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**THE COVERAGE OF INTERNAL CONFLICT BETWEEN OROMIA AND
SOMALI REGIONAL STATES ON ETHIOPIAN MEDIA: COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF OBN AND SRTV.**

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SOMALI REGIONAL STATES ON ETHIOPIAN MEDIA: COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF OBN AND SRTV.**

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JUNE, 2019

DECLARATION

I declare that, this thesis (The Coverage of internal conflict between Oromia and Somali regional states on Ethiopian media: Comparative study of OBN and SRTV) is my own work and I have duly acknowledged the sources of materials I have used.

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The thesis conducted by Adisu Reta, entitled *The Coverage of internal conflict between Oromia and Somali regional states on Ethiopian media: Comparative study of OBN and SRTV* 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.

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Abstract

Ethiopia has been experiencing internal conflicts that have caused many killings and much destruction for the properties. As the country entertains diversified people from ethnicity to religion, the major causes of the internal conflicts are categorized under political instability, unbalanced historical narration, resource, and boundary demarcation among neighboring regional states are the major ones among others (Abbink, 2006). However, how this conflict was reported in the broadcast media has not yet been studied. Hence, this study is proposed to assess how the internal conflicts were reported in selected broadcast media namely, Oromia Media Network (OBN) and Somali regional television (SRTV) in the sampled period of September to November to 2017. The sampled media were deliberately selected. It is because both media are close to the conflict area and they are expected to report it and frame in a certain ways. The period from September to November 2017 when there were severe conflict between ethnic groups conducted was also intentionally selected. In order to meeting the objectives of the study, three research questions were prepared. These are what extent do the two media (news, news analysis and documentaries) focus on reporting the conflict of the two ethnic groups in selected time period, how do the two media frame stories of conflict reported on the sampled period, and how the two media do portray the conflict (political, paramilitary police, communal) issues? The study answered these questions by using quantitative content analysis, textual analysis, and interview techniques. The study used framing, agenda setting and social responsibility as a theoretical framework. The result of study reveals that the internal conflict reporting in the selected media, specifically, OBN and SRTV was not only minimal in its number, but also did not use the right source of the incident. The frame analysis also described that the media are covered the story by grouping the conflicting between ‘us-them’ category. In addition the study identified the media were propagate the conflict as non-stoppable and did not cover in a way it shows clear cause, course and consequences. From the finding one can understand that, the Ethiopian media practitioners need to get repeated trainings on handling conflict issues and peace reporting.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAU – Addis Ababa University

CA - Content Analysis

CPJ – Committee to Protect Journalist

CSR – Conflict Sensitive Reporting

DTM - Displacement Tracking Matrix

EBA – Ethiopian Broadcast Authority

EBC – Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation

ENA – Ethiopian News Agency

ENDF – Ethiopian National Defense Force

EPRDF – Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front

FBC – Fana Broadcasting Corporation

Holsti Method – A short form of one way of measuring intercoder reliability

ICG – International Crisis Group

IDPs – Internally Displaced Peoples

IMS - International Media Support

NDRMC - National Disaster Risk Management Commission

OBN – Oromia Broadcasting Network

OCHA –UN Office for the coordination of humanitarian affairs

OLF - Oromo Liberation Front

ONLF - Ogaden National Liberation Front

RTLTM - Radio TélévisionLibre des Mille Collines

SNNPR - Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples

SRTV – Somali Regional Television

WSLF - Western Somalia Liberation Front

HRW – Human Rights Watch

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CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

This chapter provides information on the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study. In addition research questions, significance, limitations, scope and organization of the study.

1.1. Background of the study

Conflict is a cycle, beginning with tension that can eventually escalate to violence. Violent conflict may remain for years before it deescalates and transitions to a post conflict period, allowing for reconciliation (Grim, 2017). Ethiopia as a country passes such cycle of conflict through history. (Abbink, 2006), stated ‘‘Political, communal and ethnic tensions are rampant as Ethiopia struggles to develop a post-imperial society that has to deal with diversity, deep-seated political conflict, and entrenched inequality inherited from the past’’.

Mulatu (2017) added that, the Ethiopian people have been in conflicts and wars enduring severe pain as a direct result of civil and other interstate wars. Presently, various internal conflicts have sporadically erupted at various degrees. These are commonly ethnic, religious, border and resource rivalries in structurally divided regions and districts, especially after the coming to power of the new government in 1991. Although the causes, nature, magnitude, and complexities of the conflicts vary from region to region, almost all regional states in Ethiopia have been experiencing some sort of violent conflicts (iDMC, 2009 cited on Mulatu, 2017a). In the last three years, conflicts are range from eastern Ethiopia Somali region ethnic conflict to Gambella and Benishangul political militia insurgency as well as central and north political protest and southern parts of ethnic tension, with minimal conflict record in different parts of the country (OCHA, 2018).

Taking the recent case in Ethiopia, border related conflict of the Somali-Oromo was the major one. Selam (2017) explained that, Oromia and Somali shares Ethiopia’s longest interior border, ‘‘a meandering line from Moyale in the South to Mulu in the East’’. Parts of the border follow the Ganale Doria River, but the regional boundary mostly stretches between the Oromia

grasslands and Somali Desert. The two ethnic groups have experienced “intermittent conflicts” over resources, including land and water, over the past 25 years. In these two regional states, From January 2016, there was a heavy conflict between the communities in most of these vast border areas. OCHA (2018) confirmed that the Oromia-Somali border localized inter-communal violence continues to cause loss of life and livelihood, and further exacerbate the humanitarian situation.

The Gedio- Guji conflict is another recent internal conflict that caused devastated humanitarian crisis. The conflict broke out in West Guji and Gedeo, along the border areas between the Oromia and Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNPR) regions, triggering more than a million new displacements (OCHA, 2018).

When we come to the media, to use simple terms the media constitute a space in which the conflicts of a society can be articulated and are inevitably themselves actors in that conflict. Moreover the combatants in a conflict will usually relate to each other either on the battlefield or through the way they are represented in the media and this latter, as is evident in many recent conflicts. To use sociological terms, the media is both structure and agency. The idea therefore that they can be simple instruments of any point of view—state or non-state—is profoundly misleading and policy towards the media in conflict has to take on board (Pudephatt, 2006).

According to Ethiopian broadcast authority (EBA) official web site, Jan,2019, there are 27 registered TV stations, 27 radio stations including 50 community radio stations and 25 newspapers and magazines are on the media market. Some of those media were to some extent report the last few years’ nationwide conflict situations in Ethiopia, including 2017 Oromo and Somali conflict, that caused death for hundreds of civilians and around one million internally displaced.

In Ethiopia, in some cases, the inter-group conflicts are reported out of their fundamental sociological, economic, political and other contexts. Media persons merely respond to statements of politicians and other interested party rather than initiate their own independent inquiries about specific social conflict. Mulatu (2017b) briefly explained that, in Ethiopia the limited coverage

of internal conflicts in general, and the ways in which they are being framed, point to the newspapers are not prioritizing conflicts as news. This is reflected not only in the smaller extent to which the newspapers' report the cases, but also in that they place the stories on the inside pages and the stories are not brief. Besides, the newspapers have shown a clear tendency towards silencing some types of conflict. The framing also indicated some sort of silencing the conflicts.

The National Disaster Risk Management Commission of Ethiopia (NDRMC) disclosed that, the Oromo-Somali clashes began in December 2016 following territorial communal disputes between the two communities, at a time, as commission Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) shows, until April 2017 approximately one people were displaced by conflict. The vast majority of displacement occurred from September to November 2017 from the two communities.

During these day, even if some Ethiopian media from broadcast to print, from state owned to private and, from Federal to Regional States media were reporting the devastating situation. Oromia and Somali regional states media were aggressively reported the situation by giving special attention to the Oromo-somali intergroup conflict from the beginning to the end.

This piece of research is aimed to critically analysis the Oromia Broadcasting Network (OBN) and Somali Regional Television (SRTV) media production (news, news analysis, and documentary programs) that was transmitted from September to November 2017. It is, therefore, timely and important attempts to look into what makes the two media conflict reporting the same and differentiate. And also the study attempts to point how the two media were framed the conflict stories.

1.1.1. Background of Sampled Media

OBN

The Oromia Broadcasting Network (OBN) is a regional public service broadcaster head quartered in Adama town, Ethiopia. It is the leading media organization in the Oromia region states administration. Some years before, the channel is run by the Oromia Radio and Television Organization (ORTO), founded on July 12, 2006, up graded from one hour transmission in the then Ethiopia radio and television organization (ERTV), as Oromia mass media organization

(OMMO). During that time, Oromia Mass Media Organization rented air time from Ethiopia radio and television Organization and broadcasted both radio and television programs (Editorial policy of ORTO, 2009).

The organization was renamed by the regional Government to Oromia Radio and TV Organization in 2011 with objective to be a preliminary competent media in the region which competes with other media in the country. Its objectives are: (1) to encourage people to express freely their opinion based on the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic Government of Ethiopia and that of Oromia Region State and other laws and policies. (2) To create conducive condition for the people of Oromia Region to get correct, objective, adequate and quality information timely. (3) To work towards the creation of national consensus on major national and regional issues. (4) To encourage towards developing a democratic culture, economic, political and cultural activities. (5) To work towards promotion of Oromo culture, history and language. Similarly, the mission of Oromia Radio and Television Organizations is to provide current, real and reasonable information through electronic media to provide entertainment program that recreate and educate the public to enable them to build democracy and good image of the region and development of the country. Its vision is to be the most chosen and trusted media in the country and prominent in Africa (www.orto.gov.et).

Content is mostly focused on news from the Oromia regional state, but also covers news from the national and international levels. Even though the organization headquartered in Adama it has various studios in regional administration such as Nekemte, Jimma and Metu etc and also in Addis Ababa City Administration.

The majority of broadcasts are in Afaan Oromo (the native language of the Oromo people) with some programs in Amharic (the federal working language of Ethiopia) and English. OBN has expanded its broadcast time and improved its quality of services to satisfy its audiences' needs recently. OBN covers 70% of Oromia via terrestrial television and via satellite direct to home transmission 100% of the globe. The organization generates its own money from advertisements and budget allocated from Oromia Regional State (OBN Brochure, 2016).

Finally, a year before the organization again renamed to Oromia broadcasting network. Besides reporting stories the station gives round clock broadcast services to its audiences in Oromia and globally. Advertisement is one of the services that Oromia Radio and Television broadcast to the Oromo people to promote commercial products and/or services for business companies and public service announcements on various social marketing and pro-social issues to raise awareness of the Oromo people (ibid).

SRTV

The former Ethiopian Somali television (ESTV) was established in 2010 by the objective of filling the information gap and to encourage people to express freely their opinion in the regional administration. Before the organization was established as Somali mass media organization (SMMO) it was broadcasted from Ethiopia and radio television organization by renting one hour air time from 10 to 11 pm night (ESTV brochure, 2015).

The television channel is a regional broadcaster head quartered in Jigjiga city like that of OBN. The major feeders of stories are the regional administration public relations offices and officers. The television station that was run by Somali region mass media agency (SMMO) is renamed three months ago to Somali region television (SRTV), after the regional administration was new president (ibid).

The content of the channel is mostly focused on news gathered from the Somali regional states and some news from national and international levels. Especially stories about people's basic needs and infrastructure and security stories get priority. The channel is mainly broadcasted by Somali languages with minor air times in Amharic and English (ESTV editorial policy, 2001).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Where ethnic identity, religious issue, historical context, culture and the issues of self administration is sensitive cause's of conflict, reporting conflict in Ethiopia is not secondary issue. So, it is believed that essential to assess the way the Ethiopian broadcast media reporting trends of the conflict issues. Especially, studying their role in deescalating and escalating those intergroup or inter ethnic conflict is a major point.

Besides, Ethiopian Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation No. 590/2008 in its preamble reaffirms the constitutional principle that restrictions on freedom of expression and of the mass media shall only be based on laws which secure and preserve the wellbeing of the youth, honor and reputation of persons, national security, public order and other overriding rights. Despite the fact, the proclamation stressed on the freedom of expression with preserving the well being of the nations, the study thoroughly examine the implementation of the proclamation in a general context as ethical issues considerations in covering conflict.

The media's role is often said to be to serve the public interest by being a reliable information provider, a forum for free speech and a watchdog of government. In their hearts, many journalists believe their work can help make the world a better place. But, in environments where such roles seem to make little difference to the perpetual cycle of violence, there is understandable frustration and disillusionment among journalists and their supporters (Howard, 2009).

As explained earlier, in a country like Ethiopia, where the society has a difference in the historical, political and social conditions, as well as in a society where linguistic and culture is different, internal conflicts have happened everywhere. In such situation, where the extent of conflicts is high and also the condition in some parts of the country is so tense, the mass media coverage is important. As of Conflict reporting needs greater analytical knowledge, depth information and skills to report on it without contributing to further violence and exacerbating tensions for further conflict, how the media frames the conflict can matter (Malek, 2013).

Even though, the Ethiopian media are cover the internal conflict incidents in giving less attention, it is important to examine the conflict reporting trends of the countr's media. In search of recent studies that particularly focused directly in conflict reporting in the Ethiopian media are very few. Only two piece of research was directly related to conflict reporting in Ethiopia. One is Mulat (2013) conducted study to examine conflict reporting in two private Ethiopian newspapers, namely '*Addis Admas*', and '*The Reporter*'. Mulat in his study attempted to examine the stories of internal conflicts such as political, territorial, ethnic, religious, and other conflicts in the sampled year 2005 to 2013.

The second is Mulatu (2017a) which is a ph.D.Study. This study focused on the reporting internal conflicts in Ethiopia media from 2005 to 2013; by taking four newspapers, one from government, namely '*The Ethiopian Herald*' and three from private, namely '*Addis Admas*', '*The Reporter*' and '*The Daily Monitor*'. Mulatu (2017) concludes that the studied newspapers give less attention in covering the internal conflict in the country, and described them as silent media.

The above-mentioned two studies were focused on newspapers as well as the media that based in capital city, Addis Ababa. On the other hand, it is hard to find the academic research papers that conducted on the broadcast media in reporting the internal conflict. So, there is a clear gap in the academic research and in the other literature that comprehensively analyses conflict reporting trends of Ethiopia Broadcast media.

Therefore, assessing these issues definitely aims to fill some of the gaps in the literature which focusing on the coverage of internal conflict issues especially in the broadcast media. With this point, studying the way conflict reporting takes place in the selected broadcast media may have fundamental and significant contribution for the current discussion on the media.

Finally, this study aims to conduct a thorough, systematic, and comprehensive investigation of about how regional television stations (OBN and SRTV) were reporting or covering intergroup conflicts from September to November 2017 the case Oromia and Somali conflicts.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The research paper tries to investigate the coverage of internal conflict between Oromia and Somali regional states on Oromia Broadcasting Network (OBN) and Somali Region Television (SRTV) by taking 2017 conflict from September 1 to November 30 as a sample.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

More over the research paper attempts:

- To appraise to what extent the two media did prioritize the conflict stories coverage in selected time period (three months)?

- To assess how the two media are framed the cause, course and the outcome of the conflict?
- To examine how the two media were portraying the conflict (Politically motivated, paramilitary police involvement, communal causes) issues?

1.4. Research Questions

To show the coverage of conflict reporting on Oromia Broadcasting Network (OBN) and Somali Region Television (SRTV) the study raises the following research questions;

- To what extent did the two media (news, news analysis and documentaries) focus on reporting the conflict of the two ethnic groups in selected time period?
- How did the two media frame stories of conflict reported on the sampled period?
- How do the two media portray the conflict (politically motivated, paramilitary police involvement, communal causes) issues?

1.5. Scope and Rationale of the Study

The research paper focuses on only Oromia Broadcasting Network (OBNtv) and Somali region television (SRTV) Afaan Oromo and Af Somali transmission of three months time period (from September 1 to November 30, 2017) conflict reporting. It is worth mentioning that, in relation to media scope, unless stated media, other regional and national government media are not the focus of this study. Regarding the content studied, the research limited to only news, news analysis and documentary programs. Talk shows, interviews and feature stories are not included in the study.

As the rationale for this study, the above-mentioned time is purposively chosen because of that, the major conflict that displaced more than a million peoples and followed by loss lives and property from the ethnic groups are takes place in this sampled time period.

Through conducting pilot study the media coverage of conflict between Oromia and Somali, the two regional states media are selected. This was because, more than any other national media, the two media are aggressively reported that specific conflict issues. Both media were siding with their ethnic categorization and used their regional state administrators as source of information (EBA, 2017). Furthermore, both media are received a warning comment from the Federal government to stop exacerbating the tension between the two ethnic groups.

1.6. Significance of the Study

The research would enable Oromia broadcasting network (OBN) and Somali region television (SRTV) to see and recheck their media products in eradicating the tension or exacerbating the tension during the conflict. The research outputs or findings might be important in showing to some extent the right ways of conflict reporting to the media leaders and other pertinent bodies of media stations how to focus on the acceptable conflict reporting mechanism.

Specifically, journalists, May aware of the importance of knowing conflict reporting mechanism in diverse country Ethiopia, it may try to find ways in which reporting conflict with minimal harm and with minor tension. In a broader context, the study should also enable other media outlets to reflect upon how to give attention to conflict reporting. In addition, the research will take part in filling some knowledge gaps in relation to conflict reporting and the findings may help other researchers and media professionals to carry out further research within this field.

1.7. Limitation of the Study

Even though the study has tried to make the sample representative, the results of the Study might not still represent the internal conflict coverage of the whole broadcast media outlets in Ethiopia. Owing to the limitations noted above, the findings of this study would be more applicable to the media institutions under investigation particularly.

One of the reasons that make frames important is their effect in shaping the opinion of the larger audience towards certain aspect of an issue. This study, however, was limited to content analysis, textual analysis, visual analysis and an in-depth interview with those working in the sampled

media outlets, and did not make an attempt on the reception side. This is another limitation of the study.

1.8. Organization of Study

The research thesis has five chapters including this introductory portion. The second part is the review of related literature and theoretical frameworks, the third part is the methodology of the study, chapter four presents the analysis and discussion of study, the last part, chapter five is the summary of the findings, recommendation and the conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of Related Literature

2.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on reviewing the related literature to the coverage of conflict stories in media houses. It also discusses and reviews the media positive and negative interventions and role in reporting the conflicts. The issue of diversity and conflict is also briefed here and the main concerns to the reporting of conflict in Ethiopia as well as in global context. Additionally, theoretical framework that has been used in this study is also briefed in this part.

2.2. Media and Conflict

Conflict is one of the defining features of the modern world. Since the end of the Cold War there have been countless conflicts that have involved the deaths of millions of people and the suffering and displacement of millions more. It is impossible to accurately quantify human suffering due to conflict. To take one indicator – it has been suggested that, in the last ten years, over two million children have died in conflicts, more than one million have been orphaned and more than six million people have been disabled or seriously injured (Puddephatt, 2006).

In this intensified conflict environment the mass media is a powerful tool of communication in the situations. It can be used negatively to initiate, escalate and sustain conflict covertly and overtly. The potentiality of the media as a means of communication to promote peace or conflict cannot be over emphasized. The media in conflict-ridden countries often play a significant role in creating and furthering both facilitating factors and triggering factors linked to internal and external issues or threats facing the nation (Chebi, 2010; Akpan et al, 2013).

Puddephatt (2006), states that, basically, the media role can take two different and opposed forms. Either the media takes an active part in the conflict and has responsibility for increased violence, or stays independent and out of the conflict, thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence. The genocide in Rwanda (itself a part of an internal conflict) and the wars in the Balkans that marked the breakup of Yugoslavia have led to much debate

about the powers and responsibilities of the media. In both of these conflicts the media played a pernicious role – directly inciting genocide in the case of some Rwandan media (and organizing it in the case of Radio Mille Collines) while acting as a vehicle for virulent nationalism in former Yugoslavia

As an additional example of media role in conflict, Akpan et al, (2013) described that, the Nigerian Niger Delta conflict, ‘*Boko Haram*’ extremism and ‘*Jos*’ crisis situation shows that involvement of the media in exacerbating the conflict condition is bigger. Thus, big number of media reports that, the real militants have been denied what should be their inalienable rights and not reporting the problem of bad governance and unemployment in specific places, rather blaming the militant group.

More or less Conflicts today are, in many cases, more complex and multi dimensional than ever before. Most conflict deaths occur during internal wars rather than between states and regular armies. Over the past decade there has been an increase in the conflict relapse rate. Conflicts are less likely to be resolved through traditional political settlements due mainly to the emergence of organized crime that tends to exacerbate state fragility and undermine state legitimacy, the internationalization of civil wars (e.g. Syria) and, increasing violent extremism (Betz, 2017).

So, in this dynamic situation, the media must present itself as the direct mirror- image of the society, particularly at this historical point when conflicts especially violent conflicts and crimes are prevalent. The media therefore must develop the capacity to help in the reduction of violence in the society. Several scholars and media practitioners have not given the media a place in contributing to peace in the society. Though their pessimism might not be ignored, it is important to ask why this pessimism of the media playing the role of peace maker in a conflict prone society. The media should learn to develop a thorough understanding of the conflict and convey that understanding to their audiences in a way that reflects the truth of the conflict in all its complexity. They should examine the context in which the dispute evolved and explain what caused the conflict in the first instance (Akpan et al, 2013).

2.3. Role of Media in Conflict Situation

The media, whether local or international, will always face a considerable challenge in trying to cover conflict. There will inevitably be commercial pressure to focus on the immediate, most violent or dramatic incidents, at the expense of explaining the background and issues that may underpin the conflict. In order to explain the conflict in terms that are comprehensible, not just to the external audience but those affected by the conflict itself, the media must have the ability to operate freely and without threat and with the capacity to report on all aspects of the conflict. While policy makers (including combatants) have a role in providing the circumstances in which the media can operate, and a high responsibility falls on journalists and editors themselves (Puddephatt, 2006).

To explain the role of Media in conflict situation it is a must to assess all media from traditional to modern. Gilbao (2009) describes an analysis of media as follows. Any analysis of media roles in conflict situation must address both the traditional media (newspapers, television, and radio) and the new media (Internet driven). Evolutions in communication technologies have created global news networks and various online social networks. Global news networks can broadcast live from almost any place in the world to any other place. Commentators and scholars invented the term to describe how dominant global television coverage has become in world affairs, especially in acute international conflicts. The term implies that television coverage forces policy makers to take actions otherwise would not have taken. Thus, the media determine the national interest and usurp policy making from elected and appointed officials.

Which role the media takes in a given conflict, and in the phases before and after, depends on a complex set of factors, including the relationship the media has to actors in the conflict and the independence the media has to the power holders in society (Puddephatt, 2006). To minimize the negative consequence of the conflict and to raise the positive prospects, the media are a major mechanism in such competing situations. As Forges (1999) cited on Demarest and Langer (2018), stated, in diverse societies, mass media may contribute to exacerbating inter-group tensions and violent conflict as well as promote national unity and stability.

2.3.1. Positive Role

The task of a reporter is to narrate the facts as they are, impartially, accurately and responsibly, and not as one or anyone else would wish them to be reported, in order to help the readers and viewers to create an informed public opinion. This important reporting task can be performed relatively easier when a society is at peace. The real challenge for reporting accurately, impartially and responsibly comes when a society is in a state of conflict, especially violent conflict. The power of the media has no doubt grown enormously in the present age of information. If this power is employed positively, it may act as a powerful facilitator of conflict resolution process (Ahmad, 2008).

A number of organisations have begun to consider how to create a situation in a conflict and post conflict environment that allows the media to play a constructive part in tackling conflict, taking account of its true role. It has been increasingly recognised that an effective media is an essential part of preventing violent conflict from breaking out, as well as being an important element in its resolution. This would include avoiding portraying conflicts as a zero-sum game contested by two combatants, but rather disaggregating the various interests that clash. It also would involve seeking to humanise both parties – making it clear that sometimes (though not always) there are no simple villains and victims. Such journalism would try to look behind the positions that combatants take and identify their interests, which may create more common ground than is apparent (Pudepahatt, 2006).

Bratic and Schirch (2007), in their explanation about the constructive role of media in conflict situation describe the following. The media play a wide range of roles in our lives. Some of these roles are very constructive, if the media works properly as information provider and interpreter, as Watch dog, as Gate keeper, as Policy maker, as Diplomat, as Peace Promoter and as Bridge Builder.

In general, media particularly journalists have played ignoble roles in conflicts in Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Kenya, and Nigeria but have also been unsung heroes in some of these same conflicts and in countless others when they have reported on them sensitively and in a manner that helps bring

about peace. Sorious Samura's documentary 'Cry Freetown' in 2000 is but one example of courageous journalism that can turn the tide in helping to bring about the end of war (Gadzekpo, 2017).

As an additional example in Kenya, however, in contrast to what they call the 'Rwandan model', newspapers propagated messages of peace and unity in the wake of the 2007/2008 post-electoral crisis. In Burundi, 'Studio Ijambo' is attempting to harness the power of radio for constructive purposes. Beginning in 1995, Search for Common Ground set up Studio Ijambo with a team of twenty Hutu and Tutsi journalists to promote dialogue, peace, and reconciliation. Studio Ijambo produces approximately one hundred radio programs per month to create a steady campaign to promote peace (Demarst and Langer, 2018; Bratic and Schirch, 2007).

In Ethiopia as well, the media were playing to some extent a crucial role in the process of building democratic society. Dagim (2003) in his study of the democratic role of Ethiopian media, concludes that, the media are well aware of the roles and believe that media should play the democratic roles of monitoring maladministration, facilitating debate, and discussion, disclosing various societal problems and collaborating with the government at times when such collaboration is needed and doing their jobs by is guiding principle.

2.3.2. Negative Role

Reporters are human beings, and, therefore, not value -free. There are frequent cases where ethno-religious, regional or nationalistic preferences may come in the way of professional reporting during a conflict (Ahmad, 2008).

In a negative case, Suntai and Ishaku (2017) argued that, several scholarly studies have submitted that the media are more likely to perpetuate violent conflict than contribute to its peaceful resolution. Resorting to history, they recall that news media have often been used to promote wars and conflicts. They add that even as recently as for the Rwanda and Yugoslavia wars, the role of the local media in the promotion of violence was so dominant. The most famous example of the media's potential negative role in contributing to violence is arguably the case of Rwanda, where fake news designed to generate fear and distrust, and recurrent references to the

Tutsi people as cockroaches by 'Radio Libre des Mille Collines' (i.e. radio and television thousand miles), paved the Way for the 1994 genocide (Ibid).

Chebi (2010), Summarized the history of negative impact of media in conflict situation across Africa and other continents. In case of Africa, the continent experienced several political uprisings in different countries. Some of these uprisings were claimed to be engineered and subsequently escalated by media. Taking Libyan civil war as an example, Even though media managed to polarize the nation into the ruled and the political elites by use of oppositional metaphors (us versus them), its impact on social status, gender, age groups and other human variables was not clearly highlighted. This was ended up with big humanitarian crisis that goes till today.

The other country is Côte d'Ivoire. During the 2010 general elections in Côte d'Ivoire, the media landscape was rife with partisan polemic and misinformation from opposing sides and incitements to violence, while members of the media themselves were frequent targets of violence and intimidation. In the Central African Republic as well, hate speech spread through the media and targeted attacks during 2013 were responsible for exacerbating, with little precedent, a sectarian climate that resulted in the displacement of almost one million people and 75,000 refugees.

The impact of hatred spread through the media may extend beyond discrimination to more visible extremes, as in the Democratic Republic of Congo where it drives the continuation of inter-ethnic conflicts. In Uganda, inadequate media coverage has been blamed for the conflict in Northern Uganda where for more than two decades; the war between Uganda People's Defense Forces (UPDF) and Lord Resistance Army (LRA) has not been covered adequately. This has made it difficult for the international community to intervene. Similarly, Somalia and Darfur conflicts were too under covered until recently when they hit the world headlines. In addition, In the Balkan Wars some supported the Muslims and vehemently advocated military intervention against the Serbs. A similar pattern surfaced in other conflicts, such as the Palestinian–Israeli conflict in which Western journalists perceived the Palestinians as victims and sided with them.

The same is true in Ethiopia. In the worst case the difficulties that the Ethiopian government has had in both making its own propaganda successful and in managing non-governmental flows of information effectively leads to violent outcomes. In the aftermath of the 2005 elections, the media were so deeply polarized that both the private and the government media exacerbated an already delicate situation and had a strong role in provoking the violence as well (Monroe et al, 2009).

2.4. Conflict Sensitive Reporting

In much of the world, the violent conflict that the media must report on has changed. It is increasingly not traditional warfare between nations, but now is violent strife among people within common or rough borders, often between communities and tribes and other interests. Violent conflict is increasingly a lawless and terrifying exploitation of civilians and resources by poorly-trained soldiers or paramilitary forces or private armies engaged in crime to sustain their violence. State authority and the rule of law are weak or collapsed. The low-intensity violence recurs erratically. The news media, with its new technologies and wider reach, is increasingly a target for misinformation, manipulation or suppression by interests seeking to profit from the violent conflict (Howard, 2009).

Due to the above-mentioned situation, a lot of journalist's today practice military journalism - a dangerous occupation that requires being in the center of events connected with deaths, violence, and risk to their own lives. An international organization Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) keeps sad statistics on media professionals killed on duty. In 2014, the majority of such cases were registered in Syria, Iraq, Ukraine, Israel, Somalia, and Pakistan total of 25 journalists were killed on duty (Shturkhetsky et al, 2016).

The 2018, the statistics shows journalists killed on the job as reprisal murders nearly doubled. Journalists from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan to the U.S. were targeted for murder in 2018 in reprisal for their work, bringing the total of journalists killed on duty to its highest in three years. At least 53 journalists were [killed around the world](#) between January 1 and December 14, 2018, of which at least 34 were [singled out for murder](#) (CPJ, 2018).

But, there is also some laws that prepared to protect journalists internationally. Journalist's rights and duties in the armed conflict zones are laid down by the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) (or International Law of Armed Conflict) recognized, for the most part, by all countries of the world. The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907 (the so-called Hague Law), the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and the 1977 Additional Protocols to it (Geneva Law), pertinent UN General Assembly Resolutions are key documents in this domain. The Geneva Law establishes protections for those who are in and around a conflict zone, but do not participate in the conflict - civilian population, the wounded, prisoners of war, etc. (Shturkhetsky et al, 2016).

These all does not guaranty the journalist's life. To tackle this problem, conflict sensitive reporting is considered as best solution. According international media support (IMS) hand book, Conflict sensitive Journalism (reporting) is [a part of the safety and protection training mechanism](#) that IMS offers to journalists working in conflict zones. In countries affected by conflict and human insecurity, media has an important role to play as an active promoter of human rights and democratization, peace, dialogue and conflict resolution through the gathering of non-partisan information.

In this regard working journalists in conflict-stressed countries are mustacutely aware than colleagues in established democracies that as journalists and as citizens their work may seem insufficient, superficial and possibly harm ful. One can cover it (conflict) simplistically, vividly, incessantly but do not cover it with sophistication. They don't cover causes, only consequences, and don't cover solutions (Ibid).

The approaches and methods of conflict sensitive journalism allow the media to provide the public with more comprehensive, neutral and accurate information on the conflicts. Conflict sensitive journalism empowers reporters to report conflicts professionally without feeding the flames of conflict. Conflict sensitive journalism means that, 'report in depth, cover all sides and allow for an opportunity for those involved ventilating all issues related to the conflict'(IMS, 2016).

There is also a rules that journalist must follows in conflict sensitive journalism or reporting. The main recommendation or rule is that, being alive and life first, story comes later. Gaining ample information about the conflict and about the place is the second general rule. The third is One should be being ready to accept the fact that usual norms and rules do not apply in the armed conflict zone. One should not rely on unconditional observance of the national legislation and international law is the final guideline (Shturkhetsky et al, 2016: Du Toit, 2012: Howard, 2009).

Criticism of Conflict Sensitive Reporting

The conflict news is bad. It is violent news and it does not seek other sides or points of view. Sometime conflict sensitive reporting criticized for the biasness nature of human beings who works as areporter. Due to this fact, it uses emotional and unnecessary words: massacre, mutilated, atrocity. It takes sides, describing the event from the point of view of the army spokesman.

On the other hand, News organizations, editors, and reporters often ignore the media campaigns on behalf of a particular side (pro human) in an international conflict because such campaigns violate standards of fair, balanced, and objective coverage. Gilbao (2009), by taking the Bosnia coverage, mentioned some scholarly arguments. For instance, David Binder of the *New York Times* is against neutrality in warfare, and insisted that our job is to report from all sides, not to play favorites. Further, Mick Hume argued that journalism of attachment threatens good journalism because it neglects historical and political contexts of violence and causes journalists to set themselves up as judge and jury. Stephen Ward thought that the concept of objectivity was too narrow and dangerous because journalists may devolve into unsubstantiated journalism where biases parade as moral principles.

2.5. Peace Journalism

Johann Galtung, the founder of peace journalism, is a Norwegian academic who has developed a long career in the field of peace studies. In his famous article “The Structure of Foreign News” he says that some media contributes to polarize the conflict through some language orientations

(Galtung 1965). He later called to this kind of information, war journalism. To counteract this effect there should be another kind of journalism: the peace journalism (Gavilán, 2011).

Peace journalism is when editors and reporters make choices – about what to report, and how to report it – that create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict. Peace Journalism is a normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict, that aims at contributing to peace making, peace keeping, and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals, and audiences towards war and peace (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005 cited on Alankus, 2016).

Lynch and McGoldrick's evaluative criteria provide us with some tips about what a peace journalist might try not to do, including a series of attitudes and behaviors that should be avoided, such as: portraying a conflict as consisting of only two parties contesting one goal; accepting stark distinctions between 'self' and 'other'; treating a conflict as if it is only going on in the place and at the time that violence is occurring; letting parties (to a conflict) define themselves by simply quoting their leaders' restatements of familiar demands or positions; concentrating always on what divides the parties; imprecise use of emotive words to describe what has happened to people; demonizing adjectives and labels; and making an opinion or claim seem like an established fact (Mogekwu, 2011).

Similarly to Lynch and McGoldrick, Tehranian has also prescribed a '10 commandments' of peace journalism. He stressed that these 'commandments' are negotiable and suggestive rather than exhaustive.

- Never reduce the parties in human conflict to two. Remember that when two elephants fight, the grass gets hurt. Pay attention to the poor grass.
- Identify the views and interests of all parties to human conflicts. There is no single truth. There are many truths.
- Do not be hostage to one source particularly those of governments that control the source of information.

- Develop a good sense of skepticism. Remember that reporting is representation. Bias is endemic to human conditions. You, your media organization, and your sources are not exceptions.
- Give voice to the oppressed and peacemakers to represent and empower them.
- Seek peaceful solutions to conflict problems, but never fall prey to panaceas.
- Your representation of conflict problems can become part of the problem if it exacerbates dualism and hatreds.
- Your representation of conflict problems can become part of the solution if it employs the creative tensions in any human conflict to seek common ground and nonviolent solutions.
- Always exercise the professional media ethics of accuracy, veracity, fairness, and respect for human rights and dignity.
- Transcend your own ethnic, national, or ideological biases to see and represent the parties to human conflicts fairly and accurately (Ibid).

In another way, the peace journalism model could be summarized in four normative points:

- The journalist must analyze the conflict to be able to inform about violent facts. This analysis must include the roots and causes, the confronting parties and their objectives.
- The information should present an orientation to conflict solution, giving relevance to proposals, negotiations, agreements, etc.
- The journalists should pursue truth in a symmetrical manner, that is, reality –positive and negative– of the contending parties, not just from one side.
- The orientation of the information must be towards the voice of common people and not just for the elites (Gavilán, 2011).

So, peace journalism is in favor of truth, as any must be. Of course reporters should report, as truthfully as they can, the facts they encounter; only ask, as well, how they have come to meet these particular facts, and how the facts have come to meet them. If it's always the same facts, or the same sorts of facts, adopt a policy of seeking out important stories, and important bits of stories, which would otherwise slip out of the news, and devise ways to put them back in. And try to let the rest of us in on the process. Peace journalism is that which abounds in cues and

clues to prompt and equip us to ‘negotiate’ our own readings, to open up multiple meanings, to inspect propaganda and other self-serving representations on the outside.

Critics of Peace Journalism

David Loyn (2003), by his article entitled good journalism or peace journalism? He criticized that, peace journalism is at best meaningless, and at worst uniquely unhelpful and misleading prescription for journalism in general, and broadcast journalism in particular. It is an approach describes an active participation that is simply not role of journalist and based on a flawed notion that the world would be a better place if we reported the war in a certain prescribed way, encouraging peace makers rather than reporting warriors. This prescription is more dangerous part of peace journalism.

In order to mobilize journalistic agency around the distinctions in the Peace Journalism model, have led its advocates to confine their rhetoric instead to forms that mesh naturally with the branch of professional journalism most committed – notionally, at least – to openness and transparency, namely public service broadcasting. If society, furnished with such opportunities, decides it still prefers violent responses, then ‘there is nothing more journalism can do about it, while remaining journalism’ (Shaw et al, 2011).

One critic who draws elements from both the professional/conservative and radical perspectives is Thomas Hanitzsch (2007), who throws nearly everything but the kitchen sink at peace journalism. Epistemologically, he accuses PJ of a naively positivist faith in untrammelled ‘truth’ (which in Galtung’s model was counter posed to war journalism’s ‘propaganda’ orientation). Theoretically, Hanitzsch sees in Peace Journalism an outdated conception of media effects as powerful and linear. Normatively, he says that PJ calls for ‘bad news’ to be suppressed when it jeopardizes peaceful outcomes, and for journalism to take on inappropriate advocacy, peacekeeping or campaigning tasks that are better left to political, legal or military actors (Ibid).

2.6. Conflict-Diversity Rhetoric in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is a country with more than 85 nation, nationalities and peoples which divided in nine regional states and two city administrations. There are also eight religions; Orthodox Christian and Islam having large share. Among others there are more than 100 competing political parties.

In diverse nations like Ethiopia, conflict is more or less inevitable. (Ishaku, 2017) support above-mentioned idea ‘‘apparently, these complex diversities would have both positive as well as negative consequences and influences on the social milieu of the people. Positively, these diversities form the basis of unity in the nation. Negatively, competitive tendencies and poor management of diversity issues have resulted in explosions that had violently rocked the basis of the country. Differences in ethnicity, culture, religion, gender, language or political affiliation have all been at the root of conflict. Another major problem that relates commonly to the issue of diversity is the search for equity. Usually, conflict erupts whenever there is a friction in balancing diversity and equity.’’

Some historians consider that Ethiopia as a truly ‘‘multi-ethnic national society’’ that emerged from centuries of interaction and acculturation between ethnic groups (Levien, 2000). Positively the diversity of Ethiopian people truly are helps the country in several ways.

To show the power of diversity and unity, it is a must to remember the battle of ‘Adwa’ where every nation, nationalities and peoples were fought Italian force aggressively to protect their country in unity. The people rallied behind the ‘*sendek Alama*’ (National flag) as all divisions and petty tribal differences were shuttered to the side in order to unite as one people. On March 1st, 1896, a united Ethiopia met the far superior Italian army head at Adwa. The Battle of Adwa makes the intrigues of Italian and Ethiopian politics eminently readable. It draws distinct, memorable, and even sympathetic portraits of a wide cast of characters (Tedros, 2017 : Abbink, 2012).

Negatively, in some cases the diversity of the peoples caused conflicts in Ethiopia. People are fighting for the right to use their ethnic identity and language equally or over the other, want their culture dominate the other and to administer themselves independently among others. In this

case, Ethnic conflicts are incidents or cases caused by ethnicity, or that are grouped around an ethnic element. There have been many ethnic conflicts, clashes, violent episodes or incidents between two ethnicities, tribes, clans or nations, which demand something for their group. To show how ethnic conflicts are widespread, serious, and complex in the country, the Borana Zone of Oromia may also be good example. In this zone, the ethnic groups *Guji*, *Gabra*, *Burji*, *Borana*, *Garre*, and *Konso* have been experiencing fierce conflicts amongst each other, which have resulted in the loss of many lives (Mulatu, 2017).

When we see the self administration issues, the boundary is observed as a measure cause of conflict. The process of boundary making among ethnically constituted regions also led to the generation of violent conflicts among various ethnic groups of the country that did not have a history of protracted territorial conflicts. For instance, inter-regional boundary making led to a violent conflict between the Gedeo (SNNPR) and the Guji (Oromia) in southern Ethiopia is one. The majority of conflicts now dubbed ‘ethnic’ in Ethiopia are about boundaries between territorialized ethnic groups. Fights about identity are being waged in order to establish the borders of districts and zones, and the ‘identity’ professed by local people is the deciding element (Asnake, 2004; Abbink, 2006).

The other types of conflict observed in the country are the religious conflicts. Historically, the relationships among the religious denominations in the country could be described as being peaceful. Despite the fact that the two dominant religions, Islam and Christianity (mainly Orthodox) have been living together harmoniously in the country, there are currently cases when their amicable relationships sometimes change into violent conflicts in some of the areas of the country (Østebø, 2013; Abbink, 2014 cited on Mulatu, 2017).

Another major conflict that shows the negative aspect of diversity is political conflict, thus, is the problem of political power and resource sharing within diverse community. All of the multi-ethnic regions faced violent interethnic conflicts over a range of issues including sharing of political power and resources (Ibid). The ethnic diversity of the area creates a potential for conflict as these groups have different interests in the resource base, possess different skills with which to use it, and claim rights over different resources and areas (Adrian, 1993).

2.6.1. Genesis of Oromo-Somali conflict

The Oromia and Somali Regions have living in good relationship for longer period of time. But, they have also been beset by competition and conflict between different groups since time immemorial. These conflict and competition events reflect the deep historical roots of inter-tribal conflicts and clan dynamics, which, over time, were exacerbated by trends such as land enclosure, commercial use of land, the changing political environment and the issue of grazing land. Conflict has continued to the present day with sporadic but explosive violence as well as bigger deaths.

Catley and Iyasu (2010) described the conflicts between Oromo and Somali chronology as follows. In the early 1900s there was Migration of Oromo 'Ittu' into a place called Mieso from western Hararghe highlands to access grasslands for livestock production. Ittu were mainly pastoralists at this time. At the Construction of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway, with 'Issa' (the Somali sub clan) from Djibouti employed as workers and guards who later occupied areas around the railway.

At early Imperial period, Government allocates around 500 ha of land in Mieso to two private investors for cultivation and livestock production; large pasture lands are fenced. Although armed guards used to protect the area, at this critical point Ittu and Issa collaborated to destroy the farms and raided the animals.

Another incident is happened October 1935, when Italy attacked Ethiopia from Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. The Issa were recruited by the Italians and received modern arms and training, which they used against the Afar to control parts of the Allighedi plain—a key grazing resource for livestock and with access to the Awash River.

Then from 1970-74, the Imperial Commander of armed forces in eastern Ethiopia encourages Oromo and Afar to attack the Issa; gains from livestock raids distributed to raiders. Some Issa youth left the country. At this time, both Issa and Afar very badly affected by drought and famine, without much assistance from government. Infant mortality of 615/1000 recorded among

Issa during the 1974 famine (Seaman et al., 1978). Issa wells were reported to be deliberately poisoned by army, with livestock and human deaths; led to Issa and Oromo becoming enemies.

Socialist Mengistu (1974-1991), in 1974 land reform with all land under state ownership. Landlords were dispossessed and land instead allocated to Ittu, leading to a growing trend for private enclosure of land, i.e., the Ittu became more agro pastoral. The Issa resisted the expansion of cultivation, e.g., organized attacks during the planting and harvesting seasons to try to secure extensive communal grazing land.

Siad Barre regime in Somalia trains the Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF) in preparation for invasion of Ethiopia. Issa who had previously fled Ethiopia were organized to attack Ethiopia. In 1977 they cooperated with Siad Barre in the war launched against Ethiopia and rejoined clan members in Ethiopia to fight against the Oromo and Afar, pushing deeper into Afar areas. The period is characterized by supply of automatic weapons. The Oromo Ittu was supplied by the Ethiopian government; Somalia and Djibouti supply the Issa.

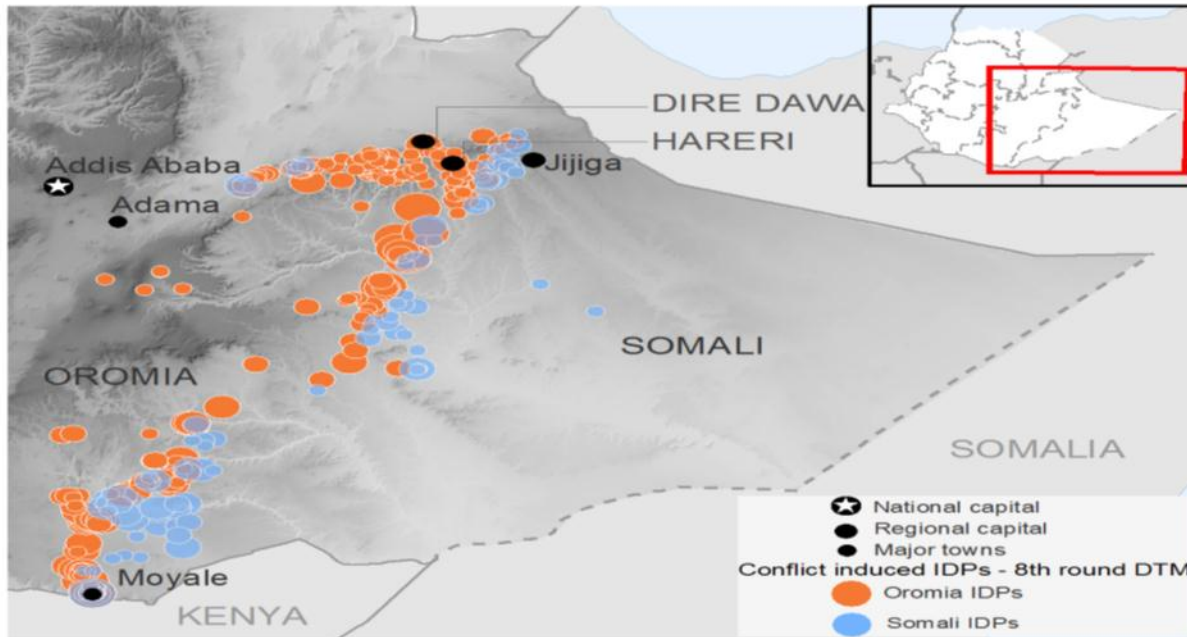
In 1984, the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) is established, with leaders drawn from the WSLF. Then EPRDF and Regional Autonomy From 1991 to 2000 Formation of the Somali Regional State bordered by Oromia and Afar Regions, but with borders in key areas left undefined. Example, Oromia and Somali regions to jointly administer Mieso woreda, but a dispute emerges over control of Bordede, a customs and tax collection point connecting the eastern region to the center of the country. Although an administrative dispute between regions, there was continued violence between the Issa and Ittu.

Later, Somali Regional state claims that 21 *kebeles* around the border areas including Bordode, should fall within its borders. These events led to a referendum in November 2004, which allocated 20 out of 21 of the contested *kebeles* to Oromia. As a result the Issa “undertook indiscriminate retaliatory attacks on non-Somalis, to punish the ethnic groups that favored Mieso administration under Oromia. Many people were displaced or lost assets” (Ahmed, 2005). Up to 2005, conflict intensified, with frequent incidents of indiscriminate killings when federal army not present in the area.

Increasing Issa attacks to prevent Ittu use of grazing areas continued. Ittu expansion of cultivated land supported by land tenure policy which favored private use of land for cultivation; further supported by agricultural development policies supportive property rights for communal grazing land. After this Ittu increasingly disarmed, e.g., due to government concerns about their support to the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). Issa was more difficult to disarm due to their mobility and cross-border access, and within a context of weak control of firearms proliferation in the wider region.

This led to imbalance in terms of physical power and made the Ittu more at risk of large-scale or “commercial raiding.” Issa able to sell raided stock at local markets or move them across border to Djibouti to avoid repossession. Income from sales partly invested in better weapons. As conflict reaches at the level of territorial expansion, government entities (the regions) dispute between regions over resources aggravated, customary institutions less able to overcome conflict.

Such kinds of conflict situation recorded through history till to the present day. The two ethnic groups fight over natural resource ownership, issues of boundary demarcation and through the involvement militia insurgency and paramilitary police.



Conflict prone areas and displacement sites. (DTM Round 8, November-December, 2017).
Source: NDRMC.

2.6.2. Causes and Consequence of the Recent Conflicts

The two ethnic groups have Close relations in different ways and there is also longstanding tension between them. A common way of life has long connected Oromo and Somali people. The Oromia and Somali regions share language, religion and culture. In fact, some groups who speak the Oromo language identify as Somalis, and vice versa. Despite these close relations, the two ethnic groups have experienced intermittent conflicts over resources, including land and water over the past 25 years. Even though, the inter-group conflicts are the latest in a series of clashes that have ebbed and flowed for over 25 years, Some of the root causes remain unchanged, but new dynamics, including increased militia activity in the region and escalating tensions (Selam, 2017: Jeylan, 2017: Fikadu, 2011).

When we look at the recent conflicts, exactly what is behind the recent killings and displacements is not clear rather than minor estimation. Ethiopia's federal government, rather than controlling the conflict, has only fanned the flames of the ethnic division, according to some

observers. There are also serious concerns over land rights and political representation problems among border areas after the referendum was taken place in 2004. Another reason raised by some groups is the symbolic meaning given to the Oromia-Somali border areas and its lack of an official demarcation. This is described as politicizing the border areas among the local officials.

It is believed that the unrest began when the two Oromo officials (woreda officers) were reportedly killed on the border between the two territories, allegedly by Somali region police. On 12 September, protests by Oromo in the town of Awwaday, a place between Harar and Dire Dawa city, led to rioting that left 18 dead. The majority were Somali *chat* (local weed) traders. But the number of deaths the Somalis who fled Awwaday said that, the number of dead was closer to 40. In response to Awwaday, the Somali regional government began evicting Oromo from Jjjjiga and the region (VoA and DW, 2017).

As of the two residents of the border areas are pastoralists there was recurrent conflict over grazing land and water. In Ethiopia, ethnic politics and the politics of territory take a central place in the formation and construction of competing nationalisms and visions of power in the country. However, the shapes they take are influenced by specific political and historical contexts. This is true particularly at Oromo-Somali frontier areas in southern and eastern Ethiopia where two or more clans belonging to different ethnic groups compete for control over natural resources (Jeylan, 2017).

This is in some cases exacerbated by past history and interethnic grievances. Jeylan (2017) described that, conflicts do not occur in vacuum and without reasons. They occur when a particular set of circumstances and processes converge to cause and perpetuate dynamics of interethnic rivalry. Ethnic conflicts are multifarious phenomenon involving profound interaction between the underlying structural factors, historical narratives of interethnic grievances, institutional and governance factors that weaken interethnic tolerance and exacerbate history of interethnic rivalry. Conflict reinforcing factors include systematic manipulation of memories about past grievances and injustices. The interrelationships and reinforcement between identity and territory at ethnoterritorial frontiers are affected by the processes that influence the landscape of the socio-political power relations between the groups that share the frontier.

Another cause of conflict is the issue of boundary demarcation. In multiethnic countries like Ethiopia, territorialization and politicization of identity potentially creates an environment for an ethno-symbolically mediated diffusion and proliferation of exclusion. The reason is that territory has important place in human's political, social and economic history. Humans attach contesting political, social, economic, and symbolic meanings to territories and express territoriality through conscious and purposeful actions. The multi modal social and political constructions and reconstructions of mechanisms and processes of legitimizing or delegitimizing individuals and groups' access to a territory are common ways of expressing territoriality. In the post-1991 period as well, claims and counter-claims over territories around the borders of the Oromia and Somali ethno-national regional states of Ethiopia became the center of conflicts. These claims specifically contest of water points (wells), tracts of land, ritual sites and towns (Jeylan, 2017: Fekadu, 2011).

The involvement of the paramilitary (liyu police) in every minor dispute is observed as a catalyst for the Oromo-Somali intergroup conflict. Taking the recent conflict spokespeople from the regional government blame armed groups from the other side. Much of the confusion stems from the complex assortment of federal, regional, paramilitary and rebel groups engaged in armed conflict across border areas. In this case the Liyu police, a special police force based in Somali region have been widely blamed and accused of killing people in the Oromo ethnic group.

This Liyu Police was established in the wake of the attack on an oil field near Abole in April 2007 by the separatist group Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF). The attack resulted in the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) escalating its operations against ONLF in the Somali Region. From October 2007, ENDF was replaced by local government-affiliated militias in the frontline against ONLF. Authorities were later on replaced by Liyu Police (www.landinfo.no retrieved December, 2018).

Liyu Police is not only responsible for fighting ONLF, but also for protecting the border and for handling general security challenges in the Somali region. Liyu Police solves these tasks by – among other things – operating regional checkpoints and patrolling border areas. The security

situation in the Somali Region is also characterized by various clan conflicts, which continually flare up (ibid).

A number of media reports from 2015 shows that Liyu Police has been involved in battles and other incidents on the Somali side of the border; this was confirmed that when Liyu Police operates in southern Somalia. In January 2016, allegations appeared claiming that Liyu Police was being used against demonstrations, including in the city-state Dire Dawa and in Bedeno in the regional state of Oromia (Iaccino, 2016). In April 2016, it was also stated that there were rumors that *Liyu police* had begun operating on the Oromia side of the regional state border. There is little doubt that *Liyu Police* has committed a number of serious violations, including executing civilians (HRW, 2012).

The consequence of the conflict is much deteriorated for both groups. After the 2004 referendum which was undertaken in 422 kebele and the outcome was that the Oromia national regional state won 323 kebele, while the Somali national regional state won 99 of the contested kebele. The ballots of a few kebele were rejected for procedural reasons, and in Moyale the process was aborted. By taking the referendum as precedence, the case of Garri (Somali) and Borana (Oromo) shows that the herders fought two deadly wars during the long dry season of 2008, and another in February 2009 in which more than 300 people died and close to 70,000 people were displaced (Fekadu, 2011).

The eastern part of the two regional administration border areas of Jarso (Oromo) and Girhi (Somali) also shows the same thing. The post-1991 conflict in the Jarso-Girhi territory cannot be categorically fixed as the Jarso and the Girhi conflict. Series of conflicts and disagreements have occurred also between adversaries within the same group. For example, at one occasion members of some Girhi sub-clans (such as the *Habar Wadag* and the *Jibrael*) in and around 'Ula Ula' and 'Tullu Refensa' areas were in tension with members of the neighboring 'Jarso' clan (Jeylan, 2017).

Another conflict prone place is *Mieso* and *Babile* Districts. Two of the more than 30 districts affected by the borderline disputes between the Somali and Oromo regional states are Mi'eso and Babile districts, which are located in the eastern borderline of these two states. As Shide, (2003),

expressed it; one of the conflict happened a period during which drought has smashed the grazing land and water sources of the Issa inhabited areas. As a result, Issa pastoralists come to access '*Todob ashub*' water wells and the nearby grazing land. The result was a deadly conflict where more than 50 Oromo farmers were killed and many others displaced, in this incident more than 5 Issas were also killed.

In recent time as a usual both Somali and Oromo local pastoral groups have suffered in terms of huge property and human life loss as a result of an ongoing cycle of violence. According to the 10th round of the Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM), at least 1,073,764 people were displaced by conflict as of mid-April 2018. While some Internally Displaced Peoples were displaced since 2012, the vast majority of the displacements occurred post September 2017 in Oromia and Somali regions (NDRMC, 2017).

The conflict IDPs are hosted in 601 sites in Oromia and Somali regions. Those displaced from across regions are mainly hosted in transit or collective centers, while those displaced within a region are settled along border areas (either in woreda of origin or in other woreda within the same region)(OCHA, 2018).

2.7. Overview of Studies Related to Conflict Reporting in Ethiopian media

Violent conflict in Africa has shaped and defined media and journalists in many ways. The conflicts of the post-colonial period left a legacy of guerrilla fighters adept at using media and communications as part of their struggle that affected the media in the post-Cold War period. Over the past two decades, from Rwanda's genocide to the ongoing violence in Somalia to post-election violence in places such as Ethiopia, Kenya, and Guinea, the media has been a defining feature of many conflicts (Nicole and Iginio, 2015.p, 192).

History in Ethiopia shows same thing. The years spent in conflict had a clear impact on how journalists and policymakers perceived themselves and their roles in society. Concepts such as 'watchdog' media or 'independence' took on different meanings and interpretations. For many journalists involved with guerrilla insurgencies, their new appointments represented a

continuation of their struggle through other means, an opportunity to implement the ideology and political vision for which they had fought for decades (ibid).

The culture of communication of the new government was rooted in a Marxist–Leninist approach privileging channels and methods of communication that could reach the masses directly, rather than negotiating and debating visions of the new nation with elites and intellectuals. This led the new leaders, when they came to power in 1991, to invest resources in forms of communications that would allow them to speak directly with peasants in the rural areas, from village councils to remote video conferencing facilities. The emphasis was on connecting the center of the state with its peripheral nodes.

In contrast, the arguments that were being advanced in what was a relatively open press during the transition period were largely dismissed by the ruling party as the perspectives of a limited group of intellectuals. The media in Ethiopia are largely state-owned. It is estimated that there are 1300 journalists in the state media and 300-400 in the private or “independent” media. Most journalists are employed in the broadcasting media, which consist of large media institutions and are the only media with nationwide coverage (Skerdjal, 2008).

Due to the above-mentioned reasons, most of the Ethiopian media are not cover conflict specially the state owned media. Skerdjal (2008), stated that one reason is that the issue self-censorship. The Skerjdal research has taken the Ethiopian state media as a case study. Three organizations were analyzed: Ethiopian Television (ETV), the Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) and the Ethiopian Herald. He affirm that the self-censorship practices are not an exceptional activity, but belong to the daily routines of news production found that self-censorship also affects reporting on social, economic, cultural and religious issues.

Mulatu (2017), on his behalf there are a practice of silencing conflict reporting in Ethiopian media. Mulatu in his Ph.D. Dissertation studied four newspapers from government owned to private owned. His study titled ‘Why Silence? Reporting Internal Conflict in Ethiopian Newspapers’ discovered that there was some propensity to silence the internal conflict cases in their papers. Among various other reasons, the major one is containing the conflicts, fear and self-censorship, an incorrect understanding of journalism models, a lack of sources, etc. In

addition, the influence of ownership, the journalists' fears, self-censorship, and the compromising of professional integrity. The Ethiopian media, in general, and the selected newspapers, in particular, are working in a climate of fear, intimidation and persecution by the government or the security forces, which lead the journalists to compromise their profession. As a result, they either ignore the cases totally or self-censor their coverage.

Aemere (2015) in her MA study titled 'A Critical Discourse Analysis on the news coverage of the 2006 Military Conflict between Ethiopia and the United Islamic Courts (UIC): The case of The *Ethiopian Herald* and The *Daily Monitor*' concludes that The Ethiopian Herald was serving only official talks in this study. The Herald justifies the act of war by the inherent right to individual self-defense. To this end the newspaper primes stories on the threat of terrorism, violent extremism and the endangered state integrity. To all these threats the Ethiopian Herald accuses the UIC, Eritrea, OLF, ONLF, and volunteer fighters across the world. Even, the opposition parties, which have seats in the House of Representatives, are labeled as enemies.

The war was also depicted by the Ethiopian Herald as perpetuator of development, assurance of state integrity and an act of cleansing of Islamic extremism. The newspaper was doing all its best to attack the UIC from the beginning to the end. The Daily Monitor in most cases didn't refer the UIC in a negative tone and at the same time avoid giving an open positive image. But the employed CDA explored that the newspaper has kind of positive regard to the group.

Kosun (2016), by his MA thesis titled 'Critical Discourse Analysis on Ethiopian Media Coverage of Anti-ISIS Demonstration Held in Addis Ababa' he found that, Though, significantly can be stated that the state owned media are media of the ruling party as history contemplations from the very birth of media in Ethiopia is entwined with politics and the nature of the report itself. Whereas, the privately owned media *Addis Admass* and *Reporter* present different views regarding the event in their news reports of the event. In this regard, *Addis Admas's* news report on the event is much of recounting, what was there in the event, an interesting skirmish between the government and Blue party so protestors and police force. The news report is more interested in what the government and Blue party was claiming, rather than critically addressing its readers' about the event and behind the scene of the event.

From the above mentioned studies one can say that Ethiopian media in general and state owned media coverage of conflict is very minimal. Though, the private owned media are more involved in covering some conflicts. The main focus of this research is also showing the issues and extent of coverage conflicts. In this regard most of the studies that have been done before were focused on the print media. Additionally, most of them were conducting their research by comparing and contrasting the private media with that of the government one.

This study solely focused on the two regional administrations owned broadcast media (OBN and SRTV). By giving priority to the mentioned media it will analyze their coverage of ethnic conflict between the two groups in which the two sampled media have strong connection with them. So, the study will come up with the coverage and framing of conflicts in broadcast media, exclusively that government owned.

2.8. Theoretical Frameworks

2.8.1. Framing Theory

The major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue (Druckman and Chong, 2007). Framing operates by biasing the cognitive processing of information by individuals. At least two mechanisms to explain the process are found in the literature. One suggestion is that framing operates by providing contextual cues that guide decision making and inferences drawn by message audiences (Kirk, 1999).

In general, Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. Frames, then, define problems—determine what a causal agent is doing and costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of cultural values; diagnose causes—identify the forces creating problem; make moral judgments—evaluate causal

agents and their effects; and suggest remedies—offer and justify treatments for the problem and predict their likely effects (Entman, 1993, p. 55).

Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) explained Framing techniques as follows; one is Metaphor; it is to frame a conceptual idea through comparison to something else. Stories (myths, legends); this is framing a topic via narrative in a vivid and memorable way. The third is tradition (rituals, ceremonies); it means Cultural mores that imbue significance in the mundane, closely tied to artifacts. Slogan, jargon, catch phrase; this is framing an object with a catchy phrase to make it more memorable and relate-able. Artifact framing involves objects with intrinsic symbolic value – a visual/cultural phenomenon that holds more meaning than the object itself. The other is Contrast framing that describes an object in terms of what it is not. Spin framing is to present a concept in such a way as to convey a value judgment (positive or negative) that might not be immediately apparent; to create an inherent bias by definition.

The relative strength of a frame depends on varied factors such as their frequency, accessibility and relevance. Frequency is defined as the number of times and number of media companies in which a frame is repeated: the greater the frequency, greater the force. The strength of a frame tends to be greater when it focuses on considerations that are accessible to individuals, who have already been exposed to the frame and have understood it beforehand. Accessibility and repetition are, in turn, strongly imbricate, because the accessibility of a message improves with repetition. Another factor that is related to the strength of a frame is its relevance: a frame that speaks of the core of the matter will be stronger than those that speak of peripheral issues (Chong and Druckman, 2007).

On the other hand Somerville (2017) further summarizes the selection issues in framing. Selection means leaving some things out, compressing others and rarely being in the position to give sufficient context to make stories as fully comprehensible as responsible journalists would like – so with the Palestine conflict, for example, there would be news reports or even features that can go little beyond event–response–retaliation and do not provide the sufficient historical or humanitarian context necessary to make full sense of events. It is impossible within a 45-second

news story or even a 3-minute interview to encapsulate the nature and history of the conflict that has led to the particular incident you are reporting.

Through selection of stories and angles, the journalist creates frames that exclude aspects of stories and can be distortions, either resulting from deliberate representation of conflicts and their competing sides in certain ways for propaganda purposes or vastly simplified representations that pander to popular beliefs or prejudices or to what editors believe is the level of knowledge and expectation of audiences – such as the way that after the Cold War, in particular, the conflicts that occurred in the former Yugoslavia and most commonly in Africa.

The most widely used classification of frames are issue specific and generic frames. While issue specific frames are those frames that are only relevant to the issue under investigation; generic frames transcend the boundary of a single framing research and can be applicable in many framing researches. To be able to identify framing in the stories, Entman (1991), identifies five popular ways for framing news story. These are conflict, human interest or personalization, consequences, morality and responsibility. Conflict frame: emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest. Consequences frame: reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region or Country. Morality frame: puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. Responsibility frame: presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving either to the government or to an individual or to a group.

Though various types of frames are identified, it has been difficult to find clear cut guide lines as to how to identify the indicators of those frames. According to Entman (1993), the presence of frames can be manifested in “key words, stock phrases, and stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments”.

Critics on Framing

One is that due to absence of clear explanation in classification and typologies, Application of framing varies in different contexts and disciplines. In other words, framing may not commonly be applicable notion as a result of absence of clear explanation. The second criticism is related the theory's relation with media's direct effect theory which disregard audiences autonomy of making meaning. Framing suggests the notion of dominant meaning which consists of the problem definition, causal interpretation, evaluative and treatment interpretation with predisposition that it will be accepted and understood audiences. But this notion is debatable as to whether people could recall their own experiences and facts that were not given in the text to decode meaning. In other words, audiences are not passive recipients who may absorb framed media texts (Entman, 1993).

Relevance of framing theory to this study is that, generally, as the study is based on analyzing the two media effects, framing is considered to have a significant influence in shaping the research. It is because of this important role of framing that various actors struggle to make their frame dominant. So, in this study framing helps to come up with clear findings in defining and differentiating issues in research.

In the study visual analysis will be conducted to show and investigate the image and video that was used in the samples media when they were reporting the conflict. Grouping or labeling frame was used in this study. This frame helps the researcher in investigating the story by categoring in to two groups, us-them. Conflict frame is a frame used in this study. Conflict frame is one of the most common frames found in conflict story coverage. This used to investigate face of conflicting peoples and group's angle in coverage of the story. In contrast to the conflict frame, the public affairs frame, or political strategy frame emphasizes to analyze the actions of government officials. This helps the researcher in investigating opinions of the officials in the story in resolving conflict.

2.8.2. Agenda Setting Theory

The agenda setting theory is a theory that discusses on how the mass media influences in making a certain issue as a public agenda. The public agenda is the main focus or prime issue which the members of the society or public concern about. The term agenda setting theory is first used by McCombs and Shaw (1972). This theory elaborates the connection in term of relationships between the emphasis that the mass media put as an issue and the media audiences or the public's reaction or attributes to such issue (Zain, 2006).

Agenda setting theory is an important theory in mass communication. The agenda setting of mass media can be derived from the public agenda. The said agenda setting can also be set up through government's policy or by politicians. As identified by Rogers and Dearing (1988), there are three main agenda setting which are: public agenda, media agenda and policy agenda. Based on Cohen's opinion, the agenda setting of mass media only provides the media audiences on what they should think about and not to set what to think (ibid).

The original agenda-setting hypothesis proposed a moderate media influence on social cognition—how individuals learned about the important issues of the day. Extensive media coverage supplied media consumers with salience cues regarding the relative importance of these issues. News selection is at the heart of the agenda-setting process since the issues that fail to pass through the gatekeepers of the news also fail to give salience cues regarding the relative importance of the issues. This is especially true of international news events that happen beyond the direct experience of most news consumers (Wayne et al, 2004).

McCombs (2007), Although the idea of an agenda-setting role of the press has its origins in Walter Lippmann's 1922 book 'Public Opinion', which begins with a chapter titled "The world outside and the pictures in our heads," it was only in 1968 when this idea that the press constitutes the bridge between the "world outside and the pictures in our heads" was put to empirical test.

Although, the concept of agenda setting was founded on Lippmann's (1922) idea of "the world outside and the pictures in our heads" McCombs and Shaw (1972) were the first to conduct an empirical study of the agenda-setting effect during the 1968 presidential election in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Since their seminal paper appeared in 1972, numerous scholars have studied the effect of agenda setting in various fields. Based on Cohen's (1963) idea that "the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about", they hypothesized that "the mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes toward the political issues" (Kim et al, 2017).

The repetition of messages about public issues in the news day after day, along with the pervasiveness of the mass media in our daily lives, it constitutes a major source of journalism's influence on the audience. The incidental nature of this learning, in turn, helps issues to move rather quickly from the media agenda to the public agenda. Although the benchmark for the appearance of agenda-setting effects is one to two months, there are, of course, variations among individuals and across issues (ibid).

Agenda-setting effects also have been found at the local level, and the evidence for both national and local effects is found in a wide variety of settings around the world. In Spain, unemployment and urban congestion were the major concerns of Pamplona, Spain, residents in the spring of 1995. Comparisons of all six major concerns on the public agenda with local news coverage in the preceding two weeks found a high degree of correspondence (McCombs, 1972).

Looking at the most popular directions for agenda-setting research conducted in the leading Western research centers, several highly promising and dynamic trends can be identified. Firstly, the research develops most rapidly in the area of comparative studies and studies concerning the effect of agenda-setting on various regions, countries and political systems. Secondly, the research is increasingly concerned not only with the relationships between the media agenda and the public agenda, but also between the media agenda and the political agenda. Agenda-setting studies take into account "national agendas", including the subject-matter of the decisions made by national institutions, as

well as the mutual influence of various agendas taking place between the national (or state), local and international institutions (Nowak, 2004).

The relevance of agenda setting to this study is that it will help the researcher in identifying the priority given to the conflict in selected time period. Also how the media were working in making the conflict between groups as an agenda.

2.8.3. The Social Responsibility Theory

Defining social responsibility in the media traces back to a key landmark in the field: that is, a report produced by the Commission on the Freedom of the Press, more casually known as the Hutchins Commission. The project was requested in 1942 by the founder of Time magazine Henry Luce, at a time when it was believed that First Amendment freedoms were being increasingly threatened by the rise of totalitarian regimes throughout the world. Led by the then-president of the University of Chicago, Robert Hutchins, this commission deliberated for four years before settling in 1947 a socially responsible press in a report titled '*A Free and Responsible Press*' (Middleton, 2007).

The social responsibility theory is an outgrowth of the libertarian theory. However, social responsibility goes beyond "objective" reporting to "interpretive" reporting. A truthful, complete account of the news is not necessarily enough today, notes the Commission. "It is no longer enough to report the fact truthfully. It is now necessary to report the truth about the fact." Today's complex world often necessitates analysis, explanation, and interpretation (Commission, 1947). The emerging theory does not deny the rationality of man, although it puts far less confidence in it than the libertarian theory; but it does seem to deny that man is innately motivated to search for truth and to accept it as his guide. Under the social responsibility theory, man is viewed not so much irrational as lethargic. He is capable of using his reason but he is loath to do so (Commission, 1947).

Given the changed circumstances of society, the Hutchins Commission grappled with the question of what should the role of a free press be. The concepts expressed by it are crucial to understand the social responsibility of the press. The Commission listed five things which

contemporary society requires of the press. It noted that these standards were drawn largely from the professions and practices of those who operate the media.

The social responsibility theory takes the position that the media needs to assume both moral and legal responsibilities for all that they publish for the general good of the society (Siebert et al, 1972). This theory creates a platform to make media reporting truthful, accurate and objective at all times. Credibility is the foundation of this theory, and to be credible, media practitioners try as much as possible to be socially responsible, transparent, fair and balanced in reporting while respecting the dignity, privacy and rights of all (Schudson, 2001).

Under this theory, media reporting tends to highlight injustices within the community and enlighten people on their rights and privileges. The predicament with this theory is that as people become more enlightened, the more they push for their rights through whatever means available, including use of violence. Thus, the implication of this theory is far reaching in influencing people to unite and rise against injustices (ibid).

In dealing with media ethics, there is some confusion between the different terms: accountability, liability, responsibility, etc. Within journalism one could define accountability narrowly as being able to produce records, e.g. evidence to support what has been reported on. However, the meaning of this term is often extended to overlap with the concept of liability and responsibility: in other words, a journalist is also accountable in that he or she is held liable for the consequences of his or her reporting. Liability in this case can be taken to signify being ethically or legally responsible for one's actions; the concept of whether or not to consider journalists as being liable for their reporting hinges on the question of whether or not their profession entails a social responsibility (Middleton, 2007).

According to Ravi (2012), one of the foremost Communication scholars Denis McQuail summarized the basic principles of Social Responsibility Theory as the following: Media should accept and fulfill certain obligations to society. These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance. In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework

of law and established institutions. The media should avoid offensive content triggering crime, violence, or civil disorder or harm to minority groups. The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and rights of reply. Society and the public have a right to expect high standards of performance, and intervention can be justified to secure the, or a, public good. Journalists and media professionals should be accountable to society as well as to employers and the Market.

Relevance of social responsibility theory to this research is that to cross check whether the two sampled media were paying their responsibility accordingly and also used to analyse the ethical responsibility of the two media.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This part of the study presented, the ways in which data is collected and analyzed in accordance with answering the research questions that are designed. The study considers both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis methods. In addition the focus of this chapter is on discussing how the two methods are employed in collecting and analyzing the data. As instruments of data collection, content analysis, text analysis in relation with visual analysis, and interviews will be used. How the methods will be used in this study is also discussed here. The specific steps or procedures employed when using each instrument to collect and analyze data also justified here.

3.2. Research Design

This study is a case study. John (2007), States that, the case study research involves the study of an issue explored through one or more cases with in abounded system. It is not methodology but a choice of what is to be studied. Others present case study as strategy of inquiry, a methodology or a comprehensive research strategy. Kathori (2004) described that, the case study method is a very popular form of qualitative analysis and involves a careful and complete observation of a social unit, be that unit a person, a family, an institution, a cultural group or even the entire community. It is a method of study in depth rather than breadth.

The research took the two media as a case. So, in this case study the selected two broadcast media (OBN and SRTV) conflict stories were investigated. In this regard the case study benefit the researcher by clearly identifying the data analyzed. The case study places more emphasis on the full analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their interrelations. The case study deals with the processes that take place and their interrelationship. Thus, case study is essentially an intensive investigation of the particular unit under consideration. The object of the

case study method is to locate the factors that account for the behavior-patterns of the given unit as an integrated totality (ibid).

3.3. Research Approach

The study employ quantitative and qualitative approaches, both methods employed for content analysis, textual and visual analysis and key informant interview. The use of both qualitative and quantitative methods is referred as mixed. According to Mcneill& chapman (2005) mixed refers to the use of multiple methods to cross-check and verify the reliability of a particular research and the validity of the data collected. So, using both of them is very important to check the accuracy of the data gathered from the two sampled media.

3.4. Quantitative Content Analysis

In this study, the quantitative content analysis helps the researcher in identifying the coverage of stories reported by the two sampled media in the selected time period. The typical definition of content analysis, however, came from Kerlinger who defined content analysis as a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables (Kerlinger, 1980, as cited in Wimmer and Dominick, 2003).

The main focus of content analysis in this part is that to assess what was reported in the selected time period (three month). Content analysis (CA) as a research technique which endeavors for the objective, systematic, replicable and quantitative description of symbols of communication or the manifest content of communication (Berelson,1952; cited on Dieronitouetal, 2014). This is the main reason for employing content analysis. In addition it helps the researcher to analyze the text data numerically.

3.5.1. Coding

The key process in the analysis of qualitative social research data is *coding*—classifying or categorizing individual pieces of data—coupled with some kind of retrieval system (Earl, 2008).

Coding is the assigning of codes (that have been previously defined or operationalized in a codebook to raw data. This allows researcher to engage in data reduction and simplification. It also allows for data expansion (making new connections between concepts), transformation (converting data into meaningful units), and reconceptualization (rethinking theoretical associations) (Jessica et al, 2011).

In this research Coding involves identifying what should be studied. The main focus of the research is on internal conflicts, so all of the conflict stories that were reported in the sampled media during the study period are included. The manifested stories that related to conflicts are selected, and they are then considered for coding. The stories are analyzed based on the variables including media organization, date of transmission, the type of stories, transmission time and redundancy of the stories, duration, repoter of the stories and sources of the stories and other variables.

Unit of analysis

Unit of analysis helps the researcher define what is being studied as well as what aspects are being studied. In this study full story is selected as a unit of analysis.

In relation to what should be coded, internal conflict stories reported in the sampled period of time in the sampled media are stored. The conflict stories might be reasoned from ethnic based communal clashes in the two regional administrations border areas and different town's conflicts are included for coding.

3.5.2. The Code Book

Code book are developed through an iterative process that may necessitate revising definitions as the researchers gain clearer insights about the raw data (Jessica et al, 2011). In this research a code book, which consists of understandable variables and categories were prepared. Using code book is also important in order to conduct the content analysis of the sampled media. The coding

book objective is to take the conflict stories in the sampled media and to analyze them systematically.

3.5.3. Pre Testing the Coding

Pre-testing of the coding is conducted to cross check how the variables and categories go with the measured data and to cross check whether the codebook contains all of the variables to be measured. In addition, pre testing helps to check whether all variables are included or missed and it also helps in avoiding overlaps as well as inconsistency of the variables.

In this study the researcher took some samples to pre-test. For instance, in the study the researcher first prepared a code book that considers a variable named origin of the story which later changed to reporter of the story. And again after the pretesting was conducted the variable placement was rearranged to transmission time.

Regarding the framing sheet, the researcher first prepared five dominant frames which include labeling or grouping frame, human interest frame, public affairs frame, visual frame and assistance frame for the study. But, after the pretesting was conducted it seemed unmanageable with all these variables conducting frame analysis. Then the researcher decided to limit the dominant frames to three, those include labeling or grouping frame, conflict frame, public affairs frame only.

3.5.4. Intercoder Reliability of the Coder

Although there are several statistical techniques for measuring interrater reliability, there are some major approaches used in content analysis. The first approach is to calculate a basic proportion of agreement. Calculating reliability as the number of agreements divided by the total number of agreements and disagreements. A reliability of 90 percent or better is necessary for maximum consistency of coding. The second approach is to use the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Pearson's statistics measure pairwise correlations among raters. The closer the score is to 1, the stronger the correlation or interrater reliability. The third approach

to calculating reliability is to use Cohen's kappa coefficient (Cohen, 1960) or Fleiss's kappa statistic for use with nominal variables. The goal of Cohen's (to be used with two raters) and Fleiss's kappa (to be used with three or more raters) is to determine the consistency in ranking items or classifying items into mutually exclusive categories (Jessica et al, 2011).

For this study Holsti's Method Formula is selected to measure intercoder reliability. In this method, if two coders independently code a set of documents using the same coding scheme, the coefficient of reliability of those two coders is the percentage of agreements of the total number of coding decisions made by the two coders. The following formula can be used to calculate the intercoder reliability:

$$\text{Intercoder reliability} = \frac{2 * M}{(N1 + N2)}$$

In this formula, *M* is the total number of decisions that the two coders agree on; *N1* and *N2* are the numbers of decisions made by Coder 1 and Coder 2, respectively. Using this method, the range of intercoder reliability is from 0 (no agreement) to 1 (perfect agreement) (Yuping, 2013).

The study took the following steps in order to measure and maintain the inter-coder reliability in the content analysis. These steps are passed through: employing coder, providing training, and then measuring their agreement.

According to this formula the level of coder's agreement in OBN is 0.96 and in SRTV the level of coder's agreement is 0.97. The average of the two is 0.98 which is acceptable, according to Holsti method formula.

3.5.5. Training of the coder

Jessica et al, (2011) described about training the coders as follows; informing them (coders) that everyone's interpretations of codes, as well as everyone's application of codes to any given data, could potentially be questioned and thereby subjected to critical analysis by any other member of the research team.

In this study, the researcher is work with four assistants (coders). The assistants were hired for specific time (to code the data), two Afan Oromo speakers and two Af Somali speakers. This is done purposively, because, the sampled media are broadcasted in this two languages dominantly. After the assistants agreed with the researcher they were gettraining how to code the data. It was more than 2070 stories were checked in three weeks, of February, 2019 from the two media.

3.6. Qualitative Content Analysis (text analysis) and Visual Analysis

Qualitative research method is one of the methods used to conduct this research. It has its own features that differentiate it from quantitative research. In qualitative method the research is conducted in the natural setting of social actors and this helps to understand peoples' motivations, attitudes and behavior (Kvale, 1996).

In this study, the audio-visual and textual analysis put in place to look at how the stories were framed and how the stories were depicted the conflict incidents. Textual and visual analysis is a qualitative method that involves a careful reading and watching of documents of various kinds including media texts. Morris (1991) textual analysis is a method used in communication studies to describe, interpret, and evaluate the characteristics of a recorded message. It is again a useful method to examine and interpret interviews, observation protocols, and other empirical data. In short, in this broadcast stories analysis, the study examined what that text and visual messages does really mean.

Finally, the text and visual analysis is included in order to briefly explain the stories of conflicts in the sampled media in the sampling period. Especially, text analysis used to cross check and to understand the potential meanings of the texts (story scripts). To briefly describe it the latent meanings of that text-audio-visual and to infer what the stories had implied to the general public. In general, in this study, to get answers for the research questions about the framing conflicts in the sampled media.

According to Semekto and Valkunburg (2000) the most widely used classification of frames are issue specific and generic frames. While issue specific frames are those frames that are only

relevant to the issue under investigation; generic frames transcend the boundary of a single framing research and can be applicable in many framing researches. The issue specific frame is preferred for this part of framing analysis. This helps the researcher to make some aspects in the story more salient in communicating text and to make clear interpretations the words or phrases that are selected to frame analysis.

In this study, visual analyses are also determined. This helps the researcher whether the visuals used in the reportage of the stories were graphics, stock photos or videos, namely images or realistic video/images that depict the actual meaning of the internal conflict coverage. Or a realistic still/graphics image that showed a real situation of that depicting conflict prone displacement and humanitarian crisis.

Coding unit and selection of stories

The coding unit can be considered as a word, a phrase, a sentence, or a paragraph in the text of the stories. In this internal conflict story analysis it is preferred to take news story as a coding unit and assessing the theme or the central idea of the story in addition to taking words and phrases for analysis. In this study, to identify which story should be analyzed through framing, nested sampling design employed. Nested sampling is where the sampling is such that certain units are imbedded in larger units which form part of the whole sample. Through the mentioned technique from the total of 109 stories some sample *news* stories were selected for frame analysis.

In this case only some sampled news stories were selected for textual and visual analysis also. Because, in relation to selection issue the number does not matter as far as the method is qualitative and not generalizable. As noted in the above discussion the two media covered 109 conflict stories in the sampled period. These all conflict stories were a combination of stories that were sourced different groups to describe the conflict incidents publicly. Which include stories that merely focused on using victims only as a source, government officials only, security officials only, combination of all sources in some cases and different social body's as a source. In this respect it's difficult to assess the framing of all the conflict stories the two media were

covering. It is good to differentiate some stories that are believed to be important and conduct framing for it.

The researcher then decided that, from all broadcast stories it is good to identify framing for the stories that were relied on using the two regional government officials only as a source randomly. From the whole stories the two media were jointly broadcast, 43.1% of stories were sourced government officials (see table 8&9). In this case stories that were relied on federal government officials, victims, mixed source and sources that were referred as '*others*' will be omitted from the frame analysis. In addition, only *news* stories are selected, the reason is that, both media were report big number of *news* stories regarding the genre or types of stories in the sampled period of time (see chart 2).

This has been done purposively, because of that; first it is manageable to limit the data and to present clearly the discussions. Second, both media are not prioritizing in sourcing victims of the conflict and security officials in their coverage of the incidents. That is why those stories sourced victims and security officials are omitted. Other omitted stories were sourced the participants that condemn the irrelevancy of the incidents and sourced individuals or groups who were participated in providing the supports needed for the displaced. It is believed those groups have moderate or minor roles in overall conflict situation and those sources have minor political and social implications in the incidents. Third, at a time the two regional government officials as well as the media were complaining to each other's about the causes of the conflict. To justify this case, Ethiopian broadcast authority (EBA) wrote warning letter for the regional government's communication offices and media organizations to stop their unethical misbehaving.

The pictures considered for visual analysis was taken rightly from the audio-visual footage transmitted by two selected media. The pictures taken in considering the time it takes in the whole story and a picture that directly related with the script text. This helps the researcher in minimizing bias in taking audio-visual still images for visual frame analysis.

Methodological approaches to frame analysis can be broadly divided in two categories, namely deductive and inductive. In this study inductive approach are used. Inductive approach is open

and qualitative and it can help the researcher to extract new frames through a thorough interpretation of the text. A commonly used approach starts with loosely theoretically defined frame categories, which serve as guidance for the extraction of more specific frames, through a grounded analysis that aims to identify all the possible frames (Gamson, 1992).

Finally, from the story found through the above mentioned technique some news stories are selected for frame analysis from the two media, which means Oromia broadcasting network (hence forth OBN)), and Somali regional television (hence forth SRTV)). Then the selected *news* stories with its audio-visual contents have been analyzed according to prepared frame during pilot of the study was conducted. The stories used for framing are translated by ENA staffs (colleagues) to minimize the bias.

3.7. Key Informat Interview

In this study, the interviews are important again in answering how the coverage and the frame of the conflict stories were made by the journalists in the selected media. Key informant interviews are those interviews that are designed to discover underlying motives and desires and are often used in research. Such interviews are held to explore needs, desires and feelings of respondents (kathori, 2004).

Interview was conducted with three people from each of the sampled media. The researcher selected those informants after investigating their contribution during the period of the conflict in reporting the stories and their involvement in stories production. Moreover, the selected informants are assumed to held important positions (reporter and editor) in the preparing the stories.

Key informant Interview and Transcription

The interview were conducted at the end February. Three of the OBN key informants were interviewed in the OBN head office, Adama, in free studio. Those were identified by their name. Regarding SRTV, the interview was conducted in the April first in Jigjiga town at Ethiopian news agency branch office.

In looking at the transcription of the interview data, I transcribed the data of OBN key informant interviews myself. Even though it took me three days, it helps me in capturing the right data for the analysis. From the SRTV, side a friend of mine and colleague transcribed together in Jigjiga.

3.8. Sampling Technique

Samples are very important in research because it is not feasible for a researcher to study the whole population. In other words, samples are preferable because they are cheap and quicker. Generally, there are two types of sampling strategies. One is random or probability sampling where each unit or subject has equal chance of being selected as a sample for the study. The second type is called nonrandom or non-probability sampling which means the researcher does not follow mathematical guidelines like the first but other methods (Gunter, 2000). The research used the second type of sampling, thus to investigate clearly internal conflict stories in the case of the two sampled media.

In this study the researcher used purposive sampling in selecting the sampled media (OBN and SRTV), during the selected period the two regional states media are reported the conflict incidents continuously. Because of that, the conflict was undertaken between the Oromo and Somali ethnic groups, which the two media are representing. In case of taking the sample of the stories, as of the study is focused on conflict, only the stories that related to inter-group (Oromo-Somali) conflict stories are gathered. According to Kothari (2004) for instance, if economic conditions of people living in a state are to be studied, a few towns and villages may be purposively selected for intensive study on the principle that they can be representative of the entire state. Thus, the judgment of the organizers of the study plays an important part in this sampling design. The universe of the sample is 20170 total stories covered during the sampled time period. The sample size is 109 conflict stories covered by the two media. So, the sampled stories assumed to be representatives.

3.9. Time Frame

By taking the above-mentioned two media as the objects of the study, the study should attempt to assess all of the conflict stories that are broadcast from September 1 to November 30, 2017. In

this time period all the news and other types of genres of conflict stories broadcasted in the two media were included in the sample. The time was selected because it was in a mentioned period of time that the conflict between the two groups were aggravated and caused death for civilians and displacement for the million (OCHA, 2018).

3.10. Data Analysis Procedure

This study examines the conflict coverage of OBN and SRTV. As explained earlier the study employed content analysis on the products of the sampled media outlets. In addition to the content analysis, the study employed textual analysis (audio-visual script) with the aim of investigating the frames of the stories. Moreover, an in-depth interview was conducted with six informants to strengthen the results found from the two methods.

The data analysis process of this study is started by presenting the findings obtained from the content analysis and textual analysis. In this stage frame analysis are thoroughly conducted. Next, the over all findings are discussed with the results of the key informant interview to enrich the results of the quantitative as well as qualitative content analyses.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

4.1. Introduction

This part of the study presents the main findings of the quantitative content analysis data in relation to the coverage of internal conflict between Oromo and Somali among Ethiopian media specifically OBN and SRTV from September to November 2017. Qualitative content analysis (story script text) and visual analysis also presented and discussed here. In addition the result of in-depth interview also discussed in this part of the study.

4.2. Coverage of Internal Conflict Issues

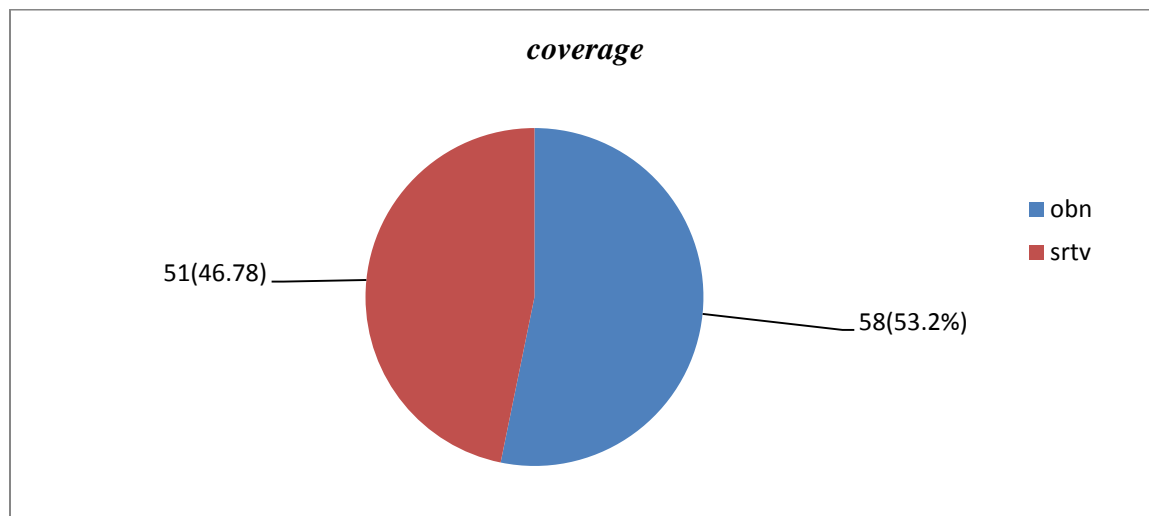


Chart I: overall conflict coverage of the two media.

In explaining the total coverage of the two media in relation to covering internal conflict between Oromo and Somali during the three-month period, the researcher employed a quantitative content analysis approach to collect and analyze the data. In this respect, the quantitative result shows that in the sampled period, 2070 stories were broadcast. 1170 stories were covered by OBN and 900 stories were covered by SRTV and all transmitted stories are checked. From the reviewed stories a total of 109 stories were discovered as a stories that had direct relation with Oromo-Somali conflict. Specifically, Oromia Broadcasting Network TV (henceforth OBN) covered 58 (53.22%) stories and 51 (46.78%) stories were covered by Somali regional television (henceforth SRTV).

4.3. Broadcast Date of the Stories

Media	MONTHS		
	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
OBN	12(23.5%)	29 (41.4%)	17 (35.1%)
	23(39.6%)	16(32.3%)	12(23.5%)

Table I: broadcast date of the story covered OBN & SRTV

From 58 stories broadcasted on OBN in the sampled period 35.5% stories are broadcast in September 2017. 41.4% stories were in the month of October and 35.1% stories in November 2017. This numbers shows that OBN covers big number of stories in the month of October.

SRTV statistics shows that, in the month of September 2017 there are covered or broadcast 39.6% stories. In October and November SRTV broadcast 32.3% and 23.5% stories respectively. The number clearly explained that SRTV broadcast its big number of stories in the month of September.

4.4.Types of Story or Genre

OBN

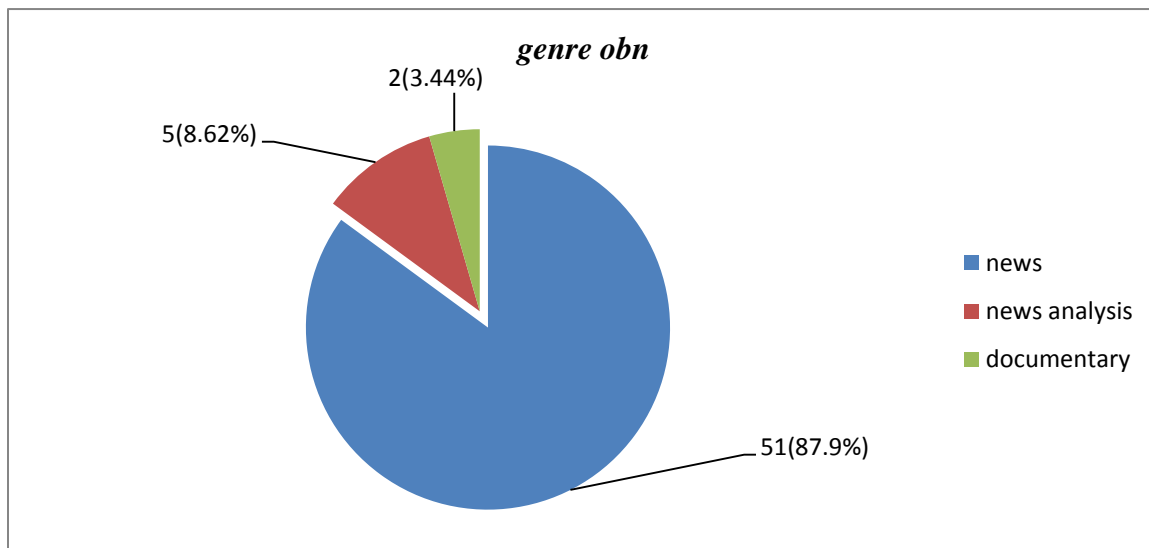


Chart II: Types of story or genre covered by OBN

Chart II, shows that from the total of 58 stories covered by Oromia Broadcasting Network (OBN) 51 (87.9 %) stories were reported as news genre. On the other hand OBN in the sampled period of time broadcast 5 (8.62 %) news analysis and 2 (3.44%) documentary programs. The above chart clearly shows Oromia Broadcasting Network gives more attention and priority to the news genre in covering conflict between the two groups.

SRTV

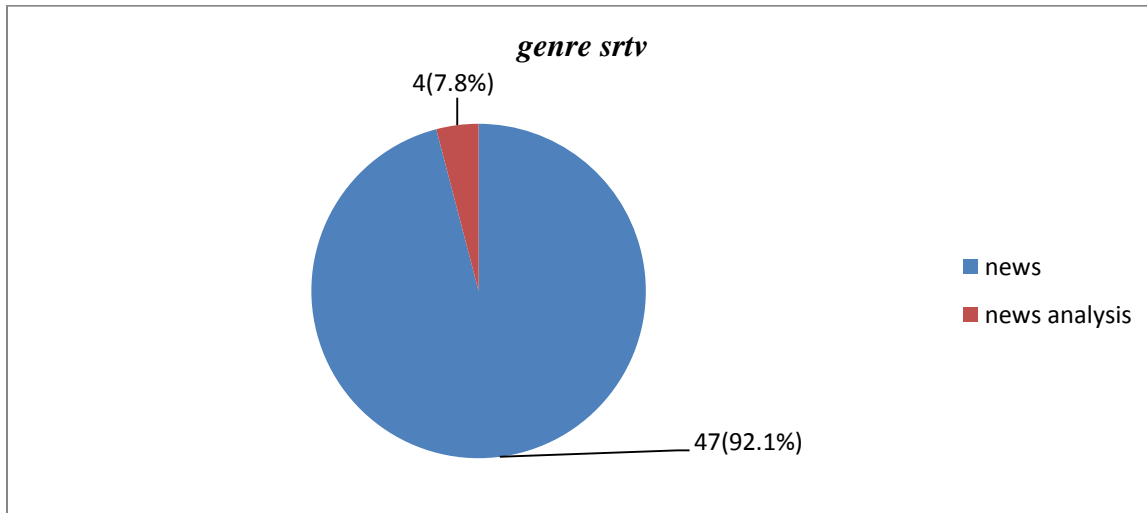


Chart III: Types of story or genre covered by SRTV

Chart three shows that SRTV covered or broadcast a total of 51 internal conflict stories. Like that of Oromia Broadcasting Network, Somali Regional Television is also gives more attention to the news genre in covering the incidents. SRTV covers 47 (92.1 %) news and 4 (7.8%) news analysis genres. On the contrary to the OBN, SRTV did not broadcast any documentary program.

4.5. Transmission time of the Stories

Media	Day time (6:00 am to 6:00 PM) local time			Night time (6:01 PM to 5:59 AM) local time		
	News	News analysis	Documentary	News	News analysis	Documentary
OBN	19(32.7%)	2 (3.4%)	-	32(55.1%)	3 (5.1%)	2 (3.4%)
	20(39.2%)	-	-	27(52.9%)	4(7.8%)	-

Table II: Transmission time of the stories covered by the two media.

OBN

In discussing about the transmission time of broadcast stories, table I shows that, OBN broadcast 19 (32.7%) *news* in a day time (6:00 AM to 6:00 PM) local time which have one major news hour (7:00 local time) evening and some repetition (re run of the selected stories) in an hours difference. Regarding *news analysis* OBN broadcast 2 (3.4%) stories in the day time and no *documentary* program was broadcast under this category.

On the other hand, in the night time (6:00 PM to 5:59 PM) local time, OBN broadcast 32 (55.1%) *news*, 3 (5.1%) *news analysis* and 2 (3.4%) *documentary* programs. The above table explains that, OBN broadcast big number of stories in the night time. Almost more than 63.6% of its stories were broadcast in the night time shift or evening.

SRTV

In a close-up look at SRTV, the transmission time of the stories shows that, 20 (39.2%) *news* stories were broadcasted in a day time (6:00 AM to 6:00 PM) local time. In this day time shift SRTV did not broadcast *news analyses* and *documentary* programs. In other way, in the night time shift (6:00 PM to 5:59 PM) local time SRTV broadcast 27 (52.9%) *news* and 4 (7.8%) *news analyses*. SRTV did not produce *documentary* program overall.

4.6. Repetition of Stories

OBN

OBN										
News				News analysis				Documentary		
once	twice	three times	>three times	once	twice	three	>three	once	twice	three times
16(27.5%)	25(43.1%)	8(13.7%)	-	4(6.8%)	3(5.1%)	-	-	-	2(3.4%)	-

Table III: Repetition of stories broadcasted by OBN

Looking into repetition of the stories in OBN TV, it is good categorizing it by genres. In this regard the broadcasted *news* repeated once was 16 (27.5%), *news* repeated twice was 25 (43.1%), and *news* repeated three times was 8 (13.7%). Again in the *news analysis* genre 4 (6.8%) was

transmitted once, 3 (5.1%) was transmitted twice. In the *documentary* genre two of the *documentaries* were broadcasted twice.

Table two shows that, OBN repeated 25 (43.1%) *news* stories twice and it was repeated more than any other genre. In overall discussion, the media was repeated news genre coverage of the internal conflict more than other genres. From the total stories 33 (58.8%) were repeated more than two times in average.

SRTV

SRTV										
News				News analysis				Documentary		
once	twice	three times	>three times	once	twice	Three	>three	once	twice	three times
2 (3.9%)	16 (31.3%)	12 (23.5%)	14 (27.4%)	1 (1.9%)	2 (3.9%)	1 (1.9%)	-	-	-	-

Table III: repetition of stories broadcasted by SRTV

SRTV on its behalf, from the *news* genre 2 (3.9%) *news* were repeated once, 16 (31.3%) *news* were repeated twice, 12 (23.5%) *news* were repeated three times and 14 (27.4%) conflict *news* were repeated more than three times. In the category of *news analysis* genre SRTV was entertained 1 (1.9%) *analysis* once, 2 (3.9%) *analysis* twice and 1 (1.9%) *news analysis* three times.

Unlike that of the OBN, in the category of documentary production SRTV did not produce any documentary program in the sampled period of time about the internal conflict between the two ethnic groups.

4.7. Duration

OBN

OBN									
News			News analysis				Documentary		
< 2 min	2-3 min	3+ min	< 3 min	3-5 min	5-10 min	10+ min	10-15 min	15-30 min	30 +min
-	3(5.1%)	46(79.3%)	-	-	5(8.6%)	2 (3.4%)	-	-	2 (3.4%)

Table V: Duration of stories broadcasted by OBN

Table four is the description of the duration of the conflict stories on OBN TV. The table shows that, from the *news* genre category, OBN produce 3 (5.1%) stories with the duration that stay between two to three minutes. And also 46 (79.3%) *news* stories that has more than three minutes long.

The *news analysis* part duration shows that, 5 (8.6%) stories has produced with five to ten minutes long and 2 (3.4%) *news analysis* stories were more than ten minutes long. The two OBN produced *documentary* programs were also had more than 30 minutes long duration on air time.

SRTV

SRTV									
News			News analysis				Documentary		
< 2 min	2-3 min	3+ min	< 3 min	3-5 min	5-10 min	10+ min	10-15 min	15-30 min	30 +min
7(13.7%)	9(17.6%)	31 (60.7%)	-	-	-	4 (7.8%)	-	-	-

Table VI: Duration of stories broadcasted by SRTV

Table five is also described the duration of conflict stories that was produced by SRTV. The collected data shows that, in the *news* genre category SRTV produces 7 (13.4%) *news* that has duration of less than two minutes, 9 (17.6%) *news* with duration of two to three minutes and 31 (60.7%) *news* with duration of more than three minutes.

In the *news analysis* and *documentary* genre SRTV had transmitted 4 (7.8%) *news analysis* with air time duration of more than ten minutes and unlike OBN, SRTV did not produce any *documentary*.

4.8. Reporter (bylines) of the Story

OBN

OBN			
	News	News analysis	Documentary
Staff reporter	46 (79.3%)	5 (8.6%)	2 (3.44%)
News agency	-	-	-
Local media	-	-	-
Communication office	5 (8.6%)	-	-

Table VII: Reporter (bylines) of stories broadcasted by OBN

Table six fully discusses about *bylines* or producers of the stories broadcasted by OBN TV. As data's briefly stated, OBN covers its 46 (79.3%) *news* stories by staff reporters and 5 (8.6%) *news* stories were produced by communication offices that are working with the television organization in the region. OBN didn't receive any production from local media as well as from news agency (the local as well as international).

Regarding the *news analysis* and *documentary* programs, OBN produces all of them by its staff reporters.

SRTV

SRTV			
	News	News analysis	Documentary
Staff reporter	38 (74.5%)	4 (7.8%)	-
News agency	3 (5.8%)	-	-
Local media	6 (11.7%)	-	-
Communication office	-	-	-

Table VIII: Reporter (bylines) of stories broadcasted by SRTV

The data identified in table seven is a full explanation of SRTV stories *bylines*. From the *news* genre, 38 (74.5%) stories were produced by SRTV staff reporters, 3 (5.8%) *news* stories were received from news agency and 5 (5.8%) of the *news* were produced by other national media. SRTV did not get any *news* stories from communication offices in the region.

In discussing *news analysis* genre, SRTV produced all of its *news analysis* by staff reporters of the organization. No *documentary* programs produced by SRTV in that specific time period.

4.9. Sources of the Story

OBN

OBN			
	News	News analysis	Documentary
Gov't officials	21 (36.2%)	4 (6.8%)	1 (1.7%)
victims	11 (18.9%)	-	-
Security officials	2 (3.44%)	-	-
Mixed	11 (18.9%)	-	1 (1.7%)
Other sources	8 (13.7%)	1 (1.7%)	-

Table IX: sources of stories broadcasted by OBN

Table eight discuss about the body that mentioned as a source of the story in the stories produced by OBN. The collected data shows that, in the *news* genre OBN produced 21 (36.2%) news stories that was sourced government officials, 11 (18.9%) *news* story sourced victims, 2 (%) story sourced security officials, 11 (18.9%) *news*stories sourced mixed and 8 (13.7%) stories sourced ' *others*' as a sources of their stories.

In the *news analysis* genre OBN produced 4 (6.8%) analysis sourced government officials and 1 (1.7%) analysis sourced ' *others*' category. Regarding the documentary programs OBN produced one *documentary* by sourcing government officials only and produced 1 (1.7%) by using mixed sources.

SRTV

SRTV			
	News	News analysis	Documentary
Gov't officials	18 (35.2%)	3 (5.8%)	-
victims	10 (17.2%)	-	-
Security officials	4 (7.8%)	-	-
Mixed	15 (29.4%)	1 (1.9%)	-
Other sources	-	-	-

Table IIX: sources of stories broadcasted by SRTV

Table nine shows that sources of stories used by SRTV in reporting conflict stories. SRTV in *news* genre produce 18 (35.2%) stories by sourcing government officials, 10 (17.2%) *news* stories sourced victims, 4 (7.8%) story sourced security officials, and 15 (29.4%) stories used mixed sources.

In the *news analysis* and *documentary* genre category SRTV produces 3 (5.8%) *news analysis* by sourcing government officials and 1 (1.9%) *news analysis* produced by using mixed sources. SRTV again did not produce any *documentary* program in this category.

4.10. Discussion of the findings and Interview

4.10.1. Coverage of the Issues

In overall evaluation, the two media are not covered much of the conflict stories in that sampled period. One can understand that from the total of 2070 stories 109 conflict stories are very small. Due to this fact, the media did not give priority in covering the conflict situation, when compared with what happened to the conflicting groups during the sampled period of the research. In comparison between the two media, OBN has given some priority in reporting internal conflict between the two groups than SRTV in the sampled period of time. The sampled period was when the conflict and displacement among the two groups was raised up to the peak (OCHA, 2017).

Even though their coverage rate shows some slight difference, the two media did not give priority in covering the situation. All informants are also shares that they did not prioritize the internal conflicts issues in that specified period of time. Informant one described it as follows:

“I don’t believe that we were prioritizing the conflict issues reporting in comparison to the crisis happened at that time. There may be several reasons for this. But, generally we did not prioritize the issue.”

Some scholars argue that, in some cases media are not prioritizing conflict issues in covering events. One is Nik Gowing (1997) he showed as that the illogicality of media report in 1996 Burundi conflict. From 1993 through 1996, the prolonged bloodletting in Burundi illustrated the illogical and inconsistent nature of the media's role in conflict. During these three years a combination of international editorial indifference and the physical dangers of visiting Burundi meant there was virtually no international media coverage of the unending murder and terror producing about 100 deaths a day. Other stories elsewhere in the world took precedence.

There also studies that support this argument in our country too. Because of strong censorship from media leaders and journalist themselves and using different silencing techniques is the reasons of less coverage of conflict issues in Ethiopia (Skerdjal, 2008 & Mulatu, 2017). In conclusion it is argued that, the result of quantitative content analysis shows that, it was given less priority in covering the situation. The media did not play its roles in informing the general public on this case.

4.10.2. Broadcast date of the stories

Informants from OBN explained that, where the devastating conflict was started they were not permitted to produce conflict related stories. Informant two added that:

“In the month of September it was challenging to produce conflict stories that related to Oromo and Somali in our office because of that our editors interest. Several stories were jammed also. But, starting from October, after the new newsroom head was assigned we were allowed.”

From the SRTV side personal interview of informant four described as follows, “from the beginning we were not prohibited to produce the conflict stories. But, after a while, most of the conflict was in Oromia region that is why we were produce a limited story”.

Where the media outlet fits into interest pattern, the content mirrors the concerns and objectives of whoever is providing the financing. The owner may choose to make profits secondary to an ideological goal, such as promoting a particular agenda (Maheshwari, 2015).

Even though the two media are owned by regional governments, from the discussion one can understand, they were experiencing intervention from different bodies, especially from their immediate leaders. In Ethiopia, media leader's intervention is abundant, especially in government owned media (Aemere, 2015 & Kosun, 2016).

4.10.3. Types or genre of stories

As clearly explained, both media are gives more priority to the news genre in covering conflict situations of the sampled period. The two media broadcast 98 (89.9%) *news* stories from the total of 109 stories covered in the sampled period. This shows that the two media attention and priority was *news* genre than *news analysis* and *documentary*. The two media jointly broadcast 9 (8.2%) *news analysis* and 2 (1.8%) *documentaries* (two of them broadcasted by OBN).

Regarding prioritizing the news genre in covering the conflict situation, key informants describe that their priority is news genre as a media. Informant two says that:

“one is that, prioritizing news is emanated from our editorial policy. The second is that we learned it as a general trend in covering stories in the form of news.”

Media in executing its responsibility news is the one in which the media communicate with the public. Specially, the role television news has played over the last half century in many countries as the most used, most valued, and most widely shared source of information (Neilson and Sambrook, 2016).

But, those news coverage of conflict by governmental media as well as private media focuses mainly on violent exchanges. Often conflicts are exaggerated, stories are insufficiently investigated and/or sometimes even intentionally misrepresented, and stereotypes are created (ENTRi, 2011).

The conflict stories are good if they are reported broadly to minimize exaggeration and misrepresentation. It is argued that, the two media were not deeply investigating the situation rather they were produce number of one sided stories.

4.10.4. Transmission time of the Stories

Both media were broadcast their big number of stories in the night time (6:00 PM to 5:59 PM) (evening) local time. To justify this OBN broadcast 35(60.3%) stories from the total of 58 stories in this time shift. While SRTV was broadcast 31(60.7%) stories from the total 51 in the same time shift.

The two media were considered the night time (shift) as a prime time to broadcast their stories. In this regard informant five added that:

“In the day time our reporters are busy in gathering fresh stories, so night is more preferable to broadcast collected stories.”

This result implies that, selecting prime time of the stories is decided according to the media preference and their editorial policy.

4.10.5. Repetition of Stories

As explained in the above discussions, the two media are repeated big number of stories from the *news* genre category. Looking in to the OBN, the media repeated 25 (43.1%) all stories (genre) twice and did not repeat any *news* stories more than three times. While, SRTV repeated 16 (31.3%) of its stories twice and it was also repeated 14 (27.4%) of its stories more than three times. This is what differentiates the two media.

The two media were jointly repeat 18 (16.5%) *news* once, 41 (37.6%) *news* twice and 20 (18.3%) *news* three times. In the *news analysis* category, the media were repeat 5 (4.5%) *news analyses* once, 5 (4.5%) *analysis* repeated twice and 1 (0.9%) and *news analysis* repeat three times. In relation to stories repetition informant three and four stated their ideas as follows:

‘‘sometimes stories are repeated if there is shortage story to transmit. In other times if the story is sourced senior government officials we will repeat it. And if the issue is really the concern of the general public it will be repeated two to three times. There is no predefined rule.’’

Frequency is defined as the number of times and number of media companies in which issue is repeated: the greater the frequency, greater the force. In addition, the repetition of messages about public issues in the news day after day, along with the pervasiveness of the mass media in our daily lives, it constitutes a major source of journalism’s influence on the audience. The incidental nature of this learning, in turn, helps issues to move rather quickly from the media agenda to the public agenda (Chong and Druckman, 2007 & Cohen, 1963).

Chicago school of media theory described repetition in media means that establish and reinforce the authority of the repeated. In repetition, one can project the notion of life or see the assertion of the mechanistic, counter-natural principle. In this sense, we can apply to repetition McLuhan’s slogan ‘‘The medium is the message’’. In the realm of media, repetition is always ‘‘nested’’; it cannot appear on its own. The two media were repeated most of their stories more than three times, this imply that, they were trying to move to make the issue as public agenda.

4.10.6. Duration of Stories

OBN broadcast 46 (79.3%) of its *news* for more than three minutes and SRTV also broadcast 29 (50%) of its *news* as that of OBN for more than three minutes. The two media were almost jointly broadcast more than half 75 (68.8%) of its news stories that have had of more than three minutes. OBN did not produce any *news* that has duration of less than two minutes, while SRTV broadcast some of the *news* in this category.

In the *news analysis* genre both media were broadcast 8 (7.3%) *analysis* with more than ten minute air time. And solely OBN broadcast its two *documentary* programs which had more than 30 minutes air time duration. Informant one, five and six described that;

‘‘most of our news stories are very long or very short. We do not have the standard for it. If the issue seeks public attention and there is a government officials saying in the story, we make it long unless it is short.’’

Even though the story length is decided by the media house, Reuters on its behalf recommend that, newsbreaks or urgent should be no more than about 100 words or two or three paragraphs. Newsbreaks that include pre-written material may run longer. Update once should be no more than about 300 words or five or six paragraphs. Longer update may be cut by desk editors in order to move the copy quickly. Updates that include pre-written material may run longer, provided this does not prevent the editing desk from moving the story quickly (Mickeef, 2013).

As discussed above most the stories are produced in the form of news (see table 2&3) and it was sourced government officials (see table 8&9). Due to this fact the media were produced big number of stories that have a length of more than three minutes (see table 3&4). This may in the one hand good to explain the situation clearly. But the problem is that, they were not focused on showing real situation, rather they were ruled according to the sources in the story, that of government officials.

4.10.7. Reporter (bylines) of Stories

Before discussing about the bylines or producers of the two media stories, it's good to clarify the representation of some terms. In differentiating or in identifying who is the producer of the stories, the *bylines* are used by the researcher. One byline is identified as *News Agency*. Even though there is only one news agency in the country (Ethiopian news agency) one can understand what is meant by news agency. Unfortunately the two media were not mentioned any international news agency in their list of producers in the sampled period of time.

Local media is represent some of the national media such as Ethiopian broadcasting corporation (EBC) and Fana broadcasting corporate (FBC) that was bylined in SRTV in covering some of the internal conflict stories. *Communication offices* are organized in the two regional governments from region to woreda (district) level to facilitate the information flow between the administration apparatus and media organizations.

By explaining this fact, OBN produced almost all, 42 (72.4%) of the stories by its staff reporters. SRTV on its behalf covered big number 37 (72.5%) of stories by its own staff reporters. Jointly the two media were produced 87 (79.8%) stories by their own staff reporters. On the other hand OBN did not receive any story from news agency and other local media. On the contrary, SRTV was not bylined by any communication offices as a producer.

Regarding covering the story by using staff reporters the informants concludes that, as a media they prefer to cover the story by their own staffs. Informant six describe is as follows;

“some times when there is a national issues are covered by other media and when we are loosing to cover it, we will use another bylines stories to fill that gaps, unless we never used it.”

This infers that the two media may self-sufficient in covering stories they want to cover. But, it was identified that, at the study period there was also another national media and news agencies that were covered the situation, which the two media did not received.

4.10.8. Sources of Stories

Before discussing about the sources that the two media are used in producing internal conflict coverage between the two groups in the sampled period, there must be some clarification of the terms used as variables. The researcher used the term *government officials* to represent the Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic government (FDRE) higher officials as well as the two regional governments all administrations officials.

The sources categorized as *victims* are peoples who are living in conflict prone border areas and other internally displaced peoples due to the conflicts and are in the camps and out of the displaced camps. *Security officials* are also represents military personnel's at Ethiopian national defense force (ENDF) to local level police officers. *Mixed sources* are the stories produced by the source combined from government officials, security officials and victims. The source that are categorized under '*others*' are peoples or groups that condemn the conflict and also who were participated by providing the supports needed for the displaced peoples.

OBN produces big stories by sourcing government officials composed of 25 (43.1%). 11 (18.9%) stories sourced mixed and victims as a sources and only 2 (3.4%) sourced security officials. While SRTV sourced 21 (36.2%) by government officials, 16 (27.5%) mixed and 10 (17.2%) victims sourced in its story production. Both of them were gives more priority for the government officials source more than mixed source and victims.

All interviewed informants agreed that in both media if one story composed government official voice, it must be transmitted. Informant three described that;

‘we were ordered from our boss that this story must be transmitted and this is not. I myself remembered that around five stories were jammed due to sourcing victims. In addition, there was big challenge to report from the spot. The issue of protection was a major one.’

Sometimes conflict reporting trend is going towards superficial, less-than-well-informed reporting, often based on second- or third hand information as opposed to primary data. The growing drift towards comment and opinion journalism is also identified as an obstacle to clear; impartial comprehension of a conflict and its root causes. In countries facing a violent conflict and in post-war countries journalists are often victims of human rights violations. Journalists therefore, need to know about their rights and means of protection (Gowing, 1997&ENTRI, 2011).

Freedom of the media is constantly under the threat of those in power because media has the possibility to provide a platform to express one’s opinion freely and to give a voice to those who are voiceless. Whether implicit or explicit, influences politicians who make costly decisions about whether to commit effort and resources to intervene in some way in a conflict. For the many journalists who have witnessed and reported conflicts as they unfold, there is no doubt, however, they want the bloodletting halted in an impartial way (ibid).

It is argued that, both media were not covering the conflict situation by voicing the right source which is victims of the conflict. Rather both of them are relied on superficial second hand information given by federal as well as regional government officials, especially the regional ones. This is almost neglecting the major issues in the situation.

4.11. Summary of the Coverage

Even though the two communities are a friendly society, but they were also fought fierce fight due to various reasons several times. What happened during the sampled period is somehow a serious conflict between the two regional states border areas and between regional governments. The two media coverage of conflict during the sampled period did not show clearly the above-mentioned facts.

Their coverage of the conflict gets attention and priority in the form of *news*. In looking into placement of the stories the media were broadcast, big number of their stories were transmitted

in the night time schedule. The repetition of the stories also shows that, in average almost all of the stories were repeated more than two times in one day (24 hours).

Another issue in the coverage of the conflict is about bylines of the story and about source that was mentioned in the story. The two media were covered 75% of stories by their own staff reporters. In looking at the sources of the stories, the two media were gives more priority to the government officials speeches, press confrence and discussions.

Since the conflict stories were more or less about the story of victims or the harmed groups, the media were not much rely on the victims as a source in covering the entire stories. Rather they are produced stories by using mixed source (government officials, security officials and rarely victims). Particularly they are focused on government officials as a source. This implies that though the Ethiopian media were covered sensitive issues such as conflict, they were not report stories by using the right source. This is directly related to the silence and silencing trends of Ethiopian media on the issue of internal conflict (Mulatu, 2017).

4.12. Framing of the Conflict Stories

This section aims to present about the framing of some stories covered during sampled period of time in the selected media. The discussion mainly focuses on how the two media framed the stories during the study period. These include the coverage and priority the sampled media were giving to incidents in the specified sampling period. What is the theme or central idea of the covered stories are also discussed in this part. This way helps the researcher to explain how the selected media are paid attention in giving latent meaning to the internal conflict stories and to reveal how the two media are portray the conflict. This isconducted by taking some samples from the broadcast stories during sampled period.

4.12.1. Labeling or Grouping Frame

During the pretesting was conducted in the selected media, one of the frames identified was grouping or labeling frames in some broadcast stories. Labeling or grouping frame was identified in reporting the internal conflict stories in the selected media in the form of *news*. This is the major reason of the preparation of this labeling frame. As explained in the theoretical framework section the media framed the stories to transmit the message they want, not what the audience

needed. This grouping or labeling frame identified to assess the stories by organizing and uniting the group the media called 'us' and exposing the other group they called 'them' to different public pressures.

Under this category news stories that the two media were transmitted by focusing on Categorizing the conflicting groups between 'us-them' in reporting conflict incidents and Supporting 'us' and blaming 'them' in covering the stories will analyzed thoroughly. Some of the officials were systematically present the peoples (specific ethnic group) as a group that was surrounded by enemy. They speak loudly the other group was responsible for all of the misdeeds. Then the media were also broadcast that messages as it happened. This frame is highly reflected in the selected media because of that the two media considers themselves as sole representatives of that specific ethnic group from both sides.

Shortly, in this section, specifically, the investigation of the message transmitted from the two regional government official's sides is conducted thoroughly. This includes the textual as well as audio-visual content analysis. Though, in giving clear meaning for frame analysis, under this framing specific techniques will be used. These are taking responsibly and blaming others for all of the misdeeds.

Taking responsibility Vs blaming others

By taking responsibility it means that the two regional government officials some times did not believe they had shares and take off their responsibility during the conflict situation. In other times they took the responsibility solely for what happened. The media systematically broadcast those news stories more than three times (see table 3). This has purposefully done as if there is a truth behind that news story for the mentioned specific ethnic group that talking individual officials were representing. But, this may not true in all stories. Due to this fact the media present the other group or the labeled group as a responsible body for the ensued problems.

Oromia broadcasting network (OBN) broadcast some of its news stories in grouping the Oromo as 'us' and the other group as 'them' by quoting the regional officials. From this category one was a story produced on October 8, 2017. It was a press conference that was given by Mr Addisu Arega, former head of Oromia communication affairs bureau. The bureau head in his

press conference stressed on disturbance of another group what he called 'enemy' for the region and their must stop their evil doings (see appendix 1).

The whole story was talking about unidentified groups that are ready to intrude or attack the region (Oromia) by disuniting the Oromo. Another issues stressed in the news is the group referred as '*other*' is not happy with new administration team that run the regional government. Those groups might be with in the regional state or outside, they were considered as enemy for the region. The story capsulate the new leadership team disowns the illegal groups from control over resource in the region. This is why the state claims that the other group is instigating a war on the region. The central theme of this *news* story is shifting the attention from taking the share of responsibility on their behalf and focused the total blaming of the *other*. Here is the extract from the story.

“ The positive change going in our region is made our enemy restless. That is why they are moving in all rounds to spasm us. Their ultimate goal is fully destabilize the region and get over resource control.”

Broad part of the news story footage shows the gathering of the displaced ethnic Oromo from Somali region and waiting for support in different camps. The footage depicted clearly numerous women and children are sitting side by side in a ways that discomfort the audience. By looking at the audio-visual footage the viewers may simply assumed that the Oromos are encircled by enemy. They may feel that no one is there to support this people.

Taking into account the Oromo and Somali friendly neighboring communities with some minor situational conflicts, it is argued that the story does not reflect the truth behind the conflict. The story was totally hide that conflict was not really happening between the two peoples. However, it was boldly stressed as if the two communities are in conflict. But, history shows as that without minor resource based conflict, the border neighbors have follows the same religion, they have the same life style and more or less lives in the same geographic locations (Selam, 2017).

One can understand that the conflict was instigated by different groups which had special interests in relation to the two regional states border areas. Different literatures related to the two regions were shown us this facts (Jeylan, 2017; Fikadu, 2011 & Catley and Iyasu 2010).

In overall discussion the story depicted whatever happened during sampled period, it was the responsibility of ‘*other*’ unidentified groups, not the regional government. And also blame the ‘*other*’ group again.

Another story was transmitted on October 21, 2017. The story that was produced from the discussion that the regional government president (former) held with scholars from Addis Ababa University on the then current affairs, specifically Oromo-Somali border related conflict issues. The story did not include the voice of discussions participants. It was produced with full speeches of the president. The story shows boldly that the president stressed it is sole responsibility of the regional government to rehabilitate the displaced ethnic Oromos (see appendix 2).

In this story the regional administration takes responsibility solely for what he calls ‘*our*’ people. The whole story focuses on how the regional government can rehabilitate its displaced. In the story, to rehabilitate the group referred to ‘*us*’, the president calls the investors and others has a responsibility to rehabilitate the community. In overall discussion this story is framed as the labeled group ‘*us*’ is special responsibility in supporting his group. And the story describes what ‘*others*’ rescind ‘*we*’ must have to restore. Here is the extract from the story.

“it’s our sole historical obligation to rehabilitate the Oromo community displaced from their land and property from Somali regional administration”.

But, this is not clearly shown us the truth again. Even though the stories stressed that to rehabilitate the displaced peoples is only the role of the region, this is not agreeable. It is argued that the two regional administrations are overseen under one federal administration and the federations have another brotherly society. While they run under one constitution and one flag, it is not the sole responsibility of Oromia regional government to rehabilitate the displaced peoples.

The Ethiopian constitution in its article 46 and 47 addresses the states of the federation and the members of federations. The Federal Democratic Republic shall comprise of States. States shall be delimited on the basis of the settlement patterns, language, identity and consent of the peoples concerned. And those nine regional states are overseen by the federal democratic republic government of Ethiopia.

The reality is that different bodies from nationwide were participated in rehabilitating the displaced Oromos (see table 8&9). At the end OBN framed the story to show ‘others’ do not care about ‘us’.

The audio-visual footage used in the news story was mostly focused on showing the displaced women and children with their stuffs in camps than the discussion participants. It is difficult to untouched in looking at such kinds of audio-visual footage. The audio-visual footage clearly transmits the message the displaced peoples were in a serious problem. The footage of the news story framed as a human interest frame.

The third was a news story that claimed Oromia Television is opening propaganda on the Somali peoples and government. It was sourced the then Somali region communication bureau head MrEdris Ismael (see appendix 3). In the story the bureau head claimed that the television station, that run by the Oromia regional government is working against the wellbeing of the Somali region.

The central theme of the news story was fully blaming the TV station in dispatching false propaganda about Somali region and its people. In looking at labeling or grouping frame the story was denying taking responsibility and stressing on blaming the mentioned region. It was stressed on the ‘destabilization’ role of the television channel. Here is the extract from the story.

“Oromia television is moving serious propaganda to destabilize and destroy the people of Ethiopian Somali and the regional government this days”.

It is argued that, even though the story is blaming the TV station, there is an authorized organization who over seen the government run stations including the regional one. So, in this this case one can claim legally to the right organization than producing story on it.

In looking at the audio-visual footage most parts of the story depicted the displaced ethnic Somalis in the temporary camps. Like that of OBN here it is also gives priority in showing for women and children.

Another additional story categorized under this framing was produced on September 16, 2017. It was sourced the former president (Abdi Mohammed Omer) and described about the saved individuals from some Oromia towns whom they were under targeted attack by the president himself (see appendix 4).

The theme of the story is all about odyssey of the Somali president. The news story put as if really the president was saved those individuals. It describes those individuals were threatened to death after the conflict between the two ethnic groups was aggravated. But unfortunately the story declares that the president ‘saved’ individuals. This was totally lionizing the president without mentioning other concrete reasons for what happened at the same time. Here is the extract from the story.

‘President Abdi Mohammed Omar said, he saved 300 ethnic Somali peoples from the targeted and planned killing in Oromia Region.’

It is arguable that, the survived individuals were come from Oromia region, which is an autonomous region. It is not acceptable and believable simply giving such kinds of credit for the president. It may be those individuals were saved due to the joint efforts of different bodies.

Most of the audio visual footage illustrated when the president was visiting the said survived peoples gathered in one specific place. The story framed as if the president have sole responsibility in saving peoples. And it is framed as it is a sole responsibility of regional president in saving those individuals. But, this must not true, at a time there was a security force including ENDF and Federal police forces involved in evacuating those in danger from the two regions of conflict areas.

In some cases, the two media works to make their regional official’s hero in that specific conflict situation. This was observed in most of the stories that was sourced individuals from the regional states administrations top positions (from the president to the bureau heads).

4.12.2. Conflict Frame

This conflict frame as Entman (1991) stated, used to show conflict between parties can be prioritized, as opposed to the actual decision made. It also focuses on the media coverage of depicting or presenting one conflicting as group defenseless and also depicting the other group as brutal. Some of the regional states administration official's speeches, press releases and press conferences were categorized under this frame. To clearly assess the latent messages of the news categorized under this frame; it is good to use '*defenseless and brutal*' catch phrases as technique.

Defenseless Vs brutal

By defenseless it means that there are conflicting groups presented in the stories that do not protect themselves and attacked by others. The brutal is used to show stories include groups who have the power to harm the others.

Since the media focuses on the government officials as source of information in covering the conflict stories, it is a fact that using the languages of regional government officials in the stories (see table 9). Under this category one identified news story was the story produced in September 14, 2017. This was also another voice of former Oromia regional communication bureau head press conference (Mr. AddisuArega) about the urgency of the support for the displaced peoples from the Somali regional state (see appendix 5).

The story entirely focused on describing about defenselessness of Oromo community who were displaced from Somali region. The story mainly addresses that the peoples were 'attacked' by different armed groups including armed groups that are accountable for the Somali regional government and further explains those defenseless peoples are under crucial condition and needs urgent support.

It was also explained about unfair works of groups who were joining the groups that targeting the Oromo people and the Oromia Regional Administration. In overall description again, mainly the latent message of the story was about defenselessness of one group (Oromo) and brutalism of another conflicting group, referring to Somali region. Here is the extract from the story.

‘Due to the recent conflict between the two groups, thousands peaceful Oromos who were residing in the Somali region are leaving their home with bare hand and waiting for support in ‘Harar’, ‘Chinaksan’, ‘Babile’ and ‘Miesso’ camps.’

In looking at the audio-visual footage, it includes enormous people lined to get the support in different camps. In addition, in this footage more than other stories sampled for framing here it show more destitute women and children as well as wounded civilians. The footage inclined to human interest frame.

It is argued that even though the story mainly focused on about defenselessness of Oromo peoples it does not reflect the mere truth. Though the peoples were exposed to attacks; they were protected by different bodies. At a time there was a national defense force on duty in protecting both people and controlling the expansion of the conflict situation. The country was also under the second state of emergency at a time (Council of Ministers, 2017). In general, the story framed in showing the people was in serious problems.

Another story was a news story transmitted in November 27, 201. This was also discuss about the trauma of destitute peoples lived in border areas. Especially in Moyale district, a border town shared by the two Regional Administrations. It was reported by speaking with the district Administration representative Mr Hassan Mallichia (see appendix 6).

The story from the beginning to the end assess about the endlessness of the conflict between the two groups in border areas. Here the story mentioned the involvements of paramilitary police in the conflict. This makes the people more defenseless to protect themselves. The theme of the story was showing the peoples were dying.

‘Our peoples are pastoralists, they have no experience of war, on one side they are attacked by drought, and on the other side the Somali Special Forces (liyu police) are killing our peoples. My fellow citizens are suffering right now.’

The audio-visual footage showed widely when the ambulance took the wounded and when the residents were in trouble. Regarding defenselessness frame technique the media transmits

clearly what they want to transmit for the audience. It is clear that every human is troubled in watching such kinds footage collected from conflict zone.

The complaint related with paramilitary police was not only mentioned by this woreda Administrator. Most of the officials from the Oromia side were attached this doings to this group. As described by (www.landinfo, 2017) the Somali regional state special police was involved in to different conflicts including minor conflicts happened in the border areas. In this case the story tries to show that the conflict was not conducted between the neighboring communities rather it was supported regional governments.

The third story that categorized under conflict framing is story broadcast in November 12, 2017. This story is like that of others it was explained about the defenselessness of the Oromo community again. In this story the problem maker is clearly identified as paramilitary police of Somali (liyu police). This was broadcast by talking with MrAddisuArega, former head of Oromia communication affairs bureau (see appendix 7).

The story entirely described that the armed Somali Special Forces were gun downing the Oromo civilians lived in border areas. The unarmed civilians were cruelly attacked by the mention armed group. Here is the extract from the story.

‘Last Friday in Borena zone ‘Areroworeda’(district) due to the attack of Somali special force 13 killed and 23 wounded in a place called ‘Horota’ and ‘MalkaHallu’’.

In looking at the audio-visual footage unlike the other story it was focused on the residents of border areas who were not addressed with any support. The footage repeatedly shows women sitting in side of half hats home.

Here again from Somali regional television (SRTV) side there was stories categorized under conflict frame, which cascaded, to defenseless and brutal technique. One story was produced on November 16, 2017 (see appendix 8). On its story the media were claimed there were armed groups killing civilians in border areas. But the group did not mention. The then Somali Region police head Mr Abdirahman labogole was sourced and announced that this armed group is fatally

attacked the civilians in Sitti zone in a place called in the two regional border areas around West hararge.

The theme of the story clearly puts that the defenseless civilians were under attack and it will soon announced who's this group and who is backing the group. In overall explanation the news story did not mention about the casualties and deaths. It simply describes there was a brutal attack in mentioned place. Here is the extract from the story.

‘In a Sitti zone, border areas between the two region, unknown armed groups are attacked civilians brutally’.

One can understand from the audio-visual footage that the most part of the news story is depicting the displaced ethnic Somalis in specific camps. The footage did not show about casualties or deaths. Rather it was focuses on displaced peoples in different camps.

The second SRTV story was about new displacement of ethnic Somalis from different parts Oromia Region. The story was broadcast on November 8, 2017. It was produced sourcing the regional government as a general source without mentioning single individual (see appendix 9).

The theme of the story described that still there is displacement of ethnic Somali from Oromia region due to the conflict. Those displaced peoples are already defenseless and coming to the region bare handed by letting everything behind. The story framed, there is another brutal group that displaced the ethnic Somali and transmits now it's time to unite. Here is the extract from the story.

‘more than 3000 ethnic Somali are displaced by losing their land and properties from different cities of Oromia region.’

The audio visual footage is mostly shown when the then regional president visit and welcomed the newly displaced Somali. It seemed the displaced are the new comers.

Access to free, fair and complete information can contribute significantly to easing tensions and can help to prevent the conflict from escalating towards violence. Rather journalists often support hatred propaganda and war journalism, which ignores balanced, independent reporting. They are part of corruption in media and do not stick to an ethical code of conduct for journalists

(ENTRI, 2011). From this, one can understand that both media were not properly executed their jobs rather than escalating the tension between the two groups.

In relation to this issue, the media were not practice peace journalism to boost the role of media in minimizing the tension. The media were spend times in propagating the conflict in the sampled period. Peace journalism is a normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict, that aims at contributing to peacemaking, peacekeeping, and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals, and audiences towards war and peace (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005.p.5 cited onAlankus, 2016).

In addition the two media were not executing their role of social responsibility. Social responsibility goes beyond "objective" reporting to "interpretive" reporting. A truthful, complete account of the news is not necessarily enough today. It is no longer enough to report the fact truthfully. It is now necessary to report the truth about the fact. Today's complex world often necessitates analysis, explanation, and interpretation (Commission, 1947).

4.12.3. Public affairs frame

Another frame that was identified in the data was public affairs frame. Under this category the story that was produced by the two media in focusing on the reporting causes, courses and consequences of the conflict briefly and also focuses on the culture of building the peaceful society and Resolution as well as reconciliation that under gone by sourcing the government officials.

This framing conducted by using two analytical techniques, those includes *clear reporting* and *resolution* technique. Clear reporting is used to explain how the framed stories clearly show the cause and consequences of the conflict and resolution is used for the description of resolving the conflict.

Clear reporting Vs resolution

From the stories broadcast by OBN, one is a story that deals with cause of the conflict. In September 13, 2017 the media did broadcast an interview given by deputy head of Oromia

governance and security bureau MrHussienFeyiso. The story mainly focuses on explaining the causer or the maker of the conflict was the Somali regional administration (see appendix 10).

In looking at theme of the story, the story talks about the conflict maker. The story did not contain clear information about who makes or create the conflict. Rather focused on illustrating the Somali region as body that needs to take piece of lands from Oromia regional state in the border areas.

In addition, the story did not clearly report about the cause and consequences rather than simply transmitting the Somali region did not want to accept the results of the referendum, which was conducted to finalize the border related problems 10 years before.

“...as the main cause of the border dispute was the 2007 referendum that left without functionalized in most of the border areas, the Somali side did not want to accept the result of that referendum partially. This is why they are declaring war on the Oromo communities residing in the border.”

The audio-visual footage shows like that of other stories, the gathering of peoples displaced due the conflict in different camps.

Finally, it is argued that, from all the stories sampled for frame analysis and broadcast by OBN and SRTV there was no stories produced, that deeply investigated the cause, course and consequence of the conflict. The stories lacks clear reporting of the incidents and no news story were found deeply investigated the incident clearly.

The media were abundantly broadcast stories that discuss about an ongoing conflict with sourcing regional government officials with omitting the cause. The reason is that, as the key informants stressed, the government official's calls press conference and address only what they want. Personal interview of informant three described as follows:

“mostly we were raise questions related to the cause, but we didn't get the right answer. In line with this some detailed stories with cause, course and consequences of the situation were jammed due to various interventions from different bodies”.

The media in Ethiopia lacks Freedom and free environment to report or cover events, especially conflict related issues (Skjerdal, 2012 & Mulatu, 2017). This leads the society trust informal information and communication channels. In countries with an ongoing violent conflict, in which access to information is limited or restricted, or where the state or partisan groups controls overall information content the society may be dependent on informal information and communication channels (ENTRI, 2011). This is followed by nothing rather than exacerbating the tension.

Regarding the resolution OBN on its behalf, broadcast the overall situation of the conflict and about the need of reconciliation between the two groups. In November 12, 2017 OBN produces news that was themed and dealt with the urgent need of resolution of the conflict and reconciliation among the two communities (see appendix 11).

In overall discussion the story did not include detailed information about the reconciliation rather it was prioritize the interest the regional state president shows for the reconciliation. Here is the extract from the news story.

‘President Lemma Megarsa announces that the regional government is ready for the reconciliation.’

Here again another noticed problem in the news story is that, it did not clearly examine the need of reconciliation. It lacks clear reporting. In looking at the audio visual footage, it shows again like other news stories gathered displaced people in the camps.

Regarding the reconciliation SRTV on its behalf covered some stories related under this category. One is a news story produced on September 17, 2017. It was the news story that describes about the prepared discussion between the two regional presidents (appendix 12).

The theme of the story is about the planned discussion about the two regional states administrations. There is no further clarification regarding the discussion.

‘President Abdi Mohammed Oumar and president Lemma Megersa will discuss in Addis Ababa about the future fate of the two regional administrations’.

Like that of other stories the audio visual footage here also shows that, peoples gathered to get aid from government in a camp.

In its social education role, unbiased coverage by the media can address many social issues of concern to the target audience, and in the process it can help to reduce tensions and build trust across society. Important information is often related to health, literacy, civil administration in general, etc. In countries with an ongoing violent conflict, in which access to information is limited or restricted, or where the state or partisan groups controls overall information content it may be helpful to identify and support informal information and communication channels in order to prepare the ground for cease-fire agreements (ENTRI, 2011).

4.12.4. Portrayal of the conflicts

In looking in to the portrayal of the conflict, the two media were portraying the conflict as a proxy conflict managed and directed by different bodies. The personal interview conducted with the key informants shows that, there is involvement of regional higher officials and other bodies. This was supported by the military personnels from national defence force and huge involvement from the regional states special police forces.

Informant six sum up as follows the the portrayal of the conflict on behalf of SRTV;

‘‘As media organization SRTV see the conflict as a war waged on ethnic Somalis through the Oromia regional states special police force and insurgent groups like that of OLF. Mostly we were covering the incidents according to this fact’’.

On the other hand personal interview conducted with informant three (OBN) is total accusation of Somali special force involvement in the border areas conflict;

‘‘ I can assure you that the conflict was conducted by Somali special force on the ethnic Oromo civilians. The two peoples can never fight a fierce fight by their initiation, it is clear there was a covered hand of officials in the conflict’’.

Eventhough the media practionioners perception looks what they talk; the broadcast stories to some extent relies what practitioners described. Some of the stories were covered as if the two ethnic groups are in a serious conflict and others blame the security personels from both sides, especially regional special force.

Close up look in to the two media

Ethical reporting of conflicts does not only question the possibility of “objectivity” of journalism, but underlines the positive role; journalists can play in order to prevent violent conflicts and to promote peaceful settlements and reconciliation. Ethical journalism also contributes to the empowerment of civil society (ENRi, 2011).

But the selected media were not focused in practicing ethical journalism. They were focused on exacerbating the conflict between the ethnic groups. They are working in grouping or labeling the conflicting groups in to ‘us-them ‘category. They were illustrated one group as brutal and the other as defenseless. They try to focus on blaming the other for what happened.

Surprisingly the two media were not gives attention for clear reporting that shows cause and consequence for the conflict in general. In addition the media were not report issues in relating to resolution and reconciliation. In conclusion, the two media were not act accordingly to stabilize the conflicting situations.

4.13. Summary

As noted in the above, this section of the study presented the quantitative as well as qualitative results of the data. Regarding the quantitative result the data discovered through quantitative content analysis was described briefly. Those are the total coverage of the conflict among the two media, the broadcast date of the stories and the types or genres the two media used to cover the conflict were presented, analyzed and discussed in this section.

Placement, repetition and duration of the conflict stories in line with bylines and sources of the conflict stories were also presented, analyzed and discussed in this part. In general, through quantitative content analysis the researcher assess the internal conflict coverage among the two mentioned media.

In addition, in this section the frame analysis some of the internal conflict stories covered by the two media were conducted thoroughly. Specifically, selected news stories produced by the two media and news sourced regional government officials are preferred for frame analysis. In overall discussion, the section briefly describes the overall trends of conflict reporting of Orimia Broadcasting Network (henceforth OBN) and Somali Regional Television (henceforth SRTV).

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Introduction

In this part of the study, the major findings and recommendations of this study is presented clearly. These include findings that are identified from the quantitative content analysis as well as findings of qualitative results, which are framing results.

5.2. Summary

As study the titled the coverage of internal Conflict between Oromia and Somali Oromia and Somali regional states on Ethiopian media; Comparative study of OBN and SRTV, is investigates how the regional states owned media covered the incident.

This study was specifically initiated to examine conflict reporting trends of the two media by employing three major research questions. These are;

- To what extent do the two media (news, news analysis and documentaries) focus on reporting the conflict of the two ethnic groups in selected time period?
- How do the two media frame stories of conflict reported during the sampled period?
- How the two media do portray the conflict (political, paramilitary police, communal) issues?

In addition, three major media theories were used. These are agenda setting, framing, and social responsibility theory were used as theoretical frameworks. It was used to answer the above-mentioned research questions, guide the methods, and helps to present the discussion and interpretation of the data clearly.

The study conducted by using both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. While quantitatively content analysis were used to analyze the stories of internal conflicts that were reported in the selected media during the sampled period, textual analysis and interviews with

media journalists were employed to gain their deeper understanding on the trends in conflict reporting in the two sampled media.

The data collected through content analysis, textual analysis, and interviews were then analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The quantitative data were presented in the form of charts and tables. Then, by using some of the core quantitative results from these data and by using supporting literature, the overall coverage of internal conflicts in the newspapers was discussed and interpreted. By using textual analysis, three frames, namely, labeling or grouping, conflict, and public affairs frames were identified and presented clearly. Additionally, the portrayal of the internal conflict was also assessed in the study.

5.3. Major Findings

This study established its bases on the coverage of stories of interethnic conflict between Oromo and Somali neighboring communities. This is evident with 109 conflict related stories broadcast in two media in the selected three months period. Oromia Broadcasting Network (henceforth OBN) paid more attention in covering an issue with 58 stories as compared to Somali Regional television (henceforth SRTV) during the same time, including news, news analysis and documentary.

- The result of quantitative content analysis shows that, the two media gives less priority in covering the situation. The media did not play its roles in informing the general public on this case.
- The two media are owned by regional governments, from the discussion one can understand, they were experiencing intervention from different bodies, especially from their immediate leaders and head of their organizations.
- Both media are gives more priority to the news genre in covering conflict situations of the sampled period. The conflict stories are good if they were reported broadly to minimize exaggeration and misrepresentation
- Regarding the placement of the stories both media were broadcast their big number of stories in the night time (shift) as a prime time to broadcast their stories. Even if this is decided according to editorial policy, the night time is preferable to get larger audience.

- The two media are repeated big number of stories from the *news* genre category. The two media repeated two times around half of their news story.
- In relation to the duration of the story the two media were almost jointly broadcast more than half 75 (68.8%) of its news stories that have had of more than three minutes.
- In looking at bylines of the story, jointly the two media were produced 87 (79.8%) stories by their own staff reporters.
- Both media were sourced government officials in more than half of their stories, rather than victims and security officials.
- The two media were covering stories by labeling or grouping conflicting groups between ‘us-them’ by referring their specific ethnic group. This creates as if one group is in danger and the other is the one who dominate.
- The media are covered the conflict between the two groups as non-storable. This was contributed to raise the tension between the two ethnic groups.
- The two media did not cover the incidents clearly by showing the cause, course and consequences of the overall conflict situation.
- Finally, the portrayals of the internal conflicts between the two regional states were more or less inclined to proxy conflict that was conducted and supported by paramilitary police force (regional).

5.4. Conclusion

The findings of the study shows that, from the coverage to the framing of the internal conflict stories, the selected media are not covered the incidents in comparison to what happened during the sampled time period. This is the overall reflection of Ethiopia broadcast media landscape (the sampled) in covering the internal conflict issues. There need to a shift of trends by giving special attention in relation to reporting internal conflict.

The results of the study also shows that how the Ethiopian media have experienced different intervention from government to immediate leaders of the media. The overall media environment in Ethiopia, especially, the sampled one has experienced different pressures and interventions including prohibiting journalist from reporting conflict and jamming the conflict stories.

Changing the recent trend is not only an option for the Ethiopia media environment. Rather it is an obligation to cop up with the world and addressing the information thirsty public with new and updated information, unless there is unprecedented flow of information that leads peoples to chaos in this information era.

5.5. Recommendations

The data gathered and analyzed regarding the coverage of internal conflict have indicated that the the sampled broadcast media have tended to make the issue of conflicts a minor agenda. This infers while conflict grabs media attention everywhere, the media, especially the sampled one have not prioritized the issues. This implies that, there is an urgent need for various stakeholders such as institutions of higher learning and others to prepare news reporters and editors on issues of conflict reporting.

To commend that, the two sampled media were experiencing intervention from different bodies, especially from their immediate leaders and head of their organizations. This is also implies that, the general public did not get updated information in relation the situation. This is denying freedom information. It is is good this challenge must be curbed and address the general public with clear and updated information, especially the conflict incidents.

Another implication of the research finding is, government officials are everything of the conflict stories. Neglecting victims and using multiple sources is doing against ethics of journalism. It implies that sourcing the victims as source is made the stories more live than government officials particularly. It is good the media identify the center of attention.

Analysis of framing of the conflict stories identified that, the media were labeling or grouping conflicting groups between ‘us-them’, propagating the conflict as non stopable, the story lacks clear reporting and did not briefly portray the conflict. In this regard the internal conflict reporting of the media implies that it lacks ethical and responsible reporting of the situation.

5.6. Future Studies

From the study it would expect to initiate many research ideas to be studied on the Ethiopian media landscape. Especially, it paved the way in relation to conflict and media issues and reporting. Future studies may focus on covering trends of internal conflict reporting by using time periods as category, choosing specific issues from the conflict, or specific media platforms.

For instance, by categorizing the media platform, it is advisable to study how the federal government-owned national broadcast media did cover these plenty conflicts throughout the country. The national media are believed they have the mandate to cover all the country irrespective of specific places. Again by categorizing the media ownership there could be future studies both the print as well broadcast media outlets.

It also seems important if the future studies will focus on the audience reception of the internal conflict stories and on assessing the impacts of conflict stories on the public. Additionally, it is good if the future studies assess why Ethiopian media focuses on government officials in reporting the conflict in general and why the government-owned media in particular.

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6. Duration

News			News analysis			Documentary		
Less than 2 min	2-3 min	3+ min	Less than 3 min	3-5 min	5-10 min	10-15 min	15-30 min	30+ min

7. Reporter (bylines) of the story

7.1. News

The media staff reporters	Communication office	News agency (local)	Dispatch			other
			Gov't	Public org.	NGO	

7.2. News analysis

The media staff reporters	Communication office	News agency (local)	Dispatch			other
			Gov't	Public org.	NGO	

7.3. Documentary

The media organization itself	Communication offices	News agency (local)	others

8. Sources of the story

8.1. News

Gov't Officials	victims	Security officials	Mixed	others

8.2. News analysis

Officials	victims	Security officials	Mixed	others

8.3. Documentary

The media organization itself	Communication offices	News agency (local)	others

9. Framing

Read (script text) and watch the full stories carefully and categorize it accordingly.

1. Labeling or grouping frame	Yes	no	partially
Categorization between 'us-them' in reporting conflict.			
Supporting 'us' & blaming 'them' in covering story.			
2. conflict frame			
Whether a story reflected disagreements between at least two peoples or groups.			
Whether a story shows at least two sides of the conflicting incident or situation.			
3. Public affairs frame			
Reporting causes and consequences of the conflict briefly in the story.			
Focus on the culture of building the peaceful society and Resolution as well as reconciliation.			

APPENDIX B

Coding sheet: Framing (guide)

Coder:

Read (script text) and watch the full stories carefully and put the number of story in provided space.

1. Labeling or grouping frame	Yes	no	partially
Categorization between 'us-them' in reporting conflict. If the story includes one ethnic group either Oromo or Somali in to one group and in to the other.			
Supporting 'us' & blaming 'them' in covering story. If the story includes one ethnic group consider as 'us' and the other in to 'them'.			
2. conflict frame			
Whether a story reflected disagreements between at least two peoples or groups. Here again if the story depict the two group as a in the continuous conflict.			
Whether a story shows at least two sides of the conflicting incident or situation. The same here it is the story assess about conflicting situation is continuous.			
3. Public affairs frame			
Reporting causes and consequences of the conflict briefly in the story. If the story includes clear descriptions of the overall situation clearly.			
Focus on the culture of building the peaceful society and Resolution as well as reconciliation. What considered here is all about the stories assess about reconciliation.			

APPENDIX C (1)

INTERVIEW GUIDE

The purpose of this in-depth interview guide is to gather data on issues of *“The coverage of internal Conflict between Oromia and Somali regional states on Ethiopian media; Comparative study of OBN and SRTV”*. The following questions are formulated and used as a guide to semi-structured in-depth interview. The information obtained from the interviewees will use only for research purpose.

Interview Guide Questions for the media practitioners (OBN).

1. What was your involvement (role) in reporting the conflict situation in mentioned time period? How do you describe it?
2. To what extent your media prioritize the conflict information in the sampled period?
3. Does it seem you give fair coverage for the situation? How and why?
4. Regarding the broadcast date, OBN produces much of its stories on the month of October. What is the reason for this?
5. The media organization gives more priority for the news genre or types of the story. Is there any reason for this?
6. Why most of your stories were broadcast in the night time shift?
7. Most of the stories produced by your organization were repeated more than three times. Is there any reason for this?
8. Most of the stories have length of more than three minutes. why?
9. You produce more than half of your stories by your staff reports. What are the implications for this?
10. Why you sourced government officials more than others, especially victims were neglected in your story. Why?
11. How your media was report the cause, course and consequence of the conflict situation?
12. How do your media portray the conflict? Like political, paramilitary involvement and communal?
13. Did you act responsibly in the coverage of conflict story at that specific time?

APPENDIX C (2)

INTERVIEW GUIDE

The purpose of this in-depth interview guide is to gather data on issues of *“The coverage of internal Conflict between Oromia and Somali regional states on Ethiopian media; Comparative study of OBN and SRTV”*. The following questions are formulated and used as a guide to semi-structured in-depth interview. The information obtained from the interviewees will use only for research purpose.

Interview Guide Questions for the media practitioners (SRTV).

1. What was your involvement (role) in reporting the conflict situation in mentioned time period? How do you describe it?
2. To what extent your media prioritize the conflict information in the sampled period?
3. Does it seem you give fair coverage for the situation? How and why?
4. Regarding the broadcast date, SRTV produces much of its stories on the month of September. What is the reason for this?
5. The media organization gives more priority for the news genre or types of the story. Is there any reason for this?
6. Why most of your stories were broadcast in the night time shift?
7. Most of the stories produced by your organization were repeated more than three times. Is there any reason for this?
8. Most of the stories have length of more than three minutes. why?
9. You produce more than half of your stories by your staff reports. What are the implications for this?
10. Why you sourced government officials more than others, especially victims were neglected in your story. Why?
11. How your media was report the cause, course and consequence of the conflict situation?
12. How do your media portray the conflict? Like political, paramilitary involvement and communal?
13. Did you act responsibly in the coverage of conflict story at that specific time?

APPENDIX D

Key Informant Interviews

Informant one - Lissanework Moges, deputy editor-in-chief (OBN)

Informant two – Shiferaw Tadele, the then newsroom coordinator and editor-in-chief (OBN)

Informant three - Mesfin Bekele, editor (OBN)

Informant four – Mohammed Ali, deputy editor (SRTV)

Informant five – Abdullahi Osman, reporter (SRTV)

Informant six – Anonymous, editor-in-chief (SRTV)

APPENDIX E

Appendix 1

[OBN 29 01 10]:- Oromiyaan akka hintasgabboofne qaamotni hojjetan maaliif akkas godhu? Galmi tarsiimawwaan isaanii maali? Falli isaa maal ta'uu qaba? Kan jedhuf hogganaan Biiroo Dhimmoota kominikeeshinii Mootummaa Naannoo Oromiyaa obboo Addisuu Araggaa akksa jedhu

Qaamotni kun Oromoo gamtaa dhabsiisuun, Oromoo jaarmiyaa fi hoggansa cimaa dhabsiisuun Oromoon bittinaa'ee fi mo'atamaa ta'ee bara baraan akka jiraatu taasisuuf hojjetaa akka jiran beekamuu qaba jedhan obboo Addisuun..

Akka Obboo Addisuun jedhanitti, Oromoon yoo nagaan fi tasgabbi qabaate dantaa isaarratti taa'ee mariyachuuf carraa argata; wal dhaggeeffata; waldhageeffachuun isaa gamtaan isaa akka cimuu taasisa.

Jeequmsa uumamu keessatti balaan ni uumama. Balaan uumamu kuni gamaa fi gamana nama dhaabuun gamtaa nama dhabsiisa. Sababni bara baraan miira bittinaa'e fi miira bo'ichaa keessa akka jiraatu isa taasisa. Bara baraan mo'atamaa isa taasisas jedhaniru..



Picture 1: Photo taken from the audio visual footage of news about Oromo unity

Appendix 2

[OBN 13 01 2010] Ummata keenya qe'ee fi qabeenya isaaniirraa buqqa'an deebisnee dhaabuun dirqama seenan nutti laate jedhan preezdaantiin bulchiinsa mootummaa naannoo Oromiyaa obbo Lammaa Magarsaan.

Namoonni buqqa'an kanneen jireenya gaarii keessaa bahanii yeroo ammaa deeggarsaaf harka keenya eegaa jirus jedhan obbo Lammaan.

Lammiilen nananoo fi biyyattii, akkasumas abbootin qabeenyaa nananichaa fi biyyattii keessa jiran marti deeggaruu akka qaban preezdaant Lammaan waamicha dhiyeessaniiru.

Preezdaantin bulchiinsa mootummaa naannoo Oromiyaa obbo Lammaa Magarsaan hayyoota Oromoo Yuunvarsiiitii Finfiinne keessa hojjetan waliin haala yeroo fi deeggarsa lammiilef taasifamaa jirurratti mari'ataniiru.

Hayyoonni Oromoo yuunvarsiiitichaa Birrii 245,500 kiisii isaanii keessa walitti baasuun lakkoofsa herreegaa deeggarsicha walitti qabuuf banametti galii taasisaniiru.

Deeggarsi lammiilee qe'ee fi qabeenya isaaniirraa buqqa'aniif taasifamaa jiru waliigalaan Birrii miiliyoona dhibba 1 fi miiliyoona 24tti siqera. Abraham Birruutu gabaase.



Picture II: Photo taken from audio visual footage of news about rehabilitation.

Appendix 3

(estvlive) 15/09/2017: TVga Oromada Borobagaando Abuurayaan Dhiigga Dad Masaakiin DDSI Ay Daadinayaan

TVga Oromada ee Afka Xukuumadda Ismaamulka Oromada ayaa borobagaando Abuurayaan kadib dhiigga dad masaakiin ee DDSI markii lagu daadiyay magaalada Awadaay.

Tvga Oromada oo borobagaando Abuurayaan Xukuumadda DDSI ayaa taaloobo sharci ah ka qaadi doonta sida ay warbaahinta DDSI u sheegeen in dalka Itoobiya sharci iyo kala dambeyn uu jiro iyagoo ixtiraamaya shuruucda dalka u yaala.



Picture III: Photo taken from audio-visual footage of news about propaganda.

Appendix 4

(estvlive) 16/09/2017: Madaxweyne Cabdi “300 Oo Ruux Xukuumadda DDSI Soo Badbaadisay”

Madaxweynaha dowlad deegaanka Ismaamulka Soomaalida Itoobiya Cabdi maxamuud Cumar, ayaa sheegay in ciidamada maamulka soo badbaadiyeen sida uu hadalka u dhigay 300 oo ruux Soomaali oo ay sida uu sheegay la damacsanaa in lagu laayo deegaanka Oromada.

Madaxweynaya ayaa sheegay in dadkan intooda badan laga soo badbaadiyay magaalada Hawaday ee dalka Itoobiya, kaddib markii halkaasi lagu dilay 42 ruux oo Soomaali ah.



Picture IIII: Photo taken from audio-visual footage of news about escaping peoples from death.

Appendix 5

OBN 06 01 10]- Bara 2009 keessa rakkoo nageenyaa daangaa irratti uumameen Oromoon 416,807 ta'an buqqa'uu isaanitiin, mootummaan gargaarsa godhamaafii akka jiru hogganaan Biiroo Dhimoota Koominikeeshinii Mootummaa Naannoo Oromiyaa obbo Addisuu Araggaa ibsan.

Rakkoo nageenyaa tibbana uumameen Oromootni kanaan dura nagaadhaan naannoo Somaalee Ityoophiyaa keessa jiraataa turan 22,000 ol ta'an, harka qullaa buqqa'anii dhufuun magaalaa Harar, Cinaaksan, Baabbilee fi Mi'eessoo keessa qubatanii jiru jedhan.

Lammiilee kanneen deeggaruuf, qindeessummaa Waajjira Preezdaantii Bulchiinsa Mootummaa Nannoo Oromiyaatin koreen dhimma kana qindeessu dhaabbateera.

Koreen kun lakkoofsota herreegaa baankii armaan gadii waan baneef, hunduu deeggarsa akka taasisu gaafateera.



Picture V: Photo taken from audio visual footage of news about supporting who were in the camps.

Appendix 6

[OBN 19 03 2010]:- "Maatiin keenya horsiise bulaadha. Muuxannoo waraanaa hin qaban. Gama tokko bonaan gama biraan ammoo waraanaan miidhamaa jiru," jedha Bakka bu'aa bulchaan aanaa Mooyyalee Obbo Hassan Mallicha.

Wal waraansi naannoolee Oromiyaafi Somaalee gidduu amma kallattii addaa kan qabate, ulfaatinni isaas kan cime fakkaata.

Godinaalee Oromiyaa naannoo Somaalee daangeessan keessaa Boorana, Baaleefi Gujiitti walitti bu'iinsi bifa haaraan eegaleera.

Magaalaan Mooyyalee wal aggaammii dhakaatii hanga dhukaasa meeshaa waraanaatti kan keessummeessitu sochiin diinagdee taasifamu qorreera.

Aanichatti walitti bu'iinsa bifa haaraan jalqaba bara 2010 eegalee hanga ammaatti itti fufeen gandoota 9 irraa namoonni 54,000 ol qe'eefi qabeenya isaaniirraa buqqa'aniiru.

Aanichatti gogiinsi bara darbe mudate namoonni 50,000 ta'an deeggarsa nyaataa hattattamaa akka barbaadan taasiseera.

Kana jechuunis uummata aanichaa 208,000 ta'u keessaa namoonni 104,000 yookin uummata waliigalaa keessaa %50 kan ta'u lubbuun jiraachuuf harka mootummaafi arjoomtota eeggataa jiru.

Humnootiin poolisii naannoolee daangaa irraa akka fagaataniifi iddoowwan walitti bu'iinsi itti jiru to'annoo raayyaa ittisa biyyaafi poolisii federaalaa jala akka turaniifi nageenyi iddoowwan kunneenii akka mirkanaa'uuf Muumichi Ministiraa Haayilamaaram Dassaalany dhiyeenya kana beeksisanis, aanaaleen Oromiyaa naannoo daangaa jiran baay'een guyyoota darbanitti wal waraansa keessummeessaa turan.



Picture VI: Photo taken from audio visual footage of news about death record.

Appendix 7

[OBN 04 03 2010]:- Jimaata darbe Godina Booranaa aanaa Areeroo araddaa Horotoofi Malkaa Halluutti lola humni addaa naannoo Somaalee baneen lubbuun lammiilee 13 kan darbe yoo ta'u, namoonni 23 ammoo madaa'usaanii, Obbo Addisuu Aragaa Ittigaafatamaan Biiroo Dhimmoota Komunikeeshinii Mootummaa Naannoo Oromiyaa feesbuukii isaaniirratti barreessaniiru.

Godinaalee Oromiyaa naannoo Somaalee daangeessan keessaa Boorana, Baaleefi Gujiitti walitti bu'iinsi bifa haaraan eegaleera.

Baay'inni madoolii sababa wal waraansaa kanaan gara hospitaalichaa dhufan guddachuusaan tajaajila fayyaa haadhooliifi daa'imman akkasumas kutaalee hawaasaa biroof kennamu miidhuusaafi oggeeyyiin fayyaallee hojicha akka nuffan taasisaa jiraachuusaa dubbatan.

walitti bu'iinsi aanicha keessatti uumamu diinagdee aanaa Mooyyalee miidhee, nyaata dabalatee omishaaleen bu'uuraa biroo haala gahaa ta'een gara aanichatti seenaa waan hin jirreef, qaala'iinsi jireenyaa uummata aanichaaf qormaata ta'uusaa himan.

Walitti bu'iinsa dhiheenya kanaatiin naannoo daangaa naannoolee lamaatti umameen, lubbuun namoota 27 darbuu, hedduun miidhamusaanii ragaa qabaachu isaanii kan dubbatan.



Picture VII: Photo taken from audio visual footage of news about suffering of peoples.

Appendix 8

(estvlive) 16/11/2017: Rag Hubeysan Oo Qof Shacab Ah Xalay Ku Dilay Degmada Sitti.

Rag hubeysan ayaa lagu warmayaa in xalay qof shacab ah ku dileen Maqaaxi ku taalla degmada Caabudwaaq ee Gobolka sitti, sida ay warbaahinta u sheegeen Goob joogayaal.

Ciidamada Ammaanka iyo Maamulka degmada Caabudwaaq oo warbaahinta qaar la hadlay ayaa waxa ay sheegeen in lagu raadjoogo kooxdii dilka u geyatay qofka shacabka ah ee aan waxba galabsan.



Picture VIII: Photo taken from audio visual footage of news about armed group attack.

Appendix 9

(estvlive) 8/11/207: 300-Oo Qoys shacab ah aeegaanka DDSI Ka soo jeeda oromada soo barakicisay.

Waxaa laga bilaabo maalinii khamiista ayhad oo ku beegnyad 15kii bishan November ilaa manta soo gaadhaya xarunta degaanka ee magalada jigjiga dad soomaali ah oo tira badan oo si hor leh ugaso barakacay deegaanka oromiya ahaan goobo kamid ah balbalayti iyo.gursuum hadaba xaafiska kahortaga iyo udiyaargarawag masiibooyinka ee DDSI ayaa sheegay in dakdan soomaalida ah ee cusub ee kaasoo barakacay deegaanka oromada ay tiradoodu gaadhayso in ka badan 300 oo qoys dadkaas oo ya xukumaadu deegaanku dajiin oogu samaysay senterkaqolaji islamarkaana loo qaybiyay raahin iyoo agab kaladuwan. Iyago dadkani kalasoo baxay deegaanki oromada ee ay daganaayeen dharkii ay xidhnaayeen oo kaali ah.

Ugu danbayn waxay barakicintan cusub kusoo beegantay xili lagu jiray hirgalinta qorshihii waanwaanta iyo nabadaynta labada shaceb ee soomaalida iyo oromada.



Picture VIII: Photo taken from audio visual footage of news about Somali displacement.

Appendix 10

[OBN 09 01 2010]:- Rakkoo oromoofi sumaa'ee gidduutti uumame jiru ammas furmaata akka argatuuf qamoolee dhimmii ilaallatu waliin hojjecha jiraachuu biirtoon bulchiinsafi nageenya oromiyaa beeksisee jira.

Rakkoon dangaa keessahuu oromiyaan naannoo somaalee ithiyooophiyaa waliin qabduu furmaata keennuuf bifa addan hojjetama turuun isaa ni yaadatama.

Hogganaa itti aanaafi abbaan adeemsa hojii walitti bu'iinsa ittisaafi hiikaa biirtoon bulchiinsafi nageenyaa oromiyaa obboo huseen fayyisoo akka ibsanittii, osoo nutii walii galtee karoora godhachuudhan rakko kana hiikuuf hojjecha jirruu motummaan naannoo somalee hojiisa duritti deebi'era.

Dhimmii daangaa kun akka hin dhabbanee qaamotni barbaadan baaay'eetu jira. Wa hedduutuu dalagama as keessattii meeshaan warana ni gurgaraa waa hedduutuu jira.

Jalqabaa kara kamiinu federala waliin ta'uun warana kana dhaabsiisiidha. Ittii aansee rakkoo kun ummata soomaleeti miti, rakkoo qaama aangorraa jiruuti.

Kanaafuu, sumaaleen qaama kana rawwaata jiruu hin beekuu jedhullee qabatamaan kan arga jirruu isa mitii. Maddaa rakkoo kana sirnaan qorachuun ammas furmaata waara argamsiisuuf hojjetamat jira jedhan.



Picture 10: Photo taken from audio visual footage of news about solving the problem.

Appendix 11

[OBN 04 03 10]:- Mootummaan naannoo Oromiyaa nagaan fi araara ni jajjabeessa, kan balleessaa uume garuu itti gaafatamuu qaba jedhan pirezdaantin mootummaa naannoo Oromiyaa obbo Lammaa Magarsaan.

Walitti bu'iinsa naannoo Somaalee fi Oromiyaa gidduutti uumameef sadarkaa biyyaatti kora araaraa qopheessuuf koreen araaraa hundaa'e pirezdaanti Lammaa Magarsaa waliin mari'ateera.

Dursaan koree kanaa Injinar Geetaahuun Huseen wal dhabdeen naannolee lameen gidduutti uumame seenaa keenya keessatti waan takkaa umamee hin beknedha jedhani, kaayyon koree isaaniis nagaan buusuu, warri qa'ee isaaniis irraa buqqa'an gara iddoo isaaniitti akka deebi'aniif haala mijjeessudha.

Rakkoon akkanaa kun lammata akka hin dhalannes fala kaa'uudha jedhan.

Koreen isaaniis naannoo Somaaleetti kora araaraa midhamtoonni, manguddoonnii fi abbootin amantaa irratti hirmaatan qopheessuf mootummaa naannoo Somaalee waliin akka marii'atee fi kora kana Oromiyaa fi sadarkaa biyyaatti magaalaa Adaamaatti qopheessuf fedhii akka qabu ibsaniiru.



Picture 11: Photo taken from audio visual footage of news about reconciliation. Picture 11: Photo taken from audio visual footage of news about reconciliation.

Appendix 12

(estvlive) 17/09/2017: DAAWO Labada Madaxweyne Oromada Iyo Somalida Ka Wadahadlay Weerarkii Shacabka DDSI Loo Geystay

Magaalada Addisababa Xarunta Dalka Itoobiya ayaa maanta waxaa kulan ku yeeshay Madaxweynaha DDSI Mudane Cabdi Maxamuud Cumar iyo Madaxweynaha dawlada deegaanka Oromada lemma megersa.

Kulanka ayaa waxaa diirada lagu saaray Weerarka Shacabka Somalida itoobiya ee ku dhaxnoolaa deegaanka Oromada ee weerarka loogu geystay ayna garayaan dhimashada ila 45-qof in kabadan



Picture 12: Photo taken from audio visual footage of news about discussion of the two regional presidents.