



SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES



**CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATIONS
OF HIV/AIDS IN ETHIOPIA'S POLICY DOCUMENTS
AND NEWSPAPERS**

KASSAYE GUTEMA JEBESSA

ADDIS ABABA

JUNE, 2013

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OF HIV/AIDS IN ETHIOPIA'S POLICY DOCUMENTS
AND NEWSPAPERS**

KASSAYE GUTEMA JEBESSA

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
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SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by **Kassaye Gutema Jebessa**, entitled: *Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representations of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia's Policies and Newspapers* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics & Communication (ALCM) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is the product of my own effort and has not been presented to any university in the same or different form to merit a PhD degree other than that for which I am now a candidate, and that all sources used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Signature.....

Kassaye Gutema Jebessa

June, 2013

Abstract

HIV/AIDS is one of the worst epidemics in modern history. The language used to portray this pandemic in policies and mass media has been an object of study in many countries. However, in Ethiopia, the language used to represent this epidemic in policies and newspapers has not been thoroughly investigated using systematic methods of linguistic analysis. The current study aims to partially bridge this gap by deconstructing the representations of this pandemic in Ethiopia's policy documents and government run newspapers using the interdisciplinary approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The current study drew from a number of CDA frameworks. However the major analytic method used in the study are Van Dijk's (1988, 1998 and 2001) ideological square and socio-cognitive frameworks which were used for expounding the socio-political implications of the discourses. Thus, after the internal structure of the texts were described drawing on theories of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the underlying meanings conveyed by such texts were explicated in terms of the wider contexts in light of social theories.

Basically the current study asked and answered the question: 'How was HIV/AIDS represented in Ethiopia's HIV/AIDS policy documents and newspapers?' Specifically, the study addressed questions like: 'How were identities produced in HIV/AIDS related policy documents and newspapers, how were issues aligned, what sorts of treatments were sought, what metaphors were used to represent the pandemic and those afflicted?'

The findings of the study point to a contradictory set of identities simultaneously made possible and impossible for PLWHA (people living with HIV/AIDS) and those who were not afflicted by the pandemic. Thus HIV/AIDS has been represented in an ‘othering’ way of representation in which it was attributed to individual behavioral outcomes through the use of pervasive metaphors. As such, the disease was represented in a way that leads to stigmatization of certain social groups which were cast as ‘risk groups’. Behavior change was posited and overemphasized as a desired outcome in the discourses of international agents in collaboration with government irrespective of the existing socioeconomic condition of the so-called ‘risk groups’. The recommended suggestions seem to be incommensurate with actual situations of Ethiopia. Furthermore, the analysis revealed that the social agents that were involved in producing discourses of HIV/AIDS employed various strategies that were pervasive in maintaining the power relations.

Key words

HIV/AIDS, discourse, CDA, policy, Ethiopia, text, social practice, metaphors, stigma and discrimination, representations

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the memory of my beloved and kind-hearted mother, FayineRaggasa, who suddenly passed away while I was engaged in the study. Although I was shocked by my mother's sudden death, I have somehow persevered recollecting some of her good deeds and the wisdoms she instilled in me when I was a child!

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIDSCAP	AIDS Control and Prevention Project
ART	Anti-Retroviral Treatment/Therapy
ARD	Anti-Retroviral Drugs
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DV	Dwelling Visa
HAPCO	HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Office
GAD	Gender And Development
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HBM	Health Belief Model
ICASA	International Conference on AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Infections in Africa
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
KAB	Knowledge Attitude and Belief
MoI	Ministry of Information
NAC	National HIV/AIDS Prevention Control Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PLWHA	Person Living With HIV or AIDS
PMTCT	Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
VCT	Voluntary Counseling and Testing
WID	Women In Development
WHO	World Health Organization
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations program on HIV/AIDS

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Against the backdrop of mystified origins, HIV/AIDS remains the most serious health threat in modern history. It appears to be paradoxical; while mankind's creative ability, scientific advancement and the drive to learn have led to miraculous inventions, mankind could not trace the nature of a ruthless killer in humanity's backyard. To make things worse, the scientifically advanced West has opted to come up with a trajectory to mitigate the spread of this pandemic leaving its very origin in the dark.

There are numerous hypotheses as to how this pandemic might have originated: a virus fabricated in a laboratory during the cold war, a disease that resulted from intercourse between man and its distant-ancestors- apes, a punishment from God ...etc a host of hypotheses that further mystify its origin. Subsequently, the obfuscations surrounding this pandemic are further compounded by its varied social constructions. As a result, there are a number of misperceptions surrounding this disease.

However, it could be argued that the HIV/AIDS pandemic symbolizes two strikingly divergent entities for people in different parts of the world: a curse and a fortune. While one is left to the mercy of this ruthless pandemic, the other has utilized its scientific prowess to make a bonanza out of it. These symbolisms have hitherto helped to sustain the bifurcation of the world into the powerful and the powerless.

The technologically advanced West mobilized its resources to deal with it wherein a trajectory, viz. Behavior Change Communication (BCC) was posited for handling it. Consequently, various social constructions have been mobilized in the due process of awareness raising endeavors. Accordingly, in the developed world, the pandemic was checked in time before it inflicted heavy losses on the masses. However, it became lethal to the developing world wherein it reached epidemic proportions all of a sudden.

In line with international trends of management of the pandemic, many actions had been taken in Ethiopia. Accordingly, policies, guidelines, and frameworks have been formulated and promulgated. Tremendous awareness raising activities have been exerted. These awareness raising activities were based on communication. The strategies used in these communication processes were Information, Education and Communication (IEC) and Behavior Change Communication (BCC). These awareness raising messages were in turn based on various underpinning theories of health communication. Thus, HIV/AIDS has been represented in a variety of ways in the BCC and IEC messages, policy documents and government newspapers in due processes.

Scholars have underscored that representations of diseases in policy documents have a bearing on how lay people perceive disorders. According to Joffe (1999), for example, unpacking the social representation of HIV/AIDS in the policies sheds light on the ways in which lay people construct ‘common sense assumptions’. According to the above scholar, this is because policy statements that are given by political leaders serve as source of information for both reflecting on and shaping public understanding. What is

more, government newspapers reach a wide range of readership and thus shape public perception by echoing the manner in which the government has attempted to handle the pandemic.

Joffe (op. cit) also opines that the social constructions of a disease have a bearing on patterns of ‘thought and action’ people take. This notion has commonalities with Cook’s (2003) description of Applied Linguistics. The latter scholar noted that Applied Linguistics as an academic discipline is concerned with the relationship of language to decision making in real situations. As social construction is maintained through language, Applied Linguistics researchers can intervene and investigate the options for action and the implications thereof in due processes of representations.

As has been underscored by Fairclough (1989), the aspect of language to be considered in critical study of languages (which is the intent of the current study) is discourse¹. Foucault (1982:33) defined discourse as, “the interplay of the rules that make possible the appearance of objects during a given period of time”. This definition of discourse implies that a social construction of an entity is subject to change through time, which means that a similar entity may be socially constructed differently over time. This definition of discourse also encapsulates the assumption in constructivist theory that reality is constructed by the actors.

¹ Discourse- text, discursive practices & social practices (Fairclough, 1992, Gee, 2004)
Text whereas the whole process of interaction is ‘discourse’, the results of the interaction process are texts (Fairclough, 1989).

Various ways of perception of a given entity resulting from varied social constructions may lead to mystification. When there are varied perceptions of an entity, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a tool that can be employed for demystifying discourses (Fairclough 1989). CDA provides the necessary theories and tools to discern the relationship between social and cultural events and the discourses that either establish and maintain or challenge the status quo.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In an era marred by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, communication has become the major strategy in mobilizing the community to take collective actions. Accordingly, language has been an important tool in the fight against this disease as it has been vastly used to portray this disease in ways that have enabled mankind to comprehend the pandemic. However, as communication is not a simple linear process that results in expected outcomes alone, information disseminated about HIV/AIDS has at times been mingled with traditional ways of disease attribution which have led to misinformation.

As has been noted by Triechler (1991:32) HIV/AIDS is both “an epidemic of a transmissible lethal disease and an epidemic of signification”. I would like to argue that ‘an epidemic of signification’ should be considered as an important aspect for dealing with the pandemic because of its stigmatized nature.

Although the involvement of various agents in the social constructions of HIV/AIDS is necessitated due to the high cost of dealing with this pandemic, the social actors²

² Social actors- development partners, such as UNAIDS, World Bank, corporations and government

involved in this process may at times give identities that are differently positioned. Thus, I would also like to argue that the varied social constructions of the pandemic and hence the proliferation of meaning pertaining to this pandemic are problematic in that they maintain unequal power relations by crafting different identities that are differently positioned. Furthermore, I would like to argue that the responses forwarded for this disease were not cognizant of the socio-economic situations of Ethiopia. Consequently, I want to contend that in the so-called ‘fight against HIV/AIDS’, knowledge has been commodified in such a way that some groups benefited at the expense of others.

Discourses of HIV/AIDS have been analyzed by many researchers. These include: Cullinan (2003) titled “Dissident president? Thabo Mbeki, Critical Discourse Analysis and the struggle to define HIV and AIDS in South Africa”. In this thesis the researcher has highlighted how Mbeki’s attempt to define the epidemic in the South African context created a rift between him and the international development partners, as a result of which he was severely criticized. Nothnagel’s (2009) “Conceptual Metaphors in Media Discourse on AIDS denialism in South Africa”, is yet another research on the social construction of this disease in which the role of metaphors in revealing hidden ideologies in the struggle to contain this pandemic has been presented.

However, the research works undertaken locally were basically in the medical fields. These include: Astatke and Serpell (2000) in which the relevance of western theoretical frameworks for determining behavior change endeavors in Ethiopia were dealt with. Similarly Cherie et.al (2005) conducted a study regarding its cause, ways of prevention

and means of transmission. Nevertheless, only few studies have focused on the social constructions of the pandemic. A case in point is the study conducted by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW). This study was an exploration of the level of HIV/AIDS related stigma.

Thus far, no study has been undertaken on the social construction of the pandemic in Ethiopia's policy documents and newspapers. Therefore there is limited understanding of the deeper meaning of the discourses surrounding HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia. As a student of Applied Linguistics and communication, I have aspired to understand the phenomena surrounding the varied social constructions of the HIV/AIDS pandemic at the national level and the problems which they may engender.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study generally aimed to analyze the constructions of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia's HIV/AIDS related policies, guidelines, frameworks and government newspapers. Focusing on the dominant discourses embedded in selected policies, guidelines, frameworks and government newspapers (ፕላን ለፍጥነት 'Addis Zemen', the Amharic daily newspaper and The Ethiopian Herald, English daily newspaper) in the period 1998-2004, the study has raised implications for HIV/AIDS representations.

1.4 Research Questions

In order to analyze the implications of the portrayal or representations of HIV/AIDS in policies and government newspapers, the study intended to answer the following questions:

1. How was HIV/AIDS represented in Ethiopia's policy statements and government newspapers in the time span 1998-2004?
 - 1.1 What metaphors were used to construct discourses about HIV/AIDS in policies and the selected newspapers?
 - 1.2 What identities were produced in the texts?
 - 1.3 How were issues of power and ideology, cause, response, treatment expressed in the texts?
 - 1.4 Have the social constructions of the epidemic changed overtime?
- 2 To what extent were hegemonic discourses of gender reproduced and reflected in the selected texts?
- 3 What were the essences of the dominant discourses that emerged in the representations?
- 4 What implications do the representations have regarding Ethiopia's response to HIV/AIDS?

1.5 Significance of the Study

It is believed that the significance of the study is its potential to contribute to the field of Applied Linguistics by serving as a stepping stone in deconstructing the body of policy

discourses. To this end, the study attempted to shed light on the role of language in maintaining and resisting the power relations.

Furthermore, this study could be beneficial in that it can help in understanding how the national response towards HIV/AIDS has been forged. As has been underscored by scholars like Foucault (1980) and Fairclough (1989), policies, values and beliefs which seem normal to the instigators, are not necessarily so to the people they influence. Thus, this analysis has attempted to unravel how language has been used to perpetuate existing power relations.

It is believed that this study can add to the body of knowledge in that it uses an interdisciplinary method involving both linguistic theories and social theories. In other words, the method employed in this study considers language used in socially constructing HIV/AIDS to depict the role of various agents involved in the so-called ‘fight against’ HIV/AIDS. Therefore, it can help reflect upon the role of discourse in shaping the manner in which this pandemic has been perceived and popularized.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study is delimited to the study of the portrayal of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia’s HIV/AIDS policy and government newspapers. It set the goal of unpacking and elucidating the underlying implications of policies. Moreover it attempted to reveal the underlying messages of the social constructions of the epidemic in government newspapers by shedding light on the trajectories they instigated. As such it aimed to reveal the power relations shaping the production, reception and reproduction of

discourses. It also focussed on the manner in which discourses of the agents managed to portray this pandemic and the possible implications of these representations.

The nature of this study makes it evident that it is not meant to critique Ethiopia's HIV/AIDS policy by exposing the loopholes in the policies and frameworks. Such analysis is beyond the scope of this study. This analysis is just an investigation meant to reveal the underlying implications of the texts³. This is done with the realization that the way the pandemic has been represented in policies and newspapers could have implications on the manner in which it is socially constructed by the community at large.

In conclusion, this study is merely an academic undertaking which has the sole purpose of unpacking the social constructions of the pandemic in Ethiopia's policies, guidelines, frameworks and newspapers. Particularly, the study attempted to reveal the implicit meanings of the social constructions of the pandemic in policies and government newspapers.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

In the current study, samples of the relevant policies, frameworks and guidelines have been incorporated. However, besides policies, recorded government narratives could have been used to elucidate the role of the government in handling the disease. However, due to reasons I could not understand I was not able to access the recorded versions of narratives of higher ranking government officials on this epidemic. Therefore, the study

³ While the whole process of interaction is 'discourse', the results of the interaction process are texts (Fairclough, 1989). In CDA texts are seen as parts of specific social practice that have political implications about issues of status & distribution of social goods & power.

had to be restricted to the analysis of articles taken from the two government newspapers, namely, Ethiopian Herald and ‘Addis Zemen’. Accessing the recorded narratives would have been more useful.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

There may be several perspectives from which a given research could be scrutinized. However, a researcher cannot take all the viable angles into consideration in a given study. In other words a researcher has to take a specific vantage point from which s/he can view the problem which is termed the ‘theoretical framework’. Merriam (2001:45) describes the theoretical framework as “the structure, the scaffolding, and the frame of your study”. In other words, the theoretical framework is the general theory that guides the study.

The current research aimed to illuminate ideas in Ethiopia’s HIV/AIDS policy, guidelines, frameworks and selected government newspapers that might otherwise pass unnoticed. To do so, it used Critical Social Theory as a theoretical framework. Critical social theory has roots in Marxist thought and the literary traditions of critique and literary criticism (DeMarco et al. 1993). It originated from the Marxist studies of the Institute of Social Research established in Frankfurt. As a result, it has been termed, the Frankfurt School (Held, 1980).

Critical social theory describes how groups of people exist in relation to the historically based dominant ideologies that structure their experience. It advocates that people can bring on liberating practices as awareness of oppressive conditions increases. Critical theory seeks to identify ways in which social phenomena might become less obscure. The ultimate goal of critical theory is the emancipation of human beings as a consequence of becoming aware of an alternate interpretation.

Moreover, critical theory gives prominence to the significance of critical examination of topics and practices wherein issues of social injustice are at stake. Richards and Schmidt (2002:135) stated, “The goal of critical theory is to identify, confront and resolve problems of injustice through the processes of awareness, reflection and argumentation”.

In critical approaches, empowerment and emancipation from the constraints of social institution are the major issues to be considered. As such the overall aim of critical theory is its interest in freedom from constraining conditions. In other words, critical theory enables us to realize our world through valuable lenses and strengthen our ability to think logically with a good deal of insight.

Language use is also one of the issues that receive attention in critical theory. In critical theory it is believed that language use plays the decisive role in creating and maintaining power and in expressing ideological positions. In other words, language use represents

participants' values either directly or indirectly. Moreover, language use reflects the identities of the discourse producers and subjects.

Similarly, Griffin (2000:44) opined that critical theorists are against three 'communication practices'. These are:

1. The control of language to perpetuate power imbalance,
2. The role of mass media in dulling sensitivity to repression,
3. Blind reliance on the scientific method and uncritical acceptance of empirical findings.

The 'communication practices' outlined above have a bearing on the current study. In other words, these 'communication practices' could be taken as the rationale of the current study. As has been pointed out in section 1.3, this study attempted to reveal hidden ideologies which are implicit in several messages of health communication. The study attempts to elucidate how language has been employed in policies and newspapers to perpetuate existing power relations.

Newspapers are the type of mass media that play their own role in dulling their audience. Particularly, government run newspapers are engaged in creating and sustaining a kind of common sense regarding an issue. The final assertion of Griffin (2000) is that scientific knowledge should not be naively accepted for knowledge is an element of power relations (Foucault, 1981) which the powerful groups use to assert their power on the powerless (see section 2.3.5).

In communication, information flows from the source to receivers. The flow of information from the source to the receiver also implies the issue of power relation holding between the bodies involved in the communication process. Foucault (1981) noted that information capacitates the 'informed' to have a certain degree of control over its audience. Thus, policies are a reflection of power relation for they are based on the consent of the government.

The various responses to HIV/AIDS such as formulations of policies, behavior change communication (BCC) and information education and communication (IEC) are aspects of communication. Moreover, BCC and IEC are related to one of the scopes of Applied Linguistics, viz. language, information and effect. In other words there are several effects of disseminating information about this pandemic. The information disseminated in such a way leads to effecting sexual behavioral change or lifestyle of people (social practice). Because information is power, (Foucault, 1981), the process of disseminating information about the epidemic capacitates certain groups to impart their ideologies to the subjects thereby positioning the disseminators, the addressees and those afflicted in different classes.

Applied to the current study, powerful groups, (development partners and the government) have focused so much on scientific explanation of the pandemic. As policy statements reflect the ideologies of hierarchical groups, they may have the tendency to promote certain ways of acting and thereby undermine other possible ways. Accordingly, I have used critical social theory as an underpinning theory to unpack the underlying

messages that policies, frameworks, guidelines and newspapers produce and reproduce by revealing how language has been used to maintain a given social order.

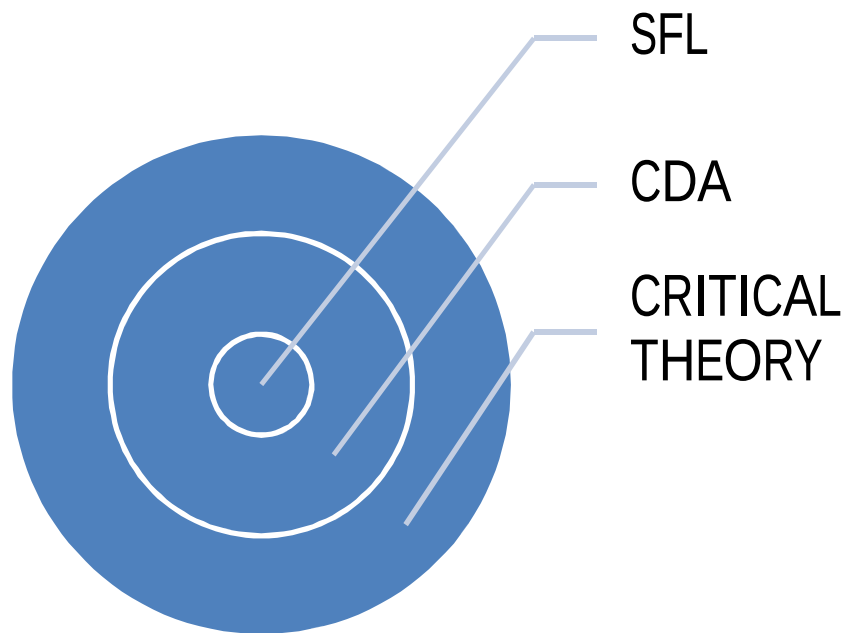
1.9 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework⁴ is the symbolic representation of the constructs involved in the research. Put another way, the conceptual framework is the operationalization of the theory that guides the research and the analytic framework employed in a given research. Accordingly, in the process of operationalizing the theoretical framework selected for this study, I have attempted to expound the relationships between the involved constructs. These are Critical social theory (theoretical framework of this study), CDA (the method of analysis used) and SFL (the theory of linguistics that guided the deconstruction of texts into themes).

The relationship between the three components can be understood as one of inclusion. As such the outer circle includes both smaller circles. In other words, critical social theory is the broadest construct that subsumes the remaining two. In turn, the middle circle representing CDA also subsumes the smallest circle representing SFL. Critical theory holds that there are opaque injustices in the society and CDA holds that the injustices that are upheld by critical theory are actually legitimized and reproduced in language. As such SFL provides the linguistic units through which the opaque inequalities are legitimized.

⁴ Conceptual framework: portrayal of the constructs pertaining to a given research undertaking. Whereas the theoretical framework is a general theory that guides the study, the conceptual framework embodies the specific direction by which the research is to be carried out. In other words, it depicts the relationship between the specific constructs that have been identified in the study.

Figure 1 Symbolic representation of the conceptual framework of the study



Critical social theory has been chosen as a vantage point to realize how the formulators of policy tried to encode specific meanings of this pressing disease. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the analytic method of the study, serves to reveal and unpack opaque relationships of injustice and power. Moreover, CDA links the politically taken positions of injustice and the way such realities are enacted in language or discourse (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). All the power relations holding between subjects and their creators (actors) are realized at the level of themes. The themes are linguistic units which can be explained

by specific language items employed in the discourses and hence Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).

1.10 Organization of the Thesis

The remainder of the thesis is organized as follows. Chapter Two discusses the broader literature on communication (with particularly attention on health communication). This chapter highlights the various perspectives of communication and justifies why the critical perspective of communication is selected for the current study.

Moreover, this chapter presents literature review on Applied Linguistics with emphasis on discourse. In this chapter, attention has been given to the link between discourse and social problems, in particular the threat posed by HIV/AIDS. It reviews the literature on problems posed by the social construction of the epidemic in policy documents and government newspapers by focusing on the role of language in effecting the desired change of behavior as a way of mitigating the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Chapter three deals with the methodology of the study, research design, the sampling technique, and the procedures followed in the analysis. The relevance of CDA as a method of text analysis with relevant theoretical backgrounds has been presented in this chapter. The chapter also describes content of analysis which was carried out with the help of Leximancer software. The last part of the chapter deals with reflexivity, i.e. the role of the researcher in the research process.

Chapter Four is the presentation of data and discussions of emerging themes of the study. These themes have been substantiated by drawing on excerpts from the policies and government newspapers analyzed. The discussion of findings was organized on the basis of the emerging themes.

Chapter five presents the summary, conclusion and recommendation of the study. It is the recapitulation of the overall implications of the various social constructions of the pandemic, the subjectivities and identities posited. The wider context of discourse production and reproduction has been taken into consideration in highlighting the summaries and conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2. 1 Introduction

This chapter pinpoints the relationship between communication (health communication in particular) and discourse. The current study is a research undertaking in Applied Linguistics and communications, which has three scopes. These are:

1. Language and education,
2. Language, work and law and;
3. Language, information, and effect (Rubera, 2009).

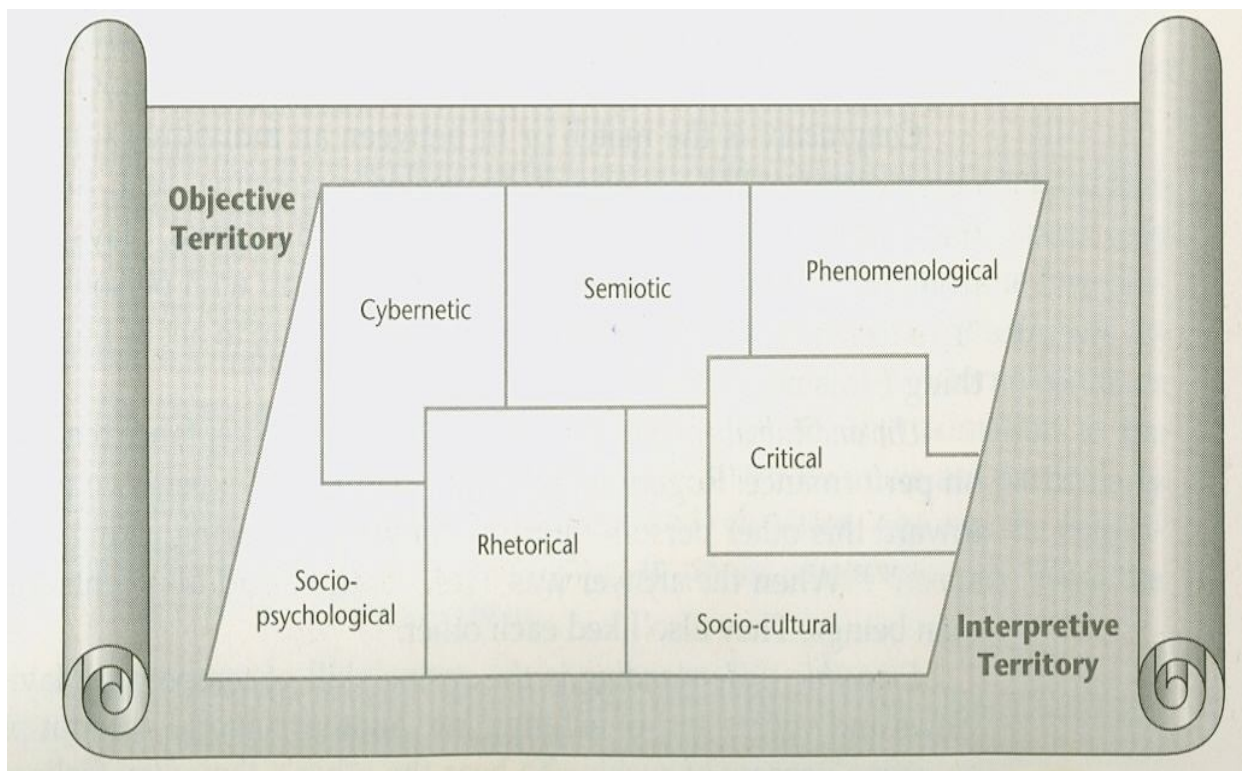
Thus, the current research falls under the third scope, i.e. language information and effect. As I stated in the objective of the study, under section 1.2, the ‘epidemic of signification’ has been given more attention in this study. The epidemic of signification is generally concerned with the social constructions of the epidemic. Hence, stigma, discrimination and all sorts of treatments and mistreatments of PLWHAs could be attributed to the social construction of the epidemic. In other words stigma and discrimination could be seen as social practices that result from information disseminated regarding an entity.

Moreover, the chapter elaborates the link between the theories subsumed in the interdisciplinary approach employed in analyzing data. Some aspects of the social

constructions of disease in shaping public understanding are also presented in this chapter.

2.2 Communication

Communication has been defined from different perspectives by scholars in different fields. As a result, there are varying conceptualizations of the term. Hence, in a given study, a top-down perspective, i.e. the idea of selecting a comprehensive definition that encompasses the varied fields will be to no avail according to Craig (1999). The scholar suggests that one has to narrow down the perspective specific to the issue under consideration to decide the theory of communication that best fits the purposes of a given study. According to this scholar, there are seven established traditions of communication theory.



**Figure 2 A Survey Map of Traditions in the field of Communication Theory
(Griffin, 2000:46)**

These theories fall into two broad territories: the objective and interpretive territories. Of the seven established traditions of communication theory, the critical tradition, which sees communication as a reflective challenge of unjust discourse, has been selected for this study due to two reasons. Firstly, the current study is a critical study which tries to deconstruct Ethiopia's response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic per se and hence this tradition is most relevant. Secondly, critical theory, a theory on which this perspective is based, has also been adopted as the theoretical framework of the study. As has been pointed out in section 1.3 and section 1.8, this study attempted to reveal hidden ideologies which are implicitly in several messages of health communication. Thus the current study attempted to expound the role of the varied social constructions of the pandemic in shaping public understanding.

2.2.1 Health Communication

History has it that since time immemorial, mankind survived amid struggle with severe diseases. Diseases were perhaps the worst threats to mankind overtime. Eventually, as mankind started to discover remedies to the challenges that faced humanity through time, some diseases have been put under control while some others have still managed to evolve amid mankind's scientific prowess. One of the diseases that couldn't be dealt with fully by mankind's creative ability is the HIV/AIDS epidemic. In situations wherein mankind failed to produce remedies for diseases, humanity has relied on communication to lessen their impacts. The specific type of communication committed to sharing

information on health issues is termed health communication. Health communication has been defined in a number of ways. However, the definition given by Schiavo (2007:7) appears to be comprehensive and one that fits the objectives of this study.

Health communication is a multifaceted multidisciplinary approach to reach different audiences and share health related- information with the goal of influencing, engaging, and supporting individuals, communities, health professionals, special groups, policymakers, and the public to champion, introduce, adopt, or sustain a behavior, practice, or policy that will ultimately improve health outcomes.

This definition is compact and to fully comprehend it one has to look critically at the key terms it encompasses. Accordingly, ‘reach’ and ‘influence’ imply the flow of information about health from a certain source to the target audiences. Similarly, ‘sustain a behavior’ implies that health communication primarily focuses on enabling target groups to come up with a desired behavior or code of conduct regarding a given health threat. As such one of the goals of health communication is the social practice⁵ of the community.

The association between health and behavior is well established. Regarding HIV/AIDS, this association has been underscored by a number of scholars. McKee et al. (2004:41), for instance, noted, “...in the absence of a vaccine or a cure, behavior change represents one of the very few means of stemming the epidemic.” Accordingly, it is with this notion that behavior change has been given prominence in response to HIV/AIDS (McKee et al 2004).

⁵ Social practice-what the society actually does (Harrison and Young 2004)

Moreover, Bernhardt (2004) noted that health communication is 'transdisciplinary'. Thus, it draws on many disciplines such as behavioral sciences, health education, and social marketing. As a result, there are several underpinning theories of health communication. According to Schiavo, 2007, these include: diffusion of innovation, health belief model, theory of reasoned action ...etc.

Health communication has evolved overtime by passing through four eras according to Piotro et al. (2003) as cited in Schiavo (2007:1-2).

(1)The clinical era, based on a medical care model and the notion that if people knew where services were found they would find their way to the clinics; (2) the field era, a proactive approach emphasizing outreach workers, community-based distribution and a variety of information, education (IEC) products ; (3) the social marketing era, developed from the commercial concepts that consumers will buy the products they want at subsidized prices; and (4) today the era of strategic behavior communications founded on behavioral science models that emphasize the need to influence social norms and policy environments to facilitate and empower the iterative and dynamic process of both individual and social change.

The current era of health communication is the era of strategic behavior communication which involves enabling the mass to come up with and sustain desired behavior. It is an era which focuses on empowering people so that they realize practices that make them susceptible to diseases and refrain from harmful practices so as to avoid diseases. Empowerment implies getting information or knowledge which can help lessen the impacts of a health threat. In general, the era of strategic behavior communication is concerned with social practice.

2.2.1.1 Information, Education and Communication (IEC)

In the process of averting the tide of the HIV/AIDS, different stakeholders have embarked on multifaceted efforts. These include: condom promotion, providing STD services and IEC among others. These efforts are intended to help create awareness about the pandemic and thereby mitigate its impacts. However, some stakeholders who engage in such events such as NGOs, international organizations and corporations do not accomplish these activities out of goodwill; rather they have their own benefits. Condom promotion and marketing is a case in point.

IEC is in particular intended for population with high risk of behavior. The specific activities undertaken include: postponement of first sexual encounters, decrease in multi-partner sex, increase in condom use, increased use of health services to treat STD and increased use of clean syringes by injecting drug users. That means IEC as a strategy focuses on enabling the society acquire these codes of conduct.

2.2.1.2 Behavior Change Communication (BCC)

Behavior Change Communication was established following the realization that it was a viable approach to curb the spread of this pandemic. Similarly in Ethiopia, the approach has been adapted as a solution in averting the tide of HIV/AIDS. As a result, the government, NGOs and concerned health sector agents were seriously engaged in the program of handling this pandemic through raising people's awareness (AIDSCAP, 1999).

However, effecting behavior change has not always been easy. This emanates from the misunderstandings that surround it as there appears to be a gap between what is in the discourse and what is actually performed.

Campbell, 2003: 132 elaborated this notion as follows:

...Yet in the face of limited understanding of how to change young people's behavior, these calls have a hollow ring; there is an urgent need for further investigation of the nature of the gap between political rhetoric and the realities facing attempts to change young people's sexual behavior in particular contexts.

This implies that the attempt to change people's behavior to HIV/AIDS is better said than done. The problems include lack of commitment on the parties involved in the 'fight against AIDS' and disregard for other pertinent factors that force people to engage in 'risky behaviors'. As a result, efforts have not come up with the desired change (AIDSCAP, 1999).

At the beginning, there was the assumption that raising the awareness of individuals about the severity of the HIV/AIDS would suffice to bring about behavior change. Accordingly, KAP (knowledge, attitude and practice) became the accepted approach of the early days of HIV/AIDS prevention. The premise of this approach was that as people get more information about HIV/AIDS and how it is transmitted, they would change their sexual behavior.

In line with the implementation of behavior change communication (BCC), different channels of communications such as mass media, brochures, leaflets...etc. have been used in Ethiopia to convey health messages. Health messages have been transmitted to the

target population cognizant of the theoretical underpinnings of health communication. However, as most of the health communication models were developed in Western countries, there was a fear that they might not have depicted the actual reality of the country. HIV/AIDS was first noted in Western countries. However, its spread was mitigated in those countries before it reached epidemic proportions. Yet in countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, where the disease occurred much latter, it did reach epidemic proportions.

According to McKee, et al. (2004), there are three criticisms that are raised as to whether western theoretical models are relevant to the developing world. The first criticism relates to incompatibilities in culture. In certain situations the target community has been forced to adopt behaviors which were inconsistent with their cultural norms. In the context of this study, this could be realized by considering the skepticism of people about condom. At the beginning people in Ethiopia used to doubt both the effectiveness and the intent of condom (social practice- see section 4.3.4.2).

The second criticism relates to the relationship between self-efficacy and action. Regarding sexual activity, cognitive self-agency modes of action may be inappropriate to determine the course of action one takes. According to McKee, et al, (2004) this is due to the assumption that individuals do not have control over sexual activity.

The third criticism is about the skepticism pertaining to rationality of mankind as regards sexual activity. Social theoreticians assume that man is a rational being and acts in accordance with recommended behaviors in sustained ways. However, this is doubtful

when it comes to sexual behavior. Accordingly, ‘social pressure, influence of alcohol’ and drugs affect people’s intentions and course of actions (McKee, et al 2004).

Therefore, there was a shift of focus from theories that focused on individual behavior to those that focused on community. The shift of focus from behavioral theories that focus on individuals to those that focus on community resulted from the notion that larger structural and environmental determinants of behavior should be incorporated. In terms of theoretical underpinnings of sexual behavior, theories that incorporate these determinants were put in place (McKee et al, 2004)

2.3. Discourse

The link between language and discourse has been explained by Fairclough (1989) who noted that when the orientation of a researcher is critical study, which is also the intent of this study, the conception of language to be taken into consideration is ‘discourse’. The scholar described discourse as: “language as social practice determined by social structures” Fairclough (2001:14). This implies that discourse is shaped by certain patterns of communication and that there are social agents who regulate its production, reception and reproduction. ‘Critical’ in this context implies highlighting connections and causes, which are hidden or not obvious (Atkins, 2002)

The aspect of discourse used in the current study is its Foucauldian (Foucault, 1972) sense, which sees discourse as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. In other words discourses help in figuring out what has been described and envisaged as they help in portraying and constituting the object they represent. This has

also been ascertained by Hardy and Phillips, (1999:3) who noted that discourse brings the social and natural world into being by creating the “ideas, categories, relationships, and theories through which we understand the world and relate to one another”. What can be drawn from these notions is that discourses help in creating ‘mental images’ categories, ideas and relationships.

Harvey (1996) described discourses by using terms used by other scholars. The scholar noted that they (discourses) are manifestations of power that form social realities (objects) and identities (subjects). As such the terms ‘objects’ and ‘subjects’ were borrowed from Fairclough (1995) and Foucault (1982) respectively. In other words, particular groups are positioned differently, i.e. in ways that are enabling for some groups and constraining for others.

The descriptions of discourse by the above scholars have commonalities in that they all emphasize the role of discourse in representing reality. In other words the aspect of discourse that received significant attention by the above scholars is the realization that discourses create identities. It means these definitions focused on the role different stakeholders play in a given social process for depicting reality.

However the descriptions that follow have discrepancy with those mentioned above in terms of the aspect of discourse they emphasize. Hall, (1997) noted that the major function of discourse is making meaning. To elaborate this point the scholar posed the following question to his readers: ‘How does one know that a red light means ‘stop’ and a

green light means ‘go’?’ The scholar answered the question by noting that someone many years ago told them so (discourse).

Besides asserting the above notion, Hall (1997) has encouraged readers to be skeptical about the origin of discourse or the ‘sources’ of discourse. The skepticism he suggested is associated with the notion that the powerful groups (for instance, people who have the knowhow and other resources at their disposal) take the initiative in defining issues (creating discourses or meanings) and hence direct subjects’ perception of it. Hall’s assertions have implications on the manners in which we speak and how we take actions on objects created by discourses. Similarly, Hall (2001) underscored that by constructing meanings of social categories and their relationships discourse shapes practice by shaping what can be said and who can say it.

Discourses determine the possibilities of some events over other events. Potter and Wetherell (1987:6) elaborated this by noting that, discourses “do not just describe things; they do things”. In the context of this study, there are several discourses (hence, meanings) regarding the HIV/AIDS epidemic that implicitly call for different actions. Information disseminated regarding this epidemic is quite varied. Accordingly, in the process of socially constructing HIV/AIDS, if the government officials portray the pandemic as ‘incurable’ such a meaning could be diffused with alarming implications that might have made the community to stigmatize and discriminate the infected persons. Thus, the actions taken by people in the due process (stigmatization and discrimination) are mediated by discourse which is otherwise termed the social practice.

Fiske (1987: 14) describes discourse as “a language or system of representation that has developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings about a topic area”. This implies that discourse is not a haphazard representation of an issue; rather it is a consistent set that imparts the meaning it was presumed to impart.

Accordingly, the latter descriptions of discourse (Hall, 1997 -Fiske 1987) focused on the role of discourse in creating meaning than its role in portraying the actors or the phenomena. These descriptions emphasize the meaning discourses evoke as they equate discourse to meaning. In the current study the descriptions of discourse by both groups have been taken into consideration. In other words the role of discourses in both producing subjects and their role in imparting meaning are subsumed in the current study.

2.3.1 Dimensions of Discourse

In the current study, the dimension of discourse taken into consideration is Fairclough's (1992) description of discourse which is: discourse-as- text⁶, discourse-as-discursive⁷ practice and discourse-as-social⁸ practice. Accordingly, discourse as text implies the linguistic characteristics and organizations of observable instances of discourse such as vocabulary selection and use of metaphors. This dimension also includes nominalizations

⁶ Texts are seen as parts of specific social practice that have political implications about issues of status & distribution of social goods & power.

⁷ Discursive practice discourse as something which is produced, circulated, distributed, consumed in society (Blommaert, 2005).

⁸ Social practice- how the discourse users enact or resist social and political structures, an attention to the ways in which social members interpret, categorize & construct their social experience (Van Dijk 1997a) /social practice-what the society actually does (Harrison and Young 2004)

and the use of passive voice as a means of evading the agent. Transitivity, modality and the cohesive feature of texts are also subsumed under the dimension of discourse-as-text.

The dimension of discourse as discursive practice is concerned with discourse as “something produced, circulated, distributed and consumed in society” (Blommaert, 2005: 44). Thus discourse as discursive practice is a dimension in which the circulation of instances of linguistic objects as text types is determined. Applied to the current study, this dimension implies text analysis that extends beyond vocabulary and grammatical description so as to encompass speech acts, coherence, intertextuality and interdiscursivity. In other words, discourse as discursive practice is the analysis of text in relation to the wider social contexts (see section 3.4.).

Discourse as social practice is the dimension of discourse which is concerned with the ideological effects of hegemony. Put another way, this dimension is a reflection of how power relation is maintained through producing identities in which groups are differently positioned and the actions and reactions the various subjectivities take based on the way they are positioned (Fairclough, 2001).

Furthermore, Fairclough (1989) termed the whole process of interaction ‘discourse’ and the end product ‘text’. Applied to the current study, this implies that policies, frameworks and various genres produced by the government in the process of socially constructing the pandemic are texts. The wider contexts of text production and reproduction whereby meanings proliferate are the social practices. As such the various actions the government

takes such as formulations of policies and frameworks which are the realizations of this institution are the discursive practices.

This implies that the government through its power through and over discourse in the form of texts such as policy documents and newspapers tries to instigate distinctive messages. These are the discursive practices of the government. People either enact or resist these practices, i.e. people's understanding and consequently their mode of response may be shaped by the discourses of the government. Because they position people differently due to their subjective positions, the texts produced by the government are a reflection of power relations.

2.3.1.1 Policy Discourse

Policies, guidelines and frameworks outline the plans of actions. They frame the activities to be accomplished in order to overcome problems and as such appear as solutions. Policies usually attempt to convince the public to share the consensus on how the formulators of policies intend to handle different issues.

However, it is argued that policies are usually opaque and have underlying messages which could not be easily uncovered or unpacked by considering the terms used quantitatively. According to Fairclough (1995a), this is because in modern times, power is not exercised coercively. Power is rather exercised subtly and covertly. As such the socially construction of policies is obscured. As a result, recipients accept policies as 'common sense' or 'fact'. In particular, policies emanating from government bodies are

not simple statements with surface meanings; they have deeper implications which can be understood only through exhaustive scrutiny and better lenses.

This research uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a tool for policy research. It does so with the recognition that HIV/AIDS policy and government newspapers can be understood as discursive practices⁹ of the government which can be examined as discourse-related problems. 'Discourse-related problem' implies that there could be certain social constructions of this pandemic which have a bearing on how societies handle PLWHA, i.e. the kind of action certain ways of representing this epidemic engender.

Furthermore, Alford (2005) opines government policies are official discourses of the state in which language serves a political purpose by constructing particular meanings which may obscure social conflict. In policies, language is used in ways that can persuade the public about the way the institution (government) is handling a given problem. When language is used for popularising and promoting the intent of the government, it serves ideologically (Fairclough, 1989).

The social constructions of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia's HIV/AIDS policy and newspapers reflect the power relations shaping the discourse on the pandemic. Furthermore, the policy process, according to Jones et al, (1998) is a discursive practice which is the site of struggle between unequal groups. In the process of formulation of a policy, the powerful

⁹ Discursive practices- how discourse is produced, circulated, distributed and consumed in society (Blommaert, 2005).

groups get their ideas across while the consent of the voiceless or the wider community may not be fully addressed. As such in the dynamics of communication, the community either enacts the pattern of attribution upheld by government officials or resists these patterns.

The term 'discourse' may appear to be a fuzzy concept as there are many meanings that are attached to it. There are also several varieties of discourses. These varieties are medical discourse, legal discourse, classroom discourse, organizational discourse, media discourse, academic discourse, and so on. Policy discourse can be seen as one type of discourse. It can be further subdivided into: education policy, health policy, foreign policy ...etc.

Policy discourse has been defined by Schmidt (2000:211) as "...whatever policy actors say to one another and to the public in their efforts to generate and legitimize a policy programme". This includes the debates and justifications the policy formulators raise in the process of policy communication. Hence taking policy as a type of discourse entails the analysis of its ideological and political dimensions such as how the actors represent stakeholder groups in the policies and how the actors portray events (Bacchi 2000). Thus the role of the actors receives more attention in policy analysis.

Fischer (2003:76) opines that, in policies, besides the "dominant discourses", competing discourses struggle to gain recognition and power". This is a further instance of the notion that policy is a manifestation of power relation as it is the institution that formulates policies that gets its ideas across with little or no attention given to

alternatives. This power relation is realized by considering the language used in the policies.

2.3.1.2 Media Discourse (Newspapers)

Mass media play a vital role in informing the public about key issues including the threat posed by HIV/AIDS. As such the media set agenda in constructing, maintaining and reproducing dominant discourses of this pandemic. Thus, through repeated popularizing of the disease, newspapers create a certain ‘common sense’. In such a way, language as a tool of communication in the due process helps in maintaining meanings regarding this issue.

Government run newspapers are the major outlets that disseminate information about HIV/AIDS. They popularize the disease and try to create a consensus regarding the course of action to be taken. In Ethiopia, the major government run newspapers that were mobilized in constructing particular narratives on this epidemic are the Ethiopian Herald (a daily newspaper in English language) and Addis Zemen (a daily newspaper in Amharic). Because of their accessibility (their large number of readership), these newspapers have a role in shaping public understanding of the pandemic. This can be attributed to the use of various literary and symbolic devices they use in portraying this pandemic including metaphors.

According to Hodge and Kress (1988:46), the media “construct communication exchanges that bind distant participants into an effective community so that they can be subject to effects of power”. According to these scholars, this is achieved by portraying

both the pandemic and its victims in ways that could shape the perceptions of the public. Consequently, this is a hegemonic process of defining a problem and constructing possible solutions. In the due process, signifiers, particularly metaphors, can be employed. The metaphorization of diseases naturalizes power and creates an illusion that there is a social agreement among stakeholders about the messages or solutions proposed.

Different groups have varied level of access to different resources. One of the resources which are not evenly shared by groups is discourse. Subsequently, a given group may be labeled as 'powerful' or 'powerless' based on whether it can manipulate discourse or not. Van Dijk (1996:85) elaborated this notion further by noting that, "power is *based* on privileged access to valued social resources, such as wealth, jobs, status, or indeed, a preferential access to public discourse and communication" (emphasis, in the original). As such discourse is taken as a valued social resource which is not evenly shared; for access to media discourse is limited to dominant groups in the society. Through controlling the public discourse, dominant groups sustain the status quo either through persuasion or manipulation (Van Dijk, 2006).

As their name implies, government newspapers are predominantly engaged in promoting the views of the government. In such a way they (government newspapers) justify the government's handling of a given issue by emphasizing the 'appropriateness' of the government stand and labeling other alternative ways as inappropriate. Therefore, the mass media allow powerful institutions such as governments the opportunity to discursively enforce and perpetuate their ideologies (Fairclough, 2001).

2.3.2 Dissemination of Health Communication Messages

There are several hierarchical organizations that engage in disseminating information in health communication. These are the government, international development agents, NGOs among others.

2.3.2.1 Government

In communication, information flows from the source to the presumed receivers. Accordingly, governments serve as sources of information on health through the formulation of policies, frameworks, guidelines ...etc. In such a way, governments (source of information) gain power over their subjects (receivers) as they manipulate information on health. Thus, there is power relationship holding between the mass and government whereby the group that serves as the source of information exercises power over the group that receives information.

2.3.2.2 International Organizations

International organizations¹⁰ are engaged in disseminating information regarding major issues. Even though they may not be in a position to enact policies on states, they are able to shape legitimized meanings and responses concerning several issues. They achieve this by means of their mandated role of disseminating information to states (Das, 2008). According to this scholar, one of these global issues about which international organizations give information is HIV/AIDS.

¹⁰ International organizations- WHO, UNAIDS, IMF, World Bank

Regarding this pandemic, these agents work hand-in-hand with country level actors in disseminating and implementing information about it. In other words governments would be bestowed with agency with what they accomplish in their respective countries through the guidance of the international agents. According to Das (2008) the degree to which country level actors adopt policies is based on the country's experiences and relationship with the international community.

International organizations disseminate the necessity of issues through their discourses. Subsequently, they will provide finances which make country level actors accept the patterns to be followed in implementing the projects. Country level actors are encouraged to comply with the frameworks outlined by global agents basically due to the resources (information, knowhow and finance) supplied by the latter (Das, 2008).

As international organizations produce discourses on global issues, they possess discourse power, which have bearing on perceptions of the subjects. Development discourse is among the major type of discourse produced by international development agents. Escobar (1995:9) noted, "Development discourse has created an extremely efficient apparatus for producing knowledge about, and the exercise of power over, the Third World". However, according to this scholar development discourse is not without problems. The scholar has further underscored that there may be mismatches between what the development discourse entails and the actual reality of the poor countries.

International agents act in disguise in the process of gaining power. They try to get their voice heard through indirect means. Thus they gain power through what is called, 'sociological institutionalism' which according to Boli and Thomas (1997) are 'bureaucracies', 'states' and 'markets' that lead to the creation of a culture that gives due consideration for 'universalism', scientific and professional authority. Regarding HIV/AIDS, international organizations for instance, instigated the desire for lifestyle change to mitigate the spread of the pandemic. One of the materials which was vastly commodified and widely circulated across the world as part of lifestyle change is condom. As such information that is disseminated about HIV/AIDS and commodities that are produced to mitigate the spread of this epidemic capacitated these agents to gain power over subjects in the developing world.

Das (2008:055) has noted that international HIV/AIDS discourses are effectively communicated to country-level actors due to the following:

1. country field presence of international institutions
2. international lending requirements for HIV/AIDS projects
3. UN media influence

Thus state-level actors may be under pressure to conform to the donors' patterns of action in order to receive aid and hence implement projects. Accordingly, it could be argued that these agents have established a hegemonic legacy in the process of communicating information to the international community through international corporations and institutions. Regarding HIV/AIDS, these corporations and institutes managed to dictate the flow of information across the globe irrespective of boundaries.

2.3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Depending on the nature of the study and the research questions set, an interpretive research method called Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)¹¹ has been selected for deconstructing the discourses of Ethiopia's responses to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in policies, frameworks, guidelines and government newspapers. The justification for selecting CDA as a method in this research is because its approach can help in discerning discourses by revealing implicit power relations (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

Prior to the emergence of CDA the most acclaimed movement in linguistics was structuralism, in particular, Chomsky's generative grammar. However, the exclusion of social and cultural dimensions in structuralism led to the emergence of approaches that encompassed social aspects. One of these movements was CDA which focused attention on the social aspect of language and its semiotic dimensions. According to Gee (2000), CDA is a post-structuralist and post-modernist approach whose central attention is on the notion of discourse. CDA emerged as a resistance against the backdrop of the Chomskyan linguistics program which focused on the structure of language alone.

Fairclough and Kress (1993) cited in Wodak and Meyer, (2001) have underscored that there are three operational concepts within the CDA approach, viz. power, history, and ideology. The scholars further noted that discourse is structured by dominance.

¹¹ The theoretical framework of the study is critical social theory, which holds that people exist in relation to historically based dominant ideologies. CDA, the analytic method selected for the current study, has common elements with critical social theory because it (CDA) also holds that inequality and injustice are reproduced in language and legitimized by it (Titscher et.al, 2000)

Accordingly, the actors (powerful groups) have the potential to shape discourse. The second tradition in CDA is concerning history, i.e time and space in which the discourse takes place. The third operational concept in CDA is that powerful groups legitimize their structures via ideologies of their own (powerful groups’).

CDA is a study that addresses social problems (Fairclough and Wodak (1997). These scholars underscored that critical discourse analysis helps in addressing the social problems that face mankind. Thus, taking a certain social problem, one may try to see how language has been employed by both the powerful and powerless groups in maintaining and resisting a given social order. CDA is a vital tool to unpack the underlying ideologies that texts perpetuate. This has also been further maintained by Fairclough (2001,) who noted that discourse is ideological as far as it contributes to sustaining particular relations of power and domination.

CDA can reveal how the ideological system is produced and reproduced by discourse and social practices that serve certain groups sustain their power. Powerful groups maintain the status quo by creating discourses embedded with ideological interpretations that can dull people (Griffin, 2000). CDA is concerned not only with texts themselves, but also with the wider social contexts in which these texts are produced, including the institutions and the power relations that hold them.

2.3.4 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Scholars usually attempt to elaborate the link between systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) in terms of their commonalities and

differences. For instance, Fairclough and Chialruki (1999:139) highlighted the causal relationship between the two as follows:

It is no accident that critical linguistics and social semiotics arose out of SFL [systemic-functional linguistics] or that other work in CDA has drawn upon it -- SFL theorizes language in a way which harmonizes far more with the perspective of critical social science than other theories of language.

This implies that of all the theories of language, it is the theories of SFL that can be used along with theories in social sciences. In other words, SFL allows for interdisciplinary approaches to come into play for elaborating the social world.

Furthermore according to Harrison and Young (2004:2), the two share three things in common.

First, they share a view of language as a social construct, looking at the role of language in society and at the ways in which society has fashioned language. The second commonality, to which the first leads, is their shared dialectical view of language in which particular discursive events influence the contexts in which they occur and the contexts are, in turn, influenced by these discursive events. Third, 'both [SFL and CDA] emphasize the cultural and historical aspects of meaning'.

However, SFL and CDA are also different in that while SFL is typically concerned about how language is used to convey different meanings in different contexts, CDA is meant to determine the relationship between language and power and how language is used to produce, maintain, and reproduce power relations via discursive means. Put another way,

SFL focuses attention on the structure of language for carrying out different metafunctions whereas; CDA explores the way language has been used to maintain inequality. In general, researchers who have employed CDA as their approach of analysis usually draw on SFL components to analyze texts (Harrison and Young, 2004).

The central tenet of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is that language is used to perform certain social functions. Systemic functional linguistics focuses on how language as a system of communication is used as a tool for social purposes. In systemic functional linguistics (SFL) language is taken as a social semiotic (Halliday, 1978). Accordingly, language is viewed as a social phenomenon of making meanings through linguistic choices from a range of language system in particular contexts (Eggins, 1994).

One of the assumptions in SFL is the view that the major purpose of language is meaning-making. As a result, SFL uses functional categories instead of the grammatical description of language. The other assumption in SFL is that the organization of language and social context are intricately interrelated. According to Eggins (1994), this relationship is based on three types of meanings or metafunctions, viz. ideational, interpersonal, and textual. These three metafunctions enable one to realize how language functions within the social world (Martin and Rose, 2003).

2.3.4.1. Ideational Function

The ideational¹² function refers to the way the world is represented. As such this representation could be through transitivity including processes and participants. Furthermore, the ideational function refers to the representation or construction of experience within language—the topic, subject matter, or content as language is a tool for expressing ideas.

2.3.4.2 Interpersonal Function

The interpersonal function of language is the mediation of relationships between people. In other words, interpersonal¹³ meaning expresses the role relationships between participants. Thus, when a writer expresses her/his ideas in writing, readers extract meaning about a third party referred to. In such a way one person relates with many others through language via speech acts such as ‘informing, questioning, greeting and persuading’ (Fowler, 1991: 69). Therefore, the writer will also be able to express his/her own attitudes and reactions about a certain phenomenon to which other people can react. This function of language gives the opportunity to criticize or comment upon the experience of others.

According to Fairclough (2003), the interpersonal dimension is further differentiated into the enactment and representation of social identities and social relations, which could be expressed through mood, i.e. such as the choice between declarative sentences, questions

¹² Ideational function is the representation of events either in relation to their physical, mental or social aspects

¹³ Interpersonal function is the negotiation of social relations in the text

and commands, the choice of pronouns (e.g. we versus they) or modality (such as, the use of modal verbs) and showing commitment to a statement.

2.3.4.3 Textual Function

One of the functions of language is the creation of texts. Thus, text is the level at which discourse is constructed. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996:41) described text as: “complexes of signs which cohere both internally and for which they were produced”. Put another way, text is the output of interaction in which language is used to achieve particular purposes by the creators of the text. Eggins (1994) stated that textual meaning is related to how a text (spoken or written) is organized as a coherent message. In other words, in the textual function, one explores the pertinent transformations in a given text such as nominalizations and passivization. According to Christies, (2005b), the ‘textual metafunction’ is the aspect of grammar that helps organize and convey particular message.

In general, when someone produces a text, the created text will serve an ideational and interpersonal functions and the person who is presented with the text will be able to interpret and reflect upon it. As such all the three metafunctions can be observed simultaneously.

2.3.5 Constructivist Approach to Representation

The constructivist approach is concerned with the pattern of representation as a prelude to meaning making. Hall (1997:25) described the constructivist approach as a way of dealing with how humans “construct meaning, using representational systems”.

Moreover, it also deals with the implications pertaining to the constructed positions. Constructivism falls into two major categories, viz. the semiotic and discursive perspectives.

The principles of constructivism are traced back to the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, who conceived of language as a system of signs (semiosis). Saussure divided signs into two: the signifier and the signified. Accordingly, 'signifiers' are the words or images which represent objects, and 'signified' are the mental conceptions of the objects.

However, Saussure was later criticized by Hall (1997) who questioned the absence of the relationship between those who are involved in producing meaning and the meanings created as such. Hall (1997) noted that because Saussure was a structuralist¹⁴, he was interested in only how language works to produce meaning; and as such he disregarded issues such as why certain meanings are produced, and what the power relations involved are.

Barthes (1968) extended Saussure's theories of language to a 'second order signification' by encompassing socio-cultural and personal associations of the sign. Barthes noted that connotative meaning occurs when an entire sign becomes a signifier itself. Barthes's addition to Saussure's work is important, because it led to examine power relations within signification (Hall 1997).

¹⁴ Structuralism- works out how language elements join to give meaning. This approach disregards what makes the agents involved in the meaning process produce particular types of meaning. Issues such as why certain meanings are produced are accounted for in post structuralism and constructivism.

The second perspective in constructivism is Foucault's discursive approach which is divided into three main components: the concept of discourse, the relationship between knowledge and power, and the notion of the subject (Hall 1997).

Hall (1997: 45-6) has enumerated six points that should be taken into consideration regarding discourse. First of all, one needs to study the statements about an idea which impart certain types of knowledge about that concept. Secondly, one should study the rules which limit certain ways of talking about the concept, and govern what a person can think and say about that concept within that historical moment. This is about the role of representation in shaping subjects' perception of the event.

Thirdly, one must study the subjects who personify the concept or discourse. This is about who instigate the concept, the producers of discourse. The fourth point is, one has to examine how knowledge about this concept becomes a 'truth' or how knowledge acquires authority within that historical moment. This is how the representation becomes part of the social practice¹⁵ of the community under consideration. Fifth, one needs to examine the institutional practices for dealing with the subjects of this discourse, and finally, acknowledge that discourses could change overtime by producing new conceptions and as such new discourses may replace the former ones.

According to Chandler (2001/2007) it was Foucault (1977; 1978) who later extended the old idiom 'knowledge is power'. Thus, in the contemporary expression of power, it is

¹⁵ Social practice-what the societies actually do, i.e. the activities they engage in as they conduct social life (Harrison and Young,2004:88)

assumed that it (power) gives an individual or group the ability to create knowledge or assert their forms of knowledge as 'truth'. This extended description of power implies that knowledge capacitates the knowledgeable to define a certain issue so as to direct subjects' (peoples') perception of it. In such a way knowledge becomes the weapon of control per se.

Discourse gains meaning through power (Griffin 2000). Griffin's assertion corresponds with Foucault's notion which holds that subjects do not produce meanings; they only reproduce meanings produced by the powerful group. Furthermore, Griffin (2000) noted that power is exercised rather than possessed and it disseminates via discourse.

Foucault noted that subjects are not the primary source of all meaning and they don't have full agency. For Foucault, discourses produce subjects and that subjects do not produce knowledge, even though they may produce texts. The scholar also held that no subject can operate outside of discourse. Discourses proscribe certain ways to behave, and as such exclude other ways of acting or thinking. Applied to the current study what this implies is that discourse produced about HIV/AIDS in which its portrayal in scientific terms (through medical discourse) has been established as a dominant way of representation for it across the globe. People in every corner of the world (subjects) were forced to reproduce the meaning in dealing with the pandemic.

2.3.6 Discourse, Identities, Power and Ideology

As has been underscored by Fairclough (2001), in critical discourse analysis (CDA) social and institutional practices are conceptualized in three dimensions. These are ways of acting and interacting (genres¹⁶). In the context of this study, socially observable ways of giving interviews, press releases and reports on HIV/AIDS are genres. These are the ways to enact, produce, and reproduce social relations.

Furthermore, in the context of this study, policy discourse are realized in the form of documents on HIV/AIDS such as, guidelines, frameworks, speeches of higher ranking officials, and press releases among others (see section 4.1). These varied kinds of policy discourse are termed genres. In other words, genres are types of discourse which are similar in content and form. Genres help as a vantage point to look at texts and their context. Bazerman (1998) has noted that in the process of policymaking, genres appear as solutions to rhetorical problems in society.

The second dimension for conceptualizing institutional practices is in representations¹⁷ (discourse). In the context of this study, the ways of socially constructing and discussing issues of HIV/AIDS, its causality, its treatment, its prevention, etc are instances of discourse. Fairclough (2001:2) further noted, "...Discourses are diverse representations of social life which are inherently positioned- differently positioned social actors 'see' and represent social life in different ways, different discourses".

¹⁶ Genres particular ways of acting (Fairclough, 1989)

¹⁷ Representations/discourse ways of portraying the identities

The above notion implies that a social representation of social life depends on how the social actor is positioned. Applied to the current study, when a government minister gives briefing on HIV/AIDS, s/he would tend to do so from a certain angle by forming a dichotomy between those who have been infected and the others, who have not been infected. In other words, the government officials may use the ‘othering’ discourse in representing PLWHA.

HIV/AIDS is a critical social problem that recurs in everyday communication of subjects. It may be socially constructed in various ways in day-to-day communication due to the manner in which it is underpinned by various social agents. This can be further elaborated with Wodak’s (1996: 126) assertion “[d]iscourse about others is always connected with one’s own identity, that is to say, with the question ‘how do we see ourselves?’ The construction of identity is a process of differentiation, a description of one’s own group and simultaneously a separation from ‘others’”. In the context of this study, it is within this context that discursive subjects such as government, international agents, PLWHA are constituted.

The third way of conceptualizing social and institutional practices is in ways of being or styles ¹⁸(voices: ways of identifying or constructing the self and others). In the context of this research, the styles of government officials in addressing the HIV/AIDS epidemic, i.e., how they position themselves, development partners and PLWHA is an instance of style.

¹⁸ Style voices, ways of identifying and constructing the other and the self

Allan (2010) noted that in post structuralism there is the assumption that realities are subjective and knowledges are historically limited. According to this scholar, discourse, power and identity produce realities through their dynamic relations. Subjects, i.e., people take actions based on realities created through these dynamic relations. Therefore, policy as discourse produces identities. Thus, in order to understand the effect of policies, one has to deconstruct the identities that policies create. Accordingly, the discursive effects of Ethiopia's response in HIV/AIDS policy, framework, guidelines and government newspapers are determined in relation to the production of identities.

Jaworski and Coupland (1999) noted that language both reflects and shapes the social order. Accordingly, the choice of language can never be taken as neutral. It is rather a means that subtly promotes certain power structures and ideologies (Foucault 1980, Fairclough 2001). Furthermore, the promotion of certain power structures and ideologies within a discourse normalizes them as it could limit the reader's ability to look for alternatives.

Discourses help in maintaining the status quo. Parker (1992:20) noted that discourses support institutions through the reinforcement of some meanings and the subversion of others. They reflect power relations through promoting specific sets of meaning. They, therefore; have an effect on ideology through enabling dominant groups to "tell their story" through the narrative.

Power and knowledge are inseparably interrelated. Moreover, they are interdependent with discourse. Foucault (1978:100) noted, "...it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together". Thus, deconstructing power-knowledge relationship is a means to reveal reality among complex relationships.

2.3.7 The Social Constructions of Diseases

The social construction of diseases is well documented. Rosenberg (1987) summarized the situation of the 19th century Cholera epidemics in the United States by underscoring that a disease is no absolute 'physical entity'; rather it is a complex 'intellectual construct', it is both a biological state and social definition. This notion holds that a disease cannot be understood just as a biological state alone by considering its symptoms; rather, how it is represented in the social world has implications for its full understanding.

The process of socially constructing illness is never neutral. In other words, representation of diseases is a value-laden process whereby people can be put at different levels. As such the social construction of a given disease and those afflicted leads to stereotyping. Herek et al. (2003) as cited in UNDP Review Paper 2007:1 stated,

In the process of socially constructing an illness, symptoms are identified and the disease is named. Theories of origin, transmission, prevention and cure are formulated, promulgated, criticized and revised. Those who contract the disease come to be regarded as victims or patients, guilty or innocent, dangerous or benign, heroic or pitiable.

The relevance of social construction in perceiving HIV/AIDS is well documented. For instance, Joffe (1999) has noted that social representations of HIV/AIDS underpin 'thought and action' in relation to illness, and facilitate the making of meaning in the

social world. In the context of the current study, these representations include ways of attribution as punishment from God and attribution to certain marginalized groups such as commercial sex workers (CSW).

Treichler (1991) opines that because HIV/AIDS is usually portrayed using medical terms, its understanding as an epidemic of signification should receive attention so as to capacitate people comprehend it. According to this scholar, the biological definition of the epidemic does not capacitate mankind to fully comprehend it and thereby tackle it. Rather, people's perception of this disease should be given attention so as to overcome misunderstandings that follow from misinformation. As such, the role of language in this process cannot be overlooked.

The scholar has further noted:

Of course AIDS is a real disease syndrome, damaging and killing real human beings. Because of this it is tempting- perhaps in some instances imperative, to view science and medicine as providing a discourse about AIDS closer to its 'reality' than what we can provide ourselves. Yet the AIDS epidemic- with its genuine potential for global devastation- is simultaneously an epidemic of a transmissible lethal disease and an epidemic of meaning or signification. Both epidemics are crucial for us to understand, for, try as we may to treat AIDS as 'an infectious disease' and nothing more, meanings continue to multiply and at an extraordinary rate. This epidemic of diseases is readily apparent in the chaotic assemblage of understandings about AIDS that by now exist. (Treichler 1991:32)

The notion that social definition plays a significant role in popularizing a disease may become more acute as regards HIV/AIDS because of the multifaceted effects of this pandemic. Bleiker and Kay (2007:1) explained this further as follows:

...The difficulties of stemming the spread of HIV/AIDS are in part due to the fact that the disease is not only a medical problem but also a social, cultural, and political challenge. Perhaps more so than any other disease in history, HIV/AIDS has generated countless political debates, scientific publications, donor appeals, public protests, education campaigns, and artistic engagements

The essence of this notion further consolidates the assumption that this pandemic cannot be explained by the various symptoms that characterize it alone. Rather, the far reaching effects of this pandemic can be explained by taking its social constructions into consideration. As a social definition is a function of language, the role that language plays in this process is decisive.

Language plays a critical role in the process of portraying an idea or an entity (Wodak and Ludwig, 1999 and Fairclough, 2001). As such much of our understanding of events is due to the manner in which we have been told what the thing represented is like. HIV/AIDS is a stigmatized disease (Herek, et al 2003) and the way it is represented could impact how lay people behave towards PLWHA.

Furthermore, as language is a tool not only for communication but also control (Kress and Hodges, 1979), there is a possibility for certain powerful groups to misrepresent something in a way it can sustain some meanings and undermine others. Therefore,

different social actors appear to represent this disease differently. People's perception of this pandemic could be influenced by the manner in which it has been represented in discourse implying that there may be misrepresentations that may lead to confusion (Horton and Aggleton, 1989). This is in particular pertinent to policies wherein language can be employed by policy designers to produce and reproduce certain meanings while undermining others.

The discourse of silence was one of the salient representations of the epidemic. This representation has had far reaching effects as it paved the way for the disease to spread at alarming rate. In the discourse of silence, communities opted not to talk about HIV/AIDS openly. This process led to stigmatization of both those who are infected and the disease. In turn, this discourse facilitated denial of HIV/AIDS for those who have acquired the virus wouldn't dare to expose themselves due to fear of stigma and discrimination. This process could have exacerbated vulnerability to infection and undermined efforts of mitigation.

HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns may take hegemonic approaches such as gender-specific strategies through targeting men and women separately. The underpinning theory behind this approach is based on the existence of separate gender roles for men and women. However, as Baylies (2000) noted any approach that focuses on either women or on men separately promotes a particularly western, individualistic model of public health. This approach does not address the social and economic inequality that women across the world face. An approach that can account for the equality of men and women is

articulated in GAD (Gender And Development) approach in which the role of gender relations in communicating sexual desires of both men and women has been emphasized.

2.3.7.1 Stigma and Discrimination

The widespread existence of HIV/AIDS-related stigma towards PLWHA and the so-called 'risk group' is well established in the literature (Herek and Capitanio, 1999). Goffman, (1963:3) defined stigma as "an attribute that deeply discredits and reduces a person in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one". Accordingly, stigmatizing is an act of excluding a person from the usual or socially acceptable pattern of casting members of the community. This scholar categorized stigma into three. These are stigmas of the body or deformities, stigmas that are attributed to social collectivities and stigmas of character.

All the three types of stigma may be used simultaneously regarding HIV/AIDS. As this pandemic has symptoms that can be observed by people, stigmas of the body appear to be the most recurrent aspects of stigmatization. Similarly, the label, 'risk group' implies that this epidemic is associated with some marginalized groups including commercial sex workers (CSW). The utter emphasis on behavior in tackling the epidemic has underlying messages of blaming the victims for possessing 'uncontrollable' kind of behavior (Herek and Capitanio, 1999).

Other scholars categorize stigma differently. For example, Scambler, (1998) divided stigma into two as 'felt' and 'enacted'. According to this scholar, 'felt' stigma is the self-perceived stigma wherein the person feels ashamed and blames him/her-self, and develops fear of discrimination. On the contrary, enacted stigma is the actual instances of

discrimination that the stigmatized individuals experiences in their social environment. In other words, enacted stigma is the social practice- the society's established code of conduct towards some groups or behaviors.

Discrimination is the act of depriving people of some rights. It is an endeavor that is meant to disadvantage certain groups. The demanding challenges regarding HIV/AIDS are stigmatizing and discriminatory acts which have pervasive effects on individuals and the community at large.

2.3.7.2 Metaphorization

Metaphorization is a semiotic representation which could have serious repercussions when it is used for portraying diseases. It results in the process of associating multiple meanings to diseases and hence misinterpretation (Herek, et al 2005). Misinterpretation, in turn, results in confusion which gives way to the cropping up of competing and contradictory representations. Such a process may eventually lead to **stigma** and **discrimination** in the case of HIV/AIDS.

The metaphorization of the pandemic magnifies certain meanings. Sontag (1989) and Kopelman (2002) have underscored that the social representation of HIV/AIDS has far reaching effects on the way the victims are dealt with in the society by stating that HIV/AIDS, since its early days has been perceived as something that happens to 'others'. The 'othering' discourse is an act of stigma and discrimination. This way of attribution

maintains a sense of ‘purity and comfort for the self’ and perpetuates existing power configurations and the dominance of specific ideas and groups within society.

Metaphorization has been described as giving something a name that belongs to another (Sontag 1989). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) further noted that the essence of metaphorization is the attempt to comprehend a given entity comparing it with another thing. Metaphors are used for different diseases and their use can have consequences on attitude of the public towards both the disease and those afflicted. Thus, the metaphorization of HIV/AIDS contributes to the social construction of the disease in ways that make the public frustrated and cautious.

Metaphors reflect power relations in discourses. In line with this, Seidel (1993) has underscored that the relationship between language and politics is a relationship of the powerful and the powerless. For instance, the ‘othering’ representations of HIV/AIDS lead to the stigmatization of specific groups or behaviors. Particularly, when metaphors of war are employed by certain groups to portray HIV/AIDS, the victims may be alienated and treated as ‘others’ or enemy.

Sontag (1989) has identified four types of metaphors that are employed to portray AIDS. These are: warfare, biological- medical (botanical or zoological); plague; and contamination and mutation. Accordingly, the warfare metaphors designate the disease as a conqueror that attacks the body. War metaphors are identified with the use of military related words such as the ‘battle’, ‘to fight’, etc. Medical metaphors deconstruct the

epidemic into stages. Similarly, plague metaphors depict HIV/AIDS as punishment. Finally, pollution metaphors are associated with the way the epidemic is transmitted.

To sum up, in this chapter I have attempted to highlight the relationship between communication (health communication in particular) and discourse. As I stated in the objective of the study, under section 1.2, the ‘epidemic of signification’ has been given more attention in this study. The epidemic of signification is generally concerned with the social constructions of the epidemic. Hence, stigma, discrimination and all sorts of treatments and mistreatments of PLWHAs could be attributed to the social construction of the epidemic. In other words stigma and discrimination could be seen as social practices that result from information disseminated regarding an entity. Moreover, I have also attempted to elaborate the link between the theories subsumed in the interdisciplinary approach employed in this study. As such, I have briefly summarized the major CDA frameworks along with their particular focus of attention.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology, the research design, the source of data, the sampling technique employed in the study. The chapter also deals with the various analytic frameworks of CDA with extensive discussions of the analytic framework used in the current study. Furthermore, the procedures and processes of data analysis, how the contents of the documents were analyzed and reflexivity are also highlighted in this chapter.

3.2 Methodology

The aim of this study was to analyze the construction of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia's policies and government newspapers. As such, the study involved several issues such as the socio-political stance of the policy formulators, the language these agents used to convey certain meaning and the likely implications of such constructions on people's cognition of the epidemic. To address issues involved in the study, a multidisciplinary approach has been followed.

Thus, in line with the aim of the research and the nature of data used in the study, qualitative interpretative methodology has been selected for deconstructing the texts and unpacking the underlying meanings. Strauss and Corbin, (1990:17) defined qualitative methodology as, "...any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification". The scholars have noted that qualitative research methodology differs from quantitative research methodology in that

the former seeks to explain or illuminate a given situation whereas the latter seeks to determine the causal link between different constructs.

Thus, qualitative research methodology is an approach that aims to generate and analyse holistic data. It uses rigorous, precise, trustworthy and ethical methods and techniques (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Furthermore, the data generated in qualitative research should be presented and analysed using thick descriptions involving iterative processes. Thus, this study attempted to reveal the implications or underlying messages that the varied social constructions of HIV/AIDS in policies and newspapers engendered.

Qualitative research methodology uses inductive analysis and is interested in meanings. Creswell (2007:37) explains this point further as follows: “Qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to enquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is inductive and establishes patterns or themes”. This implies qualitative research should involve using data that is available to draw meanings. The meanings should be further explicated so as to bring to light their implications.

3.3 Research Design

Kothari (2004) described the research design¹⁹ as the ‘blueprint’ which enables the researcher to draw the roadmap that can guide the collection and analysis of data. In this study, the overall aim was to reveal the implications of the social constructions of

¹⁹ Research design-the outline of activities a researcher accomplishes in the course of the research. It is a roadmap that depicts how data are gathered and analyzed.

G.C.I chose this timeline because the majority of policies, frameworks and guidelines in response to HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia were formulated and promulgated in this period. Moreover, as this was the period in which the epidemic was well popularized via different media, there were numerous articles in newspapers on the pandemic in this period.

The time span for this study is rich in terms of occurrences of events. In the first year, (1998), policy on HIV/AIDS was formulated. Following that the Strategic Framework for the National Response was developed in 1999. In the subsequent years, a number of important events took place. The National AIDS Prevention and Control Council (HAPCO) was established in 2000. Another important event was the establishment of the National HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Secretariat. Following that in (2002), the guideline on supply of ARDV was issued.

Every year, HAPCCO organizes national campaigns with particular themes. These themes are crucial as they define the predominant aspects of addressing HIV/AIDS that all stakeholders had to focus upon for the specific years. (A list of the themes is given in appendix 4)

3.3.3 Sampling Technique

In qualitative research, selection of sample should be intentionally determined in line with the research objectives (King et.al. 1994:139). Accordingly, for the current study, the texts that were analyzed were sampled purposively in terms of their relationship with the research questions. Thus, policies, frameworks and guidelines which have relevance with the research questions have been sampled. Moreover, government newspapers that

bear the narratives of higher ranking government officials (the presidents, prime minister, ministers, deputy ministers, heads of departments within ministries and mayors) have been selected and analyzed. However, to reflect on the enactment of discourses, news articles of non-bureaucratic sources have also been included.

Before selecting the newspaper articles, I surveyed the contents of both newspapers. Both newspapers (The Ethiopian Herald and Addis Zemen) bear a bulk of information about HIV/AIDS only when there were events pertaining to this pandemic. This has also been ascertained by a study undertaken by Panos Ethiopia (2009). According to this study, HIV/AIDS is well popularized during special occasions. Similarly, both newspapers are awash with news on this pandemic in the months of November and December. Thus, I have included all the newspapers that appeared in the two months for every year in the study's timeline.

3.4 Method of Data Analysis

As I have stated earlier, (see sections 1.8 & 1.9), I employed an interdisciplinary approach in the conceptual and analytical framework. This framework is constructed from the key notions of Critical Social Theory (which is discussed in Chapter One), Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics which are briefly introduced in Chapter One and further expounded in Chapter Two.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is based on the assumption that inequality and injustice are reproduced in language and legitimized by it (Titscher et.al 2000). CDA helps to unpack the underlying meanings of texts. Wodak and Meyer (2001: 125)

elaborated this notion further as follows: “...The goals of CDA analyses are not to unearth perspective free truths. Instead, CDA aims to open up new avenues of understanding by interpreting texts and proposing explanations from specific subjective locations.” Therefore, I took a social constructivist approach to representation, which is concerned with how humans “construct meaning, using representational systems” (Hall 1997: 25) and expounded the implications of these constructed positions.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) does not merely describe the events as they appear; but rather it tries to explain the factors that shape the events as such. It is perceived as the deconstruction of the meaning of texts within the context of the social processes with which they appear. As a method, CDA capacitates one to evaluate and adequately produce insights into the way social practices, structures and relationships are constructed into reality through discourse (Georgakopoulou and Goutsos, 2004, Locke, 2004).

Fairclough has provided a definition of CDA that encompasses most of the above definitions.

CDA is the study of often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, reactions and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power (Fairclough, 1989: 132 –3).

Fairclough's description of CDA gives due consideration to the causal link between language and other aspects of social. This implies that CDA differs from other methods of discourse analysis in as much as it is critical. 'Critical' implies highlighting connections and causes, which are hidden or not obvious (Atkins, 2002: 3). Furthermore, Fairclough (1989) noted that in order to carry out text analysis, the analyst needs to take the larger context in which the text is located into consideration (Fairclough, 1989).

3.4.1 Analytic Frameworks of CDA

There are three major CDA frameworks that were proposed by prominent researchers in the field, viz. Wodak, Fairclough and Van Dijk (Wodak and Meyer 2001). These are Wodak's discourse historical framework, Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive framework and Fairclough's discourse as social practice (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). All the analytic frameworks of CDA are interdisciplinary in their nature. This means that in each approach, CDA is used in association with different social theories. For Wodak, these are the historical (temporality) of discourse, for Van Dijk they are society, ideology and cognition and for Fairclough they are multifunctional linguistics theories embodied in systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and other social theories.

3.4.1.1 Wodak's Analytical Framework

Wodak's discourse analytic framework is termed the 'discourse historical' approach basically because of its focus on historical and social factors. Thus, the scholar set out the basic tenets of critical studies by emphasizing the importance of time and space in which discourses are located for analyzing them.

Wodak suggests the need to employ multiple frameworks in researching language. However, she underscores that historical and social perspectives should receive more attention. In other words, Wodak adopted a historical approach to CDA, which integrates aspects of knowledge about historical sources (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

Wodak holds that language is a means for representing the social world. Wodak and Ludwig, (1999:12) elaborated this notion with their assertion: "language manifests social processes and interaction and constitutes those processes". The scholars underscored that taking language as such implies three things. The first implication is that discourse "always involves power and ideologies. No interaction exists where power relations do not prevail and where values and norms do not have a relevant role" (Wodak and Ludwig, 1999: 12). In other words, there is always power relationship holding between participants in a communicative act.

The second implication according to these scholars is "discourse ... is always historical, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before" (Wodak and Ludwig, 1999: 12). In other words, discourse cannot be viewed in isolation from other events that take place at the moment of its production.

The third implication of the above assertion is concerned with the interpretation that various readers and listeners draw from a given communicative event. Put another way, people's understanding of a given entity is based on their background information about

it. This means that different individuals make varying implications of the same situation due to their previous knowledge.

3.4.1.2 Fairclough's Analytic Framework

One of the CDA models this study drew from is Fairclough's CDA framework. Fairclough (1989:4) describes the objective of this approach as "...a contribution to the general raising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language". It means Fairclough's framework focuses on revealing hidden ideologies that are embedded in language. This framework is based on the multifunctional linguistics theory encompassed in Halliday's (1978, 1985) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).

Fairclough has outlined the reasons for using linguistic theories in CDA by stating, CDA "brings social science and linguistics ...together within a single theoretical and analytical framework, setting up a dialogue between them" (Fairclough and Chuliaraki, 1999:6). In other words, CDA is interdisciplinary in nature as far as it is used along with other social theories.

Fairclough's CDA framework comprises three parts, viz analysis of text, analysis of discourse practice and analysis of sociocultural practice. Accordingly, text analysis is concerned with linguistic analysis with particular attention given to vocabulary, grammar and semantics. Text analysis also encompasses the cohesion-organization above the sentence level (Fairclough, 1995b,).

Analysis of discourse practice implies that discourse analysis is not delimited to linguistic analysis alone, but it extends to intertextual aspects. Accordingly, intertextual analysis is concerned with the interpretation of different sorts of linguistic items as they are used together (Fairclough, 1995b). The sociocultural analysis is concerned with economy, politics and culture of a communicative event (Fairclough, 1995b). As I have stated earlier, the analysis in this study has partly drawn on Fairclough's CDA framework. I have outlined the aspects of Fairclough's framework employed in this study in sections 3.4 and 4.1, however, presenting the details of Fairclough's CDA framework is beyond the scope of the study.

3.4.1.3 Van Dijk's Framework

The current study basically used Van Dijk's CDA analytic framework, which is termed 'socio-cognitive' framework. According to Wodak and Meyer (2001:21) this is based on the assumption in CDA that "discourse takes place within society, and can only be understood in the interplay of social situation, action, actor and societal structures". The essence of this assumption is that language cannot be considered in isolation from the social factors which frame it.

Van Dijk's socio-cognitive framework (socio-cognitive triangle) has three components. These are society, discourse and cognition. Thus, Van Dijk (1995:18) noted that the sociocognition- social cognition and personal cognition mediates between society and discourse. He defined social cognition as "the system of mental representations and processes of group members".

Furthermore, Dijk, (1995:18) noted that "ideologies ... are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize ... socially shared attitudes". In other words, ideologies are the common codes of conduct that societies uphold. These are patterns of action or reaction social groups abide by. The scholar has also underscored that ideologies, "...indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members" in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions (Van Dijk, 1995: 19).

As such the scholar labeled the mental representations of individuals during such social actions and interactions "models". He believes that, "models control how people act, speak or write or how they understand the social practices of others" (Van Dik 1995: 2). In the socio-cognitive framework the most significant issue to be considered in analysis of discourses is how the mental representations are portrayed along in-group versus out-group or 'Us' versus 'Them' dimensions. This framework is based on the assumption that members of one a specific group usually depict themselves positively and the other group negatively (van Dijk 1995). The positive self representation and negative other representation is otherwise termed the ideological square.

Central to the three CDA frameworks outlined above is the ubiquitous linguistic analysis all are based on. To begin with, a common point between Wodak's and Fairclough's frameworks is their emphasis on subjects' background information. In other words both scholars underscored that the interpretation of a given communicative event depends on the background information the participants have, which implies that a given situation may be interpreted differently by different subjects.

Furthermore, Wodak's CDA framework has commonality with Fairclough's CDA framework regarding the role of language in depicting social reality. Wodak and Ludwig elaborated this role (1999:12) by noting that language "manifests social processes and interaction" and "constitutes" those processes as well whereas, Fairclough (1995, 2001) underscored that language is both socially constitutive (of social identities, social relations and system of knowledge) and socially determined.

Nevertheless, the aforementioned similarities do not mean that the three CDA frameworks are virtually the same. For instance, the distinctive feature of Van Dijk's CDA framework which is concerned about cognitive analysis makes it different from others. As I stated above, in Fairclough's CDA framework, text, discourse practice and sociocultural practice are the three analytical focuses in analyzing any communicative event (interaction). These analytic components have commonality with van Dijk's three dimensions of ideology analysis: discourse, sociocognition, and social analysis respectively. Notwithstanding these similarities, there is a difference between the two regarding the second dimension. For Van Dijk, 'mental models' mediate between discourse and society while for Fairclough text production and consumption mediate between discourse and the social (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

As has been underscored by prominent CDA researchers such as Wodak and Meyer (2001), there are various frameworks for analysing discourse (see section 3.4.1). In recognition of this notion, the current research design drew from varieties of analytic

procedures. As such the current study is eclectic in terms of analytical methods it employed. The frameworks selected for this study are: Parker's ten stages of discourse analysis, and Van Dijk' (1988, 1998 and 2001) framework of discourse analysis. Moreover, Fairclough's (1989) discourse analytic framework has been taken into consideration; particularly in terms of intertextuality, transitivity, modality and interdiscursivity (see section 3.7). Furthermore, Sontag's (2001) typology of metaphors has been selected for reflecting on the metaphors used in the texts.

3.5 Procedures and Processes of Data Analysis

Given the methodology of the current study, i.e. qualitative research methodology (see section 3.1), the iterative process of data analysis has been followed. The current study took place in the following procedure. First Parker's (1992:6-17) seven criteria for distinguishing discourses were used for recognising the discourses. Furthermore, Parker's three auxiliary criteria, which according to the scholar, are concerned with 'institutions, power and ideology', were employed for further scrutinizing the discourses. Afterwards, Van Dijk's (1988, 1998b, and 2001) ideological square and socio-cognitive frameworks and Fairclough's (1989) frameworks were employed for both linguistic description and highlighting the socio-political implications of the discourses.

The essences of Parker's (1992:6-17) criteria for distinguishing discourses are summarized as follows. These are that a discourse:

1. is realized in text (in the case of the current study, policies and newspaper articles);
2. is about objects (HIV, the diseased body);

3. contains subjects (PLWHAS, the government,);
4. is a coherent system of meanings (such as when the government is given the role of waging war, defeating the enemy);
5. refers to other discourses (the use of gendered, development, medical discourses in health communication messages);
6. reflects on its own way of speaking; and
7. is historically located.

Moreover, I have also taken into consideration, the remaining three criteria (auxiliary criteria) forwarded by Parker (1992). These criteria are that discourses:

8. support institutions (e.g. they naively accept notions of medical research faculties and international organizations' patterns of attribution);
9. reproduce power relations (e.g. the gendered discourse of AIDS); and,
10. have ideological effects.

The last three criteria are particularly important in analyzing discourses as they offer the lenses that capacitate one to go beyond linguistic description and explain issues drawing on both linguistic and social theories. These criteria go beyond mere linguistic description and draw on Foucault's (1977; 1978) concepts regarding the nature of power/knowledge, Gramsci's concept of hegemony, Habermas' concept colonization of discourse among others (Fairclough, 1989, 1992).

Van Dijk's (2001) analytical framework has three categories. Of these, the first two categories are drawn from the linguistic influenced models of CDA, (Halliday 1985). The third category shows the discourses of social formations, power relations and

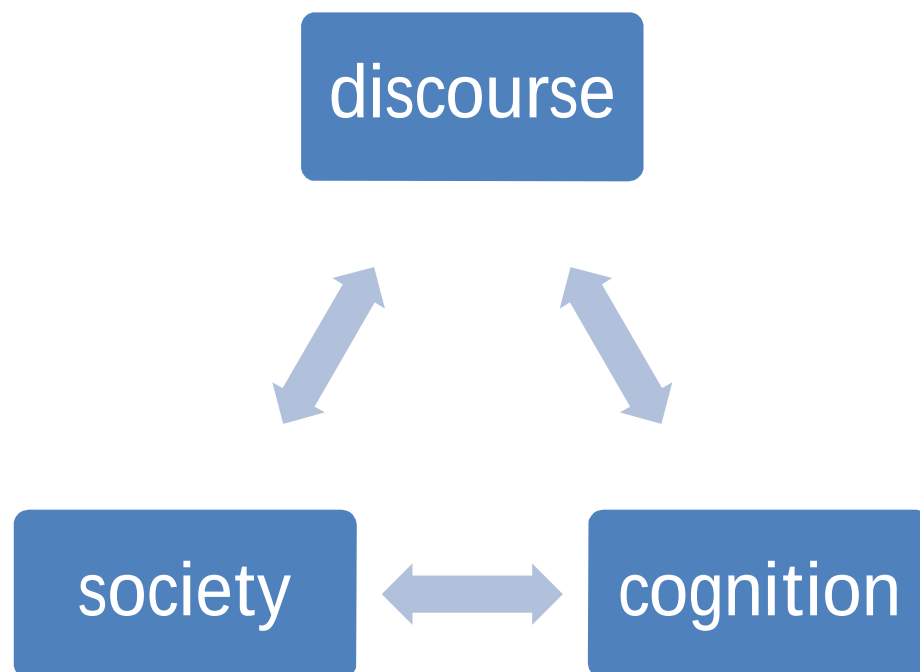
subjectivities which are related with the work of Foucault (1978). This is what makes CDA interdisciplinary in nature.

Table 1: CDA framework according to Van Dijk, (2001b)

(1) Linguistic Signs: lexical and surface structure – generalizations, – nominalizing phrases, – lexical pairs, – the use of persuasive and biased vocabulary
(2) Pragmatic Signs – use of metaphor – questions – answers, evasions, contradictions – implications and presuppositions – use of pronouns such as ‘I’, and ‘we’ and their implied group references, – inclusions, exclusions and allegiances
(3) Discourse Flows – the dimensions of the relationship between discourse and power across the social domains of inequality, gender – ‘we ’ discourse , justifications , blaming the victim/deficits/trivializations, denials, constructing the other as enemy, patronization and colonisation – Other discourses, where cultural differences in terms of sociopolitical differences, deviations from the norms and values, pathologies, violence and threat are enhanced and magnified and similarities ignored or mitigated.

As has been noted by Van Dijk (2001) discourse analysis can reveal underlying power relations in society by examining discursive structures. One way of uncovering these discourses is to examine the role of language in constructing perceptions of the social world and how language is used to promote and reproduce dominant values and ideologies held by particular groups.

Figure 3 Van Dijk's society-discourse-cognition triangle (van Dijk 2001),



The socio-cognitive framework suggested by van Dijk has three components. These are discourse, cognition and society. In the context of the current study, discourse refers to the constructions of the pandemic, cognition refers to the 'thought style' or the 'mental or memory structures' of the society about the pandemic. Society refers to both 'microstructures' of interaction between individuals and the macrostructures of global

political structures that are reflected in the form of group relations of institutions and cultural differences which are characterized by dominance (van Dijk ,2001).

Furthermore, critical discourse analysis enables researchers to systematically deconstruct texts according to textual and linguistic features such as active and passive constructions, ideological squares, local coherence and implied propositions (van Dijk 1988, 1998). This enables the researcher to uncover assumptions and ideologies otherwise overlooked by the casual reader.

As I have mentioned earlier (see sections 1.9, and 3.3), this study is based on interdisciplinary approach of analysis. To carry out the study I have employed an eclectic method which basically draws from Van Dijk's (2001) socio-cognitive frame and Fairclough's (1989) critical language studies. The justification for using these frameworks in the analysis is because they supplement each other.

The reason for selecting Van Dijk's socio-cognitive discourse analytic framework as one of the major analytical frameworks is because of the nature of this study. As I have underscored in several sections of this study, (see sections 1.3 & 3.1) the main purpose of the current study is to elucidate the role that language has played in dictating specific 'thought styles' of the society regarding HIV/AIDS. I found Van Dijk's socio-cognitive framework to be particularly appropriate in the process of unpacking the discourse-society link (see appendix 5).

This analysis has also accounted for interdiscursivity²⁰ and intertextuality²¹ drawing on the wider literature (Fairclough 1989). Interdiscursivity in policies, frameworks, guidelines and newspapers concerns the other knowledges affecting or driving the argumentation of policy. In terms of Ethiopia, the main question is whether its HIV/AIDS policy discourse has been impacted by other discourses such as development and medical discourses. In other words what other areas of social life or sectors have been used for developing arguments regarding the epidemic.

Intertextuality in a given discourse is the generation of meaning by other texts from intradiscourse sources. In other words it is the generation of ideas or the development of argument about HIV/AIDS using other sectors in addition to health. Applied to the current study, this can be realized when data and ideas from other sources such as UNAIDS, WHO and other pertinent organization are used in dealing with the issues of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia. There are two sources of intertextuality. These are: internal sources of intertextuality and external sources of intertextuality. Thus, when Ethiopia's policy on HIV/AIDS draws from Ethiopia's health policy such reference is termed internal source of intertextuality whereas when it uses data and information from international sources such as the development partners, it is referred to as external sources of intertextuality.

²⁰ Interdiscursivity- how a text is organized through hybridization by drawing on other knowledges other than the sector under discussion. In dealing with the HIV/AIDS epidemic texts make reference to other areas of social life such as development discourse and medical discourse.

²¹ Intertextuality- in dealing with the HIV/AIDS epidemic Ethiopia's response often times depends on the role of development partners such as UNAIDS, World Bank etc.

Furthermore, the current study is based on is Van Dijk's (1998b) CDA framework. This framework is termed 'ideological square'. It outlines the main discursive strategies reflecting the polarized structure of group ideologies. When there are conflicting group interests and positioning, the content of group ideologies happens to be structured in polarized ways —"Self and Others, Us and Them ... We are Good and They are Bad". Van Dijk (1998b: 25). This is termed, the polarization of structure of ideologies. It can be realized discursively as *positive in-group* representation and *negative out-group* representation.

Table 2 In-group/out-group polarized representations (Van Dijk 1998b)

Positive in-group representation	Negative out-group representation
1. Emphasizing the good Properties/actions	1. Emphasizing the bad properties/actions
2. Mitigating the bad Properties/actions	2. Mitigating the good properties/actions

In the process of analysis, I have given considerations to the identification of the social actors or agents involved in the discursive construction of HIV/AIDS. Similarly the

possible reasons behind such constructions and the implications thereof on policy have also been taken into consideration.

3.6 Criticisms Raised against CDA

CDA is not devoid of criticisms. A number of scholars have voiced their criticism of this approach. For example, according to Sarangi and Callin (2003), it is considered a ‘biased interpretation’ and hence is not taken as value-free. Furthermore, Stubbs (1994) criticizes CDA for its lack of standard criteria of analysis that can be replicated and tested for reliability. Similarly, Widdowson (2003) argues that most of the analytical frameworks of CDA are vague.

Proponents of CDA often defend their stance by forwarding counter claims against these criticisms. They hold that since Critical discourse Analysis is framed within the qualitative approach, which has got its own parameters for validation of its results, the issues of reliability and validity are not concerns of CDA undertakings. (See section 3.9) Furthermore, according to Potter and Wetherel, (1987) the researcher’s self-reflexivity and triangulation help in maintaining the trustworthiness of CDA studies.

Scholars have also used SFL as a tool in countering claims of bias pertaining to CDA. In this regard, Harrison and Young (2004:4) noted,

There is, then, a solid tradition that links SFL and CDA from the very advent of Critical Linguistics (CL), the precursor to CDA. However, it is appropriate now to emphasize and extend the dimensions of this connection because SFL provides a solid methodology that can, as Gregory (2001) states, help preserve CDA from

ideological bias - a view which echoes Martin's point (2000) that one of the strengths of SFL for CDA is to ground concerns with power and ideology in detailed analysis of texts in real contexts of language use, thereby making it possible for the analyst to be explicit, transparent, and precise.

Accordingly, proponents of CDA such as Van Dijk contend that the models of analysis employed in CDA studies are not vague. These scholars enumerate linguistic features with some ideological implications such as the agentless passive, positive-in-group and negative-out-group representations which can lessen the issue of bias.

3.7 Text and Context

The interdisciplinary nature of CDA implies that a number of factors come into play in the process of analyzing discourses. Blommaert (2005) has noted that CDA is usually the analysis of contextualized language. As such CDA envisages analysis of language in the situation in which it takes place. The scholar summed up this assertion as follows: "...to some extent, this is self-evident: language is always produced by someone to someone else, at a particular time and place, with a purpose and so forth." (Blommaert, 2005:39)

In this analysis, the linguistic description of the excerpts has been determined using van Dijk's (1998 and 2001) and Fairclough's (1989) frameworks. This deconstruction of the selected texts led to the emergence of specific terms such as nominalizations, metaphors, presuppositions...etc. I have associated the linguistic terms with the wider contexts such as intertextuality, interdiscursivity and local coherence. In other words, in the analysis I have subsumed aspects of SFL and their implications along with social theories. Finally, I

have attempted to expound the implications of the texts and the discursive practices by focusing on the type of meaning they implicitly call for. In due process, because of the interdisciplinary nature of CDA, social theories have also been subsumed in this analysis. These are Foucault's orders of discourse, Gramsci's concept of hegemony, Habermas' concept of colonization of discourse among others (Fairclough, 1989, 1992). To put it another way the having described the linguistic characteristics of a given text, the analyst will employ some of the social theories for interpreting the text.

As I have stated earlier in sections 1.1, 1.3 and 3.4, this is a critical study. The focus of critical studies is not limited to linguistic description alone. Rather, its focus is on how asymmetries of power relationships are maintained in texts. Thus, as per the positioning of various stakeholders in policies, which leads to the creation of varied identities, I have attempted to focus on the role of the actors that produced the discourses. Van Dijk (2001) cited in Meyer and Wodak (2001:101) put it "... the choice of discourse categories in CDA is underpinned by theory as well as the main aims of CDA, namely, the critical study of the discursive reproduction of domination in society".

One salient aspect of discourse considered in the current study is discourse as social practice. Fairclough and Wodak, (1997) stated that it (discourse as social practice) implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and situations and institutions, and social structures which frame it. The focus of this study was expounding the relationship between action, context, power and ideology in relation to the emerging themes. In other words, the current study has attempted to elaborate the actions of certain

members of the community in relation to the types of health communication messages. Hence, the discourses analyzed in the current study encompass a set of implications regarding this pandemic and those afflicted. These discourses instigate and call upon specific actions and reactions regarding this epidemic and those afflicted.

3.8 Content Analysis

In this study, Leximancer²² software package was used for analyzing the content of selected documents. The documents analyzed used the software are HIV/AIDS policy (1998) and strategic framework for intensifying multi-sectoral response (2004-2008). The reasoning for analyzing these documents using the software is because the two are the most voluminous documents. Analyzing the text using Leximancer helped in determining their contents and the relationship between the concepts within each document.

Leximancer is text analysis and mapping software. It uses a machine-learning technique to transform “lexical co-occurrence information from natural language into semantic patterns in an unsupervised manner” (Smith and Humphreys, 2005:262). Moreover, it simultaneously conducts word count and collocations of words. It identifies the ranked concepts in a given text by computing how often they occurred and determines which words they co-occur with.

²² Leximancer is automated text analysis software which automatically carries out the word count of key concepts used in a text, percentage of each concept word & degree of relationship between concepts in a text (semantic relationship of concepts). It shows the relative count of concepts, absolute count of concepts and displays the relationship between concepts in a map

This software has been used in analysis of large corpora of policy documents. It identifies the main word concepts (conceptual analysis) in the corpora and establishes relationships between concepts (semantic analysis). It does so by considering how closely concepts have been used together.

According to Smith and Humphreys (2005) Leximancer as a data-mining tool has two purposes. The first purpose is to analyze the content of collections of textual documents. In other words, the contents of a given document are determined along with their frequency of occurrence. The second use of Leximancer is to visually display the extracted information. The analyzed information is exhibited by means of a conceptual map that provides a bird's eye view of the material. Thus, the conceptual map represents the main concepts contained within the text and how they are related. In addition to revealing the conceptual structure of the information, this map allows a user to search for the documents in order to explore instances of the concepts or their interrelations. Regarding this study, Leximancer was used for determining the concepts with their summary and displaying the main contents in the documents under study.

In the Leximancer procedure used in this study, the two documents, i.e. policy on HIV/AIDS and strategic framework were extracted using Adobe Acrobat Professional and filed separately. Afterwards, the documents were fed into Leximancer for automatic text analysis. In due process stop words of general sorts were removed and finally the program was allowed to run the last steps.

3.9 Validation/Trustworthiness of the Study

Qualitative research methodology has its own unique parameters to ascertain its findings. Thus, concepts such as rigor, credibility, dependability, trustworthiness, and transferability are used instead of the parameters of quantitative research such as validity and reliability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Eisner, (1991: 58) opines that the overall essence of qualitative research is to help us “understand a situation that would otherwise be enigmatic or confusing”. This has also been further explained by Stenbacka (2001) who noted that the quality of a qualitative research is the degree to which it ‘generates understanding’. Similarly, CDA is a specific aspect of qualitative research methodology that is used for unpacking texts that are not easily recognizable.

Credibility, which is the equivalent of internal validity in quantitative research, is the extent to which the research has managed to investigate what it set to investigate. In order for a qualitative research to be credible, the researcher should give a detailed account of the research process and reflect critically on the self as a researcher. Similarly, in this study, I have attempted to describe the whole process and indicate my role as a researcher under the section for reflexivity (see section 3.9)

Transferability or generalizability in qualitative research is equivalent to external validity in quantitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Transferability implies that the generalizations to be drawn in qualitative research should be naturalistic and analytic. An attribute of qualitative research is its ability to represent the particular. Accordingly, I

have attempted to expound the representation of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia's policy response and their implications.

Dependability is yet another parameter of qualitative research which is concerned with the clarity and completeness of the research. In qualitative research, the researcher is expected to produce thick description of the research process. It is believed that detailed descriptions of the steps followed in the research can help in clarifying the processes. I have also attempted to maintain this as I have elaborated all the steps followed in the course of the study. Besides, I have thoroughly explicated the steps followed in data gathering and interpretation.

To maintain the quality of a qualitative research, the researcher has to use triangulation. Creswell (2003:184) opines, "employing multiple triangulation strategies can mitigate research bias —to create reader confidence in the accuracy of the findings". Thus there are several aspects of triangulation. These are: methodological triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation, triangulation of data generation instruments and source triangulation. Accordingly, in this study, I have managed to employ different discourse analytic methods. These are Parker's (1992) criteria of discourse analysis, van Dijk's (1988, 1998b and 2001b) and Fairclough's (1989) discourse analytic frameworks.

I have also incorporated several theories of discourse, expounded them and highlighted their relevance to the current study. Furthermore, I elicited data from varied sources. These include: policies, frameworks, guidelines, and government newspapers. Similarly, I have also got my study appraised by my peers. Generally, I have endeavored my level

best to maintain the quality of this study by taking into consideration the parameters recommended for validating qualitative studies.

3.10 Reflexivity

In research undertakings that are accomplished using the qualitative methodology, the researchers are expected to reflect on their role in the process. This is because in qualitative research, the researchers play key roles in the entire process of the study. Likewise, the analytic method selected for this study, i.e. CDA, recognizes that the researcher cannot be positioned outside the discourse. Van Dijk (1985) elaborated this notion by stating that the researcher's decision in selecting a research topic and the socio-political persuasion of the researcher could have a bearing on the research and conclusions made.

Given the nature of interpretive methodology and the presumed role of the researcher in dictating the direction of analysis in such processes, I must acknowledge that the analysis was based on my understanding of the socio-political stance of the agents involved in the decision making processes as reflected in the social constructions of the pandemic (object), the way stakeholder groups such as PLWHAs and institutions are portrayed at a given time in history and the implications of such constructions. However, as Creswell (2003) points out, employing multiple triangulation strategies can help lessen research bias and maintain confidence of readers. As I have explained in the previous section, I have carried out various aspects of triangulation. (See section 3.9)

My social identity identifies me in a peculiar discursive position with the pandemic. As an ordinary Ethiopian who has lost friends, colleagues, and acquaintances to the pandemic and lived in a society which has experienced grievances and sufferings due to this pandemic, I must admit that I identify myself with the afflicted group. Moreover, as a witness to the suffering of PLWHA particularly, in the days before the introduction of ARD in Ethiopia, I position myself with the afflicted and contend that the social constructions of HIV/AIDS by the discourse producers have had far reaching consequences on the manner in which the afflicted were treated.

However, I want to underscore that my analysis is not a farfetched criticism of the loopholes of the government's policy response. This is an academic undertaking in which I have managed to expound how language has been employed in non-obvious ways (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) in creating identities/subjectivities in the selected texts.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION/ DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The general objective of the current study was analyzing the representations of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia's policies and selected government newspapers. The analysis of the texts was carried out using CDA. In the analysis, six themes emerged was an iterative process which led to the emergence of six themes. These are: metaphorization, power and ideology, cause, response, the gendered constructions of HIV/AIDS, stigma and discrimination. Thus, the function and implication of each theme was explored in detail, drawing on both the broader literature and the theoretical paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The presentations and discussions of data were organized around the research questions.

The emerging themes related to the research questions were identified through repeated reading of the texts. The process was iterative because as my understanding of a particular theme developed, I had to return to the texts to look for related cases.

As has been stated earlier (see section 3.2.1), the texts for analysis were gathered from Ethiopia's HIV/AIDS related policies, guidelines, frameworks and government run newspapers. Accordingly, the Ethiopian government had formulated a number of policies, guidelines and frameworks regarding HIV/AIDS. Two policies have been

selected for this study. These are: policy on HIV/AIDS (1998) and Policy on ARDV supply and use (2002). The frameworks formulated include: Strategic plan for intensifying multi-sectoral response 2004-2008 and Strategic framework for the national response to HIV/AIDS. Of these, the Strategic plan for intensifying multi-sectoral response 2004-2008 has been selected and analysed.

Moreover, there were many newspapers articles that bear issues of HIV/AIDS particularly pertaining to certain national events such as the commemoration of World AIDS Day. I have managed to include nearly all the newspapers wherein the sources and voices are bureaucratic. I have managed to include nearly all the newspaper articles in which non-bureaucratic sources were cited.

4.2 Discussions

The deconstruction of the selected texts using the analytical framework of CDA led to the emergence of six discursive themes. These are: metaphorization, power and ideology, cause, response, the gendered constructions of HIV/AIDS, stigma and discrimination.. The discussion of these themes was organized around the research questions of the study.

In the process of carrying out the analysis, I paid attention to specific discursive patterns which reflected the role of the government in handling the pandemic. I focused on the discursive patterns of the actions of the government because from the outset my aim was to scrutinize and illuminate the socio-political dynamics within HIV/AIDS constructions and the implications of the social constructions of the pandemic by the government and other discourse producers.

There were a number of ways in which information about HIV and AIDS have been communicated. As a result, the ways in which the facts about the pandemic have been constructed and reconstructed have given way to competing representations. For instance, when experts socially construct HIV/AIDS, this same social construction could be communicated to lay persons in varied ways. In due process, the facts about the pandemic may be communicated correctly or in a distorted way. For instance in Ethiopia, misperception of this pandemic has once made people not to shake hands with PLWHA. This was a result of social construction. Relentless efforts had to be exerted to avert this wrong perception in BCC and IEC messages. Accordingly, language has been the tool for both mystifying and demystifying the perceptions of the diseases.

Generally, in Ethiopia people have developed a lot of myths following the emergence of HIV/AIDS. For instance, at the advent of a new disease named AIDS, residents of Addis Ababa were quick to label it with the Amharic term ፕላይት²³, ‘ayadirs’. It was termed so perhaps because of the realization that it could not be cured. As such, the psychological impact of the word to those who were already infected must have been devastating.

Furthermore, at the advent of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia, there was a misperception in which it was compared to a pre-existing disease. Some people claimed that the so-called ‘new pandemic’ was none other than a disease called ፍጹህ²⁴ ‘amenmin’. However, such a

²³ፕላይት ‘ayadirs’ to imply that such a disease is beyond the power of mankind to deal with

²⁴ፍጹህ ‘amenmin’ which literally means ‘make extremely thin’-this is an indication of the notion that public perception of the epidemic was blurred. It is when the way an

representation does not reflect the actual reality of the epidemic and might have had its own effect on the course of action people or were to take or the ‘thought style’.

4.2.1 Metaphors of HIV/AIDS

The analysis of the metaphors used in policies, frameworks, guidelines and government newspapers was done in line with Sontag’s (2001) typology of AIDS metaphors and their implications. This scholar has differentiated AIDS metaphors into four categories. These are: warfare, botanical or zoological; plague; and contamination and mutation. However, the analysis in the current study has been restricted to the metaphors of war and plague because medical and mutation metaphors were rarely used in the selected texts. Accordingly, the implications of metaphors of AIDS in the selected documents have been scrutinized as follows:

4.2.1.1 War Metaphors

The war metaphor was frequently used in the selected documents. The pandemic has been socially constructed as a *killer disease*, *incurable disease* and *enemy*. In the process, the government has been socially constructed as an agent leading the *battle*, *struggle*. The roles of the government as an institution leading the battle were expressed using words like: *fight*, *battle*, and *struggle*.

In war metaphors, HIV/AIDS is discursively constructed in the form of personification. In this process, agency is accorded to the virus, which allows for its construction as the enemy. Accordingly, the war discourses position different groups of subjects such as

epidemic has been represented is confusing that people happen to comprehend it in a way which does not reflect the reality of the pandemic.

PLWHA, those who lead the battle, and the ordinary citizens in terms of power relation. Consequently, PLWHAs are labeled the ‘Other’. In the meantime the government is assigned the role of a commander which leads the war by formulating policies, frameworks and designing specific intervention strategies.

Excerpt 1

Deputy PM calls for an **all-out war against** HIV/AIDS. (Ethiopian Herald, Dec,2, 1999 Vol. LVI No. 070) (emphasis the researcher)

This excerpt is in the imperative mode. The PM is persuading the presumed addressees for some kind of action (interpersonal metafunction). The instigated action is waging a war on the pandemic.

Excerpt 2

በዚህ ጉዞ ላይ የሚገኝ ሕዝብ በሁሉም ደረጃዎች አስተባብሮና አቀናጅቶ
 ስለሚገኝ ሕዝብ ማለት ማለቱንና ለመጫወት ዝግጁ መሆኑን። × HU ማህበረሰብ የፍትሕ (ፕላን) ሂደት
 19_1997 63— የፍትሕ | ለፍትሕ 88)

In this regard, the government has reiterated that it will play its key role of **leading the battle against** HIV/AIDS at all levels. (emphasis the researcher)

This excerpt foregrounds the role of the government. This excerpt crafts the identity of the government as an agent (transitivity-the government as an actor). Thus, the government is presumed to be the commander or general leading the battle, and others should act according to the leadership of this group.

Excerpt 3

President calls upon the youth to play active part in **HIV/AIDS battle**. (Ethiopian Herald, Dec 11, 2001 Vol. LVII No. 070) (emphasis the researcher)

The above excerpt is in the imperative mode (interpersonal metafunction). It expresses the pragmatic function of obligation. The social group ‘youth’ has been singled out for action. Implicit in this linguistic construction is that the youth has shown lenience in the battle against the pandemic.

Excerpt 4

Ethiopia taking **aggressive measures against HIV/AIDS**. (Date: Dec, 1, 2002 Vol. LIX No. 071) (emphasis the researcher)

In this excerpt, transitivity shows the transfer of action from a certain source to a certain receiver in this case HIV/AIDS. Thus HIV/AIDS is posited as a foe against which ‘aggressive’ measures are being taken. In this case, the pandemic is socially constructed as an enemy that has to be confronted. However, the actual reality is that the virus is not separable from the diseased body and that any action meant to target the pandemic will have consequences on those afflicted.

Excerpt 5

½>¿«Ä«ÄÜ« oT ›¿«»ü@ü@ ¿> Ó?|\$(™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 25_1992 59 ‘ ™F | aÖT 73)

An enemy knocking at everyone’s door.(emphasis the researcher)

The device used in the above excerpt is personification as a result of which the pandemic has been ascribed human qualities. So it is portrayed as a knowing antagonist that is

planning the extermination of mankind. As a result, it may encourage the addressees to conceive the pandemic and conversely the diseased body as a foe.

As could be seen from the above excerpts, the use of war metaphors in socially constructing HIV/AIDS creates dichotomy. Thus, identities of those who are infected and those who are 'free' will be created. This is a reflection of in- versus out-groups – an instance of ideological squares (Van Dijk 1998). These discourses of HIV/AIDS (in this case war metaphors) result in the implication that the 'government' as an institution is a stakeholder that leads the 'battle' while voiceless groups such as PLWHAs are taken as the casualties of the 'combat'. HIV/AIDS is socially constructed as an enemy against which war is to be waged. As a result, the people who have caught the virus implicitly become the enemy.

The problem with metaphORIZATION of illnesses is that the meaning of the disease could be exalted. Sontag (1989) opines that this creates meaning which is far beyond the actual reality of the disease. This way of representation of a disease leads to its misunderstanding and hence mistreatment of those who have been afflicted.

Moreover, it also resulted in a political meaning in Ethiopia's context for the fact that it was associated with aggressive forces of Eritrea who waged war on Ethiopia in the same period. For instance, following the conclusion of the Ethio-Eritrean border conflict, government officials tried to mobilize Ethiopians against HIV/AIDS by equating the disease with Eritrean aggressors as it could be seen in the following excerpts.

Excerpt 6

Now that we have successfully defended our sovereignty, **we must embark on the remaining enemy** in our midst-HIV/AIDS. (Ethiopian Herald, Dec, 2, 2002 Vol. No. LVII) (emphasis the researcher)

The modality of the representation of the suggested measures is expressed in the form of obligation using the modal verb '**must**'. The context created for developing the argument in mobilizing the mass against the epidemic is the issue of defending the country's sovereignty. In other words **interdiscursivity** has been employed for creating the context. Implicit in the above excerpt is that the presumed addressees have to repeat the success against Eritrean forces on this pandemic.

Excerpt 7

The struggle against HIV/AIDS **must be seen on equal footing as war- It is a war.** (Ethiopian Herald, Dec 11, 2001 Vol. LVII No. 070) (emphasis the researcher)

Excerpts nos.6 and 7 express obligations, i.e. the speech act instigated is **obligation**. As such modality has been used for prescribing the action to be taken in response to the disease. In other words the subjects were being obliged to see the pandemic and implicitly those afflicted as enemy. The officials (in this case, the sources of these texts) were categorical as they expressed the obligation of the in-group (we) regarding the 'other' –they (the virus and implicitly those afflicted).

Such processes of socially constructing HIV/AIDS using metaphors of war gives way for 'othering' way of description which creates dichotomy between people who have

acquired the virus and those who are ‘free’ of it. Consequently, such patterns of attribution of the epidemic could make PLWHA subject to stigma and discrimination.

The discourse of war leads to the formation of various activities that may not be limited to the scope of medical discourse. As a result, the role of the institution that leads these endeavors, i.e. the government, will be reinforced. In the above excerpts, the roles of the government were expressed using expressions *like leading the battle* (excerpt 2), *taking aggressive measures* (excerpt 4) *and embarking on the enemy* (excerpt 6). Furthermore, in excerpt no.7, the personification of the disease makes it as though it were a knowing person.

As I have attempted to explain in this analysis, the implications of the war metaphors and the meanings they evoke were pervasive. War metaphors primarily engage in creating dichotomies. They set off by constructing the enemy against which war is to be waged (hence the side to be attacked) and the group which wages the war (hence the attacker). In due process HIV/AIDS has been personified. Accordingly, such discourses culminated in the establishment of power relations based on who led the battle and who was under attack. Thus, the government was ascribed the role of the commander which it achieved through designing policies, frameworks and strategies whereas those afflicted were presumed to be the enemy in this warfare.

Furthermore, the problem with war evoking metaphors was that they exalted the meaning of diseases as a result of which people might have had blurred understanding of those afflicted. In other words the exaggeration of diseases in discourses would obscure the

real understanding of diseases. War invoking metaphors employed in the texts selected for this study seem to equate the epidemic with invading enemy using words such as the *killer, the formidable foe...*etc. Social constructions of such sort make the ordinary people assume the human body as a battle ground. In turn, this will exacerbate stigma and discrimination of PLWHA leading to discouragement of exposure.

In particular using the war metaphors in socially constructing HIV/AIDS entails the casting of the diseased body as the enemy. This allows for particular categories of people to be represented as polluters and infectors. The government becomes the commander, setting policy, planning strategies and implementing programs, while those affected by HIV/AIDS have to adopt a 'struggle' discourse in opposition to government tactics with which they disagree. However, the promotion of these activities is heavily gendered, with women being consistently positioned as primary care-givers and as primarily responsible for the prevention of illness.

4.2.1.2 Plague Metaphors

As HIV/AIDS was initially constructed in medical terms as an epidemic of infectious disease using plague metaphors, it was associated with unsafe sexual behaviors (lifestyles) of individuals. As such, plague metaphors with religious and moral connotations were usually evoked in reference to divine punishment and were coupled with discourses about individual actions.

Excerpt 8

½™ü|Âß¿ æ_w_oð w¬ÿÁ `WüY »ð¿>¬ú ½™ü|Âß¿ ህዝብ ለአገሩ ቀናኢ በመ<ፎፅ ለ«oP«
>GY»oT o™«Æፎ| zÖf >«ÃWEX¬ú /ú>ú >±ü; ½ÏR p?ÏR ½<ፎ¬ú« ™þÆY >FÐz| >Ë
>>Ë w¿Á´ F«`X`Y >«ÃGûÎp¬ú ™XYo®@\$

o]z¬ú« >±>dz >ማጥፋት ጋብቻ መመስረትና አታመንዝር የሚለውን መለኮታዊ |>²³ G i oT
ሃይማኖታዊ መመሪያ ነው ያሉት ቀሲስ ከፍ ያለው ለበ]z¬ú F Y î î | ®ፎ” ¬ú F«Y™þ ½YፎHÐpT
ጉድለት በመሆኑ የስነምግባርና የኤድስ ት/ት በት/ቤት መስጠት አለበት ብለዋል።(አዲስ ዘመን ህደር
21_1993 60” ™ F | aÖT 81)

The representative of Ethiopian Orthodox Church Priest Kefyalew said that Ethiopians are keen to safeguard their sovereignty. This has been ascertained when they stood firmly united to take arms in defending their territory. They **should also stand hand-in-hand** in defiance against this common enemy.

The priest reiterated that getting married and complying with the religious principle of ‘do not commit adultery’ are the key religious guidelines to eradicate the disease. Pries Kefyalew stated that the main factor that has contributed to the widespread existence of the disease is misbehavior and hence ethical education and AIDS education **should be** taught at school.

The modality of the representation of the proposed action is present and future (>Ë >>Ë w¿Á´ F«`X`Y >«ÃGûÎp¬ú ™XYo®@ **should also stand hand-in-hand** F W Ó | ™>o|| **should be taught**). In this excerpt, moral obligation is expressed using the modal verb,

'should' (interpersonal metafunction). The semantic pattern of this text is problem-solution. The problem is the threat posed by HIV/AIDS and the suggested solution is getting married and being morally upright. The disease has been attributed to misbehavior. The means by which the suggested solutions materialize was through the provision ethical education and education on AIDS.

In this excerpt, HIV/AIDS is textured along religious rules and ethical education (an aspect of **interdiscursivity**). The speaker used religion and moral education to elucidate the situation of the pandemic for creating the context. Moreover, the epidemic has been represented in comparison with invading enemies who can be defeated through harmonious mobilization. However this discourse could be obfuscating in that unlike in a war situation, in the fight against HIV/AIDS, there are no clear enemies. This discourse implicitly enacts the perception of the disease as a punishment for 'misbehavior' and labeling those afflicted as not morally upright.

Excerpt 9

TMpÆY FÆ:Æü | ½>-úH\$(™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 25_1992 59"™ F | aÖT 73)

AIDS **has no cure**. (emphasis the researcher)

Excerpt 10

This deadly epidemic **without curative drugs or protective vaccine**, has hit the country hard. (Policy on anti-retroviral, 2002:2)(emphasis the researcher)

In the above excerpts (nos.9 and 10) the epidemic collocates with the phrases '**no cure**' and '**without curative drugs or protective vaccine**'. It is portrayed as a severe disease that cannot be treated (transitivity). The word and phrase used for representing it '**deadly**' and '**has hit the country hard**' portray the disease as a catastrophe.

Excerpt 11

Most of those **infected already are unaware of their status** and so represent a **pool capable of transmitting** the virus to new uninfected individuals, sooner or later **all those infected will eventually develop AIDS and die as a result**.

(Policy on HIV/AIDS (1998, Page 1)(emphasis the researcher)

The modality of the representation of the action is futuristic (represent a **pool capable of transmitting** the virus to new uninfected individuals, **sooner or later all those infected will eventually develop AIDS and die as a result**). This is expressed using modals '**will**' and verb to be, '**are unaware of their status**'. '**As a result**' is used as a connector to show the cause-effect link between acquiring the virus and dying. Implicit in the linguistic constructions of the epidemic and those afflicted in the above excerpt is the certainty of death.

The social construction of this pandemic using these metaphors also exacerbates stigma and discrimination. Language not only reflects social practices²⁵ but also plays a role in creating such practices. In the context of this study, communities behave in certain ways

²⁵Discourse as social practices- how the discourse users enact or resist social and political structures, an attention to the ways in which social members interpret, categorize & construct their social experience (Van Dijk 1997a)
Social practice- what people actually do, the activities they engage in as they conduct social life (Harrison and Young, 2004)

when dealing with people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA). This happens if the community inculcated²⁶ this discourse by enacting it, those afflicted would experience severe forms of stigma and discrimination. Depending on the existing dominant meanings, the community may either stigmatize and discriminate PLWHAs or show a degree of tolerance and understanding (social practice).

Excerpt 12

o™/úÉú ¬e| oX«p É`TX <Yõz@ w-w-ú »GúZ»Fú| ¬úYŒ »ĐG] o?¼ o™pÆW o]z
wÁ±®@ wqA >«ÃGúÎF | ½<Yõz>ú :?í Î@ã®@\$ <Yõz>ú 200 ™@İ°... ™>ú | ™/ú«
150 ; FúG« w-w-ú >½z»Fú É-ú\$(™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 30_1992 ” ™F | aÖT 77)

At the moment it is believed that among the hospitalized patients in the hospital for TB patients, more than half have caught HIV/AIDS. The hospital has got 200 beds of which 150 are occupied.

This excerpt is a presupposition and it has the pragmatic function of expressing a possibility regarding the pandemic. Implicit in the linguistic construction of the text is that the hospital could be overwhelmed by patients in the future.

Excerpt 13

™pÆY ½™ĐQŸ« ™HR... :Á@ >Y» 35% oF } >ü`«Y Á...?@\$ (™ÄüY ±F« z;XY 2_1993)

AIDS **can reduce** Africa's work force by about 35%.

²⁶ Inculcation when what has been imagined becomes reality. The social construction of the epidemic and descriptions of those afflicted make people have a certain mental image of those afflicted. This mental image may make the community to suspect some of acquiring the epidemic because of their physical appearance.

In the above excerpt possibility is expressed by using ‘can’ (modal auxiliary) to warn Africans of the impact of the pandemic. The pragmatic function of the excerpt is warning the subjects about the possible consequences of the epidemic. Accordingly, the excerpts portray the misery that this epidemic can inflict upon Africans.

Excerpt 14

... involving all **compatriots in the fight against the pestilence** should be an immediate task. (Ethiopian Herald Nov.2003 vol.LX no.068)(emphasis the researcher)

This excerpt expresses the obligation of the presumed subjects regarding HIV/AIDS. It describes a situation of war by putting the pandemic as an enemy against which **all compatriots** should be mobilized. The use of the word ‘pestilence’ emphasizes the need for urgent action. In this text, the personification of HIV/AIDS leads to the production of a discourse of war against the pandemic, for in a war people are naturally positioned in opposition to the danger of an active agent that is threatening their survival.

Excerpt 15

ዐ`³c²→ú ÖTÉ| ¬e| ™>H« Á«Ö ½EoO¬ú ½Eú i>ÞT ÖTÉ| ÁEX@ wqA EoO\$ ²S ãÐ I
የአለምን ህዝብ አንድነትና አንድነት ያለው ኤድስ ከምንም በላይ አስፈጻሚ ሆኖ ዋለ። ዐF<EúH
™]pQE|« >GÖî| >«ÃwÃOî¬ú TqTq /ú>ú ™þEY«H >FÐz| ¿?W>W ÖO| FÃOÐ
ይኖርበታል። (™ÄüY ±F« 61” ™F | aÖT 89)

During the cold war, there was a fear that nuclear warfare could break out. These days **however**, HIV/AIDS which has inflicted heavy loss on people, has become the major threat. **Hence as per what has been done to combat terrorism, concerted efforts should be exerted to stop AIDS.** (emphasis the researcher)

The producer of this text is pleading to the wealthy countries for support in the fight against HIV/AIDS. That the threat against humanity at the present is different from the threat of the past is textured through the use of ‘**however**’, a marker of contrast. The context in the above excerpt is created through interdiscursivity. The possible reason why the pandemic has been equated with nuclear warfare may be because both do not have solutions. The pandemic has been equated to both nuclear warfare and ‘terrorism’. The text implies the global- local space time as characterized by subordination. Implicit in the excerpt is the claim that those who have the power (knowledge and resources) were preoccupied with the war on terror leaving this equally threatening pandemic aside. As such, it also suggests that the pandemic has been overlooked by the global agents.

Excerpt 16

o™pÆY o]z >½Oîë ¿>¬ú« oqTÆ I w ½Gû@]î« ÁWÓ®@\$>þ... ™Ásü ™pÆY GûYÓüT
wÃŦñ F z½| ½>o|H\$ (™} ±¬úÄü î|z#¬ú ½wYî Ñ; ™ü|Âß¿ óS³Ä«|) (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT
25_1992 59” ™F | aÖT 73)

While many people are perishing of AIDS, pneumonia is given as the **pretext**.
HIV/AIDS should not be kept secret. (Ato. Zewdu Getachew president of
DAWN of HOPE)

This excerpt is a presupposition. The content of the subordinate clause, **while many people are perishing of AIDS**, is presupposed i.e. is considered a reality that AIDS is the cause for deaths. The word, ‘**pretext**’ implies that the community has developed a wrong

attribution. The above excerpt is a reflection of the inculcation²⁷ of discourses of denial of the HIV/AIDS epidemic by the society. In other words, the social practice instigated by this excerpt is that the epidemic is being hushed up (**HIV/AIDS should not be kept secret**). In other words the excerpt implies that the pattern of attribution of the pandemic is not cognizant of its actuality. Such social constructions of the disease result in exacerbation of its situations. Put another way if the code of conduct of a community regarding this epidemic is one of denial, the community won't be able to take the necessary steps that can halt the spread of the pandemic.

Excerpt 17

o>? o»ú@ o™b/EY o]z F ċ³ ½:Óü™ | ®İ ½WpW-Ē | ¬úÓp | >«Ã<Ē o; qOwWoú ±«Ē ċ>¬ú
 አመለካከት የመገናገፍ q±ú: «H ÎúÄ¼ ?Á ½GûċYw?@ì | F@> i | »o]z¬ú XÁ<« »W¬ú½¬ú
 >«ÄüTa ½GûċÄTĐ F<Ēú« o]z¬ú« >F fÔÓT >«eî | ëÖÜš@\$ (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT
 25_1992 59” ™ F | aÖT 73)

On the other hand considering acquiring AIDS **as if it were the consequence of sin and promiscuity** and the messages of the mass media lead not to the stigmatization of the disease alone but stigmatization of those afflicted.(emphasis the researcher)

The subjunctive mood is used to express that the attribution given about AIDS is not realistic (**as if it were the consequence of sin and promiscuity**). The rhetoric structure of the above excerpt is cause – effect relationship. The cause is the misperception of the

²⁷ Inculcation when what has been imagined becomes reality. The social construction of the epidemic and descriptions of those afflicted make people have a certain mental image of those afflicted. This mental image may make the community to suspect some of acquiring the epidemic because of their physical appearance.

community regarding the epidemic and the effect is stigma and discrimination of the afflicted. Implicit in the linguistic construction of this epidemic in the above excerpt is that there is a misperception of the epidemic among the community (social practice).

The source of this excerpt is a non bureaucratic source. In fact the person who made this utterance is a PLWHA. He has made his observation regarding the type of messages the media present about the disease. The speaker has hinted that the misperception of the community might have resulted from misinformation by the media.

The plague metaphor is the major metaphor by which the AIDS epidemic is understood. However, using a plague metaphor implies that this epidemic is understood as inflicted by something else. This has serious psychological impacts as it attributes the disease to God's punishment to those who are presumed to have uncontrollable sexual behavior. It helps in creating a dichotomy between those who have acquired the disease and the majority who are not affected.

4.2.2 Power and Ideology

There were many dimensions of the dynamics of power and ideology that were reflected in the social construction of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia's policies and government newspapers. This was achieved by scrutinizing the identities the texts created i.e., interrelated representations of people, institutions and effect of other discourses which reflect the discursive practices of the government.

This social problem is interpreted in varied ways. One of the tenets of critical discourse analysis is that language is involved in social life in non-obvious ways (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). For instance, the texts often times attributed the transmission of the pandemic to 'risky behavior' which is a reflection of power relations for the so-called 'risk behavior' and subsequently the label- 'risk group' is imposition by certain groups on social groups that are powerless. These marginalized groups include CSW and out of school youth.

According to Rothgeb (1993), power is 'the ability' to control or influence others. Thus constructing and defining meanings and hence, discourses is a reflection of power hierarchy. Ethiopia's policy in response to HIV/AIDS epidemic is a reflection of the power of certain members of the community or a social group .i.e. the government. The policies, frameworks, guidelines and government newspapers create an underlying meaning that shall be perceived as a common sense (ideology) by the subject (community) that is, their implied meaning is maintaining the assumption that there is an agent (government) which is bestowed with the power to formulate a framework as to how to handle a social problem (HIV/AIDS) and the community shall just act accordingly.

Besides, the policy statements which reflect the actions outlined by the government were not statements of consent by stakeholder groups. Hence one may argue that, policy documents and government newspapers serve as a means of perpetuating power relations as they draw people's attention to the trajectories they outline only by undermining other possibilities. An instance of constraining effect of policies on PLWHAs was the

compulsory testing imposed on people. This was a major discriminatory policy during the study's timeline. Particularly, people who got the DV lottery were forced to take compulsory testing of their HIV status (However, this discriminatory policy has been repealed by President Barack Obama).

The study period (1998-2004) is historically set within the period when Ethiopia and Eritrea engaged in a devastating border conflict which had claimed the lives of tens of thousands. As a result, Ethiopian government officials often times associated the epidemic with an invading enemy as can be seen from the following excerpt:

Excerpt 18

Now that we have successfully defended our sovereignty, we **must embark on the remaining enemy** in our midst-HIV/AIDS. (Ethiopian Herald, Dec, 2 2002 Vol. No. LVII)

In the above excerpt modality is used to express obligation. The modal verb '**must**' has been used for dictating the action people should take in response to this pandemic (**must embark on the remaining enemy**). The context is maintained through interdiscursivity wherein reference has been made to Ethiopia's success of defending its sovereignty.

Ethiopia was the host country of ICASA (International Conference on HIV/AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Africa) in 2011. The motto of the conference was the following:

**OWN,
SUSTAIN, AND
SCALE UP**

As soon as the conference kicked off, the essence of the motto was unveiled. The conference organizers were busy urging African governments to show ownership of the management of HIV/AIDS. Considering the essence of the motto critically, one could realize that the role of African governments thus far was merely echoing what has been prescribed by those who defined the pandemic and provided the resources for dealing with it. The cause for setting this motto was the dwindling of resources allocated by the so-called ‘development partners’ due to the financial crisis which rocked western countries. Accordingly, the development partners were on the verge of abandoning the needy in the developing world as they had already cut the budget they used to allocate for the pandemic.

In the meantime, there was a demonstration during the conference in which the conference participants pleaded to African governments to fulfill the Abuja Declaration. The Abuja Declaration was a pledge made by African member states to allocate fifteen percent of their annual budget for dealing with this pandemic. However, it was reported that only few countries had by then managed to provide the money as per their pledge.

The international development partners who regulate the production and reproduction of health related discourses have set out a trajectory for dealing with the HIV/AIDS

epidemic. The major component of this trajectory was helping people to come up with a change of behavior. Similarly the majority of texts analyzed emphasized the need to have sexual behavioral change. This can be realized by considering the focus given to awareness creation about the pandemic than considering the wider contexts.

Excerpt 20

The major weapon at our disposal is to come up with **behavioral change**.

(Ethiopian Herald, Dec, 5. 2000 Vol. LVII No. 073) (emphasis the researcher)

In the above excerpt, the expression ‘behavioral change’ is a **nominalization**. The rhetoric organization of this excerpt is problem-solution. Accordingly, behavioral change has been posited as a solution for dealing with this disease. Implicit in this text is the realization that there is no treatment for this pandemic.

Although sexual behaviour change could be taken as a viable approach to halt the spread of the epidemic, its exaggerated emphasis as the only solution draws attention away from wider socio-economic factors. However, the underlying theories of health communication do not reflect the actual realities of Ethiopia (Astatke and Serpell 2000). The so called ‘risk groups’ such as commercial sex workers (CSW) are in the majority of cases, people who do not have resources at their disposal. It is basically because of the dire economic situations in which they find themselves that they engage in the risky business of commercial sex. Thus it will be to no avail to emphasize behavioural factors without

much attention to poverty alleviation. However, this was the notion in Ethiopia's response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

Moreover, power relations have also been reflected in the way the international organizations supplied resources and commodities. One way power relations are exhibited is in the extent to which different groups have varied levels of access to certain commodities. This can also be seen from the following excerpt:

Excerpt 21

UN plans to rush AIDS therapy to the World's poor.(Title)

The UN unveiled plans Monday to **rush** life-saving anti-retroviral AIDS drugs to **three millions of the World's poor in a \$5.5 billion** emergency strategy **to fight a disease now killing 8,000 a day.**

The UN's World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that six million people in poor countries need the ARV treatment that many victims in the rich countries now take **for granted but less than 300,000 receive it in poor countries.**

This year alone **three million people have died of AIDS. These** are people **whose lives could have been saved through the provision of ARVs.** (Ethiopian Herald, Dec. 3, 2003 vol. LX no. 071) (emphasis the researcher)

This excerpt depicts the hierarchy of agents involved in the so-called 'fight against AIDS'. Accordingly, it could be realized that it is only the development partners that can have a say in dealing with the pandemic. As such, the relationship of the national space-

time to global space-time (national policy response to global response) is textured through projection in verbal processes in which the UN is portrayed as benevolent and poor countries as recipients (The activities of the UN are expressed by using the verb ‘**rush**’).

The global-local space relationship in the above text is that of subordination. In the text words and phrases like –**rush to the world’s poor, three million people have died..., these are people whose lives could have been saved** implying the dependence of the poor countries on the rich ones. The verb-rush has been used to indicate the urgency needed to get the therapy to the poor who are dying of the epidemic. In this process agency is accorded to the UN (transitivity).

The social practices instigated by the above text are that the UN is a rich powerful organization which can save lives of poor people in the poor countries. In the mean time it also implies that PLWHAs in the rich and poor countries have varying level of access to ARV for it is stated that victims in the rich countries take it for granted while only 300,000 of the six million PLWHAs in the poor countries can access. However, the text does discursively expose the greed of the UN when it notes that three million people whose lives could have been saved have already perished this year.

In paragraph three, a relationship of subordination of the national space-time to global space-time is textured. This relationship between national policy action and an implicit global reason was expressed using anaphoric expression, for ‘**these**’ refers to ‘the three

million people who died of AIDS’. Accordingly, the UN is discursively constructed as an institution that has ample financial resources to deal with the problem of HIV/AIDS, poor countries are discursively constructed as countries that could not get **access to the life-saving drugs, 8,000 PLWHAs die every day because of lack of access to ARTs, victims in the rich countries take the drugs for granted while those in the poor countries cannot, three million people have so far perished in that year due to lack of ART.**

Access is one aspect of the power/discourse association. According to Van Dijk (1996:85), “Power is *based* on privileged access to resources, such as: wealth, jobs, status and indeed a preferential access to public discourse and communication” (italics in the original). The above text is a reflection of unequal power relations, i.e. the poor countries are socially constructed as dependent on the rich countries for ART. Moreover the text also implies that there is nothing that poor countries could do except witnessing the perishing of their citizens due to the pandemic.

The texts analyzed have various dimensions of power relations and ideology. The texts reflect the asymmetry in power in terms of determining the ideological and social construction of HIV/AIDS. This role is accorded to the government and international agents through the promotion of scientific knowledge and their platform to regulate and communicate metaphors regarding this pandemic.

A further process of power relations is in the so-called ‘fight against AIDS’ wherein the government is accorded the role of commanding the battle on the presumed enemy-the diseased body. Thus, the texts emphasized the ‘positive’ role of the government as an

institution and the negative aspects of other stakeholder groups such as PLWHA in particular and the community at large. This is what Van Dijk (1998) termed the ‘ideological square’. According to this scholar, such social constructions are reflections of power difference which involve naming and blaming. In other words what can be read between and beyond the lines regarding the social constructions of pandemic and PLWHA is the naming and blaming pattern of attribution. This could culminate in stigmatisation and discrimination PLWHA. Similarly power relations have also been reflected in terms of accessibility to ARVs/ARDs.

4.2.2.1 Identities and Subjectivities Produced by the Discourses

The social construction of people and institutions is the manner in which the selected texts portrayed the characteristics and actions of stakeholder groups. As I have stated in the introductory part of this chapter, the major stakeholder in the context of this study is the government. The Ethiopian people and particularly, PLWHA in Ethiopia are the other stakeholders. The government has constructed the disease, PLWHA and its own actions in the process of formulating the policies.

HIV/AIDS is a stigmatized disease (Sontag, 1989) and as a result, the process of socially constructing this disease and its victims is a matter associated with terms that create subjects that are variously positioned. The analytic method relevant for deconstructing such constructions is Van Dijk’s ideological square. Thus, ideological squares occur when texts highlight the positive in-group and negative out-group actions. They also mitigate the negative in-group and positive out-group actions (Van Dijk 1988, 1998).

In the selected texts, there are ideological squares that recurrently emphasized the positive actions of the government. For example, the government has been portrayed as a proactive agent. Moreover, in the texts, the government is portrayed as the body that leads the ***combat against HIV/AIDS, that it has a critical, spearheading role***. In contrast, the efforts of other stakeholder groups such as PLWHA, NGOs and the community at large have been undermined as can be seen from the terms used for socially constructing them, i.e. **passive involvement and dependency on external factors (excerpt 22)**

Moreover, the texts often times referred to certain social groups as ‘risk group’. This social construction of a given social group entails blaming and othering of the group. In the selected documents positive efforts of the government, have been emphasized. The government as an institution is represented as ‘we’ or ‘us’ and the ‘risk groups’ are represented as ‘them’ or ‘others’.

Excerpt 22

The main thrust of the new implementation arrangement for the SPM is on the two prongs of **enhanced government commitment on the one hand** and **community mobilization and empowerment on the other**. The government recognizes its critical role in **accelerating** the ongoing national multi-sectoral response and opts to organize its implementation mechanism for discharging its responsibilities in **the combat against HIV/AIDS** through the **spearheading role of the MoH** and the coordinating functions of HAPCO. The departure (center piece) in this

strategic plan is social mobilization empowering the community for a meaningful impact on our fight against HIV/AIDS. All stakeholders need to have a clear understanding of the benefits of social mobilization and commitment to use this untapped resource effectively and efficiently. **The prevailing state of the community which is mainly characterized by passive involvement and dependency on external factors (government and others) may also pose as a challenge in community mobilization and in assuming its responsibility and ownership roles.**(Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008:page 9)(Emphasis, the researcher)

In the above text cooperation with the government is portrayed as a prerequisite for effective implementation of the SPM. Implicit in these constructions are **antithetical constructions of non-cooperation and passive involvement**. As such the role of the government has been foregrounded.

This text crafts the identities of the government and the community in dichotomous ways. The government has been portrayed as an institution leading the ‘**combat against HIV/AIDS**’, wherein its activities are expressed with words and phrases like: **recognizes its critical role, accelerating the ongoing ... response, spearheading role and coordinating functions**. On the contrary, the community has been represented as passive, irresponsible and lacking the will to undertake initiatives, using words and phrases like: its **dependence on government and others**. Furthermore, the community has generally been crafted as an **obstacle** to the process under consideration. In

subsequent parts, the community has been labeled as ‘vulnerable population’. This is an instance of justifying the **silencing** and **repression** of the communities’ views.

CDA, the text analytic method selected for this study, has a distinctive characteristic as it is interested not only in the features that are present in the text, but also those that are omitted from it. Accordingly, in SFL there is a notion that a text is a system of alternatives from among which the text producer chooses those that best fits his/her stance.

In CDA it is believed that revealing some options the text producers did not select is equally important in the ideological study of language as revealing the options they selected. This is because what the text producers happen to exclude from a text could be intentionally kept away from the readers to control what they know about the subject and hence what their attitudes towards it could be.

In the above excerpt, the rhetorical device employed is antithesis wherein cooperation with government is portrayed as a precondition for response. In other words the linguistic constructions implicitly portray antithetical constructions of non-cooperation and lack of engagement which in turn hamper the response.

A number of campaigns have been waged in order to change the behavior of people towards PLWHA. One of the focuses of those campaigns was to avoid using words and phrases that were offending. In recognition of the psychological impacts of these words and phrases, media personnel reached a consensus to avoid these expressions altogether.

Excerpt 23

Y>™hÆY½GüÊÎP c?|«>FW½H½F¬¿¿FÆOj>ÄÜ±ÏËwÓ½`\$(™ÄüY±F«;ÄT
20_1992 59”™F|aÕT68)

A panel discussion was held to decide the terms used to **refer** to HIV/AIDS. Accordingly, a consensus was reached at the discussion to **avoid using words like:** (emphasis the researcher)

1/2 TM p/AY W>p ° ... (HIV/AIDS victims)

w[ÿGû° ... (HIV carriers)

‘Xí -ú TMÆY (the killer AIDS)

0TM p/ EY 1/2 W > » i (infected with AIDS)

As it could be seen from the above excerpt, there were attempts to shift the representation of HIV/AIDS, in particular relating to PLWHAs. All these expressions are nominalised expressions. (28 የኤድስ ተጠቂዎች የኤድስ ሰለባዎች, ቫይረስ ተሸካሚዎች, ከቫይረሱ ጋር የሚኖሩ, የኤድስ ; F(G«) .

Notwithstanding the consensus that was reached by media personnel to avoid using offending words in reference to HIV/AIDS and PLWHA, the media personnel themselves failed to comply with the decision as can be observed from the following excerpts.

²⁸ These nominalizations could perhaps be the result of the direct translation of 'victims'. As has been the case in the developed nations a change of discourse has taken place through time and the last two are related to the PLWHA (the term used by westerners to refer to people living with the virus)

Excerpt 24

owFXXÁ @@z ™ü«ñTG|]« G@»@ >«Ã±îo¬ú የኤድስ ሰለባ የሆኑ ህፃናት aÖT oFÖ`Y
oo]z¬ú >½wÓa ረ>ት አገሮች ኤድስን በመዋጋት በት/ቤት ላይ ተጨማሪ ገንዘብ እና ጉልበት
አንዲያወጡ የተመድ የህፃናት መርጃ ድርጅት ተቀዳሚ ዳይሬክተር ጠየቁ። (አዲስ ዘመን ህዳር
21_1993 aÖT 81)

...in a similar vein, as has been reported by Walta Information Center (WIC), the
director of UNCIEF has pointed out the increase in the number of children who
have been **victims** of HIV/AIDS and hence developing countries should invest
more money on schools.

This excerpt was produced one year after the decision to avoid making use of
stereotyping words in reference to PLWHA was passed. The producer of this text has
demonstrated moral authority by outlining the actions to be taken by the developing
countries. The rhetoric structure of the above excerpt is problem-solution. The problem is
the increase in the number of children who have been victims of AIDS and the proposed
solution is that developing countries should invest more money on schools. However, the
word '**victim**' has been used in the same newspaper that disclosed the need to use non
offensive words in reference to AIDS after a year.

Excerpt 25

ÆTËx o™þÆY XoüḂ ¬?Ë ™@p ><Éú ህፃናት 297 000 በላይ ግምት ያለው ርዳታ ሰጠ።(አዲስ
±F« ;ÃT 3_1996 63” ™ F | aÖT 63)

indication of lack of considerateness for PLWHA. This could also have added to the obstinacy on the part of the community at large.

The above social constructions portray stake holders in various ways. These social constructions highlight positive in-group (the government as an institution) and negative out-group (the community in general and presumed target groups in particular). In other words, the voices of those ‘others’ have been undermined or repressed. As such in the texts, the stakeholder groups like PLWHA’s and NGOs were not given prominent roles. This is an instance of suppression of voice of the voiceless.

4.2.2.2 The Effect of Development Discourses

In Ethiopia’s response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the discourses of HIV/AIDS responses were framed along discourses of development²⁹ and medicine. This might have been done for creating awareness about the effect of this pandemic. This could in a way ascertain why a multidisciplinary perspective such as critical discourse analysis is called upon to fully understand the extent of the calamity.

On issues of HIV/AIDS, Ethiopia’s policies, guidelines, frameworks and government newspapers are awash with development and medical science discourses. These discourses were used by people in power when referring to the effect of the pandemic. In particular, the development discourse was evident in the promotion of aid from rich countries.

²⁹ According to Fairclough (1989) this is termed interdiscursivity and it is the hybridity of a text .i.e when a text draws on other fields other than the one under consideration. In the excerpt, the issues of this pandemic were textured along development. It means the text is not limited to issues of health alone; it also touches upon other sectors.

Excerpt 27

It is true that HIV/AIDS is **not only** a health problem **but** rather a **multifaceted development crisis**. (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008 page 9) (emphasis the researcher)

This excerpt is a hyperbolic text in which interdiscursivity has been employed to create the context for explaining the impact of this pandemic. Cohesion in this text is maintained by using correlative not only...but rather to express exaggeration.

Excerpt 28

Development partners should support the government in fight against HIV/AIDS. (Ethiopian Herald, Dec, 2 2002 Vol. No. LVII (Emphasis the researcher)

The global – local space time is subordination wherein Ethiopia's inability to deal with this pandemic has been unequivocally articulated. The modal used to express obligation is 'should' which implies that it is only moral obligation that binds Ethiopia to the development partners. Put another way, supporting Ethiopia is a matter of moral obligation of the development partners. The linguistic construction of the obligation is that Ethiopia is pleading to the development partners for support. Implicit in the above excerpt is power asymmetry.

Excerpt 29

We have to do our part and that is where the most critical work needs to be done.

But international cooperation is indispensable.(Ethiopian Herald, Dec 5, 1999
Vol. LVI No. 073) (Emphasis the researcher)

In this excerpt, the role of Ethiopia in dealing with the epidemic is contrasted with international cooperation by the coordinating conjunction ‘**but**’. This implies that the role of the international development partners is decisive as it is described with the adjective ‘**indispensable**’. The semantic pattern of the text in excerpts 31 and 32 is problem-solution. The problem is the threat of HIV/AIDS and the solution is the support provided by the ‘development partners’. This excerpt expresses the dependence of third world countries like Ethiopia on the resources supplied by the development partners.

As can be observed from the above excerpts (31-32), in Ethiopia’s policy response and government newspapers, issues of this pandemic were framed alongside development discourses. The phrase ‘**development partners**’ is frequently used when referring to HIV/AIDS. Generally, in the majority of newspaper articles, international agents were cited for quotations as sources of information, which is otherwise known as intertextuality. (See appendices 2 and 3). In other words, these organization and their workers have been taken as sources and voices for the news stories.

Excerpt 30

As one of the countries highlighted **as at risk of the next wave of the global epidemic**, Ethiopia is high on donors’ priority list. Ethiopia has the chance to

benefit from **these** funds and technical assistance, **while avoiding the pitfalls of adopting** an exclusively donor and international NGO-driven agendas. (Ethiopian Herald 10 Dec 2003 Vol. LX no. 077)(emphasis the researcher)

The global-local space is that of subordination (**Ethiopia is high on donors priority list, Ethiopia benefits from these...**). This relationship between national policy action and an implicit global reason was expressed using anaphoric expression, '**these funds**'.

The rhetoric organization of this excerpt is problem-solution. The problem is the threat posed by HIV/AIDS and the solution is the funds and technical assistance from the donors. In other words the text implies that Ethiopia's endeavors to deal with the epidemic would be achieved with the support of foreign agents. However, the support is discursively constructed as having some undesirable motives as its pros are contrasted to its cons with the marker of concession-**while**.

Power relations have also been reflected in Ethiopia's response to this epidemic in the promotion of medical treatments such as anti-retroviral drugs (ARDs). This discourse favors medical and scientific knowledge over alternative knowledge and approaches. According to Marshall (2005) and Germov (2005) it orients attention to the diagnosis and treatment of disease within the individual and detracts attention from social, economic and environmental influences on health. They also deter alternative ways of understanding and considering the way the community enacts or resists the dominant discourses, i.e. the social practice.

Excerpt 31

In short, HIV/AIDS has now become a **serious threat** and challenge to the socioeconomic development of the country. **The epidemic is reversing social and economic development gains; deepening poverty; challenging the national priority of expanding and maintaining essential services; reducing labor and intellectual productivity.** (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response, 2004-2008 page 2)(emphasis the researcher)

In the above excerpt, the relationships of the negative effects of the epidemic on the economic development of the country are textured through projection in verbal processes. As such the impacts of the epidemic have been exalted **(is reversing, is deepening, challenging and is reducing).**

Excerpt 32

AIDS ravages the prime-age adults and their children with death rates much higher than usual. When it affects large population groups it **can diminish** the quality and quantity of the labor force leading to social and economic crisis in the community. (Policy on HIV/AIDS 1998, page 1)(emphasis the researcher)

In the above text, modality has been used to express possibility. The modal ‘**can**’ is used for expressing the imaginary situation that AIDS may result in if it attacked large population in order to warn the community.

This excerpt is an instance of the use of discourses in creating identities as the producers of the text positioned themselves outside those groups that the epidemic affects (**their children** and not our children).

Excerpt 33

The HIV/AIDS epidemic is the world's most serious development crisis as well as **most devastating** epidemic in history. It **is becoming** the biggest obstacle **to achieving** the millennium development goals (MDGs) (**Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response, 2004-2008** page 7)

This excerpt expresses certainty. The excerpt portrays the epidemic as affecting people's way of life at the moment and in the future as well (**becoming** the biggest obstacle **to achieving** the millennium development goals- for which the time plan is the future). The argument for explaining the effect of the epidemic was achieved through interdiscursivity wherein reference has been made to the millennium development goals.

Excerpt 34

Unless robust actions to prevent and control this epidemic are executed, the epidemic **will blur** our development vision, exert strong negative impact on socio-economic, peace and stability and psychosocial life of the nation. (Policy on anti-retroviral therapy (2002:2) (emphasis the researcher)

This excerpt is an instance of the agentless passive. As such it is not clear by whom the robust actions are to be executed. In other words the body that shoulders the responsibility has been omitted. The cohesive feature of the above excerpt is

subordination. This is a presupposition in which the possible consequences of the epidemic on development are expressed. Context is maintained through interdiscursivity as reference has been made to various sectors other than health.

Excerpt 35

HIV/AIDS **is eating** up our investment and development gains. It **is also diverting** our meager resources from development. The HIV/AIDS **response is** characterized by "project" and fund driven initiatives, without sufficient consideration of the impact of the interventions. Serious scrutiny of intervention for results and impact **must** be a fundamental guiding principle. (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response, 2004-2008:6)(emphasis the researcher)

In excerpts 31-35, HIV/AIDS is described as ‘**reverse social and economic development**’-excerpt 31, ‘**can diminish**’-excerpt 32, ‘**is becoming the biggest obstacle**’- excerpt 33, ‘**will blur our development visions**’-excerpt 34 and ‘**eating up**’-excerpt 35. All these actions are those of the knowing subject, whose objects are: social and economic development (excerpt 31) the prime age adults (excerpt 32), millennium development goals- (excerpt 33), development visions (excerpt 34) and our investment – (excerpt 35).

The personification of HIV/AIDS thus leads to cropping up of discourses of war against HIV/AIDS, as groups are naturally positioned in opposition to the threat of an active subject planning their extermination. The personification of HIV/AIDS also results in social stigma as the disease incorporates additional meaning. If HIV/AIDS were

constructed purely as an epidemic of infectious disease, then everyone would be equally susceptible to it. However, the personification of the pandemic as a knowing subject has allowed for the casting of particular people and behaviors as allies of the enemy.

In all the above excerpts (31-35) interdiscursivity is the technique used for expressing the context. In other words issues of HIV/AIDS have been expressed through reference to other areas of social life that are affected. Accordingly, the texts emphasized the debilitating effect of the pandemic on the society by highlighting in equivocal terms its effects on development.

According to Kitzener and Miller (1992), development and medical science discourses are discourses that are well established in the developed nations. The recurrence of such discourses in speeches of third world politicians is a reflection of the two sides sharing similar trajectories as to how issues should be settled. The rich nations have a say because of their resources on the problems that appear in the underdeveloped countries (unequal power relations) and the latter nations have to comply with the patterns of attributions of the former countries in order to secure support (Das, 2008). In such a way the development partners regulate the reception and reproduction of discourse. However, it must be underlined that development discourse and medical discourse are aspects of globalization wherein language is used for promoting universalism that benefits some groups at the expense of others. They are reflections of the use of language in promoting Boli and Thomas (1997).

4.2.3 Cause

Regarding the causes of HIV/AIDS, the salient representations in the policies, guidelines frameworks and government newspapers are that the epidemic is caused by biological agents and behavior factors. Consequently, the majority of anti-AIDS campaigns in Ethiopia were based on disseminating BCC and IEC messages that magnify behavioral solutions. However, a pitfall of this approach was that such endeavors may move attention away from the broader and appropriate responses to the pandemic such as alleviating the economic dependence of women. Merely echoing ‘sexual behavior change as a solution could not help in averting its spread.

In the process of analysis, the theme ‘cause’ was identified by considering the suggested link between sentences and propositions. This is what Van Dijk (1988, 1998) termed as local coherence. According to Van Dijk (1988, 1998) local coherence is an important tool for showing cause-effect relationships in CDA.

Excerpt 36

The primary mode **of HIV transmission in Ethiopia is** sexual contact. Even though of small magnitude at present, next to blood transfusion, harmful indigenous practices and unsafe injections are also important causes for the spread of the virus requiring attention. (Policy on HIV/AIDS, 1998, page 1)

The first sentence is declarative and it ascertains the notion that HIV/AIDS is primarily caused through sexual intercourse. Implicit in these linguistic constructions is that this epidemic is the result of promiscuity.

Excerpt 37

A number of **underlying factors** contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia including **poverty, illiteracy, stigma and discrimination of those infected/affected by HIV/AIDS, high rate of unemployment, wide spread commercial sex work, gender disparity, population movement including rural to urban migration** and harmful cultural and traditional practices. (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008, page 1)(emphasis the researcher)

This excerpt summarizes the major contributing factors for the widespread existence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Among other things, this excerpt makes it evident that PLWHAs are subject to stigma and discrimination. In other words, this excerpt expresses the social practice pertaining to HIV/AIDS. The structure of this excerpt is cause-effect relationship. In this excerpt the wider contexts that lead to the spread of the epidemic have been highlighted. However, this recognition of wider structural factors was not given attention in the responses forwarded. In other words, the policy response and government newspapers were not framed in line with the socio-cultural and economic factors. Rather the response to the epidemic merely emphasized the need to bring about sexual behavioral change so as to avert the spread of this disease.

Excerpt 38

The government **is taking aggressive measures** against HIV/AIDS.(Ethiopian Herald, Dec, 1, 2002 Vol. LIX No. 071) (emphasis the researcher)

Excerpt 39

The government **has allocated enormous budgets** to tackle HIV/AIDS.
(Ethiopian Herald, Dec, 6, 2001 Vol. LVIII No.075) (emphasis the researcher)

In excerpts 38 and 39, the government has been given agency, i.e. **is taking aggressive measures, has allocated enormous budgets** (transitivity). In both excerpts, the identity of the government has been posited as a protagonist that is leading the ‘fight against HIV/AIDS’. By contrast the presumed enemy, which is the diseased body, has been portrayed as the foe against which **the aggressive measures** and **enormous budgets** are mobilized.

These excerpts (37-39) have implications that maintain the government as proactive- an indication of positive self (the positive social representation of an institution, i.e. government). Naming and blaming of those supposed to be the main transmitters of the epidemic has also been reflected in the texts. Similarly, the behavior of the so-called ‘risk groups’ has been blamed in the analyzed documents. This is an instance of the third level of van Dijk’s (2001) discourse analytic framework which is about power relations and subjectivities in which the so-called ‘others’ are blamed for deviations from the norms and values. The texts imply that those afflicted are to blame for exhibiting uncontrollable or unacceptable sexual behavior.

Excerpt 40

The spread of HIV/AIDS is fueled by myriads of individual and collective vulnerability emanating from the behavioral, social, cultural and economic dimensions of our reality. On the other hand, targeted prevention, care and support can only make root and be deeply anchored through community mobilization and empowerment. **The approach to community involvement and participation has been a serious challenge and pitfall in many development endeavors and in our HIV/AIDS response to date.** (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008, page 8) (Emphasis the researcher)

The rhetorical device used in the above excerpt is antithesis. The linguistic construction of the epidemic and the presumed stakeholders in the above excerpt imply that cooperation with the government in preventing the epidemic in particular and in other development endeavors at large is a precondition for success. Accordingly, cooperation with government is socially constructed as a precondition for response. Thus the linguistic constructions implicitly portray antithetical constructions of non-cooperation and lack of engagement which were blamed for hampering the prevention of the epidemic.

4.2.3.1 Biological Agents of Transmission

In Ethiopia's policies, guidelines, frameworks and newspapers, the cause-effect relationship between HIV and AIDS was a foregone conclusion. It means that the texts were in line with the scientific notion that a virus termed 'HIV' is the primary cause of AIDS. There are many evidences for this in the selected texts. In most texts the two terms

deficiency virus) which has been spreading fast in the last two decades. (Policy on HIV/AIDS 1998, page 1) (emphasis the researcher)

In the above excerpt, the cause-effect relationship between HIV and AIDS is made evident with the use of the verb- '**caused**'. Moreover, the preposition used (**by**) implies that the agent in here is the HIV virus. This is a scientific notion.

This could however be taken as a 'blind acceptance of scientific assertions' Griffin, 2000 (see section 2.1). According to Griffin, scientific assertions are considered reductionist as they magnify the rationality of science. In other words, they underscore that the only possible explanation of events is scientific explanation. However, this does not reflect the actual reality of this epidemic for both its 'biological' aspect and its social perceptions should be considered in order to help the community fully understand it.

The theme, 'biological agents of transmission' has the implied meaning of the need to view HIV/AIDS just like any other disorder which could be avoided by recognizing its causes. However, the actual reality of the pandemic implies that it is not just an ordinary disease which could be managed by recognizing its means of transmission. Rather, there are multi-faceted issues that are related to it. In order to help people avoid this pandemic, in addition to raising people's awareness, ways as to how one can help sustain the desired behaviors should have been addressed by setting a trajectory that could encompass socio-economic factors. Yet, the emphasis on the biological agents of transmission detracts attention from these real issues.

Emphasizing the biological agents of transmission is an implicit way of disregarding HIV/AIDS as an ‘epidemic of signification’ (Trieckler, 1991). Thus, considering this epidemic as a biological epidemic alone disregards the larger contextual factors that make people vulnerable to the pandemic. However, this does not capacitate one to realize the actual realities surrounding the epidemic such as stigma and discrimination.

4.2.3.2 Behavioral Factors

The theme, ‘behavioral factors’, is based on the assumption that HIV/AIDS is the result of people’s way of life and behavioral factors. The identification of such factors contributes to “progressive individualization” of HIV/AIDS as a disease of lifestyle or choice (Alcorn, 1988:7). The social practice instigated by this discourse is that the pandemic is a threat that affects specific social groups in the community whereas the majority of people who do not belong to the so-called ‘risk group’ are safe. This pattern of attribution can affect how those who have not been infected with this pandemic understand its cause and also its route of transmission.

This rather implicitly leads to stigma and discrimination of the so-called ‘risk groups’ because such a situation will not enable the community to realize why some people acquire this disease. In a way this is an instance of the ‘othering’ discourse wherein dichotomies are created between those who have been infected and those who have not acquired the disease.

Excerpt 43

Targeted Response: Even though Ethiopia is in a state of generalized epidemic, it is important to give priority to **selected vulnerable target groups**. In line with the multi-sectoral response, special attention will be given to the **Youth, CSW, Mobile workers, uniformed people and teachers** as there is demonstrable evidence for their vulnerability. (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008, page 9) (emphasis the researcher)

The power asymmetry between the producers of this discourse and those others, which are labeled ‘selected vulnerable targets’, is evident from the linguistic constructions of these identities. In other words the producers of this discourse and the ‘selected target groups’ are positioned differently (**their vulnerability and hence not ‘our vulnerability’**).

Excerpt 44

...According to the organizers, the campaign focused on some of the city’s **highest risk groups-taxi drivers, commercial sex workers and out of school youth**. (Ethiopian Herald Dec 2, 2003 vol. LX no. 070)

Excerpt 45

Priority in educational efforts will be given to **high risk groups such as commercial sex workers, and their clients, mobile groups (long distance lorry drivers, military personnel), youth group and street children**. (Policy on HIV/AIDS 1998 page 5)

The above excerpts (43-45) are instances of the mainstreaming of ‘risk behaviors’ which may lead to the perception of illness as an individual responsibility. The identities created by this discourse are positioned differently, (**their clients**). In turn, this could deter attention from socio-cultural situations such as poverty and gender issues. In the various HIV/AIDS mainstreaming efforts exerted in Ethiopia, BCC (behavioral change communication) has been overemphasized.

Using stereotyping phrases such as: ‘target group’ and ‘risk groups’ leads to the reinforcement of existing stereotypes and the stigmatization of marginal groups. According to Seidel (1993:176) this has further implications. Thus, mainstreaming of the ‘risk groups’ results from the individualization of responsibility for the disease. In such a way ‘risk groups’ are in particular represented as ‘prostitutes’ and ‘promiscuous’ people. In other words, they are represented as core transmitters of the disease.

This focus on ‘risk groups’ instead of ‘risk behaviors’ facilitates the stigmatization of the groups which are presumed to be members of particular social groupings such as CSW and the youth. However, there are other social groups that exhibit ‘risk behavior’ of sex other than the CSW, mobile workers and youth. Thus, such ways of socially constructing the epidemic reflect naming and blaming way of attribution but they do not reflect the actual reality.

Excerpt 46

Fidelity and/or safer sex practice emanating from the societal cultural norm based on one-to-one relationship in marriage bond **shall** be promoted...(Policy on HIV/AIDS 1998:6)

The use of the modal verb ‘**shall**’ shows this excerpt expresses obligation. The textual organization of the above excerpt is problem-solution. The problem is HIV/AIDS and the suggested solution is the need to pursue a one-to-one bond in marriage. This is an interdiscursive text as it has reference to the traditional practices of the community. As such this text recommends marriage as a remedy for mitigating the spread of the epidemic. Implicit in these linguistic constructions of the epidemic in the above excerpt is the assumption that those who are married are not at risk or they cannot be termed as ‘risk group’ like CSWs. However, the contrary did prove the case as can be seen from the following excerpt:

Excerpt 47

oÃoúq p>|ÄU... o™pÆY oF ç³ »ðw” ¬ú« aÕT Á±@\$(™ÄÜWü ±F« ;ÄT 7 /1997 64”
™F | aÕT 67)

In SNNPS spouses account for the majority of PLWHAs.

This excerpt is antithetical with the suggestion or advice in Ethiopia’s policy response whereby people were encouraged to pursue marriage bond as a solution to halt the spread of the epidemic.

This theme has an underlying implication of socially constructing the victims as erotic. This appears to be a hollow message which is devoid of the socio-economic conditions pertaining to the epidemic. This theme does not explain how CSW can for instance

manage to avoid committing sex without being supplied with resources that can sustain their lives. Perhaps this may work for people who have ample resources at their disposal. However, this does not reflect the actual reality of Ethiopia. This appears to be an example of the influence of the manner in which the disease has been represented in the developed countries.

The social practice instigated by this discourse is that the pandemic is a threat that affects specific social groups in the community whereas the majority of people who do not belong to the so-called ‘risk group’ are safe. This pattern of attribution can affect how those who have not been infected with this pandemic understand its cause and also its route of transmission. If such a discourse is inculcated³⁰ by a given community, the pandemic would be misunderstood and people may assume a false sense of security about immunity to the virus.

4.2.3.3 Poverty

Poverty has been mentioned as another cause of HIV/AIDS in the texts. However, this stands as a stark contrast with the trajectories posited in the texts. The trajectories upheld in the texts emphasized the need to come up with sexual behavioral change. Thus, the texts failed to portray as to how the impact of poverty on vulnerability to the epidemic can be mitigated. In other words, poverty and social factors were overshadowed by biological and behavioral causes.

³⁰ Inculcation when what has been imagined becomes reality. The social construction of the epidemic and descriptions of those afflicted make people have a certain mental image of those afflicted. This mental image may make the community to form a dichotomy between social groups.

Excerpt 48

The fight against HIV/AIDS needs to be treated with shared sense of urgency if our fight against poverty is to be successful. (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008 Page: 5)

In the above excerpt the producers have expressed necessity by positing the fight against HIV/AIDS with the fight against poverty. This excerpt is an **agentless** passive and hence the doers have been evaded. As such interdiscursivity has been used for creating the context in explaining the precondition for the success of the fight against poverty.

Excerpt 49

HIV/AIDS, in turn, **contributes** to the poverty situation of the individual, family and community and the nation at large. Thus HIV/AIDS **creates a vicious** cycle by increasing individual and community **vulnerability** to infection. (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008 :8)(emphasis the researcher)

In this excerpt, the epidemic has been portrayed as an agent affecting all layers of the community. The inanimate agent (HIV/AIDS) has been accorded agency in this excerpt HIV/AIDS, in turn, **contributes** to the poverty and HIV/AIDS **creates a vicious** cycle by increasing vulnerability.

At times contradicting accounts of the role of the government were released. For example in the following two excerpts, the government has been described both as a generous proactive agent and a destitute helpless entity with meager resources.

Excerpt 50

The government has **allocated enormous budgets** to tackle HIV/AIDS.
(Ethiopian Herald, Dec, 6, 2001 Vol. LVIII No.075)

Excerpt 51

HIV/AIDS deepens and worsens poverty, which in turn increases vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. Our response has been dependent on external funding and on **scarce government resource** as well. (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008, page 6)

The above excerpts evoke varied local meanings. Whereas excerpt 50 portrays the government as an able institution in tackling the epidemic (has allocated **enormous budgets** to tackle HIV/AIDS), in excerpt 51, the government has been represented as an incapable institution (dependent on external funding and on **scarce government resource** as well) in this process. In excerpt 51, the global-local relationship is one of subordination of the local to the global.

It is one thing to mention poverty as a cause of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia. However, the trajectory set forward was not cognizant of this pressing situation. The causal link between HIV/AIDS epidemic and poverty was overshadowed by the attention given to sexual behavioral change needed to avoid it in BCC and IEC messages.

As is the case with so called '**risk groups**' such **CSW**, one of the main reasons why people engage in risky sexual behavior generally appears to be economic. The deafening efforts of HIV/AIDS messages via media and other means of communications could

possibly have created the ‘awareness’ needed to perceive the epidemic along with all its means of transmission. However, it is less likely that this would make people whose livelihood is based on commercial sex refrain from their acts.

The implications of the messages in the texts regarding poverty appear to be confusing. The majority of the texts portray the pandemic as disease of ‘life style’ implying that it is a disease resulting from being sexually deviant and also belonging to a certain social group. As a result the major trajectory instigated by the texts is a need to bring about sexual behavioral change as a solution for mitigating the spread of this pandemic. Although poverty has been raised as a cause of the epidemic, the focus on behavioral solutions to halt the spread of HIV/AIDS is incommensurate with the trajectories forwarded.

4.2.4 Responses

In Ethiopia’s HIV/AIDS policies and government newspapers, response is framed along themes such as the **fight against HIV/AIDS, lifestyle changes, treatment and prevention**. The profound remedy suggested was educating the mass through various awareness raising activities. The policies, guidelines, frameworks and government newspapers frequently create subjectivities by emphasizing the good deeds of the government as an institution and undermining and even blaming the community for not showing the commitment needed to avert the tide of HIV/AIDS.

Excerpt 52

Community participation has not been ignited and sustained from within; **rather** it has been imposed from above without complete understanding of the problem and the issues raised by the local communities. This has made our community mobilization superficial and unsustainable; it has contributed to ineffectiveness, misuse of resources and externalization of the problem and the solution. Various assessments have indicated that poor community mobilization and empowerment is one of the weakest links, a serious gap in our response, and an important contributor to our failure. (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008 page 9)(emphasis the researcher)

The above text describes the main reasons as to why the responses thus far have been a fiasco. It is self criticism by the government in which the overall effect of efforts made were not as satisfactory as expected. The cohesive feature of the text is contrast. As such, lack of community's participation is blamed for the failure of the response.

The rhetorical device used in the above excerpt is antithesis. Antithesis is textured using the marker of contrast-'**rather**'. Accordingly, cooperation with government is socially constructed as an aspect of response. The community has been portrayed as opponent of government action. Thus the linguistic constructions implicitly portray antithetical constructions of non-cooperation and lack of engagement which have hampered the process of response. Thus an indication of ideological squares i.e. the positive in-group and negative out-group have also been reflected in the above excerpt.

4.2.4.1 The Fight against HIV/AIDS

This theme constructs HIV/AIDS within the discourse of struggle, reflecting Ethiopia's successful anti-aggression and anti-colonial struggles (interdiscursivity). Ethiopians have the tradition of rallying and uniting when attack from foreign forces occurs. When Ethiopia is under threat, such themes help to strengthen unity and cooperation among Ethiopians. Therefore, this discourse entails the use of specific terms which reflect strong associations (e.g. **struggle, solidarity, unity, sovereignty**). However, these association can be confusing because unlike anti-colonial struggles, there were no clear enemies in the so-called 'fight against HIV/AIDS'. This way of representation gives way to the epidemic to be socially constructed as a site of struggle. In general, the theme 'the fight against HIV/AIDS' invokes the sense of struggle leading to the cropping up of competing perceptions of the pandemic.

Regarding response, there were a number of social constructions of HIV/AIDS in the national discourse. For example, in a-MoH-sponsored song that was sung at Ethiopia's parliament, the epidemic has been compared with colonizing forces to which Ethiopians have never succumbed. However, the implication of this comparison may have had serious repercussions as it leads to misperception of both the epidemic and its victims.

Excerpt 53

>Ó?| >-RQ ¿@wÃëT«! aÜ q>« >«½¬ú Wüîp oþz...«

We (Ethiopians) have not succumbed to any foreign aggressors, how come we remain helpless when this epidemic enters our home.

The implication of such social constructions is that the human body could be taken as an entity to be conquered. Accordingly, political power has been exercised using this discursive theme. In this process, language becomes a tool for the government as an agent to facilitate the construction of specific forms of HIV/AIDS meaning. However, this has serious repercussions on the perception of the community in that PLWHAs may be considered as 'others' in such dominant representations.

Excerpt 54

...the government, NGOs, the youth and every sector of our community **shall join hands in the fight against HIV/AIDS.** (Ethiopian herald, 3 December 2000 Addis Ababa (emphasis the researcher)

Excerpt 55

Roles and responsibilities of the different **actors in the multi-sectoral response of fighting HIV/AIDS** needs to be clearly identified. (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008 page 3)(emphasis the researcher)

Excerpt 56

The legal establishment of HIV/AIDS Control and Prevention Office in 2002 and the launching of multisectoral HIV/AIDS control and prevention programs were some of the major steps forward in the **battle against HIV/AIDS.** (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008 page 3)(emphasis the researcher)

Excerpt 57

Ethiopia taking aggressive measures **against HIV/AIDS.**”(Ethiopian Herald, Dec, 1, 2002 Vol. LIX No. 071) (emphasis the researcher)

Excerpt 58

Deputy PM Calls for an **all-out war against HIV/AIDS.** (Ethiopian Herald, Dec 2, 2002 Vol. LIX No. 071) (emphasis the researcher)

In excerpts 54-58, HIV/AIDS is textured using war invoking phrases. These are: **fighting HIV/AIDS, battle against HIV/AIDS, aggressive measures against HIV/AIDS, an all-out war against HIV/AIDS.** In other words, the in-groups (we) were accorded agency whereas the presumed enemy which is the diseased body has been implicitly portrayed as the ‘other’. Implicit in these linguistic constructions is the crafting of identities that are positioned oppositely.

Moreover, war metaphors promote scientific understandings. The promotion of scientific description of the epidemic is a reflection of the use of language in promoting globalization which is a reflection of the hierarchical function of language. In this process ordinary citizens are expected to take on prevention and caring roles.

Excerpt 59

½™Ü | Âß¿ F«DY | ½™p... ™Ásü ™pÆY« YT Ü | >FĐz | ™Yë?ÎÛ¬Ú« Æİđ GÆOÎÛ«
Á`Õ?@\$ (™ÄÜW ± F« ;ÄT 21/1992 59” ™F | aÖT 69)

The Ethiopian government **will continue providing all support to halt** the spread of HIV/AIDS.(emphasis the researcher)

In this excerpt, the determination of the government in halting the spread of the epidemic is expressed using the modal auxiliary ‘**will**’. As such one of the responses that are salient in Ethiopia’s response to the epidemic was ‘the fight’. This could have been spurred by the wider context invoked following the outbreak of the epidemic. In Ethiopia, the epidemic was immediately compared with colonizers and aggressors whereby, Ethiopia’s proud history of patriotism³¹ and resistance to foreign aggression was often emphasized.

‘**The fight against HIV/AIDS**’ has underlying implication of associating this pandemic with Ethiopia’s proud history of resistance against aggressors and conquerors. This social construction epitomizes the exaggeration of the meaning of the pandemic that may possibly lead to its mystification. Such social constructions portray the human body as the presumed ‘enemy’. Eventually, people may be confused because this social construction conceals the real nature of the pandemic. As such this social construction evokes ideological squares of ‘us’ versus ‘them’. This representation could impact people’s understanding of the epidemic because it implicitly instigate stigma and discrimination that disadvantage PLWHA.

4.2.4.2. Lifestyle Changes

The health communication messages in the selected texts were discursively engaged in creating subjects. As such they positioned stakeholders in different groups. In so doing

³¹ This is an instance of interdiscursivity which according to Fairclough (1989) is the influence of other discourse on a given discourse. The comparison of HIV/AIDS to colonizing forces is a farfetched association which exalt the meaning of the pandemic. Such discourses would rather lead to misperception of the pandemic and exacerbate stigma and discrimination.

they have focused a great deal on ‘risk groups’. However, the messages disseminated lacked clarity regarding ways of changing sexual behavior and how such behaviors could be sustained.

The underpinning theories of health communication used in Ethiopia to create awareness about HIV/AIDS in BCC and IEC messages are Health Belief Model (HBM), AIDS Risk Reduction (ARRM) and the theory of Reasoned Action. As such ABC i.e. (abstinence, being faithful to one’s lover and using condoms) became the recurrent health communication message in various media. Particularly the ABC message was popularized by business agents who promoted condoms. These agents emphasized the C or the use of condoms in this process.

However, the messages of such promotions have had adverse effects on the community as they instigated irrelevant social practices as could be seen from the following excerpt.

Excerpt 60

The themes of the messages **should not have** adverse impact on PLWHA. For example, some materials tend to convey messages with implications that only **those** who drink alcohol and chew chat contract the virus. But this is not the reality. The themes **should** revolve around the steps and possible challenges of changing detrimental behaviors. (Ethiopian Herald, Nov. 17, 2004 vol. LXI no. 058) (emphasis the researcher)

Although the majority of sources and voices (people and organizations who made assertions and comments) were bureaucratic sources, there were some rarely taken

assertions by ordinary people. One of these is the above excerpt. This is a reflection of power relations. As has been noted by Van Dijk (1985) power is based on privileged access to resources of which one is media discourse.

As such this text is an utterance of an ordinary person who is making an observation who is criticising the type of health communication messages. In this excerpt, relational modality has been expressed using the modal verb 'should'. The relationship between the themes of the messages and those who bear the impact is represented by anaphoric expression (**those who drink alcohol**). As such the person has expressed the pragmatic function of advice using the modal 'should'.

The person who made these observations has unequivocally expressed the debilitating effects of the health communication messages. From this excerpt it could be argued that the health communication messages enact stigma and discrimination by creating subjective identities. Furthermore, this excerpt justifies the suggestion that the cognition of the community has been influenced by the social constructions of the epidemic.

Excerpt 61

When HIV/AIDS was first identified in Ethiopia, public health officials **assumed** its spread **could be** halted by informing people about how people could protect themselves from it, and by safeguarding blood supplies. This approach **might have been** successful in communities and organizations with access to information and resources. But the fact that this vast population with low income

which is socially fragmented **has had** little access to accurate information or effective prevention programs, and the virus continued to spread alarmingly.

However, as the epidemic surged and shifted from groups with high risk behavior to the general population especially to the marginalized and the poor, public health professionals as well as the government **realized they needed to better understand** the causes of individual infections and the broader determinants of the pandemic.

They **realized HIV transmission was linked** to specific risky behaviors, but they also realized that these behaviors **were influenced** by societal factors that determined people's vulnerability to infection. **Economic, social and cultural facets of life-such as poverty and powerlessness determine** vulnerability for HIV/AIDS especially for women, children and young adults. Understanding the pandemic in relation to these determinants helped the government to gradually respond better against the disease and understand HIV/AIDS as a national problem requiring arduous efforts to control. (Ethiopian Herald Nov.26 2003 vol. LX no.65)(emphasis the researcher)

The local space time is both past and present though it was predominantly past (**assumed, might have been successful, has had, realized they needed, was linked, were influenced**). Different pragmatic functions have been expressed. This excerpt summarizes the government's poor approach of dealing with this pandemic. In the text failure of the trajectory set for dealing with this epidemic, i.e. the attempt to attribute the epidemic to behavioral and lifestyle has been elaborated. In general, this excerpt makes

it evident that the impacts of this epidemic were compounded by the misunderstanding that surrounded it and particularly its misperception by social agents such as the government.

One of the arguments of this study was that the trajectories set for handling the pandemic was not cognizant of the socio-economic situation of Ethiopia. This has also been reiterated by Barnett and Whiteside (2002), who noted that the pandemic has developed into an international crisis warranting a 'global response'. These scholars have nevertheless underscored that the responses forwarded so far have failed to significantly curb the crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa. They state that the majority of efforts exerted in this region focus on helping people in general and the so-called 'risk group' in particular change their sexual behavior. What has been described as a 'global response' by Barnett and Whiteside (2002) is a reflection of the packages of actions formulated by the developed nations which were suggested as panaceas for every country.

The campaigns against HIV/AIDS were not continuous as they were concentrated only around major occasions such as the commemorations of World AIDS day, the introduction of certain new endeavors. Both the Amharic and English daily newspapers were packed with messages on the pandemic only in the months of November and December. This has also been ascertained by Panos Ethiopia. Sexual behavior change is an endeavor that can be maintained through concerted and continuous efforts. It is not something that can be achieved in occasional advertisements.

ኂ@ፍa|« >«Å| >«`YeX#¬ú«

Y> ™፡፡ÆY H« zYp>; wq½ wÓÁdኂ>/ú\$ Y>™፡፡ÆY ½GYo¬ú ™ F | Óq f ½™፡፡ÆY `« Wü»oT
ነው። ያን ጊዜ በቴሌቪዥንም በሬድዮም የሚነገረው ያስደነግጣል። ወዲያው ግን ይረሳል። አመት
>Y»ü F Ô >፡H >OX@>/ú\$ ™ÄüY ±F« z;XY 4_1991 aÕT 80

I was asked the kind of feeling I have about HIV/AIDS. I answered that I think about the epidemic only when the World AIDS day is commemorated. All that is transmitted via radio and TV during the commemoration of World AIDS day is shocking. **However, the situation would be forgotten shortly afterwards.** I would also forget about the epidemic until the next world AIDS day.(emphasis the researcher)

In this excerpt, the lack of continuity of awareness raising activities is signaled by the marker of opposition ‘**however**’. The source or voice of this excerpt is an ordinary person. Thus this text is not a ‘prescriptive’ discourse given by those who want to talk about imaginary situation; rather it reflects what the community has already enacted (the social practice). The person who made the comment seems to have been convinced these activities should be continuous.

The Social Constructions of Condom in Texts

The way ‘condom’ has been constructed in the texts leads to the perception that it were a commodity without any defect. However, the reality is that condom is not 100% effective as it could be pierced during intercourse. However, condom promotions never raise the

weaknesses of condoms. This is one of the communication practices criticized by critical theorist of communication which they termed, ‘blind reliance on the scientific method and uncritical acceptance of empirical findings’ (Griffin, 2000). The promotions of condom are reflections of the use of language for promoting globalization.

Moreover, in Ethiopia this product has been given names that at times made its effectiveness beyond doubt. For instance, one brand was labeled:

ሕይወት | ብላጽ | HIWOT TRUST

This label is a combination of the Amharic word; ሕይወት ‘hiwot’ which means life, and the English term trust which means a firm belief. So, this is a loaded name which may make people assume that it is a reliable vanguard against HIV/AIDS.

Similarly, the other brand is labeled:

ወቅርታ [ሰዓት] SENSATION

Again it could be argued that this is also a label that makes people comfortable about this commodity because it entails that this brand has extraordinary characteristics of rousing people’s interest and hence the pitfalls of the product have been deliberately hidden.

One of the characteristics of CDA is that it is interested not only in the features that are present in the text, but also those that have been excluded (Fairclough, 1995; Kress and Leeuwen, 2001). In other words the text producers may exclude some aspects of an entity in order to control what subjects know. Applied to the above excerpt this means that

those who promote condoms emphasized only the qualities of condoms excluding their weaknesses deliberately to create a wrong perception of this products among the subjects.

Excerpt 63

...ABC **should** be further explained. The youth **should have** a clear idea to choose the best way of protecting themselves from the pandemic. **Interventions must be tailored** to meet youth characteristics such as age, sex and marital status, social and other contextual issues. (Ethiopian Herald Nov. 17/2004 vol. LXI no. 058)

This excerpt is a reflection of the observation and criticism of the health communication messages by a stakeholder. The interpersonal metafunction (SFL) is used here to express language functions. Thus, auxiliary verbs have been employed to express different pragmatic functions such as advice and obligation. This excerpt is a complaint by an ordinary citizen. As such the person has made his/her observations of the problems of the approach of dealing with this pandemic. The excerpt implies that the ABC message lacks clarity (ABC **should** be further explained), that messages are not cognizant of socio-economic factors (**Interventions must be tailored...**).

In the ABC messages of health communication, the focus was on the third component i.e. ‘using condoms’ because in most cases this approach was commodified by corporations that promote condoms. As such, the corporations implicitly suggested using condoms as an ideal remedy in the fight against HIV/AIDS. In due processes condom was socially constructed as a vanguard against the pandemic rather than being taken as an alternative.

Excerpt 64

Condom is overemphasized. **But** talking about a life time partner is more important than providing condom as a choice. (Ethiopian Herald Nov. 17/2004 vol. LXI no. 058) (emphasis the researcher)

The above excerpt is antithetical in that the adversative conjunction ‘**but**’ has been used to contrastively posit talking about a life time partner to emphasizing condom use. Nevertheless, the corporations that produce condoms engage in promoting this product in ways that confuse the users. The benefits of such promotions are immense as the global market opens its door to such commodities. This process will lead to the producers amassing huge profits.

Excerpt 65

™«Ä«Æ Î±±½¢«ÇH GYZ¬b¿ XÄHÕ ÁÎTFÎ”@\$ ¢«ÇH Y?>™|ðP >«Ãë>Ï.../ú /úÉú
½Gû@™ÁÉ| F@>| |™>¬ú\$ Á; ow>Á™þÆY ½>H >Gû>ú ¬ÁH ðT: | >G¿ÆTp#¬ú
½@q@q É¬ú ½GûWÔ#¬ú\$ Y>±ü; ½GûW?>ì|« GYZ¬b¿°... GÓþÉú ÕP ÁFY>”@\$
(™ÄüWü ±F« z;XY 4_1991 58” aÕT 80)

I will be taken by surprise when I listen to some promotions of condom. Some of these promotions would seem to suggest **as if** people do not have to fear HIV/AIDS because there is condom as a reliable shield. I think this will mislead those people who are skeptical of the existence of HIV/AIDS. Therefore, it’s better if these promotions are scrutinized.(emphasis the researcher)

The subjunctive mood is used here to describe condom (**as if people do not have to fear HIV/AIDS because there is condom**) suggesting that it has been misrepresented. What can be inferred from the above excerpt is that condom has been socially constructed in such a way that the community shall develop the sense of taking it as a reliable shield against this pandemic. The promotions of condom have portrayed it as though it could protect the spread of the virus totally. However, this does not reflect the actual reality of condoms. Such messages should have equally expounded the weaknesses as well.

This is an indication of power relations which according to Boli and Thomas (1997) leads to the creation of markets. These scholars termed this process, 'sociological institutionalism' which results in the commodifying of corporate products. Condom is a commodity produced by limited corporations. These corporations try to get their voice heard through indirect means that lead to the creation of a culture that gives high regard for scientifically manufactured commodities.

However, from the outset, Ethiopians were skeptical of the effectiveness of condoms. This could be realized by considering how people in Ethiopia doubted the effectiveness of condoms and their suspicion of condoms themselves as being contaminated by the virus. This could be attributed to the propaganda around during the cold war in which Western products and ideas were cursed. Ethiopia used to be in the socialist bloc which was skeptical of Western ideas and inventions. This could be seen as a reflection of ideology.

The texts suggested that behavioral change will help fight AIDS as reflected in the following excerpts. However, such texts are reductionists and devoid of the actual reality on the ground such as the socio-economic situation.

Excerpt 66

The youth **shall avoid risky behaviors** that increase vulnerability to HIV/AIDS.

(Ethiopian Herald, Dec,2, 1999 Vol. LVI No. 070 (emphasis the researcher)

Behavioral factors are important in disease prevention. However, behavioral factors may not be taken as the panacea in reversing the tide of HIV/AIDS without particular attention to socioeconomic factors. According to Barnett and Whiteside (2002) it rather contributes to stigma which thwarts HIV/AIDS mitigation efforts. However, similar to the other factors of cause, life style change was overshadowed in mainstreaming and awareness creation activities using strong media focus on medical and behavioral solutions that could move attention away from broader responses.

Lifestyle change as a theme in the current study focuses on helping the target group come up with sexual behavioral change. This notion may outwardly sound natural; however, it has the implication of blaming the ‘others’ or victims for it entails that those that are infected already exhibited ‘risky’ and ‘uncontrollable’ sexual behavior. This is an indication of the manner in which positive self-identity is socially constructed and those ‘others’ or PLWHAs are negatively portrayed by government officials.

Consequently, this theme moves the attention away from the contextual factors that contribute to the spreading of the epidemic such as poverty and gender imbalance.

Echoing sexual behavioral change does not capacitate people sustain the desired behavior unless their socio-economic problems are solved. Changing sexual behavior is easier said than done (McKee et al, 2004).

This pattern of attribution could affect the manner in which the community understands the pandemic and leads to the formation of a false sense of security about immunity to the virus. However, this does not reflect the actual reality as no social group is potentially out of the reach of the pandemic.

4.2.4.3 Treatment

There were obfuscating social constructions of HIV/AIDS regarding ‘treatment’ in Ethiopia’s response. The epidemic has been socially constructed as a disease which can never be put under control by using any sort of treatment.

Excerpt 67

HIV/AIDS has **no cure**. (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008, page 9) (emphasis the researcher)

Excerpt 68

This **deadly epidemic without curative drugs or protective vaccine, has hit the country** hard. (Policy on anti-retroviral, 2002:2) (emphasis the researcher)

There is a frequent reference in the texts to HIV/AIDS as having “**no cure**”. This link between the two phrases further mystifies the disease. In Ethiopia’s HIV/AIDS policy from the outset, ‘treatment’ meant the treatment of opportunistic infections. However, in 2002 the Ethiopian government introduced ARDs although its implementation was

delayed by one more year. The government formulated, “Policy on anti-retroviral drugs supply and use” to oversee the implementation of the treatment.

ARDs (anti-retroviral drugs) are recommended as a kind of treatment for prolonging the lives of PLWHA. They have been in use since the late 1990s in the developed world. Perhaps ARDs may be the viable solutions to prolong the lifespan of PLWHAs elsewhere. However, they were not mentioned in Ethiopia’s HIV/AIDS policy which was formulated and implemented in 1998. This could be attributed to the high cost of these drugs among other things. For example, Ethiopia has not yet achieved 100% ARD supply even to date.

Moreover, ARVs were socially constructed in the selected texts in ways that lead to doubting their efficiency as their toxicity and compliance have been emphasized as can be seen from the following excerpts:

Excerpt 69

›ÆG| GR±GûÇ >«Éü 0] z¬ú« ½GûÇY¬ÐÆ FÆ:Éü | ™@WWRH\$ ½GûÇR³ F¬ú >Y» H«
 >«Ã<Æ G« ™¬úf | >/ú>úH FÓ«`e ÁoÉ@! (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 29_1994 61” ™F |
 aÕT 89)

So far there **is no curative drug** for the epidemic; the only treatment around is life prolonging drug **though nobody knows how long it would prolong!** It’s better to be careful. (emphasis the researcher)

In the above excerpt, the epidemic has been constructed as a disease which has no cure. The excerpt reflects the skepticism surrounding ARDs (**though nobody knows how long it would prolong!**). In other words, it shows the social practice pertaining ARDs was one of suspicion. This excerpt has a pragmatic function of warning.

Excerpt 70

...**even if the advantages** of the drugs when appropriately used **have been established beyond any shadow doubt**, they have also **frequent adverse effects** and **other problems**. First of all they can **never eradicate** the virus from the body; hence they have to be taken lifelong. (Policy on anti-retroviral drugs supply, 2002:3) (emphasis the researcher)

In this excerpt, the disadvantages of the drugs are contrasted to their advantage by the subordinating connector of concession-**even if**. In the first sentence the **agentless passive** is used and as such the doer has been evaded. However, it could be read between the lines (that science is the agent). The sentence is paradoxical in that something portrayed as having advantages which are ‘established beyond any shadow doubt’ is also portrayed in the same sentence as having frequent adverse effects.

Excerpt 71

In addition, the drug regimens **are complicated, require high degree of adherence, they interact with other drugs, food and recreational beverages, therefore**, the compliance by patients, in particular under our circumstances is exceedingly low. Poor compliance means **emergence of viruses resistant** and cross-resistant to the drugs. **This is a disaster not only for the individual** user

but also for the community because of increased circulation drug resistant strains of the virus. (Policy on anti-retroviral drugs supply, 2002:3) (emphasis the researcher)

Different cohesive markers have been employed in the above excerpt. In the first sentence, **therefore**, shows why compliance by patients in Ethiopia is low. The correlative '**not only...but also**' is used for emphasizing the likely outcome of noncompliance. Implicit in the social constructions of ARDs in the above excerpt is warning the community of the consequences of non-compliance to the drugs.

Excerpt 72

In September 1987, **the AIDS Control Program was established** at a department level in the MOH, with the responsibility of coordinating the national prevention and control program. Subsequently Short and Midterm Plans for control were developed (1987-1989). **In 1998 The National HIV/AIDS Policy was issued**, followed by the development in 1999 of the Strategic Framework for the National Response. **Both documents served as the basis** for the expanded and scaled up multi- sectoral response. **However, the national response was slow, interrupted, and failed to keep up the momentum required for a sustainable and comprehensive prevention and control program."** (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008, pages 2- 3)(emphasis the researcher)

This excerpt outlines the procedures of events accomplished by the government in responding to the pandemic. It indicates that the strategic framework draws from other

preceding texts (intertextual). In this excerpt, '**however**' as a marker of contrast has been used to describe the pitfalls of the response thus far.

Excerpt 73

In Ethiopia the number of PLHA is high; **therefore**, the demand for the drug is high. **However**, because the country is among the least developed countries with very low per capita, taking into account the high price of the drug, **it becomes very difficult to meet** this high demand without concerted efforts of the government and other stakeholders. (Policy on anti-retroviral drugs supply, 2002:3) (emphasis the researcher)

The rhetoric organization of the above excerpt is cause-effect relationship. As such this text justifies the involvement of several stakeholders for the provision of this product in Ethiopia. In other words in this text, the global-national relation has been expressed through subordination. The contrast between the high demand for the drug and the low economic status of the country is marked by '**however**'.

Excerpt 74

Nurture international relationship diligently, **in order to strengthen and expand the continuous supply and use** of antiretroviral drugs (Policy on anti-retroviral drugs supply and use 2002 page 5)(emphasis the researcher)

In the above excerpt, the global-national time space is that of subordination (...**nurture international relationship in order to strengthen and expand the continuous**

supply...). The condition for continuously supplying ART is based on the countries relationship with donor countries.

In this excerpt the identity of the Ethiopian government and the level of its action (agency) are portrayed along with the identity of the international organization (transitivity- ideational metafunction in SFL).

Critically considering the discourses surrounding this pandemic enables one to realize the involvement of the international agents in dictating courses of action. This implies that power differential has had its own impact on the manner in which this pandemic is understood and acted upon.

Although ART was introduced in Ethiopia in 2003, it was not for free. To make things worse, only a limited number of PLWHA could afford to pay for the treatment at the beginning- an indication of power differential i.e. the haves and have-nots do not have equal access to it. Yet the overwhelming majority of PLWHA had to desperately wait for the government to provide it for free which happened too late. As such the epidemic had claimed the lives of thousands in this process. Ethiopia started distributing free anti-retroviral drugs in 2005 (UNAIDS, 2007). However, it was only limited number of PLWHAS that were eligible to receive it.

Among the salient goals of CDA research is its attempt to highlight the relationship between power and discourse by studying how power is represented in current discursive instances and how it can contribute to long-term shaping of discursive practices. According to Myer et.al (2003) reliance on ARDs promotes the medicalization of

HIV/AIDS. Accordingly such responses are important in prolonging the lifespan of PLWHAs; however, neglecting socio-economic issues makes these responses unsustainable given the lack of resources and infrastructure in poor countries like Ethiopia.

This theme ‘treatment’ is socially constructed in the selected policies and government newspapers paradoxically. The epidemic has often times been represented as ‘incurable’. As a result, this theme in the early days of the pandemic meant only the treatment of opportunistic infections and hence not the epidemic itself. However, in the latter days, the theme has also been linked with ARVs and ARDs.

So it could be argued that the way this theme has been socially constructed was rather obfuscating. While the epidemic is referred to as ‘incurable’ and ‘without cure’ it was also associated with some kind of treatment. Moreover, treatment narratives often portrayed ARVs negatively by emphasizing their toxicity and the strict compliance needed. Such social constructions of ARVs implicitly portray these drugs as doubtful and unreliable. So, it could be argued that the social constructions of ARVs evoke confusion among the masses.

4.2.4.4 Prevention

The major trajectory set forward regarding this theme is education. Hence, great deals of prevention campaigns were launched in order to help the community to come up with sexual behavioral change.

Excerpt 75

IEC services **shall be provided** to raise awareness and to promote appropriate STD care seeking behavior (Policy on HIV/AIDS, 1998: 28).(emphasis the researcher)

Excerpt 76

Efforts **shall be made** to create self-supportive and income generating opportunities for people living with AIDS as need arises (Policy on HIV/AIDS, 1998:31)(emphasis the researcher)

Excerpt 77

የጤና አገልግሎት ለሕዝቡ ለማድረግ ማድረግ አለባቸው። (ፖሊሲ ላይ)።
18_1992 59” ፊልም | ለፖሊሲ 67

Care **must be given** to the victims of HIV/AIDS and their family members. Addis Zemen hidar 18/1992 no. 67(emphasis the researcher)

The textual device used in all the above excerpts, (75-77), is the **agentless** passive. In CDA, the **agentless** passive is one of the textual features that serve to elusively present a scenario by reducing the sentence. As such in these excerpts the sentences are reduced in the sense that the agents are missing. Moreover, in excerpts 80 and 82 there is no reference to specific time- tense is also missing.

The presumed weapon employed in the war against HIV/AIDS from the early days to 2002 was predominantly awareness creation among the public about HIV/AIDS with a

greater focus on prevention and BCC messages. As such it could be argued that behavior change was emphasized irrespective of the wider socio-economic and other structural changes.

The major weapon meant for thwarting the spread of HIV/AIDS is education- through awareness raising activities. In the texts under consideration, prevention is framed along BCC messages that implicitly attribute the pandemic to erotic sexual behavior. Moreover, they also tend to associate it to certain behaviors such as drinking alcohol and chewing chat. However, these social constructions do not reflect the actual reality of the pandemic as they fail to account for more contextual issues pertaining to the epidemic.

HIV/AIDS is a social problem facing this generation as a whole. It is not a disease that can be controlled by controlling the behavior of certain risk groups. Different social groups are portrayed in dichotomous ways as susceptible and safe regarding the pandemic. Nevertheless, every social group is in a constant threat of falling into the trap of the pandemic. Therefore, it could be seen that such social constructions portray the pandemic in ways that do not reflect its actual reality.

4.2.5 Stigma and Discrimination

The newspapers are awash with messages on HIV/AIDS particularly in the months of November and December. This perhaps has to do with the commemoration of World AIDS day in December. I have pointed out under section 3.2.2 (sampling technique) the study conducted by Panos Ethiopia has also confirmed the same thing.

Excerpt 78

o™pÆY o]z >½Oîë ¿>¬ú« oqTÆ I w ½Gû@]î« ÁWÓ®@\$ ™p... ™Ásü ™pÆY GûYÓüT
wÃTÑ F z½| ½>o| H\$ (™} ±¬úÄü î|z#¬ú ½wYîÑ; :?í) (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 25_19 aÖT
73)

While many people are perishing of AIDS, pneumonia is given as the **pretext**.
HIV/AIDS should not be kept secret. (Ato. Zewdu Getachew president of
DOWN of HOPE) (emphasis the researcher)

This excerpt is a presupposition. The content of the subordinate clause, **while many people are perishing of AIDS**, is presupposed i.e. is considered a reality that AIDS is the cause for deaths. The word, ‘**pretext**’ also implies that the community has developed a wrong attribution. The above excerpt is a reflection of the inculcation³² of discourses of denial of the HIV/AIDS epidemic by the society.

This excerpt is an instance of the inculcation of the misperception of the pandemic. It shows that the predominant social practice enacted by the community at that time was one of misunderstanding the pandemic. The disease has been represented in the discourse of denial and silence which in the case of this pandemic has severe repercussions for it allows the epidemic to spread at alarming rate.

³² Inculcation when what has been imagined becomes reality. The social construction of the epidemic and descriptions of those afflicted make people have a certain mental image of those afflicted. This mental image may make the community to suspect some people of acquiring the epidemic because of their physical appearance and alienate them as a result.

The discourse of denial has been one of the social practices which had had a tremendous effect on the manner in which the community handled the HIV/AIDS. This discourse has been one of the major discourses regarding this epidemic for a considerable time as communities have opted not to raise and discuss HIV/AIDS. As such the pandemic might have got conducive environment to spread at an alarming rate. However, the question that should be raised here is: ‘why did communities opt to be silent about the epidemic?’ A possible answer would be that there were misperceptions of the epidemic. In turn, the misperceptions might have been the result of a wrong way of attribution.

One of the voices and sources in this newspaper was Dr. Tekeste Kebede (see appendix 4) who put down the spread of the pandemic to two reasons, viz. the misperception of the community and hence the secrecy surrounding this disease. This implies that the social practice instigated is the misperception that surrounds this pandemic wherein a myth has been developed regarding it.

Excerpt 79

; qOWWoú Y>™pÆY ¿>¬ú« Ð«²oþ >GYî | »¬Ôx ½?` wX| ñ ÁÓoc@\$ (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT
22_1991 58” aÕT 69)

The youth has to play the key **role in order to raise the level of public perception** of HIV/AIDS and its patients. (emphasis the researcher)

In this excerpt, the producer of this text expresses the obligation of the youth. Implicit in these linguistic constructions is that the prevailing perception of the community thus far has been constrained by misunderstanding (key **role in order to raise the level of public**

‘Were you the one whom we saw teaching yesterday?’

‘Yes’

‘Is it true?’

‘What?’

‘That you said you have contracted the virus?’

Being surprised by his question, I said, ‘Why do I say I have caught it if I haven’t caught the virus?’

One of them, perhaps the one who looks the most affluent among them, well-to-do, and well dressed said, **‘perhaps because you wanted to teach the people and perhaps because you make money out of it’**

‘Are you educated?’ I inquired, and he replied, ‘yes, I am a public servant’.

‘Let alone a public servant, you don’t seem someone who has ever been to school’

‘How?’ he asked,

‘Tomorrow, I want you to do what I did yesterday and take the money. Will you agree?’

‘You got me, I’m sorry. Forgive me for my innocence.’(emphasis the researcher)

The first sentence of this excerpt is in the mode of grammatical question. This excerpt is reminiscent of the state of people's perceptions of the pandemic in those days. It reflects the level of misperception wherein denial has been the pattern of attribution. It appears that the one who posed the question has been subject to a lot of myths regarding the disease. He denies its existence (**perhaps because you wanted to teach the people and perhaps because you make money out of it**).

The interviewee has portrayed the interviewer as someone who is the most affluent of the group. He is a public servant, which implies he has got some level of formal education. Presumably what this entails is that as someone who is educated, the interviewer should be well informed regarding the epidemic, and that unlike others who are not educated, he should realize the situation of the pandemic. However, the person appears to have misperceived the situation of the pandemic because he thinks that those who teach the community about the severity of this pandemic do so for making income- not because they have experienced its impacts (**You got me, I'm sorry. Forgive me for my innocence**). In general, this text implies that the misperception of the pandemic was irrespective of the socio-cultural level of the community.

Excerpt 81

Most of those **infected already are unaware of their status** and so **represent a pool capable of transmitting** the virus to new uninfected individuals, **sooner or later all those infected will eventually develop AIDS and die as a result.**
(Policy on HIV/AIDS 1998:1)

The social construction of those infected in the above excerpt evokes fear. The identity of those who are infected is crafted in three ways. First of all they have been represented as **a pool capable of transmitting** the virus to new uninfected individuals. This sentence implicitly makes the community to beware of the danger the infected can inflict. The social construction, ‘sooner or later **all those infected will eventually develop AIDS**’ emphasizes the stages of the epidemic; **and die as a result** expresses the certainty of death for these people. Certainty is expressed using modals ‘**will**’ and verb to be, ‘**are unaware of their statuses**. ‘**As a result**’ is used as a connector to show the cause-effect link between acquiring the virus and dying. In general, stigmatizing representations often emphasize that HIV/AIDS is associated with death.

The stigma of fear is a theme that is instigated in stories that described the fear and anxiety surrounding the pandemic. There were many stories that indicated that there was fear surrounding HIV/AIDS. This might have helped prolong the misperceptionin about the epidemic. Eventually, this could have resulted in less disclosure and paved the way for creation of conducive environments for the epidemic to spread at high rate.

Excerpt 82

Found to be positive after a blood test for HIV, an employee who has been working in a government organization for 18 years **innocently told his friend about his HIV status**. He then found himself fired from his job. (Ethiopian Herald 10 Nov 2004 vol. LXI no. 052)(emphasis the researcher)

Excerpt 83

Once there was an employee who has been working in a certain organization for 2 years with his 22 colleagues. **Suspecting that he could be infected with HIV/AIDS, he was forced to take a blood test and was found to be infected with the virus.** Then he was suspended from the job. He asked why, but the response was unbearable. **The employers told him that they prefer losing one employee to losing the other 21 employees.** (Ethiopian herald Nov. 10, 2003 vol. LXI No. 052)(emphasis the researcher)

The rhetoric organization of both excerpts is cause-effect relationship. The cause is acquiring the virus or even being suspected to have acquired the virus and the effect is being stigmatized and discriminated. In both excerpts, the identities of those infected with HIV/AIDS were transformed. As such PLWHAs were portrayed as outsiders and dangerous to the in-group. The above excerpts are instances of the enacted meanings of the pandemic. In other words these excerpts express the fate of those infected.

These excerpts also make it evident that in those days, PLWHAs couldn't get genuine friends with whom they could share secrets. Moreover, PLWHAs were forced to take blood test against what is stipulated in Ethiopia's policy on HIV/AIDS (1998:7 sub article 3.3 -No person shall be forced to undergo mandatory HIV screening...). Put another way the 'thought style' of the community regarding this pandemic was misperception of the actuality of the epidemic. As a result, the fate of those infected was stigma and discrimination (the social practice).

The identities of PLWHAs were negatively transformed after they had acquired the epidemic. In this process, the PLWHA were psychologically affected as they lost the sense of being important members in the community. As a result, PLWHAs lost social status and became an object of ridicule in the community.

Excerpt 84

አጠገብ መጣና አንገቱን ደፋቶ ዝም አለ። ምን ሆነክ ።

$$F x; Y \supset \neg \dot{u} !$$

እናትህ ኤድስ አለባት እናትህ ኤድስ አለባት አሉ-\$ >€«ዘ []—...አለና አንገጣውን ዘረገፈው።

ምን ብዮ ላፀናናው እኛላለሁ

3 H 0?#¬ú w®#¬ú ™@»ú | \$

™« , ™ℙÆY ™™>q] >«Å >ÆY ™ℙÆY ™™>q— አለና ጠየቀኝ። አንገሩ አንደ ፡00\$ ዐፎ፤z—ህ —YÊ
 ™YFOFT»|| ! @o፡ ዐÖH wOïï\$ @Ê »tÄOWú Æä <Æ\$ (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 1997 63” ™F |
 aÖT 63)

My son came to me in despair. I asked him why he was in despair. He kept silent.

When I asked him if children had hit him, he said,

‘My friends said, your mother has caught AIDS- your mother caught AIDS. They deserted me’. Then he could not control his tears. How could I console him?

‘Forget them.’

‘Have you caught AIDS? Have I also caught AIDS?’ he asked.

On the morrow I got him diagnosed. I rejoiced, as my son was ‘free’ of the virus.

This excerpt shows the situation PLWHAs find themselves in those days. Accordingly, it can be seen that PLWHAs have become helpless due in particular to the way the community ostracizes and ridicules them.

Excerpt 85

ፕላ... ፕላሲ_ፕላይስን ለመቆጣጠር የሚደረገው ጥረት ሁለት ፈተናዎች ገጥመውታል። በአንድ በኩል
 oo]z-ú F ረ³ @e ½<E ½DqOYİ Đ«'E| eÔ| -úÓ| wÃTÑ Á-WÄ@! o>? o»ú@
 የመገናገፍ ብቷል። « ½GúYw?@ì | F@> i | ;qOwWou o]w”-ú«H o]z-ú«H >EÄüĈÎ@
 የሚያደርጉ ናቸው። ፕላሲY ±F« ;ÄT 25_19 aÖT 73

The endeavor to control HIV/AIDS has faced two challenges. **On the one hand, contracting this epidemic is presumed to be the punishment for promiscuity.** On the other hand, the mass media **disseminate messages that make the public alienate both the person infected with this pandemic and the pandemic itself.** (emphasis the researcher)

This excerpt implies that the impact of HIV/AIDS was compounded by wrong attribution following its misrepresentation in the media. In other words, this excerpt implies that the mass media have been propagating misperceptions regarding the disease. The social practice instigated by this excerpt is that the pandemic is being misperceived. The excerpt implies that the pattern of attribution of the disease is not cognizant of its actuality. Such social constructions of the epidemic result in exacerbation of the situation of the epidemic.

Excerpt 86

-Á±U FeÃY ½wλ4·γU አባል ናቸው። ሻይረሱ አንዳለባቸው Ḃ-a ÈHU ÑOoþüz#¬ú
 አንዳንለላቸው ይናገራሉ። የቤ| aXaY F®Y ™@f>úH! FãÉÉ oþ| wÓeF¬ú Wü¬Óú
 ÑOoþz#¬ú ¬ú: >«ÃGüÃìo| ™Wz¬úW®@\$ (™ÃüY ±F« ;ÄT 25 aÖT 73)

Wzo.Mekdes is the member of Tesfagoh (Dawn of Hope). Ever since her neighbors **learned that she has contracted the virus, they have stigmatized her. As a result, she could not share** any material with her neighbors, the moment she gets out of latrine, her neighbors usually splash water. (emphasis the researcher)

The rhetorical organization of the above excerpt is cause-effect relationship. The cause is the realization that a certain person has acquired the virus and the effect is stigmatization of the afflicted. The marker of result, (**as a result**) has been used as a cohesive device to show the causal link between acquiring the epidemic and stigmatization.

This excerpt is a reflection of the inculcated³³ discourses in the community. In other words the community's 'mental picture' or 'thought style' of the pandemic has been marred by misperception. This misperception can be reflected in not knowing the ways the epidemic can be transmitted - oþ| aXaY F®Y ™@f>úH! FãÄÉ oþ| wÓeF¬ú Wü¬Óú

ŃOoþz#¬ú ¬ú: >«ÃGüÃìo| (As a result, she could not share any material with her

³³ Inculcated when what has been imagined becomes reality. The social construction of the epidemic and descriptions of those afflicted make people have a certain mental image of those afflicted. This mental image might have made the community to suspect some people of acquiring the epidemic because of their physical appearance.

neighbors, the moment she gets out of latrine, her neighbors usually splash water).

In turn, this misperception has resulted in stigmatizing those afflicted.

The above excerpt is an instance of stories that highlight the difficulties that await PLWHAs. Accordingly, this theme subsumes several types of stigma. There were many discriminatory natures of the pandemic that are associated with the assumption that there are certain so-called ‘risk groups’. Therefore, this realization itself implies that there are vulnerable groups which would be labeled powerless because of their powerlessness in avoiding it.

Excerpt 87

An employee who **has been working** in a certain firm for quite a long time lost his wallet. **Those who got the wallet happened to find his HIV blood test certificate which shows that he is HIV positive.** They immediately reported to the executive of the firm **and he was suspended at once.** (Ethiopian Herald Nov. 10, 2004 Vol. LXI No. 052)(emphasis the researcher)

In the above excerpt, two identities and subjectivities are crafted. These are people who are ‘free’ from the epidemic and those who are infected with the virus. These two variously positioned groups employ different strategies. Those who are ‘free’ from the virus, exhibit a consistent ‘thought style’ of stigmatizing those ‘others’ who are infected with the virus (**he was suspended at once**). Implicit in the above excerpt is the counter strategy of those afflicted by the pandemic against the so-called ‘fight against HIV/AIDS’. As such the excerpt implies that PLWHAs had to hide their sero-status in

order to avoid ostracism by the community (**Those who got the wallet happened to find his HIV blood test certificate which shows that he is HIV positive**). In other words, the social practice in those days did not encourage exposure of PLWHAs.

Excerpt 88

HIV infection bears **persistent stigma, making it hard to handle openly**.

(Guidelines for Implementation of the antiretroviral Therapy programme in Ethiopia)(emphasis he researcher)

The expressions that represent the epidemic in the above excerpt portray it as a catastrophe (**bears persistent stigma and making it hard to handle openly**). In this excerpt nominalization is used for expressing presupposition. As such the agent of the action has been evaded.

In the selected texts, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has been portrayed in ways that implicitly lead to stigma and discrimination. Labeling certain social groups as ‘risky’ is itself a reflection of stigma and discrimination. This is a powerful theme because the realization that there are so-called ‘risk groups’ implies that there are vulnerable groups which would be labeled as powerless because of their failure to avoid the pandemic.

Moreover, the personification of HIV/AIDS thus entails a discourse of war against HIV/AIDS. In war groups are naturally positioned in opposition. In the case of HIV/AIDS, mankind is positioned in opposition to the threat of an active subject. The personification of HIV/AIDS leads to stigma as the disease encompasses additional meaning. Had HIV/AIDS been socially constructed as a pandemic of infectious disease,

everyone would have been equally liable to it. Nevertheless, its personification as a **killer** results in portraying specific people and behaviors as allies of the pandemic or the enemy.

4.2.6 The Gendered Constructions of HIV/AIDS

In the study's time line, women experienced a great deal of stigma and discrimination from the social construction of HIV/AIDS and the labeling of the so-called 'risk group'. For instance, pregnant women were usually obliged to undergo testing for HIV/AIDS in VCT centers. Accordingly, pregnancy and breastfeeding were assumed to be 'risky' for unborn children. In the process women were assumed to be the 'risk group'. It is presumed women would infect the unborn children. This seemingly 'good advice' implicitly creates dichotomous identities: women as transmitters and the unborn children as innocent victims.

The asymmetry in gender relations has been reflected in the selected documents. For instance in framework for multi-sectoral response (2004-2008) the following has been noted:

Excerpt 89

The social, political and economic status of women as well as the **attitude** and **perceived role of women in a society** is an important determinant factor of collective vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. The transmission and **impact of HIV/AIDS is skewed towards women**. Hence, any intervention in HIV/AIDS has to be gender sensitive. **Women must be actively involved in prevention**

care and support activities. (Strategic framework for multi-sectoral response 2004-2008, page 6) (emphasis the researcher)

In the above excerpt processes have been nominalized (**vulnerability, transmission, prevention**) and as result the agents have been evaded. The first sentence is the implicit reference made to patriarchal organization of the society as the cause for the experience of women. This sentence indicates the hegemonic discourses in Ethiopia- that women do not have the same social, political and economic power as men in the society. The construction '**perceived role of women in a society**' indicates that women are not assigned important roles. The second sentence in this excerpt is a presupposition.

The last sentence is an obligation that outlines what women should do. However, it still assigns women the roles of **prevention, care and support**. The modality in this sentence (using the modal verb 'must') imply women's obligation. As such this sentence implicitly portrays women as 'risk group' for they are being told that they should involve actively in prevention. In other words it means that women did not actively involve in prevention activities thus far.

Excerpt 90

It is obvious that women in our country **live** in poverty and have relatively low social status. What is more saddening is that reports **indicate** infection rates among young girls are five times higher than those with young men. Most infections in young women are believed to be a result of unprotected sex and **reflects** a power imbalance that limits women's ability to negotiate or control

sexual interactions, especially older men. Biological, cultural and socio-economic conditions **contribute** to women's greater vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. (Ethiopian Herald Nov. 26/2003 vol. LX no. 65)

The local space- time is represented as present. The verbs are simple present (timeless present expressed using: **live, indicate, reflects and contribute**). In the last sentence, nominalization is used and it evades the **agent- women's greater vulnerability**.

The above text is a reflection of power asymmetry that is prevalent in Ethiopia between men and women. Implicit in the linguistic construction of the situation of women in Ethiopia is the **patriarchal hegemony**. In other words the relationship between women and men is subordination.

Excerpt 91

ሴቶችና ልጃገረቶች ለኤድሂ ትግል ማቆራረጥ ዘመናዊ የሆኑ ሰነዶችን በመጠቀም ማስታወሻ ማድረግ ይቻላል፡፡
 |»úO| >üWÓ¬ú >«ÄGûÎp óS³Ä«| ÐTG ™YZ¬a\$ (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 22_1997 64”
 ™F | aÖT 82)

Because women and girls are more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, prevention activities should be given more attention. (emphasis the researcher)

This excerpt is a **presupposition**. According to Fairclough, (1989) presuppositions are cued in texts by subordination and in the excerpt, the first clause is subordinated to the second by the subordinating conjunction ‘but’). The rhetoric organization of this text is reason and result. Implicit in these linguistic constructions is that women and girls have

increased possibility of vulnerability to the epidemic. In the excerpt absent entities in the comparison are less vulnerable to the epidemic. As such nominalization helps in evading the entities with whom women and girls are being compared. So, it can be argued that the excerpt portrays women and girls as transmitters of the epidemic.

Excerpt 92

Wp } ... RX#¬ú« >«ÄüÓqa Ö0 | >½wÃ0Î £¬ú\$

Wp } ... »™üñኖ ሚ. ጥገ-£ | w?`¬ú RX#¬ú« »™p/£Y o]z >«ÄüÓqa Ö0 | oG/£0Ð ?Á
F <£ú« ½äO-ኤች ኤይቪ. /ኤድስ የሴቶች በሄራዊ ጥምረት አስታወቀ። አዲስ ዘመን ህዳር 30/1997
64” ™ F | aÖT 90

Efforts are being exerted to help women protect themselves.

The national coalition of women against HIV/AIDS has reported **that it is exerting efforts to curb the economic dependence of women** so as to enable them protect themselves from the virus. (emphasis the researcher)

The rhetorical organization of this excerpt is subordination, i.e. the subordination of women to men. In this excerpt, the impact of patriarchal organization of the society is only implicitly reflected as nominalization has been used for evading it (**economic dependence- but dependence on whom?**). The text holds that women are under oppression from men and that that has impacted women’s endeavor to protect themselves from this epidemic.

From these discourses it appears that women are particularly more susceptible to this pandemic because of their physiology, their economic dependence on men, their lower status at home and their collectively lower education levels. Consequently, there are a lot of HIV/AIDS prevention endeavors that target women.

The above excerpts (no. 90-92) have implications of power relations. In turn, these power relations reinforce gendered discourses. As such, those afflicted by HIV/AIDS are presumed as the 'other' or 'transmitter'. Implicitly, this leads to the categorization of people. Some groups become the inner group leading the prevention activities while others become the infectors and hence the ones against whom the war is waged (others). This discourse also dictates women to take responsibility in terms of prevention and care. Nevertheless, these categorizations are hegemonic as they position women as **care-givers** and as the **sole bearers of responsibility**.

Although the outcomes of such endeavors in mitigating the spread of the pandemic should not be underestimated, their use of gender-specific approach is contentious for its implied meaning of blaming women. It seems that such campaigns are underpinned by the WID (Women in Development) framework which treats men and women as separate groups with unrelated problems. These separations result in men and women failing to address the problem of communication between them in making common decisions about their shared sexual health.

Excerpt 94

AIDS- men make a difference.(emphasis the researcher)

In this excerpt, men are the agents for the proposed action-making a difference. Implicit in the above excerpt is that **men and not women can make the difference.**

The hegemonic gendered constructions of HIV/AIDS can be made evident by comparing the structures of excerpts (no.91&92) with excerpts (93&94). Accordingly, in the first set of excerpts (91&92), women were not the agents that accomplished the activities outlined. The excerpts have grammatical structure of **nominalisation** wherein women were considered recipients of actions by the mentioned agents (**Efforts are being exerted to help women protect themselves and because women and girls are more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, prevention activities should be given more attention**).

In the second set of excerpts (93&94) men are portrayed as active agents for the actions outlined in the excerpts (**AIDS- men make a difference and the delegates reiterated that involving men actively in the fight against HIV/AIDS is vital for mitigating the spread of the epidemic.**)

Excerpt 95

Women of child bearing age should be tested in prenatal clinics to prevent the further spread of HIV. (IEC message in the study's timeline).

The excerpt is an obligation- moral obligation expressed using the modal 'should'. Implicit in this linguistic construction is the assumption that pregnant women feared to be infectors of embryos. The excerpt is a reductionist approach to gender in that it labels women as 'dangerous' leaving males aside. As a result the excerpt instigates the social

practice whereby only women collaborators or the ‘others’ who align themselves with the pandemic. A non-othering and inclusive IEC message should have been one which obliged both pregnant women and their sexual partners.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will attempt to bring together the various issues I raised under different sections of the current study. I took the constructivist approach to representation. In the context of this study, HIV/AIDS is an entity about which various social constructions have been mobilized. The 'bio-medical construction' of the epidemic and the 'epidemic of signification' are some of the salient social constructions of the epidemic. Similarly, there are other major social constructions of this epidemic including the use of metaphors and the gendered constructions.

Of the seven established perspectives of communication, the critical perspective has been chosen for this study because it has commonalities with the constructivist position regarding multiple realities. This perspective is based on the qualitative interpretations of texts. The analytic framework used in the current study is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which along with critical social theory (the theoretical framework) has been employed for deconstructing the texts.

The linguistic theory taken into consideration in the current study is Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Particularly, this study is based in the assumption in SFL that speakers and writers make choices of linguistic items that enable them achieve specific objectives. In other words, the choice of specific linguistic items is not haphazard; rather a discourse

producer has some purposes for using a given language item leaving other possible options.

In the analysis, I have attempted to illustrate how theoretical frameworks of CDA could be applied for studying social problems. Thus some of the theoretical underpinnings of CDA have been applied in practical terms to unravel hidden ideologies in the selected texts. This has enabled me to read beyond the lines and unpack the underlying meanings of texts released by the Ethiopian government in response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic and their implications on public understanding of the pandemic.

The process of analysis is such that first I employed Parker's (1992) ten steps of discourse analysis in order to differentiate the roles of the discourses. Afterwards, I unpacked the detailed implications of the discourses by using Van Dijk's (1998 and 2001) and Fairclough's (1989) discourse analytic frameworks.

As has been pointed out in the statement of the problem (section 1.2), HIV/AIDS is both a 'biological epidemic' and an 'epidemic of signification'. However, given the scope and nature of the current study, the 'epidemic of signification' has been given more emphasis. HIV/AIDS, as an epidemic of signification implies that there are competing meanings which are communicated (hence, the constructivist approach to representation and conversely the critical perspective of communication have been employed).

One of the scopes of Applied Linguistics is language, information and effect. In this study, I have attempted to highlight the effects of various health communication messages. In connection with this Allan (2010) has noted that, one has to deconstruct the

identities policies create in order to understand and comment upon them. Similarly, I have attempted to unpack the identities produced by Ethiopia's policy documents and newspapers in relation to HIV/AIDS.

5.2 Summary of Major Findings

The general objective of the study was to analyze the representation of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia's policy documents and newspapers. The study has the following research questions: how was HIV/AIDS represented in Ethiopia's policy statements and government newspapers in the time span 1998-2004? What metaphors were used to construct discourses about HIV/AIDS in policies and the selected newspapers? What identities were produced in the texts? How were issues of power and ideology, cause, response, treatment expressed in the texts? Have the social constructions of the epidemic changed overtime? To what extent were hegemonic discourses of gender reproduced and reflected in the selected texts? What were the essences of the dominant discourses that emerged in the representations? What implications do the representations have regarding Ethiopia's response to HIV/AIDS?

The following summaries have been drawn based on the general objective and the research questions.

A wide range of metaphors and particularly war metaphors were vastly employed in socially constructing the epidemic and those afflicted. Using metaphors for socially constructing diseases appears to have exalted their meanings. As such, the uses of metaphors in reference to this pandemic led to loaded understanding of the pandemic and those afflicted.

The social constructions of HIV/AIDS in the discourses produce variously positioned identities as protagonists and antagonists. In other words, the discursive opportunities were more constraining for PLWHAs and other so-called 'risk groups' than they were enabling.

Ethiopia's pattern of attribution of this pandemic appears to have been influenced by the patterns of attribution of the global agents. This could be realized by considering the forwarded solutions for mitigating the spreading of the epidemic which mainly focused on behavioral change rather than more realistic structural changes such as socio-economic situations of the so-called 'risk groups'. Thus, the patterns of attributions and hence essences of the efforts exerted in the so-called 'fight against AIDS' were devoid of context spurred by the demands of the international agents which were in favor of western commodities such as condoms and ARDs. The promotion of these commodities further sustained the bifurcation of the world into the powerful and powerless.

HIV/AIDS has been personified and accorded roles of an invading foe such as 'killer disease' and 'formidable enemy'. As such, the so-called 'fight against HIV/AIDS' which is the major theme associated to 'response', portrayed the human body as a battleground implicitly invoking the meaning that those afflicted were the enemies against whom war was to be waged.

There were some efforts that were exerted to change the way the epidemic and stakeholders have been constructed. However, it was a kind of uphill struggle that didn't result in the desired changes. There were inconsistencies in the use of offending terms in reference to PLWHAs.

Reductionist and gendered constructions of the pandemic were pertinent in the selected texts. It appears that the texts were based on efforts exerted for mitigating the spread of HIV/AIDS with the underlying perspective of a gender-specific approach. It appears that the texts were underpinned by WID (Women In Development) framework which treats men and women as separate groups with unrelated problems. These separations result in men and women failing to address the problem of communication between them in making common decisions about their shared sexual health. As such the use of gender-specific approach is contentious for its alluded implicit of blaming women.

The overall essence of the dominant discourses was that HIV/AIDS has been progressively individualized as disease of lifestyle. In other words, the discourses seem to suggest that those afflicted were being punished for their ‘uncontrollable sexual behavior’. As such the label ‘risk group’ which is a reflection of power relations has been widely reflected in the discourses.

HIV/AIDS has been represented in a way that leads to stigmatization in the selected documents. It has been portrayed as a disease that affects some marginalized ‘others’. Such social constructions of the pandemic have also reflected the voices of the voiceless groups such as women and PLWHA. However, these subjective positions are contested public spaces which were not stable. As such there is a potential for everyone to fall into the label of PLWHA.

In Ethiopia’s policy response, the general pattern of attribution followed seems to be the consensus instigated by the international agents such as WHO and UNAIDS which emphasize the biological definition of the pandemic. This has impeded the development

of non-stigmatizing and non-othering ways of engagement with the pandemic which could have led to better understanding of the disease and those afflicted.

5.3 Conclusions

The analysis has revealed that language has been employed as a weapon in dealing with the severe problems surrounding this epidemic. However, due to the power differential between various stakeholder groups that were involved in defining this pandemic, language has at times been used in obfuscating ways.

In Ethiopia's HIV/AIDS policy documents and government newspapers, HIV/AIDS has been represented in an 'othering' way by involving naming and blaming pattern of attribution. Through socially constructing PLWHAS as 'others', the policies and government newspapers enabled the objectification of PLWHAs by positioning the human body as the site of struggle.

The discursive opportunities available were more constraining for PLWHAs and other so-called 'risk groups' than they were enabling. Reductionist approaches to gender and sexuality, which shaped the representations, have led to loaded understanding of the pandemic (risk group and gendered construction of the epidemic-reflections of power relations).

Although there were a number of distinct discourses in the selected texts, the dominant discourses showed in the current study seem to have negatively influenced the shaping of the public perception of the pandemic. The themes seem to suggest a set of negative and non-inclusive representations that serve produce, reproduce and maintain specific

ideological positions on HIV/AIDS. The discourses might have further mystified the epidemic by obstructing the perception of the pandemic and BCC.

5.4 Recommendations

This study came up with the role language has played in portraying HIV/AIDS and stakeholder groups in policy documents and newspapers to maintain unequal power relations by producing varied identities and subjectivities. It also came up with the role of discourse in shaping public perception of a given entity which is realized as part of the social practice.

1. A suggestion for future research undertakings would be to do further CDA by comparing the social constructions of the pandemic at the present with those of the past i.e. a diachronic study of the manner in which HIV/AIDS representations have been shaped in subsequent years.
2. Because injustice and inequality are enacted by language and legitimized by it (Titscher, et al, 2000), subjects must always be cautious about discourses produced by institutions. Accordingly, as language is a means for constructing varied identities, subjects should always scrutinize and demystify hidden power relations and ideological processes in texts produced by powerful groups and institutions so as to get rid of oppressing and constraining situations.
3. Another suggestion for future research is to employ the current methodology in investigating other social issues such as hegemonic discourses of gender stereotyping, poverty, politics and the like.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Excerpts extracted from *The Ethiopian Herald*.

Government narratives are statements given about HIV/AIDS epidemic by high ranking government officials such as the president of the republic, the PM, the deputy PM, information release by the ministry of Information...etc.

Title: The government is committed to continue support for anti HIV/AIDS campaign (President Negasso Gidada)

Purpose: The president reaffirmed the commitment of the government to allocate resources for anti HIV/AIDS campaigns.

Sources and voices: Bureaucratic

Date: Dec 1, 1999 Vol. LVI No. 069

Title: HIV/AIDS No more a hush-hush affair. (Ali Abdo Mayer of A.A)

Purpose: The mayor of the capital encouraged the city dwellers to stop hushing up the pandemic and to start talking openly about it.

Sources and voices: Bureaucratic

Date: Dec,2, 1999 Vol. LVI No. 070

Title: Great-Run Noble cause in fight against HIV/AIDS. (PM. Meles Zenawi)

Purpose: The prime minister seized the moment of Great Ethiopia run to create awareness about HIV/AIDS among the participating athletes.

Date: Dec 5, 1999 Vol. LVI No. 073

Sources and voices: Bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic

Title: Development partners should support government in fight against HIV/AIDS (President Negasso Gidada)

Purpose: The president pleaded to the development partners to provide support in addition to the endeavours of the government.

Date:Dec, 2 2002 Vol. No. LVII

Title: Negasso Reaffirms Ethiopia's Commitment to Fight HIV/AIDS

(President Negasso Gidad)

Purpose: It outlines the government's commitment to fight this pandemic. In this speech, HIV/AIDS is framed alongside development discourse using metaphors of different sorts.

Location: [http://www-unece.org/adf2000/daily_updates/speeches_and_Press_release/120300 negaso.htm](http://www-unece.org/adf2000/daily_updates/speeches_and_Press_release/120300_negaso.htm)

Date: 3 December 2000 Addis Ababa

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

Title: Impact of HIV/AIDS is heavy on old people. (President Negaso)

Purpose: this speech expresses one of the impacts of HIV/AIDS. Thus, the president has underscored how the epidemic is furthering the poverty in Ethiopia and thereby exacerbating stigma and discrimination

Date: Dec, 6, 2001 Vol. LVIII No.075

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

Title: AIDS-Men make a difference in the battle against HIV/AIDS

(World AIDS day motto)

Purpose: This article exalts the gender disparity by endowing more power to men in the struggle to contain the pandemic.

Date: Nov, 29, 2000 Vol. LVII

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

**Title: President calls upon the youth to play active part in HIV/AIDS battle.
(President Girma W/Giorgis)**

Purpose: Sexual behaviour change has been emphasized and the youth are singled out as the most responsible and susceptible group.

Date: Dec 11, 2001 Vol. LVII No. 070

Title: President calls for mobilization and commitment to combat HIV/AIDS (President Girma W/Giorgis)

Purpose: this article describes the roles of both the government and international development partners in the struggle to contain the pandemic.

Date: Dec, 5. 2000 Vol. LVII No. 073

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

Title: Department calls for coordinated effort to reverse scourges of HIV/AIDS pandemic. (Press release Ministry of information)

Purpose: the ministry of information released information issued by the Ethiopian government that reaffirms the government's commitment to mobilize all concerned sectors of the government to work in harmony in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

Date: Dec 10, 2000 Vol. LIX No. 070

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

Title: Ethiopia taking aggressive measures against HIV/AIDS. (President Girma)

Purpose: The efforts of the government in handling this pandemic have been emphasized. It also reaffirms the commitment on the part of the government to continue supporting the victims.

Date: Dec, 1, 2002 Vol. LIX No. 071

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

Title: Deputy PM calls for an all-out war against HIV/AIDS (Deputy PM Addisu Legesse)

Purpose: The deputy prime minister used war evoking metaphors to represent the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Moreover, he encouraged the youth to come up with sexual behavioural change.

Date: Dec 2, 2002 Vol. LIX No. 071

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

Title: To Reduce the problem of groups at risk, vulnerability to HIV/AIDS

Sources and voices: Journalist/reporter

Date Nov. 20/2003

Title: Anti-AIDS campaigns must be integrated with Development Efforts

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

Date: Nov. 29/2003

Title: President Calls on public to provide care, support to PLWHA

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

Date: Dec, 2/2003

Title: UN plans to rush AIDS therapy to World's poor

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

Date: Dec. 3/2003

Title: Ethiopia faces exceptional difficulties and some opportunities in combating HIV/AIDS.

Sources and voices: Journalist/reporter

Date: Dec.10/2003

Title: Need for workplace human rights in relation to HIV/AIDS

Sources and voices: Reporter and non-bureaucratic

Date: Nov.10/2004

Title: Use of Language in HIV/AIDS messages

Appendix 2: List of Texts Extracted from *Addis Zemen* “ÄY ±F«

o±ü; OÎÆ F«DY| ½äO-ኤች አይ ሺ/ኤድስ ዘመቻውን በሁሉም ደረጃዎች አስተባብሮና አቀናጅቶ የመምራት ከፍተኛውን ሚና ለመጫወት ዝግጁ መሆኑን ጨምሮ አስታውቋል። አዲስ ዘመን 19_1997 63— ™ F | aÖT 88

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

T>Y ½>ጌ «Ä«Äü« oT >ጌ «»í®»ü® ጌ> Ó? |\$ (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 25_1992 59 ‘ ™ F | aÖT 73)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

ኤድስ ተላላፊና ኅጺ በሆነ ቫይረስ አማካ—E| >«ÄGîFÔ oXÁ«Y wOİĐÖ™@\$ tÁOWü ™# ™Á sü Áp?@\$ ™ÆY ½wëÖU« ½F»?Yጌ :Á@ oGÄ»H >z>ጌ¼ o]z°... ጌİ@Ô@\$ (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 7_1997 64” ™ F | aÖT 67)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

™ÆY FÆ:Üü| ½>¬úH\$ (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 25_1992 59” ™ F | aÖT 73)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

>äO-™ÆY G;oR| ™Yë?Îü¬ú Æİð >üÄOĐ?#¬ú >«ÄGîÎp wÎ>ä\$(™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 21_1993 60” ™ F | aÖT 81)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic

o™/úÉú ¬e| oX«p É`TX <Yðz@ w-w¬ú »GúZ»Fú| ¬úYÖ »ðG] o?¼ o™pÆW o]z
wÁ±@@ wqA >«ÃGûÎF | ½<Yðz>ú :?í Î@ã@@\$ <Yðz>ú 200 ™@ï°... ™>ú | ™/ú«
150 ; FúG« w-w¬ú >½Z»Fú É¬ú\$(™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 30_1992 ” ™F | aÖT 77)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

o`³c²¬ú ÖTE| ¬e| ™>H« Á«Ö ½ÉoO¬ú ½Éú;|T ÖTE| ÁEX@ wqA ÉoO\$ ²S ÃÐ I
የአለምን ህዝብ እንዲቀጠል እያረገፈ ያለው ኤድስ ከምንም በላይ አስጊ ሆኖዋል። በመሆኑም
™]pQE|« >GÖî| >«ÃwÃOî¬ú TqTq /ú>ú ™pÆY«H >FÐz| ¿?W>W ÖO| FÃOÐ
ይኖርበታል። (አዲስ ዘመን 61ኛ አመት ቁጥር 89)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic and journalist/reporter

o™pÆY o]z >½Oîë ¿>¬ú« oqTÆ Iw ½Gû@]î« ÁWÓ@@\$>... ™Ásü ™pÆY GûYÓÜT
wÃTñ Fz½| ½>o|H\$ (™} ±¬úÄü Î]z#¬ú ½WYî Ñ; ™ü|Âß¿ óS³Ä«|) (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT
25_1992 59” ™F | aÖT 73)

Sources and voices: non-bureaucratic

o>|? o»ú@ o™pÆY o]z F¿³ ½:Öü™| @ï ½WüW-É| ¬úÓ| >«Ã<É o; qOwWoú ±«Æ ¿>¬ú
አመለካከት የመገናገኛ ብዙሃንም ጉዳዩ ላይ የሚያስተላልፉት መልእክት ከበሽታው ሳይሆን ከሰውየው
>«ÄüTa ½Gû¿ÃTÐ F<Éú« o]z¬ú« >FfÖÓT >«eî| ëÖUš@\$ (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT
25_1992 59” ™F | aÖT 73)

Sources and voices: Non-bureaucratic

Y> ™pÆY ½GûÉîP c?|« >FW½H ½F¬¿¿ FÆO; >ÉÄü±îË wÓ½`\$(™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 20_1992
59” ™F | aÖT68)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic and reporter/journalist

owFXXÁ @@z ™ü«ñTG|Y« G@»@ >«Ã±Îo¬ú የኤድስ ሰለባ የሆኑ ህፃናት aÖT oFÖ`Y
በበሽታው አየተጠቁ ያሉት አገሮች ኤድስን በመዋጋት በት/ቤት ላይ ተጨማሪ ገንዘብ እና ጉልበት
እንዲያወጡ የተመድ የህፃናት መርጃ ድርጅት ተቀዳሚ ዳይሬክተር ጠየቁ። (አዲስ ዘመን ህዳር
21_1993 aÖT 81)

Sources and voices: Journalist/reporter

ድርጅቱ በኤድስ ሳቢያ ወላጅ አልባ ለሆኑ ህፃናት 297 000 ዓ?Á ÐH | ረ>¬ú TÄz WÓ\$(™ÄüY
±F« ;ÄT 3_1996 63” ™ F | aÖT 63)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

½o]z¬ú wÓb ½<Éú | ³ Fú | wÄÄQ°...« በጥቃቅንና አነስተኛ ተቁዋማት በብድርና በሌላም
™GRÜ wÓcGû >GÆOÐ ÖO | >½wÄOÎ É¬ú q>®@ »«yp ™T»o >apÁ\$ (™ÄüY ±F«
;ÄT 23_1997 64” ™ F | aÖT 83)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

ኤድስ ተላላፊና ጎጂ በሆነ ልዩ ቫይረስ አማካ-É | >«ÄGúw?>ðwOİÐÖ™@\$ tÁOWúH ™þ... ™Á sÜ
Áp?@\$ ™þÆY ½wëÖU« ½F»?»@ :Á@ oGÄ»H >w>ረ¼ o]z°... ረİ@Ô@\$(™ÄüWü ±F«
;ÄT 7 /1997 64” ™ F | aÖT 67)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

oÄoúq p>|ÄU... o™þÆY oF ረ³ »ðw” ¬ú« aÖT Á±®@\$(™ÄüWü ±F« ;ÄT 7 /1997 64”
™ F | aÖT 67)

Sources and voices: Reporter / Journalist

½™ü | Âßረ F«ÐY | ½™þ... ™Ásü ™þÆY« YTÜ | >FÐz | ™Yë?Îû¬ú« Æİð GÆOÎú«
Á`Ö?>\$ (™ÄüWü ±F« ;ÄT 21/1992 59” ™ F | aÖT 69)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

ረ@fa|« >«Â | >«`YeX#¬ú« ™ÄüY ±F« z ;XY 4_1991 aÖT 80

Sources and voices: Reporter/Non-bureaucratic sources

™«Ä«Æ Î±±½ º«ÇH GYZ¬b¿ XÄHÕ ÁÎTFÎ”@ \$ º«ÇH Y?>™ | ðP >«Äë>Ï.../ú /úÉú
½Gû@™ ÁÆ | F@> i |™>¬ú\$ Á; ow>Á™ ºÆY ½>H >Gû>ú ¬ÁH ðT: | >G¿ÆTp#¬ú
½@q@q Æ¬ú ½GûWÔ#¬ú\$ Y>±ú; ½GûW?>ì |« GYZ¬b¿ °... GÓþÉú ÕP ÁFY>”@\$
(™ÄüWü ±F« z;XY 4_1991 58” aÖT 80)

Sources and voices: Reporter/Non-bureaucratic sources

>ÆG | GR±Gû¿ >«Éü o] z¬ú« ½Gû¿Y¬ÐÆ FÆ:Éú |™@wWRH\$ ½Gû¿R³ F¬ú >Y» H«
>«Ä<Æ G«™¬úf | >/ú>úH FÓ«`e ÁoÉ@! (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 29_1994 61”™ F |
aÖT 89)

Sources and voices: Reporter/Non-bureaucratic sources

የኤድስ ሰለባ ለሆኑ ህፃናት ተገቢውን ድጋፍና አንክብካቤ ማድረግ ያስፈልጋል። (አዲስ ዘመን ነዳር
18_1992 59”™ F | aÖT 67)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

o™þÆY o]z >½OÎë ¿>¬ú« oqTÆ I w ½Gû@] î« ÁWÓ@@\$™þ...™ Ásü™ þÆY GûYÓüT
wÄTÑ F z½ | ½>o | H\$ (™} ±¬úÄü î]z#¬ú ½wYÎÑ; :?í) (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 25_19 aÖT
73)

Sources and voices: non-bureaucratic

ሴቶችና ልጃገረዶች ለኤድስ ወረርሽ- wİ?ÜEz#¬ú ½Wî oF<Éú o[z¬ú« ½F»?»>ú Ō0|
|»úO| >üWÓ¬ú >«ÄGûÎp óS³Ä«| ÐTG ™Yz¬a\$ (™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT 22_1997 64”
™F | aÖT 82)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

ሴቶች ከኢኮኖሚ ጥገ-É| w?`¬ú RX#¬ú« »™bÆY o]z >«ÄüÓqa Ō0| oGÆ0Ð ?Á
F<Éú« ½äO-ኤች ኤይቪ /ኤድስ የሴቶች በሄራዊ ጥምረት አስታወቀ። አዲስ ዘመን ህዳር 30/1997
64” ™F | aÖT 90

Sources and voices: non-bureaucratic

ተወካዮቹ አያይዘው ኤድስን በመዋጋት አንቅስቃሴ ወንዶችን በንቃት ማሳተፍ የወረርሽኝን ስርጭት
>FÐz| ½Gû¿Y...@ F«ÎÆ F<Éú« ÓeW@@\$ ½™b... ™Ásü_™bÆY« YTÜ | oGûF>»|
የወንዶች ባህሪይ በሴቶች ላይ ተፅዕኖ የሚያሳድር መሆኑን ተወካዮቹ ገልፀዋል። ™ÄüY ±F« ;ÄT
20_1993 aÖT 80)

Sources and voices: bureaucratic

Appendix 3: Millennium development goals

Goal1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education

Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women

Goal 4: Reduce child mortality

Goal 5: Improve maternal health

Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria & other diseases

Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability

Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

Appendix 4: List of Themes for Specific years in the Study's Timeline

The theme for the year 1998: “force for change: world AIDS campaign with young people”

The theme for the year 1999: “Let’s Talk and Learn about HIV/AIDS with Children and the Youth Openly.”

The theme for the year 2000: “AIDS- Men make a difference”

The theme for the year 2001: “I care. Do you?”

The theme for the year 2002: “Stop Stigma and Discrimination: Live and
Let Live.”

The theme for the year 2003: “Stop Stigma and Discrimination: Live and
Let Live.”

The theme for the year 2004: “Women, Girls, HIV and AIDS”

Appendix 5: Schematic representations of van Dijk' framework

The components of Van Dijk's analytical framework, which this study owes much to CDA, are schematically represented as follows:

1. Examining the context of the discourse: historical, political or social background of the social construction of HIV/AIDS and the stakeholders.
2. Analyzing groups or positionings, power relations among the participants and conflicts involved. Such as, the labeling like 'risk groups', 'risk behaviors'
3. Identifying positive and negative opinions about Us versus Them in-group versus Out-group representations, i.e. how PLWHAs have been represented as 'others'
4. Unraveling or demystifying the presupposed and the implied meanings of discourses
5. Analyzing all formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de)emphasize polarized group opinions (Van Dijk 1998b)

Appendix 6: Summary of CDA of some policy documents and government newspapers with reference and examples according to Van Dijk's framework (2001b)

	Examples in the documents	Explanation
Linguistic signs, lexical and surface structure		
Generalizations	<i>“Targeted Response: Even though Ethiopia is in a state of generalized epidemic, it is important to give priority to selected vulnerable target groups.</i> <i>In line with the multi-sectoral response special attention will be given to the Youth, CSW, Mobile workers, uniformed people and teachers as there is demonstrable evidence for their vulnerability.”</i>	The power asymmetry between the producers of this discourse and those others, which are labeled ‘selected vulnerable targets’, is evident from the linguistic constructions of these identities. In other words the producers of this discourse and the ‘selected target groups’ are positioned differently (their vulnerability).

Nominalising phrases	PLWHAs, HIV/AIDS carriers sufferers, AIDS victims, ፲፩፻፲፱ ዓ.ም. ወዘተ... ፲፩፻፲፱ ዓ.ም. ወዘተ... ፲፩፻፲፱ ዓ.ም. ወዘተ... ተስተካከሏቸው, ከሽብር ጋር የሚኖሩ, የኤድስ ; የ፲፩፻፲፱ ዓ.ም.	Such representations exaggerate the meaning of the disease & lead to misperception. When processes are nominalised sentences would be reduced in terms of tense and agency would be evaded.
Use of persuasive and biased vocabulary	On the other hand considering acquiring AIDS as if it were the consequence of sin and promiscuity and the messages of the mass media lead not to the stigmatization of the disease alone but stigmatization of those afflicted.(emphasis the researcher)	This representation further mystifies the epidemic. When plague metaphors are used, it is presumed that this epidemic is a punishment from God. However, this contradicts the ‘biological definition’ of the epidemic and leads to misperception of the epidemic.
Pragmatic signs Use of metaphors	<i>“Deputy Pm calls for an all-out war against HIV/AIDS”</i>	The use of war metaphors exalts the meaning of the

	<i>“President calls upon the youth to play active part in HIV/AIDS battle”,</i> <i>“Ethiopia taking aggressive measures against HIV/AIDS”</i> <i>“Department calls for coordinated effort to reverse scourges of HIV/AIDS pandemic.”</i>	epidemic as it personifies the virus wherein it will be perceived as an enemy against which the government wages war. As such the diseased body becomes the site of struggle. In other words, the victims are considered as enemies.
Implications and Presuppositions Passivization	Unless robust actions to prevent and control this epidemic are executed, the epidemic will blur our development vision, exert strong negative impact on socio-economic, peace and stability and psychosocial life of the nation. (Policy on anti-retroviral therapy (2002:2) (emphasis the researcher)	This excerpt is an instance of the agentless passive. As such it is not clear by whom the robust actions are to be executed. In other words the body that shoulders the responsibility has been omitted. The cohesive feature of the above excerpt is subordination. This is a presupposition in which the

		possible consequences of the epidemic on development are expressed. Context is maintained through interdiscursivity as reference has been made to various sectors other than health.
Use of pronouns 'we' versus 'them'	<i>"Now that we have successfully defended our sovereignty, we must embark on the remaining enemy in our midst-HIV/AIDS."</i>	This text crafts identities that are oppositely positioned. It implies that those infected are the enemy against which war is be waged.
Discourse flows		
Pathology – deficit	<i>The prevailing state of the community which is mainly characterized by passive involvement and dependency on external factors (government and</i>	Blaming the victim, representing the other as dependent, lacking the initiative. In due process the self is portrayed as

	<i>others) may also pose as a challenge in community mobilization and in assuming its responsibility and ownership roles.</i>	good and morally upright while the other is portrayed as bad.
we ' discourse , justifications , blaming the victim/deficits/trivializations, denials, constructing the other as enemy, patronization	<i>Community participation has not been ignited and sustained from within; rather it has been imposed from above without complete understanding of the problem and the issues raised by the local communities. This has made our community mobilization superficial and unsustainable; it has contributed to ineffectiveness, misuse of resources and externalization of the problem and the solution. Various assessments have indicated that poor community mobilization and empowerment is one of the</i>	In this text cooperation with the government is portrayed as a prerequisite for effective implementation of the SPM. Implicit in these constructions are antithetical constructions of non-cooperation and passive involvement. As such the role of the government has been foregrounded.

	<i>weakest links, a serious gap in our response, and an important contribution to our failure.”</i>	
Discourse flows: patronization, colonizing, othering	The representative of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Priest Kefyalew said that Ethiopians are morally upright. This has been ascertained when they stood firmly united to take arms in defending their territory. They should also stand hand-in-hand in defiance against this common enemy. The priest reiterated that getting married and complying with the religious principle of ‘do not commit adultery’ are the key religious guidelines to eradicate the disease. Priest Kefyalew stated that the main factor that has contributed to the widespread	In this excerpt HIV/AIDS is textured along religious rules and ethical education (an aspect of interdiscursivity). The speaker used sources from religion and moral education to elucidate the situation of the pandemic. Moreover, the epidemic has been represented in comparison with invading enemies who can be defeated through harmonious mobilization. However this discourse could be obfuscating in that unlike in a war

	existence of the disease is misbehavior and hence ethical education and AIDS education should be taught at school.	situation, in the fight against HIV/AIDS, there are no clear enemies. This discourse implicitly enacts the perception of the epidemic as a punishment for ‘misbehavior’ and that those afflicted are not morally upright.
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