



**A Discursive Construction of Terrorism and Terrorists in EBC's  
Documentary Film "*Terrorism in Ethiopia*"**

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Abenezer Estifanos, entitled *A Discursive Construction of Terrorism and Terrorists in EBC's Documentary Film "Terrorism in Ethiopia"* 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 meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **A Discursive Construction of Terrorism and Terrorists in EBC's Documentary Film "Terrorism in Ethiopia"**

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**Addis Ababa University, 2015**

As media have a vital role to play when talking about the representation, framing and reporting of terrorism; this study aims at analyzing the discursive construction of terrorism and terrorists in the documentary film "Terrorism in Ethiopia." Attempts were made to analyze the representation and portrayal of terrorism and terrorists, to examine rhetorical strategies used to support the arguments advanced and to look into how structural factors have played a role in the discursive construction of terrorism and terrorist in the documentary film.

In line with the theme of the study, related literatures have been viewed and the representation and framing theoretical frameworks were deployed. A qualitative research approach with discourse analysis as a method has been employed.

The result of the analysis reveals that with reference to the systematic content analysis of the documentary film, the producers of the documentary film were parties that have a direct hand on the issue raised; and the themes presented were in line with the issue raised and seemed befitting. With regard to the representation and framing of terrorism and terrorists, the producers have depicted terrorism as 'an evil deed' that does not differentiate race, age, religion, etc. However, some of the claims made by the producers of the documentary were overstretched and were

contextualized so as to fit their objectives. Opposition on how the government exercises its power and disagreements on the practice of the country's legal system were portrayed as terrorism acts. In addition, the rhetorical strategies used to support the arguments forwarded have played their role in a way that allows the readers to identify themselves with the victims and validate and accept the arguments presented by the interviewees and the producers. Based on the findings of the study, some recommendations have been forwarded.

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## **List of Acronyms**

AIAI- Al Ittihad al Islamiya

EBC- Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (the then ERTA- Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency)

EPRDF- Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

ESAT- Ethiopian Satellite Television

ESDL- Ethiopian Somali Democratic League

FBI- Federal Bureau of Investigation

NISS - National Intelligence and Security Service

OAU- Organization of African Union (Now African Union (AU))

OLF- Oromo Liberation Front

ONLF- Ogadeni National Liberation Front

OWDA- Ogaden Welfare Development Association

PLO- Palestine Liberation Organization

TGE- Transitional Government of Ethiopia

UN- United Nations

US (USA)- United States of America

WPE- Workers' Party of Ethiopia

# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background of the Study

Terrorism is a word often and overly used in the last three decades. The word and the concept behind it have different connotations and meanings for different people. For some it is the father of all evil while for others it is a matter of freedom, expression of cause and a symbol and way to be heard (Gupta, 2006).

Terrorism first originated during the French Revolution (Gupta, 2006). After the French monarchy was overthrown by the French people, who destroyed the Bastille prison in 1789, a revolutionary government was formed. But on July 26 of 1794, the revolutionary leader Maximilien Robespierre declared that he has a list of people who were conspiring to overthrow the revolutionary government. As a result, nearly 40,000 people were beheaded and this mass killing came to be known as the "Reign of Terror." These killings were ways for the revolutionary government to plant fear and terror in the common people's minds and it was also in a way a demonstration that the aristocratic system was done with (Gupta, 2006). This was the first encounter of the term terrorism and Schmid and de Gaff (1982) further explain terrorism as "(. . .)"propaganda by deed" (a phrase coined by the noted Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin): a form of mass communication by which a terrorist group tells its supporters, "we are doing it for you," while warning enemies of the consequences of ignoring their demands" (p.16).

Any act of intimidation, terror and violence against any public and/or government for political, religious and/or ideological end is to be considered as a terrorism act; these acts could be carried out by individuals, groups and/or states.

Ethiopia is not new to terrorist acts and violence. Though controversial, the Derg regime was considered to be a governmental terrorist after it overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 (United States Institute of Peace, Special Report, 2004). Airplane hijackings, kidnappings, assassination attempts, bombings of bars, hotels, public buildings and public transportations have been carried out by different terrorist groups and organizations throughout the country in the last 10 to 20 years. Al Ittihad al Islamiya (AIAI), based in Somalia, and indigenous local groups including the Oromo Liberation Front, the militant wing of the Ogadeni National Liberation Front, the now quiescent Islamic Front for the Liberation of Oromia (Ibid., 2004) and Al Shabab have been regarded as the major terrorist organizations and groups that have been active in creating chaos and destruction in the country.

Terrorists resort to acts of terror with different objectives in mind. In the early days of terrorism cleansing the mass, because they were corrupt, was the driving force. But throughout the ages, it has evolved from ideological struggle to religious fanaticism. The (main) strategy of terrorists is to commit acts of violence that draw the attention of the local public, the government, and the world to their cause. The terrorists plan their attack to obtain the greatest publicity, choosing targets that symbolize what they oppose (International Terrorism and Security Research, p.2). And to conveying terrorists' causes media play an important role. Perl (1997), when explaining the role and importance of media for the successfulness of a terrorist attack said:

The media are known to be powerful forces in confrontations between terrorists and governments. Media influence on public opinion may impact not only the actions of governments but also on those groups engaged in terrorist acts. From the terrorist perspective, media coverage is an important measure of the success of a terrorist act or campaign (p.2)

Terrorists could exploit and manipulate the media as reporting news that grab the public's attention seems to be basically what is driving media nowadays. Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's metaphor that publicity is the 'oxygen' of terrorism shows the strong dependency of terrorism and the criticalness of media for the achievement of terrorists' goals. "( . . .) in fact, the relationship (between media and terrorism) is not a one-way street. Although terrorism cannot be labeled "oxygen of the media" ( . . .) the media do profit from it as well. Perhaps no oxygen, terrorism seems to be an attractive boon for media coverage" (European Commission, 2008, p.2).

"Communication between the government and the media ( . . .) is an important element in any strategy to prevent terrorist causes and strategies from prevailing and to preserve democracy" (Perl, 1997, p.2). But this is not to say that media should be the mouthpiece of the government and spit out whatever has been put in its mouth by the government. The media and the government should be very careful and thorough in seeing that the media does not become a tool for promoting terrorism and its methods. Perl (1997) further elaborates,

Governments can use the media in an effort to arouse world opinion against the country or group using terrorist tactics. Public diplomacy and the media can also be used to mobilize public opinion in other countries to pressure governments to take or reject action against terrorism (p.2).

Having seen the relationship between media and governments and how they can rely as well as 'exploit' each other, lets shift our focus to the history of the Ethiopian media. The Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC, the then ERTA) was established in 1964 to highlight the Organization of African Union (OAU) meeting that took place in Addis Ababa that same year; and color television broadcast began in 1983 in commemoration of the founding of Workers'

Party of Ethiopia (WPE). After the fall of the Derg, under the declaration of freedom of the Press Proclamation 34/92, Ethiopian media began to experience some democratic practices unique in the history of the country's media (Abel, 2005). In addition to Proclamation 34/92, the government established the Ethiopian Broadcasting Agency "to ensure the expansion of a high standard, prompt and reliable broadcasting service that can contribute to the political, social and economic development and to regulate same" (Broadcasting Service Proclamation No. 533/2007, p.3636).

Even though EBC seems to be more liberal in its aired programs than the monarchy and the derg regime, there is still state control and scrutiny over it and its programs. It is still considered to be the mouthpiece of the government and many of its news segments and programs reinforce this belief.

In the last six years, EBC has broadcast documentaries such as '*Addis Ababan Ende Bagdad*,' '*Amoraw*,' '*Akeldama*,' '*Ager Chata Hone*,' '*Jihadawi Harakat*' (Henok, 2013) and the latest and the basis for this study's analysis, "*Terrorism in Ethiopia*." Though these 'documentaries' have their own objectives and interpretations, the main focuses seem to be the threat posed by the groups and organizations considered as terrorists, Islamic extremists, the threat posed from neighboring countries, and the intense works National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS) and the Federal Police Anti-Terrorism Joint Task-Force are doing to prevent, control and fowl terrorism and terrorist acts. The documentary film "*Terrorism in Ethiopia*" was aired in December 2013 in four parts for four weeks. The four main objectives of the documentary film were the issues of the existence of terrorism in Ethiopia, explanation on and for the anti-terror proclamation, identification of terrorist groups and organizations and religious freedom and dangers of religious extremism.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Media has a vital role to play when talking about the representation, framing and reporting of terrorism. As terrorists crave publicity to achieve and convey their causes and goals, media becomes their main weapon equal to the bombs and destructions they create. As cited in European Commission's Sixth Framework Program, an Islamist magazine wrote: "Film everything; this is good advice for all mujahideen (Islamic guerillas based in Iran and Pakistan who fought a holy war, jihad, against the Soviet forces occupying Afghanistan in the late 1970s and the 1980s). You should be aware that every frame you take is as good as a missile fired at the Crusader enemy and his puppets" (The Economist, 2007, p.5).

Governments also use media for the counterterrorism fights. "Media reporting on terrorism is used extensively by governments to enhance, explain, or propagate their own counter-terrorism efforts" (European Commission. 2008, p.38). Communication and collaborations need to exist between a government and media for the prevention and control of terrorism in a country. Though this might be the major reason EBC would raise for the making of the documentary films, the documentary films aired thus far seem to have a degree of 'exaggeration.' Henok's (2013) MA thesis that analyzed Addis Ababa communities' responses to the '*Jihadawi Harakat*' documentary film showed that residents in the city perceived and concluded the documentary film as biased, "they (most of the focus group discussion participants) agreed on the fact that the contents of the documentary film are so biased and distorted to achieve certain hidden agenda of the government" (p.83). With this finding in mind, one would ask why EBC would continue to make and/or broadcast these kinds of documentary films. Even though researching why EBC continues to make/broadcast these films is not the objective of this study, the researcher hopes to reach at an assertion at the end of this study.

One major point to consider in the process of analyzing the "Terrorism in Ethiopia" documentary film, or any documentary film that deals with terrorism in Ethiopia for that matter, is the consideration that needs to be made about the socio-cultural, political and religious context and status of the society and its understanding of terrorism. This point is raised to consider the degree of manipulation that could be employed by the government and the media using documentary films, seeing that EBC is a state-owned media outlet and the 'mouthpiece' of the government. As Henok (2013) put it, "Documentary films are cultural products or texts as they are heavily influenced by the socio-cultural, political and historical landscape in which they are produced" (p.54).

As academic researches need to be produced in order to fill the gap, of collaboration, pin pointing any wrongdoing and/or giving constructive criticisms, that exists between the Ethiopian government, media and academic institutions, and as a contribution to this notion, this study will analyze the representation and framing of specific groups, organizations and individuals in the "Terrorism in Ethiopia" documentary film.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.3.1 General Objective**

The general objective of the study is to examine the representation and framing of terrorism and terrorists: individuals, groups and organizations in EBC's documentary film, "Terrorism in Ethiopia."

### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

Having the above theme in mind, the following specific objectives will guide this study:

- Find out how terrorism is represented and framed in EBC's "Terrorism in Ethiopia" documentary film
- Identify the portrayal of groups, organizations and individuals in the documentary film
- Examine the rhetorical strategies used to support the arguments advanced in the documentary film
- Unpack how structural factors have played a role in the discursive construction of terrorism, terrorist and other groups in the documentary film

### **1.4 Research Questions**

The study aims at answering the following questions:

1. How are terrorism and terrorist acts represented and framed in the documentary film?
2. How are groups, organizations and individuals portrayed in the documentary film?
3. What rhetorical strategies are used to support the arguments advanced in the documentary film?
4. How have structural factors played a role in the discursive construction of terrorism and terrorists: groups, organizations and individuals in the documentary film?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The outcome of this study reveals the current understanding and interpretation of terrorism and terrorists by the government and the position of EBC concerning the counter terrorism fight. In

addition, the analysis and conclusions drawn could serve as a springboard for further researches in areas that deal with how cultural artifacts shape the discourse of terrorism and terrorists and the implications of such discursive constructions for various stakeholders.

## **1.6 Delimitation of the Study**

This study is an analysis of the representation and framing of terrorism and terrorists: groups, organizations and individuals in the documentary film "Terrorism in Ethiopia." It does not deal with the reception and interpretation of the documentary film by audiences as this specific issue is beyond the scope of the study. The data is from the documentary film aired, in four parts, by EBC in December 2013.

## **1.7 Limitations of the Study**

As the study was on only an analysis of a single documentary film, the results of the study might only be applicable to EBC. However, this is not to suggest other media outlets could not be cautious of discourse monopoly. The study mainly focused on the discourses that took place in the documentary film; the visual contents of the documentary film were not analyzed in detail.

As representation and framing in media are important factors in the struggle to create a dominant discourse and in shaping public opinion, future studies could conduct audience analysis whether the producers of the documentary film were successful in these regard. This study, however, was limited to the analysis of the discursive construction of terrorism and terrorists.

## **1.8 Organization of the Study**

This thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter deals with the background, statement of the problem, the research objectives, the research question and delimitations of the study. The

second chapter reviews the literature related to the study. The third chapter is where the appropriate research approach is discussed in detail. The fourth chapter deals with the analysis of the documentary film in discussion. Finally, the fifth chapter concludes the study and suggests recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

### 2.1 An Overview of the History of Terrorism

#### 2.1.1 Global Context

Terror comes from the Latin *terrere*, which means “frighten” or “tremble.” The roots of terrorism are old and many. Throughout the human history, there have been many killings with or without political or religious relations; and most of them were not considered to be terrorist acts, nonetheless, they were killings of human beings with a destructive means to achieve a political or religious end. To mention some of them, we have the Greek’s tyrannicide and the assassination of tyrants for political motives, the Jewish ‘Sicarii’, who fought with the Roman rule in Palestine, the ‘Assassins’, a sect within the community of Shi’ite Muslims who believed the original visions of the Prophet Mohammed had been corrupted by the Sunni leaders of medieval Islam, the European Christians who believed in the beginning of the millennium, after the year 1000, and the struggle between good and evil, and practiced mass killings with the belief of purifying the world for the ‘Second Coming’ and the end of human history, in India the Hindus sect known as the ‘Thugs’ believed that they need to sacrifice another Hindu to satisfy Kali, the goddess of death, and the Jacobins who believed that what they are doing is in the name of the people and is to advance the cause of the people are some of the examples that are worth mentioning.

Guilt by association was also a factor in the above killings. Aristocrats and their servants were likely to be prosecuted because of who they were and the group they belonged to rather than what they had done. Same similarity could be drawn from the modern terrorism. Modern terrorists also attack people, mostly civilians, because they belong to a certain group and/or

country or because of what they represent. Many of these killings had the notion of cleansing as their core purpose and have a combination of political and religious purposes behind the violence.

The psychological effect the 'Reign of Terror' that happened in France was supposed to have and it actually had was not only aimed at the victims who were sent to the guillotine but the wider audience also. Wind-spread fear among the French people was executioners' objective and the same can also be said about modern terrorists; 'getting inside people's heads' and 'modifying the behavior of some audiences' are also the purposes of many of the terrorism acts.

Terrorism can also be defined by the "duality between professed ideas and their implementation". The idea that "the end justifies the means" is the engine of most terrorist activity. Most terrorists' justification of resorting to terrorist acts is that as long as what is sought out to be achieved is achievable, any means is necessary, acceptable and justifiable.

Even though there is no definite and universal definition of terrorism, different scholars, organizations, countries and media personalities have given their understandings and interpretations of the term terrorism. So, terrorism can be defined as: "the ready resort to the killing or intimidation of members of a non combatant population . . . whether the perpetrator is an individual, group of individuals, or a state" (Mohammed, 1999, 303), "(. . .) the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological" (United States Department of Defense), "[it] is the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (FBI), "[it] is

the outcome of a specific ideology, an attempt to reshape the world in the ideal image of a specific group" (Gupta, 2006, p.15), "an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby - in contrast to assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets" (United Nations, 1992), "the use or threat designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause" (Terrorism Act, United Kingdom, 2000). An when we look at Ethiopia's definition of terrorism and terrorist acts, we find "intending to advance a political, religious or ideological cause by coercing the government, intimidating the public or section of the public, or destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional or economic or social institutions of the country" (Anti-Terrorism Proclamation, No. 652/2009).

There are distinct differences between the old terrorism and the new one. Walter Laqueur (1999, p.4), a prominent terrorism expert, suggests that "there has been a radical transformation, if not a revolution, in the character of terrorism." Laqueur (1999) compares old terrorism with new terrorism. Old terrorism is terrorism that strikes only selected targets. New terrorism is terrorism that is indiscriminate; it causes as many casualties as possible. Another major feature of new terrorism is "the increasing readiness to use extreme indiscriminate violence" (Matusitz, 2013, p.11). Though the end result is disastrous and hurting to innocent people, new terrorism tends to have a bigger impact.

The evolution of terrorism or modern terrorism is divided into four waves. The First Wave was in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Religious fanatics/extremists did not play a major role in this wave of modern terrorism. Terrorism driven by a backlash against changes or potential

changes in society recurred throughout the twentieth century. In most cases, backlash terrorism does not begin with attacks directed against the national government. Rather, the violence characteristically begins with attacks aimed at groups in the population who are identified with changes in the social and political status quo (Weinberg and Eubank, 2006, p.49). This very thing was what happened with the establishment of the Ku Klux Klan in 1867 after the American Civil War (1861-65). The goal of the Klan was to prevent the newly freed slaves of the South from exercising their acquired rights. The Klan carried out shootings, burnings and lynching to prevent, mainly, the political lives of the African Americans.

Similarly, in European countries, between the two world wars, there were backlash terrorisms. The Bolshevik Revolution of October, 1917, in Russia, the attempted communist revolution in Budapest, the Spartacus group's attempt to do the same in Germany, and the revolutionary left emerging in Italy resulted in/aroused a backlash. The Italian Benito Mussolini came to power and under his leadership, parliamentary squads of "Black Shirts" were engaged in what were called "punitive expeditions", whereby night-time raids involving terrorist violence. Leaders of labor unions and peasant-farmer leagues were frequently beaten and sometimes killed as a means to send a message to all those pushing in the direction of a revolutionary Italy. In the 1920s, in Germany, the Nazi movement under Adolf Hitler engaged in similar practice with the heinous killings of Jews close to six million in number and a massive number of other European countries' citizens because of opposition from the countries. In other countries of Europe, Finland, Romania, Hungary and Yugoslavia, especially leaders expressed their admiration for and sought to mimic the Italian Fascist and German Nazi movements.

The Second Wave was the colonial wave, confined within national geographical boundaries from 1921 until today.

The departure of the Europeans [from African soil] and the beginning of national independence did not necessarily mean the onset of a period of peace and tranquility. Sometimes, the new nations' boundaries had been drawn to suit the interests of the colonial power rather than those of the local inhabitants" (Weinberg and Eubank, 2006, p.52).

These inconsistencies led to struggles and series of civil wars amongst groups which were looking for dominance over one another.

The period between 1945 and mid-1960s had seen much violence in what came to be known as the Third World. Terrorism was a subsidiary tactic in the national struggle for independence and freedom. In Vietnam, for example, the Viet Minh carried out an assassination campaign against French officials and their collaborators in the countryside. On occasion, their cadres in the major cities also threw bombs in restaurants and other public places where members of the colonial administration were known to congregate (Ibid., 2006, p.53). The uprising against French rule in Algeria, which began in 1953, was the other major case of a national liberation struggle in which terrorism played a significant role (Ibid., 2006, p.56). Terrorism against European civilians—bombings, shootings, and selective assassinations of notable political figures—figured prominently in the war, especially in Algeria, but in metropolitan France as well. The FLN [National Liberation Front] generally acknowledged that this activity was terrorism, although of course justifiable. In spite of major scares, terrorism at this period of time was not the “major problem” or “central concern” of governments around the world as it is today. The dramatics and global threats of terrorism came about to be the essential agenda of governments around the

world as a result of events that unfolded during the 1960s, what some have called the “age of terrorism”.

The Third Wave was the modern-day wave; it introduced international terrorism, crossing national boundaries, which began in the second half of the 1960s. Part of the cause has to do with changing technology. Television pictures were transmitted using satellites making it possible for audiences around the world to watch live images of events as they occurred on different parts of the world. International travel became faster and easier. The major airlines all published schedules for arrival and departure of their planes. While these changes made the lives of passengers easier, the possibility for terrorists and terrorist groups to attacking airlines and high jacking planes has also increased.

A number of events that occurred during the 1960s appeared to prompt the radicalization of politics throughout much of the world and also helped initiate a “new age” of terrorism (Ibid., 2006, p.61). United States’ was involved in the Vietnam War, beginning in 1964–1965; in Middle East over a period of six days in June 1967, Israeli armed forces inflicted a devastating and humiliating defeat on Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. In the aftermath of the Six-Day War, the various Palestinian groups merged under an umbrella of an organization, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Yasir Arafat, the leader of Fatah, the largest of the groups, became the PLO chairman. Under his leadership in 1968, the PLO produced a new charter that called for the replacement of Israel by a “democratic secular state” of Palestine. The only way to achieve this secular state was by means of “armed struggle.” No negotiations were possible, nor could the PLO depend on the Arab states to do its work for it. The PLO itself was to wage the “armed struggle” (Ibid., 2006, p.72).

In Latin America, ideology was a major cause for terrorism. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s many Latin American revolutionaries, often young university students, looked to the example set by Fidel Castro in Cuba. Castro and his followers had used guerrilla warfare to defeat the highly unpopular dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in 1959. After the failure of several rural guerrilla campaigns to install Marxist regimes in Bolivia, Venezuela, and elsewhere in the style of the Cuban revolution, terrorist groups who hoped to achieve the same end but by different means emerged in a number of Latin American countries.

And in Asia, the Sino–Soviet split. Mao Tse-tung, the leader of Communist China, repeatedly accused his counterparts in the Soviet Union of betraying the revolutionary cause by seeking “peaceful coexistence” and later “détente” with the United States and the other capitalist countries. In 1966, Mao unleashed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a massive effort to preserve the revolutionary enthusiasm of the Chinese people through verbal and physical attacks on public officials and party bureaucrats.

In Europe, beginning in the late 1960s, groups such as the Rote Armee Fraktion (Red Army Faction), Bewegung 2 Juni (Movement 2 June) and a few smaller groups waged a terrorist campaign against German capitalism and what they regarded as the “fascist” character of the Bonn Republic. Bankers, businessmen were assassinated or kidnapped; banks were robbed, and bombs set off. Between 1969 and 1983, Italians experienced an almost 15-year period of violence, the streets and public squares in Italy’s major cities were often filled with the sounds of gunfire and the explosion of bombs. Businessmen, judges, and politicians were kidnapped and shot.

Not only political ideology but nationalism was also a major player of terrorist acts in Europe during the 1960s and 1970s. Until the mid-1970s, Spain was ruled by the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. Franco prevented any manifestations of regional autonomy, particularly on the part of the Basque population. The struggle between the Catholics and the Protestants in Northern Ireland also became a source of terrorism in the late 1960s. The Protestant-dominated police forces, aided by “volunteers” from the Protestant patriotic societies, repeatedly used excessive force against Catholics in their efforts to repress what they feared was becoming an open rebellion; the Catholics were advocating the use of violence not only to defend the Catholic community but also to achieve the unification of Ulster with the Republic of Ireland to the South. Little of this third wave of terrorism was driven by religious considerations. Unlike the terrorism at the end of the twentieth century and in the first decade of the twenty-first century, religious fundamentalism was not a central factor (Ibid., 2006, p.63).

The Fourth Wave is symbolized by destruction through massive killings using weapons of mass destruction, chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear weapons and religious legitimation for terrorist attacks against civilians in any country that is considered Satan, infidel, or apo state (i.e., religious rebel) (Matusitz, 2013, p.12).

“Religious fanaticism is an extreme sense of ideological zeal complemented by a focused and unrelenting set of activities that express the high dedication of one or more people to their own belief system(s)” (Ibid., 2013, p.15). Radical religious Islamism has been identified as a root cause of terrorism.

“Religious terrorism ... justified by the religious authorities, gives full sanction to actors who thus become instruments of the divine. The number and identity of the victims is of no

importance” (Chaliand and Blin, 2007, p.4). Nowadays, factions with connection to radical Islam have more or less abandoned guerilla warfare and have turned their tactics to terrorism with religion as their means to mobilize and be involved in more political ends.

Hammas and al Qaeda, in particular, combine political or pseudo-political aspirations (the destruction of Israel and/or the United States) with a religious undertone that serves the primary purpose of recruitment and thus finds an echo in the ideology of other movements. It should be noted that the early phase of Palestinian terrorism was essentially political and secular, only drifting into religiosity in the 1980s, following the Iranian revolution (Ibid., 2007, p.6).

Matusitz (2013) quoting Gurr and Cole (2000) stated that out of the examined sixty-four international terrorist organizations that existed in 1980; they found that only two of them were religious organizations (only 3% in total). By 1995, the number of religious terrorist organizations rose sharply to 25 out of 58 (43% in total). It was an increase of 40% in just fifteen years (p.11). Overall, the world in general has witnessed horrendous attacks on civilians with religious justifications of cleansing and purifying the world from the infidels.

The means of undertaking the attacks vary. “Beginning in Lebanon in the early 1980s and continuing to this day, however, the world has witnessed a series of terrorist campaigns in which the principal tactic of those waging them has been suicide bombing” (Weinberg and Eubank, 2006, p.81). This has become a widely practiced tactic by terrorist groups and organizations throughout the world.

In 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. A communist government had come to power in Kabul, the Afghan capital, and had sought to impose a number of highly unpopular social and economic changes. The various tribal communities into which the country’s population was

divided launched a rebellion aimed at overthrowing the Communist regime. When the insurrection appeared to be on the verge of success, the Red Army was sent into Afghanistan in order to rescue the Communist regime. For many Muslims around the world, the intervention was interpreted as an invasion of the House of Islam by godless Communists. The proper response was a holy war, or *jihad*, aimed at driving out the infidels (Ibid., p.78).

Clerics of the Muslim world pleaded believers to go to Afghanistan and fight for the country. “Both Saudi Arabia and the United States provided money and equipment in order to help train “holy warriors” to expel the Soviet forces” (Ibid., p.85). The war was won and Russia was removed from Afghanistan .Osama bin Laden, Saudi businessman, and an Egyptian physician, Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri were among the people who answered the call for aid. Bin Laden and al-Zawahiri formed the nucleus of what the world soon came to know as Al Qaeda, “the most destructive and complex terrorist organization in history” (Ibid., p.79).

Iraqi’s invasion of Kuwait in 1990 saw major evolutions in Al Qaeda. Bin Laden’s offer to help the Saudi kingdom was not accepted because the Saudi royal family preferred the US.

This decision was not taken lightly by Osama bin Laden. He was especially “incensed” that the Saudis would turn to infidels to defend the “land of the two holy sites” (Mecca and Medina). His criticisms were not appreciated and he was eventually expelled from Saudi Arabia and had his citizenship withdrawn by the government (Ibid., p.85).

Al Qaeda moved its base to Sudan, where the government was eager to accommodate them, in 1990. But the assassination attempt on the then Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak and various attacks on the Saudi government as well as other countries resulted in the pressure of the international community to demand the Sudanese government to exile bin Laden and his followers. In 1996, Al Qaeda moved its base to Afghanistan, a country which had fallen under

the Islamic fundamentalist group of the Taliban. Training camps were set up and a fatwa, religious decree, was declared to kill American military as well as civilians.

A series of spectacular terrorist attacks followed the issuance of this decree. The American embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, were bombed in 1998, leaving hundreds dead... Other attacks, including a skim to blow up the Los Angeles International Airport in 2000, were foiled... The most horrendous of al Qaeda's attacks was the September 11, 2001, assaults on the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York and on the Pentagon. By seizing control of commercial airliners and crashing them into these buildings, al Qaeda's suicide bombers managed to kill more than 3,000 civilians within the space of a few hours, the worst single terrorist event in history (Ibid., p.88).

Other attacks have taken place throughout the world and al Qaeda has been at the heart of most of them.

“Terrorism” and “freedom fighting” are terms that describe two different aspects of human behavior. “The first characterizes a method of struggle, and the second, a cause. The causes of groups that have adopted terrorism as a mode of struggle are as diverse as the interests and aspirations of mankind” (Matusitz, 2013,p.27). Terrorism can be the result of groups' portrayal of governments (and their actors) as oppressive on notions of social, economic, political and/or religious.

A group once regarded as a terrorist, but saw itself as a freedom fighter, could take the seat of a government and call others to be terrorists of the same principles and doings that it used to follow and practice. “Terrorist groups normally describe themselves as national liberation movements, or fighters against social, economic, religious, or imperialist oppression, or any combination of these” (Chaliand and Blin, 2007, p 27).

Not all groups that fight for national liberation and struggle oppression resort to terrorist acts to advance their cause. Some terrorist groups undoubtedly fight for self-determination or national liberation. “In other words, some insurgent groups are both terrorists and freedom fighters, some are either one or the other, and some are neither” (Matusitz, 2013,p.27). Though definitions on “terrorist” and “freedom fighter” by the groups and individuals referring to themselves and/or others differ, whatever threatens the safety and wellbeing of civilians could not be given any kind of reference but to be an assault on the right of human beings to live freely.

“State terrorism”, as it is understood today, applies above all to the support provided by certain governments to terrorist groups; it is “a tool employed systematically by totalitarian regimes” (Ibid.,2013,p.7). Though states subject to state terrorism may not accept the description, many of them have terrorists under their wings and give support to causes they think are worthy of backing.

In 1985, Jenkins observed that 10% of the world’s countries accounted for 60% of the world’s terrorist attacks. Li and Schaub (2004) examined international terrorist incidents within 112 countries from 1975 to 1997. They discovered that the Middle East had the highest proportion of international terrorist incidents. Europe ranked second. Africa, Asia, and the Americas experienced considerably fewer international terrorist attacks—approximately 69%, 65%, and 33%, respectively, in comparison with the Middle East. More than 80% of arrested terrorists in Europe and the U.S. are members of the Muslim Diaspora, mostly second- and third-generation immigrants (Matusitz, 2013, p.9).

In general, the world has experienced the difference kinds of killings and terrorist acts from cleansing the world to political and religious ends. The different terrorist groups have caused much heartache and have killed numerous people with or without reaching their goals. Religious fanaticism has become the latest and most deadly ideology and practice in the current world.

Countries have been and are still working on preventing any kind of terrorist acts on their countries and citizens; but the threat still lives on.

### **2.1.2 Ethiopian Context**

Countries in Africa were fighting for their national liberation from the Western colonization in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. And the demarcations done by the colonizers became constant causes for wars not only in the Horn of Africa but also in the rest of Africa. Therefore, countries in the Horn of Africa have repeatedly been engaged in border wars.

Since 1991, the Horn of Africa had been subject to terrorist acts that mostly had religious fundamentalists as actors. After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, veteran Mujahdeen fighters who returned from the war with Russia were involved in terrorism particularly in Northern Africa (Shinn, 2004). The returnees supported the different terrorist movements particularly in the North and Eastern parts of the continent.

In 1993, 18 American soldiers were killed in Mogadishu, and in 1998, five years later terrorists attacked American embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. In the Kenyan bombing 213 people were killed of whom 201 were Kenyans and 12 US nationals and about 5000 others were wounded, the Tanzanian attack ten people died and 71 were wounded. In June 1995, the Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak was the target of an assassination attempt by a group of Sudanese-based Egyptian terrorist. The attempt was halted when the Ethiopian anti-terrorist forces killed five of the assassins and captured three more. The five-star Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi was bombed on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1980. At least 18 people were killed and more than 65 injured. The attacks were attributed to the terrorist network of Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden had issued a fatwa that ominously stated that all Muslims have a religious duty “to kill Americans

and their allies, both civilians and military” worldwide. The bombings of the Ghion and Wabishebelles hotels in Addis Ababa and the Ras hotel in Dire Dawa; the assassination attempt on the late Dr. Abdulmejid Hussien, the then Ethiopian Transport and Communication Minister in 1996; the 2005/2006 Addis Ababa blasts that targeted a public transportation system, the jihad declared by the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) in Somalia on Ethiopia on October 9<sup>th</sup> of 2006 are some of the attacks Ethiopia and neighboring countries had to deal. The jihad began with bomb explosions in Jigjiga on May 28<sup>th</sup>, 2007, killing 12 and injuring 92, the grenade attack at the then regional president, Abdullahi Hassan on the same day, in a similar celebration in Deghabur, a bomb killing 18 people, left another 54 injured. The latest attack of Al-Shabaab came in an upscale shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya; at least 39 people died and more than 150 were wounded. Al-Shabaab has taken responsibility for the attack, saying it was revenge for Kenya’s military operations in Somalia. “Kenya will not get peace unless they pull their military out of Somalia,” said Ali Mohamoud Rage, Al-Shabaab’s spokesman.

From 1995 till 2001, 8% of international acts of terrorism were committed in Africa...fifth most targeted continent...in terms of the loss of human life, Africa recorded 5932 casualties out of 194 acts of terrorism...second continent wise (Hussien and Botha, 2001).

### **2.1.2.1 Ethiopia and Terrorist Organizations**

Ethiopia has been dealing with terrorism since the early 1980s, the time when prominent terrorist groups and organizations were established. The country has had domestic terrorist groups as well as regional and international ones.

## **A Brief History of ONLF**

The Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) was formed in the Gulf, in August 1984 and made a public announcement of its existence on March 1986, in Kuwait. The initial ONLF policy statement defined the Ogaden as an oppressed nation colonized by Ethiopia, and pledged to establish an independent Ogaden state with full sovereignty. But the demand on an immediate referendum on independence led to split in its leadership. On January 6<sup>th</sup> 1994, the Ethiopian Somali Democratic League (ESDL) was officially formed...It rapidly cooperated with moderate elements of the ONLF, the larger group of the movement which rejected violence, and in 1994 came to the point to work with the Federal Government and within the Somali Regional administration (Woldeselase, 2010, p.170).

When it became clear that secession was not feasible, in 1994, Sheikh Ibrahim led his supporters out of the government and mobilized his followers for armed insurgency. But in short period of time its forces suffered repetitive defeats and the group resorted to terrorism. The group began receiving aid from AIAI, an existing terrorist organization in Somalia, and from Salafi religious elements in the Middle East. It also had negotiations with the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), which had turned to armed struggle and terrorism in 1992 (Woldeselase, 2010).

Media reports suggest that ONLF attacks started in 1995. Homes were bombed and individuals often beaten and hanged. Critics and opponents of the ONLF were regularly killed. Developmental and charity organizations were attacked; in Degahbur district, the manager of the Ogaden Welfare Development Association (OWDA), Mohammed Sheik Mohammed, and eleven other civilians were killed by the ONLF planted bombs. Trucks loaded with relief supplies were

regularly blown up by land mines planted on roads used by food aid and relief organizations. (Ibid., p.173).

During the months of September and December, 2007, there were a series of attacks and bomb explosions in East Emea district in Gode zone with 73 people killed and 84 injured...During 2007, there were a total of nine explosions in the town of Jigjiga causing a number of deaths and extensive destruction of property...An ONLF attack in November in a town in Debeweyin woreda in Koraha Zone left ten civilians dead, including two school teachers and a pregnant woman. Another attack on the town of Shilabo left five civilian killed. An ONLF-plated landmine near Aware in Degahbur region killed three civilians in a car (Ibid., p.174). In 2008, ONLF attacked the oil exploration facility and camp site which left 64 Ethiopians and nine Chinese civilian dead and wounded five more. The terrorists also kidnapped seven Chinese technicians and two Ethiopians. Even though the attacks have subdued, ONLF still pose a threat.

### **A Brief History of OLF**

Another political organization turned terrorist group is the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). The OLF was an outcome of years of national liberation struggle by the Oromo people. The Oromo national resistance that started in the mid-1960 when the Mecha-Tulema Self-Help organization was established in 1965 was a means of providing support for the national liberation struggle. Many Ethiopians died on the streets during the Red Terror (1977-1979) during the Derg regime. One result was the establishment of the OLF as a political organization in 1973; it strives to create a separate state for the Oromo people. The overall objective of the struggle, according to the OLF program was the realization of self-determination for the Oromo people and their liberation from oppression and exploitation in all forms...it was not, however, clear that the OLF wanted any alliance with other ethnic groups in Ethiopia (Habte Selassie, 1984 as cited by

Woldeselase, 2010). “Indeed, it was not even clear if the OLF’s political program envisaged Oromia as part of Ethiopia or as an independent state. This has remained controversial within the OLF ever since” (Woldeselase, 2010, p.196).

After the overthrow of Derg, a national conference to establish a transitional government was organized in Addis Ababa in July 1991. This was part of the EPRDF’s attempt to involve the participation of all parties in its new political dispensation. A Charter was signed by the representatives of around 31 political movements, a Council of Representatives of 87 seats was created and the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) was established. The OLF took the second largest number of seats in the Council of Representatives (Ibid., p.198). Nevertheless, OLF’s involvement in the transitional government was very short-lived and within a year it had decided to leave the Government. Following its withdrawal from government, OLF tried to mobilize its own fighters intending to launch an armed insurgency, although it failed. After this, OLF withdrew from all contacts with the Ethiopian government and reverted to armed struggle.

OLF bombed the Tigray Hotel in the center of Piazza on two separate occasions. In 1989, two people were killed and another 34 injured; in September 1995, five civilians died and 38 others injured...In 2005, there were a total of 34 explosions targeting buses, mini-buses, shops, restaurants, private and government installations in Addis Ababa (Ibid., p.200). Besides the attacks in Addis Ababa, there were bomb explosions in Mojo, Koka, and in Harar cities. Another OLF attack in a minibus on May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2008 killed six people and wounded five (Ibid, p.202).

## **Al-Itihaad Al-Islamiya (AIAI) and Ethiopia**

Al-Itihaad Al-Islamiya (AIAI), Arabic for “the Islamic Union,” is an international terrorist group with links to Al-Qaeda. In the 1980s, AIAI was founded and its objective has always been to establish an Islamic State in the Horn of Africa by any means possible; and came to political prominence in Somalia in 1991/1992. Somalia’s lack of central government has solidified the country to be a safe haven for international terrorist groups for the last twenty or so years.

AIAI extended its operations into Ethiopia’s Somali Regional State, linking up with the ONLF when Sheikh Ibrahim, the ONLF chairman decided to leave government and opt for armed struggle in 1994. A number of international Mujahideen were present in AIAI’s forces. In the Luuq fighting in 1997, nineteen non-Somalis were killed and documents were captured showing that the international elements of AIAI included Jihadists from Morocco, Pakistan and other Middle Eastern countries (Ibid., p.226). “After its defeats in Luuq and Gedo region, AIAI took a deliberate decision to operate on a less visible level for the time being, to stop efforts to set up administrative controls in a given area, and concentrate more on social/welfare activities” (Ibid., p.227). AIAI’s leaders would later on play a major role in the establishment of the terrorist group Al-Shabaab.

## **Al-Shabaab and Ethiopia**

Al Shabaab is a Somali Islamist insurgent group with ties to Al Qaeda. The absence of a central government in Somalia in the 1990s, has allowed local Islamic courts to emerge and establish their own law and order. “The courts’ leadership varied in their ideological approaches, representing diverse views on political Islam, Somali nationalism, and clan identity” (Ploch,

2010, p.6). Comprised of former AIAI leaders, who had loose affiliations with the courts, Harakat Al Shabaab Al Mujahidin (“Mujahidin Youth Movement” or Al-Shabaab), emerged in 2003-2004 with the notion of uniting “Somali-inhabited areas of East Africa under an Islamist caliphate.”

In 1989, the military leader Dr. Hassan Al-Tourabi, who was a fundamentalist and leader of the National Islamic Front, came to power in Khartoum, Sudan. Al-Tourabi indicated that he would welcome Osama bin Laden, who was in search of a new base of operations, and bin Laden went to Sudan in 1991. Sudan proved to be a great host to various terrorist operations which were launched throughout the Middle East and North Africa from the Sudanese base. (Woldeselase, 2010, p.61)

Bin Laden’s and his followers’ stay in Sudan lasted until May of 1996. Pressure from the international community to exile bin Laden from the country forced the Sudanese government to fall for the demands. Bin Laden moved back to Afghanistan which was under the Taliban, who welcomed him.

Al-Shabaab has conducted kidnappings, shootings, and targeted political assassinations, not only of Transitional Federal Government officials of Somalia but also of journalists, civil society activists, and aid workers. In 2007, Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for at least five successful suicide bombings (Ploch, 2010, p.8). Al-Shabaab’s threat on countries of the Horn of Africa is still prominent and countries have come to unite and overcome it.

Many views have been raised about the different factors that have made the Horn of Africa a safe haven for international terrorism. Inter-state rivalry, the connection between religion and politics

and religious fanaticism, countries' support of neighboring insurgents, weak law enforcement, the geographical proximity of the region with the Middle East and its porous borders have had the lions share in providing the perfect lodging for Al Qaeda and other violent extremist groups.

In 2009, the Ethiopian government passed a proclamation that specifically deals with terrorism. People inside the country and the international community have claimed the proclamation as a way for the government to imprison, harass and restrict opposition political party leaders and journalists than protect and safeguard the wellbeing of the citizens and of the country.

Terrorism should not be a cover for governments to restrict and control their oppositions and journalists. The European Commission special report quoting the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression et al. (2001), further elaborates this point:

Terror must not triumph over human rights in general, and freedom of expression in particular; certain governments have, in the aftermath of the events of 11 September, adopted measures or taken steps to limit freedom of expression and curtail the free flow of information; this reaction plays into the hands of the terrorists; Guarantees for freedom of expression have developed over centuries but they can easily be rolled back; [...] an effective strategy to address terror must include reaffirming and strengthening democratic values, based on the right to freedom of expression (2008, p.56).

Like the report suggests, the obligation to fight and prevent terrorism should not be a way for governments to abuse their powers and limit freedom of expression. Even though Ethiopia's Anti-Terrorism Law is and was not an immediate consequences of the 9/11 attacks, Westerners' latest notion of "war on terrorism" has greatly influenced the passing of the law in addition to keeping oppositions and journalists in check. In general, governments need to be very careful

and cautious in developing and passing policies that concern freedom of expression and human rights, because violation of one could possibly lead to the other.

## **2.2 Media and the Discourse of Terrorism**

The last decades have registered a revolutionary change in the mass media, especially the news media. Television has come to be the prominent news source and medium while newspapers have reduced to be supplementary sources. The pictures and images television provides have the undoubtable major effect in attracting audiences than that of newspapers. Cited by Biernatzki (2002), Ramonet explains how dramatized and strong pictures could go up on the pecking order at television stations:

Events which produce strong pictures . . . consequently go to the top of the news hierarchy . . . even if, in the absolute, their importance is secondary. The emotional shocks that these pictures produce . . . is altogether on a different scale from that which the other media can bring about . . . (p.5).

Conflicts and destructions with strong pictures appeal more to people than news about peace and tranquility. These kinds of news sell and news media knowingly or unknowingly give acknowledgement and publicity to terrorist acts as these acts almost all the time are with heavy violence. The increasing competition between stations and their capability to cover stories live from a scene from any part of the world have contributed a lot for terrorist groups and organizations to target media outlets and to follow media-oriented strategies to propagate their beliefs and goals.

Even though media are subject to manipulation and can give publicity and authenticity to terrorist acts, groups and organizations, there is no definite and scientific link that puts media coverage as the cause and encouragement for terrorist acts. Biernatzki citing Picard (1991[1986]

p.51) explains this as: “Although the mass media form an important part of the environment in which terrorists operate there is no credible scientific evidence that establishes “a cause-effect relationship between media coverage and the spread of terrorism”” (2002, p.6).

In characterizing the media-terrorism relationship, Kevin G. Barnhurst came up with two models: the culpable-media model and vulnerable media model. The culpable-media model sees media as an essential part of a vicious cycle. “As media cover terrorism, they incite more terrorism, which produces more media coverage.” But a second dilemma uncovered by this model “involves a cycle of control: If government or the media censor coverage, the controls tend to harm the credibility of the government and/or the media. The terrorists . . . may resort to even greater violence” (Barnhurst, 1991, p.125, as cited by Biernatzki, 2002, p.7).

The vulnerable media model sees media as preys and victims of terrorism.

Any control on coverage, even a natural one, will be ineffective because terrorists can shift to other forms of communication by striking vulnerable points in the infrastructure of liberal societies . . . although the mass media are involved, they present no escape from terrorism (Barnhurst, 1991, p.126, as cited by Biernatzki, 2002, p.7).

According to Barnhurst, control over media could lead terrorists to resort to other means of communications and the Internet as an outlet can be and has been used in many occasions. Gabriel Weimann and Akil N. Awan among several authors state that there are many advantages for terrorists to use the Internet.

For instance, the audience is enormous, much larger than for most regular media. It is easy to access and to stay anonymous, it is incredibly fast and inexpensive, and it offers a multimedia environment, which means that text, graphics, video, songs, books, and presentations can all be combined. In addition, regular media now often report on

or even copy Internet content, which means that both old and new media can be influenced by using the Internet alone (Weimann, 2004, p.3; Awan 2007, p.390-391).

Censorship on terrorism might not be the right way to go about in the fight against terrorism. People now get information not only from the traditional news outlets but also from the Internet, which has become a major news producing machine and if there is lack of public awareness about a political situation of a country, the public could lose faith in the government as well as the media and could lead to baseless rumors and fear. “The lack of public awareness of certain terrorist activities may keep the public from fully understanding the political situation. People would live in ignorance of, or indifference to, information about crises all over the world” (European Commission, 2008, p.50).

In playing the important role of informing the public, media need to be very careful of not being tools for governments. Media can and are influenced not only by terrorist groups and organizations but also by government officials. In recent years, the “war on terrorism” has been a phrase used more often. “The American news media have [been heavily criticized] for allegedly distorting their coverage of the “war on terrorism” in ways that support US government policies” (Biernatzki, 2002, p.8). Impartiality is of an important matter and when governments influence media to their goals, media reduce to becoming the mouthpieces of the government. In Ethiopia, instead of the two way street of media influencing and keeping the government in check and the government providing access and information to the media and the public, what we see is only the government pushing its agenda upon the media. What media do is report policy changes rather than put their effort to question the relevance of the policies and raise issues for the government to consider.

In both domestic and international terrorism, media play an important role and are significant factors. Setting the agenda and framing the issue of terrorism for the public, advertising the act and solidifying the existence and threats of terrorism makes them a vital part of terrorism and the fight against it. Baudrillard (2002) has a pessimistic notion about media concerning terrorism and counterterrorism. “There is no such thing as a good use of the media. The media are part of the event; they’re part of the terror; in one way or another they play along” (p.18). Even though there is no scientifically proven link and bondage between coverage of media and the spread of terrorism, media and government need to be cautious of the role of media in the fight and also the spread of terrorism.

### **2.2.1 Documentary as a Site for Meaning Making**

The term documentary comes from the world of cinema. “John Grierson defined the term in the 1920’s ... [as] “creative treatment of reality”” (Hartwig, 2001, p.2). Documentary films or pictures are produced and made to show a fragment of the real world about a certain issue. According to Renov, there are four categories of intentions in which documentaries are made: “a) to record, reveal, or preserve, b) to persuade or promote, c) to analyze or interrogate and d) to express” (p.21).

The term “discourse” for this study is Foucault’s reference to it as “a social construction of reality, a form of knowledge” (Foucault cited by Fairclough 1995, p.18) and the discourse in a documentary is Thompson’s sense as “particular ways of using language and other symbolic forms such as visual images” (Thompson quoted in Fairclough 1992, p.3).

When discussing the socio-cultural dimension of documentaries, we find the notion of neutrality. Documentaries are not free of subjectivity as endorsed by many scholars as well as documentary filmmakers.

[...] documentary discourse is much more than what we see and hear on the screen: it is a social action, an expression of interests [...] The researcher can conjecture these dimensions through systematic analysis of content together with factors, circumstances and people involved in the construction of this content. Useful questions that challenge the smooth façade of documentaries include: Who produced the documentary? What is the broadcasting channel? What are the traditions or values of this channel? What aspects or events of the theme were selected? Which facts are made more sensational? How are facts presented and structured in the documentary sequence? What is the visual content? Are there any archive scenes? Are there testimonies to the facts? By whom? How are people portrayed? What lexical choices are made (register, forms of address, etc.)? Are there any absences or gaps in the program? At whom is the program directed? What is the main objective of the program? (Franco, 1999, p.288-289)

Stuart Kaminsky emphasizes the essential dilemma of representation in documentary by defining documentary as “[a] Film which through certain conventions creates the illusion that the events depicted were not controlled by the filmmakers.” Hartwig (2001) further elaborates as “the representation of the thing can never be the thing– it always passes through both a technical filter (the camera and display devices) and a psychological or social filter (the filmmaker)” (p.3).

In doing documentaries, “the question is not [only] whether the truth is presented, but from which perspective the truth is presented,” because filmmakers are the products of societal influence and their works or creations are bound to be results of these influences. Postmodern theory sees reality as a social construction. Our activities create our world and “documentary can be seen as being a part of this constructive process” (Hartwig, 2001, p.3). Besides the

filmmaker's influence on documentary film, viewers' ability to extract truth will depend on "their knowledge of both the subject being discussed, the ideology of the producer, and the conventions of the medium" (Ibid., p.3).

The political economy approach in analyzing the communicative process of understanding meaning and meaning environment sees "how meaning is made by people within a productive process. This involves exploring the social positions people occupy, the relationships between them and struggles over meaning-production within organizations [media]" (Louw, 2001, p.2). This approach closely looks at individuals struggle to position themselves on the highest point/place possible. The more power an individual has, the more he becomes influential.

Gaining access to the means of communicative production/circulation (and even to certain codes) is both derivative of power and a means for accumulating power. The key issue is that those with power, in any given context, will have a greater impact on meaning making and meaning-circulation because they have greater access to the coding and code-circulation systems (Ibid., p.5).

So, areas/sites "(such as newsrooms, film/television studios, parliaments, courts, universities and research institutes)" where discourse is produced and the channels through which discourses flow (such as schools, the media and telecommunications networks)" are fighting arenas to gain power in meaning production. As documentary is one production of these sites, the message expressed through any documentary is a way for the filmmakers to influence and engage the public as well as set agendas for the media to circulate.

Documentary film "can perform many of the actions for which language is used—warning, asserting, identifying, informing, ridiculing, critiquing, etc" (Aguayo citing Plantinga, p.6). And governments have exploited these sides of documentary to their ends. "[...]during the past

century documentary film has figured prominently in the public sphere as a powerful means of persuasion utilized by governments...” (Aguayo, p.9). Even though this study does not necessarily and precisely investigate the influence of the Ethiopian government’s influence on the creation of this particular documentary, “Terrorism in Ethiopia”, it is worth mentioning that the country’s major television station is under the control of the government. This observation does lead to the conclusion that in one way or another, the television station is bound to be a mouthpiece of the government and disseminate and cover stories and show programs that are of relevance and significance to the government.

## **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

### **Representation and Framing: Mechanisms for the Construction of Meaning**

“Every individual makes some contribution to re-shaping social meaning as we engage in the ever day process of communicating with each other” (Louw, 2001, p.3). As people take part in meaning production and construction, they use language “to say something meaningful about, or to represent the world meaningfully, to other people” (Hall, 1997, p.15) and this is called representation. And in framing we find the selection of perceived reality and “making it more salient in a communication text.” James Tankard defines it 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” (as cited by Griffin, 2012, p.381). Both these points indicate an influence of an individual, institution or organization in the constructing of meaning. Therefore, meaning is created from and within an individual as well as from the effects/influences of third parties.

### 2.3.1 Representation

According to Hall (1997) "...representation is the production of the meaning through language"; it is "how we 'make sense of' the world, of people, objects and events...", "... the production of meaning of concepts in our minds through language... the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the 'real' world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events" (p.16-17). In representation we create an environment whereby we allow others to understand us and vice versa. But where do these 'concepts in our minds' come from? And how do we interpret and share them? To answer these essential questions, Hall (1997) mentions two processes, two 'systems of representation': mental/conceptual representation and language. The first system is 'correlation of objects, people and events with the mental representations [concepts] we carry around in our heads.' So, these created concepts and/or images formed in our thoughts help us to refer to things both inside and outside our heads. This system consists of "organizing, clustering, arranging and classifying concepts and of establishing complex relations between them" (Ibid., p.17). In this system, meaning depends on the relationship between things in the world and their conceptual/mental representation of them. Hall (1997) argues that even though each of us could interpret the world in our individual interpretations but because we share a broad but similar 'conceptual maps', we are able to communicate and share a more or less similar interpretation of the world. These similarities of conceptual maps are what we call 'belonging to the same culture.' But having more or less similar conceptual maps is not enough in the construction of meaning; we need a system whereby we could represent and exchange/share meanings and concepts, so we need language.

The second system of representation is language: shared language. “Our shared conceptual map must be translated into a common language, so that we can correlate our concepts and ideas with certain written words, spoken sounds or visual images. The general term we use for words, sounds or images which carry meaning is "Signs" (Ibid., p.18). Hall (1997) further explains that these signs represent or stand for the concepts and the mental representations we carry around in our heads and their relationship creates the ‘meaning-systems of our culture.’ Here, I am taking the broader and inclusive reference to language. As Hall (1997) points, language can refer to both the written and the spoken system, visual images, ‘whether produced by hand, mechanical, electronic, digital or some other means,’ facial expressions and music; signs that are organized with other signs into a system and are capable of carrying and are used to express meaning.

Based on these explanations, one can understand that the relationship between mental representation and language is of fundamental importance in the construction and exchange of meaning. While the first system allows us to create concepts/mental representations of people, things, events and ideas, the second system helps us in relating the fore mentioned concepts with signs that stand for these particular concepts.

However, the question now becomes, ‘how do people who belong to the same culture, who share the same conceptual map and who speak or write the same language know the arbitrary combination of letters and sounds that make up a word?’ And how do they construct and exchange meaning? Hall (1997) answers this by saying “[a] meaning is not in the object or the person or the thing, nor is it in the word. ... The meaning is constructed by the system of representation ... constructed and fixed by [a] code” (p.21). Grossberg et al. (2006) define Code as “a systematic organization or structure of signs” (p.144, as cited by Abdissa, 2010, p.20).

Codes set up the correlation between our conceptual system and our language system in such a way that every time we think of an object, person or idea, – in our culture – that is, in our conceptual and language codes, we are to relate letters, signs and images to their respective concepts.

Therefore, as Hall (1997) describes, codes ‘fix the relationships’ between concepts and signs. They tell us which language and/or sign to use to convey which idea as well as tell us which concepts are being referred to when we hear or read which signs. And the process which links the three elements namely, concept, language and meaning together is called ‘representation.’

### **Theories of Representation**

Representation is the production of meaning through language. As Hall (1997) points out there is no simple relationship of reflection or imitation between language and the real world. For meaning to exist through representation there needs to be two related systems of representation. First, we have concepts that are mental representations of objects, people, events, etc. These concepts or mental representations classify and organize the world into meaningful categories. But these concepts by themselves do not create meaning; they need to be communicated through language. Language as Hall (1997) explains consists of signs organized into relationships. But signs can only convey meaning if we possess codes which allow us to translate our concepts into language and vice versa. These codes are not found in nature but are “the result of social convention.” And according to Hall (1997), broadly speaking, there are three approaches to explaining how representation of meaning through language works. In the reflective approach, meaning is thought to lie in the object, person, idea or event in the real world and language functions like a mirror; the intentional approach is where meaning is believed to lie in the

speaker or author who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language; and the constructivist approach believes neither things in themselves nor the individual users of language can fix meaning in language.

Hall (1997) explains that the reflective approach does have a certain obvious truth in saying meaning is found when language and representation are used as reflectors and mirrors of the real world. Sometimes the visual signs we use do have some resemblance to the objects they represent. But, we also find visual signs that are far from the shapes and textures of their representation; as well there are “many words, sounds and images which we fully well understand but which are entirely fictional or fantasy and refer to worlds which are wholly imaginary.”

The second approach, intentional approach, as well has some flaws. “We [speakers or writers] cannot be the sole or unique source of meanings in language..... [for] language is a communication ... that ... depends on shared linguistic conventions and shared codes” (Hall, 1997, p.25). The intended meanings that are ours have to “enter into the rules, codes and conventions of language to be shared and understood.”

The constructionist approach says things and objects do not mean anything by themselves, but we construct meaning using representational systems — concepts and signs. According to this approach, “we must not confuse the material world, where things and people exist, and the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, material and language operate” (Ibid., p.25). Even though constructionist approach does not deny the existence of the material world, the material world does not convey meaning, rather it is the system, language or otherwise, that we are using to represent our concepts.

Having established the 'what is' of representation, the next step would be to create an understanding of discourse in general and discourse and meaning in mass media. For Tuebert (2010), meaning cannot be found in mental concepts; it is negotiated and knowledge comes from interaction, thus taking language as a social, rather than mental phenomenon. Meaning is only in the discourse, not in people's minds, and not in a reality out there. Foucault took discourse as a system of representation rather than language. He did not see it simply as a linguistic concept rather he gave it a different meaning: "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about — a way of representing the knowledge about — a particular topic at a particular historical moment." Foucault argues discourse constructs the topic. "Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language" (Hall, 1997, p.44, citing Foucault). Discourse, for Foucault, defines and produces the object of our knowledge, governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about, and it also influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others. He sees production of meaning and knowledge through discourse not language.

Mass media play an important role in the production and creation of meaning. Media do not just offer us a window on the real world"... they "do not just present reality, they represent it" (Buckingham,2003,p.8).

In principle, everyone has a voice in the discourse. But in reality we find that our modern society is neatly divided into those who are commissioned to produce texts for the media: [newspapers, magazines, television, much of the web, books, etc] and the rest of us who consume them (Teubert, 2010, p.1).

Media producers tell stories, create characters, add and omit issues; they create the opportunity to 'see the world in a particular way.' Media is not a simple mirror reflecting 'the world out there,'

there is a lot more to the production of any program. But this process of representation of the 'real world' is not an only factor in meaning creation. Audiences' experience and judgments to whether trust the media and/or the information are also major contributors to meaning creation (Buckingham,2003, p.8). Realism, authenticity, inclusions and exclusions of issues, Bias and objectivity, stereotyping, interpretations by the audience, influence of media producers, etc could be taken as pivotal factors in meaning and knowledge creation in and by the media and media do have the power and the upper hand in society's meaning creation and communication.

### **2.3.2 Framing Theory and Media Framing**

The term "frame" was first used by an anthropologist, Gregory Bateson, in 1955. The term was used in reference to two key aspects of communication: 1) "Frames are cognitive models that allow a person to interpret and evaluate a message" and 2) "Frames are messages about messages." Most people nowadays rely on news reports to learn about national as well as international issues. The real world for them is the representation and views through the lens of the media. Therefore, understanding how the media frame public issues, news or media productions is very critical.

Framing in general refers to how messages are encoded with meaning so that they can be efficiently interpreted in relationship to existing beliefs or ideas. And media framing is the process by which an issue is portrayed in the news media. Media frames provide "boundaries around news story and determine what is and is not newsworthy or notable." Media producers rely on media frames to decide what to include and what to leave out; and this could be from consciousness, instinct or being culture-bound. Framing in media may influence the perception

of audience or draw their attention to specific parts of public issues, de-emphasize other parts, and leave out some aspects completely.

The media determine reality by how much attention they pay to any particular issue. But because issues are often complicated, and require the processing of a great deal of information from a variety of perspectives, frames provide “a shorthand understanding of a situation, by focusing only on those features deemed important by the particular individual involved [media].” Frames are therefore interpretive devices that all people use when making sense of the world around them. However, different people see certain dimensions of issues in very different ways. What may be of primary importance to one stakeholder may not be important at all to another. It can generate conflicts through differing interpretations of a dispute, and disagreements over the importance of its component parts. Framing in fact is an unavoidable part of human communication and we find it in media as they present events within a field of meaning.

As early as 1920, a scientist named Lippman proposed that the media would control public opinion by focusing attention on selected issues while ignoring others. Known as the “agenda setting” hypothesis saw people as easy preys to the influence of media and was soon ridiculed as “an overly simplistic misperception of the viewing audience.” But researches and surveys have shown that people do obediently think as they are told. The media sorts out issues that are to be on people’s minds and conversations. Communication scientist Robert Entman (1993) states that “Journalists may follow the rules for objective reporting and yet convey a dominant framing of the news that prevents most audience members from making a balanced assessment of a situation.” The theory of framing states that the way a news item is presented can have an influence on how it is interpreted or understood by the audience (Scheufele and Tewksbury

2007, 11-12). Therefore, the fundamental question of public opinion residing in the minds of citizens or it being manufactured elsewhere then arises. Entman thinks that attempting to determine the public's 'true' opinion is "often a futile effort, since opinions can be easily manufactured."

Even though some media specialists claim that the public was not susceptible to simple "hypodermic" injections from the media, the case still remains that media use frames to guide and 'manipulate' the minds and opinions of audiences as audiences also do not give and/or have the time to sort out and sort through all the information the media outlets disseminate and provide. Framing then puts a distinct definition of an issue, of who is responsible, and of how the issue might be resolved.

Besides the media there are "multiple social actors such as politicians, organizations and social movements" who create frames (Carragee and Roefs, 2004, p.216). Entman (2004) argues that at least in the case of foreign policy issues, frames originating from the administration could shape the frames used by the media outlets or the public. But frame production is not always an elite-driven process. Citizens develop their own interpretations of media messages and talk about public issues by making use of the resources available to them: the media, personal experiences or common sense (Borah, 2011, p.250). Thus frame production is a "multifaceted process in which influences travel in different directions" (Pan & Kosicki, 2001, p.47 as cited by Borah, 2011, p.250).

In conclusion, the representation and framing theoretical framework have a pivotal role to play in finding out how have the documentary film went about in the discursive construction of terrorism and terrorists. Because the media determine reality by how much attention they pay to any particular issue and how they portray subjects of news and/or current issues.

## CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Introduction

This study is concerned with the analysis of the discursive construction of terrorism and terrorists in the documentary film "Terrorism in Ethiopia," televised by the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (the then Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency). The documentary deals with issues of representation and framing of terrorism and terrorist individuals, groups and organizations in Ethiopia.

The study employs a qualitative approach where it uses discourse analysis as a tool. It is informed by representation and framing theoretical framework. This chapter provides brief description of general terms and elements of qualitative research methods and an overview of the analytical tool used in the study.

### 3.2 Qualitative Research Method

Many consider qualitative research as the opposite of quantitative research; but qualitative research usually involves an "in-depth investigation of knowledge through, for example, participant observation, . . . interviewing technique employment, archival or other documentary analyses or ethnographic study" (Ragin, 1994 as quoted by Grix, 2004, p.120). Qualitative researchers "tend to be working in an 'interpretivist' [sic] philosophical position, using methods of data generation which are *flexible and sensitive to the social context* [emphasis added] in which the data are produced" (Ibid., p.120). The strength of qualitative research is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the "human" side of an issue (Mack et al., 2005).

There are different views concerning the extent of empirical research teaching us anything about a given research subject. Besides these views, ethical considerations are also greater in qualitative research. In this research method, researchers have direct contact with people and the interpretation of data and of the final product of a research may/shall reside greatly on the researcher. The interpretation of data is given "emphasis tracing the process and sequence of events in specific settings" (Holloway, 1997: 80-7 as quoted by Grix, 2004, p.120). Therefore, unlike quantitative research method, the researcher is attached to and can positively interact with the object(s) of the study.

Among the criticisms of qualitative research method, the major two are the questions of representativity/generalizability and objectivity. Because a qualitative research analyses small scale or few cases, we cannot generalize the result and say the same conclusion can be reached for all related cases, and because the researcher 'immerses' him/herself in the research, the data interpretation is subject to personal opinions than arguments based on evidence. But all these can be forgiven of qualitative research when one looks at the quality it presents to a research; it can 'shed' light on a prospect which quantitative research cannot; showing the 'deep' and 'rich' relationship between people and their culture, norm and practices where it would be impossible to find with statistical data alone. Qualitative research allows a researcher to have a deeper understanding of his/her research subjects than what he/she can find with numbers only.

To have these understandings and analyze their meaning and interpretations, there are a number of methods a researcher can employ to conduct a qualitative research. The most common methods include: the interview technique, the observation technique, documentary analysis, etc. Documentary analysis can range from official and private documents to personal letters or memos. In documentary analysis, a researcher needs to critically address "the origins and authors

of these documents or texts, the purpose they were originally written (*viewed*) [emphasis and description added] for, and the audience they were intended to address" (Grix, 2004, p.131). As all documents are produced with a purpose in mind, based on particular assumptions and are presented in a certain way or style; it is the job of the researcher to dig deep and uncover what lies beneath the surface; this way it would be easy for him/her to analyze the documents in the context in which they were produced.

As Grix (2004) summarizes, when undertaking any kind of research, methods "should be chosen for their appropriateness in answering the questions posed" (p.137). As Phillips and Jorgensen (2002, p.76) argue, we do not find "fixed procedures" to analyze qualitative research or "the majority of discourse analytical approaches," therefore, "the research design should be tailored to match the special characteristics of the project." Bearing these in mind, this study adopts a qualitative approach with discourse analysis as an analytical tool.

### **3.2.1 Discourse Analysis**

The terms discourse and discourse analysis (hence forth DA) are ambiguous and loose terms with broad and varied definitions and explanations from different scholars. For this study the operational definition of discourse is the structure of language "according to different patterns the people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life" (Jorgensen and Phillip, 2002, p.1). Therefore, DA is the analysis of these patterns. In discourse analysis, the meaning of text is in focus, and language is seen as a way to organize this meaning (Ghawi, 2012, p.6, citing Bergstrom and Boreus, 2000, p.21). Language is, therefore, an important part of discourse analysis. It is through language that we construct the social world, social relations and social identity.

To minimize and if possible, to avoid any misconceptions of DA, at least for this particular study, a brief clarification of the philosophical premises, as forwarded by Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) citing Burr (1995) and Gergen (1985), will be necessary. These philosophical premises guide the theoretical and methodological grounds for this study. The first premise is a *critical approach to taken-for-granted knowledge*. Reality is found through categorizing and the knowledge and representations we have about the world are products of these categorizations or "in discursive analytical terms, products of discourse." Our knowledge of the world is not objective truth and it is not the reflection of the reality 'out there,' but rather it is socially constructed (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.5, citing Burr 1995, 3; Gergen 1985, 266-7).

The second premise to discourse analysis is the *historical and cultural specificity of knowledge*. As we are historical and cultural beings with views and knowledge about the world being the 'products of historically situated interchanges among people' (Gergen 1985: 267), the "way we understand and represent the world are historically and culturally specific and *contingent*: our worldviews and our identities could have been different, and they can change over time" (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.5). This is to say, the outlook and understanding we had of a certain phenomenon at a particular historical and cultural setting could change at another particular historical and cultural setting. Therefore, "discourse is a form of social action that plays a part in producing the social world – including knowledge, identities and social relations – and thereby in maintaining specific social patterns" (Ibid., p.5).

The third philosophical premise, *link between knowledge and social process*, sees knowledge as a creation through social interaction in which "we construct common truths and compete about what is true and false" (Ibid., p.5). As a result, our ways of understanding the world are created and maintained by social processes (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.5, citing Burr 1995: 4;

Gergen: 1985: 268). The last premise, *link between knowledge and social action*, looks at the social consequences of the different social actions we involve ourselves in and the guidelines people are supposed to follow. Our actions can be regarded as moral, immoral; acceptable and unacceptable. "Within a particular worldview, some forms of action become natural, others unthinkable. Different social understandings of the world lead to different social actions, and therefore, the social construction of knowledge and truth has social consequences" (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.6, citing Burr 1995:5, Gergen 1985: 268-269).

Jorgensen & Phillips (2002) have put forward three approaches to discourse analysis: Laclau and Mouffe's 'Discourse Theory,' Fairclough's 'Critical Discourse Analysis' and 'Discursive Psychology.' It is not in this particular study's interest to elaborate the aforementioned approaches. But while answering the research questions raised by pinpointing areas of analysis, the researcher will implement Laclau and Mouffe's 'Discourse Theory,' as it can be used as a reference approach for answering one particular point regarding the struggle between discourses.

Laclau and Mouffe's 'Discourse Theory' states that the social field is made up of many different processes and signs that create meaning (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). According to Laclau and Mouffe, "discourse is established as a totality in which each sign is fixed as a moment through its relations to other signs (as in a fishing-net)" and this is done by the *exclusion* of all other possible meanings that the signs could have had. "Thus a discourse is a reduction of possibilities. It is an attempt to stop the sliding of signs in relation to one another and hence to create a unified system of meaning." All the possibilities that the discourse excludes, Laclau and Mouffe call '*the field of discursivity*' (1985, p.111) (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.27). Thus, the aim is to examine the processes where we disagree over what the meaning of those signs should be. The field of discursivity identifies the meanings that each sign has, or has had, in other discourses but which

are excluded by the specific discourse in order to create a unity of meaning. This particular approach and/or notion is operating in this study as a way to show the struggle, if any, between different discourses as they struggle over establishing their own views. The exclusion of certain possibilities of discourse always involves the exercising of power and as EBC is a state-owned and the only television station in the country, it would be in this study's domain to analyze the rhetorical strategies implemented in the documentary film; because "sometimes there are situations whereby a discourse becomes so colonizing that it becomes a sole voice by either obliterating other rival discourses or turning other discourses to act as 'cheerleaders' complementing the hegemonic discourse" (Abdissa, 2010, p.139).

### **Systematic Analysis of the Contents of the Documentary Film**

When dealing with documentary discourse, it is worth noting to understand that "documentary discourse is much more than what we see and hear on the screen: it is a social action, an expression of interests." Given these notions, a researcher needs to infer these dimensions "through systematic analysis of content in line with factors, circumstances and people involved in the construction of [the] content" (Franco, 1999, p.288-289). Franco (1999) suggests some useful questions to answer and analyze when establishing documentary discourse. These questions include:

Who produced the documentary? What is the broadcasting channel? What are the traditions or values of this channel? What aspects or events of the theme were selected? Which facts are made more sensational? How are facts presented and structured in the documentary sequence? What is the visual content? Are there any archive scenes? Are there testimonies to the facts? By whom? How are people portrayed? What lexical choices are made (register, forms of address, etc.)? Are there any absences or gaps in the

program? At whom is the program directed? What is the main objective of the program?  
(Ibid, p.288-289)

The principal unit of analysis in this research is the discourse that takes place in the documentary film, but there is also consideration of the role the producers played in the making/production of the documentary film; and the units of observations are the different individuals involved in the documentary film and their discourses and the rhetorical strategies employed.

In analytical research, a researcher's primary objective has to be to work with what has actually been said or written, exploring patterns in and across the statements and identifying the social consequences of different discursive representations of reality rather than sorting out "which of the statements about the world in the research material are right and which are wrong (although a critical evaluation can be carried out at a later stage in the analysis)" (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.27). As such is the idea and expectation, the researcher will also try to analyze the documentary film in such a manner.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

This chapter deals with the analysis of discursive construction of terrorism and terrorists in EBC's documentary film "Terrorism in Ethiopia." The data from the documentary film is analyzed so that it can address the objectives of the study. The analysis includes the systematic analysis of the contents of the documentary, representation and framing of terrorism and terrorists: individuals, groups and organizations, the rhetorical strategies used by the producers and the role of structural factors played in the discursive construction of terrorism and terrorists. The analysis is reliant on the theoretical frameworks presented in the literature review of the study. However, it is not solely dependent on a specific theory.

### **4.1 Systematic Analysis of the Contents of the Documentary Film**

The documentary film "*Terrorism in Ethiopia*" was aired in December 2013 in four parts for four weeks. The four main objectives of the documentary film were the issues of the existence of terrorism in Ethiopia, explanation on and for the anti-terror proclamation, identification of terrorist groups and organizations and religious freedom and dangers of religious extremism.

The documentary film was produced by National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS) in collaboration with the Federal Police Anti-Terror Joint Task-Force. EBC broadcast the documentary as it is the only national television station in the country; it is also state-owned. It was only used as a medium and did not have any hand in the making of the documentary film. However, this does not mean EBC has only been a medium in previous years.

Adding up to that fact, there are criticisms that say EBC serves as the mouth-piece of the government. It has been implementing policies, disseminating news and broadcasting documentaries that are inclined to the ‘good’ works of the government. Many of their media programs are driven to show the country’s ‘commendable development.’ Moreover, documentary films that show the works of NISS (the now Information Network Security Agency (INSA)) and the Federal Police Anti-Terror Joint Task-Force and the development of the country as well as the different attacks that were/are targeting the country have been broadcast by the television station. As Louw (2001) argues, gaining access to the means of communicative production/circulation is both derivative of power and a means for accumulating power. The key issue is that those with power, in any given context, will have a greater impact on meaning making and meaning-circulation because they have greater access to the coding and code-circulation systems (p.5).

When looking at the themes of the documentary film, we find four major themes: the issues of the existence of terrorism in Ethiopia, explanation on and for the anti-terrorism proclamation, identification of terrorist groups and organizations and religious freedom and dangers of religious extremism. Because the documentary film has terrorism in its core, the themes presented seem to be fitting the topic. But one should ask why INSA and the Federal Police Anti-Terror Joint Task-Force needed to defend and justify the passing of the anti-terrorism law now when enough debate and opinion had been raised in the years following the passing of the law.

**How are people portrayed? What lexical choices are made (register, forms of address, etc.)?** Opposition members and leaders were portrayed as people who do not care about this country and its people. Difference of opinion and engagement of different ideas and views

should always be welcomed and is a major instrument of democracy if one country is to develop. Belittling and patronizing were exhibited from the narration as well as from one particular interviewee.

*(. . .) So, I would put it as people who raise this (opposition on the anti-terror law) are (. . .) people who lack responsibility, who don't have responsibility, who don't feel responsible, who have let the public know who they are. (His Excellency Ato Abadula Gameda, House of People's Representatives Spokesperson, Pt-2, 00:15:17-00:15:27)*

*Saying we've officially started a struggle and campaign against something that says it's an anti-terror, from someone who is a legislator in the Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic's House of People's Representatives, a person who designs and approves a law that shall protect me, I don't think he has thought twice before he spoke. (Ato Zerihun Teshome, Pt-2, 00:15:35-00:16:02).*

*What they are saying in effect is the anti-terrorism law is a terrorism law. Eh? . . . This is an outlook that comes from a troubled mind. (Ato Zerihun Teshome, Pt-2, 00:17:41-00:17:49)*

These opinions suggesting the opposition leaders do not care about the country as well as the people, are a bit overstretched. Asking the subjects of the argument would have brought a balanced outlook for the viewers instead of suggesting and showing clipped and trimmed quotations.

Additionally, one victim was portrayed as a loving, polite, lively and generous person. Another woman who worked in the Tigray Hotel as a barmaid, was depicted as a hardworking and supportive sister and daughter for her sister and mother even though as the interviewee described her “she was doing whatever, whether it was selling her body or selling liquor”, a profession many might frown upon. Another victim was described as someone who had her whole future

ahead of her, but was met by the unfortunate attack and was killed. Presenting these stories is a way to relate the viewers to the incidents and to draw emotions off of them in a way that they realize that these attacks could have happened to them and could happen to them too unless something is done.

**What is the visual content? Are there any archive scenes?** The images shown are unsettling and vivid. However, the producers have actually given warning that anyone under the age of 18 should not view the documentary film. This is an improvement from previous experiences of documentary film transmission of EBC, where there were no warning or inappropriate age restrictions for graphic contents, “Jihadawi Harakat” and “Akeldama” respectively can be cited as good examples.

In order to create credibility and certainty, the producers used archival files and testimonies from direct victims, victims’ family, friends and colleagues. The archival scenes have the objective of relating and interpreting previous knowledge, belief and/or ideas. Explanations of terms and issues on and around the raised issues have the power to convince and influence audiences to put their faith and believe on what has been shown. Regarding these points, the producers have done their jobs in presenting professionals who could have credibility in the eyes of the viewers.

Consequently, areas/sites “(such as newsrooms, film/television studios, parliaments, courts, universities and research institutes)” where discourse is produced and the channels through which discourses flow (such as schools, the media and telecommunications networks)” are fighting arenas to gain power in meaning production. As documentary is one product of these sites, the message expressed through any documentary is a way for the filmmakers to influence and engage the public as well as set agendas for the media to circulate. Therefore, this

documentary film can be seen as a way to put forth a way of representing and framing of terrorism and terrorist groups and organizations.

#### **4.2 Representation and Framing of Terrorism and Terrorists: Individuals, Groups and Organizations**

Media producers tell stories, create characters, add and omit issues; they create the opportunity to ‘see the world in a particular way.’ Media is not a simple mirror reflecting ‘the world out there,’ there is a lot more to the production of any program. As Buckingham (2003) explains, media do not just offer us a window on the real world”..., they “do not just present reality, they represent it” (p.8). Therefore, mass media play an important role in the production and creation of meaning. But this process of representation of the ‘real world’ is not an only factor in meaning creation. Audiences’ experience and judgments to whether trust the media and/or the information are also major contributors to meaning creation (Buckingham,2003, p.8).

When looking at some of the representations and portrayals made of terrorism and terrorist, we find the following definition of the terms.

*Terrorism is a dangerous and terrible act, which certain groups or organizations perform or try to perform in the name of fulfilling their ideology or political goals through intimidation or violence on people. (Narration, Pt-1, 00:00:42-00:00:59)*

*Terrorism is a threat to human rights. (Judge Berihun T/Birhan, Pt-2, 00:03:07-00:03:11)*

*This is an absolute wicked, satanic doing/deed . . . it is a satanic doing/deed. Whether it is associated with religion, whether it is associated with political outlook, terrorism is a practice that targets and kills peaceful people, people who do not have any kind of*

*agenda, people who want to work and to return home peacefully.* (Journalist Solomon Asmelash, Pt-1, 00:04:07-00:04:26)

*. . . It needs to be obliterated. War doesn't mean anything to me. You take sides and you fight. But in terrorism, you and I, right now, we don't know what happens to us. I don't know what happens to me while I'm sitting in my office. I don't have a guarantee As long as there's terrorism. I don't know what will happen while I'm drinking macchiato. I don't know what will happen to my daughter when she's at school. I don't have a guarantee. Terrorism . . . . War has sides. You see where your enemy is, you aim and shoot him; you aim and fend off. You can't keep out terrorism. If we don't condemn this, we can't condemn anything.* (Journalist Solomon Asmelash, Pt-1, 00:05:18-00:05:49)

*Terrorism doesn't have a democratic guarantee. It's not a product of a problem with a thriving and flourishing democracy. If it was possible for a thriving and flourishing democracy not to be a target to terrorism, we wouldn't have seen September 11 on New York. The major pontiff of liberal democracy is America. The Western world's other following pontiff of liberal democracy is England. England shouldn't have had the June 5<sup>th</sup> metro bombing 6-7 years ago if democracy was a guarantee.* (Ato Zerihun Teshome, Pt-1, 00:17:49-00:18:45)

The producers of the documentary film have portrayed terrorism as an evil deed, which it is, that does not differentiate race, age, religion, etc. Terrorism as represented in the documentary is a “satanic deed” that needs to be ‘prevented, controlled, and/or obliterated.’ It puts people in a state of confusion and fear that they cannot live their lives peacefully. Furthermore, democracy, according to one interviewee, does not guarantee terror-free life. These representations of terrorism are inclined to make the viewers be grateful of the works that had been done by the government.

As the first premise of DA is a *critical approach to taken-for-granted knowledge*; reality is found through categorizing and the knowledge and representations we have about the world are

"products of discourse." Our knowledge of the world is not objective truth and it is not the reflection of the reality 'out there,' but rather it is socially constructed (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.5, citing Burr 1995, 3; Gergen 1985, 266-7). Realism, authenticity, inclusions and exclusions of issues, bias and objectivity, stereotyping, interpretations by the audience, influence of media producers, etc. could be taken as pivotal factors in meaning and knowledge creation in and by the media and media do have the power and the upper hand in society's meaning creation and communication.

Having the upper hand in meaning making and portrayal of ideas and individuals, media persons and government officials can influence the outlook people could have on said ideas and individuals.

*The anti-terrorism law is terrorizing. We've heard that the anti-terrorism law by itself is terrorizing; we've opened a campaign against it. This way of expression shows how some of our opposition forces lack responsibility. They lack a sense of responsibility. Responsibility because there is ruling party, opposition party only because there is a country; because there are people; because people elect; because there is peace. If this peace didn't exist, if these people weren't there, if there was chaos, this (chance for opposition) wouldn't exist. The issue would have been different. (. . .) So, I would put it as people who raise this (opposition on the anti-terror law) are forces, people who lack responsibility, who don't have responsibility, who don't feel responsible, who have let the public know who they are. (His Excellency Ato Abadula Gameda, House of People's Representatives Spokesperson, Pt-2, 00:14:07-00:15:27)*

In his comment, His Excellency Ato Abadula, put opposition party leaders as people who lack responsibility and those who do not care about the country and its people. But in reality the issue raised by the party leaders was that the criteria put forth to label someone a terrorist and something as a terrorist organization or a terrorist group was vague that it might lead and have

led the government and the legal system to abuse the anti-terrorism law. Instead, because the country does not have an immediate and grand danger from terrorists, what they suggested was to carry on with the criminal laws the country has had. In this case, any opposition to the government might be subject to the accusation of inciting a terrorism act and this very thing is a threat to freedom of expression and any kind of dissent to the government.

As the last premise to DA, *link between knowledge and social action*, suggests the different social actions we involve ourselves in and the guidelines people are supposed to follow can be regarded as moral, immoral; acceptable and unacceptable. "Within a particular worldview, some forms of action become natural, others unthinkable. Different social understandings of the world lead to different social actions, and therefore, the social construction of knowledge and truth has social consequences" (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.6, citing Burr 1995:5, Gergen 1985: 268-269). With this understanding, we can see that the documentary film producers have constructed a view that regarded opposition to and questioning of the practices of the legal practices of the country and the government as inciting a terrorism act.

As documentary film "can perform many of the actions for which language is used—warning, asserting, identifying, informing, ridiculing, critiquing, etc." (Aguayo, 2005 citing Plantinga, p.6) governments could exploit these sides of documentary to their ends. "[...]during the past century documentary film has figured prominently in the public sphere as a powerful means of persuasion utilized by governments..." (Aguayo, 2005, p.9).

*As our country's anti-terrorism law clearly states, it's prohibited by law to have any association with terrorist organizations. So it's advisable for this country's political party leaders, who legally operate in this country, to stop and think for a moment about their relationship/association with (Ethiopian Satellite Television) ESAT. Because using*

*a terrorist organization's structure directly goes against the law. (Narration, Pt-3, 00:25:19-00:25:45)*

*When some opposition party leaders, who hadn't condemned the terrorist attacks that had happened in our country, say they have officially opened a campaign against the anti-terrorism law, we are led to not only be amazed but be skeptical [about their stand against terrorism and terrorists]. (Narration, Pt-2, 00:13:50-00:14:06)*

*But some political parties, which are legally operating in the country are seen using terrorist organization structures, going against the law. For example, Ginbot 7's ESAT television. Undertaking terrorist organizations' agenda, even if the parties are operating legally, does not take farther so it should be quickly amended. (Narration , Pt-3, 00:33:11-00:33:39)*

*I don't think we need any criticism against an anti-terrorism law and proclamation. (Journalist Solomon Asmelash, Pt-2, 00:17:17-00:17:21)*

In the documentary film, the anti-terrorism law was framed as a law that puts the country up there with the democracy and development giants in the fight against terrorism. But how much danger is the country in to draw such a law, is a question raised by many. The above comment made by Ato Solomon should not have been given from a journalist's perspective. One job of the media is to question and debate on the relevance and suitability of policies and laws that are passed or awaiting approval. If a journalist does not question a law just because it has anti-terrorism in its name, where would the general public find an arena to debate on, support or oppose? Could the passing of his brother through an attack of terror clouded his judgment and outlook?

In addition to the point raised above, exaggeration and putting ideas in an overstretched context has also been exhibited in the documentary film.

*This is the constitution that has granted freedom of worship in the world. (Pastor Dawit Molalign, Pt-4, 00:26:52-00:26:55)*

*As far as I understand, one of the causes for the Ethiopian people's fight against the Derg regime was to establish freedom of worship, freedom of assembly that couldn't (shouldn't) be given or taken away by anyone (someone). (Ato Zerihun Teshome, Pt-4, 00:17:26-00:17:51)*

The main objective and front cause of the two major rebel groups, namely OLF and TPLF were not to establish freedom of worship and freedom of assembly, but to secede and declare the independence of the regions they said they represented. This objective has been folded for TPLF as other people from different ethnicity joined the struggle; but it still stands for OLF.

### **The Field of Discursivity- Issues Denied Coverage (Excluded Issues)**

This particular approach and/or notion is operating in this study as a way to show the struggle, if any, between different discourses as they struggle over establishing their own views. Because “Sometimes there are situations whereby a discourse becomes so colonizing that it becomes a sole voice by either obliterating other rival discourses or turning other discourses to act as ‘cheerleaders’ complementing the hegemonic discourse” (Abdissa, 2010, p.139).

*If it should be called and given a name, ESAT is Ginbot 7's propaganda mill (mouthpiece). (Ato Zerihun Teshome, Pt-3, 00:24:59-00:25:06)*

*So, if it is to be put without any misconception, ESAT is one structure of Ginbot 7 and its financial source is Shabia (the Eritrean leadership). (Narration, Pt-3, 00:25:07-00:25:18)*

*The anti-terrorism law is terrorizing. We've heard that the anti-terrorism law by itself is terrorizing; we've opened a campaign against it. This way of expression shows how some of our opposition forces lack responsibility. They lack a sense of responsibility. (. . .) So, I would put it as people who raise this (opposition on the anti-terrorism law) are forces, people who lack responsibility, who don't have responsibility, who don't feel responsible,*

*who have let the public know who they are. (His Excellency Ato Abadula Gemedo, House of People's Representatives Spokesperson, Pt-2, 00:14:07-00:15:27)*

*My friends and I were skeptical about it . . . . Was it really true? Because there are people who are skeptical and who say the Ethiopian government does some things for political reasons. I as well as many others eh . . . they did what they usually do . . . so this is something that I'm having a hard time believing. (Dr. Merera Gudina, Pt-1, 00:08:57-00:09:19)*

*What makes this difficult is, to show what he is saying is wrong, what he is asking as proof is that we show him by dying. Let's see it while living, is what I'm saying. . . . To show that it's not inflated/exaggerated, an inflated/exaggerated bloodbath/carnage has to be there. Instead of that happening, what I would prefer it for us to accept his kind of wrong assumption and inveighing and continue to control terrorism. (Ato Zerihun Teshome, Pt-1, 00:09:20-00:09:51)*

As EBC is the only national television station that is widely and solely watched by many, the discourses established and circulated here have a bigger impact on a wider audience. There are no other stations that would and could counter argue these accusations and the public is to only view the one-sided claim. The few radio and television stations in the country, including the regional and privately owned ones are apolitical and more inclined in the entertainment side of the industry and have little to no coverage of political matters of the country. This by itself is one major issue to raise when looking at the balance between state-owned and privately owned media and the contents they disseminate to the general public. The documentary film also claims that Ethiopian Satellite Television (ESAT) is one part of Ginbot 7, but in its official website ESAT claims, it is an independent satellite TV, radio and Internet news service run by Ethiopian diasporas from headquarters in the Netherlands and is also publicly funded.

In general, the documentary film selectively show opinions that only support the objectives of the film and the producers. Subjects of the discussion were not given any chance to defend and/or explain themselves. Having a difference of opinion does not make one an opposition, a terrorist or a person with a troubled mind. Differences of opinions are there so that we can see from different angles for different reasons, not to label and denounce anyone with a different opinion from ours.

### **4.3 Rhetorical Strategies Used in the Documentary Film**

**Logos (To Appeal to Logic):** Effective arguments or presentations will include facts and other supporting details to back up the author's claims/positions. They may contain testimony and quotations from experts and authorities, and factual data and statistics.

In the documentary film, references have been made to the different anti-terrorism acts of different countries which supposedly are the reference points to the Ethiopian anti-terrorism law. Explanations and elaborations of terms from experts of politics, law, media and religious figures have been included in the documentary film.

*Terrorism is a threat to human rights.* (Judge Berihun T/Birhan, Pt-2, 00:03:07-00:03:11)

*This is an absolute wicked, satanic doing/deed . . . it is a satanic doing/deed. Whether it is associated with religion, whether it is associated with political outlook, terrorism is a practice that targets and kills peaceful people, people who do not have any kind of agenda, people who want to work and to return home peacefully.* (Journalist Solomon Asmelash, Pt-1, 00:04:07-00:04:26)

However, the major question in the discussion of the anti-terrorism law has been about its execution. Different opinions can be heard from opposition parties, international organizations

like Amnesty International, Reporters without Borders, Human Rights Watch, etc. that voice their concerns regarding the imprisonment, trial and convictions of various journalists, opposition party leaders and activists. But the producers have depicted these questions and doubts as slander and insult to the country and its people.

*Organizations like Human Rights Watch, that always like to smear our country, have, as soon as the law was passed, called it suppressive and obstructed/tangled with problems.* (Narration, Pt-2, 00:12:30-00:12:43)

*Eskindir's case too . . . he is one of the forces that tried to promote the 2012 Arab Spring riot in Ethiopia.* (Ato Birhanu Wondimagegn, Federal Supreme Court Prosecutor, Pt-3, 00:28:37-00:28:47)

*We can! We've seen that it is possible in other African countries. Ethiopia is not any less from them. Let's make history!* (Journalist Eskindir Nega, Pt-3, 00:28:48-00:29:00)

The meeting was with “Andinet” political party and to say he said something that incited terror is calling the “Andinet” party a terrorist organization. But we don’t see the party being accused of terrorism and terrorist acts. This exact insertion of Ato Eskindir’s quotation simply leads to the prosecutor’s context of accusing him of terrorism. Bear in mind that this is simply to point out that that particular quotation is put in an overstretched context; because standing alone the accused’s quotation, "*We can! We've seen that it is possible in other African countries. Ethiopia is not any less from them. Let's make history!*" (Journalist Eskindir Nega, Pt-3, 00:28:48-00:29:00)", in this particular documentary film does not indicate to anything terrorizing and does not incite terror.

**Pathos (To Appeal to Emotion):** vivid, concrete language, emotionally loaded language, emotional examples, vivid descriptions, narratives of emotional events, emotional tone,

figurative language. It can be in the form of metaphor, simile, a passionate delivery, or even a simple claim that a matter is unjust.

*. . . it's saddening. A shocking (experience) in my life. It disgusts me to talk about it. I don't know how to explain it to you. Our sister, Sara, a worker, is over here. When we found Sara, we couldn't find her torso. Her torso was missing . . . And Alemnesh was the same. Her head was cut off and we found her over there. All these had happened to us . . . (inaudible person's name) we found his body under a chair. How can I explain it to you? It's an astounding thing. We are poor. We want to work hard and succeed. If these people thought as a human being, they wouldn't have done this on poor people. (Victim 1, Pt-1, 00:01:47-00:02:27)*

*. . . for four months, I was thinking I wasn't going to make it because I was hit on my spinal cord. When we were trying to work hard and live, this happened to us . . . when our friends weren't expecting . . . they were gone and I'm very sad, very. (Victim 2, Pt-1, 00:02:30-00:02:51)*

The above quotes can connect with the underlying values of the viewers, feelings of sadness, fear, anger, and justice. The emotional delivery of the interviewees tickles the emotive side of the viewers and can make them identify themselves with the victims.

Furthermore, the documentary film is full of metaphors, be it in the narration or in the talks of the interviewees. As Fairclough (1992) put it,

Metaphors are not just superficial stylistic adornments of discourse. When we signify things through one metaphor rather than another, we are constructing our reality in one way rather than another. Metaphors structure the way we think and the way we act, and our system of knowledge and belief, in a pervasive and fundamental way (p.194).

In this particular documentary film, the usage of metaphors can help the viewers to associate what they knew with the new information that is being provided to them. It also helps the writers and producers to convey their messages easily and persuasively.

**Ethos (Appeal to Ethics of the speaker/writer):** is an appeal to the authority or honesty of the speaker. It is how well the speaker convinces the audience that he or she is qualified to speak on the particular subject. Does the writer demonstrate respect for multiple viewpoints by using sources in the text/discourse? Are sources credible? Does the writer use a tone that is suitable for the audience/purpose? Is the diction (word choice) used appropriate for the audience/purpose? Is the document presented in a polished and professional manner?

In regard to the points mentioned above, the documentary film lacks impartiality, be it in the narration or the talks of the interviewees. Though it is a documentary film produced by NISS and the Federal Police Anti-Terror Joint Task-Force, it could have entertained the various views from opposition party leaders and members than attacking and patronizing them. Also, as a political analyst Ato Zerihun Teshome (quotation mentioned above) did not need to take sides but show the different sides and angles to an issue so that the viewers/audience has a balanced idea and information. And the documentary film producers' heavy dependency on his comments shows the biased nature of the film.

In answering the question of qualification to the production of the documentary film, the issue raised by itself puts the two parties as front runners to address the issue of terrorism. Would the involvement of EBC in the production have made any difference? Based on the accusations that say EBC is a mouthpiece of the government, many might disagree.

In principle, everyone has a voice in the discourse. But in reality we find that our modern society is neatly divided into those who are commissioned to produce texts for the media: [newspapers, magazines, television, much of the web, books, etc] and the rest of us who consume them

(Teubert, 2010, p.1). This neatly summarizes the practice of media program production and consumption in our country.

#### **4.4 The Structural Factors that played a role in the Discursive Construction of Terrorism and Terrorists**

The Ethiopian government has been subject to many criticisms regarding its accumulation of information and evidence on ‘suspected’ individuals.

*The government is a duty bearer. Or the government has a direct duty/responsibility of designing, securing and implementing of the law. So because the government has the duty of maintaining and implementing human rights like peace, security, (and) the right to live, it needs to use the law as a mechanism. . . . To maintain this responsibility, it needs to use this mechanism . . . (Judge Berihun T/Birhan, Federal Higher Court, Pt-2, 00:03:34-00:04:04)*

*If it's (terrorism is)going to have a massive damage, prevention needs to be thought off also. For prevention, the way we collect information, the way we handle evidence has to be different. Prevention (of terrorism) needs a different order/formality, needs a different formality. The way we collect and handle evidence is going to be different from what we usually think. It's going to be different from typical/common crime. (Ato Eshetu W/Semayat, Pt-2, 00:04:53-00:05:16)*

*Regarding prevention (of terrorism) you can't find a single article on our criminal law . . . . We need to prevent terrorism before it happens. We need to inhibit similar incidents, for example the one like the carnage that happened in Kenya at West Gate. You prevent this through strengthening your information and intelligence gathering system. You don't find these proclamations on our criminal law. You don't measure the prevention method/system not just by declaring that it is a crime. We need to prevent terrorism before it happens. (. . .) The biggest work regarding terrorism to be done by a country,*

*the people, (and) the government is in preventing it, not only in punishment.* (Judge Berihun T/Birhan, Pt-2, 00:06:49-00:07:43)

According to reports on DireTube.com, the Ethiopian Herald, telecom.com and the Reporter, the Ethiopian government ‘signed a 800 million US dollar contract in August 2013 with ZTE. The telecom.com report citing Reuters and DireTube.com (Published: Nov 14, 2014) take the figure to \$ 1.6 billion and the contract, it says, is between Ethio-Telecom, ZTE and its domestic rival Huawei. According to Reporters without Borders, 'ZTE is a Chinese telecom giant that is banned in the United States for alleged hacking of Internet systems and theft of intellectual property. This company has also been banned from public bidding in Australia and its contracts have come under scrutiny in Britain.’ It has also been raised by Human Rights Watch, Reporters without Borders and other known international organizations that INSA’s 2013 revamp has granted it (INSA) with expanded duties 'to investigate computers, networks, the Internet radio and television and social media broadcasts like *Facebook* for possible damage to the country’s social, economic, political and psychological well-being' (DireTube.com, Published: Nov 5, 2013).

Under the National Intelligence and Security Re-establishment Proclamation of 2013, it is stated that a need had arisen to “strengthen” the NISS “so as to protect and defend the sovereignty of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the constitution and constitutional order.” The service has the status of a ministry and reports to the Prime Minister. It is mandated to carry out intelligence work inside and outside of the country, including on terrorism and extremism. Under article 8 (7), the NISS is mandated to conduct surveillance, in accordance with a court warrant, “in order to protect national security and prevent threats to national security” and it does this “by entering into any place and by employing various mechanisms” (OpenNet Africa c/o The Collaboration on International ICT Policy in East and Southern Africa (CIPESA)).

The international organizations argue that this monitoring and controlling of dissent online and on phone networks is in violation of users' privacy.

Moreover, the anti-terrorism law itself has been subject to many opinions and disagreements. While the government says this law is there to protect the country from the 'many and horrendous' terrorist attacks the country could face, many others say the law was passed so that the government could control any dissent to its ruling system. Though it is not this paper's objective to analyze the anti-terrorism law, the researcher believed that noting this issue is in the realm of the structural factors that have a hand in the discursive construction of terrorism and terrorists.

Because EBC is the only national television station in the country and the few radio station we have are situated mostly in and around the capital city and their media contents and programs are mostly entertainment and apolitical, it has become challenging for the public to have an arena where various opinions and ideas are entertained. This in turn has had a negative impact on the development of democracy and free expression. EBC's media contents are driven to show the many works of the government, and opposition parties are heard accusing the station of partiality.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Conclusions**

This study attempted to analyze the discursive construction of terrorism and terrorists in EBC's documentary film "Terrorism in Ethiopia." The study has employed a qualitative research approach with discourse analysis as its method. The analysis includes the systematic analysis of the contents of the documentary, representation and framing of terrorism and terrorists: individuals, groups and organizations, the rhetorical strategies used by the producers and the role of structural factors played in the discursive construction of terrorism and terrorists.

With reference to the systematic content analysis of the documentary film, the producers of the documentary film were parties that have a direct hand in the issue raised. The themes presented were in line with the issue raised and seemed befitting. In looking at the visual content and archive scenes in the documentary film, the producers used archival scenes that were emotion provoking. However, given the issue at hand, these images were to be expected and the producers have actually given warning that anyone under the age of 18 should not view the documentary film. Testimonials of professional are given and this is to give validity and credibility to the documentary as well as to the issues raised.

With regard to the representation and framing of terrorism and terrorists, the producers have depicted terrorism as 'an evil deed' that does not differentiate race, age, religion, etc. But some of the claims made in the documentary film were inclined to suggest that the viewers were to be grateful of the works that have been done.

Oppositions to how the government practicing its power and to the legal system of the country seem to be categorized as inciting a terrorism act; this, however, has been raised as a threat to freedom of expression by opposition parties as well as different international organizations. In addition, the country's anti-terrorism law was given emphasis as being among the very best and any kind of dissent towards it is seen as an act of terror. Furthermore, negative claims were made in reference to opposition party leaders and members and to journalists that voiced their concerns in regard to the anti-terrorism law. Some were depicted as people with no conscience and others as irresponsible.

The rhetorical strategies used in the documentary film have played their role in supporting the arguments put forth and they are forwarded in a way that allows viewers to easily identify themselves with the victims and be convinced of the arguments presented.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

Documentary films are always made with some objective behind them. It is also true not every documentary film can satisfy each and every viewer, however, it is the researcher's belief that documentary film producers can narrow the gap of dissatisfaction among viewers; therefore, it is the researcher's recommendation that if and when such documentaries are made, the producers should give extra care to balance out different opinions and give equal chance to the subjects of the documentary film. Had the producers asked why opposition party leaders and members gave such opinions, it would have allowed the viewers to have a balanced view of raised issues, rather than 'simple' suggestions and claims.

As EBC is the only national television station that is widely watched by many, the discourses established and circulated here have a bigger impact on the wider audience. Therefore, the researcher recommends, it is of great value if EBC entertained different views and opinions from the different political, economic, social, etc. stakeholders of the country.

As structural organizations and institutions are there to allow a smooth sailing for and safeguard the country's economic, social, political, etc. developments, it is of great benefit to the public if they were not used as weapons for whomever is in charge. However, in the documentary film one can see suggestions being made that these very structural institutions can be used and have been used as ways of intimidation and warning. It is the researcher's recommendation that structural organizations and institutions be used to the benefit of the country and its people.

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Appendix

"ሽብርተኝት የተወለኑ ክፍሎች ወይም ቡድኖች የፖለቲካ አላማቸውን ወይም ደግሞ አመለካከታቸውን በማስፈራራትና ሀይልን በመጠቀም በህዝብ ላይ ለመጫን የሚፈፀሙት ስራዎች የሚሆኑት አደገኛና አሰቃቂ የጥፋት ተግባር ነው። (ትረካ፣ክፍል 1፣00:00:42-00:00:59)

". . . ሚያሳዘነው እኔ በህይወቴ የሚሰቀጥጠኝ ልናገረው ይቀፈኛል። እንዴት አድርጌ እንደማስረዳችሁ አላውቅም። እሁታችን ሳራ የምትባል ሰራተኛ እዚህ ነው ያለችው። ሳራን ያገኘናት ከወገቧ በላይ የለችም። የለችም ከወገቧ በላይ . . . ከዚህ በታች ነው ያገኘናት . . . እና እንደገና ደግሞ አለምነሽም እንደዚሁ ናት። ጭንቅላቷ ከዚህ በላይ ተቆርጦ እዚያ ጋር ነው የሆነችው። . . . ይህ ሁሉ ደርሶብናል እኛ . . . (የሚይሰማ የሰው ስም) ከወንበር ስር ፈልገን ነው ያገኘነው። እንዴት አድርጌ ላስረዳችሁ? በጣም የሚገርም ነገር ነው። እኛ ድሆች ነን። ስርተን ማግኘት እንፈልጋለን። እነዚህ ሰዎች as a human being ማሰብ ቢችሉ ኖሮ በድህው ህዝብ ላይ ይህን አይፈፀሙም።" (ተጠ 1፣ጠል 1፣00:01:47-00:02:27)

". . . ለአራት ወር ያህል እኔ ተበላሽሁ እያልኩኝ ነበር ምክንያቱም እዚህ ስፓይናል ኮርዴ ላይ ነው የመታኝ። ስርተን ለመኖር ለማግኘት ስንጥር በዛ አጋጣሚ እንደዛ መሆናችን እ . . . ጓደኞቻችንም ሳያስቡት . . . በመጥፋታቸው በጣም ነው የማዘነው። በጣም።" (ተጠ 2፣ጠል 1፣00:02:30-00:02:51)

"ጁሄ አኛም እርጉም የሆነ ሰይጣናዊ ምግባር...ሰይጣናዊ የሆነ ምግባር ነው። ከምንም ጋር ጁለቷክ ከሐይማኖትም ጋር ይለጠፍ ከፖለቲካዊ አመለካከትም ጋር ይለጠፍ አሸባሪነት ሰላማዊ ሰዎችን፣ ምንም አይነት አጀንዳ የሌላቸው ሰዎችን፣ ውለው ስርተው ቤታቸው መግባት የሚፈልጉ ሰዎችን እያሳደደ የሚቀጥፍ ነገር ነው።" (ጠጠ፣ ስለሞን አስመላሽ፣ክፍል 1፣00:04:07-00:04:26)

“. . . መቀጨት ያለበት ነገር ነው። እኔኮ ጦርነት ምንም አይመስለኝም። ጎራ የለየ ነገር ነው ትዋጋለሁ። ሽብርተኝነት እኮ አሁን እዚህ ቆመን እኔና አንተ ምን እንደሚደርስብን አናውቅም። . . . ቢሮዬ ቁጭ ብዬ ምን እንደሚደርስብኝ አላውቅም። ዋስትና የለኝም ሽብርተኝነት እስከለ ድረስ። ማኪያቶ እየጠጣሁ ምን እንደሚደርስብኝ፤ ልጄ ትምህርት ቤት ምን እንደሚደርስባት አላውቅም። ዋስትና የለኝም። አሸባሪነት . . . ጦርነት ጎራ የለየ ነገር ነው። የትጋ እንዳለ ቷላትህ ታየዋለህ፤ አልመህ ትመታዋለህ፤ አልመህ ትከላከላለህ። የማትከላከለው ነገር እኮ ነው ሽብርተኝነት ማለት። ይህን ያላወገዝን ምንም ልናወግዝ አንችልም።” (□□ቷኛ ስለሞን አስመላሽ፣ክፍል 1፣00:05:18-00:05:49)

“እኔም ጓደኞቼም እኔም በጥርጣሬ ነው ያየነው። እውነት ነበር ወይ? የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት እ . . . ለ□ለቲካው ብሎ አንዳንድ የሚሰራቸው ስራዎች አሉ ብሎ ሰ□ ስለሚቷረ□ር . . . እኔም ሆንኩ ብዙ ሰዎች . . . ኣ . . . የለመዱትን ደግሞ ስራ ሰሩ ስለ□ህ እሱ ነገር ለማመን ያስቸገረ እያስቸገረኝ ነው ማለት ነው።” (ዶ/ር መረራ ጉዲና፣ክፍል 1፣00:08:57-00:09:19)

“እሳቸው የሚሉት ነገር ስህተት መሆኑን ለማሳየት የሚጠይቁን ማረጋገጫ ሞተን ማሳየት መሆኑ ነው ከባድ የሚያደርገው። ኖረን እንደው ነው የምላቸው። ስለዚህ አዎ የተለጠጠ እንዳልሆነ ለማሳየት የተለጠጠ እልቂት መፈጠር አለበት ማለት ነው። እሱ ከሚሆንብን □እሳቸውን የተሳሳተ ግምትና ዘለፋ ጠቀስ አስተያየት እያስተናገድን ግን ሽብርን ተቆጣጥረን መቀጠልን እመር□ለሁ።” (አቶ ዘራውን ተሾመ፣ክፍል 1፣00:09:20-00:09:51)

“ሽብርተኝነት የዲሞክራሲም ዋስትና አይደለም ያለው። . . . ዲሞክራሲና የዳበረ የደለበ ዲሞክራሲ ችግር ውጤት አይደለም። የደለበ ዲሞክራሲ የሽብርተኝነት አደጋ ስለባ መሆን የማይችልና የማይሆን ቢሆን ኖሮ . . . September 11 ኒው ዮርክ ላይ ልናየው አይገባም። እንግዲህ ትልቁ የሊበራል ዲሞክራሲ ጳጳስ አሜሪካ ነች። ሌላዋ የምዕራቡ አለም የሊበራል የዲሞክራሲ ተከታቾች ቼክስ እንግሊዝ ነች። እንግሊዝ የመሬት ውስጥ ባቡሯን የጁን 5 የዛሬ 6-7 አመት ፍንዳታ ማስተናገድ አልነበረባትም። ዲሞክራሲ ዋስትናው ቢሆን ኖሮ።” (አቶ ዘራውን ተሾመ፣ክፍል 1፣00:17:49-00:18:45)

"ሽብርተኝነት...የሰብአዊ መብት አደጋ ነው።" (የፌዴራል ከፍተኛ ፍ/ቤት ጻፍ ብርሀኑ ተ/ብርሀን፣ክፍል 2፣00:03:07-00:03:11)

"መንግስት ደግሞ duty bearer ነው። ወይም እነዚህን የማክበር፣ የማስከበርና የመጠበቅ ቀጥተኛ ሀላፊነት ተጥሎብታል። ስለዚህ መንግስት ይህንን እሴቶቻቸውን የዜጎቹ የነዋሪዎቹ ሰላም፣ ደህንነት፣የመኖር መብት የመሳሰሉትን ሰብአዊ መብቶቻቸውን የማክበር የማስከበር ግዴታ ስላለበት ህግ እንደአንድ መሳሪያ እንደአንድ . . . ይህን ግዴታው የማስከበሪያ መሣርያ መጠቀም ስላለበት . . ." (የፌዴራል ከፍተኛ ፍ/ቤት ጻፍ ብርሀኑ ተ/ብርሀን፣ክፍል 2፣00:03:34-00:04:04)

"ስለህ ከባድ ጉዳትን የሚያስከትል ከሆነ መከላከልን ማሰብ ይጠይቃል። መከላከልን ለማድረግ ደግሞ ከመረጃ አሰባሰባችን፣ ከማስረጃ አያያዣችን ወትሮ ከምናስበው የተለየ ነው የሚሆነው። ለመከላከል የተለየ ስርአትን ይጠይቃል። የተለየ ስነ-ስርአትን ይጠይቃል። የማስረጃ አሰባሰባችን አያያዣችን በሙሉ አስቀድሞ ከምናስበው የተለየ ነው የሚሆነው። ከመደበኛው ወንጀል የተለየ ነው የሚሆነው።" (አቶ እሹቱ ወ/ሰማያት፣ክፍል 2፣00:04:53-00:05:16)

"በወንጀል ህጋችን መከላከልን አስመልክቶ አንድም አንቀፅ አታገኝም። . . . ሽብርተኝነት ከመድረሱ በፊት መከላከል አለብን። ለምሳሌ በቅርቡ West Gate ላይ ኬንያ እንዲገጠመው West Gate ላይ በታሪክ ስልታት ከመድረሱ በፊት ነው መከላከል ያለብን። ይህንን የምትከላከለው የመረጃና የክትትል ስርአትህን በማጠናከር ነው። እነዚህ ድንጋጌዎች የወንጀል ህጋችን ላይ አታቸኛቸውም። የመቆጣጠር ስርአት የምትሰካው ወንጀልነቱ በመደንገግ ብቻ አይደለም። ሽብር ሳይፈፀም መቆጣጠር መቻል አለብን። ( . . . ) ሽብርተኝነት ላይ ትልቁ ስራ መስራት ያለበት አንድ ሀገር፣አንድ ህዝብ፣አንድ መንግስት ግን ከመከላከል አኳያ ነው። ከመቆጣት ብቻ አይደለም።" (የፌዴራል ከፍተኛ ፍ/ቤት ጻፍ ብርሀኑ ተ/ብርሀን፣ክፍል 2፣00:06:49-00:07:43)

"ሁሌም አገራችን ላይ ጥላሽት መቀባት የማይሰለጽቸው እንደHuman Rights Watch ህጉ ገና ከመውጣቱ አፋኝ ነው፤ በችግር የተተበተበ ነው በማለት የእርግጫን መስተ ሲያወርዱበት ጁታላ።" (ትረካ፣ክፍል 2፣00:12:30-00:12:43)

"እስከሃራ በሀገራችን ላይ የደረሱት የሽብር ጥቃቶችን ያላወገዙ አንዳንድ የተቃዋሚ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲ መሪዎች ይህ የፀረ-ሽብርተኝነት ህጉ ላይ በይፋ ዘመቻ ከፍተኛነታል ሲሉ ከግርምታ ባለፈ ወደ መጠራጠር ይወስደናል።" (ትረካ፣ክፍል 2፣00:13:50-00:14:06)

"ፀረ-ሽብር ህጉ አሸባሪ ነው እ . . . ራሱ አሸባሪ ነው፤ዘመቻ ከፍተኛነታል ሲባል ሰምተናል። ይህ የተገለፀበት አገላለፅ የእኛ አንዳንዶቹ የኛ ተቃዋሚ ሀይሎች ምን ያህል ሀላፊነት የጎደላቸው እንደሆኑ ብቻ የሚያሳይ ነው። ሀላፊነት የጎደላቸው ናቸው። ሀላፊነት ምክንያቱም ገዢ ፓርቲ ተቃዋሚ ፓርቲ የሚባለው ሀገር ስላለ ብቻ ነው። ህዝብ ስላለ ነው። ህዝብ ስለሚመርጥ ነው። ሰላም ስላለ ነው። ይህ ሰላም ባይኖር፣ይህ ህዝብ ባይኖር፣ትርምስ ቢኖር ይህ አይኖርም፤ቶ። ሌላ ነው የሚሆነው። ( . . . ) ስለዚህ በዚህ ደረጃ የሚያነሱት በእኔ ግምት ሀላፊነት የጎደላቸው፣ ሀላፊነት የሌላቸው፣ሀላፊነት የማይሰማቸው ማንነታቸውን ለህዝብ በይፋ የገለፁ ሀይሎች ናቸው ብዬ ነው የምገልፀው።" (የተከበሩ አቶ አባዱላ ገመዳ፣ክፍል 2፣00:14:07-00:15:27)

"በይፋ ግን ፀረ-ሽብር ብሎ የተቀመጠን ነገር ትግልእና ጦርነት አውጀንበታል እ . . . እንደአንድ የኢትዮጵያ ፌደራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ የህዝብ ተወካዮች ቤት ውስጥ የህግ አውጪዬ፣እኔን የሚጠብቅ ህግ አርቃቂ፣አፅዳቂ ግለሰብ ሁለቴ ዞር ብለው አስበውበት የተናገሩት ንግግር አይመስለኝም።" (አቶ ዘራውን ተሾመ፣ክፍል 2፣00:15:35-00:16:02)

"ለናረ-ሽብርተኝነት ህግና አዋጅ አቃቂር ማውጣት የሚያስፈልግ አይመስለኝም።" (።ታኛ ሰለሞን አስመላሽ፣ክፍል 2፣00:17:17-00:17:21)

"In effect እያሉ ያሉት የፀረ-ሽብር ህጉ የሽብር ህግ ነው እኮ ነው። እ? . . . ከተሸበረ ጭንቅላት የሚመነጭ እጁታ ነው። (አቶ ዘራውን ተሾመ፣ክፍል 2፣00:17:41-00:17:49)

"ኢሳት ማለት የግንቦት 7 የፕሮፓጋንዳ ወፍጮ ነው ባጭሩና በስሙ ይቀመጥ ከተባለ።" (አቶ ዘራሁን ተሾመ፣ክፍል 3፣00:24:59-00:25:06)

"ስለዚህ ያለምንም ብዥታ ኢሳት የግንቦት 7 አንደኛው መሻቅር እንደሆነና የፋይናንስ ምንጩ ደግሞ የሻሶቢያ መንግስት መሆኑን አሳማኝ ነው።" (ትረካ፣ክፍል ፣00:25:07-00:25:18)

"የሀገራችን የፀረ-ሽብርተኝነት ህጉ በግልፅ እንደሚያስቀምጠው የትኛውም ወገን ከአሸባሪ ድርጅቶች ጋር ግንኙነት ማድረግ በህግ ስለሚያስጠይቅ እዚህ ሀገር ውስጥ በህጋዊነት የሚንቀሳቀሱ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲ አመራሮች ከኢሳት ጋር ያላቸውን ግንኙነት ቆም ብለው ቢያጤኑት ይመከራል። ምክንያቱም የአሸባሪ መዋቅርን መጠቀም በቀጥታ ከህጉ ርዕር የሚያላትም ነው።" (ትረካ፣ክፍል 3፣00:25:19-00:25:45)

"እስክንድርም ኬዝ ቢሆን . . . የአረብ ስፕሪንግን የ2004 ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ አመፅ ጥሪ ለማድረግ ከተንቀሳቀሱ ሀይሎች አንዱ እራሱ ነው።" (የፌዴራል ጠቅላይ ፍ/ቤት አቃቤ ህግ አቶ ብርሀኑ ወንድማገኝ፣ክፍል 3፣00:28:37-00:28:47)

"እንችላለን! በሌሎች የአፍሪካ ሀገሮች ውስጥ እንደሚቻል አይተናል። ኢትዮጵያ ከእነሱ ቢያንስ ቢያንስ ከነሱ አታንስም። ታሪክ እንስራ!" (ጠቅላይ ስነ-ምግባር ነጋ፣ክፍል 3፣00:28:48-00:29:00)

"ነገር ግን አንዳንድ በሀገር ውስጥ በህጋዊነት የሚንቀሳቀሱ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች የአሸባሪ ድርጅቶችን መዋቅር ለምሳሌ ያህልም የግንቦት 7ቱን ኢሳት ቴሌቪዥንን ህግ በመጣስ ሲጠቀሙበት ይታያሉ። በሀገር ውስጥ በህጋዊነት እየተንቀሳቀሱ የአሸባሪ ድርጅቶችን አጀንዳ ባጠቃቀስኩ ማራመድ ብዙ ርቀት የማይወስድ አደገኛ መንገድ ነውና በፍጥነት ሊታረም የሚገባው ነው።" (ትረካ፣ክፍል 3፣00:33:11-00:33:39)

*"የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች እኔ እንደሚገባኝ ደርግን ከታገሉበት አንደኛው መነሻ ምክንያት ይህንን በአዛዥም በናዛዥም የማይሰጥ የማይነጠቅ . . . በነፃ የማመን፣ . . . በነፃ የመሰብሰብ መብት ለማረጋገጥ ነው።"* (አቶ ዘራሁን ተሾመ፣ክፍል 4፣00:17:26-00:17:51)

*"በምድራችን ላይ እኮ የአምልኮ ነፃነት የፀደቀበት ህገ-መንግስት ይህ ነው።"* (ፓሰተር ዳዊት ሞላልኝ፣ክፍል 4፣00:26:52-00:26:55)

## **Declaration**

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis (*A Discursive Construction of Terrorism and Terrorists in EBC's Documentary Film "Terrorism in Ethiopia"*) is my own work and all sources of materials I used for this study have been duly acknowledged.

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