



Addis Ababa University

School of Journalism and Communication

**Exploration of dehumanizing propaganda on media during the Ethiopian
civil war in Tigray: The case of ETV & TTV**

By

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**Exploration of dehumanizing propaganda on media during the
Ethiopian civil war in Tigray: The case of ETV & TTV**

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Journalism and Communication presented in partial fulfilment
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Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

DECLARATION

I, Fuad Muna Argaw hereby declare that this research thesis entitled “Dehumanizing propaganda on media during the Ethiopian civil war in Tigray: The case of indicators in ETV & TTV” is my original work and all sources used on the thesis are accurately acknowledged. I acknowledged this thesis never been submitted to any other University before.

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by **Fuad Muna Argaw** entitled “**Dehumanizing propaganda on media during the Ethiopian civil war in Tigray: The case of indicators in ETV & TTV**” was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communications, by the university's regulations the thesis meets all applicable quality and originality standards.

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ACRONYMS

EBA: - Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority

EPRDF: - Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

ESAT: - Ethiopian Satellite Television

ETV: - Ethiopian Television

RTL: - Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines

TPLF: - Tigray People Liberation Front

TTV: - Tigray Television

ABSTRACT

Dehumanization propaganda is a type of propaganda that represents the target enemy as a non-human creature. This makes people more comfortable taking heinous measures against the dehumanized group. The study examines the types and indicators of dehumanization during the war period using qualitative and quantitative content analysis and in-depth interview methods. Considering the level of saturation, 50 news stories about the war are sampled from each TV station and 10 participants, mostly with journalism backgrounds, are selected for the in-depth interview. The types of dehumanization, ways of description, and dominant texts are assessed. The study found both media outlets used mechanistic dehumanization in an explicit way. Words were the main dehumanizing texts used on both media outlets. The study measured frequently used dehumanizing words on both media outlets. The mouthpieces of dehumanization and the sources of dehumanizing text are also examined. The research established the existence of a dehumanized framing of the other group on both media outlets. The Ethiopian war in Tigray was accompanied by a media war between the federal government and the TPLF. This war by media, with the actual war on the front, creates dehumanizing propaganda of one group against the other. ETV and TTV were among the media outlets that participated in the dehumanization propaganda. The study recommends all stakeholders of media outlets to take extra care from using dehumanization propaganda.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the study

In the history of our world, dehumanization propaganda is recorded as a preliminary attack on the victims before the physical attack begins. Dehumanization paves the way before the Holocaust and The Rwandan genocide. There are a lot of examples in history that shows the pre-existence of dehumanization propaganda before the biggest catastrophes.

Merriam Webster dictionary describes dehumanization “as to deprive (someone or something) of human qualities, personality, or dignity.” When we came to the professional definition of the word, dehumanization is considered as a system which inhales the human rights of others. It is a system which creates a boundary of us and others. Dehumanization is a denial of humanness and excluding others from the human species (Haslam, 2006 cited in Medianu, 2014). It is a perception of people as a subhuman (Habib et al., 2023). Dehumanization is the treatment of others as if they are less human (Haslam & Stratemeyer, 2016). In the present time different studies suggest the media show immigrants, black people, drug addicts, Muslims and etc. in a subhuman portrayal. The reason could be to get an audience by sensationally producing the topic (Done, 2022). The other initiative could be producing the topic for political gains.

Saying this, in war times the extent of dehumanization propaganda increases a lot. The Holocaust denies the humanness of the Jews and likened them with rats while the Rwandan genocide equates Tutsis with cockroaches (De Ruiter, 2023). The media plays a vital role on delivering the messages which carry dehumanization content. Most of the time the media involves in to the process forced, sometimes the journalists and the media participate with no push, just for the sake of sensationalism and to get more earnings.

The media have power in a way that determines the fate of the politicians, influence executive and other government bodies (Street, 2001). As media are controlled by the government in most of developing countries, the street (2001) argument may work for countries with developed culture of democracy. In developing countries the politicians determine the fate of the media in reverse to the description by Street (2001). Media can send

its message for the audiences in the blink of eye. It shows how the media are powerful. The Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) was the main fuel of the Rwandan genocide. “The ‘Hutu Power’ media played an immediate and pivotal role in spurring on the genocide as it occurred.” (Lower & Hauschildt, 2014) RTLM was the main organizer of the Tutsi genocide (Lower & Hauschildt, 2014). This shows how the media can change the minds of the people and reach to the level of organizing genocide. A very careful use of this power is expected from the Journalists.

What makes the media create dehumanized message is through the framing of the message. In war period, most of the time media houses frame dehumanized messages deliberately to incite hate towards the opponent group by their audiences. Framing is the lens of the journalists by which they choose what kind of story to produce from the full image of a big event and influence the understanding of their audiences. It could be whether on their full control or in the interest of the power holders of the government.

Framing is a concept used by journalists to influence their audience’s choice of processing information (Arowolo, 2017). “Framing is the process by which a communication source, such as a news organization, defines and constructs a political issue or public controversy.” As to Nelson, Clawson & Oxley (1997) framing can compare as taking pictures of an event. We include what we want and exclude what we believed unnecessary. There is no context in it. It can be manipulated to favour one narration over the other (Kluver et al., 2020).

When there is any propaganda whether dehumanization or not, the framing help to spread the propaganda. People tend to believe information that conform their mental model and belief (Kluver et al., 2020). In war period, the framing helps to dehumanize the other and get the green light from the general public. By this, dehumanization of a certain ethnic group or people can be framed on the media easily. The focus of this thesis will be to check if the media are used as a dehumanization tool by the actors of the civil war in Ethiopia.

Relating with all the remarks above, this thesis discusses on the use of dehumanization propaganda in the civil war occurred in Ethiopia. The civil war was fought between the Ethiopian People federal government and Tigray People's Liberation Front. This two-year-long civil war was started on November 3 of 2020 and lasted until November 3 of 2022. During the war period both parties used to incriminate each other. The execution of the incrimination was not limited to the actors of the war but included the general public. The paper studies dehumanization on those propagandas. The type of the dehumanization is also

the focus of the study. The main type of dehumanization classified as animalistic and mechanistic. The animalistic one is equating people with animals and the mechanistic one is categorizing people as a machine (Riabov, 2020).

If the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide animalistic dehumanization likened Jews and Tutsis as rats and cockroaches respectively, what was the colour given to the EPRDF and the rest of non-Tigray people on Tigray TV? What name was given to TPLF and Tigray people on ETV? What kind of image were they painting for their respective audiences about their opponents? Is it free of dehumanization or not?

1.2. Statement of the problem

Ethiopia the second most populous country in Africa with more than 120 million people had a bad record on Journalism. The Jails of the country had a bunch of political prisoners and Journalists.

“At least 60 journalists have fled their country since 2010 while at least another 19 languish in prison. The government has shut down dozens of publications and controls most television and most radio outlets, leaving few options for Ethiopians to acquire independent information and analysis on domestic political issues.” (Human Rights Watch, 2015)

In 2018 Abiy Ahmed Ali prime minister of Ethiopia created a promising change in the media sector. The freedom of the press shows a positive change. Within two years the country makes 51 ranks up on Reporter without borders (Skjerdal & Moges, 2021). But it doesn't last a lot.

In the November of 2020 war sparked between the leading party of Tigray region TPLF and Ethiopian federal government. Before the war, the federal government officials and TPLF officials used to give inauspicious statements on each other. Starting from November 3 the country state television EBC by its current name ETV and The Amhara regional government state owned television Amhara Television started being a propaganda machine for the federal government. EBC or the current ETV names itself as a public media but in the global research terms it more fits to state media (Skjerdal & Moges, 2021). Tigray media outlets also start to do the same.

Within days after the start of the war new words start to appear on ETV and Amhara TV about the Tigray people and TPLF. The Tigray side were also doing the same. The most common term on federal government affiliated media outlets were the word “junta”. The common description from the Tigray side was naming the defence force as “the fascist army of Abiy Ahmed”. The above mentioned media outlets on both sides was working as a propaganda machine. Those propagandas, the new words and descriptions heard on the televisions make people to be suspicious about each other even in the capital city. The ethnic tension grows more. The new description of the enemy had created a boundary of us and them. In order to get support from the public, both parties need to create negative image of their enemy. The process involves a creating of leaders as reliable defenders of enemy and the political oppositions as internal enemy and accomplices of external enemies (Riabov, 2020). This may opened the door wide for dehumanization.

Dehumanization creates hate between people and can make unbelievable catastrophes happen. According to Financial times the Ethiopian civil war costs nearly 600,000 human beings (Pilling & Schipani, 2023). Avoiding dehumanization helps to increases the possibility to rebuild the public fabric in the aftermath. Avoiding dehumanization makes the way easier for negotiation. The presence of dehumanization can make resolutions difficult.

There are abundant researches which are done in the context of other countries media outlets. I tried my best to search related researches done on Ethiopian context. I could not find one. This research may spark attention to the topic by trying to fulfil the gap on studies done on media and dehumanization in Ethiopian context.

The study tries to identify the use of dehumanization propaganda in the Ethiopian Television and Tigray TV media outlets Amharic News programs during the Tigray War.

1.3. Objective of the study

1.3.1. General objective

The general objective of the study is to explore dehumanization propaganda in Ethiopian media during the Ethiopian war in Tigray, In particular ETV and Tigray TV.

1.3.2. Specific objectives

- To analyse how dehumanization propaganda used by ETV and TTV.

- To distinguish the types and forms of the dehumanization implied on ETV and TTV.
- To identify common descriptions used for the dehumanization propaganda on ETV and TTV.

1.4. Research questions

- How does dehumanization propaganda used by ETV and TTV? (Words, pictures, visuals)
- What kind of dehumanization frames can be identified in the contents of ETV and TTV? (Animalistic or machinery, explicit or implicit)
- What are the common descriptions used to dehumanize the other on ETV and TTV?

1.5. Significance of the study

Studying the topic helps to learn how dehumanization propaganda leads to a total devastation. Journalists can use the study to understand their participation on the dehumanization process. The power of word, images and audio visuals in dehumanization process will be presented clearly. The framing of News stories and other programs whether there is war or in a peaceful environment requires special caution. Reading this research Journalists can understand how a framing of their subject can create a distorted understanding of the subject for their audiences.

The study may help to understand how dehumanization propaganda implied during the Ethiopian civil war in Tigray. Studying the subject help to understand how the media used at the time of the civil war. Readers can understand how the media outlets can turn into dehumanization machineries. Journalists can understand how the media including them participated in a war which costs hundred thousands of human lives. The study can be used as a discourse opener for other related researches.

1.6. Scope of the study

The study focuses on the war happened from 2020 to 2022 in Ethiopia. The media outlets are selected based on their intimacy and affiliation for the subject. ETV is selected as it is the federal government media. The other media is the Tigray TV, the television of the Tigray regional government or TPLF. The study focuses on the framing of dehumanization propaganda on the respective media outlets.

ETV is considered as state media, positioned its head quarter in Addis Ababa. The media outlet was functioning during the war period. The TTV is owned by regional government of Tigray and it was functioning on satellite and social media. At the start of the war TTV was concealed from satellite however managed to continue its broadcast on internet.

1.7. Limitation of the study

The absence of researches on dehumanization and media in Ethiopia makes it harder to connect the review of literature with Ethiopian experience. A lot of studies are available from the rest of the world. I couldn't find a research done in similar or related topic in Ethiopia. To overcome the shortage of the studies I used researches done in related fields about Ethiopia. The time and budget constraints make the sampling to include few samples. The study examines only the Amharic news of TTV excluding the Tigrigna News. The language barrier makes it rigid to examine the Tigrigna News.

1.8. Organization of the study

This thesis has five chapters. Each chapter have its own unique purpose. The first chapter gives overview of the topics. The second chapter discusses literatures related to the study. The third chapter gives deep discussion about the methodologies utilized to get the findings of the study. The fourth chapter will provide the data presentation and analysis of the findings. The final chapter will give us findings, conclusion and recommendation.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITREATURE

2.1. The Ethiopian media landscape

The Ethiopian media landscape is known for being in a tight control by the government. The golden time of the press were seen when the Derg regime fall and the EPRDF government took power. Media outlets grow as there was never before. The 1995 constitution mark the freedom of the press boldly. Article 29 of the constitution under sub article 3 states the freedom of the press as the following:-

“3. Freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of artistic creativity is guaranteed. Freedom of the press shall specifically include the following elements:

(a) Prohibition of any form of censorship.

(b) Access to information of public interest. ” (Constitution of the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia, 1995)

However, the practice of the law shrinks too fast. The newspapers which came after the constitution start to diminish (Belete, & Singh, 2018). The 2009 No. 652 anti-terrorism proclamation and heavy apparatus of security suppressed and silenced the media (Moges, 2022). This makes the country oppressor of freedom of press. The state owned media houses become a mouthpiece of the government. In the 27 year long TPLF dominated regime the ethnification of the media start to consolidate. All the nine regions of Ethiopia at the time had their own media houses.

In 2018 after massive protests in Oromia and Amhara regions the country’s leading party Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) decides to name Abiy Ahmed Ali (PhD) as a prime minister of the country. The decision brings a new hope for the press. Pluralistic voices started to be heard. Hundreds of banned websites allowed operating in the country again. The known diaspora media outlets welcomed to the country. The newly introduced media law in 2021 abolished criminalization of defamation and protect the confidentiality of informants (Reporters without Borders, 2023). However, the newly

celebrated hope doesn't go as expected. The Nobel peace prize winner wears a military jacket. The north of the country becomes a civil war arena.

The promising freedom of media runs fast backwards. The imprisonment of journalists started once again. The pluralistic voices become silenced. The notion of with us or against us launched. During the war period 63 journalists were imprisoned (CPJ cited in Moges, 2022). Continuous internet blockage was also another feature of the regime. Most of the promising freedom of the press has faded since the country engaged in a civil war (Reporters without borders, 2023).

2.2. The Ethnification of the media

It was not the ethnification of the media which starts first. The quest for ethnic freedom becomes a centre of political movement back in the time of the student movement in Ethiopia. The ethnification of the media couldn't bear without the ethnification of the politics. The politicization of the ethnicity comes when people organized in ethnocentric base (Dessie and et al, 2022). The Ethiopian politics become ethno centric after the 1995 constitution give a right to self-determination. The 1995 constitution article 39 read as below.

“39. Rights of Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples

1. Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has an unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to secession.” (Constitution of the federal democratic republic of Ethiopia, 1995)

The above constitution gave self-determination for regions. This introduces media outlets in different local languages. However, during TPLF dominated era the regional media outlets used to broadcast the same agenda as the state media outlets. The private media outlets as well had similar filter on sensitive contents (Skjerdal & Moges, 2021).

The Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (PhD) era comes with a more consolidated ethnification. The pluralism of media outlets creates intensified ethnification. Newly registered media outlets had clear ethnic affiliation. The freedom makes regional media houses reconfigure. This makes the polarization tense. Ethnic conflicts were used for political gain by political actors (Gessese, 2020).

The newly welcomed diaspora media outlets and the newly opened media outlets unregulated broadcasts show hate towards the other ethnic group. The vital example is a live broadcast of Oromo Media Network (OMN) the participant advising Oromo people to divorce Amhara and Tigre women as a way of encouraging the Oromo movement or OROMUMA (Skjerdal & Moges, 2021).

The presentation of the last 27 years before Abiy regime in a dark spot creates uncomfortable stand on the Tigray side. Demetse Woyane TV and The regional government's Tigray TV stand for the reprisal (Skjerdal & Moges, 2021). When the civil war started this polarized ethnic media outlets including Amhara TV started their hate driven propaganda. The ethnification of the media outlets makes the hate propaganda easy.

2.3. Political actors

2.3.1. Tigray People Liberation Front (TPLF)

The Tigray People Liberation Front (TPLF) was founded in a place called Dedebeit in 1975. After 16 years fierce battles with the Derg regime TPLF control the power in 1991 (Berhe, 2004). The coalition of other forces with TPLF created EPRDF. The TPLF dominated EPRDF and ruled the country for 27 years. Prime Minister Meles Zenawi led the country for 22 years until his death in 2012. He was ethnic Tigray and a member of TPLF. After Meles Zenawi's death his ethnic Wolayita vice became a Prime Minister. During the period of Hailemariam Dessalegn even if he was a leader of Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (SEPDM) and the head of EPRDF the power dominance was held by the TPLF (Opalo & Smith, 2021).

In the 27 years of TPLF dominance human right organizations claim EPRDF making Ethiopians suffered with persistent and pervasive violations, in particular civil and political rights (Amnesty international, 2016). In 2018 after a three years massive protest Prime Minister Hailemariam resigned from office (Gedamu, Y. 2019). This declares the shrink of the TPLF dominance.

Abiy Ahmed Ali ethnic Oromo, a member of OPDO and a person who was a minister in the TPLF dominated regime becomes the third Prime Minister of Ethiopia (Abdulkadr & Neszmelyi, 2021). The newly sworn Prime Minister got outstanding support from the people as he freed political prisoners and journalists. He got a Nobel Prize for his effort for changing

the no war no peace phenomena and creating peace with Eritrea (The Nobel Prize, 2019). However, his political reforms considered as anti-ethnic federalism move by the TPLF (European parliament, 2022). The refusal of TPLF to join the newly reformed Prosperity Party creates a tension between Abiy and TPLF. Most of high ranked officials of TPLF moved to Mekele, The capital city of Tigray as they lose trust on the Prime Minister (Abdulkadr & Neszmelyi, 2021). After the deterioration of relation between the centre and the north of the country, Abiy postponed the national election due to Covid 19 pandemic. Tigray region hosted the election contrary to the decisions made by the central government (European parliament, 2022). This makes the relation more desperate. This root causes creates the civil war of Ethiopia with other immediate causes.

2.3.2. Amhara and Afar Regions

Amhara and Afar regions shares boarder with the other politically dominant region Tigray. Unlike other regions Amhara and Tigray regions has relatively similar culture and religion. However, they have big political differences. The political rhetoric in Amhara region was pan-Ethiopian contrary to the ethno federalism rhetoric in Tigray. The country's second populist region political elite complains about the bordering of the two regions. The elites believe in 1991 when TPLF came to power their historical lands are annexed by Tigray (International crisis group, 2020). This makes the war a good chance to take the land back. The main supporter of war on the Abiy side was the Amhara elites. The Amhara national force and Amhara militants (Fano) were responsible for multiple human right violations including rape and killing of innocent people in Tigray region during the war (Amnesty International, 2021). Currently the politics of the region comes to ethno nationalism from pan-Ethiopian politics (Chanie & Ishiyama, 2021). Parties are organized in the name of the Amhara ethnicity.

Afar region also had a clash with Tigray region during the period of the war. Unlike the Amhara region, Afar region have different culture and religion with Tigray region. Afar region elites support the ethnic federalism unlike the Amhara region elites. During the war the Afar region militias and special force participated backing the federal government.

2.4. Dehumanization propaganda

2.4.1. What is Dehumanization?

Dehumanization is a social psychology concept which is defined as characterization of others in a humiliated form. It is thinking other social groups less human than others (Tajfel, 1981; Vaes et al., 2012 cited in McLoughlin, and Over, 2017). The behaviour can be reflected inside our mind (feelings), can get expressed through our languages, emotions, ideology, psychological conditioning, behaviour, laws and etc. (Luna, 2015). It can be considered as a deliberate abjuration of other people's humanness (Markowitz et al., 2021). The sense of understanding people as a less worth makes it comfortable to attack them (Bandura, 1991, 1999; Kelman, 1973 cited in McLoughlin, and Over, 2017). That is why the concept of dehumanization is used to incite violence on other people (Rai et al., 2017). Rwanda Hutus killed more than 1 million Tutsis comparing the victims to a non-human entity (Over, 2021). Hitler kills more than 6 million Jews considering them as animals (Bocato et al., 2015). There are many examples of similar genocides that relates with a preliminary actions of dehumanization.

2.4.2. Types of Dehumanization

The main types of dehumanization are classified in to two. The first is animalistic dehumanization and the other is mechanistic dehumanization.

Animalistic dehumanization relates to a denial of the other group humanness and comparing them with animals (Martínez et al., 2012). Animalistic dehumanization paints people in the other group as animals lacking high level of cognitive process, emotion and self-control (Haslam, 2006 cited in Quiamzade & Lalot, 2023). In the small scale saying a friend "don't act like a monkey" is downgrading his human identity and taking the person to the level of animal (Parvez, 2022). In the big level this animalistic dehumanization used to rationalize the genocide of the Rwanda Tutsis and the genocide of European Jews.

Mechanistic dehumanization is when people or a person assumes the other person as a machine and treating as they don't have emotional responsiveness (Bai & Zhao, 2023). The mechanistic dehumanization denies humanness of others and recognizes them as automata (Haslam, 2016 & Martínez & et al, 2012). Mechanistic dehumanization refuses emotional treatments and considerations of the other group. When people believe the other group is an

emotion less machine than a human, they tend to rationalise violence against it. For example mostly Asian people experience mechanistic dehumanization in the opposite black people experience animalistic dehumanization (Bai & Zhao, 2023).

2.4.3. Dehumanization propaganda

At the time of war dehumanization used as a propaganda technique in order to persuade the people about the necessity of the war (Hobbs, 2020). Rationalizing the war makes it easy to get the support of the people. The US propaganda before the Iraq war persuades the citizens about the reason of bombing another country. The propaganda broadcasts of RTLM comforts the Hutu people about the necessity of killing the “cockroaches”.

The propagandists always frame their dehumanization agenda in a way that tries to justify the necessity of the action they take. The propaganda of dehumanization tries to comfort the morality of people as they are not eliminating people but a non-human enemy that could cause a disaster for their community (the in group). Over (2021) describes how dehumanization propagandists frame the out groups as the following:-

“Propagandists often compare members of stigmatized out-groups to nonhuman entities such as rats, lice, and snakes. Drawing on these horrifying descriptions, the dehumanization hypothesis proposes that out-group members are viewed as less than human and that being viewed as less than human renders them vulnerable to harm.”
(Over, 2021)

2.4.4 Dehumanization in Ethiopian context

In Ethiopia the case of using dehumanizing words are registered in history. The first example is the term used by Highlanders to dehumanize the largest Oromo people. During the 18th century the term used to describe non-Christians which are nomadic, purposeless force, pagans and Muslims (Encyclopaedia Aethiopica, 2014 quoted on Sewasew, 2023). In the other side the Amhara people dehumanized as “Neftegna” or Gun barrier. The main meaning of the term was gun barrier however through a time it become ethnized and used as insult for initiating collective guilt to Amhara people (Encyclopaedia Aethiopica, 2014 quoted on Sewasew, 2023).

In the history of Ethiopia the Derg regime used dehumanization as a propaganda technique during the Red Terror campaign. Dehumanizing language and actions are documented to the

extreme of biological labelling of the victims as animals or as diseases that need to be killed (Wiebel, 2022).

Study on the use of hate speech on social media in Ethiopia shows dehumanization becomes the part of the hate speech. Donkey, devil, Hyena and snake found as a description of the out group in the study (Abrha, 2019).

In the Ethiopian civil war both sides are hypothesised for weaponizing dehumanization propaganda on the media, which we are going to examine in the coming chapters.

2.5. Theoretical framework

2.5.1. Framing theory

Framing theory describes how a similar occasion or event can get reported differently. The framing of an event lays on the policy or affiliation of the media or the interest of the journalist. The theory is established by Gregory Bateson in 1972. The theory suggests how a story is presented to audiences (Arowolo, 2017). Similar issue got different treatment on the media houses because of their affiliation and interest. The treatment of the media towards the issue is what paints a positive or negative image in the minds of the audiences. Framing theory discusses how an omission or inclusion of a perceived reality makes changes to persuade or make the subject noticeable or concealed (Amis, 2022).

Similar issue can get different frame on the media. For example the news about the prime minister vowing to lead the war by going to the war front got an extremely different report from ETV and Tigray TV. ETV frames it as a sign of bravery. In the opposite Tigray TV shows it as a sign of losing faith on the military. The issue is the same. The prime minister vows to lead the war. But the framing gave us extremely different meaning. This is created because of political attachment of the media houses. This shows how an affiliation of media houses can provide a misleading propaganda to the audience.

As News frame has selective function it can affect the audience by stressing or emphasising on a single point and cropping out the other (Lecheler & Vreese, 2018). Some of the researchers suggested framing as an extension of agenda setting theory. McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1997) used the term framing as second level agenda setting theory in order to describe its influence on the audiences' interpretation of these news stories (Scheufele, 1999). Agenda setting defined as the power of media, which can create a repetitive exposure of

certain topic for its audiences which can lead the audience about what to think. It is considered as a process by which mass media decides “what we think and what we worry about.” (Spring, 2002)

Arowolo (2017) describes framing as a system of attracting the audiences’ understanding of certain topic to a planned way and attracting its focus to a certain topic. There are two types of frames categorized as specific frame and generic frame.

Specific frame:- “is for instance, reporting the Asian Tsunami was linked to consequences, how many further deaths there could be if aid was not received, and issues of responsibility.

Generic frame: - For example, conflict and the game of politics as opposed to frames of values.” (Arowolo, 2017)

2.6. History of dehumanization on media

2.6.1. The case of Rwanda - Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM)

“All Tutsis will perish. They will disappear from the earth.

We strike them down with arms. Slowly, slowly, slowly, we kill them like **rats**.”

It was the Radio broadcast of RTLM the media which organizes the killing of the Tutsi people. Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) was French named radio which can be translated as “Thousand Hills Television and Radio” (Misser, & Jaumain, 1994). RTLM radio is known for its contribution on the Rwandan genocide in 1994. The case of Rwandan genocide on the misuse of radio is a vital example of dehumanization campaign enabled by the media. Estimated 1 million Tutsis killed after the dehumanizing propaganda of RTLM.

The RTLM radio which is a semi private radio station, linked to Hutu high ranked extremists contributes a lot in making Hutus participate on the genocide (Li, 2004). After the death of the president the RTLM media streams hate incitement which results the death of two hundred thousand in three weeks (Misser & Jaumain, 1994).

“The graves are only half empty; who will help us fill them?” (RTLM, 1994 quoted on Li, 2004)

In the propagandas of RTLM dehumanization was also recorded as a way of inciting the violence against the Hutus. The radio frequently used dehumanizing words to describe Tutsis. The station was frequently using the word “cockroaches” and “cut down the tall trees” dehumanizing the Tutsis (Swart, 2020). The frequently used dehumanization words in their language are “inyenzi” or cockroaches and as “inzoka” or snakes (Ndahiro, 2019).

“By 5 may the elimination of the Tutsis should be finished.” (RTLM, 1994 quoted on Misser & Jaumain, 1994).

The sense of the genocide enabled by the media dehumanization propaganda could be hard to understand while sitting on a comfortable chair. Keane of BBC describes it as the following on the camera from the spot.

“You don’t just see death here, you feel it and you smell it. It is as if all the good and life in the atmosphere had been sucked out and replaced with the stench of evil. There are two thoughts then: that of the people who knew they were going to die and the mortal terror they must have felt, and of the savagery and hatred in the hearts of those who were going to kill them.” (Keane, 1997)

All the above atrocity was enabled by Radio, the popular Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM).

2.6.2. The Holocaust

The Holocaust was one of the deadliest genocides happened in human history. This genocide kills two third of European Jews. The atrocity was committed by Nazi Germany and its allies. The Holocaust started in 1933 with the Nazi dictatorial leadership strengthens and by 1945 the killing of the Jews started (Berenbaum, 2023). This inhuman genocide causes more than 6 million fatalities.

In the Holocaust Nazi Germany’s propaganda outlet used to dehumanized the Jewish minorities in its communication outlets. “Rats, lice, cockroaches, foxes, vultures” (Criado, 2022) were some of the animals the Nazis used to describe and dehumanize the Jewish minorities in its media outlets.

“A new study of speeches, pamphlets and articles from the period shows how German fascism denied Jewish people humanity to fuel hate and justify genocide.” (Criado, 2022) A denial of humanity is a clear dehumanization act which is committed by Nazi.

Studies show the act of using anti-Semitic words towards Jews were existed before Nazi government controls the power. The Nazi government fuels the anti-Semitic propaganda to get acceptance and popularity from the people. The media representation of both animalistic and machinery dehumanization was dominant. Criado (2022) describes the representation of the Jewish people and the motion behind the representation as the following:-

“In the years before the Holocaust, Jews were represented as a being incapable of human feeling. Coinciding with the Nazis’ early efforts to exterminate them, European Jews were depicted as agents of evil, as demons, as a nefarious cabal scheming up threats. The consequence, whether intentional or not, was to overcome the moral barriers to their mass elimination.” (Criado, 2022)

The Criado (2022) statement describes mechanistic dehumanization of Jews by saying “incapable of human feeling.” and describes the animalistic representation of Jews as “evil and demon”. That creates a comfortable arena to remove the moral barriers.

The media was a means to transmit Nazi dehumanization propagandas. Studies on

“Hundreds of posters, pamphlets, newspapers, and political speech transcripts of Nazi before and during the Holocaust show ... the Holocaust progressively denied Jews’ capacity for experiencing fundamental human emotions and sensations—in line with the idea that dehumanization leads to disengagement of moral restraints.” (Landry et al., 2022)

Landry et al. (2022) emphasizes on the preliminary existence of dehumanization before the genocide. The authors suggest dehumanization as a preliminary factor or enabler of genocide by saying the following: -

“To eliminate violence, we must understand the motives that drive it. To do so, we examined the portrayal of Jews in Nazi propaganda. We found that Jews were progressively denied the capacity for fundamentally human mental experiences leading up to the Holocaust, suggesting that dehumanization can motivate violence by reducing moral concern for victim groups.” (Landry et al., 2022)

The media is the one who transmits this dehumanizing message comes from the political leaders. It is the media participates on reducing the morality of the people and lead them to violence. The above two examples of media dehumanization and the consequences can show how a misuse of media especially in the time of war could make us lose a tone of human kind. Standing on this foundation this study will discuss the recent civil war which costs 600,000 fatalities in Ethiopia within two years.

2.7. Journalism Ethics

Journalism has ethical values to follow during all stages of its execution. The commonly known journalistic ethics are truth, accuracy and objectivity. The International Federation of Journalists set 16 global ethics for Journalists in 2019. Many descriptions of the charter focus on fairness, truth, independence and objectivity. Number 9 of the global charter is related with the topic I am addressing in this paper.

“Journalists shall ensure that the dissemination of information or opinion does not contribute to hatred or prejudice and shall do their utmost to avoid facilitating the spread of discrimination on grounds such as geographical, social or ethnic origin, race, gender, sexual orientation, language, religion, disability, political and other opinions.” (International federation of Journalists, 2019)

This is the ethics which journalists need to implement in their day to day life. This was the line transgressed during the Rwandan genocide and the Holocaust during the dissemination of the propaganda. This was the ethical value laid by RTLM while broadcasting dehumanizing messages on its radio. Dehumanization propaganda starts when journalists refuse to bound by this golden ethics.

2.8. Empirical research

There are studies which are done related to the recent civil war in Ethiopia and media. Negussie (2021) studies the rhetoric of western media on Tigray during the war by taking associated press, BBC and Reuters as a sample. Negussie (2021) started his study hypothesising the international media outlets had a negative impact on the country during the war. His study found the western media propagating negativity on Ethiopia. He doesn't agree with the name given to the civil war and he prefers to follow the 2020 government

propaganda of calling the war “a law enforcement operation”. He concludes it as the following:-

“The Western media confused the global community and portrayed the conflict as a full-scale war by taking the testimonies of one side, TPLF. However, the government insisted "the law enforcement operation" objective was clear, limited and achievable. The western media has largely failed to show the conflict objectively.” (Negussie, 2021)

However, after the publishing of his research paper in 2022 the Ethiopian government accepts the war as a civil war and sets with the TPLF for negotiation. Negussie (2021) accuses the foreign media outlets as an agent of ethnic conflict. However, he says nothing about the dehumanization propaganda going on in the country’s media outlets.

In other study by Awoke (2021) on public media reporting of the conflict between the federal government and TPLF forces he found public media as not serving the people during the war. In the contrary both studied media outlets ETV and Tigray TV found working as a propaganda machine for the government. Awoke (2021) describes it as the following:-

“In the majority news stories, they used sources of political appointees and military personnel to propagate the conflict. There is no professional perspective of conflict reporting that is identifying the cause of the conflict, using independent sources and proposing possible solutions for the conflict. Even there is no journalism ethics to give priority for the human side of the story to protect victims.” (Awoke, 2021)

Awoke (2021) describes the loose of a human sense in the media outlets. However, he does not cover dehumanization propaganda in the study.

Kinfu (2021) also studied the framing of the war on ETV and ESAT. He focused on the type of framing presented on the media outlets. Othering was his major finding. Winner vs loser framing was the other outcome he found in the framing of the stories in the media houses. Kinfu (2021) concludes his finding as the following:-

“The portrayal of the incident in the EBC conflict news focuses on winner vs loser orientation, victorious and defeat-oriented. The incident is depicted in EBC as a battle between the country's adversary and its protector, between "us" and "them." On the other hand, most of the news was also focused on blaming others. To some extent,

beyond blaming others, EBC also presents news that shows how the government is taking responsibility and fulfilling its duty, as does ESAT.” (Kinfu, 2021)

Even if he looked in to the existence of othering he was only looking in to the comparative existence of othering between the two channels. He didn’t take a look about dehumanization in the media houses.

Other comparative study on the programs of ETV and Tigray TV by Feleke (2021) discusses the framing of the programs and found negative portrayal of the central government on TTV and negative portrayal of the regional government on ETV.

“TTV Amharic was using languages that demonized the federal government of Ethiopia officials, particularly Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and the Eritrean President Isaias Afeworki in three consecutive months. Nevertheless, ETV 57 was demonizing the TPLF party in the news, in November after the war between two parties began.” (Feleke, 2021)

Feleke (2021) found a dehumanizing words as he describes as “demonized” descriptions were found on his research. However, he focused on how the programs are framed and resisted from saying more on the dehumanization terms he found.

The above studies were collected during the war and don’t have the full picture of the civil war. That could be a reason they couldn’t figure out the dehumanization propagandas.

Even if there were warnings from US government and Human rights watch about the dehumanizing rhetoric, there couldn’t find a study done on the dehumanization propaganda alone in Ethiopian civil war.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research design

The research design for the study is selected to be a case study. The study aims to explore subjective perspectives and aims. Using exploratory case study research design helps to get better understanding of the data that is going to be explored.

Answering the use of dehumanizing content on the media outlets needs a careful and deep investigation of the given data. The case study helps to understand ideas and patterns of the dehumanizing frames. The design will give depth insight from the data gathered.

3.2. Research approach

3.2.1. Mixed research method

The study focused on analysing dehumanization variables on the news stories broadcasted by ETV and TTV Amharic during the civil war. Identifying the type of dehumanization and the implication of dehumanization considered. Participation of Journalists on the dehumanization propaganda is against the ethics of journalism. Studying the archived footages of the broadcast deeply and discussing the answer for the questions raised required both qualitative and quantitative study. Qualitative research explores and provides deeper insights and quantitative data calculates numerical data (Tenny, 2022).

Qualitative research focuses on words and their meanings and the quantitative one focuses on numbers and statistical information. As the study is done on the archives of ETV and TTV selecting qualitative and quantitative research side by side makes it easy to present the human aspect of the findings. “Qualitative studies rely on personal accounts or documents that illustrate in detail how people think or respond within society.” (Hoover, 2021)

The study focused on the indicators of dehumanization, Words and visuals which indicate the dehumanization of the other group. Qualitative study collects its data through interviews, focus groups, documents, personal accounts, cultural records or observations and etc.

Qualitative study focuses on the natural aspect of the study “excluding it’s rang, frequency and place in an objectively determined chain of cause and effect.” (Busetto & et al, 2020) The

frequency included by using quantitative method. It was all about finding the dehumanizing elements and discussing how they implied, their type and also their frequency. Denzin & Lincoln (1994) describes qualitative study as a study of linguistic symbols and stories to articulate and describe its behaviour in a real setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994 cited in Gephart & Saylors, 2020). The study focused on the linguistic symbols and stories to describe their dehumanizing behaviour in a real setting. However, numbers are used to present the outcome of the study. Mixed research method implied for this research.

3.3. Data collection techniques

3.3.1. Content analysis

Content analysis is a method which helps to extract certain word or theme from a given collection of data. The main aim of implying content analysis on a specific research is getting predetermined information by analysing the data. However, during the process of the study the data could provide additional information than required. Researchers use content analysis to determine the existence of certain words or concepts in the given data (Carol and et al, 2005). This tool used in qualitative studies through systematic way of coding. Content analysis is “any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” (Patton, 2002 quoted on Zhang and Wildemuth, 2005). It is widely applied in qualitative researches (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

There are two types of content analysis conceptual analysis and relational analysis.

3.3.1.1. Conceptual analysis

Conceptual analysis is a type of content analysis which we think of what content analysis is all about (Carol and et al, 2005). Mostly we think checking the presence of something in the given data is all about content analysis. That is the reason why we assimilate conceptual analysis as the only way of content analysis. “In conceptual analysis, a concept is chosen for examination and the analysis involves quantifying and counting its presence. The main goal is to examine the occurrence of selected terms in the data.” (Palmquist, 2012)

In the conceptual analysis there are general steps that help to conduct the research. The first stage is to decide the level of analysis. The level of analysis means to decide whether it is word, sentence, theme, phrase and word sense the analysis will going to focus. The second

stage is deciding whether to focus on the predetermine categories or being flexible to add new categories while coding (Palmquist, 2012). The third one is deciding the coding either for checking the existence or frequency. This means if the researcher decides to code the existence there is no need to bother how many times the variable appears. The fourth stage is putting a decision on how to distinguish among concepts. This is about deciding the coding of the variable whether to code exact and direct only or to include when it appear in other forms as well. Developing rule of coding is the fifth stage of conceptual analysis. It helps to make the coding consistent. Deciding what to do with the irrelevant data is the six one. Coding the text and analysing the result will follow.

3.3.1.2. Relational analysis

Relational analysis goes the same with conceptual analysis however the analysis will not limited by one concept but relationship of concepts (Carol and et al, 2005).

“In other words, the focus of relational analysis is to look for semantic, or meaningful, relationships. Individual concepts, in and of themselves, are viewed as having no inherent meaning. Rather, meaning is a product of the relationships among concepts in a text.” (Carol and et al, 2005)

Carol and et al (2005) discuss stages to conduct relational analysis. The first one is determining the type of analysis. This includes determining the types of relationships to examine and the level of analysis. The second one is reducing the text to categorize and code for words or patterns. Exploring the relationship between concepts, coding the relationships, performing statistical analysis and mapping the representation are the other stages.

The study used conceptual content analysis as a research design. The presence of dehumanization variables is studied with their frequency to check dominant words. However, the study is done to show the dehumanization variables in ETV & TTV rather than comparing the frequency of dehumanizing texts in the media outlets or analysing a relationship between concepts.

3.3.2. In-depth interview

In-depth interview is one of the qualitative data collection techniques which help a researcher to get respondents idea about a certain topic. The researcher takes required time conversing with the respondents to get their perspective on the prepared questions. The type of questions

in an in-depth interview is open-ended questions that led the interviewee to talk more about the idea (Rutledge & Hogg, 2020). The advantage of in-depth interview is its convenience to get detailed information. The researcher can ask back based on the answers of the responders to probe more detail about the topic. An in-depth interview can be structured, semi structured, unstructured or a mix of it (Showkat & Parveen, 2017). The structure of the questions decided based on the goal of the study.

“If an interviewer follows a list of predetermined questions, the interview becomes structured. In the same way, if the interviewer has a list of areas or topics instead of specific questions, it becomes a semi-structured interview. ... On the other side, unstructured interviews are moreover like a daily based conversation. There is no specific set of predetermined questions.” (Showkat & Parveen, 2017)

The sample size of in-depth interview which is suggested by many books, articles and book chapters is between 5 to 50 according to the research goal and saturation (Dworkin, 2012). There could be many factors which are considered in deciding the sample size of in-depth interview. Morse (2000) described six factors that affect the decision making on the size of the samples while using in-depth interview.

“the quality of data, the scope of the study, the nature of the topic, the amount of useful information obtained from each participant, the use of shadowed data, and the qualitative method and study design used” (Morse, 2000 quoted in Dworkin, 2012)

The main limitations of in-depth interview are it is small sample, time taking and lacks generalizability (Dworkin, 2012; Showkat & Parveen, 2017).

The study used in-depth interview as a data collection instrument in addition to content analysis. Structured questions are chosen for the interview to make the respondents focus on the ideas the research questions focus.

3.4. Sampling

Sampling of a data is the crucial element of a data collection process. Sampling is a process of selecting representatives from the total population (Mcleod, 2023). In qualitative study there are many sampling types which go with the goal and type of the research. Purposive sampling, quota sampling, convenience sampling and snow ball sampling are among the type

of sampling which frequently used in mixed research. The study is done using purposive sampling.

3.4.1. Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling by which the samples of the population is chosen in the interest of the researcher to attain the research goal. In Purposive sampling the researcher selects the sample for a better matching of the sample with the objective and aim of the research which improves the trust worthiness of the data (Campbell and et al, 2020). Purposive sampling helps to choose the most informative unit from the entire population (Guarte & Barrios, 2006).

The researcher can select purposive sampling to address cases and individuals that best suit to answer the research questions (Nikolopoulou, 2023). “Purposeful sampling is widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases related to the phenomenon of interest.” (Palinkas & et al, 2015)

This research also used purposive sampling in order to address the dehumanization variables from the population. The samples were selected by the researcher considering their purpose to answer the research questions. Tracing the hot propagandas and purposefully sampling them helps to show the real image of the dehumanization propaganda. Addressing the total population was impossible due to the time length of the broadcasts. As I was trying to get the dehumanization variables, purposefully tracing them helps to answer the research questions.

3.4.2. Sampling frame

3.4.2.1. Content analysis

The research time frame was started from November 3, 2020 and lasts to November 3, 2022 as the war is happened in this time frame. However, covering all broadcasts of the ETV and TTV Amharic News is unimaginable. In the preliminary research I witnessed the dehumanization propagandas declined in the second year of the war. The first year of the war which is from November 3, 2020 to November 3, 2021 will be in more focus however the second year of the war also will be included.

The TV channels broadcast their main news on the primetime. It considered as “News of the day”. Prime time News is well sourced, generic, sensational and popular (Dolan, 2000). This

makes the prime time of the day to get more focus as a sample. Prime time of the day which is 08:00PM News got more focus as the sample. However other broadcasts with tense dehumanization are also included. Here again covering a prime time News of 365 days which is nearly 730 hours for both stations was also too much. It is known in qualitative studies the sample size lies between 1 to 30 informants (Fridlund & Hildingh, 2000 cited in Bengtsson, 2016). However, qualitative content analysis doesn't have strong boarder on how many samples to take. The sampling lies on how the researcher believes the research question addressed. The number of the samples depends on the purpose of the study (Elo, 2014).

“There are no established criteria when using content analysis for the size of a unit of analysis, neither the number of informants or objects to study, nor the number of pages based on the informants' own written text or transcribed data.” (Bengtsson, 2016)

The researcher chose to purposefully select 50 News each from the total population. These become 100 News. 100 News are selected considering a lit propaganda period of the war. Based on the preliminary research on the archived videos dehumanizing variables are more prominent at the starting period of the war. This 100 News are enough to trace the dehumanizing propagandas.

In order to cover the coding in a small period of time 5 undergraduate students are trained by the researcher. However after the coding of the videos the researcher had taken a look on sensitive topics which believed helpful for the analysis.

In conceptual analysis deciding the level of the frame is necessary. The research searches the dehumanization in all form. It could be in a word, a phrase or a sentence. All are accepted for the analysis. The frequency of a certain dehumanizing term was also analysed. The researcher gave focus for most frequent dehumanization terms to know which terms used as a main dehumanizing description. Both explicit and implicit ways of dehumanizing terms accepted for the study. The dehumanization texts are accepted when they come alone as well as with other words. Main aim of the study is to get dehumanization on the media houses during the war.

3.4.2.2. In-depth interview

An In-depth interview has small sample size. It participates not more than 10-15 people (Showkat & Parveen, 2017). For this study as in-depth interview is not the only method used,

I believed 10 participants are enough to reach to saturation level. The participants shared common dehumanizing terms they heard of ETV and TTV during the Ethiopian war in Tigray.

As some of my interviewees live in Tigray the digitalization becomes a good advantage to reach them, most of the interviews are done via telegram voice chat. Telegram voice chat is selected as a medium as all of the respondents use it daily and it is easy and cheap to use. The interview is recorded on telegram. The interviewees were asked five questions each which cover the research questions of the study.

The sample frame included Journalists from Addis Ababa and Mekele and people who consumed News especially in the time of the war.

3.5. Data coding

The data coding takes on a coding table which is prepared by the researcher. The coding sheet prepared in a way which covers the research questions.

3.5.1. Dehumanization texts

The dehumanization texts included and can be implied through speech, audio visual or image. The dehumanization can get described by paintings, photographs or other still images. Audio visuals also can carry dehumanizing meanings. The coders select the type of the text by carefully looking into the sample.

3.5.2. Type of dehumanization

There are two types of dehumanization, animalistic dehumanization and mechanistic dehumanization. The coders selected which kind of dehumanization appeared on the text. When the subject direct towards describing the other group in the form of animals the code given as animalistic. When it is describing as not having human feeling it tallied as mechanistic.

3.5.3. Way of description

Dehumanization texts can appear explicitly or implicitly. The explicit one is when the texts are used clearly. The implicit way is when the words are not stated but the meaning is known for being dehumanizing.

3.5.4. Mouthpiece

The coders described whether the dehumanizing word, phrase or sentence was said by the journalist, interviewer, interviewee, anchor or other.

3.5.5. Source of the News

The coders described whether the source of the News is the government press release, party's press release or the media's production.

3.5.6. Description of the text

The coders described what they saw on the screen when it is images or paintings. When it is audio visual they quoted the dehumanizing speech at all.

3.5.7. Minute

The coders described in which minute the text appeared. This helped the researcher to look back for the analysis of the research.

3.6. Ethical considerations

Mixed research ethical considerations are mainly focused on the confidentiality of the sources (Bos, 2020). In this research there are sources of the dehumanization content. However, the researcher restricted from naming them as an individual. They are described in their collective name. It could be journalists, sources, anchors, etc.

The topic of the research is known for having a conflict of interest. As the war was between ethnic groups and some of the ethnic groups are main participants in the war, the ethnic bias can lead to the distortion of the sampling and the analysis.

The researcher notices a biased description of facts in a study which is done on the framing of Ethiopian and foreign media outlets during the war. This reminds how a bias towards one side can lead to a distorted result of a study. The approach of this biased study is described in the review of related literature chapter. The conflict of interest was clear. The study used as an example to not fall in to self-bias of ethnic and political conflict.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the findings of the study. The findings are presented based on their theme. On first hand findings from the content analysis are presented and the results from the in-depth interview follow. Finally the analysis of the findings is discussed. The data is coded to answer the type of the text that implied the dehumanization, the type of the dehumanization and the way of the dehumanization. This coded data also led us to know who the mouthpiece of the dehumanization is and the source of dehumanized content.

4.1. Data from the content analysis

Results from the content analysis are presented below. The results are categorized in five themes. Each theme discussed the findings of both television channels, which are Ethiopian Television and Tigray Television. The analysis of the findings will follow next to the presentation of the finding of each theme.

Demography	ETV	TTV
Ownership	Federal government of Ethiopia	Regional government of Tigray
Location of the head quarter	Addis Ababa	Mekele
Coverage	Satellite	Satellite
Languages	Multiple	Multiple

Table 1 Demography of the TV stations

The data from content analysis is presented in six categories. Type of the text, type of the dehumanization, way of description, mouthpiece of the dehumanization, source of the dehumanizing message and dominant dehumanizing texts are the categories the data will be presented below.

4.1.1. Type of the text

Dehumanization appears in our day to day life. It can be described through words. As the Rwanda Tutsi's named as cockroaches. But also it can be described implicitly or explicitly on images and videos. Visuals can dehumanize as well. The dehumanizing posters of Germany Nazi are also the other way to do it. Here in this study the data is coded to check how the dehumanization is transmitted by the media houses.

“በጨካኝነቱ፣ በሌባነቱ እና በሀገር ከዳተኝነቱ የሚታወቀው ፅንፈኛው የህወሓት ቡድን ሀገር የማተራመስ አጀንዳውን ቀደም ብሎ የጀመረ ቢሆንም ...

It is known for its brutality, thievery and treason, the extremist TPLF group started its agenda of destabilizing the country earlier ...” (ETV News, November 28 2020)

50 videos related to the war in the Northern Ethiopia are coded to check which type of text used to dehumanize people. Words, Images and videos are expected to involve. However, words ended up being the most dehumanizing type of text which is utilized in ETV.

The following table shows in how many sample videos each variable existed. One video can have more than one dehumanizing text. Some of the videos are found consisting more than one type of dehumanizing text.

Type of the text	Number of Videos involve the text
Word	49
Images	1
Videos	3

Table 2 Types of dehumanizing text found on ETV

Images were less used to dehumanize on ETV. Video is found the second most dehumanizing text next to word. However, the gap between word and video is a lot.

Some of the Samples of dehumanizing words used on ETV are the following: -

የጥፋት ቡድን (The destruction team)	አሸባሪ (Terrorist)	ወንበዴ (Bandit)
ዘራፊ (Robber)	ስግብግብ ጁንታ (The greedy junta)	

Table 3 samples of dehumanizing Words from ETV

The above words are some of the words used to dehumanize the other party. However, the category of word includes phrases and sentences as well. Here below are samples of the dehumanizing phrases and sentences transmitted on ETV.

Amharic	• በጨካኝነቱ፣ በሌባነቱ እና በሀገር ከዳተኝነቱ የሚታወቀው ፅንፈኛው የህወሓት ቡድን ሀገር የማተራመስ አጀንዳውን ቀደም ብሎ የጀመረ ቢሆንም ...
English	• known for its brutality, thievery and treason, the extremist TPLF group started its agenda of destabilizing the country earlier.
Amharic	• ብዙ ግፍ ሰርቷል። ህፃናትን፣ ሴቶችን፣ እናቶችን፣ ሴቶችን ደፍሯል፣ አዛውንቶችን ገድሏል። ህዝብ ዘረፋ ላይ ነው ያለው ስለዚህ ይህን ወራሪ ኃይል እንደህዝብ ወጥተን ለመመከት ዝግጁ ነን።
English	• They has done many injustices. They killed children, women, mothers, women, and the elderly. The people are being looted, so we are ready to fight this invading force as a people.

Table 4 Samples of dehumanizing phrase and sentence used on ETV

The above phrase and sentence also lay in the category of word. There are a lot of similar dehumanizing words that are coded under the category.

“Dehumanization seemingly involves a complex of the following: an assault on ‘our’ human dignity or value as ends-in-ourselves (being treated as a mere means to others’ ends); treating someone as something, or reducing someone to something; comparison of human beings to animals or inanimate objects, thereby committing a sort of category mistake; denial of agency or distinctly human capabilities; and a psychological attitude of conceiving others as subhuman.” (Mikkola, 2021)

The above description by Mikkola (2021) clearly describes being a means or being framed as a means for the hostility of others is considered as dehumanization. The phrases and sentences in the above table show how the other group is framed as a mere means for the end of the other group.

Next we will see a sample of dehumanizing image found on the study. Images are also another form of text that media houses used to dehumanize their subjects.



Figure 1 Indicator of dehumanizing image used by ETV

The above image consists of a hand which is full of blood which appears on the logo of TPLF. Also there is a word written on the logo beside the hand. It says “terrorist” in Amharic. This implicitly categorizes the group as a team of killers and terrorists.

There are also dehumanizing videos found on the News of ETV. The videos try to show how inhuman the TPLF group is by portraying documents of torture in Addis Ababa that are narrated as committed by TPLF. The news describes how the TPLF used to torture innocent people in “Maekelawi” prison to describe how inhuman the regime was and they display victim’s mutilated body (ETV News, November 8 2020). Maekelawi jail is the place where many politicians and journalist used to detain for investigation. The second sample of dehumanizing videos on ETV is portraying killed soldiers on the war front without blurring to implicitly show how brutal the TPLF soldiers are.

“መጥቶ ህዝብን እንደ ህዝብ ሊነካ፣ ሊያሸማቅቅ፣ ሊደፍር የሚመጣውን ህዝብ ህዝቡም እንደ ህዝብ ሰራዊቱም እንደ ሰራዊት አንድ ሆኖ ለመመከት

To fight the people who are coming to affect, embarrass, and dare the people, the people as the people and the army as one ...” (TTV News, November 5 2020)

50 videos are coded from TTV to know which type of text is used more to dehumanize. Similar to ETV words are the mostly used category of dehumanization. Video and image are less used in TTV for dehumanization purpose. The following table demonstrates the finding of the coded videos type of text.

Type of the text	Number of Videos involve the text
Word	41
Image	1
Video	1

Table 5 Types of dehumanizing text found on TTV

The category of word which consist word, phrase and sentence is the most dehumanizing text found on TTV. Image and video are found only in one sample. The words which consists dehumanization are found in 41 videos. It is because of the federal government take control of the TTV. The rest 9 sampled videos were produced under the watch of the federal government. That is the reason the number of the videos which consists dehumanizing words decreased comparing to ETV. The federal government controls Mekele on November 28, 2021 and leaves the Tigray capital Mekele in June 28, 2021 declaring a unilateral cease fire.

Here below are some samples of words which are used on TTV to dehumanize others.

ፋሺስት (Fascist)	ደመኛ ጠላት (A fierce enemy)	አምባገነን (Dectator)
አራዊት (Wild animal)	ደም የማይጠግብ (Bloodthirsty)	

Table 6 Samples of dehumanizing words on TTV

The above words are some of many words used to dehumanize the federal government, the Eritrea defence force and the Amhara militants. However, a category of word also includes phrase and sentence.

Most of the time dehumanizing words are found embedded in a phrase, a sentence or a paragraph. The words can directly code as dehumanizing when found in a sentence or phrase. However, most of the time the full concept of the sentence or the phrase can found dehumanizing, Which leads the phrase or the sentence to be coded as dehumanizing sentence or phrase.

Here below we will see samples of dehumanizing phrase and sentence used on TTV.

Amharic	መጥቶ ህዝብን እንደ ህዝብ ሊነካ፣ ሊያሸማቅቅ፣ ሊደፍር የሚመጣውን ህዝብ ህዝቡም እንደ ህዝብ ሰራዊቱም እንደ ሰራዊት አንድ ሆኖ ለመመከት
English	To fight the people who are coming to affect, embarrass, and dare the people, the people as the people and the army as one ...
Amharic	የትግራይ ህዝብ በንብ ከሰማይ እያወረድኩኝ እቀጠቅጣለሁኝ፣ እፈጃቸዋለሁኝ ብሎ በግላጭ የትግራይ ህዝብን ደም ለማፍሰስ ወደ ኋላ እንደማይል፤ አይችልም እንጂ እንደ ህዝብ ከምድረ ገፅ ለማጥፋት ዝቷል።
English	He will not hold back from spilling the blood of the people of Tigray saying that I will crush them by dropping bombs from the sky. He can't, but he threatens to destroy us as a people.

Table 7 Samples of dehumanizing Phrase and sentence used on TTV

The above phrase and sentence used to dehumanize the other counterpart as not having human feelings.

The other type of text is image. Image is found less dominant on TTV as a dehumanizing method. Let us see a sample of dehumanizing through image on TTV.



Figure 2 Sample of dehumanization through image used by TTV

The above photo demonstrates how TTV tries to dehumanize Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (PhD) by editing his photo. The photo is wrapped by dragging his ears and makes them too big. His face is also dragged to the top. They try to make him appear as non-human creature.

The other dehumanizing text found on TTV is video. The video found on TTV shows children attacked by serious famine (TTV News, September 2021). The video of the children's is extremely shocking. The narration of the video accuses Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed causing the man-made famine by cutting banking service, road and electricity. The implicit meaning of the video is dehumanizing the accused body for causing a man-made hunger and makes the children attacked by famine.

Regarding the types of dehumanizing text found on both media outlets, Words are found as the main dehumanizing text on both media outlets. The media outlets used word as a primary dehumanizing way for their propaganda. Image and video are less used comparing to word. The media outlets nearly used dehumanization text in all of the samples that are coded. Both ETV and TTV show similar patterns on using dehumanizing text for their propaganda.

4.1.2. Types of dehumanization

There are two types of dehumanization which are animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization. The animalistic dehumanization is a representation of people as animal. Using animalistic descriptions towards a human as well considered as animalistic dehumanization. The second type of dehumanization is mechanistic dehumanization. Mechanistic dehumanization is representing human as not having a human emotion. Person who is represented in mechanistic dehumanization doesn't have mercy, compassion and felling at all. Rather it considered as a machine with no felling like a robot.

The study examines the dehumanization texts for being animalistic or mechanistic. Here below the finding of the each media house is presented.

The samples are coded to check whether they contain animalistic or mechanistic dehumanization. The samples on ETV shows most of the dehumanization was a mechanistic dehumanization. Mercilessness and being destructive are the main way of mechanistic dehumanization appeared on ETV.

Here below is the figure of the finding.

Types of dehumanization	Number of samples which consist the variable
Animalistic dehumanization	4
Mechanistic dehumanization	49

Table 8 Types of dehumanization found on ETV

The table shows animalistic dehumanization found only in 4 samples. However, Mechanistic dehumanization appears nearly in all sample videos. Some of the sample videos consists both animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization.

Here below are some samples of animalistic dehumanizing.

Amharic	• ንብረት የሚባል የለም አሁን ሁሉንም ዘርፈዋል። ሴትም ለምሳሌ 1 ሴት ለ 6 ወንድ መጠቀም ማለት በጣም ይከብዳል። አንድ ሴት ለስድስት ተጠቅመዋት ከጥቅም ውጪ ሆናለች። ... ሴት ወልዶ እንደዚህ የሚያደርግ አለ ብዬ አልገምትም።
English	• There is no property, now they have all stolen it. For example, it is very difficult to use 1 woman for 6 men. They used her for six and she becomes useless. ... I don't think a person who had a daughter would do that.
Amharic	• ሰብዓዊነት የሌለው ኃይል ስለሆነ የራሱን ልጅ እራሱ መልሶ የበለ ኃይል ነው። ይኼ ኃይል የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ጠንቅ ነው። የትግራይ ህዝብም ጠንቅ ነው።
English	• Because it is an inhuman power, it is a power that devours its own son. This power is a danger to the people of Ethiopia. It is dangerous for the people of Tigray too.

Table 9 Samples of Animalistic dehumanization on ETV

The first sample on the above table implies the characteristic of animal without directly mentioning it. Multiple males having sex with one female at the same time is a distinguished characteristic of most of the animals but not for humans. The first sample accuses the other group having animalistic character. The second sample directly describes the other group as inhuman and describes it in a form of character that eats its own baby like chimpanzees. There are a lot of animals who eat their infants however; it is not a characteristic of a human.

Most of the samples had mechanistic dehumanization. The other group is characterized as a robotic machine with no feeling. The other group is categorized as a merciless, not bind by a culture, a group of killers which doesn't have common sense and etc. Here below are some of the samples of mechanistic dehumanization implied on ETV.

Amharic	• ይኼ የተለየ ጁንታ ተብለው የሚጠሩ ብዙ ጦርነት አይቻለው። እንደዚህ አይነት አድራጎች ተደርጎ አያውቅም። ከባድ፣ ጨካኝ፣ አረመኔ፣ ከገደለ በኋላ እንደገና እርቃነ-ስጋውን እንዳይቀበር የአሞራ እራት ሲሳይ፣ ለጅብ እራት ማድረግ ከባድ ነው። አፀያፊ ነገር ነው።
English	• This is a different junta. I've seen a lot of war. Never before has this been done. Hard, cruel, savage! Again after killing; Making the body a dinner for a vulture, a dinner for a hyena, so that the naked body is not buried; It is a grave shame. It's a horrible thing.
Amharic	• አሁን የገጠመን ጠላት የሚዘርፍ፣ የሚሰርቅ፣ የሚደፍር፣ ለራሱ ክብር የሌለው፣ ለሀገር ክብር የሌለው፣ ለሴቶች ክብር የሌለው፣ እራሱን አዋርዶ እኛን ማዋረድ የፈለገ ነው።
English	• The enemy we face now is one who robs, steals, rapes, has no respect for himself, no respect for the country, no respect for women, who wants to humiliate himself and humiliate us.

Table 10 Samples of mechanistic dehumanization used by ETV

The first sample above describes the so called “Junta” as a cruel merciless robot never existed before. They describe it as hard which cannot have the soft nature of human, a cruel which cannot have compassion, a savage which can’t act civilized. The second sample describes the “enemy” as machines that rob, steal and rape people with no sympathy.

“The idea is that a creature can ‘appear’ human and this gives the surface appearance of them being like us; but such a creature can fail to possess a human essence thus being a member of a subhuman kind that isn’t part of our moral community.”
(Mikkola, 2021)

ETV used both animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization propaganda to make the people against outgroup. The animalistic dehumanization propaganda less used comparing to the mechanistic dehumanization propaganda. The most dominantly used dehumanization propaganda on ETV during the Ethiopian war in Tigray is mechanistic dehumanization.

The animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization are also implied on TTV. The mechanistic dehumanization was recorded as the mostly used type of dehumanization on TTV. Animalistic dehumanization propaganda was also existed but recorded only in few samples.

Here the table below shows the number of samples each type of dehumanization existed.

Type of dehumanization	Number of samples which consists the type of dehumanization
Animalistic dehumanization	3
Mechanistic dehumanization	40

Table 11 Types of dehumanization found on TTV

Animalistic dehumanization existed only in three of the sample videos. The TTV doesn't use animalistic dehumanization as a main dehumanization propaganda type. Mechanistic dehumanization used as main dehumanization type in TTV.

The number of samples with mechanistic dehumanization decreases because some of the samples coded were during the period which the federal government controlled the media.

Here below are samples of animalistic dehumanization broadcasted on TTV.

Amharic	በኢሮብ ወረዳ በርካታ ቀበሌዎች የአምባገነኑ ኢሳያስ አራዊት ሰራዊት በሰላማዊ ሰዎች ላይ ጭፍጭፋ በማካሄድ አስክሬናቸው በአውሬ እንዲበላ ማድረጋቸውን የጥቃቱ ሰለባ ቤተሰቦች ተናገሩ።
English	In "Irobe" district, many kebeles, the animalistic army of Isaias, carried out massacres against civilians. The families of the victims said that the bodies of the victims were eaten by wild animals.
Amharic	የትግራይ ህዝብ እንደነበሩ አራዊት ተደርጎ እንዲታሰብም ብዙ ጥረት እንዳደረጉ ሰራዊቶቹ ተናግረዋል።
English	The armies said that they made a lot of efforts to make the people of Tigray to be considered as animals like them.

Table 12 Samples of Animalistic dehumanization found on TTV

Both of the above samples show a representation of humans as animals. The first statement directly describes the military as a group of wild animals. The second sample also gives a same sense as the first. They compare what they call “them” as the group of wild animals. The animalistic description of others is not limited to words in TTV. Here below is an sample of animalistic dehumanization through image.



Figure 3 Sample of animalistic dehumanization via image used on TTV

On the above image the TTV disfigure the face of the Prime Minister and gave it feature of an animal. The audiences can get the feeling of an animalistic creature. For example his right side ear is dragged like donkey.

The other and main type of dehumanization found on TTV is mechanistic dehumanization. Mechanistic dehumanization is found on 80 percent of the videos coded. The TTV describes the other participants of the war as a machine programmed for destruction.

“Mechanistic dehumanization involves seeing others as inert, cold, passive, rigid, superficial, or as a collection of parts (Haslam, 2006; Haslam et al., 2007).” (Methot-Jones, 2019)

Table 12 which is located below shows mechanistic dehumanization found on TTV. The descriptions paint the other group as a team of fascist, dictator, authoritarian which is comfortable with spilling the blood of the nation to protect his power. The group characterized as not having human feelings of sympathy and kindness.

The sample below describes the other group as a group who have not any mercy even for children and makes them killed on the battle front by forcefully deploying them to the war front.

Here below are samples of Mechanistic dehumanization used on TTV.

Amharic	• አሀዳዊ አምባገነናዊ ቡድን አሸባሪና ፋሺስት መሆኑን ራሱ በግልፅ ያመነበት ነው። ነገር ግን ይህ ፋሺስት አሀዳዊ ቡድን የትናንቱ ከንቱ ቀረርቶ የኢትዮጵያ ብሔር ብሔረሰብ እና ህዝቦችን እያባለና ደማቸውን እንደ ጅረት እያፈሰሰ የስልጣን ኮርቻውን ለማጣናከር የዘየደው እኩይ ተግባር ...
English	• He himself clearly believed that this unitary authoritarian group is terrorist and fascist. However, the evil actions of this fascist unitary group, yesterday's futility is a plan for destroying the nation and people of Ethiopia and shedding their blood like a stream to strengthen its own seat of power...
Amharic	• የፋሺስቱ ቅጥረኛ ሰራዊት ህፃናትን በመሳሪያ በማስፈራራት እና በመደለል በስላላ እና በጦር ግንባር እየማገደ መሆኑ ...
English	• The fascist mercenary army is terrorizing and extorting children with weapons and sends them to spy and fight, makes them killed on the battle ground

Table 13 Samples of mechanistic dehumanization found on TTV

Both ETV and TTV used animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization as a propaganda tool to frame the other group as enemy and a threat for the existence of the other group. Mechanistic dehumanization is recorded as the main dehumanization type in both studied media outlets.

4.1.3. Ways of dehumanization

The dehumanization propaganda is framed both implicitly and explicitly. Words, images or videos transmit animalistic or mechanistic dehumanization either through explicit terms or implicit terms. Calling the other group hyena is an example of explicit animalistic dehumanization. However if the dehumanization is described as they eat the flesh of humans this would be implicit animalistic dehumanization. They called them hyena indirectly by giving them a feature of it. It is the same for mechanistic dehumanization. It can be framed explicitly or implicitly. Naming the other group as terrorist or fascist is explicit mechanistic

dehumanization. If they are framed as “their hands are full of blood” it is implicitly calling them killer or terrorists.

Most of the dehumanization found on ETV consist explicit dehumanization. However some of the videos consists implicit dehumanization on their framing. Here below the table shows the finding on the ways of the dehumanization.

Ways of dehumanization	Number of samples that consist the dehumanization
Explicit dehumanization	49
Implicit dehumanization	10

Table 14 Ways of dehumanization

Most of the samples which consists implicit dehumanization also had an explicit dehumanization. The explicit dehumanization nearly appeared on all studied samples. However, the implicit dehumanization recorded only in 10 sample videos which are only 20 percent of the sample videos.

Here below are some samples of implicit and explicit dehumanization broadcasted on ETV.

Amharic	• ሰዉ የታሉ ሰዎች ይላል። አይጥ መፈለግ ከባድ ነው። ጎሬው የገባ አይጥ መፈለግ ከባድ ነው። መያዛቸው አይቀርም።
English	• People asks "Where are those people?" Finding a mouse is hard. It's hard to find a rat that has gotten into his "gore". They are bound to get caught.

Table 15 Sample of explicit dehumanization on ETV

On the above table from analysis of ETV’s content the interviewee describes the other group explicitly as a rat. This is an explicit animalistic dehumanization. The subject is addressed in direct word, Animal. However dehumanization also appears in an implicit form.

Amharic	• እየመጡ ያለው ሀሺሽ እየበላ ነው።
English	• They are coming eating hashish.

Table 16 Sample of implicit dehumanization on ETV

The above table shows implicit dehumanization of the other group by claiming they are fighting in a under the influence of drug without having a proper human sense. This framing is an implicit mechanistic dehumanization.

The study on ETV sampled videos show the dehumanization propaganda was framed both in an explicit or direct form and an implicit or indirect form of dehumanization.

TTV also used both implicit and explicit framing of dehumanization. The explicit dehumanization found prevalent on the studied samples. Even if not dominant as the explicit one implicit dehumanization also used to frame dehumanization. Here below the table demonstrates the way of dehumanization in TTV.

Way of dehumanization	Number of samples which consists the dehumanization
Explicit dehumanization	43
Implicit dehumanization	13

Table 17 Ways of dehumanization found on TTV

All videos with dehumanization term consists explicit dehumanization. Some of the videos consisted both ways of dehumanization. Implicit way of dehumanization found less dominant as a way of framing dehumanization. Here below are samples of both ways of dehumanization from TTV.

Amharic	• ፋሺስት ወራሪዎች በትግራይ ህዝብ ላይ ለማየት የሚዘገንን ለመስማት የሚከብድ ግፍ ፈፅመዋል።
English	• Fascist invaders have committed atrocities against the people of Tigray that are terrible to see and hard to hear.

Table 18 Sample of explicit way of dehumanization on TTV

The above sample shows how the other group is terrible by using explicit words like Fascist and invader. The description is direct. The framing is explicit mechanistic dehumanization.

Implicit framing of dehumanization is also used as a way of framing on TTV. Here the table below shows a sample of implicit dehumanization used by TTV.

Amharic	• ይህን ኃይል ባለበት በፍጥነት መጥረግ ይኖርብናል።
English	• We need to quickly wipe out this power.

Table 19 Sample of implicit way of dehumanization on TTV

The above implicit representation used the word wipe describing the other group as a trash. This representation makes it easy for people to remove the humanness of the other group and harm them.

The dominant way of framing dehumanization is noted as explicit dehumanization in both ETV and TTV. Implicit framing of dehumanization also existed on both media outlets but in a few numbers comparing to the explicit one.

4.1.4. Mouthpieces of the dehumanization

The dehumanizing texts on the media are changed to a dehumanizing voice either by the journalists or the interviewees. In this study anchor, Journalist's voice over and interviewees are found being the main mouthpieces of the dehumanization. The anchor read leads of News, the Journalists reads the voice over and the interviewees give speech on the News. Whoever gives speech or interview on the screen is categorized as interviewee.

The journalists voice over was the leading mouthpiece of dehumanization in ETV. The voice overs consists much dehumanizing content than the rest of the categories. The category of interviewee and anchor follows next to the Journalist. Here below the tables shows the number of samples which carry each mouthpieces.

Mouthpieces of dehumanization	Number of samples which consist the mouthpiece's participation
Anchor	9
Journalist	31
Interviewee	19

Table 20 Mouthpieces of dehumanization on ETV

Some of the sample videos consists multiple mouthpieces of dehumanization. Anchors were less involved in using the dehumanizing words in ETV.

The dehumanization mouthpieces in TTV were the anchor and the journalist's voice over. Interviewees participation was exist but only in a little amount comparing to the rest categories. The table below shows the amount of samples each mouthpiece participates on the dehumanization.

Mouthpieces of dehumanization	Number of samples which consist the mouthpiece's participation
Anchor	28
Journalist	25
Interviewee	6

Table 21 Mouthpieces of dehumanization on TTV

Some of the samples on TTV had multiple mouthpieces of dehumanization.

Both ETV and TTV had multiple mouthpieces in some of the samples. Journalist's voice over was predominant in both News outlets. However, Anchors are found in a prevalent number in TTV but participates less in ETV. The interviewee's participation recorded less in TTV but found in a fair amount in ETV.

4.1.5. Sources of the dehumanization

The dehumanization element which appears on the media outlets has different sources. News productions by the media house could be the source of the dehumanization propaganda or it could be from government press releases. Main sources of dehumanization found on both media outlets are either the media outlets production or government press releases.

The dehumanizing content from ETV is mainly emerged from the news outlet's productions. Government press release that contains dehumanization is found only in two sample videos. The table below shows the number of samples which contain each source of dehumanizing content.

Sources of dehumanizing content	Number of samples which contain the dehumanizing source
News productions	47
Press releases	2

Table 22 Sources of dehumanizing content in ETV

Most of the dehumanization on TTV has emerged from the news productions of the media. Press releases are shown as a source of dehumanizing content in few samples.

Here in the next page the table shows the number of samples with respective source of dehumanization.

Sources of dehumanizing content	Number of samples which contain the dehumanizing source
News productions	36
Press releases	7

Table 23 Sources of dehumanizing content on TTV

News productions are recorded as main source of dehumanizing content in both media outlets. Most of the dehumanizing content existed in news productions. Press releases has small role in participating as a source of dehumanization during the war.

The content analysis on the sampled videos gave us Words as a main type of text which carries dehumanization content. Mechanistic dehumanization as the main type of dehumanization existed on the media outlets. The way of description of dehumanizing content was explicit. The voice over of journalists found as dominant mouthpieces of dehumanization in ETV and anchors found prevalent on TTV. The voice over existed on both media outlets in higher number. However interviewees existed in a fair number next to the voice over on ETV and in the lowest number on TTV. Both media outlets news productions are found as main source of dehumanizing content.

4.1.6. Dominant dehumanizing words

The study found some of the words as dominant dehumanizing words in the media outlets. The words used frequently in most of the broadcasts.

These five words below used most frequently on the channel.

(The space is deliberately leaved blank as it is not enough for the table coming next.)

ወረራ (Invader)	አሽባሪ (Terrorist)	ወንበዴ (Bandit)
ዘራፊ (Robber)	ጁንታ (junta)	

Table 24 Dominant dehumanizing words on ETV

The words in the table are used in sentences frequently. The media used them to describe the other group.

Here below are five words that are used to dehumanize the other side frequently.

ፋሺስት (Fascist)	አሽባሪ (Terrorist)	ወንበዴ (Bandit)
አምባገነን (Dictator)	ወረራ (invader)	

Table 25 Dominant words used on TTV

The above words emerged most frequently in dehumanizing sentences from the broadcasts of the TTV.

4.1.7. Dominant categories of the content analysis

Here below the table illustrates the dominant results of each category from the content analysis.

TV channel	type of text	type of dehumanization	way of description	mouthpieces of dehumanization	source of dehumanizing content
ETV	Word	Mechanistic dehumanization	Explicit	Journalists	News productions
TTV	Word	Mechanistic dehumanization	Explicit	Anchor	News production

Table 26 Dominant categories of dehumanization on ETV and TTV

4.2. Data from the In-depth Interview

4.2.1. Demography of respondents

The in-depth interview participation includes professionals who work in media houses in Tigray and Addis Ababa. Media expert from EBA also included as they monitor the broadcasts in the country. A News editor interviewed from a prominent media station in Ethiopia. One bachelor student who consumes much News during the war included in the in-depth interview. The journalists interviewed works in media station of their respective locations.

The table below demonstrates the respondents' profession and their residence and work locations.

Respondents	Sex	Profession	Location
Interviewee 1	Male	BA Student	Addis Ababa
Interviewee 2	Male	Journalist	Addis Ababa
Interviewee 3	Male	News editor	Addis Ababa
Interviewee 4	Male	Journalist	Addis Ababa
Interviewee 5	Female	Journalist	Addis Ababa
Interviewee 6	Female	Journalist	Mekele
Interviewee 7	Female	Journalist	Mekele
Interviewee 8	Female	Journalist	Mekele
Interviewee 9	Male	Official from Ethiopian Broadcast Authority	Addis Ababa
Interviewee 10	Male	Journalist	Mekele

Table 27 Demography of the respondents of the in-depth interview

4.2.2. Type of dehumanizing words on the media

Respondents are asked about dehumanizing words they heard on both media outlets. Some of the respondents were not only hearing the words but they used to say it on the media houses they work. They were the mouthpieces of the dehumanizing text.

All of the interviewees are asked the dehumanizing words they listened on ETV. The respondents answer all words they remember. The words are classified as mechanistic and animalistic dehumanization by the researcher.

Type of dehumanization	Number of respondents with the type of dehumanization
Animalistic dehumanization	8
Mechanistic dehumanization	10

Table 28 Types of dehumanization on ETV (in-depth interview)

Nearly all of the respondents mentioned animalistic dehumanization on ETV. Only two of the respondents did not mentioned animalistic category of dehumanization. Words with mechanistic dehumanization are mentioned by all of the respondents. Many of the respondents give similar dehumanization terms.

Some of the words the respondents gave on the interview are categorized as animalistic dehumanization. Similar answers were recorded.

Most of the respondents answer the first sample given below “day hyena”. However, the term was used before the war started. The term no more used during the war period. But we can consider it as a good example of animalistic dehumanization. In the last two samples the other group is described in a feature of animals. The second sample is used for hen. The last one is considered as a feature of rat in Ethiopian community. The other type of dehumanization which is categorized in the answer of all of the respondents is mechanistic dehumanization.

Here below is the table with the samples of the animalistic dehumanization.

Amharic	• የቀን ጅብ
English	• day time hyena
Amharic	• እኔ ካልበላሁት ጭፍ ልበትነው የሚለው ሕወሀት
English	• the TPLF whom says if i am not using it; no one will
Amharic	• ሊጥ የሚደፋ ቡድን
English	• The dough spilling squad

Table 29 Samples of animalistic dehumanization on ETV (in-depth interview)

All of the respondents mentioned words that are categorized as mechanistic dehumanization. The respondents described many indicators of mechanistic dehumanization.

Here below are some Samples of mechanistic dehumanization from the responses of the interviewees.

Amharic	• ማስፈራሪያ ሊሆኑ ይገባል
English	• They should be a threat
Amharic	• ከእነዚህ ሰይጣን ይሻላል::
English	• Satan is better than these.
Amharic	• እነዚህን እንደህዝብ በውሀ ሳይሆን በእሳት ነው ማጥመቅ ያለብን::
English	• As a people, we should baptize them not with water, but with fire

Table 30 Samples of mechanistic dehumanization on ETV (in-depth interview)

The first sample describes the other group as monster or a machine of suffering. They represented as not having sympathy. The second sample also compared them with Satan. They use the description to frame the other group as cruel. The last sample describes about baptising the other group with fire. They framed the other group as a non-human which doesn't deserve water but fire, which is Satan again.

The response of the interviewees' about the dehumanizing words shows strong presence of both animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization on ETV during the war.

The respondents of the interview mentioned Mechanistic dehumanization as more dominant type of dehumanization compared to the animalistic dehumanization. Here below the table shows the number of interviewees who mentioned each type of dehumanization on TTV.

Type of dehumanization	Number of respondents with the type of dehumanization
Animalistic dehumanization	4
Mechanistic dehumanization	9

Table 31 Type of dehumanization on TTV (in-depth interview)

Animalistic dehumanization found in less amount on TTV. Nearly all of the interviewees mentioned dehumanization that is categorized as mechanistic dehumanization.



Table 32 Samples of animalistic dehumanization on TTV (in-depth interview)

Some of the respondents mentioned dehumanization terms that contained features of animals. The above table shows some of the samples of animalistic dehumanization found on TTV.

The first sample on the above table represents the Prime Minister with cub. The second sample describes the army as the army of wild animals. The final sample gives the feature of animal for the other group. Eating its own children is a feature of animal not human.

Mechanistic dehumanization existed in a dominant number comparing to the animalistic one. All of the interviewees mentioned words mechanistic dehumanization. Here below are some samples of mechanistic dehumanization mentioned by the interviewees.

Amharic	• ጨፍጨፈው አብይ አህመድ
English	• The killer Abiy Ahmed
Amharic	• የፋሺስቱ አብይ አህመድ ሰራዊት
English	• The army of the fascist Abiy Ahmed
Amharic	• ጨቅላው አምባገነን አብይ አህመድ
English	• The infant dictator Abiy Ahmed

Table 33 Samples of mechanistic dehumanization on TTV (in-depth interview)

The first sample pills humanistic representation of mercy from the subject and cloths it with cruelty. Both of the last samples try to show the inhumanity of the subject. The other group represented as not having the intelligence to control human emotions.

The interviewees' answers show both of the TV channels contain much of mechanistic dehumanization than the animalistic dehumanization. Animalistic dehumanization found in less amount in both media outlets.

4.2.3. Way of dehumanization

The responses of the interviewees are coded as an explicit way of dehumanization or implicit way of dehumanization. In implicit way of dehumanization is coded when the dehumanization is present beneath the meaning of the statement or the word. The explicit dehumanization is when the dehumanization is described in clear words.

The interviewees' answers on dehumanization on ETV are categorized as implicit and explicit. Most of the interviewees come up with answers that are coded as explicit. Also implicit dehumanization is mentioned by majority of the interviewees. Here below are the table which illustrates the answers of the respondents.

Ways of dehumanization	Number of interviewees whom answers consist each way of dehumanization
Implicit dehumanization	7
Explicit dehumanization	10

Table 34 Ways of dehumanization on ETV (in-depth interview)

The implicit dehumanizing terms mentioned by the respondents show a framing of the other group as inhuman. The first sample below mentioned the other group as a food. It claims eating the flesh of the other group is necessary. It is a normalisation of violence on the other group. The second sample compares Satan with the other group and states Satan as better than them. This also represents the other group as a group of monsters cruel more than Satan. The last sample discusses the necessity of the other group to send to concentration camp as they are not human as them. The hostile meanings of the statements are not on the explicit words of the statement but deep in the meanings of the statements mentioned.

Here below is the table that shows some samples with implicit dehumanization from the responses of the interviewees.

Amharic	• እንደዚህ አይነት ሰዎችን ጡብሶ መብላት ነው፤ በጭካኔ መግደል ነው።
English	• Such people should be roasted and eaten. They should be brutally killed.
Amharic	• ከእነዚህ ሰይጣን ይሻላል።
English	• Satan is better than these.
Amharic	• ወደማጎሪያ ካምፕ ሊገቡ ይገባል።
English	• They must be admitted to a concentration camp.

Table 35 Samples of dehumanizing words on ETV (in-depth interview)

The first sample from the response of the interviewees describes the other group explicitly as a beast. The meaning of the statement is placed on the explicit side of the sentence. They rip their humanness explicitly. The second sample frames them as enemy of the Ethiopian people using direct words. The last sample also describes the other group as a terrorist and exterminator. These words are direct. Their human emotions are denied explicitly. They paint as they don't have human emotions of mercy and kindness.

Here below is the table that consist the samples we discussed above.

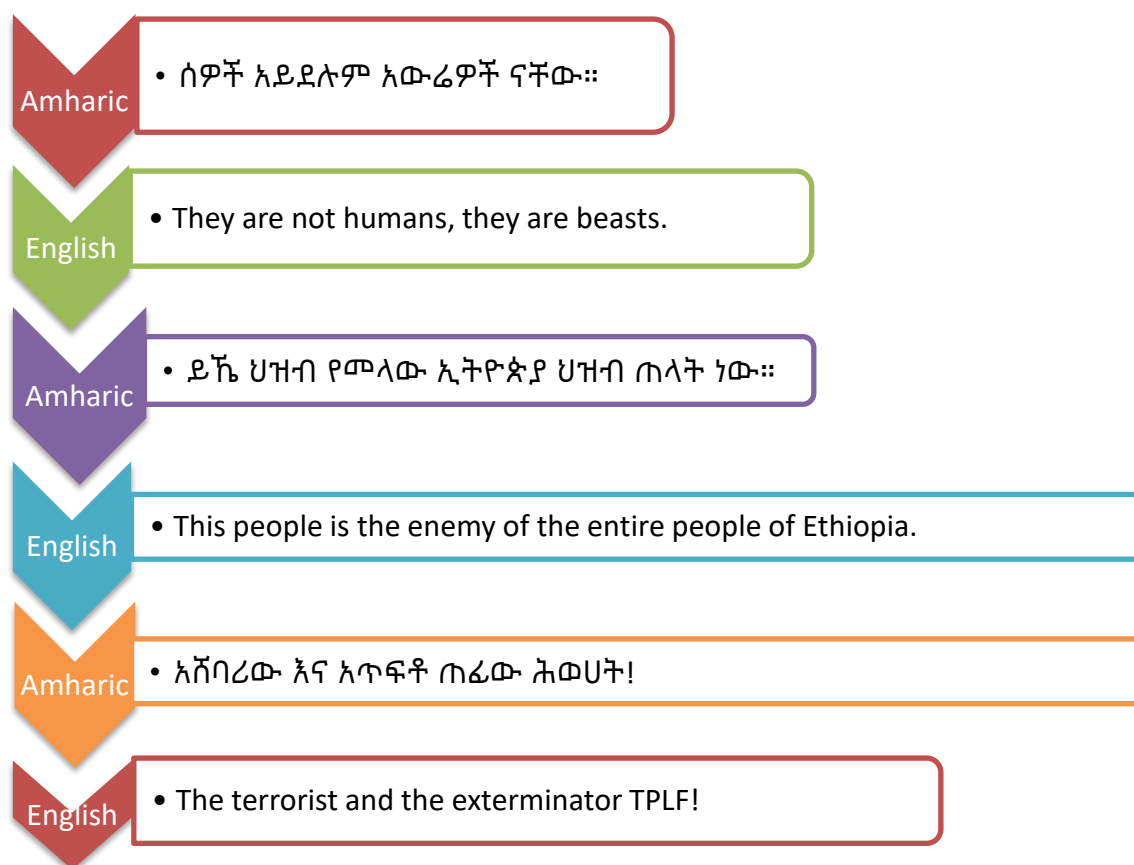


Table 36 Samples of explicit dehumanization on ETV (in-depth interview)

The ways of dehumanization on TTV is also coded on the answers of Interviewees about TTV. Based on the answers of the interviewees TTV used more explicit dehumanization than implicit dehumanization. Here below is a table that describes the interviewees who gave answers categorize as each ways of dehumanization.

Ways of dehumanization	Number of interviewees whom answers consist each way of dehumanization
Implicit dehumanization	2
Explicit dehumanization	9

Table 37 Ways of dehumanization on TTV (in-depth interview)

The in-depth interview results shows TTV used less implicit dehumanization compared to the explicit dehumanization they use. Here below the table shows some of the samples of implicit dehumanization on TTV.

Amharic	• ጨቅላው አብይ አህመድ
English	• The baby Abiy Ahmed
Amharic	• የራሱን ልጆች የሚበላ መሪ
English	• A leader who eats his own children

Table 38 Sample of implicit dehumanization on TTV (in-depth interview)

Amharic	• ሰይጣን
English	• Devil
Amharic	• ግልገሉ አምባገነን
English	• The cub tyrant

Table 39 Sample of explicit dehumanization (in-depth interview)

The first Sample above on table 37 characterizes PM Abiy Ahmed as a person with low intelligence to be a man. The subject characterized as not having proper human feelings. The second sample describes the subject as animal as humans does not eat their own babies.

Table 38 frames the subject in clear words using “cub tyrant” and “devil”. The words are explicit and direct.

Based on the answers of the respondents both media outlets recorded low implicit dehumanization compared to the explicit one. Explicit dehumanization recorded as the highest framing of dehumanization on the media outlets.

4.2.4. Other types of dehumanizing text

The interviewees also suggest dehumanizing texts that are categorized other than word. Image and videos were the categories the interviewees answers are categorized in to. Here below we will see each classification of the both channels.

The majority of the interviewees mentioned image as used to dehumanize on ETV. Only 2 of the respondents remembered videos that are used as dehumanizing on the channel. The table below illustrates the answer of the respondents.

Other types of text	Interviewees mentioned the categories
Images	6
Videos	2

Table 40 Type of text used on ETV (in-depth interview)

Image is mentioned more by the respondents than video. However, it is two images repetitively mentioned by all six of the respondents. Two of the respondents gave samples of two different dehumanizing videos they saw on ETV.

Here below is sample of dehumanizing image mentioned by the respondents.



Figure 4 Sample of dehumanization via image on ETV (in-depth interview)

The above sample shows how the channel frames the TPLF as a group of killers by placing blood on the logo of the institution.

The sample of video mentioned by the interviewees was the production of ETV which describes about “Maekelawi” jail. The news production shows mutilated body of people and narrates how TPLF used to torture people brutally.

The interviewees’ responses about other types of dehumanizing text give similar results on TTV. Both image and video are mentioned equally.

Other types of text	Interviewees mentioned the categories
Images	1
Videos	1

Table 41 Other types of dehumanizing text on TTV (in-depth interview)

One respondent gave the wrapped photo of Prime Minister Abiy as an sample of dehumanizing image on TTV.



Figure 5 Sample of dehumanizing image on TTV (in-depth interview)

The video sample mentioned by the interviewees was displaying the video of dead people without blurring.

4.2.5. Dominant dehumanizing words

Some words are used more frequently in the media outlets. The interviewees gave answer on words they heard most frequently on the media outlets.

Dehumanizing words shouldn't be describing only in animalistic form. Description of someone as animal is clearly dehumanizing. However, framing a person or a group as a threat for a certain group is also dehumanizing. Stating someone as a rapist, terrorist or monster is painting the subject as a means for a hostile end of the in group.

Here below are dehumanizing words existed most frequently on ETV.

ብረረ (Invader)	አሸባሪ (Terrorist)	የቀን ጅብ (Day hayena)
ዘረፊ (Robber)	ጁንታ (junta)	

Table 42 Dominant dehumanizing words on ETV (in-depth interview)

The interviewees respond the above words exist more frequently on ETV. However, the word Day hyena used more before the war started.

The interviewees also suggest words as they believe heard most frequently on TTV during the period of the war. The table below shows five words the interviewees mentioned as dominantly used on TTV.

Here below the table demonstrates the dominant words the interviewees mentioned during the in-depth interview.

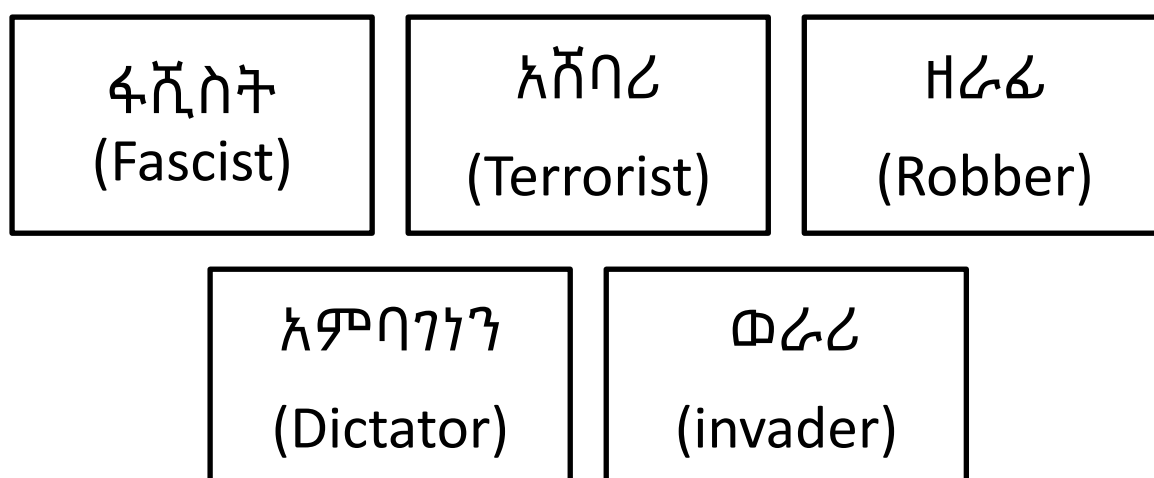


Table 43 Dominant dehumanizing words on TTV (in-depth interview)

4.2.6. Dominant categories of the In-depth interview

Here below are the dominant types of each category the interviewees noticed.

TV channel	type of text	type of dehumanization	way of description
ETV	Word	Mechanistic dehumanization	Explicit
TTV	Word	Mechanistic dehumanization	Explicit

Table 44 Dominant types noticed more by the interviewees

4.3. Analysis of the data

The data findings in both content analysis and in-depth interview are presented above in this chapter. In this section I will analyse the findings based on the main objectives of this study. The general objective of this study was to discuss the implication of dehumanization propaganda during the Ethiopian war in North.

The study has three specific objectives to reach. Analysing the form, distinguishing the type and forms and identifying common descriptions of dehumanizing propaganda was the specific objectives of this research.

4.3.1. Type of text

The result from the content analysis shows Word as the main type of text used by each TV stations which are ETV and TTV. When we examine the result of the In-depth interview the dehumanization propaganda was found mainly transmitted through words. The word category in this research contains phrases and statement as well. According to the findings the dehumanizing text on ETV and TTV mainly presented on words.

4.3.2. Type of dehumanization

The findings of the content analysis show Mechanistic dehumanization as a predominant type of dehumanization on both of the studied media outlets. The findings from the in-depth interview also described mechanistic dehumanization as a type of dehumanization most of the interviewees' answers were categorized in to. According to the findings mechanistic dehumanization was mostly used on the dehumanization propaganda of ETV and TTV.

4.3.3. Way of description

Majority of the dehumanizing texts on both media outlets were presented in explicit way of descriptions based on the findings from the content analysis. Implicit way of dehumanization also used on the media outlets as a way of dehumanization propaganda. The in-depth interview results show similar results with the content analysis. Majority of the respondents mentioned words that are categorized in to explicit way of description.

4.3.4. Mouthpieces of dehumanization

The examination on the findings of the content analysis gave additional information which the researcher decides worth to be presented. The mouthpieces of the dehumanizing texts are found to be the journalists' voice overs on ETV and it is anchors for TTV. The participation of the rest two categories which is anchor and interviewee for ETV and Journalists and interviewee for TTV was also recorded in a fair number.

4.3.5. Sources of dehumanizing text

The sources of the news are categorized into the news production of the channels or government press releases. Most of the dehumanizing texts are found on News productions of

ETV and TTV. Even if the government press releases contain dehumanization texts they are found in a small number.

4.3.6. Dominant words of dehumanization

On ETV the content analysis found Invader, Terrorist, Bandit, robber and Junta as dominant dehumanizing words. On TTV fascist, terrorist, Bandit, Dictator and invader found as a most dominant dehumanizing words. The in-depth Interview also comes up with nearly similar answers. Invader, terrorist, day hyena, robber and Junta on ETV and fascist, terrorist, robber, dictator and invader are found mostly used on TTV. On ETV only day hyena is the new word comes on the in-depth interview. However the meanings of the words are quite similar. The dominant words found on TTV are similar on both content analysis and in-depth interview.

The word “terrorist” used most often as a dehumanizing word on ETV than the other dehumanizing words and the word “fascist” used more often than the other dehumanizing words on TTV.

All the findings are presented in the next table. All the categories are presented with the findings in each station separately.

Forms of dehumanization	TV channel	Content analysis	In-depth interview
Type of dehumanizing text	ETV	Words	Words
	TTV	Words	Words
Type of dehumanization	ETV	Mechanistic dehumanization	Mechanistic dehumanization
	TTV	Mechanistic dehumanization	Mechanistic dehumanization
Way of dehumanization	ETV	Explicit dehumanization	Explicit dehumanization
	TTV	Explicit dehumanization	Explicit dehumanization
Mouthpieces of dehumanization	ETV	Journalist’s voice over	Not examined
	TTV	Anchor	Not examined
Sources of	ETV	News Productions	Not examined

dehumanizing text	TTV	News Productions	Not examined
Dominant dehumanizing words	ETV	Invader, terrorist, Bandit, robber and Junta	Invader, terrorist, day hyena, robber and Junta
	TTV	Fascist, terrorist, bandit, dictator and invader	Fascist, terrorist, robber, dictator and invader

Table 45 Results of the content analysis and the In-depth interview

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter finalises the findings of the research by answering the questions the study begins with and gives recommendations that help future researchers and stakeholders on the topic.

5.1. Conclusions

The research begins with discussing indicators of dehumanization on the media during the Ethiopian civil war in Tigray. ETV and TTV are selected as sample media outlets of the study. The research questioned the form and types of the dehumanization in various categories. Using content analysis and in-depth interview method the study discusses the indicators of the dehumanization.

The research questions of this research were

- How does dehumanization propaganda used by ETV and TTV? (Words, pictures, visuals)
- What kind of dehumanization frames can be identified in the contents of these media? (Animalistic or machinery, explicit or implicit)
- What are the common contents used to dehumanize the other?

The research implied the existences of a dehumanized framing of the other group on both media outlets. Both media outlets used words (which include phrases and sentences), image and video to frame the dehumanizing text. Words are mostly used to frame dehumanizing text comparing to image and video in both ETV and TTV during the war. The types of dehumanization used by both media outlets are also examined. Animalistic and Mechanistic dehumanization are used to frame the targeted “enemy” in the media outlets. Mechanistic dehumanization found boldly used by ETV and TTV. The implicit and explicit framing of dehumanizing texts is also measured. The dehumanizing texts in both media outlets found framed explicit. Implicit framing of dehumanization is also existed but not as high as the explicit one.

The content analysis comes up with additional input that could be useful for other researches. The mouthpieces of the dehumanizing text and the sources of the dehumanizing texts are

distinguished. ETV is measured as the journalists being the mouthpiece of the dehumanization and TTV is recorded their anchors being the mouthpieces of dehumanizing texts. The interviewees also participated on being the mouthpieces but not high as the dominant ones here. The News productions by the media houses found contained much of the dehumanizing text than the press releases of the government.

The study found some dominant words that are used by the media outlets which are found on both methods. Invader, terrorist, Bandit, robber, day hyena and Junta are found the dominant dehumanizing words on ETV. Terrorist was the most dominantly used dehumanizing word on ETV. The TTV used Fascist, terrorist, bandit, dictator, robber and invader as dominant dehumanizing words. Fascist was the most dominantly used dehumanizing word on TTV.

The actors of the dehumanization text are participated in professionally unethical practice. They fuelled the hate towards the other group. The framing of the other group during the Ethiopian war in Tigray on ETV and TTV was Unethical and never to be done again.

5.2. Recommendations

- ETV is the leading “state” television in Ethiopia. I recommend the administration to look up on this research and prevent the channel from participating in dehumanizing the other group they tend to believe against the government.
- This research is done on the period the government is conducting a military operation in Amhara region. The dehumanization of the Fano group is started early from the government officials. The word “Jawisaw” is used to name the rebels. I recommend ETV to learn from the past and not participate in the dehumanization process.
- For now and for the future I recommend all media outlets to not participate on dehumanization and hate speech at all.
- I recommend the Ethiopian government and the Tigray region provisional government administration to stop forcing the media outlets in their control from dehumanization propagandas and hate speech. TPLF is also recommended to do so.

5.3. Suggestion for further research

- During the data collection I realised the journalists are engaged in this unethical process because of different motives. Future researchers on the field can conduct the motive behind the journalists’ participation on this ethically wrong practice.

- During the data collection process I found other media outlets also mostly engaged on the dehumanization process during the war. Demtse Woyane, ESAT and Amhara TV are among the News sources I recommend other researchers on the field to take a look on.

5.4. Implications of the study

The dehumanization propaganda places a black dot in the public fabric. At this time the war is stopped. The federal government and TPLF signed a peace deal. They are trying to make business as usual. However, the relationship between people is not as it was. The road to Mekele via the land route is closed in Amhara region. A group named Fano started a rebellion in Amhara region as it is not believed in the peace deal keeps the interest of the Amhara People.

The Tigray region youths remembers how they were painted through the media propaganda. One of my interviewees of the in-depth interview told me how she is hurt from the propagandas of ETV and she doesn't have a good feeling towards the out-group yet. The public opinion to the outer group is changed a lot. Both the Federal government and TPLF are required to rebuild the public relation as soon as possible.

The questions rose by people needs to be address by the government without any dehumanizing propagandas. Keeping the good relation of the people needs to retain by all costs. Media houses changed the discourse after the peace deal and they are preaching peace. This needs to be performed all time. Conflict reporting needs to be disciplined.

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Appendix 1

Coding guide for content analysis

1) Type of the text

- **Word:-** in this category dehumanization texts transmitted via words will be coded
- **Image:-** still images, scratches, pictures and anything still will be coded
- **Video:** - any movable pictures will categorize as video.

2) Type of dehumanization

- **Animalistic:** - any text which represent human as animal will be categorize as animalistic.
- **Mechanistic:** - any text that represents a human as not having human feelings will be represent here.

3) Way of description

- **Explicit:** - any text that contains dehumanization content clearly will represent as explicit
- **Implicit :** - any text that consists dehumanization content indirect way will categorize as implicit

4) Mouthpieces of dehumanization

- **Anchor:** - when the dehumanization sentences are said by the anchor
- **Interviewee:** -when the dehumanization texts are said by the interviewee
- **Journalist:** - when the dehumanization texts are found on the journalists VO

5) Sources of the dehumanization

- **News productions:** - when the texts of dehumanization found on the news projects of the media
- **Press releases:** when the dehumanization text are found on press releases mainly government

6) Minute

- Write the minutes the dehumanization text starts

7) Links

- Put the link of each videos

Appendix 2

Guide for coding the in-depth interview

- 1) Dehumanizing words on ETV: - The dehumanizing words the interviewees mentioned from ETV, it will be write in the box.
- 2) Other dehumanizing texts from ETV: -if there is image and video the respondents mentioned, it will be write on the box.
- 3) Dehumanizing words on TTV: - The dehumanizing words the interviewees mentioned from TTV, it will be write in the box.
- 4) Other dehumanizing texts from TTV: -if there is image and video the respondents mentioned, it will be write on the box.
- 5) Dominant terms: - dominant words from both stations will be written.
- 6) Types of dehumanization: - the answers will be categorized to animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization.
 - **Animalistic:** - any text which represent human as animal will be categorize as animalistic.
 - **Mechanistic:** - any text that represents a human as not having human feelings will be represent here
- 7) Ways of dehumanization: - the answers will be categorized to animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization.
 - **Explicit:** - any text that contains dehumanization content clearly will represent as explicit
 - **Implicit :** - any text that consists dehumanization content indirect way will categorize as implicit

Appendix 3

In-depth interview questions

After giving a clarification on what dehumanization is the interviewees are asked the following questions.

- 1) What are the dehumanizing words, phrases or sentences you heard on ETV?
The interviewees are required to describe words, phrases or sentences they heard on ETV what they believe dehumanizing.
- 2) Is there another way dehumanization portrayed on ETV?
The interviewees are required to describe other form of dehumanization other than word.
- 3) What are the dehumanizing words you heard on TTV?
- 4) The interviewees are required to describe words, phrases or sentences they heard on TTV what they believe dehumanizing.
- 5) Is there another way dehumanization portrayed on TTV?
The interviewees are required to describe other form of dehumanization other than word
- 6) Which dehumanization word, sentence, phrase, image or video was dominant?
The interviewees are required to describe most frequent ways of dehumanization.

Appendix 4

Coding sheet for content analysis

Appendix 4

Coding sheet for content analysis

[illegible]

Appendix 5

Coding sheet for in-depth interview

Inter viewe e	Dehumaniz ing words on ETV	Other dehumanizi ng text on ETV	Dehuman izing words on TTV	Other dehumani zing text on TTV	Domin ant terms	Types Of Dn	Ways Of Dn
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							

Appendix 6

Links of coded videos from ETV

ETV sample videos

1. <https://fb.watch/n4c56iF9h6/>
2. <https://fb.watch/n4c7LbOdqu/>
3. <https://fb.watch/n4dl5WZ4tu/>
4. <https://fb.watch/n4YuQnkqH-/>
5. <https://fb.watch/n4YwotZ7Dy/>
6. https://fb.watch/n4Yx_jqgZr/
7. <https://fb.watch/n51My3HWI Z/>
8. <https://fb.watch/n4YBh0vyWJ/>
9. https://fb.watch/n4YDW_uxGb/
10. <https://fb.watch/n4YGakeOcf/>
11. <https://fb.watch/n4YNWoGpqj/>
12. <https://fb.watch/n4c9oxjtYY/>
13. <https://fb.watch/n56rCUWgUf/>
14. <https://fb.watch/n56VOLrtC9/>
15. <https://fb.watch/n4caGBL-fd/>
16. <https://fb.watch/n4cclwayff/>
17. <https://fb.watch/n4cev3P8Ea/>
18. <https://fb.watch/n4cfNHu9y0/>
19. <https://fb.watch/n4cgN0iqH8/>
20. <https://fb.watch/n4ci6zQXOh/>
21. <https://fb.watch/n4cjWX6b3E/>
22. <https://fb.watch/n4clDSIc7P/>
23. <https://fb.watch/n5a9U5u6kj/>
24. <https://fb.watch/n4cmVN8wq9/>
25. <https://fb.watch/n4cnMUgsUN/>

ETV sample videos

- 26) <https://fb.watch/n4cuQ6vUGM/>
- 27) <https://fb.watch/n4cHgQGato/>
- 28) <https://fb.watch/n4cJsNWTfg/>
- 29) <https://fb.watch/n4cKrP3AfY/>
- 30) <https://fb.watch/n4cN5uY2Nw/>
- 31) <https://fb.watch/n4cNTitNgg/>
- 32) <https://fb.watch/n4cVW-SpxA/>
- 33) <https://fb.watch/n4cWWaEhsd/>
- 34) <https://fb.watch/n4cZZvirDc/>
- 35) <https://fb.watch/n4c-Ci2NUe/>
- 36) <https://fb.watch/n4d14ENR-x/>
- 37) <https://fb.watch/n4d1Y8KSVS/>
- 38) <https://fb.watch/n4d40AdYbD/>
- 39) <https://fb.watch/n4d5c9IVym/>
- 40) <https://fb.watch/n4d6erTLFR/>
- 41) https://fb.watch/n4d7cgi_fo/
- 42) https://fb.watch/n4d7_Of7Am/
- 43) <https://fb.watch/n4d97HiSem/>
- 44) <https://fb.watch/n4daArbrfQ/>
- 45) <https://fb.watch/n4dbLgtsx4/>
- 46) <https://fb.watch/n4dc-fViDt/>
- 47) <https://fb.watch/n4de7IdCKN/>
- 48) <https://fb.watch/n4deYYzsk9/>
- 49) <https://fb.watch/n4dgpOgPFR/>
- 50) <https://fb.watch/n4dhnUswWX/>

Appendix 7

Links of coded videos from TTV

- 1) <https://youtu.be/O24HoOhNca4?si=CI1ZuXa9sPnjdZ1e>
- 2) https://youtu.be/UIIw81O9HkM?si=gBP_yr4qQlVjpc7L
- 3) <https://youtu.be/3WKwrxQB15s?si=vkbzRRc0YtjMC5iu>
- 4) <https://youtu.be/y0w3Vpzog8c?si=7f5rlcqUClWBWkFY>
- 5) <https://youtu.be/wY0QFlt0QIU?si=xFpFy9-b9s0GfK4K>
- 6) <https://youtu.be/U3f45cIQ-qI?si=UuNP6jPfRR3e-8m>
- 7) https://youtu.be/czyEVHzBaSo?si=_DLBqA4181fukArD
- 8) https://youtu.be/nJw8ZhI_0V0?si=Bw5vmRzK40fM7P11
- 9) https://youtu.be/1LSz_kL-e0c?si=qqOntNE7gHJxJPOY
- 10) <https://youtu.be/fStlkjpm3Ic?si=xRB0G2zLOvn-I7Wl>
- 11) https://youtu.be/h7f4KZU4hUY?si=_aaKPDaPx41Ccryf
- 12) <https://youtu.be/Cv7pmqDUnXc?si=0lAnxQpE5LEtJ79T>
- 13) https://youtu.be/5wTO9DwiG4Y?si=bHP3_OQjLU2OMXP9
- 14) https://youtu.be/Ej0EzSQS9eI?si=5-vZXC76_-Os63O5
- 15) <https://youtu.be/c-tfEb7aqF8?si=P9u3NWdenxSPmx78>
- 16) https://youtu.be/ClnyeHQEevE?si=Ybg98oMzl_QSWtlE
- 17) <https://youtu.be/aNFX8tbhvZM?si=xv7NjQ2Rre09wNqH>
- 18) <https://youtu.be/LOOvoUHGUT0?si=0gxFx1GJSOcJT582>
- 19) https://youtu.be/GcmKAyhVek?si=7kKvEm_dGtssNViR
- 20) <https://youtu.be/1IaGNVU1nW4?si=RBu2UEa5yfx1r04M>
- 21) <https://youtu.be/jAdQTRBknrc?si=nYtlniliyX-6cYkJ>
- 22) <https://youtu.be/NqrIJKlLJQ?si=FlWYeFBNux2IemPy>
- 23) https://youtu.be/I-UfMaGa7rk?si=Ydh4fDeltH_3Kose
- 24) https://youtu.be/f8_7vlaCxxE?si=LIdIi0vErSjYII6d
- 25) <https://youtu.be/p1oy9yoxPDK?si=9mSuwiq3nwisXGR>
- 26) https://youtu.be/tcFOpn9jbfi?si=BrE9qok3QNd_nCrb
- 27) https://youtu.be/x_M-obqkb2I?si=cu2Au3KtH5DL37x_
- 28) https://youtu.be/xrRlBMcz5-0?si=ggtgKZIN-S__qztE
- 29) <https://youtu.be/RL7J0MJOfE4?si=D9H2Hkl1u2W-3yr7>

- 30) <https://youtu.be/6PzDecvbSq0?si=0G7iJrOz8v6p7GJR>
- 31) <https://youtu.be/D1Mvk1w0CEo?si=oxUjAkwvoDHoBFmc>
- 32) <https://youtu.be/GafdkI6eKFQ?si=GhhFW56NvzAZMTnQ>
- 33) <https://youtu.be/o3jZfqhQevQ?si=PxLw76UQJQEgB-qH>
- 34) <https://youtu.be/n6dhWzbbxeA?si=047sGuqlwixC4bEP>
- 35) https://youtu.be/bkD-WIguw2s?si=Fh_fYtD3oV-VkCFt
- 36) https://youtu.be/jxpc2Cl6i_o?si=wwFo6J2-heWUtPh_
- 37) <https://youtu.be/VjYL4E059TE?si=aBstBSndZ50JLlGZ>
- 38) <https://youtu.be/9GAsBQFOqH0?si=-POs5sTzviTHRWWb>
- 39) <https://youtu.be/FPdLY9GdyHw?si=N78uAerBYuB1hCY->
- 40) https://youtu.be/GGmDjJyMwn4?si=zn_pJwfnA9ZMo3jD
- 41) <https://youtu.be/GzTyUXmBQXU?si=lnBgCqRCnrG6cYtx>
- 42) <https://youtu.be/RdWAPNxpBYI?si=U-GEDseDtr6YNwnk>
- 43) <https://youtu.be/pW8G5yKSOs8?si=XQfeRwkiVRogHxFQ>
- 44) <https://youtu.be/hILXnUOHUGw?si=n1ytU84HGUGghsfu>
- 45) <https://youtu.be/giRHV4PYIVI?si=R667D7dlrg2heQAW>
- 46) <https://youtu.be/VjC90yO6GdE?si=6vUBEQGLm6xEBetI>
- 47) <https://youtu.be/WQ57-OZsRO8?si=srQmli9BWMpMCAey>
- 48) https://youtu.be/2YmLd_W-49U?si=mFpdcT7mLaVFUQEC
- 49) <https://youtu.be/5kfhFStXODY?si=B26TetC50iNjlmnU>
- 50) <https://youtu.be/Mns96UcuF2w?si=7KFNa9WiVnQuL4XU>