



GRADUATE PROGRAM

**THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN PEACE AND DEMOCRACY BUILDING:
CONTENT ANALYSIS ON ESAT AND OMN NEWS IN 2018 G.C.**

YADESA BIRASA TUCHO

ADVISOR: MULATU ALEMAYEHU (PhD)

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declared this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted or presented for a degree in any other university, and that all source of materials used for this study have been properly acknowledged.

Yadesa Birasa _____

APPROVED BY

_____	_____	_____
Major Advisor	Signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Department Head	Signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Dean, School of Graduate Studies	Signature	Date

APPROVAL

Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

MA in Journalism and Communication (Multimedia Journalism)

This is to certify that the thesis prepared Yadesa Birasa, entitled “**The Role of Media in Peace and Democracy Building: Content Analysis on ESAT and OMN news in 2018 G.C.**” submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master’s of Arts in Journalism and Communication (Multimedia Journalism). It complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Approved by Board of Examiners

_____	_____	_____
Thesis Advisor	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Internal Examiner	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
External Examiner	Signature	Date

Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AG7	Arbegnoch Ginbot 7
CNN	Cable News Network
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ESAT	Ethiopian Satellite Television
GRID	Global Report on Internal Displace
ICHPR	International Conference on Health Policy Research
METEC	Metals and Engineering Corporation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic and Co-operation and Development
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
OMN	Oromia Media Network
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
PJ	Peace Journalism
PM	Prime Minister
RTLM	Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Region
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
TV	Television
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
WJ	War Journalism

Abstract

Media are important for building peace and democracy in one country. Beyond informing, educating, and entertaining media can play different role for the community. The purpose of study was to examine how ESAT and OMN are playing media role towards building peace and democracy in their news content of 2018 G.C. The study employed qualitative content analysis and in-depth interview to gather necessary data. Both data collected through content analysis and an interview.

The analyzed content was selected per their relevance to the issues under study. In depth interview was conducted with editors' of both media. The content analysis of 30 news which was disseminated in 2018 G.C. of both media was selected purposively. Collected data have been organized per their similarities under major themes that were derived from content analysis and interview data. The news from both media is analyzed based on the situations in 2018 and the data was divided into two categories as: 1. Before the Reform (from January 1-March 30, 2018) and 2. After Reform (from April 1-December 31, 2018)

The study showed that both media played a role to build peace and democracy of the country by their news report of 2018 G.C. However both media framed the issues of peace and democracy building in their news media by mostly focusing two regions, Amhara and Oromia. ESAT news content was focus mostly on Amhara and Amhara Region related news, and OMN news mostly focused on Oromo and Oromia Region related news.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Media did not emerge as an integral part of formal peace building until the end of Cold War when specialized NGO and intergovernmental agencies formalized the practice of peace building and media technologies improved to permit non-professionals to make and disseminate their own channel. Therefore, the emergency of the practice of using media for the purpose of peace building is in 20th century, when peace organizations formally began to utilize media to advance their goals in the areas of violent and war (Bratic, 2016).

There are efforts to promote the use of media to facilitate conflict resolution, and peace media'. Media role is promoting peace, disseminating truthful information or alternative angle that serves the society for building or promotion of peace. Media information should be balanced, fair and unbiased when describing a parties or people involved in a conflict. Media can stress merits of peace building, promotes groups and individuals those who involved in peace building and balance the view points of the actors. Then, media can contribute to reshaping the course of issues in a peaceful manner (Rawat, 2014).

Media has a pivotal role as a gatekeeper which sets the agenda for public discourse and evaluate the issue which promote peace, However such watchdog initiative is undermined by the fact that media like to see themselves as 'balanced and fair' even when they privately seek to promote a particular ideological set of ideas and, limit the public exposure to broaden the array of information (Malakwen, 2014).

One of the significant roles of the media is to help looking after peace; for instance, Peace journalism can be taken. Peace journalism manages giving a state to all included individuals in conflict. It accentuations on people peacemakers additionally focuses on peace creativities for evading more war. As it helps for the heightening of tranquil society it focuses on peaceful

resolve, reclamation, and comprehension. During the time spent harmony, it is best for the media in the event that it doesn't engender war (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005).

News media can play a main role in peace promotion. Media explains the advantages peace can bring, they raise and motivate the legitimacy of group or leaders dealing with peace, and they can transform the image or the attitudes towards enemy. Media also serve as destructive means in the peace building process. Media can emphasize the risks and dangers related with compromise, raise the legitimacy of those opposed to concessions and encourage negative stereotypes of the enemy (Wolfsfeld, 2004).

According to Mc Nair (2011) the five functions of media in the societies called "ideal-type" democratic societies was described as:-

1. Informing citizens what happens around their environment. This means surveillance or monitoring functions.
2. Teaching the citizens about the significance of facts.
3. Providing platform for public political discourse and facilitating public opinion formation.
4. Giving publicity to governmental and political institutions and
5. Serving the medium for the advocacy of political viewpoints.

Wolfsfeld described four major impacts of news media on peace process as: Firstly, new media can play major role in defining the political environment in which the process happened. Secondly, the media can have an important affect on the nature of debate about a peace process. Thirdly, they can have an impact on antagonists' strategy and behavior. The Fourth is they can raise and lower the public's standing and legitimacy of antagonists included in the process and their positions. The media should keep and serve citizens engaged in the governance by informing, educating and mobilizing the public.

Another important and influential role played by media is media is the connector between government and the people. Media Paves the way for public to debate and exchange ideas which leads to policy and discussion making, because media is the fourth pillar of government and oversight their functions (Wolfsfeld, 2004).

The media have played a central role in stabilizing violence condition and bringing peace. It likes logical examine the prospects for the reverse perspectives which positive media supports ends the conflict and stands for the peace building.

Additionally, if the media are often found to help the force that lead violent conflict, they should also have the ability to support the forces of peace (Bratic, 2006).

The media are often an important tool to create relationships. It can support greater understanding and cohesion between people that consider themselves different from each other. It can formulate to the foremost marginalized in society. It can serve as a mediator between political parties especially in situations where there's no other means of communication particularly during conflict and in peace building (Shuman, 2007).

Then the focus of this study is examining the role of media in peace and democracy building on ESAT and OMN media news content. To examine the role media in peace and democracy building in two media; the broadcasted news in 2018 was selected.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Much has been written about the role of the media in conflict and war, but little or no about their role in peace. Finding through the many studies on peace building and conflict resolution, it's difficult to seek out even a passing regard to the press. There's not one major study that has checked out the role of the media in peace building. Many pieces of research have been presented relative to media effect, media's role in violence and other related areas but there is little research in the area of media's role in peace operations (Wolfsfeld, 2004).

Dominant part of the writing on conflict prevention and harmony building Bratic (2006) Hamelink (2002) and Wolfsfied (2004) holds a dismissal conclusion on the job of media activities in the harmony building forms. Existing writing depicts the media as imperative in announcing and creating conversation on clashes (Bratic,2006).

But another recent literature shows that:

The media have played their role in promoting conflict as well as enhancing peace, or protecting human rights. For example the CNN played a role in the withdrawal of American troops from Somalia in the 1990s by showing graphic pictures of the bodies of American soldiers nineteenth being dragged along the street. This was continuation of the Vietnam syndrome in which the media was seen as 'losing the war' for the USA.

Similarly in Rwanda hate Radio played significant role in increasing the killing and genocide but it is also to be noted that the radio milles collines station was set up as part of peace and democratization project supported by international organizations (Allen and Stremlau, cited in Hayat 2012).

Media initiatives in the conflict, as well as its power to mediate in peace building and democracy are not adequately tackled. Much has been done on its role in escalating conflict than building peace. (Malakwen, 2014)

Moges (2018) Stated that:

Community radio in Ethiopia can be considered as one of the tools that can be used to intervene positively in the discourse of peace and conflicts and bring solutions.

As explained in the above literatures, most literatures focus on the role of media in conflict resolution or peace and conflict. However my concentration is on two selected Ethiopian media news report or role of media in peace and democracy building.

1.2.1. Why the study is on the role of media in peace and democracy building?

As it is discussed in the background of this study, many scholars try to research on peace and conflict resolution, The role of the media was mentioned often before, during and post conflict processes but mostly studies focused on negative effects of the media and the capacity of the media for peace building remained unexplored and rejected (Gilboa, 2009: 88; Laplante and Phenicie, 2009: 252; Wolsfeld quoted in Spencer, 2003: 56).

1.2.2. Why the study is on OMN and ESAT in 2018 G.C.?

The resignation of PM Hailemariam Desalegn in February 2018 was one of the most significant political developments that open up to view that differences among supporters of profound changes and those fighting to ensure the continuation of the status quo with minimal overtures to change and reform have reached a tipping point. While the resignation of Hailemariam was occurred with joy by the public and considered a key step that help push reforms forward, the announcement of a state of emergency was a reminder that the power struggle within the EPRDF was far from over.

ESAT and OMN are privately owned media; which is mostly focused on political issues of the country. Most of the time the issues of peace and democracy is directly connected with politics. This time is very important for those media to report on peace and democracy building issues towards the occurred events. Based on the above facts, OMN and ESAT was selected to conduct a the study.

1.3. Objective of the study

This study has general objective and specific objectives.

1.3.1. General Objective

The study would investigate peace and democracy building role of the Ethiopian media, namely OMN and ESAT.

1.3.2. Specific Objective

The specific objectives of the research are to:

- To examine what role of media both media are playing
- To analyze how media are giving attention to peace building in the country
- Indentify the way they frame issues of peace and democracy building

1.4. Research Questions

1. What media role OMN and ESAT are playing?
2. How the media (OMN and ESAT) are giving attention to peace and democracy building in the country?
3. How they frame the issue of peace and democracy building?

1.5. Significance of the study

The researcher believes that the study may provide the most recent information about the role of media in peace and democracy building in Ethiopia in selected media ESAT and OMN. As a result, the findings of this study is hoped to have vital importance to the students of media and peace and security. The researcher also expects that the outcome of the study might benefit for the two media portrayed and to see what is the role of media in the selected media to build peace and democracy. Furthermore, this study would most likely be contributing crucial information for the readers who wants to know the role of selected Ethiopian media in peace and democracy building.

1.6. Scope of the Study

As it has been repeatedly mentioned in the background and statement of the problem, this study focused on the role of media in Ethiopia in Peace and Democracy building. For the purposes of this research two Ethiopian media (ESAT and OMN) are selected because the two broadcasters are relatively the strongest and voiced media broadcasters to release news report on socio political issues.

This study focus on analyzing the news reports of the two media houses in 2018. In this year Ethiopia faced conflict, violations of human right unstability before and after resignation of PM Hailemariam Desalegn. In this important year, the researcher want to study the role of media in peace and democracy building.

1.7. Limitations of the study

The study has its own limitations and short comings. Some of the major factors which contribute to the limitations of the study are:

Firstly, the study was done only on two select media ESAT and OMN. This was mainly because of time and financial constraints. It might be taken as one of its limitations. Secondly, there is lack of related literature in the field; many literatures are related to conflict and media, not peace and media.

Thirdly, Due to known problem (Covid -19) it is difficult to interview media house practitioners for further information. In general, as a result of the above mentioned short comings and limitations the study by no means claims to be exhaustive. Rather, it can serve as a facilitator to the further study on the area.

1.8. Organization of the Study

Chapter one has presented the background, statement of the problem, objective of the study, research questions, and significance of the study, limitation and scope of the study. Chapter two contains the review of related literature and research related to the problem being investigated. The research design and methods and procedures used to gather data for the study are presented in Chapter three.

The results of analyses and findings to emerge from the study are contained in Chapter four. Chapter five contains a summary of the study findings, conclusions drawn from the findings, and future study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Concept of Media

Media implies plural form of medium and medium it means communication, and it implies method of articulation. Media passes certain qualities which Compromises both specialized and institutional techniques for creation and dispersion. It includes the commodification of representative just as form dependent settings the creation and gathering of data. Its "compass to those for evacuated, data appropriation, to many type of correspondence, whereby items on large scale manufacturing are spread to an incredible amount of crowds, anyway various media having its specific qualities based on openness, reach , and audience (Mailers, 2010) .

Media impacts on society to much by playing role and acting as informer of facts to the societies. Media play a significant role in democracy as guard dog helping in the foundation of vote based system and defend the current qualities in the popular government and it engage general society by method for music, dramatization, films, move, and so forth. Media valuable society as well as for business advertising in which their item acquainted with society through media and at last it bring about efficient development of country, and media instruct individuals. (Ibid)

2.1.1. Definition of Media

The word “media” gets its meaning from the Latin medium, which means “in the middle. In media business, media is taken as traditional mass communication system and generate contents as well as other technologies for mediated human discourse. This would incorporate traditional publishing (newspapers, periodicals, or books), customary electronic media (broadcasting, broadband, link, or satellite), films, video gaming, recorded music, publicizing, and adjustments of the Internet for any of these media (Anne, 2008).

2.1.2. Media Role

As per Bratic (2016) if the media is regularly found to help powers that lead to savage clashes, it ought to likewise have capacity to help powers to peace. Along these lines, any conversation that looks at the role of the media in advancing explicit kinds of conduct must consider how the media influences audiences. The media is an open stage where societies can exchange various issues and cultivate beneficial discussions in the general public.

Basically, the media is what could be compared to the Greek agora which was a public square in which the population assembled to discuss affairs of governance Watson (1998). Open discussion spread through the media, shapes the manner in which administration is directed and furthermore impacts approach making inside institutional systems. In this way the media adds to open great by articulating, shielding, ensuring and advancing human rights.

In this manner the media has an obligation to guard the open talk and accord against state mistreatment, and to feature maltreatment of the law and human rights by corporate forces. This activity is regularly alluded to as that of the guard dog ICHRP (2002). Be that as it may, alert is required in practicing the guard dog role, as government and different focuses of intensity have utilized human rights topics in the past to control or aggravate popular assessment, particularly during times of contentions.

As indicated by Manoff (1998) an autonomous media has a bit of leeway which isn't appreciated by other media, as in they are unlimited in their capacity of adding to peace building. Likewise, the elements of media are obviously fit to peace building and compromise, on the grounds that the conventional elements of the media are like those of compromise, to be specific giving data to address misperceptions; breaking down issues to outline the setting of the contention; recognizing the interests of clashing groups; defusing question and giving outlets to self expression.

Likewise, Reuben (2009) noticed that the media could assume a role in the helpful acceleration and de-heightening of contention yet takes note of that the extremely dubious "peace journalism" development is rendered immaterial when individuals discover answers for conflicts.

Thus, Gilboa (2002) states that as opposed to simply taking a gander at the media activities previously, during and after clash, there is a need to take a gander at it as a lot of stages and activities. For this situation, the media can be associated with strife anticipation, the executives, goals and compromise. He looks at the capacities and dysfunctions of media, news, understanding, social transmission, amusement and preparation considering these stages. He likewise concocted the issue of layers into his investigation of extra factors, including the degree of media, sort of media, kind of contention and level of contention force. Less well documented is the reverse of media harm. A reliable, diverse and independent news media has an almost innate potential for contributing to conflict resolution. It functions as a channel of communication that counteracts misperceptions. It frames and analyzes the conflict, identifies the interests, defuses mistrust, provides safe emotional outlets, and more (Brati, 2006).

2.2. The Concept of Peace

Peace is something everybody wants to have and which not many people actually achieve, it is easily lost and always has to be worked for. For that reason it is understandable that there are different definitions of peace. Basic concepts of peace involve the absence of violence, and the maintenance of stability and a relatively safe social and political order. The word Peace is usually associated with benefit and advantage, suitability and fitness. This leads on to ideas such as: kindness and well mannered, ability and capability, self-mending and amending, charity and benevolence, tranquility and affluence, multiplicity and exuberance of something, reconciliation, unity, cease-fire and avoiding war Grewal (2003). Peace is constructive and a precondition for any meaningful socio-economic development. There are two definitions of peace. These included negative peace and positive peace.

Negative peace: focuses on reducing war and physical violence or the absence of violent conflict or recurrence of conflict. A negative peace program develops a well-informed citizenry or community that takes action through eradicating direct violence and working for disarmament, such as at the emergence of violence and conflict, human rights oppression, riots (Grewal, 2003).

As Dahre (2012: 10) illustrate war is a form of contention, which creates new forms of contention. It might be said the post-conflict situation might contain, as much violence as the actual conflict in itself, thus arguing that structural violence, lies under the surface in any new

social process. That is to say that when the violence is over, continued efforts at peace building will be needed to reduce risks of new conflicts.

Positive Peace: The concept of positive peace focuses on the amelioration of all structural and systematic obstacles to peace and thus the creation of true and sustainable peace. Positive peace addresses the need for justice equity, democracy, and an end to structural violence, being concerned beyond the end of war and physical violence. Positive peace requires justice since changes in global society and economic systems are seen as the necessary preconditions for authentic world peace Grewal (2003) Positive peace (as opposed to negative peace where a conflict is stopped but the reasons for war remain) can only be achieved if underlying structures as, for example, inequality is changed.

2.2.1 Concept of peace building

Peace building implies fortifying the possibilities for peace and limiting the odds of further violence. The aim of peace building is to build up society's capacity to sort out its conflicts in a peaceful manner. The media is very much put to encourage peace building. It can advocate for the assurance of human rights which are probably abused during conflicts, including protection of women and children against abuse; health and control of epidemics; law and order, specifically exposing and preventing arbitrary arrests, torture and inhuman treatment, and so on. Besides, the media's job, if top notch, incorporates the making of a situation helpful for nothing and reasonable races through voter training and a defusing of political pressures (Malakwen, 2014).

Peace building involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development (UN, 2007).

Peacebuilding and statebuilding are reinforcing processes that support the building of effective, legitimate, accountable and responsive states. These overlapping but distinct processes are essential elements for guiding national and international efforts in addressing state fragility and promoting peace and stability in situations of conflict and fragility.

Key peacebuilding objectives include inter alia: preventing countries from lapsing or relapsing into violent conflict; establishing structures and incentives for peaceful mitigation of conflicts; incentivising elite commitment to peace processes, while laying the groundwork for those processes to be made more inclusive over time; establishing a framework for political, security and economic transition; jump-starting recovery; demonstrating peace dividends by meeting the urgent needs of the population (OECD, 2010).

Peace building gives to settle post-strife circumstances by making or fortifying national foundations. Peace building can be taken as an enhancement to preventive discretion, peacemaking forms, compromise and peacekeeping tasks. It includes quantifies with regards to rising, current or post-strife circumstances for the unequivocal reason for forestalling savage clash and advancing enduring and maintainable harmony (Dugolli, 2008).

2.2.2. Definitions of Peace Building

Peace Building is associated with efforts aimed at violent conflict prevention, reconciliation, transitional justice, education for peace, communication for peace. It requires people to promote conditions of non-violence, equity, justice and human rights of all people, to build democratic institutions, building trust and enhancing communication among people in a way that contentious issues can be resolved without violence. (Abubakar and Mohammed, 2016).

The United Nations Agenda for Peace distinguishes among three concepts related to peace: peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building. Peace-keeping is the intervention by third parties in a conflict, notably war, involving in most cases the deployment of military forces to separate the warring parties to allow for opportunity for peace making. Peace-making is the use of diplomatic efforts involving third parties mediating between the officials representing the parties in conflict to end the violence and work towards peace agreement. (Ibid)

According to Broome (2009) peace-building “attempts to establish confidence and trust between opponents, improve communication across conflict lines, and assist in developing cooperation and peaceful co-existence.”

Peace-building is a process that occurs after the intensity of conflict has ebbed, ended or agreement has been secured to end the conflict. The process of peace-building could start while the conflict is on-going with the aim of preparing the people for life after the conflict. According to Broome, (2009) peace-building attempts to establish confidence and trust between opponents, improve communication across conflict lines, and assist in developing cooperation and peaceful co-existence.

It has three mutually reinforcing dimensions: security, governance and political, social, economic and environmental. In all peace-building interventions, particular emphasis should be given to promoting and fostering national ownership/alignment, co-ordination of the international community's efforts, and harmonization of procedures. Strategic frameworks for the international community's peace-building efforts should be based on joint conflict analyses and needs assessments (DAC, 2005)

2.2.3. Media Role in Peace Building

History has shown that the media can initiate people toward violence. Hitler used the media to as a means of hate for Jews, homosexuals, and other minority voiceless groups. Rwanda's radio RTLM motivates audiences to pick up machetes and take to the streets to kill what they called 'the cockroaches.' Broadcasters in the Balkans polarized local societies to the point where violence became recommended tool for addressing grievances. The media's impact on the escalation of war and conflict is more widely recognized than the media's impact on peacebuilding. (Bratic and Schirch, 2007) Yet it is not common to hear experts pronounce that the media's impact on peacebuilding must be important given its powerful impact on conflict. However, this simple relationship must not be taken for granted and should be critically examined in order to most effectively use the media for conflict prevention and peacebuilding. (Ibid)

The news media can play a central role in the promotion of peace. They can emphasize the benefits that peace can bring, they can raise the legitimacy of groups or leaders working for peace, and they can help transform images of the enemy. The media, however, can also serve as destructive agents in the process. They can emphasize the risks and dangers associated with compromise, raise the legitimacy of those opposed to concessions, and reinforce negative stereotypes of the enemy. (Wolfsfeld, 2004)

Media owners and professionals provides what they think the public or some target audience wants to see and hear. A common journalist principle is this: "If it bleeds, it leads." That means violent conflict will be headline news, not news of cross-cultural dialogue and understanding. The media mostly gives coverage for conflict, not peacebuilding issues.

This tendency to cover conflict and violence distorts reality and change many people mind to think that conflict is pervasive and peace is abnormal. The goal of conflict prevention and peacebuilding, in general, is to move from polarization to positive relationships. (Bratic and Schirch, 2007)

The significance of the media is obvious; it is often among the first elements of a society to be disrupted in an overt conflict. Even beforehand, parties seek control of the media in order to influence news and opinions in their own interests. The resultant harm has been repeatedly documented. The mass media played a central role in pre-war Nazi molding of German popular opinion against Jewish people. More recently in the former Yugoslavia, Serbian media revived newsreels of decades-old conflict and atrocities as part of a campaign of propaganda and hate mongering disguised as news, to motivate popular sentiment against Albanians and others. (Rawat, 2014)

Due to Lack of data, miss portrayal of data, can, at any phase of a conflict, make individuals troubled and out of frustration position, anxious and simple impacted. The capacity to settle on educated choices reinforces social orders and cultivates financial development, law based structures and the inspirational point of view toward what's to come. So this is important to the entrée to free data is imperative to the columnist as they need to adjust their inclusion of all contention parties. Columnist and media journalists must stay away from despise and viciousness language.

Harmony news-casting and harmony reviewing necessities to give to manufacture another associations and sound connection between writers, their sources, the narratives they spread and the results of their revealing. (Ibid)

2.2.4. Peace Media

There are endeavors to advance the utilization of media to encourage compromise, and „peace media'. Peace media can be characterized as the utilization of "radio, TV, new media and printed

news coverage, to advance peace, to disperse honest data or exchange perspectives that could turn open estimation toward serene goals of resolving conflicts. Peace media laborers should be adjusted and fair-minded while portraying the gatherings associated with the contention, however not impartial and latently attentive with regards to delineating quiet methods as the main satisfactory method for settling conflicts. Media from various perspectives can add to reshaping the course of occasions a serene way. For example, media can pressure the upsides of harmony building, advance people and gatherings associated with harmony activities, and equalization the perspective on the entertainers. (Wolfsfeld, 2004)

Media is playing a central role in communication, through mass communication channel. By using is mechanism journalist convey ideas, data and stories to the audiences. Journalists provide actual story ideas and other information in print and electronic media, but through the gate keeping process the editor filters the story and after filtration it was published. During the gate keeping process the editor remove those kinds of visuals, recorded words, printed items and photo from the news content, and the news story which can be inform nonviolence and peace in the societies; specially, during riots and wars. Media is the principal agents for society development, democracy and good governance. (Rawat, 2014)

Media can be a means for peace and conflict management tools, which promotes a message and strategies that can lead to harmony, agreements and tolerant behavior in a given community. Social Scientists, policy makers and journalists are included in peace creating. These advances, such as printing, television, radio and internet; however were in large part also touted as promoting understanding and even harmony. A government could use media to help defuses crisis (Ibid)

There are endeavors to advance the utilization of media to encourage compromise, and peace media.

Peace media can be characterized as the utilization of "radio, TV, new media and printed news-casting, to advance harmony, to scatter honest data or exchange perspectives that could turn open estimation toward quiet goals of contention. (Wolfsfeld, 2004)

There is a general consensus that no democracies have ever been at war against each other. The basic idea and reason is that “democracy is an important cause of peace” (Ray, 1998, p.27)

Finally, media can help to build peace and social consensus, without which democracy is threatened. The media can provide warring groups a way for mediation, representation and voice so they can settle their differences in peaceful manner. Unfortunately, the media have sometimes fanned the flames of discord by unbalancing, reinforcing prejudices, muddling the facts and peddling half-truths. Peace journalism, which is being promoted by various NGOs, endeavours to promote reconciliation through careful reportage that gives voice to all sides of a conflict and resists explanation for violence in terms of innate enmities. Training and the establishment of mechanisms whereby journalists from opposite sides of conflict can interact with the other side, including other journalists representing divergent views, have helped propagate peace journalism. The media can play a positive role in democracy only if there is an enabling environment that allows them to do so. They need the requisite skills for the kind of indepth reporting that a new democracy requires.

2.2.5. Peace Journalism

Peace Journalism is a kind of journalistic practice when editors and reporters make choices about what to report, and how to report certain happenings or events in times of war, conflicts or peace. In so doing, it creates opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005)

In other words; peace journalism enhances the acts of journalists in defending the universal values of humanity, particularly peace, democracy, and human rights, pluralism and respect of differences in opinion. McGoldrick and Lynch (2000) described peace journalism as a broader fairer and more accurate way of framing stories; drawing on the insights of conflict analysis and transformation.

The definition is based on a premise that place great importance to the understanding of conflicts and violence by journalists since their reports may contribute to the momentum towards war or peace.

Peace Journalism is not a new concept. It originated in 1970s by John Galtung. It drew compare and contrasts between peace and war journalism. As Galtung argue, war journalism is a bias toward violence by virtue of focusing on the occasions taking place in conflict and their physical details on reporting death number and weaponry used. Galtung doesn't mention the process that

head to the conflict including its reasons, outcomes and pressures on human lives. (Galtung, 2002)

According to Galtung (2002) that propagating peace journalism consciously adopts an agenda for peace believing it to be the only genuine alternative to an agenda for war. In the process of information gathering and dissemination, these groups map the pre-violence conflict, identifying many parties and more causes, thereby opening up unexpected paths towards dialogue and peacemaking.

Peace journalism is when editors and reporters make know about what to report, and how to report it – that create chances for community at large to understand and to credit non-violent feedbacks to conflict.

If readers and audiences are furnished with such chances, but still decide they choice war to peace, there is nothing more journalism can do about it, while remaining journalism. On the other hand, there is no similar devotion to ensuring a fair hearing for violent feedbacks, if only because they seldom struggle for a place on the news Peace journalism:

- Understand the backgrounds and content of conflict formation, presenting causes and the way gives voice to the perceptions of all rival parties, from all levels;
 - To put creative ideas for conflict resolution, development, peacemaking and peace peacekeeping;
 - Exposes wrong doings, cover-up attempts and culprits on all sides, balancing, and reveals excesses committed by, and suffering inflicted on, peoples of all parties; · Pays attention harmony stories and post-war developments on every side (not just „both sides“)
- (McGoldrick, Annabel Lynch, Jake, 2001)

As Galtung, (2002) peace journalism section of the model has a moral and ethical point of departure, acknowledging the fact that media themselves play a role in the propaganda war. It presents a conscious choice: to identify other options for the readers/viewers by offering a solution-oriented, people-oriented and truth-oriented approach, and this in turn implies a focus on possible suggestions for peace that the parties to the conflict might have an interest in hiding. Peace journalism is people-oriented in the sense that it focuses on the victims (often civilian

casualties) and thus gives a voice to the voiceless. It is also truth-oriented, in the sense that it reveals untruth on all sides and focuses on propaganda as a mean of continuing the war

In sum, peace journalism gives a voice to the voiceless, focuses on the invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to social structures), aims to expose untruths on all sides, and attempts to arrive at a solution to the conflict.

Galtung explains it further:

Peace Journalism stands for truth as opposed to propaganda and lies, 'truthful journalism' being, as mentioned, one aspect in peace journalism. It is not 'investigative journalism' in the sense of only uncovering lies on 'our' side. The truth aspect in peace journalism holds for all sides, just like exploration of the conflict formation and giving voice (glasnost) to all. (Galtung, 2002)

2.3. Concept of Democracy Building

Democracy is a popular political notion in today's world, fair and free elections are the prerequisite of democracy and rule of the law, protection and freedom of human rights and supremacy of the constitution are important elements in true democratic system. (Hanan, Mian et al. 2016)

2.3.1. Definition of Democracy

Prior to taking a gander at the meanings of democracy, it would be of more noteworthy significance to begin with its revelation and its old style meaning. In any case, Arblaster, (2002) in his book entitled 'Majority rule government' plainly puts the origin of 'democracy' and its meaning as follows:

'Democracy', like so many central terms of politics (including 'politics'), is in origin a Greek word, consolidating two shorter words, demos and Kratos. Both terms had more than one meaning. Demos could mean the entire citizen body living within a particular polis, or city-state, but might also be used to mean 'the mob' or 'the rabble' or 'the lower orders'. Kratos could mean either 'power' or 'rule': the two are not the same.

Based on the above meanings prescribed to *demos* and *kratos*, by ‘democracy’ Greeks meant ‘a rule by the people’. However, during the Athenian times of democratic exercise albeit directly, not all were given an equal opportunity to participate in decision-making.

In support of this view, Birch (2001) writes that the Greeks only provided us with the word not with a model of democracy. Strengthening this argument, Birch continues, ‘the assumptions and practices of the Greeks were very different from those of modern democrats.

The Greeks had little or no idea of the rights of the individual, an idea that is tied up with the modern concept of democracy. According to Birch (2001) the word ‘democracy’ was started to be used in its modern sense during the nineteenth century to denote a representative system of government wherein free competitive elections are used as measures implemented to choose representatives agreed that most male citizens are permitted to cast their vote.

Democracy has been defined differently for different cultural and social contexts of different communities of the world. However the relationship between Media and democracy has always been a point in debates. Democracy is generally a system of accountable and representative government that affords citizens choices and participation in the way they are governed and relate to the distribution of power within the system and the ground rules governing this process (Robinson and White, 1998). While defining the linkage between good governance and democracy, and good governance and economic development, expresses deep concern that there exists a dilemma in the conceptual explanation of many social sciences terms like democracy, good governance and development. (Abdellatif, 2003)

He says that it is because these terms are differently and conflictingly defined by different actors like scholars, governments, development assistant agencies who define and analyze these terms within their interests and scope of work.

Beetham (1992) maintains that democracy is a mode of decision making about collectively binding rules and policies over which the people exercise control and the most democratic of arrangement is that where all the members of the society enjoy equal rights to take part in decision making directly – one that is to say which realizes to the greatest conceivable degree the principles of popular control and equality in its exercise. Kendall (2003) Mentions that in international discourse democracy is:- widely accepted as leading to increased development and

equality, decreased conflict especially one perpetrated by the state within the state and increased civic engagements.

Dahl (1998) preferred to identify criteria of democratic governance than to situate a single set of definition for democracy. In doing so, he points out five criteria that ‘a process for governing an association (-a state) would have to meet in order to satisfy the requirement that all the members [-citizens] are equally entitled to take part in the association’s (-the state’s) decisions about its policies’ criteria are:

- **Effective Participation:** according to Dahl (1998) in democracy, before policies and decisions are churned out, equal and effective opportunities have to be provided for all citizenry in order to make their voices heard concerning what the policies should be and what decisions should be made.
- **Voting Equality:** ‘when the moment arrives at which the decision about policy will finally be made, every member must have an equal and effective opportunity to vote, and all votes must be counted as equal’ Dahl (1998) **Enlightened understanding:** Dahl asserts that every member (citizen) must be offered equal and effective opportunities for learning about issues as to the relevance and the likely consequences of alternative policies within reasonable limits of time.
- **Control of the issues:** according to Dahl, for democracy to thrive, citizens must be provided with the exclusive opportunity to decide how and, if they choose, what matters are to be placed on the agenda that citizens must have them for the policies are always open to change.
- **Inclusion of adults:** Dahl explains that all, or at any rate most, adult but of permanent residence should have the full rights of citizens that are implied by the aforementioned four criteria.

Democracy is a form of government in which the privilege of ruling is offered to representatives competitively elected by citizens through fair and free elections, and a continuum of public deliberation is held before decisions and policies are made.

2.3.2. Media and Democracy building

By speaking up for the people and giving these people a place in the media, they become a part of the public sphere and participatory democracy McQuail (2013) in which they may contribute to a social consensus that the injustices against them ought to be redressed.

Mass Media are often referred to as the fourth branch of government because of the power they wield and the oversight function they exercise. The media's key role in democratic governance has been recognized since the late 17th century, and remains a fundamental principle of modern-day democratic theory and practice.

The media can play a positive role in democracy only if there is an enabling environment that allows them to do so. They need the requisite skills for the kind of in- depth reporting that a new democracy requires. There should also be mechanisms to ensure they are held accountable to the public and that ethical and professional standards are upheld. Media independence is guaranteed if media organizations are financially viable, free from intervention of media owners and the state, and operate in a competitive environment. The media should also be accessible to as wide a segment of society as possible.

Efforts to help the media should be directed toward: the protection of press rights, enhancing media accountability, building media capacity and democratizing media access. (Coronel, 2003)

Modern democracy, representative democracy, heavily depends on the media in order for reaching the represented large electorates. If all what democracy want is an informed citizen that could actively involve itself in political life, it would mainly, if not solely, come true through the media. On the other hand, media have also been criticized for not making 'creating citizens that democracy needs' their center of attention, and even sometimes they are blamed for contributing to the creation of 'politically apathetic' public through a trivialized content. However, with all the critics and the obstacles, the media still have a lot to play in democracy (Dagim, 2013).

The transition to a more democratic political system is the significant and theories of democracy guess that democratic governments will take to better results for society than available choices. (Baker, 2007). Surely, the news media play absolutely necessary role in granting the central political role of citizens and applying democracy. Gans (2003) Believes that the news media have a power to assist the idea of democracy, particularly through coverage of election campaign

events (and non-events), almost as if the never-ending coverage could prove that the citizenry still holds the ultimate power.

Saeed (2009) Argues that the maturing of mass democracy in most societies has gone hand-in-hand with development of mass communication as an important player in the organization of public life and opinion formation on issues significant to the masses. To better understand how free press enhance democracy, we need to look at various and distinct role of media, namely, media as source of information, media as a watchdog, media as a civic forum and media as an agenda setter.

Norris (2006) measures how press freedom influence democracy, good governance and human development and generalize that there is a strong relation between the critical role of the free press, as one of the major components of democracy and good governance. Media in all countries serves as a watchdog, as a source of information, a civic forum and an agenda setter.

Norman (2005) Says that both democracy and human rights pursue a common agenda, and it is “only within a democracy that human rights standards or norms are transcended such that the values articulated by these norms or standards are genuine rights.” In addition, it is only in a well-functioning democracy that individual citizens have access to mechanisms to ensure the implementation of their rights.

2.3.3. Democratic Functions of the Media

Brain, (2000) Puts five roles of the media in societies that he called; an ‘ideal-type’ democratic society. These are; (1) Informing citizens of what is taking place around them (‘surveillance’ or ‘monitoring’ functions), (2) Teaching citizens as to the meaning and importance of the ‘facts’, (3) providing a platform for public political discussion and facilitating ‘public opinion’ formation, (4) giving publicity to governmental and political institutions, and (5) serving as a means for the advocacy of political view points.

The other scholars, Gurevitch and Blumler (1990/1995, p. 270) identify eight roles and services that media gives for a political system.

Some of these functions, in addition to the ones that the previously mentioned scholars point out, include, (1) ‘incentives for citizens to learn, choose, and become involved, rather than

merely to follow and kibitz over the political process’, (2) ‘a principled resistance to the efforts of forces outside the media to subvert their independence, integrity, and ability to serve the audience’, and (3) ‘a sense of respect for the audience member, as potentially concerned and able to make sense of his or her political environment’.

The role of the press in a society is a pivotal condition for the operation of the public sphere, in creating a sufficiently educated, informed, and interested body of citizens and create the potential for and informed and freely expressed public opinion (McQuail 2013)

Journalists can play significant role to the public sphere by maintaining and managing a space for public debate, circulating ideas and opinions, extending freedom and diversity for the public, use as a connector between citizens and government, and prompting mobilization toward civic engagement. Thus, the media works as a means for providing citizens with the most important information, from the point of view of their political activities, and guiding public discussion—functions that are taken for granted in contemporary journalism.(Ibid)

McNair (2011) Argues that media’s representative role can be performed by:

Giving citizens direct access to the public sphere, in the shape of readers’ letters to newspapers, phone-in contributions to broadcast talk shows, participation in studio debates about public issues.” After having informed the people and the people participating in a debate, the media dispatch to the government the eventual public consensus that results from this debate. In this way, the government is supervised by the people.

Mass Media and Democracy are always related to each other. Media is a mirror of the society and how democratic a society is, can be represented using media. Opinion leaders influence the public opinion regarding political leaders and political system of any country. Hence, media has an influential role in strengthening democracy.

However, few would not agree that the role of media is influenced by the factors, pertaining to the characteristic of media institutions themselves, for example the policies designed by ownership of media, its financiers, and most importantly working conditions of journalists, who

are largely the shareholders of media conglomerates in any country determine the kind of media prevalent in the country (McQuail, 2013).

Countries where media is controlled by state, are naturally very conservative, and thus cannot perform their various roles due to official censorship and regulating laws. States where media is largely owned by private agencies and groups are less under the influence of government and it is more citizens oriented. Yet private ownership has one disadvantage that it may promote and lead to hegemony of unilateral views and ideas. (Ibid)

Democracy must be exemplified in tangible Practices, routines, traditions carried out by individuals, group, and the society which can be pertinent for varied circumstances.

Such practices give meanings to the ideals of democracy and they must be a routine matter of a civic culture. The interface among citizens is a foundation of the public sphere and the kinds of established rules and etiquette that shape such interaction either promote the practices of public discussion or contribute to their desertion. (Tamiur 2012) Across time, practices become traditions, and experience becomes collective memory; today's democracy needs to be able to refer to a past, without being locked in it. The media obviously contribute here by their representations of ongoing political life, including its rituals and symbols, yet increasingly also take on relevance as more people make use of newer interactive possibilities and incorporate these as part of their civic culture practices. The notions of participation, accountability, solidarity, tolerance, courage, etc. define democratic citizenship which can be reinforced by the media The media has the ability to fortify public perceptions of what it means to be a citizen in a democracy. Media and civil society doesn't have the same roles but sometimes fulfill the same functions .In both media and civil society there are the 'good' and the 'bad'. Biasness and partiality even if the media is independent can damage the credibility of the media. (Ibid)

2.4. Theoretical Frame work

This section discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the argument that media serve for the democracy and peace building by the way they present the issues on the media. Framing theory of media and Normative theory are theoretical frameworks of the study. The theories clearly stipulate that the media ought to function framing responsibly, in order to play a crucial role for peace and democracy building differently in different media system.

2.4.1. Framing Theory

Framing is defined by various scholars differently. Tuchman (1978) cited in Scheufele (1999) defined a frame in terms of role they provide to the journalist and to the audience. Tuchman (1999, p.106) says, “Frames widely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for the audience or people who rely on their reports.” Tuchman is another scholar who defined framing as significant references set by the media to interpret public issues. Tuchman added “Mass media actively set the frames of reference that readers or audience use to interpret and discuss public events.” Tuchman (1978) cited in Scheufele (1999). Entman (1993) Clearly explains that frames perform four functions for the media organization during reporting a certain issue or event. These are defining problem, causal interpretation (diagnostic causes), evaluation of moral and suggesting remedies (solutions).

Entman defines these functions of frames as the following;

Frames, then, define problems—determine what a causal agent is doing and costs and benefits usually measured in terms of cultural values; diagnose causes—identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments—evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies—offer and justify treatments for the problem and predict their likely effects. (p. 55).

According to Entman (1993), frames have four locations in the communication process: who communicate- often lead by his mental organizations, perceptions and belief systems called schemata, the communicator consciously or unconsciously decides what to add or exclude in framing an issue.

The text- consist of frames which are manifested by the inclusion/exclusion or presence/absence, "of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of data, and sentence that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" Entman (1993: 52). The decoder- who may have his own frames of an issue or frames that arise from internal structures of the mind/schemata, but this may or may not be shown in the text. The culture- is demonstrated in executing common frames among the society.

According to Entman (1993) framing in all four locations carry out the same roles- selection and salience. These role of framing are pivotal to construct arguments about problems, causation, evaluation, and/or solution (ibid). Framing is not a clearly explicated and generally applicable concept. In media studies, there is a wide gap on how framing should done. Entman (1993: p.51) has named framing as “a scattered conceptualization,” and invite scholars to reach a common understanding.

In the same way, Matthes (2002) in his exploratory study also found that most of the studies done on framing from 1999-2005 lacked either clear operational definitions or weaknesses of translating framing definitions into operational steps. Giving remedies for the common mistakes, D’Angelo, (2002) and Matthes (2009) agree that a broad definition of framing at the initial stage of a research is acceptable, but they emphasize the idea that a researcher must be clear in specifics of a frame, both conceptually and operationally, or in Matthes (2009, p.359) words, “the translation of a definition to the exact operationalization- must be explicitly stated.”

The other very important part of framing is process of framing. These processes of framing are; frame constructing, frame setting, and individual and societal level influences of framing. Frame constructing refers to the factors that influence media institutions or journalists in the process of creating news frames. These factors can be internal or external to journalism. Factors internal to journalism can be journalists’ ideology and organizational culture. Factors external to journalism, for example, the continuous communication that journalists form with elites may affect journalists’ judgment in building frames (Fortunato, 2005).

Frame setting refers to the interaction or communication between media frames and individuals’ prior knowledge and predispositions (De vreeze, 2005) . In short, it deals with the effects of media frames on the audience or public.

The consequence of framing refers to the impact of media frames on the individual’s attitudes towards a certain issue. On the societal level, frames may contribute to shaping community’s political actions and decision making processes.

- **Typology of framing theory**

There are two approaches that assist to identify frames in the news: inductive and deductive approaches. An inductive approach of analyzing news texts helps create frames in due course of analyzing news texts.

This analyzing process permits the researcher to come up with his own inclusive frames of the information accessible at hand. But, the drawback of relying on inductive method is it demands small amount of information and the frames created by this method are not easy to replicate (De vreeze, 2005). On the other hand, the deductive approach, deals with a priori defined frames that are formed and operationalised prior to the investigation (ibid).

Most scholars are in favor of practicing deductive approach than inductive because deductive approach is reliable and can be replicated. In other way, deductive approach works parallel with journalism practice. However, its drawback is that it expels frames that could otherwise be identified in the inductive approach.

In line with the above approaches, a researcher needs to know the devices that help to identify frames in a news story. Entman (1993) Suggested that the frames in news can be identified by “the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.

Also, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identify framing tools that assists journalists to package media issues. These are: (1) metaphors, (2) exemplars, (3) catch-phrases, (4) depictions, and (5) visual images.

Including some of the mechanisms mentioned above, Tankard (2005) cited in De vreeze, (2005) offers more comprehensive mechanisms or focal points to identify frames. These are; Headlines, Subheads, Photos, Photo captions, Leads, Source selection, Quotes selection, Pull quotes, Logos, Statistics and charts, and Concluding statements and paragraphs.

In addition, Iyengar (1990) explains the difference between episodic and thematic framing. Episodic framing defines public issues as concrete or specific events that are the result of actions by individuals. Thematic framing, on the other hand, defines public issues/problems as abstract instances and put responsibility on abstract societal systems.

Scholars have also differentiated between media frames and individual frames. Media frames are frames that used as, in Kinder and Sanders (1990) phrase as cited in Scheufele (1999, p. 106), “devices embedded in political speech,” and individual frames are frames that are orderly stored classification of ideas in the mind of the individual or internal structures of the mind (ibid)

Based on characteristics, nature, and content of frames, framing researchers categorize frames in to two broad classifications: Issue-specific frames and generic frames. Issue-specific frames are found only in specific topics/issues that do not have broad socio-cultural implications. These kinds of frames are utilized to different issues/topics differently; thus, making framing researches difficult to generalize, compare, and to make an all-inclusive theory (De Vreese, 2005).

Generic frames are applicable to different topics at different times and even with different cultural contexts (ibid). Furthermore, generic frames are used at two levels of study. One group of study contains coverage of politics, particularly election campaigns. A second group focuses on generic news frames that are basically related to journalism profession (ibid).

As Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) cited De vreese (2005) have identified five generic frames: ‘conflict’, ‘human interest’, ‘attribution of responsibility’, ‘morality’, and ‘economic consequences’. The conflict frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries. The human interest frame brings a human face, an individual’s story, or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem. The responsibility frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group. The morality frame interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions.

The final typology is concerned with examining frames as independent and dependent variables Scheufele, (1999). Studies of frames as independent variables are more interested in the effect of framing.

It is concerned with the effect of media frames on the attitudes of an individual or audience. Studies in which frames serve as dependent variables are concerned with various factors that influence the creation and modification of frames in the news media.

2.4.2. Normative Theory of Media

The mass media are presumed not only to have certain objective impacts on society, but also to serve a social purpose. This means that some of the effects that have been observed are both intended and positively valued. These include the effects of transmitting information, expressing various voices and views, assisting public opinion to form on issues and facilitating debate. The many entertainment and cultural activities of the media can also count as approved purposes. (McQuail, 2010).

Where effects are intended we can usually identify who is behind them, in this case primarily those who own or direct the media and work in them as well as those for whom the media provide tools of communication, including governments, authorities and individual communicators. Not surprisingly, there are many different ideas (public, private and institutional) about just what the media ought or ought not to be doing and on how well they are performing, but there is no doubt that much is expected. When we speak of normative theory we refer to the ideas of right and responsibility that underlie these expectations of benefit from the media to individuals and society (Ibid).

- **Sources of Normative Obligation**

The main difficulty is that ‘the media’ in a free society do not, for the most part, have any responsibility to carry out many of the positively valued purposes that have been referred to and that are taken for granted. They are not owned by the government, nor do they work on behalf of community. Their legal responsibilities are largely the same as those of other citizens and organizations within a society and thus mainly defined in negative terms. They are expected to do no harm. More over that, the media are free to choose, or avoid, various positive ends. (McQuail, 2010)

As McQuail (2010) illustrate, they tend collectively to resent any attempt to prescribe their function in society, whether on the behalf of governments, special interests, individuals or even media theorists.

Despite this, there is much in the history, constitution and conduct of the media institution which recognizes certain unwritten obligations that for various reasons are often respected in practice.

There are also many sources of external pressure that can be accepted. Normative theory of media covers both internally chosen purposes and the critique from outside about how they should conduct themselves.

Among the sources of normative expectation, the most fundamental are probably those that stem from the historical context that has shaped the role of the media institution. In most democracies this has meant a close link between democratic political institutions and the role of the media as carrier of news and former of opinion (McQuail,2010).

2.4.4. The Media and the Public Interest

It also implies that we should have a media system that is operated according to the same basic principles governing the rest of society, especially in relation to justice, fairness, democracy and reigning notions of desirable social and cultural values. It is clearly in the public interest that the media do not cause social problems or extreme offence. But the idea of a public interest also involves positive expectations, as in the original fields of application.

As applied to the mass media, its simple meaning is that the media carry out a number of important, even essential, tasks in a contemporary society and it is in the general interest that these are performed and performed well. (McQuail, 2010) .

It also implies that we should have a media system that is operated according to the same basic principles governing the rest of society, especially in relation to justice, fairness, democracy and reigning notions of desirable social and cultural values. It is clearly in the public interest that the media do not cause social problems or extreme offence. (Ibid)

But the idea of a public interest also involves positive expectations, as in the original fields of application. Moreover, media are usually established not to serve the public interest as such, but to follow some goal of their own choosing. The goal is sometimes defined in cultural, professional or political terms but more often it is the goal of making profit as a business. Sometimes it is both at the same time. This points to the key problem of determining just what the public interest might be and of who should decide it.

There are always diverse and conflicting versions of what is good for a society as a whole, and there is even support for the view that it is better for the media not to pursue any normative goal at all. (McQuail, 2010).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

3.1. Research Methodology

Research methodology is the general term which stands for how and by what ways certain study should be done. It is the area where the researcher decides the research design, methods, tools and the process of data collection, organizing and analysis; source of the data and ethical consideration are the core points discussed under this section. In a basic there are two types of research methodologies; qualitative and quantitative methods. In relation to title of the study the researcher preferred qualitative research techniques. According to Creswell (2007) Qualitative research starts with suppositions, a perspective, the conceivable utilization of a hypothetical focal point, and the investigation of research issues asking into the importance people or gatherings attribute to a social or human issue.

Creswell added the following statement on the reason why researchers conduct qualitative research.

We conduct qualitative research because we want to understand the contexts or settings in which participants in a study address a problem or issue. We cannot separate what people say from the context in which they say it-whether this context is their home, family, or work.

3.2. Research design

The research design helps the researcher to answer the research questions effectively and also serve as a guide to select the appropriate data required for the study. The study used qualitative research approach. As a result, it enabled the researcher to qualitatively collect and analyze the data relevant to the subject under study. This study used qualitative research approach and to find out The Role of Ethiopian Media in Peace and Democracy Building, namely OMN and ESAT. We can never achieve a complete ‘scientific’ understanding of the human world. The best we can do is to arrive at a truth that makes a difference that opens up new possibilities for understanding’ (McLeod, 2001) .

According to Creswell (1998) 'Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions on inquiry that explore a social or human problem.

The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports details of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting'.

3.3. Methods of the Study

Qualitative research is composed of multi-methods, which includes interpretive and naturalistic methods to its subject matter. This indicates qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting or as they are and trying to make sense or interpret the phenomena in terms of the collected meaning from the people. (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994)

Qualitative approaches are commonly more adaptable that is, they permit more prominent immediacy and adjustment of the connection between the investigator and the participant. For instance, qualitative approaches ask for the most part 'open-end' questions that are not really worded in the very same manner with every participant. With open-ended inquiries, participants are allowed to react in their own words, and these reactions will in general be more mind boggling than basically 'yes' or 'no'. (Hashemnezhad., 2015)

Roger and Joseph (2011) Called attention to that qualitative research utilizes an acceptable addressing approach. Although a fundamental arrangement of inquiries is intended to begin the venture, the researchers can change questions or ask follow-up inquiries whenever. It infers that qualitative methodology is flexible and additionally gives opportunity for the analyst to get to rich information. In addition to the question and answer it helps the study to observe, interpret and analysis data.

3.4. Source of Data

In an extremely straightforward language, data implies observation or evidence. It is an observation or set of observations gathered through deliberately arranged and administrated devices to demonstrate or refute a speculation or answer examine questions (Belay and Abdinasir, 2015).

The research collects data from primary and secondary data sources.

Primary source: The study used various primary data that were obtained with qualitative tools: qualitative content analysis of both televisions, in-depth interview thereby the researcher used note taking for further interpretations and analysis of those data. The interview was conducted with the media Editors of both television stations: Ethiopia Satellite Television (ESAT) and Oromia Media Network (OMN).

Secondary data implies data that are now accessible or refer to the data or information which have already been gathered and analyzed by someone else. When the researcher utilizes secondary data, then he has to look into various sources from where he can obtain them. So, this includes: previous research work and other documents which archive (Books, Internets, researchers, article and other documents prepared on the research to support primary data.

3.5. Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling is commonly used sampling strategy, in that participants are recruited according to pre-selected criteria relevant to a particular research question. Sometimes referred to as ‘judgment sampling’, purposive sampling is designed to provide information-rich cases for in-depth study. This is because participants are those who have the required status or experience, or are known to possess special knowledge to provide the information researchers seek (Lopez and Whitehead, 2013). For this reason, (Editors) are selected from both media; Ethiopia Satellite Television (ESAT) and Oromia Media Network (OMN) and purposively.

3.6. Data Collection Tools

In this study, qualitative data collection tools were used. The researcher employed qualitative content analysis and in-depth interview. The tools enabled the researcher’s to get reach data both from the media content and the journalists in respective media houses. In this study, In-depth interview was the base for answering the research questions. Qualitative research permit a researcher to view behavior as they are without the artificiality that sometimes surrounds experimental or survey research (Roger D Wimmer; Joseph R Dominick, 2011).

Qualitative techniques can widen a researcher’s depth of understanding of the phenomenon under the study.

This is especially true when the phenomenon has not been studied previously. Qualitative methods are adaptable and allow the researcher to pursue new areas of interest. In addition, the authors stated that “Qualitative research uses a flexible questioning approach. Although a basic set of questions are designed to start the project the researcher can change questions or ask follow-up questions at any time” (Ibid).

3.6.1. Qualitative Content Analysis

Qualitative content analysis is in use in current studies. Hsieh, Shannon, et. al (2005) Explained a qualitative content analysis as “a research approach for subjective interpretation of the content of the text information through the systematic classification of coding process and indentifying themes or pattern”

Content analysis can be used for studies that are more qualitative in nature. It is taken into account by one of its leading exponents Krippendorff (1980), it is basically a symbolic method to investigate symbolic material or media text. Indeed, in conducting qualitative content analysis, there are a lot of activities to do with a good knowledge of the text under the study. Schreier (2012) explained that qualitative content analysis is on use by many current studies due to its quality to address the weakness of quantitative approach.

Qualitative content analysis is commonly used for analyzing qualitative data. Qualitative content analysis can be used in either an inductive or a deductive way. Both inductive and deductive content analysis processes involve three main phases: preparation, organization, and reporting of results (Elo, Kääriäinen et al. 2004).

Qualitative content analysis is one of the several qualitative methods currently available for analyzing data and interpreting its meaning. There are three features which characterize the method: qualitative content analysis reduces the data, it is systematic and it is flexible. Unlike other qualitative methods for data analysis which open up data, qualitative content analysis helps with reducing the amount of material (Schreier, 2012).

It requires the researcher to focus to focus on selected aspects of meaning, namely those aspects relate to the overall research questions. A second key feature of qualitative content analysis is that it is highly systematic.

The method requires a certain sequence of steps regardless of the research question and material. A third key feature of qualitative content analysis is its flexibility. Qualitative content analysis typically combines varying portions of concept-driven and data-driven categories within anyone coding frame. (*Ibid*)

Content analysis is a research method for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context, with the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts and a practical guide to action (Krippendorff, 1980).

Berg (2001) stated that, in qualitative content analysis the view of producers can be easily understandable by the researchers and those who read the result of study. Qualitative content analysis gives attention to the unique themes that intend to explain the directions of the phenomena, rather than the numerical importance of the existence of the sorts of text and context. For this reasons 15 news of each media ESAT and OMN in 2018 was analysed.

3.6.2. In-depth Interview

The interview is a strategy of collecting primary data in which the interviewee gives the required data verbally in a face-to-face or non-face -to-face condition. The major purpose of the interview is to explore certain behavioral phenomena in depth and breadth using those few but focal persons who are closely related to the research agenda. Unstructured interviews provide greater flexibility. They are usually labeled as focused (aims at some particular event or experience rather than on general lines of inquiry about the event), depth (is searching and gives emphasis on psychological and social factors, and non-directive (permits much freedom to the interviewees to talk about the problem under investigation, ((Belay and Abdinasir 2015).

An in-depth interview is an open-ended, discovery-oriented strategy that is appropriate for depicting both program procedures and results from the point of view of the intended interest group or key partner. The objective of the interview is to profoundly investigate the respondent's perspective, sentiments and viewpoints. (Angela G, Tiago P, et al. 2018) For the purpose of this study, In-depth interview, which conducted face to face, was the base. It helps in answer the research questions.

Even if, the researcher uses a set of questions and instructions that guide respondents, the interviewer is largely free to rephrase the questions, modify them, and add some new questions to the list and ask the interviewee.

3.7. Methods of Data Organization and Analysis

In this study, data was organized in line with the methods used in data collection. According to Creswell (2014) data analysis and interpretation involves preparing the data for analysis, moving further and more profound into understanding the data, representing the data, and making an interpretation of the larger meaning of the data. Data analysis is the process of studying organized material in order to discover inherent meaning (Belay T. and Abdinasir A, 2015).

Also, Creswell (2007) stated data analysis in qualitative research comprises of getting ready and arranging the information (i.e., text data as transcripts, or picture information as in photos) for investigation, at that point lessening the information into topics through a procedure of coding and consolidating the codes, lastly Presenting the data in figures, tables, or discussion.

It is mentioned that the study employed Qualitative research method. As the methods of data collection are qualitative, the data obtained within these methods have been analyzed accordingly. The in depth interview with ESAT and OMN media practitioner and the audience is analyzed according to the research theme. So the analysis and presentation will be in a form of interpretation.

In this research, researcher, organize and summarize data in a meaningful, dependable and accurate manner, examine and discover meanings, drawing implications, and presenting the study finding in a manner that has an air of acceptability. According to Belay and Abdinasir (2015) these activities are categorized under qualitative data analysis method. Then, the data analysis method of this study fell under the systematic process of the qualitative data analysis method. Then, Data were organized in sub categories per their themes in line with the subject of the study as comfortable for the general analysis. In chapter four, data analysing was done by composing both interview and content analysis data in a sound manner.

3.8. Code/Inter-coder, Reliability

Concerning coding, the researcher used categorizing the content of both televisions through their similarities. Considering both television contents and interview responses, various sub topics have derived. In line with formed sub topics/ check lists, data were organized per their similarities. A code in qualitative research is frequently a word or short phrase that symbolically represents a summative, notable, essence-capturing, and additionally reminiscent trait for a part of language-based or visual data.

The data can comprise of interview transcripts, participant observation, field notes, journals, documents, literature, artifacts, photographs, video, websites, e-mail correspondence, and so on (Bauch, Gerhard et al. 2011).

The coding system would done in line with the likeness of the issue broadcasted in both televisions outlet separately. Both media are separately categorized in to various subsections per their themes regarding the subject under study. In the study content analysis will employed to analysis the general message, implications, and the intensions of that news contents. Thus, it is not counting words and terms used, instead it is about the general message of the content. In this way macro analysis of the content under study were led to the conclusion that each media build peace and democracy.

The already identified main themes under qualitative content analysis will be used as the check lists of content analysis. The code was given for each analysed news and editors.

3.9. Research Validity and Reliability

Data`s for this study was collected from the selected respondents. Respondents will selected through purposive and snowball sampling. The interview questions and questionnaires will be shown the researcher and were improved as per their comments to enhance the validity of the instrument. The interviewed individuals and media practioners are orientated persons with a lot of knowledge in their working field.

3.10. Ethical Consideration

The basic ethical concern is that the privacy of the participants would be safeguarded. They were not asked to provide their names or any sort of identification which provides a pressure free environment to give responses freely. The research was conducted taking basic ethical considerations into account throughout the research process. Reporting data honestly, without changing or altering the findings to satisfy certain predictions or interest groups was also a major issue of concern dealt in the research. Throughout the data collection and analysis procedures, confidentiality of respondents will be maintained to safeguard their rights.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the data presentation, analysis, and findings of the study. The main purpose of this part is to analyze the role of media in peace and democracy building; Content analysis on ESAT and OMN (Ethiopia Satellite Television and Oromia Media Network) 2018. In this connection, the researcher used codes in place of the respondents' names to keep their privacy. These codes are combination of numbers and letters. 'En1' and 'On1' are represents ESAT news 1 and On1 represents OMN news 1. 'X' represents OMN editor and 'XX' represents ESAT editor respectively.

The presentation and analysis of the data obtained from media 15 news of each media and editors of each media. At the meantime, the data will be discussed. The analysis is made on the basis of different sub categories that have derived from the data. Considering research question of the study and analyzed news of both of media, (ESAT and OMN) the following sub categories are derived and the ground on which data presentation, analysis and discussion are made.

To understand news content, we can first consider the ways in which media content may be categorized. It may be categorized, for example, by audience appeal (highbrow/lowbrow), the medium itself (television, magazine newspaper), some presumed effects (anti or pro-social) and by its format, genre or style. Another predominant approach is to move beyond this focus on content features to consider what basic societal functions the content is intended to serve; this helps distinguish news from other content. (Reese and Stephen et al. 2012)

The news from both media is analyzed based on the situations in 2018 and the data was divided into two categories as: 1. Before the Reform (From January 1-March 30, 2018) and 2. After Reform from April1-December 31, 2018). Finally, the findings have been discussed in view of the theoretical framework and literature related to the topic under study.

4.1. ESAT and OMN news Before the Reform: (from January 1- March 30, 2018)

4.1.1. Displacement and boarder conflicts

Displacement of hundreds of thousands from their home in Somali region and Bale and connection cut off at different place in Oromia are addressed. Maladministration and land grabbing by TPLF (Tigray People's Liberation Front) without any compensation and by undemocratic way are parts of the news. Social problems such as shortage of clean water are the draw backs of the displacement. (On1). On the other hand, displacement of peoples from Somali region and undemocratic activities like corruption was included in the news. Organizing funds for those settled in Harar, Hamaressa, Looking for solution to save lives of people from the victim of displacement. In addition boarder conflict in Amhara Region, Walkait and Raya are stated (E4).

Ethiopia recorded the third highest number of new displacements worldwide, with 3,191,000 internally displaced person. A significant portion of these displacements are conflict-induced, largely related to ethnic and border based disputes. (GRID,2019).

The above news content demonstrates displacements and lawlessness by TPLF mafia which leads to ethnic conflicts and paves the way for supporting displaced and homeless people, to back to their previous peace and stability. According to (Lynch, 2005) Peace journalism digout the backgrounds and contexts of conflict formation, discuss causes and options on every side and gives voice to the views of all rival parties, from all levels. Exposes wrong doing and lies, cover-up attempts and culprits on all sides, and reveals excesses committed by, and suffering inflicted on, peoples of all parties.

“ESAT programming content is mostly focused on political news from Ethiopia, but also some International news. Since from its establishment, ESAT TV news was voice of Ethiopian people and a safeguarded of democracy. It digouts investigative reports and find solutions for the issues that public want to be solved. The undemocratic and lawlessness act, which took place in 2018, was reported by our channel with followup information.” (XX).

Journalism tends to see the violence in terms of defeat or victory for the either side. On the other hand, peace journalism gives an alternative to journalists (Galtung, 1998).

“As the motto of our media indicates ‘Ear and Eye of the People’ OMN informs from every angles to keep the citizen well informed, and promote development and peace of the country. Exposing wrong doings and ethnic conflict due to the system that want to stay on power undemocratically is not a crime or political ideology; rather it is the role of the media to act as awatchdog of the society. At transitional time, media also interests to see report on the change that society want. In every expects media play its own democratic and peaceful role to be a voice for those victims of the system. Despite lawlessness and ethnic conflict in Oromia media stands for the people to influence the sytem”(X)

Arranged ethnic clashes by TPLF around Amhara and Tigray boarder equivalent to Oromia-Somali ethnic border clash, which causes dispalecemet an loss of lives. The opened war between civilians and military forces, unstability and mass protest are presented in both media news content(On 12 and En6). In Peace Journalism as an Ethical challenge, Johan Galtung identifies two modes of journalism; Peace/Conflict Journalism (PJ) and War/Violence Journalism (WJ). While these modes of journalism may report on the same events, the discourses they advance are in stark contrast. Crucially, the former is hypothesized to promote peace while the latter promotes violence and conflict. (Galtung, 2002)

Media and politics are two sides of the same coin. Cook (1998) defined media as a political institution that plays a pivotal role in politics along with many other institutions. Media favours more sources of data concerning politicians and political parties involved in policy making and governance of the country which directly involve public interest. Media has been understood and used differently in the world history in various contexts: war, religion, propaganda, state formation, and nation building.

The understanding and use of media were various for the purpose that a given media attempt to achieve. That could be understood both from constructive and destructive role of media.

It could not be possible to separete media and politics because they cannot exist without each OMN claims that it seeks to offer thought-provoking, contextual, and nuanced coverage of

critical public interest issues, thereby bringing much needed attention to under-reported stories in the region (OMN.com/about-us/April, 2018).

4.1.2. State of emergency and Human Right violations

“Media can advocate for the protection of human rights which are likely to be abused during conflicts, including protection of women and children against abuse; health and control of epidemics; law and order, specifically exposing and preventing arbitrary arrests, torture and inhuman treatment, and so on.” (Malakwen, 2014)

On Febraury 17, 2018, Following the resignation of Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn, Defense Minster Siraj Fegessa announced the country wide six-month state of emergency. (GRID, 2019)

“In democratic states or states aspiring to nurture democratic norms, the media are recognized as a form of public discussion and debate, a source of information about citizens' concerns and the operations of government, and a voice for the voiceless. But, during the announcement of state of emergency, voices of government media was blocked to report on what society want. At that time ESAT played a central role to keep citizen informed.” (XX).

“The command post is empowered to close any media to protect the constitution and regional media outlets are restricted from giving comment on the state of emergency condition without command post will. But OMN address news from Oromia “Oduu Oolmaa Oromiyaa” which means “Oromia News Daily” During this important time to report and provide enough information OMN struggled to bring democracy and peace in the country by being a voice for the voiceless.” (X)

Following the announcement of state of emergency to save the ruling party on power, a lot of human right violations at different parts of Ethiopia leads to riots and chaos. Home stay strikes and fuel blockade which called for seven consecutive days was taken place at different parts of the country.

A proclaimed state of emergency risks further closing the space for peaceful political activities pave the way for outbreak of strike at Gondor, Bahirdar, and Debre Tabor. Most of the protest

leaders are the ‘youth.’ The imprisonments of religious leaders, civilians and death took place at different towns of Amhara. The struggle is to bring peace and stability, to give value for human live and for democracy trust (En1).

Journalists do not easily frighten away from difficult, sensitive or uncomfortable topics such as human rights violations and abuses. In this context, journalists can be understood as the helpers of all human rights defenders for they have committed themselves to ethical and moral standards in reporting as well as to presenting important topics in way that can be productive for everyone involved. Support from public opinion is and always has to be the goal of any reporting since without reaching a broad audience that can take action, the effect of the media is limited at best. (Rawat, 2014)

Any found breaking the law of the state of emergency is subject to arrest without warrant by the command post to face charges or be compelled to undergo rehabilitation for detention with our charge often involving abusive treatment and political instruct. Torture, other illegal measures was taken in different parts of Oromia(On5)

As Normative theory of mass communication describes the mass media are presumed not only to have certain objective impacts on society, but also to serve a social purpose. This means that some of the effects that have been observed are both intended and positively valued. These include the effects of disseminating information, expressing various voices and views, assisting public opinion to form on issues and facilitating debate. The many entertainment and cultural activities of the media can also count as approved purposes (McQuail, 2010).

Reporting the facts toward careful and systematic scrutiny of how those facts undermine or support foundational human rights. Thus, a rights-based report on war would not focus exclusively, or even primarily, on the events between the combatants but would look beyond, around, and beneath those events to examine their ongoing impact on the people and their lives (Alankuş, 2016).

Imprisonment in Burayu, Jimma and Wollega, ultimate live sacrifice, and crisis are stated. The news inform that poor governance and lawlessness in addition with using military forces as means of keeping society silent and to support the command post. Streets were deserted with shops and the shut down in different parts of Oromia ahotbed of anti-government dissent. Towns

across Oromia regions have been deserted as people continue to stay at home. Shops and business were closed and there no active transportation (On5)

The PJ approach provides a new road map tracing the relation between journalists, their sources of information, the stories they cover and the consequences of their reporting. Galtung further state that PJ is based on the proposition that the choices journalists make while covering conflicts tend either to expand or contract the space available for society at large. This leads to imagine and work towards peaceful outcomes to conflicts.(Galtung, 2002)

The calling of activities for general strike against the Ethiopian regime and on the declared State of Emergency was presented. Meanwhile regime military forces are already firing bullets against civilians. The death of many people in Oromia region, local forces are reportedly fighting against the regime soldiers in Ambo. Different demonstrations in Ethiopian Universities also added. (En11)

Similar news was disseminated En8, On9 covers issues on the lives matter of the people with the emergency of state in which the voice of peoples are blocked and violence that shook the country has been tied to disputes between groups within ruling party. Once more the cause of command post illegal measures at different parts of Oromia and Amhara are discussed. These two regions are more effected by the command post and TPLF by protesting the system and participating in the formation of peace and democracy.

The above news contents indicate that the news that broadcasted to stop death and inadequate government measures. Lynch (2005) illustrated that the journalist is a ‘gatekeeper’ allowing some aspects of reality through, to emerge, blinking, into the public eye; and keeping the rest in the dark which show, that the power of the news even if there is no democratic rule and good condition build peace and democracy.

Jack Fuller (1996) describes news is a report of what a news organization has recently learned about matters of some significance or interest to the specific society that news organization serves.

“OMN stands with people to fight the old system which led to ethnic clashes, death of people, displacement, corruption and abuse of power by being a voice and report to the

world. By standing against the system based on what mass wants our media builds peace and democracy, development, and transparency.” (X).

To illustrate this, the news media constitute a decisive arena where narratives about conflict, war, and peace are constructed and disseminated to the public. (Tenenboim-weinblatt, etal. 2016)

4.2. ESAT and OMN After Reform: (from April1-December 31, 2018)

Many studies include news content as a variable, examining, for example, how people process specific stories or their elements, but we consider specifically how news content is explored as a symbolic environment, with its own internal coherence as a system of representation, from which a range of theoretical inferences in turn can be made about the forces shaping it and the resulting effects and societal implications. (Reese, and Stephen et al.2012)

From January 1 – March 30, 2018, the news content of both media are mostly focused on the violation of human rights, demonstration against poor governance, maladministration, corruption, displacement, ethnic clashes and border conflict organized by TPLF officials, the emergency state which leads to the death of hundreds by military forces are presented.

But, the time after April 1, 2018 is different from previous time. This period is where the both news media content was changed to report on peace, democracy, development, diplomacy, unity and exposing the old system fault which try to back in power.

4.2.1. Democracy and Development Related News

To widen the democracy and to support the reform all citizens have to wake up for the new reform which promotes societies’ peace and development. The time is for development and unity in every expects to go far. Discussion of Amhara and Oromia political leaders, unity and different political discourses take place the democratic space for democratic engagement must be expanded to ensure civic organizations participated in the political reform process. (On14)

In the first few months after Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed come to power, following the unbelievable predecessor of Haile mariam Desalegn, Abiy Ahmed lifted the state of emergency and ordered the release of many prisoners. In the same way supporting the reform and the fruit of their struggle at different towns peoples showed their happiness. They start to think as optimist and stand with the democratic and peaceful side (En12).

‘The media is also an important means through which the public can expose social development challenges such as corruption, violence, crime, communal strife, public health and related issues. Peoples think that our media only reports on conflict, but in the reporting of conflict there is a way which that conflict is changed to peaceful and negotiation. We report in our news content on different issues related to democracy and peace building. That is the role of media which audiences want.’(XX)

The result of the past struggle Political stability, peace, and development, are parts their news. Ethiopia is no longer the scene of massive conflict, unrests which contributed to the death of hundreds, destruction of property, factories. existence of mass political arrests and the release of thousands of political prisoners after the lifting state of emergency in June 2018. Considering these positive developments, Political stability, peace, and security is an overwhelming desire of all Ethiopians. The celebrations of the lifting of the state of emergency support rally of new PM at different place of Ethiopia and the edge of happiness was reported. (En13)

Ethiopia’s political and economic reforms have brought about unprecedented democratic opening hailed across the country and beyond. The initial results of the reforms have already begun to show mainly the reduction in unrests which threaten to paralyze normal life and produced much insecurity and fear. (Mohamed Salih et al. 2018)

Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed took his overarching plan of national reconciliation and forgiveness to the public as part of his tour of the country in different places, conducting town hall meetings, speaking with opinion leaders, community leaders, Abba Gadaa and local politicians. This bolstered the image of Abiy as a messenger of hope and change who can lead the country on a democratic way ending decades of authoritarian rule that created so much division and endless conflict among the different ethnic communities in the country.(On7)

4.2.1. Peace, diplomacy and unity Related News

Peace building means reinforcing the prospects for peace and minimizing the chances of further violence. The aim of peace building is to develop society’s ability to sort out its conflicts in a peaceful manner. The media is well placed to facilitate peace building Malakwen (2014)

Parliament also ruled that Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), Arbegnoch Ginbot 7, (AG7), and Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) two secessionist groups, an exile movement were no longer terrorist groups. Initiating parties to participate in peaceful promotion and to bring better stability as reported by (On6) The inauguration of the reformist Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and the Peace Agreement with Eritrea have produced much optimism and has been largely seen as a partial fulfillment of a better desire for sustained political stability, peace and security. The ended state of war with Eritrea by agreeing to give up disputed border territory, in the process normalizing relations with the long time foe (En2).

Restored diplomatic relations, re-opened their embassies and signed a number of trade and investment agreements. Ethio-Sudan relation was restored for the peace of East Africa. During the Visit of FDRE PM Abiy Ahmed to the Sudan, both governments have reportedly agreed to extend supports to what they termed as Eritrea's armed opposition groups in order to enable them properly execute their objectives. Somali Region community leaders also come to Addis Ababa to discuss with the prime minister. To ensure the effectiveness of the coordination of this operation the Ethiopian side has appointed the Consul in its Embassy in Khartoum and Sudan also appointed. (En10).

Conflict prevention and peace building programs use a number of approaches, from facilitating dialogue and negotiations between conflicted groups to using peacekeeping forces to separate armed factions.

As Shinar (2004) illustrate,

Normative premise of peace journalism is that if media play a negative role in terms of increasing the tensions between and among the sides of the conflict, they can also play a positive role by promoting peace.

PM Abiy Ahmed Discussion with Gondor Town community about development and peace including border issues with Sudan. Similarly the discussion was held with Bahir Dar town community about Tana Forum, on infrastructure like electric and health care.

Aware of unity despite of their social, ethnic, religious or other differences, have a sense of belonging to one community and that community or nation is their most valued and preferred identity.

Furthermore, the discussion was with all Ethiopian Regions Capitals community on the peace and handling unity. The spirit of unity, hard working, and motivation for further peace, internal and external relations was raised at different places. The democracy space paved the way for diplomacy and peace. The preparation Amhara Regions delegates led by former President Gedu Andergachu to visit USA were reported in the news. (En9)

Tehrani (2002) defines peace journalism as a kind of journalism and media ethics that strives to change conflicts from their violent channels into constructive forms by conceptualising news, empowering the voiceless, and finding common grounds that unify rather than divide human societies.

“More significantly, an adequate understanding of violence is re-

quired in order to understand peace reporting. In conflict reporting there is also peace reporting, in the way that conflict is presented and investigated for the solution. Peace report in journalism is intended to focus attention on peace efforts and the search for a nonviolent solution to conflict. The anxious critics of government for repress the freedom of expression, banning peaceful protests and return of peaceful and no peaceful opposition from exile, have generated much debate and optimism.

These and other reforms have created a sense of normality with unabashed contemplations of a peaceful, prosperous and democratic future and dramatically change news content.” (X)

Galtung (1964) put two typologies of peace- Positive and negative peace. He, conceived negative peace [as] the absence of violence, absence of war - and positive peace [as] the integration of human society”. In relation to that, he also introduced typologies of violence: Direct, structural and cultural violence. As to him, negative peace is the absence of organized direct violence whereas positive peace is the absence of structural and cultural violence and prevalence of justice, harmony and equality.

4.2.2. Democracy building and Rule of law related News

According to news under (On3, and En2,) Ethiopia offers amnesty to recently freed political prisoners. Passing of law that grants amnesty to political prisoners who have been released and reverses decades of security obsessed rule. The law is in line with breathtaking series of political and economic reforms in Ethiopia. Security forces also killed hundred to quell the protest against inequality, mismanagement and repression. Abuse of power to stay on power by the leaders of TPLF and METEC, and corruptions are reported in news. In the name of industry and development peoples around Lega Dembi Gold Mine are facing problems by TPLF secret hand. Physical and psychological problems are the result of the Gold Mine which even not paves the way for the community to protest addressed under (On10).

The above piece of news indicates that, the jailed of former TPLF officials related to corruption and human right violations are measure taken by government to answer what people want. Presentation of conflict with the reasons and outcomes for the people to make clear what is going on in the country. The conflict or demonstration which is presented in the news was for the purpose of fighting of maladministration and abuse of power. They used to expose something behind the news, which want to be known and informed by people.

Abuse of power to stay on power by the leaders of TPLF METEC, over use of resource and corruption was included in the news. On other hand, the arrest of former Somali President Abdi Iley on suspicion of gross human right violations as well as instigating ethnic and religious violence. The paramilitary unit, (Special force) which he was leader of are also accused of deadly cross-border raids especially in adjoining Oromia region (En15 and On8)

The release of Andargachew Tsige, the co-founder of and secretary general of Arbegnoch Ginbot 7, (AG7) movement for justice, freedom and democracy. Similarly, active criminal charges against Prof. Berhanu Nega, Jawar Mohammed and two foreign based media organization OMN and ESAT. These measures are taken to promote rule of law and for the better achievement of peace. (En9)

“Elite people and elite nations as well as proximity must also be considered as indicators for social relevance: It is more likely that actions of elites affect our lives than actions of other segments of society.” (Eilders, 1996)

4.2.3. Few months After PM Abiy come to power

According to Dugolli, (2008) Peace-building struggles to stabilize post-violence conditions by creating or strengthening national institutions. Peace-building can be considered as a supplement to preventive diplomacy, peacemaking processes, conflict resolution and peacekeeping operations. includes measures in the context of emerging, current or post violence situations for the explicit purpose of preventing violent conflict and contribute lasting and sustainable peace.

But, few months after the reform both media started to address different issues in their news content, based on Ethiopia politics situations. The news are related to different issues, which are the outcome of previous lawlessness and the group which want to stay on power. Ethnic-based clashes also threaten the pace and sustainability of reforms, as fear of protracted violence and political instability persist. In the past few months, ethnic and identity-based clashes that flared in Oromia, SNNPR, Amhara, Benishangul Gumuz and Somali regions caused the death of hundreds of civilians and the displacement of more than one million people.

Protest at different towns of Ethiopia, Death of people by unknown armed forces at Oromia, Somali, Benishangul Gumuz and Amhara regions are address. The violence and border clashes was arranged by those who thrown from the power to restore their previous monopoly by creating difference between nation and nationalities.

Furthermore, conflict which was aggravated by competition for land and resources brokeout between Gedeo and Guji tribes. (En3 and (On 4)

4.3. Framing of Peace and Democracy Building News

According to Entman (1993) Frames, then, define problems determine what a causal agent is doing and costs and benefits usually measured in terms of cultural values; diagnose causes identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies offer and justify treatments for the problem and predict their likely effects. Based on the above data, both media framed issues of peace and democracy building in their news contents as the following:

Before the PM Abiy Ahmed: Before PM Abiy Ahmed come to power, both media reports on Ethiopia political situation to criticize the ruling party which causes death of civilians, announcement of emergency of state, human right violations displacement and ethnic conflict. The way they frame the issue is most of OMN news are from Oromia region, the region which is highly affected by the system.

In their news, TPLF is defined as a destructive force which arranged ethnic clashes and responsible for the violation of human right.

“Oromia Media Network is a product of the unwavering spirit of the Oromo people and their firm belief in freedom of expression and freedom of thought. We believe that the primary purpose of any media establishment is to offer thoughtful perspective on various issues. Cognizant of this, OMN is grand step towards reclaiming our voice, the voice of truth and fair representation.” (X)

Furthermore, much of the power of the media comes from the simple fact that the media tell us things we would not otherwise know. Democracy probably does more to make information a part of journalism than journalism has done to make information a part of democracy. (Schudson, 2008).

“Similarly, ESAT was launched with the objective of providing free access to news and informations to Ethiopians at home and abroad. The programming content of is mostly focused on political situation news from Ethiopia, but also some international news.

The media also has a significant role as a gatekeeper which provides information, filters the issues which promote peace, against those that don’t, and tries to maintain a balance of views. (XX)

The way both media frames the issues are based on their news contents and the political situation in Ethiopia. The previous State of Emergency was characterised by civil unrest in the regional states of Oromia, Amhara and Somali and by the arrest of numerous civilians, there were fewer violent riots and security incidents across the country during the last State of Emergency. It was imposed with less use of violence although there still had been instances where the authorities had shown force in the handling of protesters.

They used the TPLF as a responsible body for the crisis and instability Ethiopia faced. They framed Ethiopia people as oppressed by poor government, which is unable to handle chaos and protests.

After Abiy Ahmed elected as Prime Minister: During this time, both media started to frame issues of peace and democracy in their news as a reform, stability and open discussion with different group of community.

Both media start to frame peace and democracy building issues as: The lifted emergency of state, ordered the release of thousands of prisoners, allowed exiled dissidents to return home and unblocked many websites and TV channels. The situation for the diaspora is less threatening. Members of the Diasporas who decide to return to Ethiopia are allowed to reintegrate into society as citizens, and open private businesses. (On4)

These decisions had widened the democracy space in Ethiopia and could lead to an improvement in the human rights situation, including for members of the opposition. This development had inspired a cautious bright future among observers of the political situation in Ethiopia as the new administration had announced that it will take human rights more seriously. However, at the same time violence, ethnic clashes and abuses of power continued at local level. Both media involved in framing peace and democracy issues based on the achieved democracy space.

Alsam (2011) describes peace journalism was been linked with conflict resolution and advocacy, there is now greater acceptance of it as an attitude that frames a news story.

When the political environment is shaped by an elite that is in agreement concerning the peace process, only one frame, good or bad, is at hand. If this singular frame is favoring, for instance, a peace process, then the news coverage can have a positive influence on the peace process. Rawat (2014)

OMN frames peace and democracy issues in its news content from angle of Oromo and oromia Regions. However ESAT frames peace and democracy issues in its news content by interrelating to Ahmara region. Ours and theirs; constructionist and deconstructionist; violent and peaceful, terrorist and freedom fighter and others words are used to frame TPLF and (Amhara and Oromo)

But, both media frames TPLF as a responsible and motivator of the clashes, instability and violence. To illustrate the above idea Entman (1993) explains that the major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be seen from a different of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue.

4.4. Role of OMN and ESAT in Peace and Democracy building in 2018

Mass media is used as bridge between government and the people (Wolfsfeld, 2004). Media ensures transparency in governance; recognition of public opinion in the policy formulation, and offer citizens an opportunity to discuss policies and issues without fear of intimidation, and thereby they help to create the foundations of good governance.

“The purpose of media is to inform what society want and facilitating for democracy and further development. Sometimes people assume that our media reports only on negative or conflict. But that is based on the situation on the country and for better stability and unity. Media play both constructive and destructive role, media have the power to change people’s perceptions, minds and aspirations, which no other tool can do without coercion. We are serving the community based on the truth by uncovering public interesting issues.” (X)

According to Manoff (1998), an independent media has an a chance which is not enjoyed by other media, in the sense that they are unrestricted in their capability of contributing to peace building. In addition, the role of media are ideally suited to peace building and conflict resolution, because the traditional functions of the media are similar to those of conflict resolution. As Manoff describes, both media played democratic role of media which is not enjoyed by other government media, due to the control of government. At the time government cover voice of peoples, such media play a great towards exposing wrong doings.

Furthermore, it is the responsibility of media to inform, give voice for voiceless, safeguard of the community them to development. Media role is not limited to the situation or obstacle by will of individuals. So, media promotes for the development, shape politics, bring stability, stop violences and strengthen democracy. (X)

Mass Media and Democracy are always related to each other. Media is a mirror of the society and how democratic a society is, can be represented through media. By building and promoting democracy media also play a role in peace and stability of one country. Thus, media with all its means and types can play a significant role, and can influence the conflict area positively, by applying its influence towards ending the conflict, or at least enhancing the peace environment and driving public towards peace

To demonstrate, media owners, editors and journalists cannot simply escape responsibility for their actions. Peace journalists try to expose the causes behind a conflict and true goals of all participants while making sure to humanize all victims of the conflict. The journalists don't try to exploit the loss and suffering but make sure that the reporting is balanced and also demonstrate how easily news can be manipulated. Such reporting is to bring out people that use peaceful measures and speak out against war and violence and document the suffering and loss on all sides. Possible solutions and working to prevent further increment of the conflict are at the center of peace journalism as well. (Rawat, 2014)

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to analyze the role media in peace and democracy building. The study was on the “Role of Media in Peace and Democracy Building; OMN and ESAT News Content Analysis in 2018 G.C.” As water is important to survive, Peace and democracy is what every citizens need to live. It is clear that media have its own role in community to inform, teach and promote issues of peace and democracy. Then, to deal with such kind of situations the researcher tried to inter relate concepts of “Media role”, “Peace” and “democracy building”. In relation to these concepts, the following points are analyzed in this study by the researcher as the objective of the study:

- examining what role of media both media are playing
- analyzing how media are giving attention to peace building in the country and
- Identifying the way they frame issues of peace and democracy building

To analyze these objectives, researcher used Qualitative content analysis method. Data`s was collected from Primary and secondary source by In-depth interview with editors of both media and news content analysis. The conclusion of this study was based on the situations in 2018 G.C. which was divided into two categories as: 1. Before the Reform (From January 1-March 30, 2018) and 2. After Reform from April1-December 31, 2018). Based on this major findings, and conclusions are discussed as below.

5.1. Major findings of the study

As the study reveals, ESAT and OMN media plays the same role toward reporting issues that builds democracy and peace in the country, since from before the reform. Before the reform, both media addresses similar issues based on public interests and to be a voice for people at the time were the voice of people are unheard due to the announced command post by ruling party.

The issues they addressed are based on the situation of that time, at the time were command post is empowered to close any media to protect the constitution and also regional media are restricted from commenting on the state of emergency and exposing wrong doings.

At this important time for building of peace and democracy , both media reports similar issues on violation of human right, displacement, ethnic and boarder clashes, abuse of power, outcome of state of emergency and lawlessness are presented in their news content.

After the reform, (April 2,-December 31, 2018) both ESAT and OMN media attention on reporting peace and democracy, development and diplomacy. Both media believes that the achieved democratic space, peace and the respect for human right are the result of their previous report on exposing and informing what was going on at that time. Further the media news was changed to preaching peace, democracy and unity.

5.2. Conclusion

Based on the above major findings, the role of ESAT and OMN in peace and democracy building are listed as the following:

- Informing political and socio-economic problems of the country
- Being a voice for the victims of the poor governance system
- Addressing human right violations and ethnic clashes
- Playing gate keeping role by exposing wrong doings and corrupted officials
- Promoting for the reform and fighting for democracy
- Informing governments to bring peace and to take measures on boarder conflicts
- Inform the public and to keep them aware of the happenings around.
- Influencing the government whether it is addressing or serving people or not.

To conclude, both media played a role to build peace and democracy of the country by their news report of 2018. However both media framed the issues of peace and democracy building in their news media by mostly focusing two regions, Amhara and Oromia. ESAT news content was focus mostly on Amhara and Amhara region related news, and OMN news mostly focused on Oromo and Oromia region related news.

5.3. Future studies

The issues of peace and democracy is universal value and important for the socio-economic development of one country. However, due to stated limitations in chapter one of this study, the study was focused on only two media to show the role of media in peace and democracy building. This title was stepping stone and open for further study for those who interested. Since the issue of peace and democracy building was countinuous.

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Appendix I

Online retrived news

OMN - Oduu Olmaa Oromiyaa Guyyaa Har'aa Ebla- 20, 2018

OMN- ODUU Oromiyaa Guyya Arraa Ebla- 19, 2018

OMN- ODUU ADOL 5, 2018

OMN ODUU AFAAN OROMOO Sept 8/2018

ODUU OMN LIVE March 23-2018 Ethiopian News

OMN ; ODUU AMAJJII 18 2018

OMN: ODUU OOLMAA OROMIYAA 18-2018

OMN: Oduu Galgalaa Mudde 29, 2018

OMN ODUU AMMA NUGAHEE MARCH 2018

OMN: Oduu Guyyaa Mudde 30, 2018

OMN ODUU Guyya November 29/2018

OMN, ODUU HATATTAMAA KAN GUY YAA HAR'AA. BIT 25/ 2018

OMN: ODUU/ BREAKING NEWS SEPTEMBER, 13, 2018

OMN: ODUU/ ODUU OOLMAA OROMIYAA 2018

ESAT DC Daily News March 19 2018

ESAT DC Daily News April 20 2018

ESAT DC Daily News Sat 21 Sat 2018

ESAT DC Daily News March 9 2018

ESAT DC Daily News 29 May 2018

ESAT Latest News Amsterdam 2018

ESAT Daily News Amsterdam February 08,2018

ESAT DC Daily News 27 Dec 2018

8ESAT DC Daily News Sat 02 June 2018

ESAT DC Daily News Mon Nov 12 2018

ESAT DC Daily News Wed 16 May 2018

ESAT DC Daily News Wed 28 Nov 2018

ESAT DC Daily Amharic News Today May 3, 2018

ESAT Latest News Amsterdam January 27, 2018

ESAT Breaking News Woldia Jan 21 2018

Appendix II

Online Sources

www.Esat-about.com

OMN.com/about-us/April, 2018

Appendix III

An In-Depth Interview Questions: Media role in Peace and Democracy Building: Content Analysis on ESAT and OMN News in 2018. G.C.

- Year of service: -----
 - Position/role: -----
1. What do you think about role of media?
 2. How do you understand the concept of peace building in relation with media?
 3. Do you think that your media report a peace building new in its news reporting of 2018 G.C.?
 - 3.1. If you say “Yes” by what way?
 4. How you understand the term democracy building role of media ?
 5. Do you think that your media report a democracy building news in its news reporting of 2018 G.C.?
 - 5.1. If you say “Yes” by what way?
 6. What role of media your media played in 2018 in relation with the situation at that time?
 7. How does your media handles peace and democracy building issues in 2018?
 8. Did your media reported the events, which have taken place in 2018 G.C. both political and socio-economic problems?
 - 8.1.If you say “Yes” how?
 9. How you framed the issues of peace and democracy building in your news report of 2018 G.C.?
 10. How is your news reporting after and PM Abiy Ahmed come to power ?
 - 10.1 How about before the resignation of PM Hailemariam Desalegn?

Follow up questions and checking questions

1. What is the source of your news?
2. What is peoples perception towards your media news report?
3. How you interrelate your media motto, and objective inrelation with your news contents?

Afan Oromo Version of an In-Depth Interview Questions: Media role in Peace and Democracy Building: Content Analysis on ESAT and OMN News in 2018. G.C.

- Bara Tajaajilaa:-----
 - Gahee Hojii:-----
1. Gahee Miidiyaa jechuu maali?
 2. Jecha nageenya ijaaruu jedhu miidiyaa wajjin wal qabsiistee akkamitti hubatta?
 3. Gabaasa Oduu bara 2018 keessatti, miidiyaan keessan waa’ee nageenya ijaaruu kan wal qabatu gabaaseeraa?
 - 3.1.“Eeyyee” Yoo jette, haala akkamiitiin gabaase?
 4. Jecha dimokiraasii ijaaruu jedhu miidiyaad wal qabsiistee akkamitti hubatta?
 5. Gabaasa Oduu bara 2018 keessatti, miidiyaan keessan waa’ee dimokiraasii ijaaruu kan wal qabatu gabaaseeraa?
 - 5.1.“Eeyyee” Yoo jette, haala akkamiitiin gabaase?
 6. Haala siyaasaa bara 2018 ture waliin wal qabatee miidiyaan keessan akkamitti gabaasaa ture?
 7. Dhimmoota nageenyaa fi dimokiraasii ijaaruu waliin wal qabatan, miidiyaan keessan bara 2018 keessa akkamitti gabaasaa ture?

8. Rakkoo siyaasaafi hawaas-dinagdee bara 2018 keessa mudatan miidiyaan keessan gabaaseera?

8.1. “Eeyyee” Yoo jette, haala akkamiitiin gabaase?

9. Gabaasa oduu waa’ee nageenyaaf dimokiraasii bara 2018 keessa xiyyeeffannoo akkamiitiin gabaasaa ture?

10. Erga Muummicha Ministeeraa Abiy Ahmed dhufee gaabaasi keessan maal fakkaata?

10.1. Erga Muummicha Ministeeraa Haayilemaariyam dura gaabaasi keessan maal fakkaata

Gaaffiilee Hordoffiidhaaf dhiyaatan

1. Maddi odeeffannoo keessanii maali?

2. Waa’ee tamsaasa oduu keessanii uummanni yaada akkamii waan qabu sitti fakkaata?

3. “Ijaaf gurra uummaataa’ kan jedhuufi kaayyoon miidiyaa keessanii oduudhaan wal qabatee maal fakkaataa?