, while also exposing these practices to support the victims of persecution and encourage resistance against prejudice, social discrimination, and injustice, as noted by McGregor (2003).

Furthermore, the chapter provided an overview of discourse analysis as a methodology that focuses on the socio-cultural and political context in which text and talk are produced (Stubbs, 1983). While various methodologies exist for discourse analysis, such as ethnographic, critical, multimodal, and corpus-based DA (Waugh *et al*., 2016), this

research adopted critical DA to examine the construction and representation of the Oromo-Somali ethno-political violence in regional and Ethiopian national news articles. Critical DA offers a valuable methodological and theoretical foundation for this paradigm, emphasizing exploratory and interpretative processes.

The chapter then reviewed the major framing techniques employed by the media. Different media outlets frame information in distinct ways, but how the media frames a problem influences the attribution of responsibility, which in turn shapes public attitudes and can impact policy outcomes (Bullock, Wyche & Williams, 2001; Gross, 2008; Iyengar, 1991; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008).

The African media position themselves to the intercontinental media that they have predisposition to reproduce destructive and racist stereotypical discourses about Africa (Nothias, 2020).This position to the international journalism is expressed by neocolonial hegemonies that jeopardy not just the human dignity and quality of reports of their practitioners across the discourses production chain, yet as well bare lives. Since media shape people's knowledge relating to conflict, decoloniality is a very important lens to interrogate internationalized Western rationality frequently encouraged by mainstream media regarding the postcolonial conflicts (Kotišová & Deuze, 2022). The dynamics of media discourses are influenced by habitus (entrenched skills, dispositions and habits), doxa (fundamental, learned, unconscious beliefs, values and deep-founded) and capital (social, symbolic and cultural resources that reporters bring into the field (Carragee & Roefs, 2004).

After exploring discourse analysis as a theory and methodology, with the influence of media framing on news reporting and discourse, the subsequent chapter delves into several key aspects. This includes research philosophy, research strategies/approaches, a detailed examination of the data collection methods employed, the selection process for newspapers, an overview of the chosen newspapers, the rationale behind adopting CDA, the sampling procedure, and the analysis techniques utilized to investigate the media framing surrounding the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGICAL DISCUSSION AND METHODS

4.1. Introduction

Media discourse analysis as a research paradigm is applied in the present study to uncover whether the media were part of the problem or the solution in their structure and portrayal of the discourse of the Oromo-Somali conflict. The role of media in reporting on the ethno-political conflicts has still not been studied, even though the conflict circumstances got prodigious public attention internationally and were covered by both African and Ethiopian media news agencies. In searching for studies done on the Oromo-Somali conflict, the researcher could not find a study that applied CDA to reporting on the conflict, taking the narratives of various newspapers as an instance of research.

However, one relevant study is that by Bekele (2018), *Critical Discourse Analysis on the Portrayal of the Oromo and Ethiopian Somali Peoples Conflict: The Case of Addis Admass, Reporter and Addis Zemen Newspapers*. His study compared three privately owned newspapers to understand how a single event was described, textual analysis. However, his study had gaps, as he did not investigate the generic frames or sources used by regional articles. Thus, inspecting the delineation of the violence by the various regional newspapers is vital, as it can be taken as a beginning point for additional studies. The rest of this chapter is divided into twelve sections. The first section briefly reviews literature on research philosophies that influence the research: the ontological, epistemological paradigm underpinning the study. The third section discusses the research approaches/strategy: Self-reflexivity, the case study, deductive vs. inductive approaches and the triangulation method used to increase the validity of this research. Next, section four articulating the method of data collection and choice of newspapers. The overview of the designated newspapers is also presented in section five. Subsequently, the sixth section discussed the techniques of CDA followed. The seventh section delves into the rationale for using CDA. The sample selection and sampling procedure is detailed in section eight, while section nine demonstrates how textual analysis is done in CDA. Section ten presents the units of analysis of this study, while

section eleven describes the ethical considerations, and how credibility and reliability was ensured. The twelve and final section summarizes the aforementioned discussion.

4.2. Research philosophy

Research philosophy refers to the assumptions and beliefs underlying knowledge development in a specific study (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019).It is what researchers perceive to be reality, knowledge, and truth, and it outlines the values and beliefs that guide the gathering and investigation of data in a study (Ryan, 2018). McEvoy and Richardson discuss three key components underlying the philosophy of research. These are positivism (quantitative analysis), interpretivism (qualitative research), and realism (qualitative research) (McEvoy & Richardson, 2006). These components differ in their epistemological[3], ontological[4], and methodological[5] aspects (Žukauskas, Vveinhardt & Andriukaitienė, 2018). Positivism attempts to generalize research results using statistical relations between dependent and independent variables. Methodologies associated with the positivist paradigm include statistical analyses, systematic reviews, randomized controlled trials, structured interviews, and questionnaires (McEvoy & Richardson, 2006). Positivism assumes that reality is objectively provided and calculable/measurable using properties independent of researchers and instruments. This is to say that knowledge is quantifiable and objective (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004). Positivistic thinkers employ scientific

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[3]*Epistemology refers to assumptions about knowledge, that is, how we know what we know, what constitutes valid, legitimate knowledge and acceptable and how we communicate knowledge to others. The Epistemological assumptions that one makes determine the kind of contribution to knowledge that one makes (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2018).*

2. Ontology donates to researchers' assumptions concerning the nature of the world and reality. Its assumption is that one must determine what research objects and phenomena one focuses on (Saunders, Lewis &Thornhill, 2019). It is all about what we know.

3. Methodology is described as a set of rules and methods on which research is based. Methodology comprises the theories, values and principles underlying a certain approach to research. It is an overall approach to research associated with the theoretical foundation or paradigm and includes the procedures, systematic ways or tools employed for data collection and examination (Žukauskas, Vveinhardt & Andriukaitienė, 2018).

techniques to schematize knowledge generation and improve the exactness in how we explain and understand the world (Ibid).

Interpretivism was developed as a criticism of positivism. It maintains that human beings and their social world cannot be researched as physical phenomena. Thus, social science studies need to be dissimilar from natural science research (Saunders*et al*, 2009). This means that interpretivism understands humans as distinct from physical phenomena because they engage in meaning-making. Interpretivism is, therefore, primarily concerned with the study of meanings (Ibid). They emphasize the significance of language, history, and culture. The interpretive approach involves both researchers and participants in the co-interpretation of data generated from various methods, such as interviews, focus groups, and ethnographic case studies (McEvoy & Richardson, 2006). Interpretivist research aims to create rich interpretations and understandings of contexts and social worlds (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). It tries to comprehend phenomena through people's values and meanings (Deetz, 1996).

Realism infers an epistemological approach that, similarly to positivism, emphasises advancing knowledge by gathering primary data (McEvoy & Richardson, 2006). Realism has based the assumptions that are essential for the perceptions of the subjective nature of the human (Žukauskas, Vveinhardt & Andriukaitienė, 2018). Realism is focused on the notion that reality is independent of the thoughts/ minds of human beings (Bryman &Bell, 2015). Realists believe that what you see, hear, and the test is what you get, meaning that "what we experience through our senses portrays the world accurately" (Saunders*et al*, 2009, p.138). It thus emphasizes understanding, rather than just describing, social reality (Vincent & O'Mahoney, 2016).

In addition to the three components underlying the philosophy of research that McEvoy and Richardson (2006) discuss, there is also a fourth component known as the critical approach (Žukauskas, Vveinhardt & Andriukaitienė, 2018). This critical approach was pioneered in the early twentieth century's "Frankfurt School". The Frankfurt School was intended to contest Western society's perceived inequality and oppression (Ryan, 2018). The critical approach emerged as an alternative perspective to interpretivism and positivist approaches (Kura, 2012). It aimed to examine the meanings and messages

associated with events (Bhavnani, Chua & Collins, 2014); emphasizing inequality, power, and social change (Calhoun *et al*., 2007). The critical approach postulates that social science is not value-free or objective (Fraser, 1989). Scholars working in the vital process aim to gather data involve participants in the research study and change the investigated oppressive systems. Therefore, the critical approach does not merely study power inequities but tries to amend the power imbalances in a society (Ibid). It is meaning-centered (Putnam, 1983) and takes a historical materialist viewpoint on ontology and focuses on cultural, economic, and political structures (Ryan, 2018).

Speaking to this study's research problem, I draw on a qualitative approach to study how the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict is portrayed in newspapers. Here, I use the interpretive and critical methods as these two research approaches are often more subjective, analytical, qualitative, and meaning-based than statistically centered positive techniques (Maroun, 2012). Because interpretive and critical approaches view social realities from their socio-historic contexts or social settings, they interpret reality although a sense-making process instead of a ''hypothesis testing process'' using objective methods like standardized measures (Ibid) and because these two approaches are used to interpret and make sense how media shape news of an unavoidable reality and thereby enable us to transform the way media manufacture discourses of conflicts and used to boycotts false hegemony and resist biasness.

4.3. Research Design: methodological triangulation

In this section, I review the deductive vs. inductive approaches, the triangulation used to increase internal validity and the case study to research.

4.3.1 The deductive vs. inductive approaches

The deductive approach works from the general to the specific and tends to rely on quantitative methods. Sometimes this is referred to as a top-down approach. On the other hand, inductive reasoning moves from particular explanations to broader generalizations and theories (Burney, 2008) and usually uses qualitative methods. The inductive approach is intended to comprehend meaning through summary categories or themes

derived from data (Thomas, 2003). Such an approach is related to the constructivist paradigm[6] (Ibid; see also Kangai, 2012). Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill note that the deductive approach begins with theory, frequently developed from reading and interpreting the academic literature and then designing research approaches to test theories. However, the inductive approach begins by gathering data to examine a phenomenon and, from here, generating theory (frequently in the forms of a conceptual framework) (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). Followers of induction reasoning often criticize the deduction approach because of its inclination to rely on rigid approaches/methodologies which do not allow for alternative interpretations of data (Saunders *et al*, 2009).For this study, I chose to do inductive framing analysis, because the inductive method is generally associated with qualitative research which aimed at analyzing new phenomenon which has not been explored previously and to generate a unique perspective based new data without preconceived judgments of what will found (Gabriel, 2013).

4.3.2 Positionality and Self-reflexivity of the researcher

Family theories have utility as a self-reflexive instrument to consider researchers positionality (Nikita, Hayden & Hastings, 2022). Reflexivity is the procedure of engaging in self-reflection about who we are as researchers, how our biases and subjectivities guide and inform the research procedure and how our worldview is shaped by the study we carry out and vice versa (Wilkinson, 1988). Researchers, who have a personal experience of the topic they are studying, could be viewed as research "insiders" (Hodkinson, 2006). Ontologically, the insider research donates to when researchers perform research study with populations of which they are as well members (Kanuha, 2000) with the intention that the researcher shares an identity, language and pragmatic base with the research participants (Asselin, 2003) and vice versa. In this research, the researcher occupies the position of insider to the research under study rather than outsider. The researchers plays

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[6] *The constructivist paradigm donates to an approach to research that understands people as actively constructing knowledge. Certainty is thus determined by the practices and experiences of people (Elliott et al., 2000). Constructivism is a theory based on scientific observations (Ibid).*

an integral role in the data collection process, analysis and in interpretation of the data to gain an absolute understanding of the subject matter understudy through truthful coverage and firsthand knowledge.

4.3.3 Triangulation of the study

Validity and credibility are an important part of any case studies (Patton, 1999). Thus, researchers have to include triangulation to guarantee trustworthiness (Ibid). Triangulation in research means using manifold methods, datasets, theories, and/or investigators to answer research questions and to test validity and credibility through the junction of information from various sources (Ibid). It is a research approach that can assist to augment the validity and credibility of results and alleviate the presence of any researches biases (Bhandari, 2022).It refers to the use of manifold methods or data sources in a study to develop all-inclusive understanding of a phenomena (Patton, 1999).

There are four major types of triangulations: data triangulation: using data from different spaces, people and times. Investigator triangulation: involving multiple researchers in gathering or scrutinizing data. Theory triangulation: using varying theoretical viewpoint in a research. Methodological triangulation: using various methodologies to approach the same research topic (Bhandari, 2022). In this research, to increase the validity and credibility of the study, the researcher used data triangulation extracted from disparate news articles and theory triangulation by applying several various theoretical frameworks rather than approaching the research objective from only one theoretical perspective.

4.3.4 Case study

The case study of this research is the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict, which was the most bloody and destructive violence that reach at its apex in the years 2017– 2018 due to the high competition of the Oromo and Somalis politicians to the federal political position or power and as a result of the fuzzy and disputed territorial distinctions between the two regional states of the country (see Mohamed, 2018; Assefa, 2019; UNOCHA, 2018; see also chapter 1, section 1.2). The other reason that I select the Oromo-Somali conflict as my case study is because, the plight of the Oromo-Somali conflict has received

particular international, regional and national news media attention during this period of time; it was in the spotlight of world news precisely as it was so ferocious in the history of the two ethnic groups.

4.4. Method(S) of data collection and choice of newspapers

The research data for this study were gathered from online newspapers, both national and regional, to explore the media representations of the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict. The selection of data sources was deliberate and focused on newspapers from various regions, including Somaliland, Kenya, Eretria, Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, and South Africa, because the online newspapers in these nations play an essential role in influencing people's outlooks towards the violence. To ensure manageability and coherence, only news articles from online newspapers were included, while other forms of electronic media, such as television or radio broadcasts, were excluded.

The sample size consisted of 30 online news articles extracted, all of which extensively discussed the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict. These articles were published over a period of 17 months, spanning from August 1, 2017 to December 30, 2018. Appendices A and B provide details about the newspapers' names, titles and websites, with links to the articles.

With in the sample, there were eight Ethiopian national online newspapers, namely the Addis Standard, Borkena, Horn Affairs, Ethiocritical, The Ethiopian Reporter, Oromianeconomist, Opride, and Jigjiga Herald. Additionally, ten samples of major regional newspapers were included: Tesfanews, SomaliNet News, Africanews, Nation, Business Daily, Addis News, The East Africa, Wardheernews, Goobjoog News, and Eritrea Madote.

It is worth noting that this study focused solely on the African media's perspectives and portrayals of the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict. As a result, the examination did not encompass the coverage provided by Western newspapers or overseas media outlets. The objective was to gain insights into how the online African media I sampled perceived

and represented the conflict. In the subsequent section, an overview of the selected regional newspapers is presented.

4.5. Overview of selected newspapers

1. **Addis Standard**: Founded in 2011 in Addis-Ababa, Addis Standard has an autonomous political stance. It is circulated in Ethiopia, South Sudan, Ghana, and Burundi. Although discontinued in October, 2016, it began publication again in 2018, both online and in print.

2. **The east African:** A weekly Kenyan newspaper in print and online, distributed by the Nation Media Group, which also publishes Kenya's national Daily Nation. It is distributed in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda.

3**. Oromian Economist.com:** Oromian Economist emphasizes economic and development analysis, perspectives on economics, society, freedom and social justice.

4. **Jigjiga herald:** A Somali region-founded Ethiopian newspaper that brings news from around the globe to its readers.

 5. **Opride:** A multimedia website combining Oromo, Ethiopian and Horn-associated news; it began publication in April, 2008.

6**. TesfaNews:** A daily Eritrean newspaper reporting on Ethiopia and Eritrea's economy and politics.

7**. Africanews:** A multilingual news media service in Pointe-Noire in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The news bulletin in the DRC is supplementary to France-based Euronews and began to report everyday news bulletins or news articles on 20 April, 2016.

8**. Nation:** The most circulated Kenyan independent newspaper, selling 170,000 copies. It was started in 1958 as a Swahili weekly, called Taifa, by the Englishman, Charles Hayes. It was bought in 1959 by the Aga Khan, and became a daily newspaper, Taifa Leo (Swahili for Nation Today), in January 1960. The publisher was East African

Newspapers (Nation Series) Ltd, which later became the Nation Media Group, with operations throughout the African Great Lakes region.

9. **Business daily:** Kenya's most extensively read daily business publication. The paper delivers in-depth analysis and coverage of business news, profiling enterprise and corporate news.

10**. Wardheernews:** A Somaliland Web Portal intended for Somalis in the Horn of Africa and the world, along with other interested organizations. It aims to provide trustworthy news studies, analyses and reports on current problems and statements of concern to the Somaliland people, encompassing social, cultural and political fields.

11**. Goobjoog news**: An independent, privately owned news portal based in Mogadishu, providing in-depth reportage of developments in Somalia, east Africa and the globe. They report both foreign and domestic news, and serve as Somalia's bridge to the globe.

12**. Eritrea madote:** An autonomous Horn of African and Eritrean news, culture, history and views website, launched in 2009.It is named after an Eritrean Isle off the Dahlak Archipelago.

13**. SomaliNet forum:** A daily online Somalian news site, discussing Somali politics, economy and social.

14. **Addis news:** Covers Eritrean industry, revenue and description. Its headquarters are in Addis-Zena, Eritrea

15. **Ethiocritical.com:** An online Ethiopian newspaper that provides balanced scrutiny and discussion on the social, political and economic issues.

16. **Horn affair:** An Ethiopian-based news media covering east Africa. It also has an online magazine covering the Horn of Africa.

17**. Borkena:** Created to share opinion and informed news, both Ethiopian and global.

18. **The Ethiopian Reporter:** A private limited newspaper corporation founded in 1995, headquartered in Addis Ababa. The Reporter has monthly Amharic and English magazines and a weekly English newspaper in both print and electronic versions.

4.6. Techniques of CDA followed

This section discusses the CDA techniques used in the study. McGregor (2010) indicates the following techniques of CDA that could be used to investigate packages of phrases, paragraphs, sentences and words to relate these packages to the ideological assumptions of the manufacturer(s) of the texts, using interpretive process:

- Topicalisation: in selecting what to place in the topic position, the writer highlights a viewpoint that influences the audience's perception;
- Sentences and clauses can similarly convey clues about power relations;
- Nominalization: verb into a noun;
- Presupposition: at the level of the sentences, convincing rhetoric could be used to give the impression that the words of the powerful carry more weight;
- Insinuations: when the realities or the way the facts are represented are resisted, the maker of the discourses can readily deny any culpability;
- Connotations: terms can convey subtle meaning;
- Modality: The tones of the texts are set with the use of specific language to convey authority and degree of certainty.

These various approaches and techniques can help arouse the audience's attention and make them look for what is relevant and appropriate.

4.7. Rationale for choosing CDA as the methodology

The justification for choosing CDA in this study was to discover how the Ethiopian (national) and African (regional) news articles epitomized the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict, because CDA assists in analyzing both explicit and disguised news discourses. Fairclough (1993) explained that CDA of news media's sentence structure, modal verbs, choice of words and combination of various schemes could assist in finding the answers to the questions raised in this study. Fairclough (1993) suggested linguistically oriented DA, and political and social perception associated with discourse and language, using frameworks suitable for social scientific research and studying societal change. CD analysts, Fairclough and Wodak (1997), maintained that discourses

are socially constitutive and conditioned. The spectators are unacquainted with the frameworks of control and power relations, and the nature of social practices and social structures, while the media can influence the societal struggles and structures around them.

4.8. Sample selection and procedure

Qualitative research conclusions derived from a specific study need not be generalizable to the broader population. In this study, I employed purposive sampling, which permits researchers to choose objects of study that are presumed to be representative and speak to the research question(s) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The benefit of this sampling technique is that the research subjects are always obtainable and accessible. This research samples was drawn from media discourses that deal with the ethno-political conflict between the two groups. More specifically, the following selection criteria guided my study's sample selection:

1. Geographical location: each newspaper article had to have been published in an Africa-based news publication. Here, the notion of "regional newspapers" represents to newspapers published by the east African countries (Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Somaliland) whereas the notion of the "national" newspapers are online newspapers published nationally in Ethiopia.

2. Relevance: the news story had to have focused on the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict.

3. Time horizon: publications must have been published during the period of the conflict (August 1, 2017-December 30, 2018). Publications released after this period, or other articles reflecting on or referencing the war in the present, were considered.

4. Language: to avoid translation-related problems, discoursal texts ornews stories must have been written in English. Since I am using CDA, translating discoursal texts risks distorting their meaning.

5. Accessibility: this research deals only with major online newspapers; the newspaper articles need to have been accessible on Google, as purchasing hard copy newspapers is time-consuming and financially costly. Google is also freely available, and indexes news journals across an array of newspapers.

6. Institutional ownership: the news media should be affiliated with a publishing house of some kind, meaning that social media accounts were not considered.

7. Media reach: the selected online newspapers must have large size of audiences; they ought to have exposure to large followers. Newspapers that have small followers been banned from the analysis.

8. Levels of trust: although the level of trust depends on the news consumers, somehow the selected online newspapers should be trusted by citizens. Any online newspaper that expected untrust was excluded from the study.

9. Audience: as far as newspapers have diverse range of readers, the selected news articles should target the following demographics like ordinary citizens, victims of the conflict, professionals, political affiliations or other individuals with specific interest based on their editorial focus and contents.

4.9. Analytical Procedure

According to Fairclough (2003), different discourses can be identified within a text, each representing the world from a particular perspective. The following steps were used to select and analyse the texts:

The search terms "Oromo-Somali conflict" or "Somali-Oromo conflict" were used to locate relevant articles on each newspaper's website. Keywords such as "ethnic", "conflicts", "ethnic violence", "land and ethnicity", "ethnic politics" and "ethnicity" were of particular interest in this research.

1. Recurrent theme structures and schematic elements that characterized the reporting of the conflict were identified within the news texts.

2. The news articles were read thoroughly to gain familiarity with their content, with specific attention paid to instances of violence.

3. Various discourses surrounding the "Oromo-Somali conflict" were identified within the newspaper texts.

4. Specific perspectives or viewpoints representing the conflict were identified within individual newspapers.

5. The identified discourses were analysed using CDA.

6. After conducting a detailed investigation and analysis of the news articles, a comprehensive review of the entire data set was conducted to evaluate the validity of the conclusions.

By following these steps, an objective examination of the news articles was conducted, focusing on the identification of discourses and perspectives within the texts.

To analyze a much larger dataset and to reach more substantive findings, the researcher used "NVivo" software package (brauna & Clarke, 2006).The study used this NVivo software technology to make thematic analysis by importing the larger text documents extracted from the media reports.

Once the extracted data is imported, I begin the critique process. Here is a step-by-step guide on how to apply this NVivo computer software for the thematic analysis.

Step 1: Data familiarization

In this first step, I read the transcripts and texts extracted from the news articles. Then I jot down ideas or notes on the pieces of paper as I go: What is in the idea? What codes might I want to use? So, in this phase I get the bedrock for the rest of the analysis.

Step 2: Create initial coding framework

In this second step I categorize a set of categories that I used to organize and investigate the extracted data. I created coding framework by grouping interrelated ideas and concepts or by using the existing frame works or theories. Here, to analyze the textual discourses used by the media, the researcher used the categories: victim, villain,

demonizing, aggressor, criminal and innocent. To explore the sources in use, the researcher used categories: Oromo elites, Oromo victims, Oromo residents, Somali elites, Somali victim, and Somali residents and to investigate the generic frames used by the news stories, the researcher used the categories: human interest frame, morality frame, economy frame, attributing responsibility frame, conflict frame.

Step 3: Code Data

In this third step I coded the extracted data. I assed the labels or codes I produced to the data. This allows me to organize and categorize the data, making me easier to analyze. I coded the data using NVivo's automated coding tool to speed up the process.

Step 4: Analyze data

In this fourth step, I began to analyze the coded data and identified the thems and patterns in the data using the inquiry to investigate the coded data and find out the relationships amid the codes.

Step 5: Interpret results

In this final fifth step, I interpret the findings and draw conclusions based on the analysis made. I interpreted the themes and patterns identified in the data, and then I determined the implications for my research.

4.10. Units of analysis

In media studies, the unit of analysis is the specific element or level of analysis used to examine and interpret media texts or phenomena (Neuendorf, 2016). It is the fundamental unit upon which the analysis is conducted, and can vary depending on the research question, objectives, and methodology employed.

The unit of analysis in media studies can include words, phrases, grammar, sentences, paragraphs, themes, discourse structures, visual images, audio elements, or entire media texts (Krippendorff, 2018). Researchers select the unit of analysis based on their research goals and the specific aspects of the media text they aim to investigate. The choice of the unit of analysis is crucial as it determines the level of granularity and depth in analyzing

media content, enabling the identification of patterns, meanings, ideologies, representations, or discursive strategies within the texts.

In the context of this research, the unit of analysis was the various language packages used in online news articles, including catchy emotional catchphrases, themes, metaphors, structures, and sentences. Additionally, the packages of the sources quoted, and the sets of framing approaches employed to cover the conflict, were also considered as units of analysis. By analyzing and interpreting the packages of the lexical choices, sources of information cited, and framing approaches within news media portrayals, the researcher investigated the sets of discourses surrounding the conflict.

To conduct a comprehensive analysis, the entire body of the news articles was examined, following Fairclough's approach (1995b), rather than solely relying on the article headlines. This approach acknowledges that messages within the articles may be distributed across different paragraphs, such as the title, lead paragraph, opening paragraphs, main body, final paragraphs, and summary sections. By giving weight to the whole article, which often carries significant information in newspapers, a more thorough analysis was conducted, considering the institutional aspects of the catchy emotional texts.

In summary, the unit of analysis in this research was the segments of the discourses present in the entire body of news articles regarding the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict. By scrutinizing the sets of languages, sources, and framing approaches, the researcher gained insights into the media representations and discourses surrounding the conflict during the specified time period (August 01, 2017 to December 30, 2018).

4.11. Ethical considerations and credibility

Ensuring that qualitative research is conducted in a reasonable and trustworthy manner carries a significant ethical responsibility. Ethics refers to rules and morals that guide our behavior (Creswell, 2014). In the case of CDA, the focus is on understanding how media outlets portray reality, rather than seeking absolute "truth". Thus, being neutral is not the main concern (Liu, 2015). To establish trustworthiness, Lincoln and Guba (1985) developed strict criteria for qualitative research, which include dependability,

conformability, credibility, and transferability. It is important to note that interpretive research, which has different assumptions about the social phenomenon being studied, follows different standards compared to positivist research (Mandal, 2018).

To ensure dependability, the researcher provided enough details about the media's portrayal of the conflict and the social context in which it occurs. This allows readers to independently verify or confirm their own interpretations. Credibility or internal validity was achieved by carefully analyzing the data, using techniques like data triangulation and documenting methodological and theoretical decisions. This ensured that the data collection and analysis can be reviewed independently. Transferability, or external validity, was ensured by providing detailed explanations of the research context, and describing the assumptions, processes, and structures derived from the data. This helps readers assess how applicable the findings are to other situations. Conformability was addressed by drawing conclusions based on agreement among readers regarding the interpretations derived from the data (Creswell, 2014).

To ensure that the research represents the topic well, the study included 30 articles from regional and national online newspapers. Because this research did not involve human participants, and all the data were collected from publicly available websites, ethical approval and informed consent were not necessary. The researcher incorporated rigorous practices to ensure the dependability, conformability, credibility, transferability, quality and reliability of this interpretive research (Creswell, 2014; Mandal, 2018).

4.12. Summary

This chapter provided a broad view of the research philosophies, the research approaches/strategy and methods of data collection, choice of newspapers, sampling procedure, and analytical procedure used in the research. It also included an overview of the selected newspapers, the rationale for selecting CDA as the methodology, the CDA techniques employed, the units of analysis, ethical considerations, credibility issues, and limitations and challenges of the research.

Research philosophy donates to the beliefs and assumptions and basic knowledge development in a particular study (Saunders, Lewis &Thornhill, 2019). It is what scholars

perceive to be knowledge, truth and reality and it outlines the standards and beliefs that direct the gathering and exploration of data in a research (Ryan, 2018).McEvoy and Richardson (2006) discuss three main components that underpinning the philosophy of research study. These are interpretivism (qualitative research), positivism (quantitative analysis) and realism (qualitative research). Interpretivism understands humans as different from physical phenomena as they engage in meaning making (Saunders*et al*, 2009). It mainly concerned with the study of connotations and meanings (Ibid).

To collect data, the researcher utilized online Ethiopian and African newspapers that covered the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict. The newspapers were purposively sampled, resulting in a sample of 30 news articles from 18 different newspapers. These newspapers were selected from various regions, including Somaliland, Kenya, Eritrea, DRC, Ethiopia, and Sudan. Only online newspapers were chosen for this research. The selection of the online newspapers for analysis was based on their geographical location, relevance to the Somali-Oromo conflict, time horizon, language (English), institutional ownership, and accessibility through search engines or using keyword searches on Google. Social media platforms were not considered as part of the data.

The choice of CDA as the methodology was motivated by its ability to uncover manipulative practices in communication, reveal power structures and ideologies behind discourses, and challenge presumed views. The researcher aimed to investigate the current situation by examining media discourses and countering and challenging the misuse of power. The chapter then described the steps involved in the analytical procedure, before outlining how internal and external validity were ensured. Since this study did not involve human participants, it did not require ethical clearance, informed consent, or public approval. The following chapter will present the raw data used to analyse and interpret the results.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA DESCRIPTION AND PRESENTATION

5.1. Introduction

This chapter begins by highlighting the data sets or different packages of the textual discourses and keyword lists used to manipulate the depiction of the Oromo-Somali ethno-political violence. This sheds light on the different substantial ideologies used. Following that, the groups of data extracted from different online regional and national media discourses was utilized to detect the discourse practices of the newspapers, including the sources of information quoted and the general frames employed to structure the discussions on the violence.

5.2. Data sources and types

This chapter serves as a bridge between the theoretical aspects and methods of data analysis discussed in the previous chapters, and the subsequent data analysis presented in Chapter 6. Its primary purpose is to outline the data sources and types selected for this research. The main data sources utilized in this study are online newspaper articles and some website publications that cover ethno-political conflicts between the Somali and Oromo communities along their shared borders.

To ensure the relevance of the selected data, a purposive approach was employed, and a total of 30 newspaper articles were chosen from both Ethiopian national and African regional news sources. These articles were published between August 1, 2017, and December 30, 2018. In order to identify the pertinent newspapers, extensive keyword searches related to Somalis and Oromo conflicts were conducted on various online platforms. The identified newspaper articles were then downloaded from search engines such as "Google", and extracted in a format suitable for the purposes of this study.

Once the articles were downloaded and extracted, a corpus-based approach to DA was applied, which allowed the researcher to investigate the research questions by analyzing linguistic phenomena across different speech and writing contexts (Bouchard *et al.,* 2020). The analytical

process involved four stages of discourse analysis: coding, thematic categorization, primary research, and validation, following the framework proposed by Fairclough (2003).

During the coding stage, various search engines, news media archives, and newspaper websites were used to locate online newspaper articles that referred to or reported on the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflicts. It is important to note that this analysis included defamatory online newspapers. To conduct the search, specific keywords such as "Somalis", "Oromo", "ethno-political conflicts", "depictions" and "construction" were employed to study the selected newspapers, within the time frame August 1, 2017, to December 30, 2018, which corresponded to the peak period of the conflict.

For the purposes of organizing and delimiting the discourses within the news articles, text criteria were employed, resulting in the identification of four distinct discourse groups based on the news source. Additionally, three sets of dimensions within the texts were identified as crucial to understanding the overall meanings and connotations that needed to be examined. These dimensions will be discussed separately in the subsequent sections.

5.2.1. Set 1: *Data used to investigate textual discourses*

To thoroughly analyze and interpret the textual discourses surrounding the violent ethno-political conflict, a selection of 22 English news articles was made from a total of 14 online media sources. These sources were Addis Standard, Borkena, Eretria Mandot, Oromian Economist, Africanews, Nation, Tesfanews, Wardheernews, Goobjoog, Jigjiga Herald, Ethiocritical, Opride, The Ethiopian Reporter and Somali Net forums. These online publishers were chosen to provide a diverse and comprehensive dataset for examining how the online news articles constructed discourses related to the conflict. These online media sources are significant as they allow for the exploration of different perspectives, ideologies, and representations presented in the coverage of the ethno-political conflict. By drawing on a variety of publishers, the analysis can capture the multiple narratives and discourses surrounding the conflict, enabling a more nuanced understanding of its complexities.

These online media platforms offer distinct viewpoints and insights into the conflict. Addis Standard, for instance, is a well-established Ethiopian online media outlet known for its comprehensive coverage of political and social issues, while Borkena is another Ethiopian

platform that provides news and analysis on a wide range of topics, including the ethno-political conflict. Oromian Economist focuses specifically on economic and political developments in the Oromo region of Ethiopia, providing a unique lens through which to examine the conflict, while Nation offers insights from the perspective of Keny, a neighboring country affected by the conflict. Africanews is a continental news platform that covers news from various African countries, offering a broader regional context for understanding the conflict. In addition, Wardheernews, Goobjoog, Jigjiga Herald, Ethiocritical, Opride, The Ethiopian Reporter, and Somali Net forums provide diverse perspectives and voices from various communities and stakeholders involved in or affected by the conflict. Each of these platforms brings its own partialities, ideologies, and interpretations to the fore front, contributing to the overall discourse.

By selecting a range of media sources, the analysis could identify commonalities, differences, and potential biases in the coverage of the conflict, enabling a deeper understanding of how the media constructs narratives, frames issues, and influences public opinion. This comprehensive approach helped to capture the nuances and complexities of the discourses surrounding the conflict, shedding light on the multiple dimensions and interpretations at play. It also allowed for a nuanced exploration of different perspectives, ideologies, and representations within the coverage of the conflict. By considering a diverse range of media sources, this analysis contributed to a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics and narratives at play, as well as the influence of online media on shaping public discourse. See diagrams 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 for an overview of the sample employed for the issue reported.

Diagram 5.1 Words, phrases, and sentences referring to the Oromo or Somalis sides

No	Name of newspaper	Titles of article	Descriptive texts (words, phrases and sentences) used to label the Somalis as culprits.	Descriptive texts (sentences, words and phrases) used to define Oromo as victims of Somali aggression.
1	Addis Standard	Another Heavy Death Toll from a Conflict in Eastern Ethiopia	• It is aggravated by the presence of members of Ethiopia's notorious police force, "Liyu Police," a special paramilitary elite force accused of its close connection to Abdi Mohamoud Omar, president of the Somali regional state • Bandits openly supported by the Liyu Police • Cross border incursions by armed militiamen • The clashes happened after incursions by "armed men" from the Somali regional state	• Killings of our men, the raping of our girls and the lootings of our cattle by bandits
2	Addis Standard	A fresh round of violence rocks Moyale town, leaving an unknown number of causalities and	• The shooting was started by the Somali Leyu force and the Garri tribe • The Liyu police opened fire on the Oromia Police station • The clashes were first provoked by the involvement of members of the Liyu Police	• The ongoing attack against our people in Moyale town is not acceptable • Had killed at least three and wounded more than 50

		new displacement in its wake	• A controversial paramilitary force operating in Ethio-Somali regional state • Military forces armed by the Ethio-Somali regional state	
3	OromianEcon omist.com	The Ethiopian government's attempt to blame the victims (the Oromo people) unravels TPLF's war plans on the Oromo people	• TPLF's War Plan on Oromo People	• Ethiopian government's attempt to blame the victims (the Oromo people)
4	Tesfanews	Renewed Somali Liyu Police Attack in Oromia Left Scores Dead, Homes Destroyed	• Renewed cross-border attacks this week by the Ethiopian Somali State Liyu Police in Oromia's East Hararghe zone • Incursions by the Somali paramilitary force into the Cinaksan district • The on-going Liyu police attacks inside Oromia are in clear violation of the martial law • The highly coordinated attacks are part of a territorial	• At least four people were killed, and five others were wounded … in Oromia's East Hararghe zone. • More than 250 houses were razed to the ground, and hundreds of civilians were internally displaced

			expansion policy by the president of the Somali regional state, Abdi Mohamud Omar, better known as Abdi-Illey.		• Nearly 30 schools remain closed ... and the learning and teaching process has been disrupted • The displacement of more than 1.6 million people, mostly ethnic Oromos
5	Tesfanews	Conflict in Eastern Ethiopia Leaves Dozens Dead		• It is aggravated by the presence of members of Ethiopia's notorious police force, "Liyu Police," a special paramilitary elite force • Bandits openly supported by the Liyu Police • Members of the "Liyu Police" are often accused of looting, rape, and extrajudicial killings of civilians • The "Liyu police anarchy • Cross border incursions by armed militiamen • The clashes happened after incursions by "armed men" from the Somali regional state	• The killings of our men, the raping of our girls, and the looting of our cattle • Seven civilians dead
6	Nation	Ethiopian regional force 'kills 37' in		• A Somali special paramilitary force known as Liyu police • The attack was orchestrated by a Somali special	• Survived several shots and a cut on his ear, left him thinking he was dead.

		Oromia region	paramilitary force known as Liyu police.	
7	Ethiocritical.com	Oromo-Somali conundrum: Can Ethiopia tame the Liyu police?	• The Somali State's paramilitary force known as the "Liyu Police	• Hundreds of Oromos were killed, and hundreds of thousands of civilians were displaced from their homes • Thousands of Oromo residents and merchants fleeing Jijiga, the capital of Somali state • More than 3,000 long-term Oromo residents of the semi-autonomous Somaliland were also illegally displaced.' • the two sides are now accusing each other of killing civilians

8	Jigjiga herald	The Somali-Oromo Border Conflict is a Front for Regional Conflict Organized in Jigjiga	• The Somali-Oromo border conflict is a front for a Regional conflict that is organised and coordinated in the Somali Region • The Somali Region Liyu Police undertakes cross-border attacks into the Oromia region • '[Liyu Police] incursions into Oromia' • Destabilize Oromia Region	• Killing civilians and burning houses
9	Eriteria Madot	Ethnic strife in Ethiopia threatens a key U.S. ally	• A paramilitary force from the neighbouring Somali Region • The Somali Region's paramilitary "Liyu" (special) police • Gangs attacked the Oromos • People hurled objects and insults at the trucks, and the Somali regional police stole the Oromos' cell phones	• Only Oromos are being targeted • At least 150,000 Oromos have been expelled

10	Eriteria Madot	Clashes threaten Ethiopia's delicate ethnic balance	• The regional security force -- known as the Liyu police • Even on the truck, people were throwing stones at us	• More than 67,800 Oromos alone have fled • This could be ethnic cleansing • It was only Oromos who were being targeted.
11	Africanews	Oromia – Ethiopian Somali conflict: Over 100 suspects arrested – govt	• Government-backed paramilitary unit in the Somali regional state • the Liyu Police have carried out attacks on Oromos	• Attacks on Oromos
12	Africanews	Oromo families cry foul in the recent conflict in Ethiopia's east.	• It mainly was the Liyu police unit in the Somali region … which had been guilty of the worst abuses	• Oromo families cry foul • People threw stones at us • Sent to evacuate inhabitants of the Oromo ethnic group • 67,000 people were displaced

13	SomaliNet forums	The Reporter: The Somali-Oromo Border Conflict is a Front for Regional Conflict Organized in Jigjiga	• The Somali-Oromo border conflict is a front for a Regional conflict that is organized and coordinated in the Somali Region • The Somali Region Liyu Police, at times in civilian clothing and at times wearing military outfits • [Liyu Police] incursions into Oromia	• Killing civilians and burning houses • Is to destabilize Oromia Region and sabotage the new prime minister's administration
14	Africanews	Oromos worst affected by Ethiopia's inter-ethnic clashes	• Somali region government must be stopped from further violation of rights. Now!	• Oromos worst affected • The displacement of Oromo residents is actually an eviction
15	Borkena	Displaced Oromos from Ethio-Somali reportedly to settle in Addis Ababa	• Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), orchestrated the conflict in the Ethio-Somali region. Some go to the extent of claiming that president of the region, Abdi Mohamoud, was encouraged by influential TPLF leaders to embark on a manufactured ethnic violence in the region	• Displaced Oromos from Ethio-Somali • Displaced Oromos from Somali region. • 97% of people displaced from the Somali region of Ethiopia are not willing to go back to

				the region again on grounds of alleged security concerns.
				• To weaken Oromo regional state which turned out to be disobedient and confrontational to TPLF leaders.
16	Opride	Oromo-Somali conundrum: Can Ethiopia tame the Liyu police?	• The Somali State's paramilitary force known as the "Liyu Police"	• Hundreds of Oromos killed and hundreds of thousands of civilians displaced from their homes • More than 3,000 long-term Oromo residents of the semi-autonomous Somaliland were also illegally displaced. • At least two Oromos were killed

17	Tesfanews	Ethnic Violence Pushes Ethiopia to the Brink of Security Crisis	• Somali "Liyu" forces, • armed bandits	• Killing 29 Oromos • 735 Oromo homes destroyed • 350 displaced • 17 wounded • 300 livestock stolen
18	Wardheernews	The Orchestrated massacres of Somalis in Oromia are tantamount to ethnic cleansing.	• Massacres of Somalis in Oromia • Innocent, terrified, and spiralled civilians who lived in Oromia for generations were killed	
19	Horn affairs	Oromia-Somali conflict | Ethnic violence displaces hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians	• The young woman revealed undulating scar tissue blanketing her breasts, stomach, and extending up her neck and along her arms • "They poured petrol over me then lit it," said 28-year-old Husaida Mohammed. "They were Somali boys."	• The regional special police – in the Somali Region known as the Liyu, and the Oromia version, referred to by Somalis as Liyu Hail – of being behind many of the attacks.
20	The Ethiopian	Bleaker than ever	• Group of youths with a stick, knife and rebar	• Thousands displaced from the Somali Regional State with

	Reporter			almost nothing but their clothes on their back are pictured above in temporary shelters prepared for them in Harari regional State • Looting properties owned by Oromos • Beating, arresting and killings of Oromos was going door to door.
21	Goobjoog	ONLF Press Release on the Oromo Massacre of Somali civilians	• Massacre of Somali civilians • Tens of thousands of Somali civilians have been left displaced; their houses and properties have been burnt and confiscated • More than 50 Somali civilians were indiscriminately massacred	• Oromo gunmen
22	Africanews	Ethiopia's Liyu police blamed for deadly attacks in Oromia region	• "The victims were all ethnic Oromos.	• Being blamed on the Liyu Police, regional paramilitary force that belongs to the

				adjoining Somali regional state.

5.2.2. Set 2: Data used to detect the sources cited sources by the news

Analyzing the key sources of evidence utilized by the news articles is essential for understanding the construction of discourses and narratives surrounding the Oromo-Somali conflict. In order to investigate and discuss the sources of data used by the news articles, a selection of 12 news stories was made from a total of nine online newspapers. These newspapers were Addis Standard, Tesfanews, Horn Affairs, Ethiocritical.com, Nation, SomaliNet.com, Africanews, and Jigjiga Herald. These sources were carefully chosen to provide a diverse range of perspectives and insights into the discourses surrounding violent conflicts, specifically the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict.

Diagram 5.2 presents an overview of the key sources of evidence used by the news articles in creating the discourses related to these conflicts. Through a thorough analysis of these sources, the researcher aimed to understand how different media outlets portrayed and reported on the Oromo-Somali conflict, shedding light on the various perspectives and narratives presented.

As in the textual discourses reported in diagram 5.1, the choice of these specific newspapers for sources of information was deliberate and purposeful. Some of those news media (Addis Standard, Horn Affairs, Jigjiga Herald, and Ethiocritical.com) are national, while others (Africanews, Tesfanews, Nation, and SomaliNet.com) are continental.

In addition to the justifications for choosing the online sources outlined in the previous section, Tesfanews is well-known Eritrean online news media source focused on the Africa region, making it a relevant and informative source for understanding the local dynamics of the conflict. By critically examining the information, perspectives, and biases presented in these sources, researchers can gain insights into how the conflict is portrayed and understood by different media outlets.

Through the inclusion of diverse media outlets, the researcher gained a comprehensive understanding of the narratives, perspectives, and representations presented in the coverage of the conflict, which contributed to a more nuanced understanding of the media landscape and its role in shaping public discourse on the Oromo-Somali ethno-political

conflict. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the inclusion of these specific newspapers does not imply that they represent the entire spectrum of media coverage on the conflict. However, they were selected based on their prominence, relevance, and availability of online content during the designated time period. The researcher aimed to provide a representative sample that would enable a thorough analysis of the sources and their contributions to the discourses surrounding the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict.

Diagram 5.2 Data quoted to scrutinize the sources of information used

No	Name of the newspapers	Title of the newspaper	Sources used
1	Addis Standard	Another Heavy Death Toll from a Conflict in Eastern Ethiopia	• Oromia regional state bureau head • The Oromia regional state
2	Addis Standard	A fresh round of violence rocks Moyale town, leaving an unknown number of causalities and new displacement in its wake	• Negeri Lencho, communication head of the Oromia regional state • The Oromia Regional state administrative & security bureau • The town's communication office
3	Tesfanews	Renewed Somali 'Liyu Police' Attack in Oromia Left Scores Dead, Homes Destroyed	• Voice of America's Afaan Oromoo program, • 'District officials' • Dr. Negeri Lencho, the spokesperson for Oromia State • Cinaksan district official • 'Oromo activists
4	Tesfanews	Rising Death Toll, Displacement and Protests in Eastern Ethiopia	• Addisu Arega, head of the Oromia government communication affairs office

			• Online Oromo activists
			• Officials from the Oromia regional state
			• Edris Ismael Abdi, director of the Somali Regional state Communication Bureau
			• Political science professor at the Addis Abeba University (AAU)
			• Dr Negeri Lencho, head of the federal communication affairs bureau
5	Tesfanews	Ethnic Violence Pushes Ethiopia to the Brink of Security Crisis	• Addisu Arega Kitessa, Head of the Oromia region communication bureau • VOA Amharic Abdurezak Ahmed, head of the west Hararghe communication bureau
6	Horn affairs	Fifty thousand displaced, evicted in Oromia-Somali crisis	• A humanitarian worker in the area • Horn Affairs source with close ties to the local officials • Local officials and humanitarian workers

7	Nation	Ethiopian regional force 'kills 37' in Oromia region	• A witness, who survived several shots and a cut on his ear • A local official • Human Rights groups
8	Ethiocritical.com	Oromo-Somali conundrum: Can Ethiopia tame the Liyu police	• The Ethiopian government
9	Somali Net Forums	The Reporter: The Somali-Oromo Border Conflict is a Front for Regional Conflict Organized in Jigjiga	• Dr. Negeri Lencho (PhD), Head of the Oromia Bureau of Communications.
10	Africanews	Oromia – Ethiopian Somali conflict: Over 100 suspects arrested – govt	• The Ethiopian government • The state-affiliated FBC quoted information minister Negeri Lencho • Premier Hailemariam Desalegn • Oromo activists
11	Africanews	Oromo families cry foul in the recent conflict in Ethiopia's east	• The young woman • Saada Youssef, from the Oromo ethnic group • Survivors of the clashes • Molu Wario, an Oromo who had fled violence in the vicinity of Moyale • An Oromo administrative official met by the AFP

			• 20-year-old Abdel Jabbar Ahmed
			• Oromo who fled Wachale
			• Other Oromo displaced persons
12	Jigjiga herald	Moyale Massacre: How did it All Began and Unfolded	No sources
13	Jigjiga herald	Moyale is bleeding. Again!'	No sources

5.2.3 Set 3: Data used to scrutinize the types of the generic news frames

To conduct a comprehensive examination of the generic frames employed, 19 news articles from 17 online newspapers were selected. These included Addis Standard, Ethiocritical.com, Tesfanews, Africanews, oromian economist.com, Eritrea Madote, Business Daily, The East African, Goobjoog, Jigjiga herald, WardheerNews, Opride, Borkena, The Ethiopian Reporter, Horn Affairs, and Addis news.

The chosen online newspapers represent a variety of sources, including national and regional platforms, as well as specialized websites focusing on specific aspects of the conflicts. This enabled a comprehensive examination of the diverse frames employed across different contexts and perspectives. By critically analyzing the news frames employed in these articles, this study illuminates the dominant narratives, discourses, and potential biases present in the media coverage of the conflicts. Through this analysis, a deeper understanding of the construction and portrayal of these conflicts can be attained, contributing to a more informed and nuanced discourse on the subject matter.

Diagram 5.3 Important keywords, phrases and sentences to identify the general framing strategy pursued

No	Newspapers (name)	Title of the news articles	Common News items or discourses used by the online news articles
1	Addis Standard	Another Heavy Death Toll from a Conflict in ~~Eastern Ethiopia~~	• Heavy Death Toll • Has left more than 30 people, including more than a dozen army members, dead and several others injured
2	Addis Standard	A fresh round of violence rocks Moyale town, leaving an unknown number of causalities and fresh displacement in its wake	• Leaving an unknown number of causalities and fresh displacement • At least five people were killed, and several hundred fled the eastern district of the town
3	Tesfanews	Renewed Somali 'Liyu Police' Attack in Oromia Left Scores Dead, Homes	• Left scores dead, homes destroyed • At least four people were killed and five others wounded • More than 250 houses were razed to the ground • Hundreds of civilians are internally displaced • Led to the displacement of more than 1.6 million people

4	Africanews	Oromo families cry foul in the recent conflict in Ethiopia's east	• Oromo families cry foul • 'I've saved money there for 20 years and lost everything in one day. Why will I go back? I have nothing left there.' • 67,000 people were displaced and 1,000 dead • The Oromo and Somali leaders accused each other of committing atrocities • Somali highlight an incident in Awaday, a locality in the Oromia region where, according to them, Oromo killed 18 Somali traders selling khat, a popular euphoria plant in Ethiopia. • Oromo who fled Wachale reported to the AFP that the Somali who had
5	Eritrea Madote	Ethnic strife in Ethiopia threatens a key U.S. ally	• Has killed hundreds of people • Displaced more than 100,000 others • The rival ethnic groups have accused each other of links to terrorism
6	Business Daily	Boom for Kenyan miraa	• Shortage hits Somaliland

		traders as shortage hits Somaliland	• Ethnic conflict has cut off transport from the miraa growing areas • The conflict had affected business in eastern Ethiopia • Traders and consumers in Somaliland protested over the shortage of the herb • Dozens of people had died and at least 30,000 were displaced.
7	TesfaNews	UN Says One Million Ethiopians Displaced Due to Oromia-Somali Conflict	• The federal government has allocated half a billion birr to rehabilitate close to 500,000 displaced people in the two regions • The Oromia Regional State has already begun implementing its rehabilitation program for 86,000 people with a plan to settle them across 12 towns • To address gaps in assistance, close to 29 million dollars is required from a donor, …. Out of this, 15 million dollars is to provide water trucking to some 700,000 people.
8	The East African	Ethiopia arrests 100 suspects over ethnic clashes.	• The deployment of troops to quell the bloodshed. • The government of Ethiopia, in partnership with residents of the areas, is working jointly to rehabilitate those people displaced by the conflict

9	Tesfanews	Rising Death Toll, Displacement and Protests in Eastern Ethiopia	• Leaves dozens dead • Has left more than 30 people, including more than a dozen army members, dead and several others injured • Had left more than 100 civilians dead and has left seven civilians dead
10	Goobjoog	ONLF Press Release on the Oromo Massacre of Somali civilians	• More than 50 Somali civilians were indiscriminately massacred by Oromo gunmen in Moyale amidst rising ethnic clashes between Somalis and Oromos along with border towns • Tens of thousands of Somali civilians have been left displaced; their houses and properties have been burnt and confiscated • Neither the Ethiopian government nor Oromo Regional State has taken measures to stop the tragic killings of innocent Somalis and to avoid large-scale confrontations between Somalis and Oromos • ONLF calls upon the Prime Minister and the Oromo Regional state to secure the safety and security of the border areas and protect defenceless civilians.

11	WardheerNews	The orchestrated massacres of Somalis in Oromia is tantamount to an ethnic cleansing	• Innocent, terrified, and spiralled civilians who lived in Oromia for generations were killed • Opposition media outlets like Opride, OMN as well as OBN, and Addisu Arega Kitessa are all working in tandem to cause mayhem
12	Somali Netnews	The Reporter: The Somali-Oromo Border Conflict is a Front for Regional Conflict Organized in Jigjiga	• There is a network that spreads across the federal government, neighboring countries as well as Somali Region security forces' that is invested in this conflict.

13	Horn affairs	Fifty thousand were displaced evicted in the Oromia-Somali crisis.	• About fifty thousand people fled Ethiopian-Somali regional state, following a clash with the neighbouring state Oromia that left dozens dead • While protests subsided, a war of words began between the spokespersons of the regions. Oromia blamed the Special police of the Somali region, while the latter accused senior officials of the former.
14	Addis news	Week of Clashes in Eastern Ethiopia Kill 50, Displace 50,000	• Kill 50 • Displace 50,000 • Some officials in Oromiya said it was sparked by the killing of a local district head and raids by a paramilitary force from the Somali region. Officials from the Somali region denied those claims. Fifty ethnic Somalis were killed in the town of Aweday in Oromiya.
15	Ethiocritical.com	Oromo-Somali conundrum: Can Ethiopia tame the Liyu police	• Hundreds of Oromo killed • Hundreds of thousands of civilians displaced from their homes • The two states have seen sporadic episodes of clashes and raids along the common border for over a decade.

16	The Ethiopian reporter	Bleaker than ever	- The conflict resulted in the tragic loss of life and properties from both sides of the ill-fated border. - Left many to be displaced and face some harsh realities - He was waiting for a minibus to Adama. Given his current financial status, Jelan had to beg travelers to donate money so that he can cover his transport cost. The mass exodus has significantly affected economic as well as social status of many who left their properties. "I lived in Jigjga for the past 20 years," an individual in his 50s said. He used to have his own drug store, car, and a house in Jigjiga. - The displacement has also brought a negative impact on khat trade to Somali Regional State as well as Somaliland. Unconfirmed reports say, following the incident, Somaliland began to import khat from Kenya and importation from Ethiopia is temporarily suspended. In Harar, The Reporter observed that the price of khat from Aweday, a major source of the mild narcotic to Somali Regional State, has declined. The decline of price is attributed to the excessive supply of khat in Harar.

17	Borkena	Ethnic conflict raging southern Ethiopia	• An estimated 50000 Ethiopians of Sidama language speaking groups are evicted from Bale zone, part of Oromia region of Ethiopia, on grounds that they do not belong to Oromia region. • Ethiopia has become a recipe for a potentially unending intra-ethnic conflict. Not only is the Federal structure ethnic based but also the regime in power employ divisive rhetoric that rather sounds from an archaic "divide and rule" colonial Africa era. • Ethiopia has been under minority ethno-supermacist regime of Tigray People's Liberation Front for well over two decades now.
18	OromianEconomist.com	ONLF and OLF Holds the Ethiopian government and its ruling Coalition Parties as solely responsible for the mass killings of Oromo and Somali peoples.	• Holds the Ethiopian government and its ruling Coalition Parties as solely responsible • Mass killings of Oromo and Somali peoples.

Overall, all the diagrams above display the texts used by the newspaper articles, the sources used to gather information, and the type of the general frames tracked of the online national and regional newspapers. This study did not examine the discourses of the global media, as this study was geographically confined to the regional African and national Ethiopian media. Newspapers which are not available online were also excluded from examination. Before the research, I assessed several times whether these selected articles were available on Google or not; then I collected all articles available online or on Google. Audience framing of the conflict is not included in the investigation of the discourses of the conflicts, because the purpose of this study is media framing of the conflicts, not audience framing.

This brings me to my rationale for the 2017-2018 time-frame as an exemplification of the discourses of the conflicts. The first argument is that the two ethnic groups have been involved in the conflict for a year and seven months, thereby provoking the postulation that underlies this research and the procedure of data collection/selection in particular: enduring violence is an occurrence determining potentially all news articles communicative events wherein media describes the conflicted ethnic groups participated in the conflict and the situation of the disputing events, within the specified time and the specified places of these media discourses. The second argument is that the media highly participated in reporting the conflict, which means that the contents of the newspapers can be taken as the manifestation of the media stance – and bias – on the Oromo-Somali conflict.

The online data collected thus far has provided a comprehensive foundation for the coming and final analysis in chapter 7. The following and related chapter 6 delves into the data analysis, and engages, in a thorough discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

6.1. Introduction

This study uses the theoretical lenses offered by Johan Galtung (1998b), Lee and Maslog (2005), and Fairclough's (1995b) CDA, to investigate how the concrete texts or discourses of the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflicts are characterized across many various designated disparate publications. CDA helps to analyze how written texts may reveal the discursive sources of dominance, power, inequality, and prejudice via close reading of discrete texts (Paniagua *et al*., 2007). Several authors have expounded that CDA does not display a homogenous approach or single a methodology (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), but rather encapsulates a critical linguistic method that understands language as a form of societal practice (Wodak & Busch, 2004). It aims to comprehend and decipher how hegemony, ideology and discourses are entrenched in the linguistic (Wang, 2016).

For the data analysis of this study, four stages of CDA were performed: coding, thematic categorization, primary research, and validation. In the coding step, data texts written on the selected newspaper articles were identified and presented in text form, while in the thematic categorization, recurrent themes and schematic elements were identified in the chosen texts. These themes were assigned a coding label and clustered into two thematic categories, as summarized in sections 5.2 and 5.3 of chapter 5. As part of the primary analysis, I re-read and referenced the texts against the two thematic categories to generate two discourses: namely, textual discourse, which indicates violent villain vs. victims, and discourse practices, which disclose the sources quoted to frame the conflict and the generic frame followed by the news articles.

This textual analysis of the media discourses of the conflicts included identifying and describing the informative texts, including individual phrases and words in their context, collocations between content words, lexico-grammars, their labeling and naming strategies, and sentence structure or constructed grammars reflected in the heading and other paragraphs of the newspaper articles. Based on this, I focused on how transitivity, argumentation, and oratorical tropes are used to make the micro- and macro-structures of

media discourses (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). As outlined in Chapter 3, the concept of transitivity helps us understand how particular meanings might be either subordinated or foregrounded within sentences (Richardson, 2007; Simpson, 1993), and how the selection and use of specific words in a sentence might influence the audience's reading of events covered in newspapers. More broadly, the notion of transitivity helps us perceive how newspaper articles may function to construct specific social actors as either perpetrators or victims of particular actions. It deals with who or what do what to whom (Iwamoto, 1995). Together with transitivity, argumentation in the text is often used to represent phenomena, including conflicts, in binary terms that characterize social actors as perpetrators or victims (Van Eemeren, 2013; Wodak & Busch, 2004). Newspaper articles might use rhetorical tropes to manufacture general consent for hegemonic narratives (Richardson, 2004). In this way, rhetorical tropes, including metonyms, hyperboles, metaphors, neologisms, puns, and synecdoche, are marshaled in the newspapers to direct public judgments in particular directions.

In analyzing the sources of information, I reviewed how institutional procedures underlying news selection, newsgathering, editing, and writing might shape the media reports on the conflicts (Fairclough, 1995a), giving specific attention to the sources of information. Knowing that newspaper reports rely on multiple sources when covering conflicts (Francis, 2018), I tried to identify the primary media sources and explain how the cited sources might reflect ideological affiliations (Van Dijk, 1993). This part of the analysis is based on the contention that journalists are influenced by social forces, institutions, and ideologies (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). News reports on conflicts often incorporate a collection of selected sources (Fairclough, 1995a) that may be aligned to powerful and vested political and economic interests (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Sigal, 1974), and thus may skew how a particular issue is reported and interpreted (Rouner *et al.*, 1999). It is also important to note that information sources may conceal inherent biases (Fairclough, 1995a).

In detecting the framings used in the news articles, I also interpreted the framing strategies (episodic or thematic) seen in the reports on the ethno-political conflicts. Framing imbues news stories with meanings (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989), and the

media may use various framing strategies to encourage audiences to interpret information ideologically, and influence what audiences regard as relevant or helpful (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). At the same time, episodic framing emphasizes events, personal stories, and individual cases, while thematic framing reports on issues or events in analytical terms and within the larger social context (Chiluwa, 2019), including a ''big picture' account of conflicts (Iyengar, 1991). Depending on the structure used, the emphasis in news reports might shift between accounts of triumph, defeat, and successful military strategies on the one hand, and the violence experienced by victims of conflict on the other hand (Dimitrova, 2006). For this perspective, I reviewed and discussed eight generic frames used in the news reports: human consequences, human-interest, conflict, morality, attribution of responsibility, economic consequences, prognostic, and diagnostic frames.

To do this, I relied on two techniques: "coherence" and "fruitfulness" as a validation analysis. Coherence, in this sense, referred to the analyst's understanding of given information among groups, and how they associate with the broader discourses. For example, if an article was unclear, it was disregarded from the analysis. Similarly, fruitfulness signified the value of the texts in terms of the analyst's ability to generate a relevant interpretation of the information, and therefore link to validity issues (Malherbe, Seedat & Suffla, 2020).

6.2. Discourse analysis

To analyze the actual reportage of the newspapers, I followed three steps: First, I sought to critique the chosen recurring themes and schematic elements. These textual analyses of the media discourses included identifying and describing the formal features of media texts, including segments of phrases and words in their context, collocations between content words, lexicon-grammars, their labeling and naming strategies, and sentence structure or constructed grammars. These chosen texts are clustered into two thematic categories, as is summarized in section 6.3 of this chapter.

In the second phase, I analyzed the sources of information. Here, I paid specific attention to the sources of information used by different newspapers (Fairclough, 1995b). I then

inspected the framings pursued by the news articles in the discourse construction and reports on the ethno-political conflicts, using the eight generic frames that are the most commonly used by media like newspapers (Iyengar, 1991; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

6.3. Textual Data Analysis

In the first stage, congruent with my research objectives, I paid heed to the rhetorical devices which can help to examine the way the Oromo and Somalis were portrayed during the ethno-political conflicts, and how this can be described in terms of grammar, sentence structure, and vocabularies, including transitivity, argumentation, and rhetorical tropes. I therefore touched or looked upon particular aspects of textual framing that have been negative to the Somalis and positive to the Oromo, which involved exploring the terminologies employed to describe social problems (Carvahlo, 2000; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). In this case, that included the different language packages, such as catchphrases, deft metaphors or other vital words, statements and paragraphs that contained references to the ethno-political conflict.

6.3.1. *The Ethiopian Somalis as violent villains (criminalization)*

As the extracts suggest, the news articles represented the ethno-political conflict through a victim-perpetrator discursive prism, which was rendered as a central feature of the conflicts. Almost all selected news articles use degrading and caricatured discourse, such as "notorious", "Paramilitary", "militant", "controversial" and "militiamen" to blatantly criminalize and demonize the Ethiopian Somali, while simultaneously portraying the ethnic Oromo as the victims of the Somalis aggression. The following sets of discourses, which interrelate in complex ways, verify that the articles sought to portray the Somalis as a paramilitary force, which jeopardized their images for public readers.

- *The Liyu Police (a paramilitary force from the Somali region)*
- *Bandits openly supported by the Liyu Police*
- *The Somali special forces (aka Liyu Police)*
- *A Special paramilitary elite*
- *A Somali Special Paramilitary Force*
- *The Somali Region Liyu Police, at times in civilian clothing and at times wearing military outfits*

- *Armed militiamen*
- *The Somali Region's paramilitary 'Liyu' (Special) Police*
- *The Liyu police Anarchy*
- *The presence of members of Ethiopia's notorious police force, "Liyu Police," a special paramilitary elite force accused of its close connection to Abdi Mohamoud Omar, president of the Somali regional state in eastern Ethiopia*
- *Heavily armed members of the 'Liyu' Police*
- *The Liyu police unit of the Somali regional state*
- *Armed Men from the Somali Regional State*
- *A Paramilitary Force from the Neighbouring Somali Region*
- *Gangs*

- *Agents*
- *Members of the 'Liyu' Force*
- *A controversial paramilitary force is operating in Ethio-Somali Regional State*
- *Military Forces armed by the Ethio-Somali Regional State*
- *The Somali State's paramilitary force*
- *A Somali special paramilitary force known as 'Liyu' police*
- *A government backed paramilitary unit in the Somali regional state.*
- *Somali "Liyu" forces,*
- *Armed bandits*
- *The police force of Somaliland*
- *Well-trained and armed Liyu police*
- *Surrogate Somali National government*
- *The Liyu Police, a militia affiliated to the Ethiopia-Somali government.*

For example, on September 1, 2017, Addis Standard ran the following headline:

"Another Heavy Death Toll from a Conflict in Eastern Ethiopia"

The article explicitly employed a negative intonation, using words like "paramilitary'', "notorious", "armed militiamen", "heavily armed", and "Liyu police anarchy" (para. 2, 3, 4, 5) which indicate that the media are inclined to describe the Somalis as a guerrilla force, abusive and anarchistic, who operate outside of the law. This in turn may feed

readers prejudice labeling about the Somalis, and the Ethiopian Somali Region, by tending to highlight the criminality of the Somalis.

In the same way, a story from Eritrea Madot (October, 2017) ran a cover titled:

"Ethnic strife in Ethiopia threatens a key U.S. ally"

This convincingly blamed the Somalis for extremist activities that destabilize the social and political order of the two regions, through the usage of disparaging terms, such as "paramilitary force", "paramilitary 'Liyu' (special) police" and "gangs" (see para. 4, 10, 12), which paint the deeds of the Somalis as illegal.

Again, the negative image of the Ethiopian Somalis was visible in Tesfanews (December 18, 2018):

"Ethnic Violence Pushes Ethiopia to the Brink of Security Crisis"

Choosing certain demonizing words and ethnically biased phrases, such as "Somali "Liyu" forces" and "armed bandits" (para. 9), parade the newspaper's bad images and disrespect towards the Ethiopian Somalis.

Such dehumanization of the Somalis was illustrated in an Africanews (May 8, 2018) news stories headlined:

"Illicit arms movement caused deadly Moyale violence: Ethiopia govt"

By using the phrase, "the Liyu Police, a militia affiliated to the Ethiopia-Somali government" (para.4) that in turn reveals as the "Garre" the newspaper presents a clan of Somalis as mercenaries and an illegitimate group that caused deadly violence in Moyale Oromia.

In the second set of texts below, attributive discourses or genres of discourse were employed to brand the Somalis, and their regional administration under its past president, Abdi Illey, as troublemakers (organizers, triggers, masterminds and coordinators) of the Oromo-Somalis violence (2017 – 2018) where hundreds were murdered, million were expatriated and thousands lost their properties. The phrases presented below highlight this point:

- *The attack was orchestrated by a Somali special paramilitary force known as 'Liyu' police*
- *The unrest began when two Oromo officials were reportedly killed on the border between the two territories, allegedly by Somali Region police.*
- *The Somali Regional government began evicting Oromo from Jigjiga and the region*
- *The war currently declared on the Oromo people by TPLF and the Somali regional government is a well-researched and planned war for long time*
- *The shooting was started by Somali 'Leyu' force and 'Garri' tribe*
- *The clashes happened after incursions by armed men from the Somali regional state*
- *The 'Liyu' police opening fire on the Oromia Police station*

- *The clashes were first provoked by the involvement of members of the 'Liyu' Police*
- *The Somali-Oromo border conflicts are organized and coordinated in the Somali Region*
- *It is aggravated by the presence of Ethiopia's notorious police force members*
- *Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), orchestrated the conflict in the Ethio-Somali region. Some go to the extent of claiming that president of the region, Abdi Mohamoud, was encouraged by influential TPLF leaders to embark on a manufactured ethnic violence in the region*

For example, on May 7, 2017, a news article appeared in the Addis Standard, running a dramatic front-page headline:

> "A Fresh round of violence rocks 'Moyale' town, leaving an unknown number of causalities and fresh displacement in its wake"

This adopted various grammatical terms to label the Somalis as the key instigators of the Somali-Oromo communal violence, such as "the shooting was started and engineered by Somali 'Liyu' force" and 'Garri' tribe" and "the clashes were first provoked by the

involvement of members of the "Liyu" Police" (para.2 and 3). It declared that the shootings and clashes were organised, instigated and provoked by the Ethiopian Somalis.

A similar bias was seen in a news story headlined: "Ethiopian regional force 'kills 37' in Oromia region" (Nation, 2018, August 14), which clearly framed and described the Somalis as architects of the conflict by using the passive voice: "the attack was orchestrated by a Somali special paramilitary force known as 'Liyu' police". This clearly stated the Somalis were responsible for the conflict, by calling them the mobilisers and coiners of the ethno-political conflict.

A similar tone was used in paragraph 3 of an Addis Standard article (September 1, 2017) headlined:

"Another heavy death toll from a conflict in eastern Ethiopia"

This viewed and presented the Somalis as the instigators of the conflict, by adapting partial discourses like "it is aggravated by" thereby representing the Ethiopian Somalis as magnifiers of the ethno-political conflict. This second set of discourses identified through further inspection of texts lists, appeared to suggest that the ethno-political conflict was deliberately spearheaded and prearranged by the organized Somalis paramilitaries, in the name of the Somali special police forces.

A third grouping of discourses presents the Ethiopian Somalis as having committed grave crimes like repeated incursions outside their jurisdiction into the neighboring Oromia region that may turn public readers against them. The pointed out buzzwords like "raided Ethiopia's eastern region", "incursions by", "cross-border attacks" and "incursions into" were deliberately employed to portray the Somali region special forces as having traversed the border and attacked the Oromo residents:

- *A Somali special paramilitary force known as Liyu police … raided Ethiopia's eastern region*
- *Raids and cross-border attacks along the Oromia-Somali border by the Liyu police*
- *[Liyu Police] incursions into Oromia*
- *In 2017, incursions into Oromia by the unit*
- *After incursions by "armed men" from the Somali regional state*

- *The Somali Region Liyu Police undertakes cross-border attacks into the Oromia region*
- *Renewed cross-border attacks this week by the Ethiopian Somali State Liyu Police in Oromia's East Hararghe zone*

- *Armed men who do not represent the peaceful Ethio-Somali communities have begun mounting attacks in Hawi Gudina woreda [of west Hararghe Zone], Ebsa and Tao Kebeles, killing 29 Oromos.*

As an example, on September 1, 2017, the Ethiopian newspaper Addis Standard carried the front-page headline:

"Another Heavy Death Toll from a Conflict in Eastern Ethiopia"

This was accompanied by negative accusatory wording like "cross border incursions by armed militiamen that locals say were members of 'Liyu' Police" which scapegoated the Somalis as the assailants, as they conducted cross-border raids, attacks and aggressive expansions into the villages and towns which are administratively under the Oromia national state (see para.6).

In a similar vein, a news article taken from Tesfanews (May 27, 2018) portrayed the intruding of the Somalis into the "Cinaksan district of Oromia region which straddles the common boundary of the two regions by force" in an editorial headlined:

"Renewed Somali Liyu Police Attack in Oromia Left Scores Dead, Homes Destroyed"

This tried to show the Ethiopian Somalis as attacking and agitating in Oromia areas using passive groups of statements such as "renewed cross-border attacks this week by the Ethiopian Somali State Liyu Police in Oromia's East Hararghe zone" (para. 1), and "incursions Somali paramilitary force into the Cinaksan district" (para. 2), which reflect partisan ideas and positions. Such divisive and gloomy discourses tried to characterize the Somalis as having committed an unprovoked foray into Oromia lands. They were defined as felon-armed ethnic gangs tasked with breaking national laws and defiling the sovereignty of the Oromia Regional State.

In reporting on the ethno-political conflict, some news articles also used a set of negative and divisive packages of catchwords such as "carrying out attacks on", "in clear violation of the martial law", "throwing stones at us", "hurled objects and insults and stole the Oromos' cell phones", "perpetrate havoc on", "had been guilty of the worst abuses", "attacks inside Oromia", "destabilize Oromia" and "attacked the Oromos" which state that the Somalis executed immoral practices against the Oromo people :

- *Even on the truck, people were throwing stones at us, Saada said, recalling her escape in a vehicle sent to rescue people of Oromo ethnicity living in the Somali region where tit-for-tat ethnic violence killed hundreds last month*

- *Oromo and Somali tell equally convincing stories of ethnic violence. They accuse the regional special police – in the Somali Region known as the Liyu, and the Oromia version, referred to by Somalis as Liyu Hail – of being behind many of the attacks.*

- *"They poured petrol over me then lit it," said 28-year-old Husaida Mohammed. "They were Somali boys"*

- *Even then, people hurled objects and insults at the trucks, and the Somali regional police stole the Oromos' cellphones, people in the camp said*

- *The Somali region special forces to perpetrate havoc on the Oromo farmers along the border*

- *It mainly was the Liyu police unit in the Somali region, which had been guilty of the worst abuses*

- *Only Oromos who were being targeted*

- *The on-going Liyu police attacks inside Oromia are in clear violation of the martial law*

- *The Somali regional police stole the Oromos' cellphones*

- *Gangs attacked the Oromos*

- *The Liyu Police have carried out attacks on Oromos*

- *Destabilize Oromia Region*

- *The police force of Somaliland was involved in the arrest and deportation of Oromos to Ethiopia.*

- *Tensions in the region have also been heightened by violent clashes earlier in December between soldiers and protesters staging demonstrations over aggressive raids allegedly carried out by police from outside of the region*

Eritrea Madote's article (October, 2017) ran a headline:

"Clashes threaten Ethiopia's delicate ethnic balance"

This appeared to utilize loaded discourse like "Even on the truck, people were throwing stones at us, Saada said, recalling her escape in a vehicle sent to rescue people of Oromo ethnicity living in the Somali region" (para. 2), which alluded to the Somalis performing serious human rights violations, including throwing stones at the Oromo people while they were fleeing. Although the agent of the actions remained anonymous in the article's discourse, it was implied that it was Somalis throwing stones at the Oromo and attempting to attack them. To be clear, the usage of phrases such as "throwing stones at us" was intended to highlight the victimization of the Oromo, while the term "people" referring to the Somalis intended to portray the Somali people as the ones throwing stones at the ethnic Oromo while they were in a vehicle to escape from the Somali region. This prejudiced discourse was wielded to spread hostility towards the Somalis among readers.

Another instance is a feature titled "Ethnic strife in Ethiopia threatens a key U.S. ally" (Eritrea Madote, 2017, October), which used phrases like "people hurled objects", "insults at the trucks" and "the Somali regional police stole the Oromos' cell phones" (para.13) to refer to the Somalis' catastrophic actions such as sabotaging of Oromo objects, insulting Oromo while they were traveling by cars, taking their phones. Here, the news article has used semantic terms to draw dividing lines between the attackers and victims. For example, in its discourses, the news article employed the phrase "people hurled objects" to refer to the Somalis. Its discourse addressed two groups: "people" referred to the Somalis, who are the aggressors or doers of the negative actions. While the second group was not explicitly named, the attributes of the ethnic group were clear: ethnic Oromo were the victims.

Such clear bigoted judgment of the Somalis was also noticeable in a Horn Affairs (November 9, 2017) news story, headlined "Oromia-Somali conflict | Ethnic violence

displaces hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians". This described the Somalis by using certain ideologically loaded discourses such as:

> Lifting her robe the young woman revealed undulating scar tissue blanketing her breasts, stomach, and extending up her neck and along her arms. "They poured petrol over me then lit it," said 28-year-old Husaida Mohammed. "They were Somali boys" (para. 1, 2).

In sum, the articles describe Somalis as a terrorist band by applying specific phrasal ironies to them. These online articles construct and present an unwelcome image of the Somalis, symbolizing them as engaged in cold-blooded acts like eradication, kidnappings and torture of the Oromo dissidents. They were signified as directly involved in criminal behavior and actions, while their victims were described with euphemisms. Thus, all the anterior discourses structure of the articles concentrated on the Somalis' acts of vehemence and aggression, which may adversely sway or mold the reading population's outlooks and attitudes towards of them and to their region.

6.3.2 The Oromo as innocent victim

In juxtaposition to the above lopsided discourses, the dominant image of the Oromo as long suffering and innocent victims of the Somali's violent behavior was delineated in almost all the news articles, through the use of phrases such as "massacred", "heinous killings", "lootings of our cattle", "the raping of our girls", "ethnic cleansing", "cry foul", "arbitrary arrest'' and "mass eviction". These were used to show the ethnic Oromo as exposed to callous, barbarous acts, rampant human rights abuses and violence, including mass displacement, maiming, extrajudicial executions and pogroms. Portrayals of the Oromo as innocent victims were clearly presented in almost all the news articles. The following discourses typify this clearly:

- *Many Oromo were massacred at Calanqo, DaarooLabuu at a place called Hawwii Guddinaa and in many more places*

- *The heinous killings...taking place on Oromo people*
- *Killings our men, the raping of our girls and the lootings of our cattle by bandits*

- *Beating, arresting and killings of Oromos were going door to door*
- *Accused of looting, rape and extrajudicial killings of civilians*
- *Ethnic cleansing is taking place in Oromia*
- *This could be ethnic cleansing*
- *This may lead to ethnic cleansing*
- *Oromo families cry foul*
- *Ethnic Cleansing, Genocide and Mass Evictions in Oromia*
- *The attacks and massacre of the TPLF military in Moyale*
- *Mass killing, arbitrary arrest and mass eviction of the Oromo*
- *To weaken Oromo regional state which turned out to be disobedient and confrontational to TPLF leaders?*
- *Week's killing in Chelonko and subsequent sporadic killings, night time raids, raping of women and*
- *girls and abductions of teenage boys by armed forces, acts .... which are most of the times committed by members of the Somali "Liyu" forces*
- *Heinous acts have been taking place on Oromo farmers*
- *Armed men who have came from the Somali regional state have taken control of two kebeles and were responsible of burning at least 80 house*
- *The Orchestrated massacres of Somalis in Oromia*
- *The Oromo Massacre of Somali civilians*
- *The group was only involved in looting properties owned by Oromos*

One news articles was entitled (Oromian Economist, December 22, 2017):

> "Ethiopian government's attempt to blame the victims [the Oromo people] unravels TPLF's war plans on Oromo people"

This is obviously intended to express how the Oromo civilians were the victim of war crimes by adopting statements like "ethnic cleansing and massacres" (para.7 and 14). The news article conveyed that serious crimes (premeditated massacres and planned ethnic cleaning) were committed against the ethnic Oromo, describing collective killings carried

out on the Oromo by silencing the victimization of the "other" ethnic group i.e. the Somalis. Through using the terms "mass evictions", "genocide", "massacres" and "ethnic cleansing", it avers that the issue extends beyond just an ethno-political conflict, and suggests to the reader that the border problem is used as a weapon to eliminate the Oromo ethnic group.

The Addis Standard newspaper (September 1, 2017) ran an editorial titled,

"Another Heavy Death Toll from a Conflict in Eastern Ethiopia"

This described how Oromo girls were raped, their men were killed, and their cattle were looted by the Somalis. The use of phrases like "killings our men", "the raping of our girls" and "the lootings of our cattle" foregrounds the victimization of the Oromo, while phrases like "by bandits openly supported by the 'Liyu' Police" denotes the wrong-doing of the Somalis (see para.2). Whenever the articles address the victims of the Oromo, they used the terms "our girls", "our men" and "our cattle" which foregrounds the persecution of the ethnic Oromo. To sum up, these analyses show that the newspapers carried sensationalist discourses which reflected the act of violence perpetrated on the Oromo, portraying them as senseless and inhumane. This representation of the Somalis may have a tremendous consequence on these Somalis, who may be targeted by the Oromo and other supporters of the Oromo.

The above frame was also made explicit in a sixth sample data set, where articles represented the Oromo as evictees and sufferers through irresponsible reportage. The articles primarily focused on the humanitarian collateral of the conflict through phrases such as "Oromo were expelled", "hundreds of thousands of Oromo were either killed, wounded, their homes and properties were destroyed or displaced and illegally displaced". This may have some tremendous impacts on the Oromo and Somali ethnic rifts. This clear victimization discourse of the ethnic Oromo is represented in the following texts taken from some newspapers' websites:

- *At least 150,000 Oromos have been expelled from the Somali Region'*

- *As a result, over 700,000 Oromos were displaced from their lands and their homes were burned down*

- *Nearly 30 schools remain closed*
- *Learning and teaching process has been disrupted*
- *Attack against our people*
- *Oromos worst affected by inter-ethnic clashes*
- *Hundreds of thousand of Oromos were either killed wounded, their homes and properties were destroyed, or displaced*
- *More than 3,000 long-term Oromo residents of the semi-autonomous Somaliland were also illegally displaced*
- *Thousands of Oromo residents and merchants fleeing Jijiga, the capital of Somali state*
- *Thousands of desperate Oromos, who left their dwellings in the Somali region*
- *More than 67,800 Oromos alone have fled*
- *3,000 Oromos have been displaced from Somaliland*
- *Oromos have been expelled*
- *Sent to evacuate inhabitants of the Oromo ethnic group*
- *The displacement of more than 1.6 million people, mostly ethnic Oromos*
- *Over 700,000 Oromos were displaced from their lands and their homes were burned down*
- *735 Oromo homes destroyed, 350 displaced,17 wounded, 300 livestock stolen.*
- *More than 97% of people displaced from Somali region are not willing to go back to the region again on grounds of alleged insecurity*
- *Displaced Oromos, settled in Addis Ababa*
- *The displaced people that are flocking from the Somali region are now being sheltered at temporary sheds in Harar*
- *A number of vehicles coming from different parts of the Somali region with evictees on board*
- *Raies Aba Mencha, a father of 4 has been irritated and at times perplexed after being evicted from Somali region*
- *Has caused a huge crisis on life, property and wellbeing of hundreds of thousands of Oromo people*

Similarly, an Africanews' news story (September 17, 2017) was headlined:

"Oromos worst affected by Ethiopia's inter-ethnic clashes''

This tried to point out the victimization of the Oromo by the Somalis by using negatively loaded discourse like "Oromos worst affected" and "the displacement of Oromo residents is actually an eviction" (para. 2). This demonstrates that the article deliberately promotes a one-sided story concerning what went on during the conflict by minimizing the death toll of the Somali ethnic group.

This persecution of the Oromo was similarly amplified by the Tesfanews (May 27, 2018):

"Renewed Somali Liyu Police Attack in Oromia Left Scores Dead, Homes Destroyed"

This described the ethno-political conflict as significantly affecting the social status of the Oromia region placing weighty emphasis on discourses like "nearly 30 schools remain closed" and "the learning and teaching process has been disrupted" (see para. 4). To make clear, the news article used polarizing discourses that designated the Oromia region of Ethiopia as in a state of social disturbance, caused by the Ethiopian Somalis.

Likewise, the Borkena's news story (February 3, 2018) was headlined:

"Displaced Oromos from Ethio-Somali reportedly to settle in Addis Ababa"

This pointed out the exodus of Oromo to Addis Ababa since they would not willingly go back to the Somali regional state of Ethiopia, for fear of the alleged security concerns on the ground. The following victimized discourses were used: "Displaced Oromos … settle in Addis Ababa" and "97 percent of people displaced from the Somali region of Ethiopia are not willing to go back to the region again on grounds of alleged security concerns" (para. 6). In other words, the news article described the Oromo as having to evacuate from the Somali region of Ethiopia displaced persons who were not willing to go back to Somali regional state and live there with the Somalis as they fear violence in the region.

An article in The Ethiopian reporter headlined "Bleaker than ever" (September 30, 2017), highlighted the victimization of the ethnic Oromo by overwording the unlawful actions of the Somalis:

According to his account, the displacement was orchestrated by a group of people who he says act and execute things in a more organized fashion. "They were going door by door asking if there is anyone who is Oromo and eventually arresting an Oromo" he said. However, another, group which he says was involved in the beating, arresting and killings of Oromos was going door to door (para.19, 23).

Thus, the news article explained the displacement of the ethnic Oromo as coordinated by a group of Ethiopian Somalis in a prearranged manner, going door-to-door asking for ethnic Oromo, and arresting, beating and killing those they found.

To summarize, this anti-Somalis discourse is used to bring the Oromo's agonies to the fore, playing down the anguish of the Somalis and over-stating their wrongdoings. Almost all the texts examined are implicitly and explicitly predisposed towards of the ethnic Oromo and against the Somalis. There were only two exceptions, from Wardheernews and Goobjoog with the headlines: "The Orchestrated massacres of Somalis in Oromia are tantamount to ethnic cleansing" and "ONLF Press Release on the Oromo Massacre of Somali civilians." These portrayed a contradictory explication of the ethno-political conflict, tending more towards excusing the Somalis, and criminalizing the Oromo ethnic group. Thus, the majority of news articles simply signified the Somalis as perpetrators and killers; this can polarize the attitudes of the readers, and risks stoking further trouble or destructive societal outcomes, including intolerance of dissent, ethnic polarization and political segregation between the two groups.

The media's approach is in line with Galtung's (1988) description of a war-oriented approach, which suggests violence as a way to resolve problems, rather than solving them using non-violent approaches (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000). This is mostly done by providing unfair or hate-mongering and hypocritical discourses that could, in turn, magnify the conflict and lead to a perpetual rift between the country's Oromo and Somali communities. The news articles display xenophobic reportage and discriminatory portrayal. In light of this, discourses like abusing, trivializing, delegitimizing and demonizing become a vital part of the articles' re-counting of the conflict circumstances, rather than conveying how the ethnic groups are coping and what has been done to solve

the conflict using more precise and balanced descriptions. One example is the employment of the violent terms, "militiamen" and "controversial paramilitary force" (i.e. pejorative for the Somalis), which are used to excite discrimination and ethnic contempt. Discussions of the ethno-political conflict are framed within the binaries of victim-villain, legitimate-illegitimate, or Somali-Oromo. Thus, the articles delegitimize, hyperbolize, ethnicize and politicize the actions of the Somalis, which divides and segregates the two groups, rather than bridging the divides and attempting to de-escalate the conflict.

Based on this textual analysis, the next section will investigate the second research question, which looks at the practices in use by the articles to construct the discourses of the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict.

6.4. Analyzing the "discourse practices" of the news articles

In this section, I will delve into the sources cited in news articles, and the general strategic frames used by the selected articles, from the perspective of CDA.

6.4.1. *Investigating the sources in news articles*

In this sub-section, I am interested in the choice of sources, and whose voices were heard in the newspapers. In other words, which sources of information do the newspapers rely on to produce their discourse practices, and what are the underlying vested political interests of these sources? This section identifies the key actors cited, as well as how they are characterized in the texts. As indicated by Fairclough (1995b), texts play a vital role in symbolizing social actors, and describing their relations and identities. In this dissertation, the social actors include the individual actors that are either referred to or quoted in the texts, who frequently operate as "voices" (Fairclough 1995b) or sources of information. In news media discourses, some social players can dominate, with their viewpoints shaping and determining the meanings in the texts. This effect is called the "framing power" of actors with respect to the media outlets (Carvalho, 2000). Having the dominant framing power with regard to a certain social problem is a vital form of social influence (Carvalho, 2000). To analyze the sources quoted by the newspapers, or to know the social actors who have predominant power in crafting the discourses in the texts, the

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sources were coded as "Oromo officials", "Oromo ordinary people", "Somali officials", "Somali ordinary people" and other categories. The news articles that were chosen were from: Addis Standard, Tesfanews, Horn Affairs, Nation, Ethiocritical.com, Africanews, SomaliNet.com and Jigjiga Herald.

6.4.1.1. *Oromo power-holders as sources of conflict stories*

Eleven news articles from the 13 newspapers limit their attention to Oromo elite sources (Oromo politicians, Oromo activists, Oromia state communication affairs office and Oromia Region head of security), at the expense of Somali voices. The articles echoed the Oromo's worldview (ideology) that reflected their political stances on the ethno-political conflict, which shows that the news articles were used (or abused) by the Oromo elites. The Somalis' contradictory views and opinion were considered less attractive, and tended to be overlooked, ignored, or discarded. Here, the Somali Region officials are not typically considered "experts" on the conflict events, while Oromo politicians and scholars are more likely to be seen as "experts," and hence considered reliable sources. The disparity is clear, as the news articles failed to present a more diverse range of notions based on credible evidence, which would allow citizens to represent themselves by contravening the hegemony/domination of elite sources (Iyengar, 1991). The following group of texts displayed a single-sided source of information:

- *The Oromia regional state*
- *Oromia regional state bureau head*
- *Negeri Lencho, communication head of the Oromia regional state*
- *The Oromia Regional state administrative & security bureau*
- *The town's communication office*
- *District officials*
- *Voice of America's Afaan Oromoo program*
- *Oromia Regional officials 'activists*
- *Addisu Arega, head of the Oromia government communication affairs office*
- *Online Oromo activists*
- *Officials from the Oromia regional state*
- *Addisu Arega Kitessa, head of the Oromia region communication bureau, confirmed the*
- *Political science professor at the Addis Abeba University (AAU)*

- *The official government position as epoused by Premier Hailemariam Desalegn*
- *Dr.Negeri Lencho, head of the federal communication affairs bureau*

- *In an interview with the VOA Amharic Abdurezak Ahmed, head of the west Hararghe communication bureau*

To provide an example, a SomaliNet story (July 22, 2018) was headlined:

> "The Somali-Oromo Border Conflict is a Front for Regional Conflict Organized in Jigjiga"

This article relied exclusively on the Oromo political officials, such as Negeri Lenccho, who is the Head of the Oromia Bureau of Communications, to expound on the Somali-Oromo boundary conflict (para. 1). Thus, the article tended to favor and reproduce the Oromo's dominant opinions and experiences of the ethno-political conflict. Instead of taking ideas from both Somali and Oromo political officials, the news article took the views and sentiments of only the Oromo officials. Therefore, Oromo political elites were perceived favorably as a trustworthy source.

Tesfanews (December 18, 2018) ran the headline:

> "Ethnic Violence Pushes Ethiopia to the Brink of Security Crisis"

This article sourced Addisu Arega Kitessa, head of the Oromia region communication bureau, who stated that the armed men did not symbolize the peaceful Ethio-Somali people, and mounted assaults in the Hawi Gudina district of west Hararghe Zone, Ebsa and Tao villages, and killed 29 Oromos. This article likewise quoted to Abdurezak Ahmed, head of the west Hararghe communication bureau, who mentioned that the armed men from the Somali regional state controlled two kebeles of the Oromia regional state, and had burned at least 80 houses (para. 16). This displays how the news articles simply acted as mouthpieces for the Oromo political elites, instead of using credible and triangulated sources, and thereby reducing prejudiced and false discourses about the disputed events.

Similarly, the Africanews (November 26, 2017) had a front page article titled:

"Oromia – Ethiopian Somali conflict: Over 100 suspects arrested – govt"

This story mentioned the Ethiopian government to clarify that 103 individual persons were arrested in association with lethal regional violence in the eastern parts of Ethiopia (para. 1, and headline). It also cited Premier Hailemariam Desalegn to provide the then-official government position about the cause of the conflict, which they claimed was connected with a "rent-seeking group" that was trying to exploit the historic violence for resources. Thus, the article quoted the prime minister to convey that the conflict was instigated by elitist thirst for natural resource control, like access to water and grazing land (para. 6, 7). This news article likewise sourced other Oromo elites like the "Oromo activists" (para. 8), to claim that the present violent dispute was the creation of the then-government (EPRDF)-sponsored paramilitary force. This demonstrates that the article conducted numerous interviews with the Ethiopian government and with symbolic Oromo activists, which played a role in the manufacture of dominant discourses and knowledge about the conflict. On this foundation, it could be argued that the Oromo activists and the government perspective has a larger impact on how those news articles frame the ethno-political conflict, by offering them a platform to accelerate the situation by providing its readers credible evidence of the conflict stories.

6.4.1.2. *Oromo residents (victims) as sources of conflict stories*

Alongside the Oromo political officials, it was also observed that there were very few Oromo citizens and victims voiced, such as unnamed eyewitnesses, displaced persons, and survivors from the ethnic Oromo. Thus, the news articles served as an agent of the Oromo, to maintain their status quo. This could cast doubt on the trustworthiness of the evidence derived from these sources, as they do not necessarily provide news in a way that is fair and unrestricted. The following group of excerpts highlights such distorted sources:

- *Other Oromo displaced persons*
- *Fleeing Oromos*

- *Abdel Jabbar Ahmed, who escaped from Wachale*
- *Other dispossessed Oromos*

- *Ayub Abdullah, an Oromo day labourer who lived for 15 years in the Somali regional capital Jigjiga*
- *Survivors of the ethnic fighting*
- *Young woman*
- *Saada Youssef, from the Oromo ethnic group Oromo who fled Wachale*

- *Survivors of the clashes*
- *Other Oromo displaced persons*
- *A witness, who survived several shots and a cut on his ear*

For example, The Nation (August 14, 2018) ran under the headline:

"Ethiopian regional force 'kills 37' in Oromia region"

This quoted an Oromo man "who survived several shots and a cut on his ear, [and] said the paramilitary troops left him, thinking he was dead" (para. 3). This was intended to be read as the Ethiopian Somali regional paramilitary troops shooting an Oromo man several times and cutting his ear. Here, the Oromo victims had a considerable impact on the information gathered, forming evidentiary frameworks and views for the news articles.

In the same vein, an Africanews story (October 9, 2017) was headlined:

"Oromo families cry foul in recent conflict in Ethiopia's east"

This article quoted "Oromo displaced persons" (para. 20) to describe how Somali neighbors and friends had protected the Oromo when the conflict broke out, and that it was typically the Liyu (special) police unit in the Ethiopian Somali region which had been guilty of the nastiest abuses against the ethnic Oromo. The news article similarly cited "survivors of the clashes" (para.12) to accuse the federal government of suspending the deployment of the federal security forces to stop the cycle of assaults and retaliation, and to express the worry of the survivors that the conflict would result in a complete rupture between the two communities. This news article similarly quoted "Molu Wario, an Oromo who had fled violence in the vicinity of Moyle" (para. 13) as a source, who warned that all this might lead to ethnic cleansing in the neighborhood of Moyale, on the border with Kenya, since the land disputes had worsened and degenerated. In the article,

the Oromo man added that the land conflict had activated antagonism, and that relations would no longer be the same amid Oromo and Somalis. This shows how the Oromo victims and survivors have played a significant role as a data source for news discourse of the conflict.

All in all, more space was offered to Oromo sources than to Somalis, and this partiality may be mainly due to the bigoted use of sources, as Oromo leaders and victims were more likely to be cited in the newspapers. The stories are formed and conveyed through Oromo's lenses and beliefs', meaning that Oromo society controls the reproduction of the discourses of the ethno-political conflicts.

6.4.1.3. *News articles citing no sources*

Surprisingly enough, as pointed out in diagram 5.2; two news stories from the Jigjiga Herald did not cite any sources at all, which again can cast doubt on the trustworthiness of the news stories of the conflict. Their construction of the discourses of violence is based on guesses and hearsay, and is in line with the newspapers' or the anchors' veiled desires and ideologies. They set and reflect their own views and discourses of the violent conflict, which can easily mislead the readers by producing prejudiced thoughts and narratives of the ethno-political conflict.

Consider the following examples: The news story of Jigjiga Herald (July 15, 2018) entitled:

"Moyale Massacre: How did it All Began and Unfolded"

It did not refer to any sources to shape discourses of the conflict and interpret the events, simply mentioning that massacres were executed in Moyale, where the Oromo and Somalis live together, without citing any sources of information. It bolstered the arguments and perceptions of the newsmakers that may mislead the readers about the conflict.

The second news article is also from the Jigjiga Herald, (July 14, 2018) under the title:

"Moyale is bleeding. Again!"

It similarly did not quote any sources of information to generate discourses and report on the ethno-political conflict. Thus, the discourses of these news articles arose from the prejudiced attitudes and anecdotes of the writers or the editors themselves. The articles' discourses on the conflict were used to offer a false portrait of the conflicting events, adopting their own language without quoting any sources, and covering the conflict from their own organizational cultural lenses. Either covertly or overtly, the articles convey the political messages of their corporate owners and failed to provide a voice to voiceless Oromo and Somalis citizen and victims. This shows how the news articles also botch coverage of the ethno-political conflict, as they do not give voice to different persons and institutions on the ground.

All these bigoted sources of information craft the discourses of the conflict, which conform more to war journalism canons or principles. The articles do this by gathering information using a one-sided, skeptical approach, approaching only selected sources, and providing unreliable and unverifiable information, producing propaganda and extensive parody which are palpable characteristics in war journalism (Galtung, 1998b; Hansen *et al.,* 1994; Herman & Chomsky, 2010; Lee & Maslog, 2005; Ottosen, 1995). The coverage by the sampled newspapers is concentrated on the Oromo side of the clash, clearly favoring the Oromo over the Somalis. They cite Oromo power holders and victims, rather than using balanced sources from both ethnic groups, and from people who are in the conflict to assist the civilian populace. These could include UN humanitarian workers and religious leaders. Ideologically, the articles are therefore clearly on the side of the Oromo, acting act more as propaganda tools. This also shows that the newspapers failed to provide representative, fair and clear information about the conflict, seldom paying attention to alternative voices (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). As a result, the public is exposed to distorted or inaccurate information, which may be utilized to form positive attitudes and opinions towards the Oromo ethnic group. This control of information may kill opposing arguments, and narrow debates which could have reduced the conflict, and may instead fuel the violence and create more confrontation between the two ethnic groups.

6.4.2. *General framing strategies*

Having examined the sources quoted by the news articles, my third objective was to examine the generic framing strategies adhered to by the news articles. To do so, I looked for what was both absent and present in the texts. Thus far, the chapter has focused on the issues included or described in the news articles and how they were told. Yet, what is hidden in the texts? How does the exclusion and inclusion of facts serve the formation of a certain connotation and meaning? What is the most common generic frame practiced by the newspapers? What is the news-reporting frame used in these newspapers? According to Gross (2008) and Iyengar (1991), episodic vs. thematic approaches are commonly seen news frames. Accordingly, in this section of the analysis, I included four different episodic frames, and four different thematic frames. The episodic frames are: 1) human consequences; 2) attribution of responsibility; 3) conflict; and 4) human interest, while the thematic frames are: 1) prognostic; 2) diagnostic; 3) economic consequences; and 4) morality (Iyengar 1991; Semetko & Valkenburg 2000). Each newspaper was coded for the presence of these frames, and I provide examples from my data to illustrate each example.

Thus, in this study, I answer the question: was the reporting of the Somali-Oromo conflict sufficient? Findings from this study suggest a definite no. The articles did not go into details about the ethno-political conflict, and most of the episodic frames offered very little information concerning what was actually happening. As the diagram in Chapter 5 indicated, episodic frames were most common than thematic frames in reporting on the conflict, which might be undesirable as they hinder the creation of an informed citizenship (Iyengar, 1991), and could stop the general public from understanding the various causes and the broader consequences of the ethno-political conflict. The news sources in this section are: Ethiocritical.com, Tesfanews, Africanews, EritreaMadote, OromianEconomist.com, Business Daily, Addis Standard, The East African, Goobjoog, Jigjiga Herald, WardheerNews, Opride, Horn Affairs and Addis News.

6.4.2.1 Human and material consequences frames

As noted above, the articles predominantly discussed the conflict through a human consequences frame, highlighting human and material costs. Almost all the news articles described how the members of the two ethnic groups have been affected by the ethno-political conflict, concentrating on the negative costs. This shows that the news discourses were incredibly narrow and simplistic, which made it difficult for policy makers to promote long-term policies to address the violent conflict permanently. These frames focused mostly on the visual effects of the violence, highlighting wounds, killings, ousting, house demolitions and burning, and property damages, rather than the invisible impacts of the violence.

For example, two news articles of Addis Standard, which appeared on September 1, 2017 and May 27, 2018 respectively, were entitled:

"Another Heavy Death Toll from a Conflict in Eastern Ethiopia" and
"Fresh round of violence rocks Moyale town, leaving an unknown
number of causalities and fresh displacement in its wake"

These were dominated by a human consequences frame, as seen in "Heavy Death Toll" and "an unknown number of causalities and fresh displacement", which highlighted the human consequences of the conflict.

Tesfanews published a story on September 1, 2017, entitled:

"Renewed Somali 'Liyu Police' Attack in Oromia Left Scores
Dead, Homes Destroyed"

Here, one can view the conflict as a human and material threat. The headline illustrates the immediate harms of the conflict by describing "scores" of people dead, and many homes set ablaze and destroyed. Thus, these headlines used a human and material consequences frame, at the expense of other possible frames (i.e. the prognosis issues/remedies, long-term impact, moral issues, and diagnostic issues/causes of the conflict), which could have opened space for re-imagination and reinterpretation. The newspapers focus on the negative discourses, immediate suffering and horrific acts of violence, thereby hiding the more problematic and complex issues, like the political, social and economic stories that may cause the ethno-political conflict.

To put it more pointedly, the news articles gravitated towards the immediate victimization and destruction of materials, rather than discussing the broader patterns causing the ethno-political conflict. Across all the newspapers, the following discourses of the conflict were purposely excluded from texts, thereby restricting the viewpoints on offer to the audience (Fairclough, 1995b; Kress & Leeuwen, 2001):

- the broader and historical backgrounds of the conflict;
- the cultural damage faced by the two communities;
- the invisible impacts or psychological distress of the conflict;
- the possible remedies to the violence.

Such limited framing can mislead or distract the general public, and encourage the two ethnic bands to be involved in more violence, rather than less. The articles concentrated on discrete events, rather than pulling the camera back to cover the broader landscape of the ethno-political conflict, or searching for its institutional or social solution.

6.4.2.2 Attributing responsibility frame

Like the human consequences frame, attributing responsibility is also at the forefront of the reportage of the Jigjiga Herald, Oromian Economist.com, Tesfanews, Opride, Wardheernews, Africanews and Goobjoog, which focus on and describe which party had a hand in the ethno-political conflict, or was responsible for causing violence. The news articles attributed the causes of the conflicts to the former Ethiopian Government, certain individuals, groups, and media outlets, further suggesting that these culprits have the capability to solve it. This can be seen in the texts below:

- *Survivors of the clashes accuse the government of delaying the deployment of federal security forces to stem the cycle of attacks and retaliation*
- *Earlier reports had indicated that the Somali regional state was hesitating in apprehending suspects*
- *The Ethiopian military generals and leaders have planned, trained, and deployed the Somali special forces (Liyu Police)*

- *The Ethiopian government has never taken any action to resolve the issue*
- *The Ethiopian government did not offer any support to these displaced people*
- *The international community should know that ethnic cleansing is taking place in Oromia*
- *ONLF condemns and holds accountable the Ethiopian government for instigating this civil war between the Somali people and the Oromo people and at the same time not taking adequate measures to stop it*
- *ONLF calls upon all Somalis to unite and offer all possible support to their endangered people*
- *ONLF calls upon the AU, UN, and the international community to look seriously into the current state of Ethiopia and take measures to avert another Rwanda or Bosnia*
- *Neither the Ethiopian government nor Oromo Regional State has taken measures to stop the tragic killings of innocent*

Somalis and to avoid large-scale confrontations between Somalis and Oromos
- *ONLF calls upon the Prime Minister and the Oromo Regional state to secure the safety and security of the border areas and protect defenceless civilians*
- *One of the central roles of a government, any government, is to ensure the protection of its people. But, in this case, the regime in Addis Ababa created the monster that has wreaked havoc along the border with Oromia for nearly a decade. By turning a blind eye to repeated violations and reports of atrocities committed by Liyu police, the government in Addis Ababa is directly responsible for the escalation of tensions and loss of lives*
- *The Federal government is also in a severe dereliction of duty for not doing enough to stop this recurring border violence*
- *The federal government is responsible for this, whether by omission or command*

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- *They should have already put in place a lasting mechanism to avoid these recurring and calamitous border violence against innocent civilians*
- *Opposition media outlets like Opride, OMN as well as OBN, and Addisu Arega Kitessa are all working in tandem to cause mayhem*
- *Far from the mitigating presence one might expect it to be, Addis Ababa has historically sought to exploit the dispute to serve political needs and can arguably be blamed for exacerbating tensions between the two groups*

- *ONLF and OLF holds the Ethiopian government and its ruling Coalition Parties as solely responsible*
- *The federal government turned a blind eye to the conflict*

A Borkerna (September 13, 2017) article was headlined:

"Ethnic conflict raging southern Ethiopia"

This used some blaming discourses like:

Ethiopia has become a recipe for a potentially unending intra-ethnic conflict. Not only is the Federal structure ethnic based but also the regime in power employ divisive rhetoric that rather sounds from an archaic "divide and rule" colonial Africa era (para. 6).

To clarify, the news article criticized both the ethnic-based federal structure that was introduced by the then-governing EPRDF regime, and their divisive rhetoric that to some extent repeats the "divide and rule" tactics used by colonial powers in Africa.

Similar discourse can be found in paragraph 7 of the Borkena article, that tried to blame the ethno-political conflict on the TPLF, using twisted and racist discourse like:

> "Ethiopia has been under minority ethno-supermacist regime of
> Tigray People's Liberation Front for well over two decades now"
> (para.7)

The article also placed blame on the TPLF for the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict, and other conflicts in the country. This episodic framing of the ethno-political conflict causes less ascription of accountability to individual citizens, and more to national and TPLF ethnicity-based politics.

Similarly, Wardheernews (December 21, 2017) ran a story titled:

> "Orchestrated massacres of Somalis in Oromia is tantamount to an ethnic
> cleansing"

This laid the blame on Oromo media outlets, such as Opride, OMN, and OBN, and on political officials, for working together to cause turmoil in the region:

> "Opposition media outlets like OPride, OMN, OBN and [the then
> Head of Communication Bureau], are all working in tandem to cause
> mayhem" (para.11).

Thus, the top Oromo officials and Oromo media were blamed for creating havoc in the two regions of the country, rather than the blame being placed on both ethnic groups.

Likewise, the Oromian Economist.com article (December 21, 2017) was titled:

> "ONLF and OLF Holds the Ethiopian government and its
> ruling Coalition Parties as solely responsible for the mass
> killings of Oromo and Somali peoples"

This employed an attributing responsibility frame to place the then-governing EPRDF, and its coalition parties (OPDO, TPLF, ANDM and SEPDF) as solely accountable for the killings of Somali and Oromo peoples. The attribution of responsibility frame, described by Semetko &Valkenburg (2000), is characterized by placing greater significance on the acts of the then-government and creating a greater appeal for urgency. In all the discourses surrounding the conflict, the attribution of responsibility frame is the most

common type used to provide readers with more understanding about which party or body is to blame, for both instigating the violence, but also for failing to stop it.

6.4.2.3. Conflict frame

The conflict frame was also widely used in the discourses I identified. This is evidenced by the widespread coverage of the disagreement between the elites/political officials of the two regions, who blame each other for starting the conflict. The news articles show a need to simplify the ethno-political conflict so that acts of evil are attributed to one ethnic group or person, thereby ignoring the wrongs carried out by the opposing ethnic group. The news articles reported that the two political officials of the Oromo and Somalis blame each other for instigating trouble, and for the using turmoil for shadowy political ends or political gain, as repeatedly pronounced in the following segments:

- *While protests subsided, a war of words began between the spokespersons of the regions. Oromia blamed the Special police of the Somali region, while the latter accused senior officials of the former*

- *Somali highlight an incident in 'Awaday', a locality in the Oromia region where, according to them, Oromo killed 18 Somali traders selling khat, a popular euphoria plant in Ethiopia. But Oromo who fled Wachale reported to the AFP that the Somali who had driven them from their homes, armed with knives and firearms, had*

explicitly referred to the alleged attack on Awaday

- *Omer has accused Oromia regional officials of not preventing the killings. Oromia regional spokesman Addisu Arega called the accusations "shameful" and said in a Facebook post Thursday that the fighting was sparked when three Oromos were killed by the Somali region's special police earlier this month*

- *Some officials in Oromiya said it was sparked by the killing of a local district head and raids by a paramilitary force from the Somali region. Officials from the*

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Somali region denied those claims

- *The Oromo and Somali leaders accused each other of committing atrocities*
- *The two states have seen sporadic episodes of clashes and*

raids along the common border for more than a decade

- *The rival ethnic groups have accused each other of links to terrorism*
- *The two sides are now accusing each other of killing civilians and lying to the media*

Another example is an article taken from Africanews (October 9, 2017), entitled:

"Oromo families cry foul in the recent conflict in Ethiopia's east"

This article used accusation and counter-accusation discourses to explain the ethno-political violence, with the leaders of the two regions blaming each other for heinous killings:

> The Oromo and Somali leaders accused each other of committing atrocities. Somali highlight an incident in "Awaday", a locality in the Oromia region where, according to them, Oromo killed 18 Somali traders selling "khat", Oromo, who fled "Wachale", reported to the AFP that the Somali who had driven them from their homes, armed with knives and firearms, had explicitly referred to the alleged attack on "Awaday" (para. 18, 19, 20).

Here, the news article showed the two sides accusing each other of killing citizens, but also absolving the officials of any responsibility for the crime. For example, the article noted that the Somalis accused the Oromo of killing 18 Somali traders who were selling "khat" in Awaday, but also described gun and knife-toting Somalis rebels uprooting the Oromo who lived in the Wachale region. This framing hides the involvement of the regimes or other civic institutions, so that they cannot be held responsible for solving it.

On September 17, 2017, an article appeared on News24, titled:

"Ethiopia sending troops to the region of deadly ethnic clashes"

Again, the focus was on the claims and counterclaims because the then-presidents of both the Oromia and Somali regional states:

> Omer [then-President of Somali region] has accused Oromia regional officials of not preventing the killings … Oromia Regional spokesman [then-head of Communication Bureau] called the accusations shameful. "He said in a Facebook post Thursday that the fighting was sparked when three Oromos were killed by the Somali region's special police earlier this month" (para. 4 and 5).

In this way, the newspaper described how the then-president of the Ethiopian Somali Regional State (Omer) had blamed Oromia regional officials for not averting or stopping the killings of Somalis in Aweday, Oromia Regional State, 500 kilometers from Addis-Ababa. On the flip side, the article also quotes the then-spokesman of the Oromia Regional State, who claimed that the fighting was sparked when three Oromo were murdered by the Somali region's special police.

In brief, the news articles show the two sides blaming each other for the violence, and attempting to defend themselves against reproach or criticism.

6.4.2.4 Human-interest frame

Albeit less visible, some newspapers also used the human-interest frame when reporting on the Oromo-Somali conflict, to provide an emotional slant. Such a frame was mostly adopted to draw attention to the impacts of events on citizens, such as the anguish of people during events, and their attempts to reconstruct their lives (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The news articles emotionalize and dramatize the discourses so as to capture and retain the audience's interest, attempting to generate feelings of benevolence, compassion, sympathy and empathy among readers. This can be seen in the following extracts:

- *The Oromia Regional State has already begun implementing its rehabilitation program for 86,000 people with a plan to settle them across 12 towns*

- *To address gaps in assistance, close to $29 million is required from a donor. Out of this, $15 million is to provide water trucking to some 700,000 people*

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- *The federal government has allocated half a billion birr to rehabilitate close to 500,000*   *displaced people in the two regions*

For example, Tesfanews (February 3, 2018) ran a story headlined:

"UN Says One Million Ethiopians Displaced Due to Oromia-Somali Conflict"

This story included emotional items like the displacement of people due to the conflict, the allocated budget for displaced people, and the need for millions of dollars in assistance. In this manner, the news article focused on the humanitarian issues of displacement and on the efforts by the then-government of Ethiopia to rebuild the lives of those displaced.

The human-interest frame was also vividly shown in an article in The East African (November 26, 2017), titled:

"Ethiopia arrests 100 suspects over ethnic clashes".

This described how:

"Three other regions in Ethiopia had donated 30 million birrs ($1 million) to assist people displaced by the crisis"

The article explains that three other regional states of Ethiopia had given $1 million to help people displaced by the Oromo-Somali crises, highlighting that the central government had not assisted to the same extent. This human-interest frame focused on the dilemmas of the displaced victims of the violence, reporting on efforts to address and tackle the immediate humanitarian crisis caused by the conflict, rather than raising awareness of the human rights violations occurring.

6.4.2.5. Economic consequences frame

Even though an economic impact frame, which is an example of thematic frame, is not dominant in the news media sampled for this study, the frame was clearly present in three news articles, which portrayed the story of the violence in terms of the economic

consequences on the region. The Business Daily and Ethiopian Reporter articles tended to illustrate the positive economic effects of the ethno-political conflict in Kenya, alongside its negative economic consequence in Ethiopia, Somali regional state and Greater Somaliland. The third news article, in Africannews, explained the impacts of the ethno-political conflict on the economic life of an individual Oromo woman. This discourse of is shown in the extracts below:

- *I've saved money there for 20 years and lost everything in one day. Why will I go back? I have nothing left there, lost in one day*
- *Boom for Kenyan miraa traders; shortage hits Somaliland*
- *Ethnic conflict has cut off transport from the miraa growing areas; the conflict had affected business in eastern Ethiopia*
- *Traders and consumers in Somaliland protested over the shortage of the herb*
- *Kenyan miraa traders are cashing in on a shortage in Somaliland following disruption of the business by a conflict in Ethiopia's Oromia and Somali regions*
- *Ethiopia supplies most of the khat consumed in Hargesia, Somaliland and Djibouti but a recent ethnic conflict has cut off transport from the miraa growing areas*
- *Nyambene Miraa Traders Association spokesman Kimathi Munjuri said they have been delivering 12 tonnes of khat to Hargeisa from last week. He said they entered the market after traders and consumers in Somaliland protested over shortage of the herb that is highly prized in the region*
- *"The miraa market in Somaliland is worth about Sh40 billion which the Meru farmers should share in," the former governor said. He had sought to persuade the government of Somaliland to remove obstacles that have hindered the export of miraa to Hargeisa*
- *The displacement has also brought a negative impact on khat trade to Somali Regional State as well as Somaliland.*

Unconfirmed reports say, following the incident, Somaliland began to import khat from Kenya and importation from Ethiopia is temporarily suspended

- *In Harar, the price of khat from Aweday, a major source of the mild narcotic to Somali Regional State, has declined. The decline of price is attributed to the excessive supply of khat in Harar.*

- *The displacement has also brought a negative impact on khat trade to Somali Regional State as well as Somaliland.*

- *Following the incident Somaliland began to import khat from Kenya and importation from Ethiopia is temporarily suspended*

- *Those who are escaping from Jigjiga are forced to pay up to 500 birr to drive to Harar. Normally, the tariff is 50 birr.*

- *He was waiting for a minibus to Adama. Given his current financial status, Jelan had to beg travelers to donate money so that he can cover his transport cost*

- *The mass exodus has significantly affected economic as well as social status of many who left their properties*

- *"I lived in Jigjga for the past 20 years," an individual in his 50s said*

- *He used to have his own drug store, car, and a house in Jigjiga*

The Business Daily article (September 19, 2017) was entitled:

"Boom for Kenyan 'miraa' traders as shortage hits Somaliland"

It was dominated by economic consequences frames:

"Kenyan 'miraa' traders are cashing in on a shortage in Somaliland following disruption of the business by a conflict in Ethiopia's Oromia and Somali regions" (para.1); "Boom for Kenyan 'miraa' traders"; "shortage hits Somaliland" and "disruption of the business by a conflict in Ethiopia's Oromia and Somali regions."

This was intended to display that the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict has clear financial implications on the region, especially on the three countries of east Africa (Kenya, Ethiopia and Somaliland). It describes the financial losses for Ethiopia and Somaliland, and colossal economic profits for Kenya, as the Kenyan "miraa" traders benefited from the shortage of "khat" supply in Somaliland due to the conflict in South-Eastern Ethiopia. Here, the ethno-political conflict impacted the Kenyan economy positively, mainly owing to the unanticipated transport blockage between the khat-growing areas of eastern Ethiopia and the roads to Somaliland (Hargeisa, the capital city of Somaliland) and to Kenya.

In a similar vein, the news article taken from the Ethiopian Reporter (September 30, 2017) was titled:

"Bleaker than ever"

This explicitly portrayed the ethno-political conflict's economic effects in the region:

The displacement has also brought a negative impact on khat trade to Somali Regional State as well as Somaliland. Unconfirmed reports say, following the incident, Somaliland began to import khat from Kenya and importation from Ethiopia is temporarily suspended. In Harar, The Reporter observed that the price of khat from Aweday, a major source of the mild narcotic to Somali Regional State, has declined. The decline of price is attributed to the excessive supply of khat in Harar (para.71 and 72).

In other words, the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict has had a negative impact on khat trade to Somali Regional State and Somaliland, as its import from Oromia Region was suspended due to the incident. This created a huge opportunity for the Kenyan khat traders, as

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Somaliland began to import it when importation from Ethiopia was on hold. Along with this, the suspension of the export of khat from Aweday to Somali Regional State and Greater Somaliland lead to a decline of the price of khat in Harar in Oromia, as they were left with an excessive supply.

An article in The Reporter also stated that the ethno-political conflict has significantly affected the social and economic status of many individual ethnic Oromo, who left their properties in the Somali region of Ethiopia:

> When The Reporter met Jelan, he was waiting for a minibus to Adama. Given his current financial status, Jelan had to beg travelers to donate money so that he can cover his transport cost. The mass exodus has significantly affected economic as well as social status of many who left their properties. "I lived in Jigjga for the past 20 years," an individual in his 50s said. He used to have his own drug store, car, and a house in Jigjiga (para. 67, 68, 69 and 70).

Similar to the stories in Business Daily and the Ethiopian reporter, a story for Africanews (9 October, 2017) was headlined:

> "Oromo families cry foul in the recent conflict in Ethiopia's East"

This described the ethno-political conflict as having an economic impact on the life of an Oromo woman:

> I've saved money there for 20 years and lost everything in one day. Why will I go back? I have nothing left, everything lost in one day (para. 4, 12, 23).

Thus, these three online articles conveyed the far-reaching economic consequences of the conflict. Along with this, they may have enabled readers to understand how government and other public institutions should be accountable for solving the issues at a policy level.

In summary, the newspapers articles use simplistic clarification of the conflict that foreclose analysis of the contributing social, economic and political factors, thereby preventing the readers from gaining a real understanding of the situation. Most of the selected articles used digestible content or episodic frames, rather than indigestible or thematic frames; thus, the articles are tilted more towards war reportage, instead of coverage that could help to resolve the conflict. Less effort was made to frame the conflict in reconciliatory terms, such as using a broader

perspective, as the four episodic frames took center stage. The newspapers approached the readers as consumers (news you can use) instead of as citizens, preferring to bolster hatred between the conflicted parties, and ignoring the broader context and environment of the conflicts. The main reason for failing to use the morality, prognosis, diagnostic and economic consequences frames, which would support cooperation and peaceful resolution of the conflict, is that they may be less attractive to readers. In contrast, episodic frames are believed to attract readers' attention (Galtung, 1998b; McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000).

Having analyzed the gathered data of the study in this chapter, the next chapter (Chapter 7) will interpret and theorizes the results/finding of the study

CHAPTER SEVEN: INTERPRETING THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

As elucidated previously, interpreting of data begins to occur after presenting the findings by coding and categorization of raw data. So, having arranged and organized the mounds of the raw data to present an objective and accurate account of the findings of this research (Chapter 5 and 6), now I am ready to go on to the last step of the interpreting process to scrutinize my findings/results critically in order to produce meaningful and credible interpretations and synthesizes of those results based on Galtung's War and Peace journalism theory and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that the thesis finds its central theoretical orientation and its central methodological orientation on, respectively. In this interpretation and rival explanations chapter, I moved from the objective-to-the subjective. My opinion and voice, in combination with the literature take center stage. This is where the contribution to knowledge will be demonstrated based on the aim of the study which is concerned with 3 issues: (1) analysis of textual frames in African regional and Ethiopian national news articles; (2) examination of sources used in the news articles and (3) identification of frames used by the selected newspapers.

7.1. Interpreting the results of the textual discourses

In this first stage, congruent with the first research objective, I paid to interpret the finding of the textual analysis of the study.

7.1.1 Demonizing one side (the Somali ethnic group)

One of the most fascinating findings of the research revealed that the conflict related discourses are mainly constructed and uncover in quite classical ways that the news articles used dehumanizing narratives against the Somalis using demonizing labels such as "notorious", "controversial", "militiamen", "militant group", "bandits", "gangs", "anarchy", "Surrogate" and "Paramilitary" instead of call the Somalis by their name they give themselves, or instead of provide more precise descriptions. Here, the news articles blatantly dehumanize the Somalis that may result in media readers to create stereotypes and negative images against the Somalis and

Somali region. One example that the Somalis being covered as "paramilitary" group in the region is in the article headlined "Ethnic strife in Ethiopia threatens a key U.S. ally" from the "Eritrea Madot". This article states that the Somali paramilitary force, paramilitary special police and gangs destabilize the political and social order of the Oromia and Somali regional states that in turn indicate as the news articles work to demonize the Somalis and treat them unfairly using discriminatory and tilted practices.

Surprisingly, it is also found that the news articles have been manipulated to escalate the ethno-political conflict by following primordial expressions of the conflict and irresponsible portrayal. In this regard, the different, disparate news articles appeared to use terms like "orchestrated by", "began when", "first provoked by", "organized and coordinated in", "well-researched and planned war for long time", "aggravated by", "shooting was started by", "clashes happened after incursions by", "orchestrated the conflict in" and "opening fire on" to convey the Somalis to audiences as planners, coordinators, attackers and aggravators of the Oromo-Somali conflict. An example of the Somalis being stereotyped as a designers, instigators and aggravators was in article "Ethiopian regional force 'kills 37' in Oromia region" from Nation. The news articles used devastating form of prejudice to represent the Somalis as intruders and aggravators of the conflict. In other words, the article framed the conflict as one instigated by the Somalis and as heavy handed vengeance against the Oromo people.

Again, what I did find is that some of the news articles' tropes are rooted in classic conflict frames using war rhetoric that could enlarge the violence of the two opposing sides. The news articles tended to use single-sided short phrases such as "raids and cross-border attacks", "incursions into", "incursions by", "cross-border attacks", and "begun mounting attacks" to describe the Somalis as a group of hardened attackers and intruders. An example of the Somalis being labeled as intruders, attackers and raiders of the Oromia regional state was in the news article "Another Heavy Death Toll from a Conflict in Eastern Ethiopia" from Addis Standard. This article pays attention on the infiltrate, raids, cross-border attacks and incursions of the Somalis into the adjacent Oromia regional state while uncovering the action of the Oromo in the conflict.The conflict has almost being depicted as Somali violence against the Oromo faction.

In my fourth text analysis, the result also demonstrated as the news articles practice "un-African" discourses and professionally unhealthy (Kasoma, 1996) using divisive packages of catchphrases such as "throwing stones at us", "hurled objects", "stole the Oromos' cell phones",

"destabilize Oromia", "attacks inside Oromia" and "attacked the Oromos" that in turn indicate as the news articles are in war-oriented discourse that poses a threat for responsible journalism by perpetuating hostile and gloomy tones. The articles used these conflict-ridden packages of catchphrases to embody the Somalis as executed immoral actions during the conflict against the Oromo people. For instance, in "Eritrea Madote" article headlined "Ethnic strife in Ethiopia threatens a key U.S. ally" the Somalis illuminated as they committed calamitous actions such as sabotaging of the Oromo objects, insulting the Oromo while they were in itinerant and take the Oromo's phones.

All in all, the news articles, consciously or not, wanted the readers to digest the story of the Somalis in negative images. Hate campaigns and misogyny propaganda are constructed and reported in the conflict against the Somalis ethnic group by casting Somalis as perpetrators of the violence, not the victims. This shows that the news stories blame to Somali Special Forces by limiting the blame to the Oromo Special Forces that can added fuel to the already disaffection between the two ethnic factions.

7.1.2 Victimizing one side (the Oromo ethnic group)

In contrast to the above flawed and negative discourses, in my fifth group of text analysis, the finding confirmed as the news articles used victimizing expressions such as "massacred", "heinous killings", "killings our men", "the raping of our girls" and the "lootings of our cattle", "beating", "arresting", "arbitrary arrest", "mass eviction", "sporadic killings", "genocide", "ethnic cleansing", "night time raids", abductions of teenage boys" and "looting properties" that only tell the readers what has been done for the Oromo people by the Somalis, instead of reporting and suggesting on what can be done for any solution. The news articles are simply operated to legitimate the Oromo's victimizations during the disputing events by conveying as the rival ethnic Somalis are quality of genocidal intent that could limits and disempowering the options for peace. They give plenty of spaces to the situation of Oromo people affected by the conflict. This confirms that the Somalis' suffering appeared to be a non-priority for the media and their depiction is marked by prejudices. The media attention stressed on the plight of Oromo, their impact on the ethnic Somali has been nearly muted. This in turn illustrate that the conflict

reporting is deeply concerned in European reporting approaches that they have inclination to reproduce damaging discourses about Africa (Nothias, 2020). The media have closely duplicated the professional norms and ethics of the United States a country whose news media have been tantamount with the world's media. They follow the Western journalism standards which are not world journalism standards (Kasoma, 1996). An example of the Oromo being portrayed as victims was in Oromian Economist article "Ethiopian government's attempt to blame the victims [the Oromo people] unravels TPLF's war plans on Oromo people". This news story lamented as the Oromo ethnic group were massacred, arbitrarily arrested, sporadically killed, beat, their girls were raped, their cattle and properties were looted, arrested, massively evicted, ethnically cleansed and their teenage boys were abducted. This exemplifies that, the victimization of the Oromo is portrayed by the news articles as more newsworthy. The only brutality acts towards the Oromo victims are reported by the news stories. This infers that the brutality and killings that may done by the Oromo against the Somalis are entirely ignored and missed.

Finally in my sixth grouping of text analysis, what I found is that the news articles besides surreptitiously used victimizing expressions that prove as the news articles tends to legitimate the Oromo's victimizations in the conflict by reporting as the ethnic Somalis are quality of criminal actions. Some of the victimizing expressions used to signify the Oromo as maimed and dislocated of the Somalis aggression are "Oromos have been expelled", "Oromos were displaced", "homes were burned down", "nearly 30 schools remain closed", "learning and teaching process has been disrupted", "desperate Oromos", "left their dwellings" , Oromos alone have fled", "Oromos have been displaced", "Oromos have been expelled", "evacuate inhabitants of the Oromo ethnic group", "Oromo homes destroyed", "wounded", "livestock stolen", "flocking from the Somali region", "evictees on board", "been irritated", "perplexed after being evicted", "merchants fleeing Jijiga", "illegally displaced", "Oromos were either killed, wounded, their homes and properties were destroyed, or displaced". This displays that the news articles intentionally or unconsciously promoting the victimization of the ethnic Oromo. Oromo's victimization is regarded as newsworthy. The media relentless portrayed the conflict as one of the aggressive Somalis, albeit used or manipulated by the Oromo officials and ordinary Oromo citizens. For instance, in the news article headlined "Oromos worst affected by Ethiopia's inter-ethnic clashes" from Africanews' news story, the Oromo ethnic group is characterized as illegally evacuated, flocked, evicted, irritated and perplexed ethnic group by the Somalis

aggression. Here, the victims of the Somali faction by the Oromo side remains largely out of the news cycle. It is almost not considered as news. This in turn indicate as the news articles are oriented toward of traditional conflict coverage model or colonial practice which has been criticized for accentuating violence rather than de-escalating conflict that occurred amid the two opposing sides (Galtung, 2002).

This result of the analysis support Galtung's (2010) analogous study on "Reporting Conflict: New directions in peace journalism" that attest to this research. According to this study, the media's handling of 9/11 and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq highlight the one-sided reporting that war journalism creates. The violence are seen as good vs. evil and criminal vs. victim, instead of reporting it in a neutral and unbiased manner by following peace journalism to report the conflict like the "Korean War" and the "NATO" bombing of Kosovo to ignite a more constructive people's debate. The discourses on the ethno-political violence followed primordial reporting approach and the new articles' interest in covering news about peaceful violence resolution is limited that could create further divisions between the two ethnic groups; the articles can be explained as a journalism of revenge, dislike and hatred against Somali people in the discourses. They all skewed in favor of the Oromo. They used consistent subtexts of Somali's victimization of Oromo. This indicate that there was no media shed tears and cry for the Somalis while two exceptions, from Wardheer news and Goobjoog with the headlines: "The Orchestrated massacres of Somalis in Oromia are tantamount to ethnic cleansing" and "ONLF Press Release on the Oromo Massacre of Somali civilians." was re-ported a contradictory explication of the conflict, tending more towards forgive the Somalis, and criminalizing the Oromo ethnic group. This bifurcation by and large affects the framing of the news as the news articles owners have self-made agendas to the framing of news in their news articles. In other words, these online newspapers produced in these regional countries do not naturally frame the news of the Oromo-Somali ethno-political violence for their veiled political or economic reasons and interests. Their report inclined to make money and/or political capital that have largely oblivious effect on the two ethnic groups. Hence, this stereotyped and one side report specified that the media dramatize the horrors of ethno-political conflict to capitalize the two warring sides' appetite for violence by jostling the two warring sides to take tit for tat actions against each other. This as well confirms that the news articles position themselves to the international media and intensely implicated in hegemonic Eurocentric practices where the conflict is

expressed through Anglo-European and Anglo-American journalistic cannons and normative values (Hoagland, 2020), instead of avoiding the use of stereotypes and practicing peace-sensitive journalism that resonate with Afrocentric approaches advocated by scholars (Banda, 2008; Kasoma, 1996; Nyamnjoh, 2005). The news articles failed to provide discourses about ways of violence resolution during the conflict and to uphold the original core news values of news media such as fairness, balance, accuracy, localization, ground rules and responsible conduct that could be more viable approach to decolonize the conflict reporting in the postcolonial societies.

7.2. Interpreting the findings of the "discourse practices" of the news stories

In this section, I will interpret the results of the sources quoted in news articles, and the general generic frames applied by the selected news stories.

7.2.1 Interpreting the findings of the sources in use by the news articles

In my second objective of this research, to analyze the sources of evidence cited in the regional and national news stories, the findings also designated that the media relies on a slanted and restricted number of sources to frame and uncover the conflict. The stories are conveyed with the Oromo political elite sources that favored over the persons who have experienced the ethno-political violence and its violent consequences which raise the risks of circular coverage and spreading misinformation and disinformation about the ethno-political violence. This imply that the news articles are manipulated in a war-oriented approach which they used only the political elites' news frames like "the Oromia regional state", "Oromia regional state bureau head", "communication head of the Oromia regional state". "the Oromia Regional state administrative & security bureau", "The town's communication office", "district officials", "head of the Oromia government communication affairs office", "Online Oromo activists", "Officials from the Oromia regional state". Here, the Somali elites' voices are entirely excluded from the narratives of the conflict. This fixation on Oromo power holders as sources of discourses emptied discourses of their humanistic touch as the news articles adopted a zero sum game approach resulting in suffocation of the peoples' voices. For instance, in "Tesfanews" article entitled "Ethnic Violence Pushes Ethiopia to the Brink of Security Crisis" the news report clearly disseminates the head of the Oromia region communication bureau's message to the public. The

Oromia region communication bureau's voice is reported by the news article and affects what subjects the news stories consumers contemplate, such as displaying hostility towards the Somalis. This as well shows that the Oromo political elites are used in warmongering and in raising the conflict.

The findings also signify as the news articles are listing only to the Oromo victims' voice (such as IDPs' voice) and the Oromo survivors of the ethno-political violence such as "Oromo displaced persons", "fleeing Oromos", "Abdel Jabbar Ahmed, who escaped from Wachale", "other dispossessed Oromos", "yub Abdullah, an Oromo day labourer who lived for 15 years in the Somali regional capital Jigjiga", "Survivors of the ethnic fighting", "Young woman Saada Youssef, from the Oromo ethnic group Oromo who fled Wachale", "Survivors of the clashes", "Other Oromo displaced persons", "a witness, who survived several shots and a cut on his ear" by overlooking the Somali victims' news frames of the violence. They give voice only to the Oromo persons that directly affected by the violence.

 One example is a reporting of the conflict in a news articles headlined "Oromo families cry foul in recent conflict in Ethiopia's east" of "Africanews" overly depend on the Oromo sufferers like "Molu Wario, an Oromo who had fled violence in the vicinity of Moyle" are used as eye-witnesses to account the conflict. This implies that the Somalis remain without any chance to voice their side of the news story as the news articles rely on one-side sources and the depiction of the conflict is left in the hands of the quoted sources. This neglects the countering voices that may come from Somalis side. The media were totally favoured to the Oromo voices. This monopoly to determine the news agendas to the one-side voices can result in the domination of war journalism approaches as the news articles present skewed viewpoints of the disputing events.

Amazingly enough, the results also signify that some news stories citing no sources either from Somali side or from the Oromo side. Their framing of the discourses of the violence is based on flimsiest hearsay and guesses. The story of the conflict is based on no source at all. This indicates that the coverage of the violence is removed from the real scene of action with no accounts from witnesses or observers on the ground. The news articles set and stimulate their own views and concerns of the conflict, which may easily mislead the news consumers. They are simply insensible agitators concerned with capitalize on their profits and disseminate their

political agendas. For instance, in a news article headlined "Moyale Massacre: How did it All Began and Unfolded" of "Jigjiga Herald" do not rely on any sources to illustrate the violence. The news story just reports the ethno-political conflict to fulfill its so-hidden agenda, policies and ideologies using skewed sources. This again is evidence that the news articles lean towards of war journalism and failed to go outside Western hegemonic perspectives (American centric and Eurocentric styles) that could unfold further violence amid the two warring sides.

This finding support Galtung's (1998) comparable research on "Peace journalism: What, why, who, how, when, where" which scrutinized the two online news media (namely, kompas and republika) operated as a mouthpiece for elites interests, instead of siding with the society interests. The media used limited and biased sources of clue to report Israel-Palestine conflict (Herman & Chomsky, 2008). Consistent with this study, the media tended to use a low-road journalism approach by serving as a mouthpiece for one-side interests. The results designate that the elits play a very significant role in the process of news gathering and news making. The news articles lend the elites as their own ears and eyes, meaning that they entirely biased towards their own perspective and standing with their voice failing to include the voices of individuals and different organizations to provide a balanced narrative. The news stories retain/outsource people's voice and information. This biased source can risk eyewitness of the various actors participating during the conflict events that could in turn distort the reality. This also indicates a failure on the part of the news media to attempt to achieve meaningful conflict resolution by using trustful, honest, credible independent sources, and voicing the perspectives of both ethnic groups involved. They simply acted as a platform for extreme ethnic nationalists to propagate and profiteer their agenda, to fuel hatred and exacerbating the existing ethno-political skirmishes by furtively released disinformation, instead of promoting harmony and peace through accurate, balanced and diverse sources. The newspapers therefore lean to be oriented toward colonial/imperial hegemonic practice which has been criticized for speeding up violence through using prejudiced sources of information (Galtung, 2002) rather than revere and canonize their own way of journalistic performance and styles suggested by Christians *et al*.(1987:17-19).

7.2.2 Interpreting the results of the generic frames employed by the news stories

Additionally, in trying to address the third objective of my study, to analyze the generic frames applied by the selected news stories, the finding illuminates as the news articles describe the

conflict in a circumscribed narrow perspective on the causes and history of the ethno-political conflict. This signify that the news articles operated in a war oriented approach which they able to cover the conflict from an episodic point of view or framings (i.e. consequences, blaming, human-interest, and conflict) frames for the ethno-political conflict rather than covering the conflict from the thematic messages (such as prognostic, moral, economic, and diagnostic framings) which open space for engagement with conversations for conflict resolutions and dialogues, were completely excluded from the discourses of the conflicting events. The news articles emphasize more on exposing violent acts and horrific narratives that limit understanding of the violence in broader way. They failed to explore and accentuate the underlying factors contributing to the violence, or to present alternative perspectives which could assist in curbing violence and ethnic clashes between the two ethnic factions. This also specifies that the news articles portray the ethno-political violence as spontaneous, albeit it is a result of a longer sequences of political and historical actions, meaning that concentration on violence and dramas mask the complexities of the ethno-political violence (Stremlau & Monroe, 2009).Therefore, viewing the violence as unplanned, accidental and rampant feeds on a simplistic moral reason which harks back to a classical colonial domination/hegemonies whereby the world is describe as a binary of modern and pre-modern, given the inadequacies of the conflict accounts to offer plausible historical elucidation of media agency in postcolonial conflicts (Mamdani,2003). In these circumstances and tones, the news articles are weaponised for the news articles agendas and played host to media practices which normalizes Eurocentric and America centric, decontextualised discourses of conflict predicated on war journalism approach whereby violence is constructed as victims and aggressors and has no or little historical perspective or background (Ting Lee, 2010). This negligence may be owing to the result of a numbers of factors counting the political ideology of the individual reporters, the attention to frame sponsorships' veiled interests and media agendas (Carragee & Roefs, 2004).

An example of the ethno-political conflict being depicted in an episodic frame was in the news article "Fresh round of violence rocks Moyale town, leaving an unknown number of causalities and fresh displacement in its wake" of Addis Standard. In case of this news article only the direct human and material consequences of the ethno-political conflict, which tinted the negative consequences of the valence without mentioning the greater amount of context and historical

backgrounds of the violence, the cultural obliteration faced by the two communities, the unseen impacts or psychological suffering of the conflict, the possible medicine to the violence.

This finding corroborated Lynch and Galtung's (2010) similar research on "Reporting Conflict: New directions in peace journalism" which revealed that the majority of news discourses were purely episodic. The media's representation of the 9/11 and the violence in Afghanistan and Iraq reporting in a shallow way that war journalism generate. The violence are constructed and reported in a narrow way, instead of reporting it in a broader approach like the "Korean War" and the "NATO" bombing of "Kosovo" to light a more positive and helpful public debate.

The finding of this research also confirms Iyengar's (1991) parallel study on "Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues". In conjunction with this research, the media represent the political issue in USA using episodic framing that reveals the media play a lapdog role, instead of playing a watchdog role. The media report the issue in a narrow way that war journalism produced. Political issues are constructed and reported in a constricted way and the news discourses emphasis on specific, often immediate events without reference to historical context, greater consequences, instead of covering it in a broader approach to reflect a more optimistic and supportive public debate for its solution.

In general, my findings reveal that all the news articles have steered to an acceleration of the ethno-political conflict and were hegemonic in nature, aligning with low road journalism. The conflict coverage is totally war oriented with the politicization and ethnicization of the conflicting events. This signifies that the news articles are more money and power-centered profession rather than a society-centered (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). The reporting is characterized by an agitation and sensationalism approach to the conflict.The news articles were heavily biased, with hegemonic discourses of the conflict, explaining it using simplistic frames, dramatized texts, and limited and unfair sources of evidence, thereby favoring violence over non-violent options, undermining the hope for conflict resolution and de-escalation (Galtung, 1998). This in turn specifies that the African regional and Ethiopian national news articles did not shift away from imperial way of thinking and colonial mind sets (they are American centric and Eurocentric) which they produce racist stereotypical rhetoric about Africa (Nothias, 2020). In other words, the reporting of the ethno-political violence of the two ethnic groups is positioned

within ongoing tropes of coloniality entrenched in institutional, structural, and normative professional journalistic tropes (Chari, 2021).

Having interpreted the results of the study in this chapter, the next chapter (Chapter 8) will provide a conclusion with recommendations and limitations arising from the study, as well as the contribution of this dissertation to new knowledge in the field of sociology.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Introduction

This concluding chapter summarizes the dissertation's key findings on the media discourses reflected by the national (Ethiopian) and regional (African) newspapers in coverage of the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflicts. To analyse the data from the news articles, this study follows Galtung's (1998b) writing on war journalism versus peace journalism, and Fairclough's (1995b) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method, to look at how media discourses of the ethno-political conflicts were constructed and described during the selected time frame (August 01, 2017 to December 30, 2018). To do this, this chapter is divided into eight sections. Following the introduction, section two highlights the essential themes that have emerged from the study, while the third section provides a recap of the main research results, including details about the data sources and the framing strategies employed. Section four focuses on the research's contribution to literature on media discourse on ethno-political conflicts, while section five presents potential recommendations based on the findings of the research. Section six discusses the limitations of the research, section seven puts forward suggestions for further studies, and section eight concludes the chapter.

8.2. Summary of the chapters

The dissertation contains seven chapters. The first chapter served as an introduction, presenting the problem statement, critical research questions, and the overall objective of the study. In chapter two, an extensive review was conducted on the significant impact of mass media on various forms of conflicts, examining both the negative and positive aspects (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011). It was acknowledged that media can contribute to either reducing ethnic conflict or exacerbating it (Jr &Vultee, 2012). Building on this understanding, the following research questions were posed: How do on line newspapers construct and convey discourses related to ethno-political conflicts? What sources are utilized by online newspapers to construct news items about these conflicts? Are the news items partisan or balanced? Do they focus solely on the interests of the Oromo or Somalis, or do they consider the interests of both ethnic groups? Furthermore, what generic framing strategies are employed in constructing discourses of the conflict, via either a thematic or episodic approach?

Chapter 2 delved into the conceptual and theoretical assumptions that underpin the media's role in society, exploring how the media has evolved into an indispensable tool for addressing critical societal issues. The chapter examined the functions of media, such as manufacturing public consent, promoting hegemonic ideologies, and advocating for public interests. Moreover, it discussed the roles of the media during conflict, considering two main approaches: was journalism (WJ) and peace journalism (PJ). The chapter also investigated the functions and roles of the media as dynamic and heterogeneous social institutions, with a specific emphasis on African regional and Ethiopian national media. Through this exploration, the chapter addressed the theoretical debate surrounding the functions and roles of media within society, particularly in the course of conflict. Additionally, it explained the WJ and PJ indicators used ti understand how the media frames news on violent conflicts. These indicators encompass perspectives such as elite/people-oriented reporting, visible/invisible effects of war, differences/agreement-oriented coverage, emphasis on current events and sources, cost analysis, dichotomization of ethnic groups into good and bad labeling, non-partisan/partisan orientation, avoidance/use of victimizing languages, avoidance/use of demonizing languages, avoidance/use of emotive languages, and truth versus propaganda orientation (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005).

Chapter 3 concentrated on framing theories and discourse analysis as the chosen methodological approach. It introduced the key concepts, aims, and origins of discourse analysis in general, with a specific focus on qualitative CDA, which was applied in this study.This chapter also focuses on decolonizing of conflicts reporting and the factors that affect the dynamics of media framing and discourses in periods of conflict.

Moving on to chapter 4, a comprehensive explanation was provided of the methodology and methods employed in this research. The chapter detailed theresearch philosophies that impcts the research: the epistemological and ontological paradigms underpinning the study, the research strategy/approaches: the case study, Self-reflexivity, the triangulation method used to enhance the validity of this research and the deductive vs. inductive approaches followed. The chapter also provides the specific analysis tools utilized, enabling readers to grasp their significance in examining media discourses on the subject matter. It explored the research materials used in-depth, including sample selection and sampling procedures, units of analysis, analytical approaches, ethical

considerations, credibility issues, and limitations, to facilitate the effective execution of the research project.

Chapter 5 presented the data extracted from regional and Ethiopian national newspapers. To achieve this, a text criteria approach was adopted to categorize three groups of discourses based on the venue of the news stories: Set 1 focused on textual representations of the conflict, set 2 looked at sources used to portray the conflict, and set 3 identified the framing approaches used to shape news coverage of the violence. A total of 30 news stories were collected from 18 newspapers: Addis-Standards, Jigjiga Herald, Horn Affairs, Opride, Goobjoog, Ethio-critical, SomaliNetnews, OromianEconomist.com,The Ethiopian Reporter, Tesfanews, Africanews, Nation, East Africa, Eretria Madot, Addis News, Business Daily, Borkenaand Wardheernews (see appendix A and B for the names of articles and their titles, article links, and the periods during which the newspapers are available on the websites). Chapter 6 covered the analysis and discussion of the research findings in relation to the research questions posed in chapter 1. Lastly, chapter 7 interprets and theorizes the results/findings of the research based on Galtung's War and Peace journalism theory and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that the thesis finds its central theoretical orientation and its central methodological orientation respectively.

8.3. Summary of Findings

This section focuses on presenting the major results of the PhD dissertation, specifically highlighting three main areas. First, it provides the findings related to the textual discourse analysis, which involved analyzing the texts used to construct messages about the ethno-political conflict. Second, it presents the sources of data used in the articles, including an examination of media sourcing. This involved observing the sources cited to characterize the representation of the conflict. Finally, it identifies the framing approaches employed to construct and shape the news discourse on the violent conflict, as seen in national/Ethiopian and regional/African newspapers. The framing strategies are analyzed based on Galtung's (1998) leading indicators of media depictions and Fairclough's (1995b) textual approaches to CDA. The summary of the research findings is presented below, categorized according to the discourses constructed, sources of information, and framing strategies employed in the articles.

The findings clearly indicate that newspapers have constructed biased and ethnocentric discourses surrounding the ethno-political conflict, reporting on acts of violence such as ethnic cleansing, murder, rape, destruction, and displacement, and attributing them solely to one ethnic group. They used demonizing language like "bandits openly supported by the Liyu Police", "notorious", "paramilitary", "anarchy" and "armed militiamen" to depict the perpetrators and offenders of the violence. Similarly, the Somali ethnic group was consistently portrayed as illegitimate and guerrilla-like. These discourses were used by the news media to dehumanize one ethnic group, while favoring the other. This approach is unreasonable and unfair in describing the conflict. Instead, it would make more sense to negotiate with the Somali by using the terms they themselves identify with, or by providing more precise descriptions.

Furthermore, the articles described the Somalis as intruders, using one-sided discourses like "cross-border incursions", "[Liyu Police] incursions into Oromia", "incursions by armed men" and "raided Ethiopia's eastern region". Such language criminalized the Somalis, labeling them as invaders into the Oromia region through illegitimate and forceful means. Similarly, the articles portrayed the Somalis as agitators and instigators of violence, employing discourses like "the attack was orchestrated by a Somali special paramilitary force", "the clashes happened after", "opening fire on Oromia Police station", "the shooting was started by", "the clashes were first provoked by" and "the Somali-Oromo border conflict is organized and coordinated in the Somali Region". This framing blamed the Somalis for initiating and escalating the ethno-political strife, instead of acknowledging how shared issues and problems could have led to unintended conflict between the two ethnic groups.

Moreover, in some news articles, the Somalis were depicted as engaging in misdemeanors through partisan discourses such as "people hurled objects and insults at the trucks", "the Somali regional police stole the Oromos' cell phones" and "people threw stones at us". This indicates that the articles focused on misbehaviors, wrongdoings and human rights abuses committed by only one side, rather than attempting to address all wrongdoers involved in the violence.

In contrast, the Oromo were portrayed as victims, using imprecise and emotive discourses like "Oromo were massacred", "ethnic cleansing is taking place in Oromia" and "Oromo families cry

foul". These descriptions lacked precision in discussing what was known about the conflict. While it is important for news reports to acknowledge the suffering of the Oromo due to any aggression by the Somalis, if such incidents occurred, or reporting only the victimization of the Oromo, the articles failed to prioritize and report the other most broader and balanced news discourse of the conflict.

Similarly, the news articles employed victimizing discourses such as "over 700,000 Oromo were displaced", "150,000 Oromos have been expelled", "the learning and teaching process has been disrupted", "nearly 30 schools remain closed" and "more than 67,800 Oromos alone have fled," to portray the Oromo as displaced and disturbed by the Somalis. This emphasis solely on the suffering of one ethnic group suggests that the articles focused on dividing the ethnic groups into victims and villains, instead of treating the anguish of both sides as equally noteworthy and deserving of attention.

Overall, the news stories tended to perpetuate a division between the two groups, portraying one as terrorists and the other as innocent victims, and emphasizing negative actions and processes rather than humanizing the grievances and sufferings of both the Somalis and Oromo as equally significant. The newspapers sought to criminalize and dehumanize one ethnic group by foregrounding their wrongdoings during the conflict, while downplaying and concealing the violent acts of the other groups. This served to mobilize one side against the other, rather than focusing on addressing the underlying issues, transforming the conflict, and finding a resolution that meets the needs of both communities involved.

8.3.2. *Sources of information adopted to create the discourses of the conflict*

In terms of sources used, nearly all the newspapers relied on Oromo influential public figures and ordinary Oromo citizens as their primary sources of information, consistently quoting them in the articles. The conflict discourses were also predominantly framed from the perspectives of the elites and top leaders of the community, such as the "Administrative and Security Bureau of Oromia Regional State", "Head of Bureau of Communication of Oromia Regional State" and "an ex-Oromia government's spokesperson". This indicates a strong focus on hegemonic Oromo views in the news articles, neglecting a balanced representation of sources from both the Oromo and Somali ethnic groups. It seems that, regardless of the emerging discourses, the news is manipulated by dominant

figures (politicians), preventing readers from gaining a comprehensive understanding of the reality behind the conflict.

The findings also indicate that the news articles perceive the conflict through limited sources of information, failing to shape the discourse through diverse perspectives. They overlook the valuable insights that could be gathered from CSOs, CBOs, reliable NGO workers, religious elders, and grassroots-level reconciliation efforts. In other words, the news articles do not engage in conversations about the conflict from pluralistic views, and do not reflect the conflict through diverse ideas and various points of view. In summary, the over-reliance on Oromo sources, and limited sourcing, is indicative of newspapers that predominantly aim to portray politicized news, unfair discourses, and conflict-oriented narratives. Rather than focusing on resolving the conflict by providing a balanced representation, they tend to exacerbate ethno-political violence through one-sided, biased, and insufficient information. Interestingly, two news articles from the Jigjiga Herald did not cite any sources, which raise doubts about the validity of the reported news.

8.3.3 Common generic framing strategies employed

The dissertation's other research question examined the prevailing framing approach used in shaping news discourses on conflicts. The findings reveal that the media predominantly employed episodic frames (human consequences, conflict, attributing responsibility, and human-interest frames), while neglecting the thematic frames of the conflict (moral, remedy, economic, and diagnostic frames). Consequently, most newspapers create superficial narratives lacking historical perspectives and contextual understanding.

These newspapers primarily focused on the material and human consequences frame, emphasizing the visible effects of the conflict and highlighting the short-term impacts and immediate costs, such as ethnic cleansing, massacres, killings, destruction, rape, injuries, and displacements. However, these discourses oversimplify the complex nature of the conflict, presenting a shallow picture that fails to capture the underlying issues. The newspapers do not present the conflict in its entirety or provide a comprehensive understanding of its contexts.

Newspapers primarily focus on the human consequences frame (loss of life) and material consequences frame (such as the destruction or burning of houses), conflict frame, human-interest frame, and attributing responsibility frame. However, these frames alone are insufficient

to provide detailed information about the ethno-political skirmish between the two ethnic groups. Overall, the articles lack an interpretative approach, and deliberately or unintentionally exclude specific facts from the news discourse.

For instance, none of the following points are disclosed or included in the newspaper's depiction of the conflict:

- The background and complete context of the conflict;
- The long-term implications of the conflict;
- The invisible influences of the dispute, such as socio-cultural implications and psychological impacts on the general population, especially women, children, and the elderly;
- The causes of the conflict and potential remedies or ways to resolve the dispute;
- The projection of future conflicts or anticipation of further escalation;
- The involvement of external actors, who significantly contribute to the Oromo-Somali violent conflict.

8.4 The contribution of the dissertation

This study has established a crucial foundation of knowledge regarding the media discourse surrounding ethno-political conflicts in the African region, with a particular focus on Ethiopia. The dissertation aims to make contributions to the development of new knowledge in sociology and add to the existing body of research in this field. The specific contributions are outlined below:

8.4.1 *Contributions to the theory*

The contribution of this study to theory is paramount. This study's practical evidence strengthens War Journalism and Peace Journalism theory, and Fairclough's CDA, which are used in this research for the first time in the study area. Mainly, the frameworks seek to re-contextualize Galtung's existing (1998b, 2013) model and his supporters by considering various components within the peace and war journalism models. The framework has not merely met the study objectives, but similarly drew out several other exciting results, such as the media texts, media sources, and the type of framing strategy employed by the media. These frames were also used in new contexts, testing them in a unique setting and displaying the applicability of these adapted

models to a new situation. Hence, this research adds new, theoretically significant findings about the dominance of the war journalism approach, and of episodic frames that could further conflict and hostility amid ethnic groups.

8.4.2   Contribution to the empirical literature

This study also contributes to the empirical literature, since it is evident that there is scant research that investigates media discourse, particularly in the context of ethno-political conflict. This was highlighted in Chapters 1 and 2, which emphasized the media's role in times of violent conflict. Furthermore, the literature review showed that there is little work regarding media discourse on violent disputes at the postgraduate level. Likewise, it is evident that there are few empirical studies that inspect all three main foci of the research, i.e. media textual framing, sources of information used by the media, and type of generic framing strategies adopted by media during conflict. In addition, the newspapers' intention during the conflict was a significant finding identified in the research, contributing to the literature on the media construction of discourses and interpretation of disputes. This is very different from the other CDA as its stance donates to the media's inclination during ethno-political conflict (Fairclough, 1995b). The constructivist approach to media construction and delineation in conflict often scrutinizes and discusses the area of texts used by media. Sources in use and the different general frames applied by media were not highlighted that much in the works of literature reviewed so far.

As a result, the dissertation contributes to the literature on the media discourses of violent conflict. All in all, this research offers insights into how media magnify or reduce ethno-political conflict, particularly in the context of newspaper articles' discourses.

8.4.3   Contributions to sociology

Along with the aspects considered above, this dissertation significantly contributes to the field of sociology in numerous ways. The first is that the issue of newspaper articles' discourse and their relationship to the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict has not previously been studied. Notably, this study contributes to understanding how newspapers construct discourses in relation to the social problems of ethno-political conflict. In the current academic context, students engaged in

studying newspaper articles may be encouraged to study the media's discourse of conflict, particularly when alternative views are expressed. This means that the study contributes to sociology's academic and professional spheres by directing its attention to the media's role in times of social crises like ethno-political conflict.

Based on these contributions, the paper now turns to recommendations for those investigating the role of the media in constructing discourses in times of ethno-political conflict.

8.5. Recommendations

Based on the investigation in the previous chapters, and the results drawn from it, this thesis concludes that the media follow the war journalism perspective to frame discourses of conflict. This happens because the articles construct the news by using negative and prejudiced news discourses, partial sources, and episodic framing approaches (both at the national and regional levels), rather than constructing discourses using positive and non-biased discourses, non-partial sources and thematic framing approaches, which could lessen the violence.

Based on this conclusion, the following recommendations are made:

- The media should avoid and filter out biased, manipulative, sensational, blaming, victimisation, and imprecise discourses, which can easily hasten and exaggerate crisis.
- The media must decolonize conflict reporting and words of war in postcolonial contexts that include elements of the peace-sensitive journalism approach and a purposeful subversion of the hegemonic Western based philosophy of journalism.
- Media should not lean profoundly on primordial accounts of ethno-political violence where they are blamed for escalation of violence through sensational and reckless coverage.
- The media should avoid apportioning blame to one ethnic group, follow the practices and principles of peace journalism, not be reckless in discussing conflicts in ways that could fuel differences and disputes, be free from destructive angles, and not only see the negative side of arguments.

- The media should not use violence initiative framing, sensational discourse, and pro-war discourse, which could fan further conflict and antipathy. In other words, the information must present solutions to the violence, giving space to negotiations, proposals, agreements, etc.

- Media ought to advocate for a media agendas whereby the media clinch elements of peace-sensitive coverage anchored in Afro centric philosophy, ethics, precedents and culture and practices and recalibrated aligned with the postcolonial shift and the recent reconfiguration of the political and epistemic relationships amid the world's regions.

- The media should avoid the rhetoric of victims and perpetrators, and treat both sides' grievances and sufferings as newsworthy.

- The media should also not attempt to covertly portray one ethnic group as innocent by intentionally criminalising another. Rather, they should analyse violence to tell about violent facts, including the root causes, the different ethnic groups, and their objectives.

- Media outlets ought to follow best practices, ethics, standards, and international conventions in reporting violent conflicts, ensuring reporting norms of balance, accuracy, detachment, fairness, truthfulness, objectivity, impartiality/neutrality, and social responsibility. This means that the media should portray the negative and positive reality of all contending ethnic groups.

- The media must encourage citizens to unite, by directing citizens' attention to matters of collective concern, to generate agreement and peace. They must be positioned to promote cooperation and coexistence between people of different origins, by highlighting solutions and common ground.

- The media must stress sound discourses, rather than sceptical and destructive ones that could inflame ethno-political conflicts, and should at least try to orient their reportage style towards the construction of peace.

- The media must improve their reportage in times of conflict, and give less coverage to propaganda.

- Reporting ethnic violence is a very sensitive topic, and reporters should do so ethically to deliver objective, balanced and unbiased information to the people.

For the media to provide coverage from diverse sources, credible and verified content, limit the spread of distorted news, and have diversified information about the conflict, the researcher suggested the following:

- The media need to engage experts and ordinary people residing in conflict-prone areas as sources of information, rather than focusing only on political officials or elites; the news story of conflict should be illuminated from all sides. This should include internally displaced persons.

- The media should quote multiple sources of information, instead of citing only one. They should consult various sources, including CSOs, religious elders, community leaders, and NGOs.

- The media should be conscious that some sources are out to manipulate the news discourses.

- The media also need to use new information technologies or social media platforms, such as blogs, YouTube, Skype, Twitter and Facebook, to gather credible and diversified news discourses from unreachable violence zones/areas, instead of being over-dependent on government officials, war correspondents, security officials, contending parties or political gladiators as sources of information.

As the study revealed, the analysed newspapers did not present a comprehensive or complete picture of the conflict, as they were disinclined to delve into deep structural and cultural sources and impacts. They adopted a simplistic frame for the conflict, rather than providing detailed and sophisticated information. Thus, I recommend that:

- The media shape news of conflict using the broader contexts of disputes, like the origin and history of the conflict, other actors apart from the contending/warring parties, and possible remedies. They need to use more substantive or thematic frames (that focus on the roots and long-term impact of the conflict), rather than only using episodic frames (that focus on the immediate costs of conflict). This should include diagnosis and understanding of events linked to issues, and emphasise responsibility for violence.

- The classic 5 Ws (what, who, why, when and where) should be used in news discourses.

- The media must go beyond superficial coverage to illuminate the broader perspectives of conflicts.

In sum, newspapers have to be aware of the guidelines and rules for peace reportage, such as 1) report fairly; 2) report the causes and background of the conflict; 3) understand the conflict; 4) present the human side; 5) recognise reporters' influence; 6) cover peace efforts; and (7) recap responsibility of correspondents in terms of ethics or conscience. The media should always be conscious that their reportage will affect the violence and the lives of persons in it, and therefore should go beyond just stating bare facts, avoid inflammatory discourses and stereotyping, not blame one ethnicity, select more insightful discourses, explain the root causes, inject context, and analyse possible solutions, quoting people who condemn conflict, rather than relying only on official sources. Along with this, all parties in the conflict should be humanized, to avoid categorizing people as either victims or villains. The media should practice professional journalism and good strategic communication to resolve disputes, using discourses of calm that can avert further ethno-political conflict, and have a more positive agenda, producing peace-oriented messages.

8.6. Limitations of the study

This research is not without limitations, which must be taken into account. These can be broadly categorised under type of media used, the type of discourse studied, the period selected, and the methodology employed to conduct this research.

First, this research relied only used newspapers available online. Thus, it did not encompass social media or print media coverage of the conflict, which could have given a different picture.

Second, this research did not explore audience perceptions of the newspaper's messages, which could have been done through surveys, a promising new trend for quantitative research.

The study also only looked at reports published from August 1, 2017 –December 30, 2018. Thus, it did not include reports from before and after the indicated time frame.

As Chapter 4 of the dissertation clarified, the study also adopted only qualitative CDA, which was considered suitable for an in-depth and intensive analysis of each sampled texts. However, a quantitative content analysis was not used. An approach combining quantitative content analysis and qualitative CDA could have given a different set of results, and may have provided a more comprehensive understanding of the conflict.

8.7. Areas for further research

Based on the limitations of the study, the research suggests the following for further research:

- First, by classifying the news media type, there can be future research on how different news sources, such as radio reports, television broadcasts, and social media, cover conflict.

- Second, future research could concentrate on the audience's perceptions of the media coverage of the Oromo-Somali ethno-political conflict.

- Because one can categorize the influence of media on ethno-political violence into three stages, viz. the time before the commencement of the conflict, the time during the actual violence, and the time after the violence, it is essential for future scholars to focus on the media discourse of the conflicts that occurred before and after the specified period in this study (August 2017- December 2018).

- In addition to this, researchers can study the media discourse of the conflict by adopting mixed methods (i.e., quantitative and qualitative) to have a more comprehensive understanding of the media discourse on the violence.

8.8. Conclusion

This chapter summarized the dissertation, providing a concise overview of the key findings and results obtained from the research, highlighted the main contributions, and emphasized the significance of the results in the area of media discourse on ethnic-political conflicts. To achieve this, the findings were presented in a structured manner, grouped into three distinct categories that align with the thematic approaches employed in Chapters 5 and 6. These approaches were then applied to analyze the data derived from the newspaper articles. By organizing the findings into thematic categories, the chapter increased the clarity and coherence of the dissertation's conclusions, allowing readers to grasp the main insights and implications more easily. The chapter also underscored the originality of the research, highlighting its contribution to the broader area of media discourse, as well as extended the theoretical and empirical understanding of how media influences and shapes ethno-political conflicts. However, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the study, which included factors such as the scope and

generalizability of the findings, the constraints of the research methodology, and potential biases in the data sources. By openly discussing these limitations, the chapter demonstrated the researcher's awareness of the study's boundaries, and encourages future researchers to address these limitations in subsequent investigations. Finally, the chapter provided recommendations for future research endeavors, to guide scholars in exploring new territories, addressing gaps in knowledge, or employing alternative methodologies, to overcome the constraints encountered in this study.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: List of online news articles used to analyse textual discourses and sources used

No	Name of newspaper	Title of newspaper	Link	Publication date
1	Addis Standard	Another Heavy Death Toll from a Conflict in Eastern Ethiopia	http://addisstandard.com/breaking-news-another-heavy-death-toll-from-a-conflict-in-eastern-ethiopia	September 1, 2017
2	Addis Standard	A fresh round of violence rocks Moyale town, leaving an unknown number of causalities and new displacement in its wake	http://addisstandard.com/fresh-round-of-violence-rocks-moyale-town-leaving-unknown-number-	July,5, 2018
3	The Ethiopian Reporter	Bleaker than ever	https://www.thereporterethiopia.com/950/	September 30, 2017
4	Tesfanews	Renewed Somali Liyu Police Attack in Oromia Left Scores Dead, Homes Destroyed	https://www.tesfanews.net/renewed-somali-liyu-police-attacks-burn-homes-kill-oromia/	May 27, 2018
5	Tesfanews	Conflict in Eastern Ethiopia Leaves Dozens Dead	https://www.tesfanews.net/oromo-somalia-conflict-eastern-ethiopia-leaves-dozens-	September 1, 2017

			dead/	
6	Tesfanews	Ethnic Violence Pushes Ethiopia To The Brink Of Security Crisis	https://tesfanews.net/ethnic-violence-pushes-ethiopia-security-crisis/	December 18, 2018
7	The Nation	Ethiopian regional force 'kills 37' in Oromia region	https://nation.africa/kenya/news/africa/ethiopian-regional-force-kills-37-in-oromia-region-77238	August 14, 2018
8	Ethiocritical.com	Oromo-Somali conundrum: Can Ethiopia tame the Liyu police?	https://ethiocritical.com/2017/10/01/oromo-somali-conundrum-can-ethiopia-tame-the-liyu-police/	October 1, 2017
9	Jigjiga Herald	The Somali-Oromo Border Conflict is a Front for Regional Conflict Organized in Jigjiga	https://www.jigjigaherald.com/2018/07/22/the-reporter-the-somali-oromo-border-conflict-is-a-front-for-regional-conflict-organized-in-jigjiga/	Jul 22, 2018
10	Eretria Madot	Ethnic strife in Ethiopia threatens a key U.S. ally.	http://www.madote.com/2017/10/ethnic-strife-in-ethiopia-threatens-key.html	October 2017
11	Eretria Madot	Clashes threaten Ethiopia's delicate ethnic balance.	http://www.madote.com/2017/10/clashes-threaten-ethiopias-delicate.html	October 2017

12	Africanews	Oromia – Ethiopian Somali conflict: Over 100 suspects arrested – govt	www.africanews.com/2017/11/26/oromia-ethiopian-somali-conflict-over-100-suspects-arrested-govt//	November 26, 2017
13	Africanews	Oromo families cry foul in the recent conflict in Ethiopia's east.	www.africanews.com/2017/10/09/oromo-families-cry-foul-in-recent-conflict//	October 9, 2017
14	Jigjiga Herald	Moyale is bleeding. Again!	https://www.jigjigaherald.com/category/politics/	July 14, 2018
15	Somali Net forums	The Reporter: 'The Somali-Oromo Border Conflict is a Front for Regional Conflict Organized in Jigjiga	https://www.somalinet.com/forums/viewtopic.php?t=392247	September 25, 2017
16	Wardheernews	The Orchestrated massacres of Somalis in Oromia are tantamount to ethnic cleansing	https://wardheernews.com/the-orchestrated-massacres-of-somalis-in-oromia-is-tantamount-to-an-ethnic-cleansing/	December 21, 2017
17	Africanews	Oromos worst affected by Ethiopia's inter-ethnic clashes	https://www.africanews.com/2017/09/17/oromos-worst-affected-by-ethiopia-s-inter-ethnic-clashes//	September 17, 2017

18	Opride	Oromo-Somali conundrum: Can Ethiopia tame the Liyu police?	https://www.opride.com/2017/09/26/oromo-somali-conundrum-can-ethiopia-tame-liyu-police/	September 26, 2017
19	Borkena	Displaced Oromos from Ethio-Somali reportedly to settle in Addis Ababa	https://borkena.com/2018/02/03/displaced-oromo-to-settle-in-addis-ababa/	February 3, 2018
20	Goobjoog	ONLF Press Release on the Oromo Massacre of Somali civilians	https://tesfanews.net/onlf-press-release-oromo-massacre-somalis-western-harar	December 17, 2017
21	OromianEconomist.com	Ethiopian government's attempt to blame the victims (the Oromo people) unravels TPLF's war plans on Oromo people	https://oromianeconomist.com/tag/prevent-genocide/	December 22, 2017
22	Horn affairs	Oromia-Somali conflict | Ethnic violence displaces hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians	https://hornaffairs.com/2017/11/09/oromia-somali-ethnic-violence-displaces-ethiopians/	November 9, 2017

23	Wardheern ews	The Orchestrated massacres of Somalis in Oromia are tantamount to ethnic cleansing.	https://wardheernews.com/the-orchestrated-massacres-of-somalis-in-oromia-is-tantamount-to-an-ethnic-cleansing	December 21, 2017
24	Africanews	Illicit arms movement caused deadly Moyale violence: Ethiopia govt	https://www.africanews.com/2018/05/08/illicit-arms-movement-caused-deadly-moyale-violence-ethiopia-govt//	May 8, 2018
25	Africanews	Ethiopia's Liyu police blamed for deadly attacks in Oromia region	https://www.africanews.com/2018/08/13/ethiopia-s-liyu-police-blamed-for-deadly-attacks-in-oromia-region//	August 13, 2018

Appendix B: List of online news articles used to examine the general framing strategy used

No	Name of newspaper	Title of newspaper	Links	Publication date
1	Addis Standard	Another Heavy Death Toll from a Conflict in Eastern Ethiopia	http://addisstandard.com/breaking-news-another-heavy-death-toll-from-a-conflict-in-eastern-	September 1, 2017

2	Addis Standard	A fresh round of violence rocks Moyale town, leaving an unknown number of causalities and new displacement in its wake	http://addisstandard.com/fresh-round-of-violence-rocks-moyale-town-leaving-unknown-number-	July 5, 2018
3	Tesfanews	Renewed Somali 'Liyu Police' Attack in Oromia Left Scores Dead, Homes Destroyed	https://www.tesfanews.net/renewed-somali-liyu-police-attacks-burn-homes-kill-oromia/	May 27, 2018
4	Africanews	Oromo families cry foul in the recent conflict in Ethiopia's east	https://www.africanews.com/2017/10/09/oromo-families-cry-foul-in-recent-conflict//	October 9,2017
5	Africanews	Oromia–Ethiopian Somali conflict: Over 100 suspects arrested – govt	https://www.africanews.com/2017/11/26/oromia-ethiopian-somali-conflict-over-100-suspects-arrested-govt//	November 26, 2017
6	Eritrea Madote	Ethnic strife in Ethiopia threatens a key U.S. ally.	http://www.madote.com/2017/10/ethnic-strife-in-ethiopia-threatens-	October, 2017

7	The Ethiopian Reporter	Bleaker than ever	https://www.thereporteret hiopia.com/950/	September 30, 2017
8	Business Daily	Boom for Kenyan miraa traders as shortage hits Somaliland.	Boom for Kenyan miraa traders as shortage hits Somaliland	September 19, 2017
10	TesfaNews	UN Says One Million Ethiopians Displaced Due to	https://www.tesfanews.ne t/ethiopia-million-displaced-oromia-somali-	February 3, 2018
11	The East African	Ethiopia arrests 100 suspects over ethnic clashes	https://www.theeastafrica n.co.ke/tea/news/rest-of-africa/ethiopia-arrests-100-suspects-over-ethnic-clashes--1378476	November 26, 2018
12	Tesfanews	Rising Death Toll, Displacement and Protests in Eastern Ethiopia	https://tesfanews.net/displ acement-conflict-protest-oromia-somali-border-regional-state	September 15, 2017
13	Jigjiga Herald	Moyale Massacre: How did it All Began and Unfolded	ttps://www.jigjigaherald.c om/2018/07/15/Moyale Massacre: How did it All	July 15, 2018
14	Jigjiga Herald	Moyale is bleeding. Again!	https://www.jigjigaherald. com/2018/07/14/moyale-is-bleeding-again-1/	July 14, 2018

15	Opride	Oromo-Somali conundrum: Can Ethiopia tame the Liyu police?	https://www.opride.com/2017/09/26/oromo-somali-conundrum-can-ethiopia-tame-liyu-police/	September 26, 2017
16	Borkerna	Ethnic conflict raging southern Ethiopia	https://borkena.com/2017/09/13/ethnic-conflict-raging-southern-ethiopia/	September 13, 2017
17	Addis news	Week of Clashes in Eastern Ethiopia Kill 50, Displace 50,000	https://addisnews.net/week-of-clashes-in-eastern-ethiopia-kill-50-displace-50000-officials/	September 19, 2017
18	Horn affairs	Fifty thousand were displaced evicted in the Oromia-Somali crisis.	https://hornaffairs.com/2017/09/16/ten-thousands-displaced-evicted-oromia-somali-crisis/	September 16, 2017
19	Goobjoog	ONLF Press Release on the Oromo Massacre of Somali civilians	https://tesfanews.net/onlf-press-release-oromo-massacre-somalis-western-harar/	December 17, 2017
20	Wardheernews	The Orchestrated massacres of Somalis in Oromia are tantamount to ethnic cleansing	https://wardheernews.com/the-orchestrated-massacres-of-somalis-in-oromia-is-tantamount-to-an-ethnic-cleansing	December 21, 2017

21	Ethiocritical. com	Oromo-Somali conundrum: Can Ethiopia tame the Liyu police?	https://ethiocritical.com/2017/10/01/oromo-somali-conundrum-can- ethiopia-tame-the-liyu-police/	October 1,2017
22	Tesfanews	Ethnic Violence Pushes Ethiopia To The Brink Of Security Crisis	https://tesfanews.net/ethnic-violence-pushes-ethiopia-security-crisis	December 18, 2018
23	OromianEconomist.com	ONLF and OLF Holds the Ethiopian government and its ruling Coalition Parties as solely responsible for the mass killings of Oromo and Somali peoples	https://oromianeconomist.com/2017/12/22/onlf-and-olf-holds-the-ethiopian-government-and-its-ruling-coalition-parties-as-solely-responsible-for-the-mass-killings-of-oromo-and-	December 22, 2017