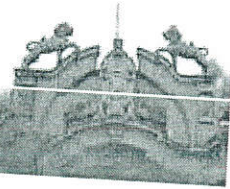
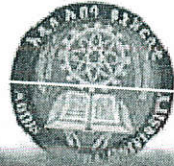


Addis Ababa
University
(Since 1970)



Orientations of Peace Journalism in Selected Ethiopian Newspapers

Kelali Desalegn

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Journalism and Communication
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
in Journalism and Communication

Addis Ababa University
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
November, 2014

Addis Ababa University
Graduate School of Journalism and Communication

Orientations of Peace Journalism in Selected Ethiopian Newspapers

Kelali Desalegn



A Thesis Submitted to the School of Journalism and Communication
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
in Journalism and Communication

Addis Ababa University
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
November, 2014

Addis Ababa University

Graduate School of Journalism and Communication

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Kelali Desalegn entitled '*Orientalisms of Peace Journalism in Selected Ethiopian Newspapers*', and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and complies with the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

<u>Gobremedhin Simon (Phd)</u>	<u></u>	<u>Dec 19, 2014</u>
Adviser	Signature	Date
<u>Abdissa Zeraie (Phd)</u>	<u></u>	<u>Dec. 19, 2014</u>
Examiner (Internal)	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Examiner (External)	Signature	Date

Abdissa Zeraie (Phd) 

Chair of department

ABSTRACT

Orientations of Peace Journalism in Selected Ethiopian Newspapers

Kelali Desalegn

Addis Ababa University, 2014

The study aims to investigate orientations of peace journalism in selected newspapers in Ethiopia: *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter (Amharic)* and *Addis Admass* in 2012. Since the emergence of press in Ethiopia, media outlets mostly serve as a battle field for power elites. The study tries to examine how media address peace/conflict in terms of their content orientation and their practitioners' view towards peace journalism. The study employs Galtung's (1968) peace journalism assumption, which says that if media played a role in promoting war and spreading violence why would it not contribute to end violence and build peace, as its theoretical framework. It uses both quantitative and qualitative methods. Using multi-stage sampling technique 160 conflict/peace related news stories and editorial articles were found from 66 newspaper issues randomly selected from the three newspapers. The technique used to analyze the stories is content analysis. On the other side, in-depth interview was held with 14 purposely selected informants. Results of the study reveal that print media outlets in Ethiopia pay little attention to peace oriented issues both in their outputs' (contents) orientation and their practitioners' attitude towards peace journalism. Analyzed contents remain more of war oriented, with conflict affiliated reporting approach (style) and dominantly conflict story framing. Most stories investigated are war, propaganda and elite oriented with zero-sum outcomes. They also concern on single events (incidents) having visible effects caused by differences among conflicting parties, in a very reactive and partisan manner. In line with this most stories use vilifying language sometimes coined by few power elites in their reports. Besides, most media practitioners in Ethiopia lack clear understanding and enough awareness on peace journalism basic concepts. In general the newspapers do not look at a departure from the traditional (war oriented) way of covering news stories. It is concluded that media houses themselves have limited commitment as well as intellectual capacity to develop peace oriented press.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to praise the Almighty God for everything He did for me.

Next, I have to express my heartfelt gratitude to people who provided me with their unreserved assistances in all the processes of conducting this thesis. I would mainly like to thank to my advisor, Dr. Gebremedhin Simon, for his advice in helping to shape the thesis. I am extremely grateful to the whole staff of the Graduate School of Journalism and Communication, especially Dr. Abdisa Zerai, who gave me a clue for my thesis topic at the beginning. My personal advisor Tariku had also substantial input here.

I need to express my sincere gratitude to my family: my father Desalegn Gebreyesus, my mother Alefu Gebremeskel and all my brothers for their unreserved inputs in my life. Selemon, my brother, thank you for being always with me.

Here I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my work colleague Mikael Desta for his unreserved support in helping me to accomplish my postgraduate study.

Table of Contents

Abstract-----	I
Acknowledgment-----	II
List of tables-----	V
Acronym-----	VI
Chapter One	
1 Introduction-----	1
1.1 Background of the Study-----	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem-----	2
1.3 Purpose of the Study-----	4
1.4 Objective of the Study-----	4
1.4.1 General Objective -----	4
1.4.2 Specific Objectives-----	4
1.5 Research Questions-----	4
1.6 Scope of the Study-----	5
1.7 Significance of the Study -----	5
1.8 Limitation of the Study-----	5
Chapter Two	
2 Review of Related Literature-----	6
2.1 Historical Background of Ethiopian Media-----	6
2.2 Conceptualizing Peace Journalism -----	7
2.2.1 What is Peace Journalism-----	7
2.2.2 Emergence of Peace Journalism-----	8
2.2.3 War Journalism Versus Peace Journalism-----	9
2.2.4 Peace Journalism as Normative Theory of Media-----	11
2.3 Why Peace Journalism-----	12
2.4 Peace Journalism's Epistemology-----	14
2.5 Practicing Peace Journalism-----	16

2.5.1 Framing Conflict Stories-----	16
2.5.2 Peace/Conflict Reporting-----	18
2.5.3 Criticism on Peace Journalism -----	19
2.5.4 Challenges of Peace/ Conflict Reporting-----	21
2.5.5 What Should Peace Journalists Do?-----	22
Chapter Three	
3 Research Methodology -----	24
3.1 Research Design -----	24
3.1.1 Source of Data -----	24
3.1.2 Methods of Data Collection -----	24
3.1.2.1 Content Analysis-----	23
3.1.3 Sampling Techniques-----	25
3.2 Unit of Analysis-----	26
3.3 Issues of Reliability and Validity-----	27
3.4 Ethical Considerations-----	27
Chapter Four	
4 Data Presentation and Analysis -----	28
4.1 Quantitative Data Presentation and Analysis-----	28
4.2 Qualitative Analysis-----	46
4.3 Summary of the Key Findings-----	53
Chapter Five	
5 Conclusion and Recommendation-----	57
5.1 Conclusion-----	57
5.2 Recommendation-----	59
Bibliography	
Appendix	

However, literature on conflict and peace-building gives little focus on the role of the media (mass communication) in peace processes. Even the existing media theory only tends to portray the media as essential in reporting and generating discourses on conflict (Wolfsfeld, 2004 and Bratic, 2006). Yet, the role of the media in conflict as well as its ability to mediate peace is not adequately studied (Watson, 2006). Considering this, studies have been conducted on most Horn African countries (Somalia, Kenya, S. Sudan, and Uganda). Most findings of the studies show that, there are limitations on the coverage or frequency of peace reporting; most conflict related reports are biased towards one of the conflicting parties (Skjerdal, 2012). Some media institution seem to serve as an agent for deliberately architected messages which look like propaganda, while some others concern on sensationalized issues (Ramadhan, 2013).

Media from its early stage in Ethiopia was striving to maintain the status quo of the ruling bodies (ibid, 2000). Later after the establishment of FDRE government, private media institutions began to emerge (Negussie, 2009). In line with the FDRE constitution, press law appeared in 1992. Article 4 (1) of the press law guaranteed "The press stands for the pursuit of fundamental freedom, peace, democracy, justice, equality and for the acceleration of social and economic development". However, most founders of the private media were anti-government activists (Abebe, 2013). The government media on the contrary considered them (private press) as distractive weapons of opposition forces, and the state media themselves seemed to be concerned with government propaganda (Hayat, 2012). Instead of being an agent to create national consensus, media become a battle field of the opponents or power elites (Skjerdal, 2012). Such problems exists until present times. Therefore, polarization is a characteristics of feature covering the relationships between the state owned and private owned media organization (Ibid, 2012). These polarity do not create harmony in the media community as well as political economy environment of the state. Thus, this study is intended to make inquiry pertaining to the polarities which may challenge peace journalism.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The study bases on the premises that everyone claims to want peace and media community has to actively participate as well as engage in peace-keeping work. Peace is beyond the absence of violence. Rather it is a base for prosperity, social justice, development and overall societal wellbeing. As a result this study has a paramount importance to indicate how the media community should be framed to build and maintain peace. So, it has a considerable value on framing of media outputs for the future in light of peace journalism trends.

1.4 Objective of the Study

The thesis aims to study orientations of peace journalism and to what extent the approach is applied in Ethiopia despite the apparent polarization in the media. It has also made first assumptions about the structural preconditions that facilitate the use of peace journalism. Having this in mind the study lies on the following general and specific objectives:

1.4.1 General Objective

- To analyze orientations of peace journalism in selected print media outlets in Ethiopia.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- To identify current print media practice in reporting peace/conflict issues.
- To indicate content orientations of peace/conflict reports on the selected newspapers.
- To find-out media practitioners' attitude towards peace journalism.

1.5 Research Questions

- What is the existing practice of the selected newspapers while they report peace/conflict issues?
- What content orientations do the selected Ethiopian newspapers employ in their reporting?
- How do print media practitioners in Ethiopia view peace journalism?

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study limits its inquiry to the study of the outputs of the media to propagate peace issues in Ethiopian media organizations (newspapers). Due to their nature of global exposure news stories and editorial articles, in the selected newspapers were the main target of the study. Thus, conflict or peace related news reports appeared in 2012 impressions were subjects of the study.

1.7 Significance of the Study

For academicians and researchers: Other interested researchers who will conduct a study on this subject area may use this paper as a reference. This document may serve as reading material that has original ideas and may show other gaps to be considered in further studies.

Media institutions: Result of this research may help for the media outlets under study. Since their stories are assessed on this study, they have a constructive comment that may also be essential for other media organizations in Ethiopia. And the issue by itself is current that will enable the researcher to come up with relevant findings.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

Even though the researcher has tried to make sample representatives, the results of the study might not still represent coverage of the whole media outlets in Ethiopia. The has not take equal samples from the three newspapers, considering their frequency of publication. Such sampling may imply a sort of bias to conclude results. Besides no more coding system was used to analyze contents found. The researcher may take a risk for the possible incompatibilities may happen. Future researchers that are going to be conducted may contain more insight that could be gained by including more sample newspapers. Considering the limitations noted above, findings of this study would be more applicable to the print media institutions in Ethiopia. This research, however, was limited to content analysis and an in-depth interview with those working in the selected media outlets, and did not make an attempt on the reception side.

Chapter Two

2 Review of Related Literature

2.1 Historical Background of the Ethiopian Media

Modern periodicals began to emerge around the end of the 19th century, with the introduction of formal education during the last period of Emperor Menelik II (Negussie, 2008:5,6). In 1902/3 for the first time real Amharic newspaper named by the emperor (Menelik) himself as "Aemro" (intelligence) was issued in Addis Ababa having 200 copies circulated around the palace (Negussie, 2006 and Mekuria, 2003). At the very early stage of media evolution in Ethiopia the media was serving as a tool for the governing bodies with no more diversity of interest and idea (Ibid, 2006).

In 1923 Berhanena Selam, began as weekly newspaper which promoted the ruling class interest only (Negussie, 2008 and Gebremedhin, 2001). However, during the Italian occupation stand of press in Ethiopia had a dichotomy, pro-Italian and pro- independence (patriots) (Gebremedhin, 1993). International media institutions at that time was in the tension of WW II that later followed by the Cold War, which was both concerned on propaganda based media trend (Ogenga, 2012).

The major media institutions in Ethiopia were mostly state-owned. Private media has widely started and appeared in 1991. Irrespective of the continuing challenges to the private media industry current media environment of Ethiopia is therefore included state and private owned newspapers. This study also put diverse newspaper issues in to investigation. Newspapers included in the study are *Addis Zemen* (state owned), *Reporter* (private, Amharic) and *Addis Admas* (private).

Addis Zemen (a daily newspaper) is state owned newspaper which is under the Ethiopian Press Agency. *Addis Zemen* was established in 1941 by emperor Hailesilassie I. Since then it has been working as a mouth piece for the successive regimes. The paper focuses on social, political, economic and entertainment issues. Since its inception *Addis Zemen* has served three regimes with loyalty (Skjerdal, 2012). It also covers both national and international issues.

The Amharic *Reporter* is a privately owned paper which was established in 1995. It has both English and Amharic versions. This study is interested in the Amharic version. Like *Addis Zemen*, the Amharic *Reporter* also focuses on political, economic, social and entertainment issues. *Reporter* (Amharic) has a wide appeal and readership in the country (ibid, 2012). *Addis Admas* is also another famous private newspaper having congruent circulation with *Reporter* (Amharic) throughout the nation. *Addis Admas* was found in 2000 having a content of entertainment, sport and arts. Later, it began to cover social, political, economic and other critical contents. The study intends to analyze orientations of peace journalism in the above mentioned newspapers.

2.2 Conceptualizing Peace Journalism

2.2.1 What is Peace Journalism

The term peace journalism "combines two elements that are difficult to harmonize: 'Peace' and 'Journalism' " (Howard, 2003:9). Journalism is a form of public communication that is subject to professional norms; truthfulness, objectivity, neutrality and detachment. While peace can be defined as a moment free from any disturbance. Peace involves the resolution of conflict and also the transformation of extant social systems at national and international levels. Thus 'peace journalism' stands between the established media profession and to social moments (Hanitzsch, 2007: 2). Galtung (1998), who is the founder of the new concept of peace journalism stated peace journalism as the capability to serve as third party to ease tension or settle conflict at the time of mistrust or lack of confidence. Howard (2009) suggested the following idea for the new concept of peace journalism.

Peace journalism combines journalism with an external aim. It understands itself as a normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict that aims at contributing to peacemaking, peacekeeping and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals and audiences towards war and peace (Howard,2009:10),

According to Galtung's (1998:2) definition which is still widely used by most scholars (Howard, 2003; Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005) "peace journalism is when editors and

reporters make choices about what to report, and how to report it that create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict".

Lynch (2008) on his behalf said that peace journalism explores the backgrounds and contexts of conflict formation, presenting causes and options on every side; gives voice to the views of all rival parties, from all levels; offers creative ideas for conflict resolution, development, peacemaking and peacekeeping; exposes lies, cover-up attempts. So, it always pays attention to peace stories and post-war developments (Ibid, 2008). Peace journalism aims to correct biases with an operational definition "to allow opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict" (ibid, 2008). In support of this Lee (2010), stated the following idea regarding peace journalism.

Peace oriented journalism is based on humanity, truth and solutions; considers balance and hands-off attitude in selection of news and use of language; makes the reasons of the problem transparent; establishes empathy with others rather than antagonizing as you and us; tries to prevent violence before it occurs; puts emphases on the foundations of violence that are not apparent (Lee, 2010: 51-52).

On the other hand, Hanitzsch (2007: 2) said, "Peace journalism aims to shed light on structural and cultural causes of violence, as they impact upon the lives of people in a conflict arena as part of the explanation for violence". It aims to frame conflicts as consisting of many parties and pursuing many goals rather than a simple dichotomy. In another words an explicit aim of peace journalism is to promote peace initiatives from whatever quarter and to allow the reader to distinguish between stated positions and real goals (Fong et al., 2009). Peace Journalism is therefore to represent reality in the media accurately (Hanitzsch, 2007). Beyond its literal and contextual definitions its origin and evolution as a new concept are explained in the next topic. .

2.2.2 Emergence of Peace Journalism

Journalism is an interdisciplinary profession. The foundations of peace journalism are also multi- disciplinary concepts (Howard, 2009). Theoretically the term peace journalism was emancipated from conflict theory of society (Ibid (2009). Peace journalism is now developing its normative values through its own theoretical bases.

Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) said, peace journalism concepts was initiated in an autonomous professional discipline from the work of the Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung, who published the pioneering work *'The Structure of Foreign News'*, since 1965. According to Howard (2009), peace journalism emerged as a model in the 1990s as an alternative trans-disciplinary field by using conflict analysis. Initially, studies were postulated on an assumption that if media can move people to conflict it must contain the ability to work in the opposite direction (Bratic, 2013). Early leaders of the movement were British journalists Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick who attempted to put Galtung's analysis into applicable practices for professional reporters and editors (Ibid, 2013).

2.2.3 War Journalism Versus Peace Journalism

Galtung (1998), viewed peace journalism and war journalism as two competing frames in conflict coverage. He linked war journalism to sports journalism, which typically sees its objective in terms of a zero-sum game. According to Keeble et al (2010), war journalism is oriented in war/violence, propaganda, elites, and victory. In addition, war journalism plays up conflict as an arena where participants are grouped into two opposing sides ('them vs. us') in a zero-sum game and focuses on visible effects of war. In contrast, Galtung (1964) links peace journalism with health journalism, denoted by win-win approach. In war journalism, conflict situation is mostly treated as happening in a closed arena. The conflict is restricted to a certain region where only two parties are involved that have one goal, to win the quarrel/war (Kempf 2010: 30). Therefore, background information and the causes of the conflict are concealed and the conflict is rendered as something secret. "Action and reaction are the two issues that matter in the reporting. It is assumed that the only logical answer to the conflict is more violence and further escalation" (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007: 257).

On the psychological dimension of attitudes war journalism reporting often differs between us and them, whereby 'they' are the evildoers and 'we' are the good ones. The others are the problem and the cause of the conflict. The reporting is prone to becoming propaganda, and is all about uncovering 'their' untruths and suffering they have brought to 'our' side. In some cases the other party gets dehumanized. Often peace initiatives are hidden from the public before a military victory is in sight. With this reporting a deterioration of conflicts and the

rising of tensions seem foreseeable. The war journalism approach to behavior is centered around violence. Normally the reporting happens rather reactively. It will only begin after violence has occurred and the conflict has already reached a high level of escalation (Kempf, 2010: 32).

In other words, war journalism is concerned only on the visible effects of violence such as the killed and wounded and the material damage, that has been caused by fighting, are treated in the media. In general, it assumes "peace is only possible through military victory of one party against the other and a cease-fire they impose on the losers" (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007: 251). However, in case of peace journalism assumptions there are many (at least more than two) parties involved in the quarrel and there are multiple goals that are win-win situations and beneficial solutions for all parties. The aim is to help bring them (back) to the negotiating table. Conflict is not limited to a certain arena and has interregional or international outcomes. Therefore information about the causes and consequences of the conflict is provided and thus put into context and made transparent. Consequently it is deemed that peace journalism is more accurate than war journalism as suggested in the argument below.

Concerning the attitudes toward conflict, peace journalism wants to be more responsible and more balanced than war journalism. Voice is given to all the conflict parties and a focus lies on the portrayal of ordinary people instead of elite persons. All the actors are valued as humans; there is no good or bad. (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007: 254).

Therefore, language that either demonizes or vilifying one party is avoided because it renders one party superior or inferior to the others (Keeble et al., 2010). The conflict itself is seen as general problem rather than a specific conflict party as problem that deserves to be resolved creatively and peacefully. Unlike to war journalism peace is only possible through non-violence in case of peace journalism (Ibid, 2010).

In general media approach to behavior in peace is different from war journalism. "It tried to act proactively and report on a conflict before it escalates into violence or war" (Ibid, 2010: 3). If it still occurs, an emphasis is given on the invisible effects of violence such as emotional damage to culture and social structures. Therefore, violent language is avoided because it takes violent actions for granted. Peace initiatives are highlighted regardless of

possible military victories and have the aim to prevent more war (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007).

However, media role in conflict and war is not always straightforward. Rather "the media is a double-edged sword. It can be a frightful weapon of violence when it propagates messages of intolerance or disinformation that manipulate public sentiment" (Howard cited at Hayat, 2012:10). Media can be a good tool in a healthy and functioning environment but more is needed than ethical and responsible reporting to ensure lasting peace and safety. In support of this Himelfarb and Chabalowski (2008) stated, the role of the media is remaining twofold: on the one hand, media report and reflect on pressing issues and can help to question established concepts and ideas. On the other hand, they can be used for propaganda purposes and instead of revealing truths, try to cover things up and by this curtail people's freedom and right to information. Regardless, the potential of the media in conflict and post-conflict situations remains a net positive, and has been sadly underutilized to this point in time (Ibid, 2008).

2.2.4 Peace Journalism as Normative Theory of Media

According to Fong et al. (2009), like public journalism and development journalism, peace journalism is grounded in communication philosophy, namely the commitment to the idea of civic participation, the understanding of social justice as a moral imperative, and the view that the values and sacredness of an individual are realized only in and through communities. So, peace journalism by itself has a normative value that may be affected by various structures in society.

Normative theory of media is mainly deal with the idea how media ought to or can be expected to operate under a given set of conditions or values (political and socio-economic circumstance) of particular society. In this regard Keeble (2010:2) states that the role of peace journalism is "to go beyond the mere shallow reflections of the violence in the war zone, reveal the root causes of conflicts, and thereby showing opportunities for peace without violence". Contrary to the zero-sum game model of war journalism, peace journalism is metaphorically envisioned as health reporting in which reporters must see beyond the battle of a human body against the disease so as to inform causes, symptoms and preventive measures. The above premises bring an argument that may criticize

former dominant ideologies of media study. Previously there were certain normative theories of media, but there have to be updated from time to time. Practitioners and policy makers need to have new paradigm on communication sector apart from the old normative approaches, due to the dynamic media trends in this globalized world (Hayat, 2012)..

2.3 Why Peace Journalism Emerged

Peace Journalism differs from the conventional type of journalism having progressive approaches on professional responsibility of journalists. The media environment was first dominated by propaganda (direct effect) on which messages was deliberately designed by somewhere interested elites to influence the large public opinion. Later, journalism as a profession began to emerge in a pure science (objective) séance. At the age of objectivity, there is a single reality, and journalists should follow seated direction to come up with that reality. So, reports are considered ultimately free of values and opinions. However, in the modern trends of journalism studies have been exposed the real media practice is not value free. Media organization have always something to say on their outputs. Journalists and their works are not value free at all (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2001). The propaganda model of media, the regime of objectivity and the current real trends as a paradigm shift for the media environment are explained below.

In modern times propaganda is distinguished from other forms of communication by its deliberate and conscious use of false or misleading information to influence public opinion. The invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century gradually made it possible to reach large numbers of people. It was not until the nineteenth century that state governments began to employ propaganda for political purposes to any wide degree deliberately aimed at influencing the masses. Invention of radio and television in twentieth century made it possible to reach more people. The development of modern media, global warfare, and the rise of extremist political parties provided growing importance to the use of propaganda (Baran and Davis, 2003). Therefore, according to Lynch and McGoldrick (2007) propaganda messages which are an indicator of war journalism approach are often deliberately designed to be reported in media.

Herman and Chomsky (1988:2) on their regard assume the dominant American media as comprising a single propaganda system in which "money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public". Herman and Chomsky in their critics of western media institutions (US and former USSR) during the cold war period have found that media are part of a system of structural violence in the international arena (quoted at Lynch and McGoldrick). Finally they come-up with new perspective of media studies named 'Propaganda Model'. So, the Propaganda Model emphasizes the major media's structured subordination to the interests of political and economic elites. Accordingly :

... If the access to and the power over the mass media are unequal and unbalanced...then the mass media can fulfill their original hoped for function as 'peace-bringers' [only] under rare and exceptional circumstances (Becker, 1982: 227).

Based on Herman and Chomsky (1988) assumptions such imbalance access and deliberate manipulation of media basically originates from the power elites of the global political economy. Different initiative has been made by concerned bodies in order to bring balanced access and to some extent faire manipulation of media. The New World Information and Communication Order movement, which called inter-alia for more equal information flows between the global North and South that the extension of transnational information flows necessarily promotes peace. Such structural critiques, particularly the Propaganda Model, have important advantages for peace journalism educators and practitioners (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005).

Objectivity was dominant since the beginning of twentieth century in Anglo-American Journalism acquiring global significance as journalists seek new roles (objectivity) and institutional supports within formerly authoritarian regimes (Hackett, 2010). Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) noted that, when the concept of objectivity originally evolved, it was not meant to imply that journalists were free of bias. Rather objectivity called for journalists to develop a consistent method of testing information, a transparent approach to evidence precisely. So that personal and cultural biases would not undermine the accuracy of their work. Literally objectivity has positive connotations, such as the pursuit of truth without fear or favor. What objectivity means in practice, however, are debatable

questions. Objectivity is not a single and fixed thing. Hackett and Zhao (1998) suggest that in contemporary North American journalism objectivity constitutes a multifaceted discursive regime.

In addition to its social and political roots, academics have repeatedly demonstrated the shortcomings of actually existing journalism when measured against the stated ideal of objectivity, while others have advanced telling critiques of the epistemological foundations of journalism objectivity (Hackett and Zhao, 1998). A related line of critique asserts that the objectivity ethos directly contributes to the production of systematically one-sided or ideological news accounts, and legitimizes media practices that undermine democratic public life, such as a stance of cynical negativism divorced from coherent analytical perspectives, and the framing of politics as a game of insiders motivated only by electoral success (Bennett, 2009). Such critiques are an agreement that the objectivity regime is in crisis. Anglo-American journalism is increasingly dissolving within profit-driven conglomerates, " its economic basis threatened by audience fragmentation, its occupational ethos shifting from public service to consumerism and commercialism" suggested Hackett (2010). As a result objectivity conservatism trends has to be shifted to new alternative approaches. However, no single paradigm has replaced objectivity. But several promising challengers have emerged. One of them was pioneered by Johan Galtung (1964), coined as Peace Journalism, (cited in Lynch and McGoldrick).

2.4 Peace Journalism's Epistemology

Peace journalism stands between the fields of established media and oppositional social movements. Consider the contrast between conventional journalism and peace movement as paradigms for structuring thought and action. Dominant journalism favors timely events, official hierarchies, a stance of detachment, dyadic conflict, a consumerist worldview, and costly production values that may engage them to act as conduit of propaganda. While peace journalism values long-term peace-building process, collective decision-making, political commitment, human solidarity, social change, and low-cost grassroots mobilization (Hackett, 1998).

The above argument clearly exposes the irresponsibility of objective journalism on 'ethic of responsibility' (based on peace scholars' like Bratic, 2006 and 2013 and Howard, 2009

stand) in public affairs. This is caused in conflict situations and journalists are often caught with political players. For instance, based on their previous experience of the media, powerful sources create facts that they anticipate to report and frame in particular ways (Ramadhan, 2013). Thus, every time journalists re-create those frames. They influence future actions by sources. By focusing on physical violence divorced from context, and on win-lose scenarios conventional objective news unwittingly incentivizes conflict escalation and crackdowns, escaping a morally and professionally justifiable incentive of peaceful outcomes (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005).

Peace journalism thus challenges the very epistemological basis for the stance of detachment, not only calling for journalists' self-reflexivity vis-à-vis the institutionalized biases of their routine practices. The incapability of framing and sourcing challenges and interventionist nature of journalism that would tilt to war propaganda in most cases (Lynch, 2008). Peace journalism is not renouncing the commitment to truthfulness, only questioning why some kinds of facts and sources are privileged, and how they feed into conflict cycles. Peace journalism offers interdisciplinary intellectual development in peace and conflict studies, and is reflexive about its normative commitments.

Peace journalism also challenges dominant (taken-for-granted) news values, and usually implicit criteria that routinely guide journalists in selecting and constructing news narrative consists; that are power elite, celebrity, entertainment, surprise, bad news, good news magnitude. Peace journalism's emphases on conflict formation and resolution, on win-win positive outcomes, on long-term processes and contexts, and on grassroots sources that challenge the dominant news values of violence, negativity, unambiguity, timeliness, elite nations, and elite people (Ramadhan, 2013). "Peace journalism's prescription to broaden the range of sources, to consciously search for the voices and options for peaceful resolution, can be considered as another challenge to conventional war reporting" (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005: 216-218). Due to these all facts, some observers see peace journalism as offering an even more fundamental challenge, not just to the professional conservatism of journalists' 'objectivity' but also to the entire global war system and its deadly forms of propaganda, synergy of state, corporations, and the media, suggested Richard Falk, quoted on Lynch (2008).

2.5 Practicing Peace Journalism

Journalist should look at the multi perspective while they are writing news stories (Phillips, 2013). If a journalist is writing news in one perspective such as, give only elite voices and official resources oriented news, it will not be fairly the news framing is. If journalist increases number of sources while they write news, it will help to give fair and true information to public. Journalism news values (the hegemonic one) are more of conflict-oriented and it has paradox with UNESCO's universal journalism principles, which says that, 'journalist is opposite to war'. However, in conventional journalism war is good news, since newspapers circulation will increase (Ramadhan, 2013 and Bratic, 2013).

2.5.1 Framing Conflict Stories

The origins of the framing concept lie in the fields of cognitive psychology and anthropology (Parenti, 1993). Subsequently, it was adopted by other disciplines often with a shift in meaning including sociology, economics, linguistics, social movements research, policy research, communication science, political communication, public relation research, and health communication. In recent years, framing theory has taken over from agenda-setting as the most commonly applied research approach in the field of communication science (Bryant and Miron, 2004).

According to Nelson et al. (1997:567) "framing is a process by which a communication source, such as news organizations defines and constructs a political issue and public controversy". In support of this Tankard *et al.* (1991) defined media frame as the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration. Similarly, Price *et al.* (1997) highlighted that an issue frame is a theme, story line, or label suggesting a preferred interpretation of some questions. Therefore, frames can switch particular trains of thought to the forefront of audience members' consciousness, thereby affecting their cognition towards certain issues (McCombs (2004).

Framing is defined as an approach that is achieved in the way news is packaged, the amount of exposure, the placement (front page or

back), the tone of presentation accompanying headlines and visual effects, and the labeling and vocabulary (Parenti (1993: 210).

McCombs and Bell (1996) states, news coverage of any social movement can use a variety of framing strategies. News can describe the scope of social problem, critique alternative proposals for coping with the problem or detail the tactical moves of activists and officials. Framing news media is very important especially in the conflict situation, because media telling us what to think about a story before we have had a chance to think about it for ourselves (Parenti, 1993). Having this in mind, Seow and Maslog (2005 □ 320-325) found that war/peace journalism is supported by framing theory theoretically.

According to the study of Princeton Survey Research Associates there are 13 types of frames regarding peace/conflict reports that are mostly used in newspapers Scheufele, 2000 □ 295-304). These are:

Straight News Account: No dominant narrative frame other than outlining the basic who, what, where, why, and how. In other words, *straight news account* can be defined as the 5Ws and H principle in journalism, which is known as inverted pyramid. Most commonly used on news stories.

Conflict Story: A focus on conflict inherent to the situation or brewing among the players.

Consensus Story: An emphasis on the points of agreement around an issue or event.

Conjecture Story: A focus around conjecture or speculation of what is to come.

Process Story: An explanation of the process of something or how something works.

Historical Outlook: How the current news fits into history.

Horse Race: Who is winning and who is losing.

Trend Story: The news as an ongoing trend.

Policy Explored: A focus on exploring policy and its impact.

Reaction Story: A response or reaction from one of the major players.

Reality Check: A close look into the veracity of a statement made or information is given.

Wrongdoing Exposed: The uncovering of corruption, wrongdoing or injustice.

Personality Profile: A profile of the newsmakers or prominent personnel's short biography.

2.5.2 Peace/Conflict Reporting

In every situation journalists has the responsibility to report conflicts in a constructive way. Therefore some guidelines and tips have been derived from the theory to show what mindset could enable journalists to produce peace/ conflict reports (Kempf, 2010: 32; Keeble et al, 2010:3).

Guidelines

Report before violence happens and before violent measures are threatened. Identify conflicts early by paying attention to conflict situations that the ruling elites can (still) control. Be accurate by showing multiple facets of a conflict. Do not only stick to elite sources but also investigate the concerns of ordinary people and minority groups. Show empathy to all parties of the conflict; do not distinguish between people or their statuses. Therefore avoid language that victimizes or demonizes certain parties because it renders them superior or inferior to the other conflict parties. Do not dramatize the conflict by letting it appear more severe than it really is. This only leads to a polarization of the conflict and hinders a constructive conflict resolution. Base your reporting on factual information.

Tips

Before you ask questions, listen and observe. Be aware of hidden agenda and prejudices. Paint a bigger picture without blame/put in context .Watch out for loaded language. Open up creative possibilities which may lead to healthy solutions. Broaden mainstream definitions of who and what is newsworthy so we do not marginalize any sector. Recognize that a certain piece of news is part of a process and is not just a series of unrelated events and try to provide links. Be aware of how you frame a story

In general, peace journalists try to uncover the causes behind a conflict and true goals of all participants while making sure to humanize all victims of the conflict. The journalists do not try to exploit the loss and suffering but make sure that the reporting is balanced and also demonstrate how easily news can be manipulated. Part of the ethical guidelines for this kind of 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 trying to prevent further escalation of the conflict are at the centre of peace journalism as well (Dean, 2007). The same author suggested what peace journalists should provide "... a service for journalists striving to uphold values of balance, fairness and responsibility in their coverage of international affairs" (Ibid, 2007:2).

2.5.3 Criticisms on Peace Journalism

Several scholars and journalists have criticized peace journalism starting from its basic definition. Hanitzsch (2007) argues that there is no single and universal concept of peace journalism. "The idea of peace journalism is rather driven by a heterogeneous movement which does not always define itself in a clear-cut manner" (Ibid, 2007:10). So it is difficult to have clear cut trend that will feed to a given media environment. Opponents argue that peace journalism is a "prescriptive orthodoxy [that] ... abandons good journalism" (Lynch, 2008:16). They suggest that peace journalism foolishly abandons the search for truth advanced through balanced (objective) reporting without acknowledging the practical limits of time, talent, and energy and without providing mechanisms to facilitate effective gathering of credible alternative information (Hanitzsch, 2007).

Hanitzsch (2004) and Hackett (2006), criticized peace journalism and its related approaches for being odd from the early mass communication theory. Peace journalism is based on the assumption of powerful, causal and linear media effects. Communication theory, however, has produced very little empirical support for this approach. Peace journalism looks at the audience as an aggregate of dispersed individuals, but communication theory has identified multiple audiences with different characteristics. Peace journalism assumes that publishers and journalists, especially at the local media level, can disregard interests of their specific audiences; but communication theory suggests that this assumption is unnatural and economically impossible. Peace journalism places responsibility on the media to prevent, manage, resolve, and transform conflicts; but communication theory does not recognize this role, and sociological system theory places responsibility for these functions on political institutions and leaders.

Lee (2010) argues that journalists do not have peace builders'/keepers' role. They simply report whatever occurred as a neutral body. "Propagating peace remains the role of peace and security activists. So the notion of peace journalism by itself creates role conflict

among professional journalists and peace activists" (Ibid, 2010:6). Besides, Journalism is Journalism; no need of labeling as Peace Journalism, Development Journalism, Human Rights Journalism, etc. Such trend creates favorable condition for interesting groups to manipulate the profession (Phillips, 2013). The above mentioned criticisms sought by different scholars can't all be considered as hallmarks of peace journalism. Main points that have to be raised against the criticism are stated in the next topic.

Even though, argued Dag (2013) scholarly criticisms has directed towards the peace journalism model, new theoretical approaches has been immediately proposed to solve these challenges. Among the scholars, who advocate the new concept of peace journalism, Howard (2009) presented five ideological categories that enable media to place on peace side, that may initiate them to repair their conventional stand. The first categories that embodies conventional journalism, as most Westerners know it. The style involves objective or neutral journalism, often reporting the so called 'unbiased' information. In addition, the journalist takes no responsibility for reactions of the consumers of that information. Stage two adds an element of journalistic responsibility to the reporter's standards. Western and/or cultural generalizations must be avoided and recklessness such as exposing interviewees to persecution is frowned upon. Howard notes, however, that for peace builders, the opportunity lies in sensitizing journalists and advancing the infrastructure of a free media, including independent diverse sources and modern technology. Complicity replaces neutrality in Stage Three. The journalist carries an enormous amount of responsibility for the reporting. At this stage, according to Howard, maximizing peace building via positive stories is essential. Stage Four shifts its gear to focus on competitive, commercial or political advantage-seeking, and into constructive media for the express purposes of peace building. Finally, Stage Five is a blanketing campaign that uses any means possible to distribute a carefully crafted message to address peaceful conflict resolution (Ramadhan, 2013).

2.5.4 Challenges of Peace/ Conflict Reporting

In most cases the key challenges for journalism profession are to work against those practices; prejudices and vested interests which undermine journalistic integrity and betray the public (Griffin, 2012). Though good, honest, reliable and truthful, journalism is a basic starting point for communities to create peaceful social structures, the challenge is for each journalist to work to higher standards, to pursue truth in all our coverage of stories with impartiality. That is always the task and calling of the profession in every situation, and particularly in the reporting and coverage of conflict. Dean (2007) stated that inter-communal violence is often triggered by wrong information, and deliberate disinformation. Such challenges are series danger not only for peace journalism trends but also for the foundation of journalism, which is the pursuit of truth (Kovach and Toam: 2001).

In addition the main problems facing journalists in conflict is lack of technological skills, information-gathering methods, and understanding of ethical principles (Bratic, 2013). Violence or war situation by itself challenges the ability of professional journalists to remain balanced and accurate, and strengthens their tendency towards sensationalism and simplification. This is because the complexity of conflict environment constrains journalism and prevents it from its normal operation. Violence is a destructive force that immobilizes society and severely obstructs daily journalistic operations. Threats and physical violence makes the manipulation of information sources possible, limits the movement of journalists and puts them under physical and psychological pressure. Additionally, parties in conflict (governments, political parties, ethnic groups) often monopolize and control the media which makes balance and impartiality impossible by default. In short, "conflict violence prevents journalists from performing their jobs and severely limits their ability to remain balanced, accurate and impartial" (Bratic,2013:11).

Jan, and Khan (2011) on their regard suggest freebies and envelops may enable journalists not to follow the basic principles of peace journalism. Though peace journalism looks at both sides, and come up with critical truth, journalist those who put their own interest a head of the public interest couldn't practice it properly. They will bias

towards their personal gain. However the aspect of truth in peace journalism holds for all sides by exploring the formation of conflict and giving voice to all.

2.5.5 What Should Peace Journalists Do?

Peace journalism's responsibility is to equally present all sides and to allow common people, not elites or leaders to express genuine thoughts and ambitions. Unlike the conventional media, peace journalism coverage would introduce the multiplicity of actors on each side, and familiarize readers with the sensitivities of everyone involved, (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005). Peace journalists are not expected to act out the universal standards of journalism. Rather, it is simply interpreting the standards in a critical way that will add value to societal wellbeing. It is all about redefining and reconstructing the role of journalists who cover conflicts. Peace journalism practitioners have often raised the questions of 'how to transform the previous hegemonic journalistic trends'. This may go up to the question of how to shift political economy of the entire media industry (Hackett, 2006). For further knowledge some recommended tips are attached at the annex section.

Chapter three

3 Research Methodology

The study focuses on the mass media organizations in Ethiopia. Thus, *Addis Zemen* (state owned), *Reporter* (private) and *Addis Admass* (private) are subjects of this study. These three media institutions are selected for the study because they are among the most influential, popular and long time sustained media institutions in Ethiopia (Selomon, personal interview on May 10/2014). Detailed methods of the study that were employed in the study are stated below.

3.1. Research Design

The study employed both qualitative and quantitative approach in triangulation. These approaches helped the researcher to come up with practical findings. Since, reality is neither predominantly represented by number nor completely expressed through merely words, it is relevant to mix both approaches in the study (Wimmer and Dominick, 2003). Content analysis was used to investigate quantitative items while the qualitative way was done through qualitative analysis entertained on the in-depth interview held. According to Loffelholz and Weaver (2008) and Kothari (2004), content analysis is the most appropriate method to investigate media contents. Therefore the thesis uses a combined method of both Quantitative and Qualitative approach to be able to answer the research questions posed in the study.

3.1.1 Source of Data

Both primary and secondary data were used in this study. The primary data were focused on study correspondents' interview and formal as well as informal personal observations. Scholarly articles, media outputs, journals, books, webs and any other form of documents were obviously employed as secondary data sources for the study.

3.1.2 Methods of Data Collection

In the study in- depth interviews was the tool employed to gather primary data that provide more evidence to the results obtained from the content analysis (Gunter, 2000). The interviews were held with correspondents that were purposely selected (those who

can forward better information to this study subject area). Media gatekeepers (mainly editors and reporters), scholars, concerned government bodies and other related sources were considered as interview correspondents. The in-depth interview was led by the interviewer (the researcher and other deliberately delegated person), assisted by a digital sound recorder and note book. On the interview practitioners' attitude regarding peace journalism, media scholars' perspective and to what extent the government authorized bodies give attention for peace journalism orientations were assessed carefully.

3.1.2.1 Content analysis

In this study quantitative content analysis has helped the researcher in identifying the frequency and extent of peace/conflict issues coverage, frames used, story orientations, reporting approaches used and other related data. This method is adopted by many researchers to "study media content or the outputs of media since 1940s after WW II (Kothari, 2004) In this study three newspapers (Addis Zemen, Reporter and Addis Admass) are subjects of the study. A total of 160 peace/conflict related news stories as well as editorial articles were found in the newspapers. The researcher has tried to analyze the stories in light of peace journalism concepts stated in the literature review.

The rationale behind why the researcher decided to employ content analysis is that, it is more objective, systematic and easy to analyze media contents (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003). Since it is more concerned on quantitative data (Ibid, 2003) it is more replicable than any other approaches. Reliance on quantification, however, is challenged by interpretive and critical scholars who doubt the importance of quantification in understanding media content (Gunter, 2000). So as to minimize the limitations of quantitative content analysis qualitative content analysis was also used to present and analyze qualitative data found via in-depth interview, since detail qualitative data are easily cached in this approach (Gunter, 2000 and Wimmer & Domnick, 2003). In the qualitative content analysis media scholars' perspective on peace journalism, media practitioners' attitude towards it, and challenges they face to practice peace journalism were assessed.

3.1.3 Sampling Techniques

The researcher has used purposive sampling for the media outlets and interview participants. While the newspaper editions were selected in a stratified sampling approach. Detail sampling methods are stated below.

Selection of Media Outlets: the researcher choose Addis Zemen, Reporter (Amharic) and Addis Admass newspapers purposely, whose selections was believed to provide diverse views entertained by the Ethiopian print media. These three newspapers were selected because they represent the newspapers that are currently working in Ethiopia; Addis Zemen assumed to represent pro-government papers, the Amharic Reporter represents moderate papers while Addis Admass relatively belongs to the government critique media institution (Gebremedhin, personal interview on April 25/2014). Besides, these three newspapers exists for the last 14 years (at least). So they will sufficiently represent the time frame as well.

Selection of newspaper issues: the study has been employed stratified sampling method, which is the "most appropriate technique to be used on content analysis of media outputs that consists of more than two sampling techniques" (Wimmer and Domnick, 2006:157). *Addis Zemen* is daily, *Reporter* is biweekly while *Addis Admass* is weekly newspapers, and samples has been taken in a proportional way from each newspapers, since objective of the study is not to made comparison among the newspapers, rather it focuses on the general concern. In this regard, having a simple mathematical calculation the ratio given to each newspaper is clearly shown in the table below.

Table 1. Newspaper editions (issues) sampling illustration

No.	Newspapers	Sample population	Samples that was taken		Sample frame (samples taken from)	Remark
			Percentage	Number		
1	<i>Addis Zemen</i>	365	72 %	48	One from each week	Daily
2	<i>Reporter</i>	96	19 %	12	One from each month	Bio-weekly
3	<i>Addis Admass</i>	48	9 %	6	One from each two months	Weekly
Total		509	100 %	66		

As it is clearly shown in the above table, time frames were taken as a strata, and the sample size given to the time sated were selected in a simple random sampling method. Such approach is "most impartial, easier, less costly and objective enough to represent the whole population" (Kothari, 2004:62). In this way, total of 66 newspaper editions were taken to be investigated. Comparisons were made in a proportional manner (percentage value), since sample taken from each paper were not equal in number.

Time selection: 2012 was selected as time frame for the study. Sampled newspaper issues, which are subjects of the study, were published on 2012 fiscal year. The reason behind is that there were potential conflicts happened at that time than other early fiscal years. So, the researcher has assumed the year 2012 has more conflict related issues to be studied. Incidents like religious tribalism of the Muslims, displacement of settlers, some business related disputes and other conflicts that were mostly happened at that time, are mostly investigated stories covered by the newspapers.

Selection of Respondents for interview: Respondents for the in-depth interview were also selected through purposive sampling, because, gives a chance for the researcher to apply his/her expertise knowledge to select samples which he thinks represent the population (Berg, 2011). The researcher assumed representatives of the industry (mass media), government authorities as well as regulatory bodies and media academic scholars can deliver relevant data on the area. Thus, editor-in-chief and reporters of the three newspapers, two executive officials from the Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (EBA) were also interviewed deeply. Besides, two media scholars from Addis Ababa University School of Journalism and Communications were selected as in-depth interview respondents.

3.2. Units of Analysis

Peace/conflict related news stories and editorial pages were taken as a unit of analysis, since both sections are mostly exposed and familiar contents to the large audience (Hanitzsch, 2009). From the selected newspapers 66 peace/conflict related news stories and editorial articles were taken for analysis. The study also focused on practitioners' attitude, perspectives of media scholars as well as the real practice of print media in Ethiopia regarding peace journalism. Since the theoretical frameworks of this research is

the framing paradigm for the new approach of peace journalism, coding sheet was prepared to record results of content analysis that come up with answers to the research questions.

3.3. Issues of Validity and Reliability

As mentioned in the above parts the study employed both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The researcher has tried to make these methods compatible with the study approach as much as possible. Quantitative analysis was done through practical statistical methods that could be even replicated later. However, the result may not always be similar. It varies with the nature of data inputs employed. Besides, in case of qualitative analysis it cannot be replicated at all. Therefore, the researcher has come up with his original /critical/ dimension, saving statistical consistency and logical reasoning as much as possible. Though there is wide and very deep discrepancy between qualitative and quantitative research methods, using both of them is very important to check the accuracy of the data gathered by each method (Berg, 2001). So errors faced to make general conclusion on the whole are limited.

3.4. Ethical Considerations

The study was done on the bases of informed consent and confidentiality of the information that was assured by excluding names of correspondents from identification. Privacy matters of all correspondents on the study will be kept in a very careful way. No one participated in the study will be exposed for danger due to what s/he express for the sack of study input. Sources /documents/ used in the study were cited carefully.

Chapter Four

4 Data Presentation and Analysis

The study is intended to make inquiry on the basic orientations of peace journalism in the Ethiopian media environment. It has also attempted to assess whether the basic principles of peace journalism are recognized and accepted by the selected newspapers. The study incorporates both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Quantitative analysis was done through content analysis, while qualitative data were assessed through discourse analysis. In the content analysis the researcher has labeled some contents as 'cannot be judged' for the stories that was difficult to categorize or identify their nature. The qualitative analysis is done in an open-ended manner. Frequencies of coverage and percentage value of each newspaper with their cumulative (total) tendency are used to describe the contents analyzed. Specific tendencies have been measured with frequency while the percentage value is used to make comparisons among the newspapers.

4.1 Quantitative Data Presentation and Analysis

The study has basically employed content analysis technique to explore the orientations of peace journalism in Ethiopian media organizations specifically newspapers. Data found from the media outputs are analyzed carefully in light of the scholarly literatures stated using the study parameters. Frequencies of coverage of each papers in number and percentage values has been used to measure the quantitative data. The contents extended have been quantified on the selected newspapers in light of peace journalism concepts (McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000). Parameters used are frequency and extent of coverage, content orientations, reporting approaches, story frames and intensity of coverage are used to organize the quantitative data analyzed.

4.1.1 Frequency of Coverage

Since the study is concerned on analyzing contents of news stories in light of peace Journalism concepts, identifying conflict or peace related stories were the first task that has been done. Stories those are out of peace or conflict related issues were not assessed. Rather news stories and editorial articles with a theme of war, controversy, agreement disagreement, conflict, consensus, peace, reconciliation and other related issues were the

main subjects for the study. Stories those who do not concern on at least one of the above issue was not considered in the study. The following table presents the number of conflict/peace related stories found in the selected newspapers.

Table. 2. Frequency of peace/conflict related reports in the selected newspapers

Name of the Newspaper	Addis Zemen	Reporter	Addis Admass	Total
Number of Conflict/Peace stories	100	36	24	160

100 peace/conflict related stories have been found in *Addis Zemen*, 36 in *Reporter* (Amharic) and 24 in *Addis Admass*. A total of 160 conflict/peace related news stories has been assessed in the study.

4.1.2 Extent of Coverage

As it has been stated earlier the study has tried to assess news stories and editorial articles. Because, news stories are mostly readable portion of newspaper, while editorial articles clearly show the stand of newspapers on different issues raised, (Gunter, 2000). Categorizing in such manner help the researcher to show how the newspapers address peace/conflict related issue to their readers.

The stories' format (type), topics, theme and issue of coverage have been given major focus. In this regard, most of the stories found were in a hard news form than in soft news stories and editorial articles. Political and socio-cultural conflict/peace related issues have got more coverage than other issues, and major topics of the stories found have war theme. National and international conflicts have also get more coverage comparing to local and regional incidents at the newspapers under investigation. The table below (table 3) clearly shows the detail extents of story coverage on each newspaper.

Story format: The following table (table 3) shows 49%, 38% and 13% of the stories found in *Addis Zemen* was hard news, soft news and editorial articles consecutively. *Reporter* had 41.7% hard news, 41.7 soft news and 16.7% editorial articles. While *Addis Admass* had extended 54.2% hard news, 29.1% soft news and 16.7% editorial articles. What we can understand here is that, *Addis Admass* has maximum hard news coverage than others, where as *Reporter* has an equal proportion of hard and soft news stories'

coverage. Both Reporter and *Addis Admass* have also similar proportion of editorial articles concerned on peace/conflict related issues. Totally, out of 160 stories 77 (48.18%) were hard news stories, 60 (37.5%) soft news stories and 23 (14.4%) editorial articles. Thus, newspapers mostly report conflict/peace related issues as hard news stories, that may show to what extent does the newspaper give priority for conflicting issues.

Table 3. Extent of the conflict/peace related stories reported in the selected newspapers

Extents		Addis Zemen		Reporter		Addis Admass		Total	
		No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)
Story formats	Hard news	49	49 %	15	41.7 %	13	54.2 %	77	48.1 %
	Soft news	38	38 %	15	41.7 %	7	29.1 %	60	37.5 %
	Editorial	13	13 %	6	16.7 %	4	16.7 %	23	14.4 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %
Story topics	Economic	21	21 %	15	41.6 %	5	21 %	41	25.6 %
	Social & cultural	34	34 %	12	33.3 %	7	29.1 %	53	33.1 %
	Political	41	41 %	9	25 %	10	41.6 %	60	37.5 %
	Others	4	4 %	0	0 %	2	8.3 %	6	3.8 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %
Story types	War	38	38 %	11	30.5 %	12	50 %	61	38.1 %
	Peace	17	17 %	7	19.4 %	2	8.3 %	26	16.3 %
	Reconciliation	10	10 %	6	16.6 %	3	12.5 %	19	11.9 %
	Harmony	12	12 %	3	8.3 %	2	8.3 %	17	10.6 %
	Neutral	7	7 %	9	25 %	4	16.7 %	20	12.5 %
	Others	16	16 %	0	0 %	1	4.1 %	17	10.6 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %
Issues raised	Local	7	7 %	13	36.1 %	11	45.8 %	31	19.4 %
	National	26	26 %	14	38.9 %	8	33.3 %	48	30 %
	Regional	23	23 %	6	16.6 %	3	12.3 %	32	20 %
	International	44	44 %	3	8.3 %	2	8.3 %	49	30.6 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %

Story topics: So as to assess peace/conflict stories coverage major story topics has addressed by the study as follows. Table 3 also shows that *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass* newspapers are mostly concerned about political conflicts, which accounted 41% & 41.6% respectively where as 41.6% of Reporter stories remains more interested in economic conflicts. All the newspapers has almost similar concern on socio-cultural conflicts that range from 29.5%-34%. As to the total results, political conflicts were shared 37.5% of the stories covered, while 33.1% of the stories were also socio-cultural conflicts. The rest 25.6% of the stories were dedicated to economic issues, while the remaining 3.8 % of the total stories are other related stories. So, coverage of stories in the newspapers was not to some extent balanced. And the newspapers coverage is mostly political issue.

Story types: According to the above table, war is a dominant theme on all newspapers story coverage. In each newspapers 50% of *Addis Admass*, 38.8 % of *Addis Zemen* and 30.5% of *Reporter* stories fall under war theme. Out of the total stories (160) covered by the three newspapers 38.1% were war affiliated stories. Peace, reconciliation, harmony and neutral themes were given little coverage on the three newspapers. However, *Reporter* is better to become neutral; about 25% of its stories were about peace. The remaining 10.6 % of the total stories covered by the three newspapers were other kind of stories with different themes.

Though, the data may not have any implication to conclude as the newspapers are propagating war than peace, it indicates theme of most reports were full of tension and controversies. Whether deliberately or not war related issues and extending war affiliated story contents are among the shortcomings of the existing journalism practice, (Hackett and Zhao, 1998). Similarly newspapers under investigation are still practicing the westernized mainstream media trend which is most probably war oriented. Literatures suggest that media are sensitive on conflicts or war issues by nature. So as to attract readers' (audiences') attention, they will be able to shine a light on conflicts, (UNOWA, 2005). Thus, most of the newspapers as shown in table 3 are extremely focused on war affiliated reports that may base them towards sensationalism or deliberately backed propaganda.

Issues raised: Geographic coverage of stories covered by the newspapers may also have its own implication on the study analysis. Thus, in the study 30.6 % of the stories were international, while 30% of the stories were national issues. *Addis Zemen* was concerned on international (44%), national (76%) and regional 23% issues. Besides, 38.9% of the *Reporter*'s stories were about national issue while 36.1% were on local. On the contrary, *Addis Admass* mostly covers local conflicts; 45.8% of its stories were on local issues, whereas 33.3% of its stories were national. Thus, *Addis Admass* and *Reporter* has limited coverage on regional and international issues. To the contrary *Addis Zemen* has little coverage (7% only) of local conflicts. Since *Addis Zemen* is a broadsheet daily national newspaper it is expected to cover more international and regional issues than *Reporter* and *Addis Admass*. In case of local and national conflicts, *Addis Zemen* has a gap to concern on proximate conflicting issues. This indicates state (government) media are not willing to report local and national conflicts so as to hide local controversies. From the total stories covered international and national incidents has found more emphasis than the rest.

4.1.3 Content Orientations

The study is attempting to analyze content orientations of the newspapers under investigation. Galtung (1998) has suggested two computing orientation of conflict coverage; these are 'Peace' and 'War' Journalism. According to him, war journalism is a war, propaganda and elite oriented with zero-sum solutions, while peace journalism trend is to the contrary. In this study, story contents were analyzed, and the results are showing that most media outputs are inclined to the war journalism trend. The following three indicators of media orientations with their outcome (on table 4) are showing the proportion of war journalism orientation with that of peace journalism trend.

General concern: Stories that incorporate all parties voice, view conflicts/war as a problem for both sides and expose the damages caused by conflicts/wars, are definitely peace oriented (McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000). In light of this the study has tried to investigate the stories (on the selected newspapers) whether they belong to peace or war oriented trends. Thus, 72% of *Addis Zemen*, 55.5% of *Reporter* and 62.5% of *Addis Admass* stories were found to be war oriented; while 41.6% of *Reporter*, 21% of *Addis*

Admass and 20% *Addis Zemen* stories were peace oriented. From the sum total of the stories extended on all newspapers, majority of the stories (66.9%) were war oriented, and 25% of the stories were peace oriented, while the rest 8.1% of the stories fall on difficult to judge as peace or war oriented. Therefore, the result on table 4 shows that most of the newspapers under investigation were found extending war oriented stories than peace oriented stories. However, McGoldrick and Lynch (2000), Howard (2009) and Galtung (1998) asserted that such trend is a typical characteristic of war journalism. So, there is very less orientation of peace journalism in the selected Ethiopian newspapers.

Table 4. Indicators of War and Peace Journalism for coverage of stories in the selected newspapers

Indicators		Addis Zemen		Reporter		Addis Admass		Total	
		No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)
General concern	Peace oriented	20	20 %	15	41.6 %	5	21 %	40	25 %
	War oriented	72	72 %	20	55.5 %	15	62.5 %	107	66.9 %
	Can't judged	8	8 %	1	2.7 %	4	16.6 %	13	8.1 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %
Searching for truth	Truth oriented	28	28 %	19	52.7 %	7	29.1 %	54	33.8 %
	Propaganda oriented	59	59 %	14	38.8 %	15	62.5 %	88	55 %
	Can't judged	13	13 %	3	8.3 %	2	8.3 %	18	11.2 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %
Subjects	People oriented	33	33 %	15	41.6 %	8	33.3 %	56	35 %
	Elite oriented	58	58 %	18	50 %	16	66.7 %	92	57.5 %
	Can't judged	9	9 %	3	8.3 %	0	0 %	12	7.5 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %
Outcomes	Win-win	28	28 %	12	33.3 %	4	16.7 %	44	27.5 %
	Zero-sum	56	56 %	19	52.8 %	17	70.8 %	92	57.5 %
	Can't judged	16	16 %	5	13.9 %	3	12.3 %	24	15 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %

Searching for truth: As indicated in the table (table 4) 52.7 % of *Reporter*, 29.1% of *Addis Admass* and 28% of *Addis Zemen* stories were truth oriented; whereas 62.5% of *Addis admass*, 59% of *Addis Zemen* and 38.8% of *Reporter* stories were found to be defiantly propaganda oriented. Thus, *Reporter* was better to report its stories in a truthful manner than the rest two newspapers, which has a highly propaganda oriented contents. From the total stories 55% are propaganda oriented, 33.8% truth oriented and the remaining 11.2% becomes difficult to judge.

It can be understood that most newspapers have less tendency in presenting truth; rather they are becoming propaganda tool for other third parties. However if propaganda remains a head of truth reality will be distorted, that could trigger conflict and controversies, (Hanitzsch, 2007). Peace journalism as a new trend is a truth oriented. It will never be manipulated by any third parties for propaganda consumption, said Galtung (1998). He also added that peace journalism expose entrusts on all sides and it will "uncover all cover ups". But the reverse is true for war journalism. War journalism is propaganda oriented which may help cover-ups (lies) or expose untruths. The above table (table 4) also shows to which category does the selected Ethiopian newspapers lies.

Subjects: As shown in the table 4 above, 41.6% of *Reporter*, 33.3% of *Addis Admass* and 33% of *Addis Zemen* stories are people oriented. These stories incorporate voices from diversified groups. *Reporter* is better performing on giving name to all evil-doers, for the sake of public interest, where as 66.7% of *Addis Admass*, 58% of *Addis Zemen* and 50% of *Reporter* stories are elite oriented. That indicates majority of the contents incorporated in the stories reflect interests of those with power. Thus, *Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen* are more elite oriented than *Reporter*. Moreover, both newspapers has less tendency to give voice for the voiceless.

From the total stories investigated, 57.5 % were elite oriented, 35% people oriented and the remaining 7.5 % fall in to difficult to judge. Unlike war Journalism which is elite oriented, peace Journalism is people oriented (Galtung, 1998). When we say people oriented, it is to indicate that focus of the stories is more comprehensive. Peace journalism reports incorporate diversified groups of people found in the ground.

Whereas, war journalism is concerned only on few power elites. Thus, most contents of the newspapers were elite oriented. In other words, very few authorities were mostly covered in the newspapers, than the majority public. Political leaders, social activities, economic elites, celebrities and other familiar bodies are main concerns of the newspapers; common people do not have enough coverage of news and views.

Outcomes: Results found in table 4 indicates 33.3% of Reporter, 78% of Addis Zemen and 16.7% of Addis Admass stories were intended to bring win-win solution. Reporter is thus better to come-up with win-win solution on its reports. On the other side, 70.8% of Addis Admass, 56% of Addis Zemen and 52.8% of Reporter stories are appealing zero-sum outcomes. Addis Admass has scored the highest range having a zero sum story orientation. Addis Zemen has also more stories with zero-sum outcomes. When we look at the total results, majority of the stories (57.5%) have zero-sum outcomes, while 22.5% of the stories come up with win-win solution. The rest 15% of the stories fall in to 'no judgment' at all.

Howard (2009) has suggested peace journalism is dealing win-win solution, while war journalism has a Zero-sum outcome. Socio-cultural structures of a given society have to be bases for peacemaking efforts using media. And peace journalism highlights peace initiatives, so as to prevent war incidents, said Howard (2009). Peace Journalism has therefore many goals that could satisfy variety of interests, while war journalism has only one goal; that is to win one side only. In support of this Kempf (2010) compare peace journalism with war journalism as follows:

...On the psychological dimension of attitudes peace reporting often differs between us and them, where by 'they' are the evildoers and 'we' are the good ones. The others are the problem and the cause of the conflict. ... (Kempf, 2010:32)

In such moment media should not take side to win or lose the other side unlike war journalism. Avoid blaming others instead try to look at how to share problems is among the basic tips of peace journalism reporting, (Kempf, 2010 and Keeble et al, 2010). Thus, though literatures have indicated that media should report in win-win solution method, most of the newspapers' stories in the three newspapers were becoming zero-sum

oriented. This shows that the newspapers are predominantly dealing with victories than solutions, though the large public was expecting solutions for different challenges happened in the society. In other words, the media organizations are mostly envisioning immediate victory on all sides. Instead of providing constructive comments, most of the newspapers are engaged on blaming opponent sides, which is intern contrary to the professional missions of journalists.

4.1.4 Reporting Approaches

Journalists may follow different approaches to report and write their news stories or editorial articles. And the study is intended to assess current practices of media (the selected newspapers) in light of peace journalism concepts. Galtung (1998) has suggested five different approaches that journalist can employ while they cover conflicts. They contain approaches starting from how they should cover an event or a process, the kind of values and effects may the story have, and the general concept or theme mirrored in the story. McGoldrick and Lynch (2000) on their regard noted that reporting approaches has a significance role on the story overall structure, content, nature and outcomes. This ssction focused on investigating whether the stories covered are reactive or proactive, covers the whole process or one single event (incident), whether they show visible or invisible effects, whether they are partisan or non-partisan, and whether they focus on agreement or differences.

According to the results below most of the newspapers employ war-journalism approach. They are in most cases reactive, process oriented, raise visible effects, include partisan reports and focus on difference than similarities on their report. These all results indicate the real media practice in Ethiopia. Newspapers under investigation have more of war journalism orientation. The following table (table 5) has more detailed data that show whether peace journalism or war journalism orientation dominantly found, found in the content of the selected newspapers (*Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* and *Addis Admass*).

Table 5. Peace/conflict stories' reporting approach

Approaches		Addis Zemen		Reporter		Addis Admass		Total	
		No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)
Timeliness	Proactive	17	17 %	13	36.1 %	6	25 %	36	22.5 %
	Reactive	68	68 %	19	52.7 %	16	66.7 %	103	64.4 %
	Can't be judged	15	15 %	4	11.1 %	2	8.3 %	21	13.1 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %
Description of stories	Process	33	33 %	24	66.6 %	14	58.3 %	71	44.4 %
	Event	64	64 %	8	22.3 %	6	25 %	78	48.7 %
	Both	5	5 %	4	11.1 %	2	8.3 %	11	6.9 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %
Effect representation	Invisible effects	29	29 %	15	41.7 %	5	20.8 %	49	30.6 %
	Visible effects	55	55 %	15	41.7 %	17	70.8 %	87	54.4 %
	Can't be judged	16	16 %	6	16.6 %	2	8.3 %	24	15 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %
Impartiality	Non partisan	23	23 %	20	55.5 %	8	33.3 %	51	31.9 %
	Partisan	76	76 %	10	27.8 %	12	50 %	98	61.2 %
	Can't be judged	1	1 %	6	16.6 %	4	16.7 %	11	6.9 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %
Story concern	Agreement	48	48 %	12	33.3 %	5	20.8 %	65	40.6 %
	Difference	40	40 %	19	52.8 %	16	66.7 %	75	46.9 %
	Can't be judged	12	12 %	5	13.9 %	3	12.3 %	20	12.5 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %

Timeliness: The data in table 5 indicates 36.1% of *Reporter*, 25% of *Addis Admass* and 17% of *Addis Zemen* stories are proactive. So, *Reporter* is more proactive to report on conflict issues, and to some extent *Addis Admass* has also good tradition to include proactive reports. Whereas 68% *Addis Zemen*, 66.7% of *Addis Admass* and 52.7% of *Reporter* stories are reactive. Thus, *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass* are more reactive than *Reporter* on other side. In general, 64.4% of the total stories extended on the three

newspapers are reactive, 22.5% of the stories are proactive, while the remaining 13.1% of the stories were found difficult to be judged as reactive or proactive. Starting from the above data mentioned it can be concluded that the selected newspapers contains reactive reporting. They concern on 'what was happened' rather than 'what will happen'. So, the story contents are most probably a full of dull history (past happening). Instead fresh and forecasting information is to some extent denied on the newspapers' stories.

According to Kempf (2010) and Keeble et. al. (2010), guidelines for peace journalism, reporting before violence happened is among the basic principles of good reporting (conflict/peace reporting). This is all about identifying conflicts early by paying attention to conflict situation that the ruling elites can control. However data in the above table shows to the contrary. It (table 5) indicates most stories on the selected newspapers are reactive. That is, they try to report on what was happened after all things are already passed. They do not have a trend to forecast what will happen for next times.

Description of stories: Table 5 above shows 66.6% of *Reporter*, 58.3% of *Addis Admass* and 33% of *Addis Zemen* stories describe ongoing process of conflict/peace incidents. Thus, *Reporter* is best at covering comprehensive reports starting from its cause up its consequences. Next to *Reporter*, *Addis Admass* has also good trend. On the other hand, 64% of *Addis Zemen*, 25% of *Addis Admass* and 22.3% of *Reporter* report single events. The data collected indicate that *Addis Zemen* is highly event oriented than the rest two newspapers papers. Cumulative data presented in the above table 5 shows that out of the total stories investigated from the three newspapers 48.7% describe events whereas 44.2% of the stories cover the whole relevant process of incidents or subject area.

Reports may describe the existing events or the ongoing process of the item they cover. Effective stories focus on the ongoing process that the immediate events happened, (Kamath, 1996). Keeble et al (2010) on their regard suggested that journalists has to recognize a certain piece of news is part of a process and is not just a serious of unrelated event and try to provide links among each events. In light of this data presented on table 5 shows that there is almost similar proportion of covering events and process. But all incidents should be reported with their relevant backgrounds. Thus, without *Reporter*, the

rest two newspapers and the general trend is more event concerned approach than process oriented comprehensive stories. Therefore, it can be concluded as most of the conflict related stories covered in the Ethiopian newspapers engaged on describing events. However, peace journalism practitioners like Howard (2009) and McGoldrick & Lynch (2000), have suggested that truth has to be explored beyond reporting. That is, reasons behind the plain truth have to be covered. Truth by itself is sometimes relative, so concerning on individual events only could not help to explore the logic behind each event. Reporting events by itself is ceremonial, added Howard (2000), and ceremonial reports are not original truths. Thus, the above presented data clearly indicate that most of newspaper reports have a little substance, since they mainly focus on events.

Effect representation: Data presented on table 5 indicates that newspapers in Ethiopia mostly focus on visible than invisible effects. So, 41.7% of *Reporter*, 79% of *Addis Zemen* and 20.8% of *Addis Admass* stories present invisible effects on their reports. *Reporter* has more stories containing invisible effects that consider conflicts as social problems rather than individual's problem. *Reporter* has also developed the idea that evoke peace is for all not for the conflicting bodies only. *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass* scores less proportion to focus on invisible effects respectively. Besides, 70.8% of *Addis Admass*, 55% of *Addis Zemen* and 41.7% of *Reporter* stories raise visible effects on their reporting. The data indicates that *Addis Admass* has more concern to raise visible effects in stories.

What can be understood here is that *Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen* have high tendency of reporting visible effects on their stories. *Reporter's* proportion of story coverage remains equal in the two approaches (41.70% with invisible and visible effect stories). But *Reporter* is still better in reporting invisible effects of conflict to society than others. Besides *Addis Admass* and *Addis Zemen* have less tradition to focus on invisible effects. Total data in the above table shows 54.4% of the total stories under inquiry focus on visible effects, 30.6% of the total stories also concern on invisible effects, and the remaining 15% of the stories were difficult to judge by the researcher. However, when conflicts happen, peace journalists would never report individual property damage, death and physical harms specifically. Instead, they have to focus on societal damage of the

conflict. If visible effects are magnified through media, conflicts may flame again and again, (Galtung, 1998). Thus, the selected newspapers mostly assume individual (specific) effects of conflict like, harm, death, destroying property and other related effects. Such reports may therefore trigger reader to feel angry and emotional on the other side of conflict incident, instead of assuming conflict as social problem widely.

Impartiality: As indicated in the above table (table 5) 55.5% of *Reporter*, 33.3% of *Addis Admass* and 23% of *Addis Zemen* stories remain non partisan, while the rest 76% of *Addis Zemen*, 50% of *Addis Admass* and 27.8% of *Reporter* stories become partisan reports. Thus, *Reporter* has a better trend to cover non partisan reports. *Reporter* to some extent is more careful at reporting impartial stories. However, *Addis Zemen* and *Addis Admass* have high proportion of partisan stories respectively. Sum of the above data presented in the table (table 5) shows, 61.2% of the total stories are partisan, and 31.9 % of the stories are non partisan while the remaining 6.9% stories were difficult to judge.

Among the guidelines of peace/conflict reporting stated by Kempf (2010) and Keeble et al (2010), stories have to show empathy to all parties of conflict without any difference. Do not distinguish between people having different statuses and variety stands. Partisan reporting is not recommended to professional journalists while they report conflict peace related issues, (Hanitzgch, 2009). Thus, based on the data most of the newspapers' stories are partisan by their nature. So, whether directly or indirectly most of the newspapers under investigation may has a third party involvement. That is why they are becoming impartial in their reports. They may take their own stand on editorial articles, but news stories can't express stand of newspapers.

Story concern: As shown in the table above (table 5), 49% of *Addis Zemen*, 33.3% of *Reporter* and 20.8% *Addis Admass* stories report agreement related issues. Whereas 66.7% of *Addis Admass*, 52.8% of *Reporter* and 40% of *Addis Zemen* stories raise differences among conflicting bodies. Thus, *Addis Zemen* is better at reporting agreements, while *Addis Admass* and *Reporter* has concerned on differences to the contrary. Looking at the cumulative results 46.9% of the total stories on investigation concern on differences, 40.6% focus on agreement, while 12.5% of the stories fall under 'difficult to judge' category. Thus, differences happened during conflict has more

coverage than agreements made to solve conflicts. Therefore, though its range is less, most newspapers under investigation focus on differences than agreement. According to Hackett (2010), journalists have to avoid considering two opposing parties on their reporting. Rather they have to find other affected bodies. When they cover conflicts they have to include other affected bodies beyond the opponents those who want to make agreement on the conflict. Managing difference is used by war journalist who wants to sensationalize their reports to attract immediate market.

4.1.5 Story Frames

Princeton (quoted on Scheufele, 2000) suggested, 13 mostly used peace/conflict story frames in newspapers. Among the suggested frames consensus story, process story, historical outlooks, policy exploration and exposing wrong doings are typical characteristics of peace journalism (Ibid, 2000). As shown in the table below (table 6), newspapers under investigation have mostly employ conflict story, straight news account, consensus story and policy exploration story frames consecutively.

Here in the table below 25% of *Addis Admass*, 21% *Addis Zemen* and 19.4 *Reporter* stories has employed conflict story frames; while 16% of *Addis Zemen*, 11% of *Reporter* and 8.3% of *Addis Admass* stories are straight news accounts. On the other hand 15% of *Addis Zemen*, 8.3% of *Reporter* and 4.2% of *Addis Admass* have framed in consensus story, while 12% of *Addis Zemen*, 8.3% of *Reporter* and 8.3% of *Addis Admass* stories focused on process. In addition 12% of *Addis Zemen*, 8.3% of *Reporter* and 4.2% of *Addis Admass* Stories try to focus on policy legislations. Accordingly *Addis Zemen* has scored high ratio on straight news account, consensus story, process story and policy exploration story frames whereas, *Addis Admass* is dominant to use conflict story frame.

Table 6. Dominant frames to report conflict/peace stories in the selected newspapers

Frames	Addis Zemen		Reporter		Addis Admass		Total	
	No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)
Straight News Account	16	16 %	4	11.1 %	2	8.3 %	22	13.7 %
Conflict Story	21	21 %	7	19.4 %	6	25 %	34	21.3 %
Consensus Story	15	15 %	3	8.3 %	1	4.2 %	19	11.9 %
Conjecture Story	4	4 %	0	0 %	4	16.7 %	8	5 %
Process Story	12	12 %	3	8.3 %	2	8.3 %	17	10.6 %
Historical Outlook	4	4 %	2	5.5 %	0	0 %	6	3.8 %
Horse Race	2	2 %	1	2.8 %	2	8.3 %	5	3.1 %
Trend Story	1	1 %	3	8.3 %	0	0 %	4	2.5 %
Policy Explored	12	12 %	3	8.3 %	1	4.2 %	16	10 %
Reaction Story	8	8 %	3	8.3 %	2	8.3 %	13	8.1 %
Reality Check	1	1 %	2	5.5 %	1	4.2 %	4	2.5 %
Wrongdoing Exposed	3	3 %	3	8.3 %	2	8.3 %	8	5 %
Personality Profile	1	1 %	2	5.5 %	1	4.2 %	4	2.5 %
Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %

Total result indicated in table 6 shows 21.3% of the total stories investigated is framed by conflict story style, 13.7% of all the stories are straight news account, 11.9% of the stories remain consensus stories, 10.6% of the stories framed as process story while 10% of the whole stories try to explore policies. Thus, conflict story frame is mostly used story frame in the above mentioned newspapers. As it has been stated in the literature review Kempf (2010) and Keeble et al (2010) recommend journalists to be careful while they employ story frames. Conflict story frame is not advisable in most cases, they added. However, the above data indicates that 34 stories from the selected newspapers employ

conflict story frame. This may imply that most of the newspapers use conflict story frame. However, such trend is an indicator for war journalism approach, (Howard, 2009).

4.1.6 Source Usage, Tone and Language

Table 7. Intensity of stories reported in the selected newspapers

Source, tone and language		Addis Zemen		Reporter		Addis Admass		Total	
		No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)	No.	Percentage (%)
Sources employed	Ordinary people	15	15 %	6	16.7 %	4	16.7 %	25	15.6 %
	Peoples affected	11	11 %	4	11.1 %	5	20.8 %	20	12.5 %
	Elites	53	53 %	14	38.9 %	9	37.5 %	76	47.5 %
	Mixed	21	21 %	12	33.3 %	6	25 %	39	24.4 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %
Tone	Positive	53	53 %	10	27.8 %	4	16.7 %	67	41.9 %
	Negative	31	31 %	14	38.9 %	15	62.5 %	60	37.5 %
	Neutral	16	16 %	12	33.3 %	5	20.8 %	33	20.6 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %
Language usage	Emotive	16	16 %	6	16.7 %	3	12.3 %	25	15.6 %
	Inflammatory	4	4 %	2	5.6 %	4	16.7 %	10	6.2 %
	Vilifying	27	27 %	7	19.4 %	4	16.7 %	38	23.7 %
	Demoting	13	13 %	3	8.3 %	5	20.8 %	21	13.1 %
	Balanced	11	11 %	10	27.8 %	4	16.7 %	25	15.6 %
	Appreciation	21	21 %	5	13.9 %	3	12.3 %	29	18.1 %
	Others	8	8 %	3	8.3 %	1	4.2 %	12	7.5 %
	Sum	100	100 %	36	100 %	24	100 %	160	100 %

Media reports can be influenced by source and language usage that could affect the whole tone of stories extended, (Hanitzsch and Jorgensen, 2009). In this way the researcher try to investigate sources employed, main vocabularies used and the whole tone of most stories reported in the newspapers. Official sources are mostly quoted with victimizing language, with positive story tone. The following table shows detail data on the intensity of stories; especially on the source usage, language and tone of stories covered.

Sources Employed: Kamath (1996) said sources are basements of story balance, and in case of sourcing habits it is recommended to look at parallels, in order to cross-check facts using diversified and credible sources, he added. Having this in mind the above table (table 4.6) shows how sources are used; ordinary people, peoples involved elite and mixture of two or more kinds of sources. *Reporter* and *Addis Admass* use ordinary people as sources for 16.7% of their stories, and only 15% of *Addis Zemen* stories employ ordinary people as sources. However, 53% *Addis Zemen*, 38.9 of *Reporter* and 37.5% *Addis Admass* stories have quoted elites on their reporting. There were also stories having two or more than two sources; 33.3% of *Reporter*, 25% of *Addis Admass* and 21% of *Addis Zemen* stories have mixed (two and more) sources in a single report. Thus, *Reporter* and *Addis Admass* have better trend to use ordinary person as sources, while *Addis Zemen* is mostly quoting official (elite) sources. *Reporter* is better to mix multiple sources.

In general, 47.5% of the total stories investigated has employed elite (official) sources, 24.4% of the stories incorporate two and more sources, 15.6% of the stories has quoted ordinary people, 12.5% of the stories witness peoples involved (affected). Thus, most of the newspapers are elite oriented in their sources. Media has to give voice for the voiceless, said Kouach (2001) and Hanitzsch (2009). They should employ more than one (single) source. Even when they mix sources, affected peoples must be the first witnesses for conflicts, added *ibid* (2009). However, the above data indicate, the selected newspapers have not developed a tradition to mix different sources. Their inclination is therefore determined by such single sourcing approach.

Language Usage: Data presented in the above table shows around 16% of *Addis Zemen* and *Reporter* and 12.3% of *Addis Admass* stories use emotive language. 16.7% of *Addis Admass* and 5.6% of *Reporter* stories become inflammatory; 27% of *Addis Zemen*, 19.4% of *Reporter* and 16.7% of *Addis Admass* stories includes vilifying language. On the other side 27.8% of *Reporter*, 16.7% of *Addis Admass* and 11% of *Addis Zemen* stories are balanced reports in their language usage. Thus, *Addis Zemen* stories include more victimizing language, *Addis Admass* stories are more inflammatory and demoting, whereas *Reporter* has tried to balance its stories better. Out of the total stories

investigated 23.8% use vilifying language, 15.6% emotive language, 13.1% demoting language. Besides, 18.1% of the stories include appreciation language, while only 15.6% used balanced words on their reporting. Language is among the key factors that affect media output's implication on their audience. In case of conflict reporting, there may be around six main categories of language usage (Galtung, 1998). Journalists may mostly use emotive, inflammatory, vilifying, demoting, and balanced and appreciation words, he said. Except the last two words the rest are typical vocabularies of war journalism, and peace journalists have to avoid such language. Therefore, most newspapers in Ethiopia use emotive language in their reporting, though it is very dangerous in a diversified and sensitive society.

Tone of Coverage: Beyond source and language usage stories may positive or negative tone of voice, though literatures suggested stories to have neutral tone. The above table also contains stance of each newspaper stories towards government initiatives. In this way 53% of *Addis Zemen*, 27.8% of *Reporter* and 16.7% of *Addis Admass* stories are positively toned. Whereas 62.5% of *Addis Admass*, 38.9% of *Reporter* and 31% of *Addis Zemen* stories have negative tone towards government initiatives. *Reporter* has also scored 33.3% of its stories has no tone (neutral) at all. Thus, it can be concluded as *Addis Zemen* has positive slant to government initiatives while *Addis Admass* is critical to government programs (mostly with negative tone). And *Reporter* was found in reporting neutral stories.

In general 41.9 % of the total stories investigated has positive tone, 37.5 % of the stories has remained negatively toned, while only 20.6 % of the stories are neutral. Therefore, stories with positive and negative tone are most dominant, to the reverse of what literature says, that is stories have to be neutral. However one of the known advocates of peace journalism Howard (2003) said maximizing peace building via positive stories is essential. Based on his assumption, stories that are not inclined to positive tone are not implying peace.

4.2 Qualitative Analysis

Qualitative analysis is a methodology used to analyze social phenomena that is qualitative, interpretive, and constructionist (Gunter, 2000). As it has been stated in the research methodology, data that cannot be expressed using numbers is going to be expressed through words in discussion. The research has also employed qualitative research method to refine the truth behind each qualitative data presented. Thus, the researcher has made intensive interview with 14 respondents for more than seven hours. Arguments, comments and suggestions entertained in the in-depth interview are taken for the discourses raised in the study discussion.

People's knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, both of the scholars and practitioners were the main sources of the qualitative analysis. In this regard perspectives forwarded by the scholars and the current media practitioners' attitudes towards peace journalism are the main issues raised below. "First there is no clear understanding and awareness of peace journalism concepts. Arguments on the emergence of peace journalism by itself are debatable here in Ethiopia", like what was raised in the literature in case of global affairs, (Melaku, personal interview on May 05/2014). Though media role is usually overestimated, most media institutions in Ethiopia have a little orientation on peace trends. Irrespective of the external factors journalists themselves are not empowered enough to come up with comprehensive conflict reports. Detail ideas shared by respondents are stated below. Respondents' name or any other specific identity is not mentioned (cited) in the discourse so as to protect their privacy rights.

4.2.1 Actual Perspectives and Attitudes Regarding Peace Journalism Trend

In addition to the contents analyzed the study also intended to assess attitudes of media practitioners, and scholars on peace journalism practice. Most respondents especially media practitioners were found with no clear understanding on peace journalism concepts. Even some of them didn't hear such journalism trend. They are not aware of conflict reporting, apart from conventional reporting. Respondents agree on the following quoted idea, which says "From the very beginning journalism profession by itself is debatable issue. So, how can we talk about the emergence of new journalism trend that comes-up with objective professional value?" On the other hand, other respondents from

Reporter and Addis Admass newspapers do not agree with the adjectives coming with 'Journalism'; like 'Development Journalism', 'Peace Journalism', 'Citizen Journalism', and 'Participatory Journalism' etc. They argue that conventional (the former) media practice is demanding mainstream journalism profession. So, no need of labeling journalism with such beautiful words. Rather, they said such trends may divert the classical values of journalism.

Respondents agree the assumption which says, "such adjective added [peace, development] to journalism tendencies are highly affiliated by the communist ideology". Peace journalism is also within this frame. However, it is still the product of western scholars; like Norwegian peace scholars then Oslo University has developed as its own school of thought (Lynch, 2008). Their view here is journalists can act as social activists, different from their role. The following idea (Shared by most respondents) is directly quoted from one respondent.

Media is business, it can't be regulated as NGO or charities, said another respondent. Journalists' task is merely reporting facts. How can journalists be a negotiator? Negotiation or peace activism is different profession from journalism. So, it is inappropriate for journalists to build peace or aggravate conflict. Conventional journalism didn't say report conflict in a destructive way; rather generally accepted codes of conduct in journalism profession restrict reports that may harm the large public. Unlike to the reality peace journalism innovators assume mainstream media definitely as war oriented.

So, they have concluded that peace journalism is a means to corrupt the classical trend of journalism profession. Journalists may not feel free to report on conflicts objectively; instead they will tend to tilt whatever their reports to fulfill peace journalism guidelines. Having these attitudes most of the practitioners didn't agree with the relevance of peace journalism trend to the Ethiopian media industry.

On the other side five practitioners from the selected newspapers have a basic stand to 'save the country from evil'. Three of state owned media practitioners have positive perspective towards peace journalism approach. Though, they have little exposure to the new concepts of peace journalism, they agree on the general trend, assuming it as the extension of development journalism, since state media direction is within development

journalism philosophical framework. "Peace is essential for economic development, national consensus and social wellbeing, and I think Ethiopian people know the test of peace very eager than people found wherever the world", said one respondent. Having this in mind, since professional media has to serve the public (not only profit), they have to run publicly accepted perspective, which is peace discourse, rather than alarming sensational conflicts.

In addition to the above mentioned respondents, Journalism and Communication scholars from Addis Ababa University have raised strong scholarly arguments supporting peace journalism fundamental concepts (Abdisa, personal interview, and June13/2014). Even though they recognize the debates raised, it is difficult for them to follow conventional media trend, in emerging society like Ethiopia. Conventional media by its nature search for conflicts and sensationalize them to attract market, what the majority audiences seem to enjoy (Bratic, 2013). However, peace has to be heard by human beings than controversies (Himelfarb and Megan, 2013). Media has to play their role on shaping the society, instead of becoming extremely flexible, and report issues which may sensationalize the audience even for a very short period of time.

So, media has to focus on what people need rather than what people want. People may want something wonder them, which is mostly fashioned by mass media reports tendency, but paradigm has to be shifted. Why don't newspapers make peace issues as attractive as possible, and then audience will pay attention? Through this way media organizations can create an optimistic culture and the market itself will be shifted towards peace journalism assumptions that will have better result in the long run (Abdisa, personal interview, June 13/2014).

When we look at the Ethiopian context beyond the infancy of the political economy spheres diversity by itself enable the media to be critical while they cover conflicts, viewed the scholars. "How can such diversified and to some extent having complex historical background be served through conventional media?" said one of the scholars. So, peace journalism is likely an appropriate trend in this case, they stipulated.

Among the scholars, who advocate the new concept of peace journalism Howard (2003:8), suggested "Professional journalists do not set out to reduce conflict. They seek to present accurate and impartial news, though it is often through good reporting that

conflict is reduced". He added that peace journalism concepts are not deviating from the conventional one, rather some sorts of responsibilities are added beyond that. So, it enables the media to advocate on peace side that may initiate them to repair their conventional stand. Therefore, what can be understood here is peace journalism is an appropriate and compatible trend for media industry like Ethiopia (Mesay, 2013), though most practitioner has not good and critical perception on it due to their limited exposure for the fundamental concepts of the new trend.

4.2.2 Media and Ideological Polarity

Main objective of the study is to analyze orientations of peace journalism in the selected newspapers, and this section will therefore try to verify the facts found on the newspapers under investigation. All of the respondents agreed with the findings on the content analysis. Newspapers in Ethiopia have dominant war orientation. Most print media houses are highly concerned on searching for conflict to sensationalize for their market consumption. Tensions are seriously reported even sometimes in a deliberate way. "This is caused by professional deficit" said editor-in-chief of one newspaper. Most practitioners in the newspapers are traditional writers who may probably have merely writing hobby. They do not have enough exposure even for conventional media concepts. Thus, they can't be aware of sensitive conflict incidents.

"Journalists' role is overestimated in Ethiopia" said a respondent. For instance, the public may assume maintaining social wellbeing as their main role contributing to the society. Government also wishes media to be an agent of creating national consensus. However, the reality fails apart; journalists cannot be unique from the public, based on the respondents' response. They reflect what they see throughout their way. They believe creating consensus which may be base for peace formation cannot be done by journalists only. Journalists shouldn't be viewed apart from the whole social structure; rather media can only reflect what reality is. These realities are usually formed by scholars and power elites, he argued.

Ownership has also considerable effect on the media industry as a whole specifically on conflict reports. Owners may have a lot of economic as well political motives, and then they obviously tend to use their media as a tool to realize their personal motives instead

of serving the public interest at large, believed most of the respondents. Most private media owners (former/ working as editor in chief of their papers) were propagandists of the late military regime in Ethiopia, said editor in chiefs of the three newspapers. So, they (owners) immediately confront to the current ruling body and they make their media battle field for ideological and other conflicts of interest they added.

"We journalists (those who assume themselves as professionals) are sandwiched by owners, government and readers interest. If we look it critically we are serving to the owners' interest. We are involving in an issue which we ourselves too may not know", said one respondent from the private press. Besides, there are loyal readers for most private media. These readers has common expectation on private press contents. According to the informants, controversies and conflict has more coverage and get acceptance by the loyal readers than issues like reconciliation to bring harmony with government. "If they get tips, Ethiopian newspapers are obviously good at aggravating conflict as much as they can" said one respondent. The newspapers try to sensationalize conflict incidents. In addition, state media are mostly concerned on treaties signed after conflict is terminating or other related post conflict measures. Their view is in most cases victory oriented. Instead of making the story more comprehensive, which incorporate diverse voices. They only cover what the two conflicting parties said. In general emotions are becoming a head of real facts in the newspapers, and this is cheating the audience.

However, scholars (Ramadhan, 2013:4), recommend media to "inform the public fairly by using peace frame while producing news stories about every issue." Fair news frames for peace journalism news values means journalist should look at the multi perspective while they are writing news stories. If a journalist is writing the news in one perspective such as, give only elite voices and official sources oriented news, it will not be fair the news framing is. If journalist increases the number of sources while they are writing the news, it will help to give the right information to public. So, the main problem here is lack of awareness and professional competence of peace journalism and even the mainstream journalism concepts. Nations that has an exemplary practice on peace journalism had also faced such problems, but later they solve it through trainings and other academic efforts through time (Bratic, 2013).

4.2.3 Reporting Approaches and Dominant Frames Used

The study is intended also to assess current practices of media (the selected newspapers) in light of peace journalism concepts. In this light, respondents agree on the idea that newspapers under investigation are propaganda affiliated. They assume journalism as a way to accomplish mission not acting as a profession. Thus, respondents argue that state media is working their best, propaganda. Nothing new and don't be surprise here. Their task is clearly based on image building, creating national consensus and other related roles imposed by government bodies. Their direction must be in line with the policy frames of the executive body, even though they are directly accountable to House of Peoples Representatives. The government (executive) uses these media as instrument for development and building democratic rule. The state media assume themselves as development agents to accomplish government mission, which is assumed as an interest of the majority public. However, private media are not doing their best. They are sometimes purely propaganda oriented, contrary to what the government media obviously working. There are some expected frames and even contents that are supposed to be printed in each newspaper. In most cases state media usually made pro-government programs, while the private media try to focus on anti-government propaganda to the contrary, support respondents.

Having this in mind, respondents from private media said "we don't want to report agreements signed or other diplomatic efforts made to solve conflicts, why the state media is there? Let us leave them to report such issues." So, in both sides there are expected contents and formats. If they report something unexpected, they fear ignorance of their loyal readers. With this situation, how can they feel free to balance reports with actual happenings?

"We omit some quotes due to their bad language some source use, and we try to be critical on the tone of the whole story", said a reporter from the selected newspapers. Sources may use emotive or inflammatory words, and the media sometimes use such words as it is. This brings the media unprofessional which echoes whatever people (sources) say, they added. Editorial policy is mostly appeared for formality, it does not implement properly. So, personal interest is becoming a head of procedures.

Comprehensiveness is also another serious problem facing media reports. There is also politics of mentioning said two respondents, since it is difficult to say media are free from politics. Thus, most newspapers in Ethiopia are tending to advocacy works, stipulated all the respondents. However, media are supposed to deliver impartial information to the public (Lee, 2010).

4.2.4 Conflict Media Linkage

Howard (2009) consider conflict as bread and butter of journalism. Let us look at the situations in Ethiopia. Though the selected papers are considered as responsible and also credible newspapers, there were some reports with bad consequences, according to respondent of this study.

I remember a story reported by Reporter newspaper concerning university students' conflict at Adama University. The story reports a death of university student on the conflict at Adama, framing it as ethnic conflict. After the newspaper issue has already distributed another student has been killed at Mekele University. (personal translation).

The same mistake was done by Addis Admass in the case of Amhara people living at Oromia region (a specific area called Guraferda) and Benshangul Gumuz region. The newspaper has reported these incidents with a sense of Amharas are kicked away from their destiny by Oromos and Gumuz ethnicities, told more than three respondents. But Addis Zemen to the contrary didn't say anything about the issue proactively. Addis Zemen has covered the issue after it has been already solved for the time being. Unlike to other highly polarized newspapers and magazines in Addis Ababa, these newspapers remain balanced and also curious to report on the Muslim controversies happened at 2012/13, agreed most respondents.

4.2.5 Practical Challenges

The first thing raised by practitioners as a challenge is lack of enough sources availability. Peoples may not always have consent to give information they observe, practice even do not like to witness what they experience. Peoples remain more secret on conflicts, they do not want to expose something they see wrong. There are also sources with biased motive. Such sources sometimes call to media while conflicts happen, and

deliver sided information for the journalists. Then it becomes difficult for journalists to make balanced report, the respondents mentioned.

Vested interests of media owners and mission of state media managers also affect newspaper stories. Though editorial independence is kept at the newspapers under investigation, they added, journalists made self-censor on most of their reports, and tend to reflect what their bosses want. And conflict in its very nature is geared by interests of elites, said one informant working as reporter in one of the newspapers.

Thus, all challenges are stated on the literature, though, peace journalists are not expected to act out of the universal standards of journalism. Rather, it is simply interpreting the standards in a critical way that will add value to societal wellbeing. You may also refer to journalists, codes of conduct placed at the annex. It is all about redefining and reconstructing the role of journalists who cover conflicts (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005). Editor-in-chief of one newspaper did not agree with challenges like lack of sources. He said " how can information be hidden by single personnel. As far as information is public anyone couldn't hide information. If someone hides, the journalist is supposed to search another sources; dig and dig again." In this regard, the gap observed is still lack of professional competence. Most reporters easily give-up when they lose single source on what they need to cover.

The conflict societies of Bosnia, Burundi, Cambodia, Croatia, Israel/Palestine, Macedonia, Northern Ireland, Rwanda and sierra Leone are using their media to mediate conflicts take over their nations (Price and Thompson, 2002). These nations first began to implement the new trend of peace journalism by providing formal as well as short term trainings to media practitioners (Lynch, 2008). The United Nations has also provided documents to empower the trend in developing states like Africa (Howard, 2009). No enough trainings (regarding peace journalism) are provided in Ethiopia. That is why most respondents of the study do not have relevant exposure to the very nature of peace journalism.

4.3 Summary of the key Findings

The study has aimed to analyze orientations of peace journalism in selected newspapers in Ethiopia. So as to investigate this objective, data analyzed in the content as well as

discourse analysis were fundamentally similar. The contents analysis clearly shows the raw facts displayed on the media outputs. Data entertained on the discourse analysis is also other view of the existing trend. That is why the researcher tries to employ both methods simultaneously. The main findings of the study which are proved by these two methods are discussed as follows.

Among the total stories investigated in the study, 48.1% of the stories has hard news format that may show to what extent the newspapers give priority for conflicting issues. Political issues are mostly covered by the newspapers beyond economic and socio-cultural issues. In this regard, political conflicts share 37.5% of the whole stories. This is done because media owners and managers have their own personal as well as organizational motive mostly tilt to propaganda than truth. Besides, war affiliated stories, that shares 38.1%% of total stories, are mostly covered in the newspapers. Gatekeepers of the newspapers believe that conflict is worthy enough than peace. They consider tension as good news in Ethiopian newspapers. Private media institutions (Reporter and Addis Admass) mostly focus on local & national conflict, while Addis Zemen remains good at reporting regional & international issues of conflict. Thus, there are two dominant extents of coverage in the newspapers, though Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) suggested, peace journalist to have diversified extent of peace/conflict issues coverage. Therefore, the study has found that Ethiopian newspapers have partially distorted extent of conflict/peace related stories coverage.

In case of content orientations the study has exposed most media contents (outputs) were war oriented. The general concern indicates 66.9% of the total stories were war oriented where as only 25% of the stories were done with peace orientation. In addition 55% of the stories were dealing with propaganda while 33.5% of the stories were concerning truth. Elites were found as the main subjects on 57.5% of the total stories investigated. Within this frame 57.5% of the stories come up with zero sum solutions instead of win-win solutions, thus the newspapers were mostly engaged on propagating propaganda than searching for truth. That is why they deliberately made power elites as subjects and sources of their stories. When the elites get enough publicity they usually employ extensive propaganda used to serve their personal interest. Outcome of the stories therefore become zero-sum (victory oriented) due to the impartial involvement of power

elites. Based on Galtung (1998) the above all results are indicators of war oriented media trend. In support of this the researcher tries to investigate media practitioners' perspective regarding the above orientation. Though, they agree on each indicators of peace journalism practice, media practitioners in Ethiopia did not accept the new trend (peace journalism) in general without clear image of what peace journalism is? Therefore, the study has found Ethiopian newspapers have more of war orientation.

The study has also looked at mostly used reporting approaches on the selected newspapers. In this regard, 64.4% of the stories cover issues in reactive manner, and 22.5% of the stories are proactive. Most of the stories investigated cover conflict/peace issues that are already taken place. They do not want to report before everything happened including cause and consequences. On the other way 48.7% of the stories describe what happen at single events of incidents rather than covering the whole process of each incident. Since they did not report incidents early they will be forced to report what happen at last. Then effects of each stories covered were mostly represented in a visible way. Thus, 54.4% of the stories have followed such approach while 61.2% of the stories are found partisan in their reporting. Beside, 46.9% of the stories are concerned on difference than agreement (40.6%). Thus, newspapers in Ethiopia are not proactive at covering conflicts and conflict process, rather they mostly concern on single events having visible impact that also lacks impartiality. Most newspapers remain partisan, and magnify difference among conflicting parties. So, in general current reporting approaches used by newspapers in Ethiopia are aggravating conflict than promoting peace initiatives, since literature says to act in the contrary (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005)

Interview respondents also have the same reflection on current media practices in Ethiopia. Based on their reflection print media outlets (especially magazines but also newspapers) are serving as battle field for opponents in different sectors. Newspapers are not capable to report conflicting issues including the expected motives or relevant causes early. They report after conflict already takes place in a very biased pattern. Ethiopian media predominantly try to widen the gap among opponent, by magnifying difference, rather than focusing on agreement and similarities. They mostly frame their stories as someone can gain in the expense of others. Therefore, it is proved that, newspapers in

Ethiopia are escalating conflict instead of coming up with alternative ways to solve conflicts or facing problems.

From conflict stories frame stated by Scheufele (2000), conflict story and straight news account frames are the most dominant news frame in newspapers. Out of the total stories investigated 21.3% are done through conflict story frame, where as 13.7% of the stories are framed in a straight news account. Thus, conflict story frame is the most dominant that is caused by the war oriented nature of the newspapers. The newspapers assume that audiences are attracted by conflict than peace like what the mainstream media consider (Price et al., 2009). However, the new trend of peace journalism recommend to shift the existing approach, they added. Scholars participated in the interview also supports the new trend, recommending media institution to view peace and conflict issues in the same manner then the audience will be cultivated accordingly.

Chapter- Five

5 Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

The study has attempted to assess orientations of peace journalism in three selected newspapers (*Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* (Amharic) and *Addis Admass*) that may considerably represent the whole media industry in Ethiopia. This chapter wraps up key findings of the study.

The research has examined orientations of peace journalism and its applicability in the Ethiopian mass media practice. Based on this assumption the study has checked whether the newspapers are escalating conflict or propagating peace initiatives. The study has employed a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative data analysis was done using content analysis, while the qualitative data was analyzed with qualitative analysis techniques. In-depth interview were conducted with 14 respondents selected from journalists from each newspapers under investigation, informants from the Ethiopian Broadcast Authority, mass media scholars from Addis Ababa University School of Journalism and Communications and other related informants.

Thus, it has mainly focused on content orientations, reporting approaches, story frame, intensity and extent of story coverage. In support of this, practitioners' attitude as well as scholars' perspective towards peace journalism in Ethiopia was also included. Based on the results found by the contents analyzed and informants' deep information sharing, awareness on the orientation of peace journalism practice is very few in the Ethiopian media atmosphere. From the three selected newspapers a total of 160 peace/conflict news stories and editorial articles were found to be investigated. Newspapers primarily use hard news for their conflict/peace issues coverage, so as to fulfill expectation of their loyal readers. National as well as international, political and war types of stories are mostly raised by the newspapers' stories, even though there is little bit difference among all newspapers. So extent of story coverage was found not balanced enough, unlike what literatures recommend.

Orientations of the contents analyzed have also found war oriented than peace oriented. When we look at each indicator most stories of the newspapers are found war, propaganda and elite oriented than peace, truth and people oriented. In this orientation most stories were also shaped in a zero-sum manner, instead of providing win-win solutions. In support of this interview informants have proved that most media organizations in Ethiopia are reporting war affiliated stories focusing on dull propaganda that provoke elites' interest than searching for truth to serve the large public. These elites usually wish to come up with victory in the expense of their opponents. Thus media are directly and indirectly serving few power elites being a pipeline for their overall thoughts and motives.

The way the three newspapers under investigation use to report conflict is still predominantly compatible to war journalism approach. Single conflict incidents get more coverage after they already take place. In such reports visible effects faced on conflicting bodies are usually reported in an impartial way. Instead of magnifying agreement among the conflicting bodies the newspapers are engaged on publicizing differences quickly. Thus, the study has proved that mass media organizations in Ethiopia are predominantly attempting to escalate conflict than promoting peace initiatives. Conflict story and straight news account frames are dominant frames used to report conflict/peace related stories. Intensity of stories covered also shows war affiliation of the newspapers. In most cases the newspapers use official (elite) sources usually with victimizing language that could enable the whole story negatively toned.

In general, most media practitioners are not agreed on peace journalism relevance to the Ethiopian media environment without clear understanding and awareness of what it is. However, considering the contemporary socio-economic and political atmosphere some critical practitioners, government authorities and media scholars have proved peace journalism as the most compatible and relevant trend to the current media industry in Ethiopia. The main gap found here is therefore, most media practitioners lack clear understanding on the very nature of peace journalism, and its additional values beyond the mainstream media practice. Media houses themselves have limited commitment as well as intellectual capacity to accept the new trend and employ to share their media outputs.

5.2 Recommendations

Taking key findings of the study in to consideration the researcher has recommend expected measures to be taken by concerned media stakeholders in Ethiopia. First of all journalists have to balance the extent of peace/conflict stories coverage, focus on peace oriented reports and employ new reporting approach to realize peace journalism practice. These stories should also be framed in peace journalism trend with careful language usage, source, tone and the whole intensity of coverage. Then most stories has to be comprehensive enough containing different voices, topics, issues or subject areas.

It also better to base stories on truth that will concern the majority public with win-win outcomes among the conflicting bodies. Journalists have to expose conflict/peace related issues before incidents take place including cause and consequences of the incident and its effect to the whole community than the conflicting bodies only. So, reporters have always to be impartial and raise agreements, take care of story frames, tone, language and source usage.

So as to come up with these outcomes media institutions in Ethiopia has to train their practitioners on the fundamental concepts as well as real practice of peace journalism. This could be a short term measure. Beyond this peace journalism has to be included as course in Journalism and Communication training institutions' curriculums found throughout the nation. Every trainee will therefore try to realize the basic principles of peace journalism in practice. Through this way awareness will be created on how much mainstream media practice is difficult in transitional society like Ethiopia. On the other hand all media stockholders will accept the compatibility of peace journalism in the Ethiopian media industry.

Bibliography

- Abebe Aynete. (2011). The Role of Media in Violent Conflict? The case of post 2005 electoral violence in Ethiopia. *A thesis submitted to School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of masters of arts in peace and security studies.*
- Alem Habtu. (2003). Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: Background, Present Conditions and Future Prospects. *Paper submitted to the second EAF international symposium on contemporary development issues in Ethiopia.* Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Asgede Hagos. (2001). Media Intervention in Peace Building in Burundi : The Studio Ijambo experience and impact. *A Study of Three Approaches in the Greater Horn of Africa: Conducted by Horn of Africa Peace Building Project.*
http://www.usaid.gov/regions/afr/conflictweb/pbp_report.pdf. (Accessed on 23/3/2013).
- Bagdikian, B. (1997). *The media monopoly.* (5th ed.). Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Banda, Fackson. (2008). The Interpretation of Conflict. Can Journalists go further?. *Rhodes Journalism Review* : pp 50–51. http://www.rjr.ru.ac.za/rjrpdf/rjr_no28/interpretation_of_conflict.pdf. (Accessed 03/03/2011).
- Baran, S., and Davis, D., (2003). *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, ferment, and future,* (3rd ed.). Thomson Wadsworth, Canada.
- Bartos, J. and Wehr, P. (2002). *Using Conflict Theory.* Cambridge University press.
- Bashir, H. (2007). Executive Secretary of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Speech at the Meeting of Ministers of Justice of IGAD member states on Legal Cooperation Against Terrorism, 20 September.
- Becker, J. (1982). Communication and Peace: The empirical and theoretical relation between two categories in social sciences. *Journal of Peace Research*, 19 (3): pp 227-40.
- Berg, L. (2001). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (ed. 4th). United States of America. Allyn & Bacon.
- Bratic, V. (2006). Media Effects During Violent Conflict: Evaluating media contributions to peace-building. *Conflict and Communication Online*, 5, 1. http://www.cco.regener-online.de/2006_1/pdf_2006-1/bratic.pdf (Accessed 03/03/2011).
- Bratic, V. (2013). Twenty Years of Peace building Media in Conflict: Strategic Framework. *UPEACE open knowledge network occasional working paper series*

Bibliography

- Abebe Aynete. (2011). The Role of Media in Violent Conflict? The case of post 2005 electoral violence in Ethiopia. *A thesis submitted to School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of masters of arts in peace and security studies.*
- Alem Habtu. (2003). Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: Background, Present Conditions and Future Prospects. *Paper submitted to the second EAF international symposium on contemporary development issues in Ethiopia.* Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Asgede Hagos. (2001). Media Intervention in Peace Building in Burundi : The Studio Ijambo experience and impact. *A Study of Three Approaches in the Greater Horn of Africa: Conducted by Horn of Africa Peace Building Project.*
http://www.usaid.gov/regions/afr/conflictweb/pbp_report.pdf. (Accessed on 23/3/2013).
- Bagdikian, B. (1997). *The media monopoly.* (5th ed.). Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Banda, Fackson. (2008). The Interpretation of Conflict. Can Journalists go further?. *Rhodes Journalism Review* : pp 50–51. http://www.rjr.ru.ac.za/rjrpdf/rjr_no28/interpretation_of_conflict.pdf. (Accessed 03/03/2011).
- Baran, S., and Davis, D., (2003). *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, ferment, and future,* (3rd ed.). Thomson Wadsworth, Canada.
- Bartos, J. and Wehr, P. (2002). *Using Conflict Theory.* Cambridge University press.
- Bashir, H. (2007). Executive Secretary of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Speech at the Meeting of Ministers of Justice of IGAD member states on Legal Cooperation Against Terrorism, 20 September.
- Becker, J. (1982). Communication and Peace: The empirical and theoretical relation between two categories in social sciences. *Journal of Peace Research*, 19 (3): pp 227-40.
- Berg, L. (2001). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (ed. 4th). United States of America. Allyn & Bacon.
- Bratic, V. (2006). Media Effects During Violent Conflict: Evaluating media contributions to peace-building. *Conflict and Communication Online*, 5, 1. http://www.cco.regener-online.de/2006_1/pdf_2006-1/bratic.pdf (Accessed 03/03/2011).
- Bratic, V. (2013). Twenty Years of Peace building Media in Conflict: Strategic Framework. *UPEACE open knowledge network occasional working paper series*

no. 2. Hollins University, Roanoke, VA, USA. http://www.cco.regeneration.de/2006_1/pdf_2006-1/bratic.pdf (Accessed 23/11/2013).

- Brayant, J. and Miron, D. (2004). Theory and research in mass communication. *Journal of Communication*, 54(4): 662-704.
- Campbell, R. ; Martin C. and Fabes, B. (2005). Media and Culture: An introduction to mass communication. New York: Bedford/st martin's.
- Dag, H. (2013). Peace journalism or war journalism? A comparative analysis of the coverage of Israeli and Turkish newspapers during the Gaza flotilla crisis. *A Thesis In The Department Of Journalism; Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts (Journalism Studies) at Concordia University Montreal, Quebec, Canada.*
- Dahrendorf, R. (2011). Toward a Theory of Social Conflict. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2(2)pp.170-183. Published by: Sage Publications. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/172974>. (Accessed: 17/01/2011).
- Dawson, A. (2002). News framing as a multi-paradigmatic research program: a response to Entman. *Journal of communication*. Pp. 870-880.
- Dean, T. (2007). Impartiality and Conflict Reporting: The Challenge for Journalistic Integrity. *A joint publication of the International Centre for Reconciliation (Coventry Cathedral) and the Centre for Conflict Management and Peace Studies (University of Jos).*
- Fong, L. ; Nicole, Y. (2009). Framing Analysis of a Conflict: War / Peace Journalism. *The Journal of the South East Asia Research Center for Communications and Humanities*, 1 (1), pp 17-32.
- Galtung, J. (1964). An Editorial: *Journal of Peace Research*, 1 (1), pp 1-5. [Online] <http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/1/1/1.full.pdf+html> (Accessed 23.03.2011).
- Galtung, J. (1973). Theories of Conflict: Definitions, dimensions, negations, formations. University of Hawai'i.
- Galtung, J. (1998). High Road, Low Road: Charting the course for Peace Journalism, *Track Two* 7(4) (December: 1998). [Online]: [http:// ccrweb. ccr. uct. ac. za/archive /two/ 7_4/ p07_ highroad_ lowroad. html](http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/archive/two/7_4/p07_highroad_lowroad.html) (Accessed 06.03.2011).
- Gebremedhin Simon. (2001). Overview of the History of Addis Zemen Newspaper. Study presented on the 60th year establishment symposium of Addis Zemen newspaper. (Amharic Version).
- Gilboa, E., (2006). Media and International Conflict: In The Sage Handbook of Conflict Communication: Integrating Theory, *Research, and Practice*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006). pp 596.

- Gilboa, E. (2009). *Media and Conflict Resolution: A Framework for Analysis*. <http://scholarship.law.marquette.edu/mulr/vol193/iss1/9>. (Accessed 23/12/2012).
- Griffin, E. (2012). *A First Look at Communication Theory /ed.8th/*. McGraw-Hill Companies.
- Gunter, B. (2000). *Media Research Methods: Measuring Audiences, Reactions and Impact*. London: Sage Publications.
- Hackett, R. and Zhao, Y. (1998). *Sustaining democracy? Journalism and the politics of objectivity*. Toronto: Garamond [now University of Toronto Press].
- Hackett, R. (2006). *Is Peace Journalism Possible? Three Frameworks for Assessing Structure and Agency in News Media*. *Conflict and communication online*. http://www.cco.regener-online.de/2006_2/pdf/hackett.pdf; (Accessed 23/12/2013).
- Hackett, R. (2010). *Journalism for Peace and Justice: Towards a Comparative Analysis of Media Paradigms*. *Studies in Social Justice*, 4(2), pp 179-198. School of Communication, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, Canada.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2004). *Journalists as Peacekeeping Force? Peace journalism and mass communication theory*. *Journalism Studies*, 5(4), pp. 483–495.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2007). *Situating Peace Journalism in Journalism Studies: A critical appraisal*. *Conflict & communication online*. http://www.cco.regeneronline.de/2007_2/pdf/hanitzsch.pdf. (Accessed 13/12/2013).
- Hanitzsch, T. and Wahl, J. K. (2009). *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. Routledge New York.
- Hayat Ahmed. (2012). *Media and peace Building in the Era of Globalization*. Swansea University, Department of Politics and Culture Studies, Media and Communications. Presented in ICD conference on December 2012: Berlin.
- Himelfarb, S. and Chabalowski, M. (2008). *Media, Conflict Prevention and Peace building: Mapping the Edges*. Study conducted by United States Institute for Peace. Available at: <http://www.usip.org/resources/media-conflictprevention-and-peacebuilding-mapping-edges>. (Accessed at 25/12/2013).
- Herman, E. and Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Howard, R. (2003). *Conflict Sensitive Journalism: A handbook done by UNESCO*. Vancouver, BC: Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society and International Media Support.

- Howard, R. (2009). *Conflict-Sensitive Reporting: State of the Art. A Course for Journalists and Journalism Educators*; published by UNESCO.
- International Media Support (IMS). (2003). *Conflict Sensitive Journalism: A handbook* by Ross Howard. Denmark.
- Jan, M. and Khan, M. (2011). Peace Journalism and Conflict Reporting: The Case of Pakistani Media. *South Asian Studies. A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, 26(2), pp. 311-324.
- Jowett, G. and O'Donnell, V. (1999). *Propaganda and Persuasion*. London.
- Keeble, R. ; Lance, T. and John, Z. (2010). Introduction. Why peace journalism matters. In: Keeble, Richard Lance /Tulloch, John/ Zollmann, Florian (eds.): *Peace Journalism, War and Conflict Resolution*. New York, pp. 1-12.
- Kempf, W. (2010). Conflict Prevention and The Media. *Readings in Peace Journalism. Foundations, Studies, Perspectives*, 9, pp. 27-37, Berlin.
- Kotari, C. R. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods and techniques* (2nd ed.). Jaipur: New Age International publication.
- Kovach, B. and Rosenstiel, T. (2001). *The Elements of Journalism*. Guardian\Atlantic Books.
- Lee, T. (2010). Peace Journalism: Principles and structural limitations in the news coverage of three conflicts. *Mass Communication and Society*, 13, pp. 361-384.
- Lynch, J., and McGoldrick, A. (2005). *Peace Journalism*. Stroud, UK: Hawthorn.
- Lynch, J. (2008). *Debates in Peace Journalism*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Loffelholz, M. and Weaver, D. (Ed.). (2008). *Global Journalism Research: Theories, methods, future*. Mlden: Blakwell publication.
- Manoff, R. (1997). The Media's Role in Preventing and Moderating Conflict, *Crossroads Global jReport*, March/April, pp 24-27.
- McGoldrick, A. and Lynch, J. (2000). *Peace Journalism: What Is It? How to do it?*. www.reportingtheworld.org. (Accessed at 23/10/2013).
- McChesney, R., and Nichols, J. (2010). *The death and life of American journalism*. Philadelphia: Nation Books/Perseus.
- McQuail, D. (1992). *Media Performance: Mass communication and the public interest*. London, Newbury Park, New Delhi: Sage.

- Media Council of Kenya. (2012). Reporting Conflict: The Media Coverage of the Mombasa Republican Council. Monitoring Report Divulged from Nairobi, Kenya. www.mediacouncil.or.ke. (Accessed 13/05/2011).
- Mekuria Mekasha. (2005). Ethiopian Media Landscape (unpublished). Addis Ababa; Ethiopian Mass Media Institute.
- Mesay Wondmeneh. (2013). Analysis of the Role of Media in South Sudan Peace Building Process: Challenges and prospects. *A thesis submitted to the school of graduate studies of Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of master of arts in peace and security studies.*
- Meyer, T. (2002). The Process of Colonization. *In Media Democracy: How the media colonize politics* (pp. 49-72). Cambridge: Polity.
- Negussie Tefera. (2008). Ethiopian Mass Media Profile. Addis Ababa; Population media center.
- Nelson, T. E.; Clawson, R. A. and Oxley, Z. M. (1997). Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and Its Effect on Tolerance. *The American Political Science Review*, 91(3) , pp. 567-583.
- Ogenga, F. (2012). Is Peace Journalism Possible In The War Against Terror in Somalia ? How the Kenyan Daily Nation and The Standard represented operation Linda Nichi. *Conflict & Communication Online*. www.cco.regener.online.de; (Accessed on 03/10/2013).
- Parenti, M. (1993). *Inventing Reality The Politics of News Media*. (2nd ed.). St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Peleg, S. (2007). In Defense of Peace journalism: a Rejoinder. *Conflict & Communication Online*, http://www.cco.regener-online.de/2007_2/pdf/peleg.pdf; (Accessed on 18/01/2014).
- Phillips, H. (2013). Expanding peace journalism: Comparative and critical approaches. *Global Media Journal -- Canadian Edition*, 6(1), pp 81-83.
- Price, M; Marashi, I. and Stremlau, N. (2009). Media in the peace-building process: Ethiopia and Iraq. University of Pennsylvania,
- Price, V.; Tewksbliry, D and Powers, E. (1997). Switching Trains of Thought: The impact of news frames on readers' cognitive responses. *Communication Research*, 24: pp 281-506.
- Pankhurst, R. (n.d). History of Press in Ethiopia: Extract from an article titled "Foundations of Education Printing, Newspapers Books Production Libraries in Ethiopia.

- Ramadhan, S. (2013). Peace journalism in Post-Election Kenya Media Training in Peace Journalism. Organized by the Uwiano Platform for Peace, Life & Peace Institute and Safer world.
- Ross, H. (2002). An Operational Framework for Media and Peace-building. Institute for Media Policy and Civil Society, Vancouver: National Library of Canada.
- Scheufele, D. A. (2000). Agenda-setting, priming, and framing revisited: Another look at cognitive effects of political communication. *Mass Communication & Society*, 3, 297-316.
- Seow, T. and Maslog, C. (2005). War or Peace Journalism? Asian newspaper coverage of conflicts. *Journal of Communication*, 55(2): pp 311-329.
- Skjerdal, T. (2012). The Somali Media and their Peace-Building Potential. *Bildhaan Vol. 11*.
- Tankard, J.; Hendrickson, L.; Silberman, J.; Bliss, K. and Ghanem, S. (1991). Media Frames: Approaches to conceptualization and measurement. Paper presented at the *Annual Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication*, Boston, MA.
- United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA). (2005). *UNOWA Workshop on Reporting for Peace*. pp.3-5.
- Watson, J. (1998). *Media Communication: An Introduction to Theory and Process*. New York: Palgrave.
- Wimmer, R. and Dominick, J. (2003). *Mass Media Research: An Introduction (7th ed.)*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Wolfsfeld, G. (2004). *Communication Society and Politics: Media and the path to Peace*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wood, L. and Kroger, R. (2000). *Doing discourse analysis: Methods for studying action in talk and text*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Appendix I

Interview Respondents

No.	Name of respondents	Institution	Position	Remark
1	Abdi Tsegaye	Fortune newspaper	Editor-in-chief	
2	Abdisa Zerai (PhD)	AAU School of Journalism and Communications	School Head	
3	Deresa Terefe	Ethiopian Broadcast Authority	Media monitoring and capacity building director	
4	Elsabet Ekubay	Addis Admass newspaper	Reporter	
5	Fekadu Mola	Addis Zemen newspaper	Delegated on behalf of Editor-in-chief	
6	Getachew Senay	Addis Zemen newspaper	D/editor-in-chief	
7	Girum Abate	Capital newspaper	Editor-in-chief	
8	Melaku Demsse	Reporter newspaper	Managing Editor	
9	Mulat Alemayehu	AAU School of Journalism and Communications	Instructor and PhD candidate of Oslo University	
10	Selemawit Fekade	Ethiopian Broadcast Authority	Print media monitoring and capacity building group leader	
11	Solomon G/egziabher	Addis Admass newspaper	Senior reporter	
12	Tesfu Altaye	Personal contact	An author on peace related area	
13	Yemane G/sselasse	Addis Zemen newspaper	Reporter	
14	Yohannes Anberbir	Reporter newspaper	Reporter	

Appendix II

Points for the in-depth interview

1. Reflections on peace journalism concepts and its relevance to Ethiopia media.
2. Assessment on the current print media practice in relation to conflict/peace reporting
3. Discussion on content orientation, reporting approaches and dominant story frames used by the newspapers, when they cover conflict/peace related issues.
4. Main challenges face to practice peace journalism.

Appendix III

Galtung's (1998) coding categories for frame

No.	War Journalism	Peace Journalism
	<i>APPROACH</i>	<i>APPROACH</i>
1	<p><i>Reactive</i></p> <p>Waits for war to break out, or about to break out, before reporting</p>	<p><i>Proactive</i></p> <p>Anticipates, starts reporting long before war breaks out</p>
2	<p><i>Reports Visible effects of war</i></p> <p>Casualties, dead and wounded, damage to property</p>	<p><i>Reports also on invisible effects of war</i></p> <p>Emotional trauma, damage to society and culture</p>
3	<p><i>Elite-oriented</i></p> <p>Focuses on leaders and elites as actors and sources of information</p>	<p><i>People-oriented</i></p> <p>Focuses on common people as actors and sources of information</p>
4	<p><i>Differences-oriented</i></p>	<p><i>Reports areas of agreement that might lead to a solution to conflict</i></p>
5	<p><i>Focuses on here and now</i></p>	<p><i>Reports causes and consequences of the conflict</i></p>
6	<p><i>Dichotomizes good and bad, victims and villains</i></p>	<p><i>Avoid labeling of good guys and bad guys</i></p>

7	<p><i>Two-party orientation</i></p> <p>One party wins, one party loses</p>	<p><i>Multiparty orientation</i></p> <p>Gives voice to many parties involved in conflict</p>
8	<p><i>Partisan</i></p> <p>Biased for one side in conflict</p>	<p><i>Non-partisan</i></p> <p>Neutral, not taking sides</p>
9	<p><i>Zero-sum orientation</i></p> <p>One goal: to win</p>	<p><i>Win-win orientation</i></p> <p>Many goals and issues, solution-oriented</p>
10	<p><i>Stops reporting and leaves after war</i></p> <p>Stops reporting with peace treaty signing and ceasefire and heads for another war elsewhere</p>	<p><i>Stays on and reports aftermath of war</i></p> <p>reconstruction, rehabilitation, and implementation of peace treaty</p>
	LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE
1	<p><i>Uses victimizing language that tells only what has been done to people</i></p> <p>For example, destitute, devastated, defenseless, pathetic, tragic, demoralized</p>	<p><i>Avoids victimizing language</i></p> <p>Reports what has been done and could be done by people, and how they are coping</p>
2	<p><i>Uses demonizing language</i></p> <p>For example, vicious, cruel, brutal, barbaric, inhuman, tyrant, savage, ruthless, terrorist, extremist, fanatic, fundamentalist</p>	<p><i>Avoids demonizing language</i></p> <p>Uses more precise descriptions, titles, or names</p>
3	<p><i>Uses emotive language</i></p> <p>For example, genocide, assassination, massacre, systematic (as in systematic raping or forcing people from their homes</p>	<p><i>Avoids emotive words</i></p> <p>Objective and moderate. Reserves strongest language only for gravest situation. Does not exaggerate</p>

Statement of Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and all sources of materials used for the thesis have been appropriately acknowledged.

Name	Signature
Kelali Desalegn	 -----
Date of Submission	October 2014
Place of Submission	Addis Ababa University

Advisor	Signature
-----	-----