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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION

**Title: Assessing Meaning Construction of Social Media Discourses. In the case of
Oromia and Somali Regional States Ethnic Conflicts of 2017 and 2018.**

BY

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**Assessing Meaning Construction of Social Media Discourses. In the case of
Oromia and Somali Regional States Ethnic Conflicts of 2017 and 2018.**

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A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Journalism and Communication in
partial Fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts In
journalism and Communication.

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by **Solomon Woldie** entitled: **Title: Assessing Meaning Construction of Social Media Discourses. In the case of Oromia and Somali Regional States Ethnic Conflicts of 2017 and 2018.** And submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts Journalism and Communications complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality. Signed by the examining committee:

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List of Abbreviations/Acronyms

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

ORCB: Oromia Region Communication Bureau

SRCB: Somali Region Communication Bureau

MD: Media Discourse

ABSTRACT

This research project has explored and critically examined the effect of social media discourses for ethnic conflict in Oromia and Somali region. Qualitative approach was employed for answering the assessment questions and to attain objectives of the study. The discourses of sample news and articles of this study were critically analyzed. The study applied document and contextual analysis to analyze the discourse of the news and articles. 22 news and articles in two years period were purposefully selected. The selected news and articles were analyzed and interpreted to find out their effect on Ethnic conflict in Oromia and Somali region. Furthermore, relevant literatures were also reviewed. The selected news and articles from four facebook pages were seen critically. The word and phrase usage in the news got analyzed in this study. Extensive literature review on media and Ethnic conflict, social media and ethnic conflict with universal critical discourse theory, facilitated the structuring of the research questions, which addressed the journalistic issues in new media sector. Peace journalism, neutral reporting and journalism ethics is clearly stated in this study. In this qualitative inquiry, data were gathered through document in purposive sampling. Out of the 22 articles analyzed in this research, 8 were found to be contributing positively towards fighting ethnic conflicts while 12 were found to help escalate ethnic conflicts.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The most drastic and well known examples of hate speech communicated through the media that have brought worldwide attention to the phenomenon experienced in Rwanda and Yugoslavia were both incited by media hate speech.

Omondi (as cited Davison, 2006: 50) suggests that the ability to successfully convey the politics of hate relates to a number of factors including media control for mass mobilization “Nazi and fascist parties took advantage of press laws, urbanization and mass communication to agitate and attract followers. Likewise, Milosevich in Serbia and the Hutu extremists in Rwanda Established ultranationalist networks and controlled important media outlets.” Genocide, brutal massacres, using rape as a tool of genocide was common features and results of ethnic violence in both Rwanda and Former Yugoslavia. In both Countries the media played a negative role to escalate the conflict and served to murderers.

Communications have evolved notably since the invention of the telegraph. Today, the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) via tools such as computers, Internet and Mobile phones, brings a larger diversity of agents to the conversation in many directions such as Appreciating diversities, solving problems, sharing experiences and voicing out opinions without fear. In previous times the world media have struggled to develop effective communication channels to serve the people. In the ICTs era the custom of media has rapidly changed: new opportunities have arisen for greater freedom of expression, even though new threats are also emerging at the same time.

Peaceful and harmonious coexistence of people in the world has always been under constant threat of violent conflicts. These conflicts have led to poverty, displacement of people, abuse of human rights and death **Omondi** (as cited Luehrs, 2010). The spread of information is an ingredient in the fanning of violent conflicts in most societies. The content of information and the way through which it spreads can influence the peaceful coexistence of people. So as to disseminate information, for consumers, there must be medium lacks certainty.

As such, the medium through which the information is transmitted should be a point of focus when analyzing some of the ways through which information influences conflicts in societies.

There has been a rapid change in the contexts and mechanisms through which human beings communicate. New global cultures, new technologies and new domains of interaction have brought about a renewed realm of human communication process. The new media is said to have reinvigorated ways that are used to cause conflicts (Caldwell et al. 2009). Contemporarily, the discourse in the new media involves use of a wide array of technologies. The interaction of people on this media has thus taken a new path where the encoding, transmission and decoding of information have taken new dimensions. It is thus vital to carry out content analysis and discourse analysis in order categorizes critique and analyzes important features of new media discourse.

The new media, especially facebook is easy for people to talk freely and to write without any fear to the audience. Even, many face book pages and people who have face book account could easily, post and share contents for face bookers. And in the other way in a fraction of seconds face book users access the information, whether it has positive or negative message.

The media is a useful tool that can aid in shaping public discourse and in influencing public attitude towards some beliefs and practices. The perception of the public towards certain

communities is partly influenced by the way the media presents those (Schiffrin et al. 2008). Such perceptions can lead to ethnic conflicts.

The media has been used as a tool of inciting old ethnic conflicts in countries like Cambodia and the former states of Yugoslavia. Hughes & Pupavac (2005) documented some of the instances where media discourse has been used in pathologisation of the people who were affected by wars in Cambodia and Yugoslavia. Opposing sides in Cambodia framed the violence in the country to show their favored positions as the victims. In Yugoslavia, the Serbian press was used to depict the ethnic Serbs as the people who were under siege in Bosnia. This information misrepresented the situation in Sarajevo where the Muslims and Croats were under siege from the ethnic Serbs that lived in Bosnia. Such framing helped whip sympathy from the Serbian public and in effect enabled the Serbian government win public support. The public, especially the youths, were motivated to ensign into the Serbian military and assist their people whom the media discourse had portrayed as facing persecution (Hughes & Pupavac, 2005).

In Ethiopia the emergence of internet and the use of social media is recent and infant technology. Even though, now a day the social media especially face book is strong means of information sharing tool in the society. It is also becoming a means of conflict. As we all know the country has passed in revolution to change the dictatorship. And face book was a big battle for the struggle. And it also contributed in a negative way for ethnic conflict of different areas of the country.

The research chooses this topic because of its recentness and people and media are still discussing on the issue. Beside, the researcher had observed many discourses on face book which are very dangerous to aggravate ethnic conflict, Especially between Oromia and Somali region.

Oromia and **Somali** share 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.(Voice of America ,2017,parg.4)

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.

Jacob and Paiton (2018) reported "The Oromo and Somali conflicts began in December of 2016 following territorial disputes between Oromo and Somali communities in Ethiopia. It has been difficult to distinguish clear borders between the states as pastoral communities tend to cross borders in search for pasture for their animals"(p.7).

This has led to competition, such as for wells and grazing land, over the years, with tens of thousands of people being displaced in some conflicts. On 20 April 2017 the Oromia and Somali states of Ethiopia have signed an agreement to peacefully solve disputes. Though in September 2017, clashes erupted killing hundreds of the Oromo ethnicity and some on Somali side. The police in both regions were known to get involved and cause various atrocities. And in all border conflicts in 2018 close to one million people has displaced.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Now a days, it was found that almost 1.5 billion active users visited the social network/facebook/ on a daily basis. With more than 2 billion monthly active users, Face book is the most popular social network worldwide. In its local market in the United States, Face book accounts for over 42 percent of monthly social media visits.(the statistics portal,2018)

(Life Hacks , 2018) Face book is arguably the most powerful social media and social networking site out there. You can use Face book to connect with your family, friends, work colleagues, and you can even meet new people on Facebook. Most people who know how to use a computer and internet *have a profile on Facebook*. Moreover, it's easy to find likeminded people by seeing their interests, and you can easily connect with them using wall updates, private messages, and video chats. Bloggers and internet marketers can subscribe to popular blog fan pages and keep themselves aware of the latest updates.

As face book have its own advantage it is also playing negative role on society. Pages and information fellows on face book are sometimes playing a great role for ethnic conflict. The case in Myanmar can be best example. *(Life Hacks, 2018)*

The violence in Myanmar highlights the duality of social media in general, and Face book in particular, as a force for both good and ill. Activists and reporters use phones and social media to document atrocities, helping evade government censors. But anti-Muslim and anti-Rohingya memes and propaganda spread virulently through Facebook too, inciting violence and eroding support for the Rohingya's plight. Public-facing accounts of verified government and military leaders as well as the extremely influential accounts of nationalistic Buddhist

monks included false and inflammatory posts about the Rohingya. (New York Times, 2018, parag.3)

In Ethiopia the social media, especially face book is still emerging widely through the society. Information's posted on face book are fast and more addressed to the users and then disseminate to the society. As the social media plays a great role in Ethiopia it is now becoming a playground for conflicts. People are posting information could even aggravates ethnic conflict. They undermine a given ethnic groups by having side for one group (ethnicity) by posting unethical information on the social media (face book).

Because of these dangerous information fellows on the social media many people got in to conflict. Many died and many displaced from home.

This study will help people to be very careful when consuming information from face book. Before consuming and sharing sensitive issues like ethnicity, there should look deeply on the message of the discourses.

Especially, for oromia and somalia region who were in ethnic conflict crises will be beneficial. Because, this study will assess the facebook pages and accounts as well as the issues which try to aggravate the ethnic clash.

This study also contributes very important data's for people who will conduct a research on this field.

1.3 Objective of the Study

1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of this study is to analyze, the role that media discourse plays, through facebook , in promoting ethnic conflicts in oromia and somali region.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

- To identify the language use of those discourses regarding on the two regions Ethnic conflict.
- To investigate social media users perception towards the posts on Somali and Oromia region Ethnic conflict
- To identify words on facebook posts that attributes the Ethnic conflict between oromia and Somali region.
- To investigate the effect of facebook pages on aggravation of ethnic conflict in Somali and Oromiaregion.

1.4 Research Question

The research questions of this study are:

- Is there evidence that can be found in the social media posts use of attributive words, that promotes the Ethnic conflict?

- Given that the social media posts are involved in discussing topical issues that touch Ethnic conflict in the two regions, how do they achieve the ends of these discussions using language?
- How do the different facebook pages differ in their language use? Can these differences say anything about their differences in journalistic values, objectives and principles?

1.5 Scope of the Study

In Ethiopia there are dozens of reasons for ethnic conflict. In different regions of the country there are ethnic based clashes and aggravating them on social media. But, this study focuses on aiming how face book posts in selected/four/ face book pages reported the ethnic conflict between oromia and somali. Which occurred for the past one year?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The results to be found in this study will be useful in for different parties. The new media/online media/,will benefit in these results will be applied to set in place mechanisms that could increase the standards of social media posts or discourses that takes place in the social media platform. If they (website owners and bloggers) will understand the relationship between media discourses and ethnic (border) conflict they will be able to standardize their discourses or posts. The research findings will be useful for further research. Researchers who seek to do more studies about social media discourses and their contribution for ethnic conflict will consume it the information to do a literature review for the future studies. And also, Governmental and non governmental agencies could also take lesson from the study and help the medias (online websites and pages) how to regulate best discourses.

This study is limited, because there is no previous research on in the area of social media in Ethiopia or in the two regions oromia and somali. Widely use of online media for pages or blogging in Ethiopia is very recent. Because of this there is no specific structure or defined measurement.

Therefore, the present study is crucial for different members of the society in aware ring how to consume information's from social media. In addition to this it may:-

- ✓ Use as reference material for scholars who are interested in conducting research on social media field.
- ✓ Aware for people who are working in the social media sector, as blogger, page owner and as citizen journalist. How information's on the social media need strong ethics and commitment for humanity.
- ✓ Encourage professional blogs, citizen journalists and society members, who are consuming the social media for peaceful and togetherness.

1.7. Limitation of the Study

The main goal of this study is to examine and identify how much face book pages have played a role on conflict on oromia and somali region. As the findings of the study have its importance, it also has its own limitation.

The result of the study may not represent all boarder conflict and the role of face book pages discourses, rather it only represents only oromia and somali region. And also, the study only explains how match facebook pages which mainly reports on the two regions ethnic conflict. So, the study does not include other ethnicity cases in Ethiopia.

During a time of gathering information, some people may challenge to fill questionnaires .Even the answer for the questionnaires could be incomplete or incorrect .Getting bloggers, activists and journalists who are working in the new media could be another challenge .In

addition to this, lack of research findings and well-documented materials in relation to the topic is also another limitation.

1.8 Organization of the Study

The study is organized in the following way:

- ✓ Chapter one contains a background to the study, the research problem, research objectives and questions, significance, limitations and scope of the study.
- ✓ Chapter two contains a review of the literature on theories of critical discourse analysis.
- ✓ Chapter three describes the research methodology and design that are used in the study.
- ✓ Chapter four includes the results from the study, analysis and integration of theory with empirical data.
- ✓ Chapter five includes the conclusions from the study, a summary of the findings and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITRETURE REVIEW

2.1 Social Media

Social media refers to those digital media that are interactive, incorporate two-way communication, and involve some form of computing (Michaelsen, 2011). It also refers to on-demand access to content anytime, anywhere, on any digital device as well as interactive user feedback, creative and participative. Another aspect of social media is the real-time

generation of new unregulated content. Social media examples are twitter, Face Book, blogs, YouTube, etc.

Social media, is “a form of electronic communication and networking sites that allows users to follow and share content (text, pictures, video, etc.) *and* ideas within an online community. (Zeitsoff, 2017)

In another definition of social media (the balance small business,2018) Social media refers to websites and applications that are designed to allow people to share content quickly, efficiently, and in real-time. Many people define social media as apps on their Smartphone or tablet, but the truth is, this communication tool started with computers. This misconception stems from the fact that most social media users access their tools via apps.

Social media has revolutionary’s news dissemination and as for today, it is used to disseminate news faster than the traditional mainstream media. Twitter and Face Book have particularly stood out as the most powerful media because of their micro-blogging nature and power (Anemia, 2009).

Social media and other new media tools have been used to help hold governments accountable, bring citizens together to protest violence, coordinate relief efforts, empower citizens, provide information to reduce tensions, and build bridges of understanding across boundaries (USIP, 2011; Kelly and Souter, 2014; Oatley, 2011; Hoffmann, 2013; Welch et al, 2013; Schoemaker, 2014; Smyth and Best, 2013; Schoemaker, 2013).

In contrast this, ISIS used/is using social media to target enemies and recruit followers. Russia uses cyber warfare and misinformation. Trump used/uses Twitter as a campaign (and now governing) tool. It is no question that social media matters. The extent of the influence of social media on conflict and political struggle and the mechanisms at play still need to be captured more systematically. (Zeitsoff, 2017)

Social media and other new media tools have been used to help polarize society, thwart peace movements, promote violent agendas, and convey inaccurate information (USIP, 2011; Hoffmann, 2013; Welch et al, 2013; Schoemaker, 2013).

2.2 Media Discourse

The term 'discourse' is used in several ways within the broad field of discourse analysis (As El-Sharkaw mentioned in, Fairclough, 1993). It is defined differently in terms of two main paradigms: structural and functional. Structurally, It is a particular unit of language (above the sentence), and functionally, a particular focus, e.g., on language use (Schiffrin, 1994). Structuralists are concerned mostly with the language form, e.g. grammar, considering language as innate and individual property (Andersen, 1988), whereas functionalists are interested in language use, e.g. content. Differences in paradigms influence definitions of discourse: a definition based on the structuralist paradigm views discourse as language above the sentence (e.g., a type of structure), and a definition derived from the functionalist paradigm views discourse as language use (Shiffrin, 1994).

Media discourse is defined as the interactions that occur through a broadcast platform. O'Keeffe (2006) elaborates on this definition further. He states that this can either be written or spoken and it is oriented to a viewer, a listener or a non-present reader. In the olden times, the discourse could not give room for instantaneous responses to those who produced it. The written discourse is oriented towards readership audience while the spoken discourse is directed towards viewing or listening audience. Media discourse can neither be spontaneous or ad hoc. Media discourse is again not off the record or private.

In contrast the definition of O'Keeffe, (Michelle Phelan, 2016) defined that, Media discourse is a term that is quite difficult to define, instead, it is often easier to firstly identify what

media discourse is **not**. Media discourse is not face-to-face communication. Instead it is an ongoing process integrated into our communications. Media discourse can be defined as “the parameters within which a particular issue is publicly discussed or framed by the media”. In other words, it is the ongoing packaging of our interactions, depending on the discourse present.

Very few of us, if any are unaffected by media discourse. The importance of the media in the modern world is incontrovertible. For some sections of society, at least, the media have largely replaced older institutions (such as the Church, or trade unions) as the primary source of understanding of the world. Since discourse plays a vital role in constituting people's realities, the implications for the power and influence of media discourse are clear. Moreover, in modern democracies the media serve a vital function as a public forum. In principle, journalists are committed to democratic principles in relation to the government, hence to provision of a diversity of sources of opinion about it – a function (highly) idealized as the provision of ‘a robust, uninhibited, and wide-open marketplace of ideas, in which opposing views may meet, contend, and take each other’s measure’ (Gurevitch and Blumler 1990:269).

Other scholars have approached the topic of media discourse from different viewpoints. For example, Talbot (2007) observes that media discourse can be understood as the ways through which the media frames some issues and comes up with public discussions. In practical sense, the media is used to further some discourse as an essential function of its nature. For media to fit into its own realm, it has to disseminate information with particular binoculars or certain slants. Discourse can be understood in different ways. One of the approaches is to look at the discourse as the manner through which groups and individuals communicate. On a deeper level, discourse can be viewed as a symbol or a system of beliefs and thoughts which determine the way individuals interpret and understand the world.

2.3 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is a broad and diverse field, including a variety of approaches to the study of language, which derive from different scientific disciplines and utilize various analytical practices (Wetherell, Taylor, & Yates, 2001ab). In a broad sense, discourses are defined as *systems of meaning* that are related to the interactional and wider sociocultural context and operate regardless of the speakers' intentions. Discourse analysis examines language in use, rather than the psychological phenomena, such as attitudes, memory or emotions, which are traditionally presumed to underlie talk and be revealed through it.

In discourse analysis language is examined in terms of *construction* and *function*; that is, language is considered a means of constructing, rather than mirroring, reality. Language is also considered a form of *social action*; people use language to achieve certain interpersonal goals (e.g. attribute responsibility, refute blame etc.) in specific interactional contexts.

Discourse analysis, therefore, examines how certain issues are constructed in people's accounts and the *variability* in these accounts, and explores the *rhetorical* aspects and the functions of talk in the *context* of the ongoing interaction (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Discourses entail *subject positions*, which speakers take up when they employ language, and this has fundamental consequences both for the sense of self and experience of the speakers and for the actions they are entitled and expected to perform. Furthermore, there is a mutual relationship between discourses and *institutions*; discourses are produced and disseminated through institutional practices and they in turn legitimize and maintain these practices. Finally, discourses are wrapped up with *power*, since they make available certain versions of reality and personhood, whilst marginalizing alternative knowledge and associated practices.

Discourse analysis examines the ways in which discourses permeate talk and other kinds of texts.

Discourse analysis also involves looking at the effects of discourses on, for example, how we

experience ourselves and relate to each other. These discourses may reproduce or challenge culturally dominant ways of understanding the world, and, in turn thus reproduce or challenge dominant institutions and the particular kinds of social order (e.g. Parker, 1992).

2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

To Fairclough (1993), CDA is defined as a branch of discourse analysis, which is concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language.

In a similar vein, van Dijk (1998) argued that CDA is a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. It examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse). JafferSheyholislami (2001, p. 1) put it as simple as that "CDA aims at making transparent the connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures, connections that might be opaque to the layperson".

2.5 Social Media Critical Discourse Studies (SM-CDS)

It is not a surprise that many studies on CMC have tried to adopt and adapt research methods of Conversation Analysis and interactional sociolinguistics. Interaction in a broad sense, however, is a key aspect in Social Media Communication. Gee (2015: 1) defines interactions 'as a field which is focused on meaning making' and as such, as he claims, it is the essence of

discourse analysis. At a more specific level, communicative forms have been classified as turn-taking modes, e.g., conversations and static texts, e.g., books and films.

The argument here is that the current digital mode of practice is now turning even the latter static texts into interactive content, i.e., ultimately making them a product of ‘us’ rather than ‘I’ (2015: 7). From another angle there is an emerging literature which foregrounds discursive practice as the central focus of discourse analysis in Social Media (Jones, Chik, and Hafner 2015, Barton and Lee 2013, Norris and Jones 2005) following from the discourse-in-action approach of Scollon (2001) and Scollon and Scollon (2004).

The approach distinguishes the notion of discursive practice from a Faircloughian understanding of the term, which includes scrutiny of processes of production and consumption of discourses in terms of its genre and distribution (Fairclough 1992: 71). Practice in this approach, Jones et al. (2015: 2) argue, is seen ‘more as a matter of the concrete, situated actions people perform with particular mediational means (such as written texts, computers, mobile phones) in order to enact membership in particular social groups’. Here, the ‘basic unit of analysis is the mediated action, which is effectively the practice where the text is used’ (Barton and Lee 2013: 14). In accord with Androutsopoulos’s (2008) approach which emphasises locating the most relevant foci of data for analysis, the approach (largely used in Literacy Studies) starts from observation of practices to arrive at texts, while classic discourse analytical approaches (e.g., Herring 2004)

2.6 Ethnic Conflicts and Media Discourse

Ethnic, or interethnic, conflict refers to disputes between contending groups who identify themselves primarily on the basis of ethnic criteria and who make group claims to resources on the basis of their collective rights. Ethnic criteria may include perceptions of shared

culture, nationality, language, religion, and race. An ethnic group is a collective sharing of a belief of common ancestry, a link with a specific territory, a perception of a shared culture, and a belief in a common destiny. This belief in a common ancestry owes as much if not more to myths than to genetics. (Henderson,2010,747)

In another definition,Ethnic conflict is an armed insurrection between ethnic groups (Gülalp, 2006). Ethnic conflicts are a component of international politics. Ethnic wars are the most common forms of armed conflicts in the world. Ethnic conflicts, it should be noted, are different from civil wars. In civil wars, a single nation or a single ethnic group fights among itself. Elements of ethnic conflict theory can be used to elucidate on the definition of the term. Lewis Coser, while explaining the theory, stated that a conflict is a struggle where the aims are to gain specific objectives and simultaneously neutralize, eliminate or injure rivals (Horowitz, 2001). A conflict, in this context, entails a struggle for mutually exclusive ends or an incompatible means to achieving a goal. In the theory, prominent words like strife, collision, struggle, incompatibility and objectives are used and they are useful in understanding the concept of ethnic conflicts.

Ethnic conflicts are not new phenomena. Such conflicts have existed all over the world for centuries, but in the last 20 years, after the fall of Communism, they are in the focus of public attention due to the war in Rwanda, the events in Eastern Europe, and the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. (Tepfenhart,2013.p.84) the post-Cold War world showed signs of decline with respect to the power of states to maintain political stability. Since the two superpowers were no longer competing for sphere of influences in the world, Third World countries suffered primarily because they lost the support of their former patrons. What had once served as a stabilizing force was gone.

(Tepfenhart,2013.p.84) the resulting conflicts are violent, bringing suffering, death, destruction, and terrorism. They can escalate from local to regional areas. The casualties resulting from ethnic conflicts are often in hundreds of thousands as one ethnic group tries to eliminate another. The consequences can last generations.

2.7 Social Media and Ethnic Conflict

Social media is a capable apparatus that could be utilized to control conflict and it could likewise instigate conflict. For example, discourses that relate to hating speech as an example that promotes ethnic hatred. In some societies, ethnic hatred is caused by either tribalism, history of non-peaceful coexistence and in the case of Kenya; it is political rivalry and historical injustices (Blunn and Krieger 2009, 44). In most cases, ethnic conflicts come about as a result of nationalism and a sense of national advantage within a certain ethnic group.

The case of Kenya, Rohingya and others are some examples of ethnic conflicts caused by social media platforms. It is momentous that online platforms get to have a great deal of impact on the conflict management because war is made from all its content and for all intents and purposes on this stage. The mainstream press is therefore tasked with the test of broadcasting more accurate news with regard to such war discourses but often failed in the mandate. Media, in general, is a two-directional as a sword that could work either to advance peace or jeopardize the hope for conflict resolution (Khaende 2013, 3).

The development of intra-group ethnic communication is going to encourages hared convictions to act in certain ways since the common values and norms have been created. Also attendance to online platforms, along these ethnic lines giving one channel of facilitating collective action (Shirky 2008, 41). The higher rate of correspondence between

individual to individuals members additionally makes the transmission of messages and guidelines from disseminators through this kind of decentralized system more productive. This reflects that collective action is fundamentally subject to the mass union (Peterson 2012, 78). In sum, the spread of individual communication innovation such as social media to the overall public is replacing mainstream media (Kuran 1991, 10).

From changing conflict reporting (Aslam, 2016), to offering a new platform to those previously oppressed (Diamond, 2010; Zeitzoff, 2017), to allowing groups of people to organize in protest, to enabling remote radicalization. It has been weaponized: allowing war actors to control the narrative (Zetzoff, 2017), enabling direct communication from incumbents, insurgents, (Mesquita & Dickson, 2007; Rosendorff & Sandler, 2004 cited in Zeitzoff, 2017 and candidates for election (Tufekci & Wilson, 2012), to micro-targeting of messages, foreign meddling in elections, gaining support for conflicts (Mutz, 2006), and giving whistle blowers a platform (Panama Papers), encouraging citizen journalism, coordination for finding safety in times of conflict (Castells, 2007), and an ability to elicit an international response and expose wrongdoers as well as complicity in genocides Rwanda (Deane, 2013), legitimization of negative messaging through its publishing or tacit legitimization (Mutz, 2006; Mikkonen, 2017). ...

Although many of these topics have been discussed over and over in the western media, which makes them seem "obvious," a search in the available scholarly literature will reveal gaps that are yet to be filled. This is important because the problems and developments that we are witnessing are likely to exacerbate (Zetzoff, 2017), with the predicted increase in the number of internet and social media users and the advent of technology embedment in all

aspects of life. Due to the inherent globalization and rapidity of information flow, conflict can be provoked at every step. ...

As with regard to racism, based on a study addressing the construction and dissemination of racist discourses against Black Brazilians on social media, the mentioned Policy Brief reveals some important evidence for reflection. Among the key findings of this document, three, in particular, call for our attention: 1) upwardly-mobile Black Brazilian women, aged 20-35 years, are 81 percent of the victims of racist discourses on social media, 2) in two-thirds of the cases analyzed, the offenders had no previous relationship with the victims (either online or offline), and 3) hateful social media posts tend to keep attracting new users for the same derogatory conversation for up to three years, which can potentially increase the harm to the victim.(Discover Society,2018)

2.8 Theoretical Framework

The ways in which media discourse leads to ethnic conflicts can be studied using the theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis abbreviated as CDA (Qian, 2010). The analysis can be used for critical social research on a wide range of texts.

To Fairclough (1993), CDA is defined as a branch of discourse analysis, which is concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language as he wrote:

CDA has actually started as a new direction of discourse analysis in the mid -1980s by such works of a group of linguists, such as Fairclough, van Dijk, and Wodak. It is originated to seek the relationship between discourse and society and it was developed as a movement in 1992, at a meeting in Amsterdam with participations by the same group, which were later published as a special issue of "Discourse and Society" in 1993. The group gradually expanded and continued to meet annually from 1992 onward, and since then several

influential papers were published and two new journals started to appear from 2004: namely, *Critical Discourse Studies* and the *Journal of Language and Politics* (van Leeuwen, 2006).

the approach critical is a recognition that our social practice and our use of language are bound up with causes and effects which we may not be aware of under normal conditions. Connections between the use of language and power are often not very clear to people (Fairclough 1995). Critical discourse analysis framework covers the description of discursive practices as well as the ways that discourse is constructed referring to relations of power and ideologies.

A critical approach is also concerned with a discourses effect on social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough 1992:12). Classical Marxist theory has been a common reference point to most critical discourse analysts because the analysis of language in conflict is closely intertwined with notions of power and ideology. I am selecting this approach because news activities mirror the power behind media discourse and the position of the capitalist class and other power holders.

New concepts and fields of research, accordingly, seem to be prominent such as globalization and marketization issues, gender issues, issues of racism, media discourses, political discourses, organizational discourses or dimensions of identity research (Wodak, 2001a). The notions of "ideology", "power", hierarchy, and gender together with sociological variables were all seen as relevant for an interpretation or explanation of text and the subjects under investigation may differ according to different approaches and scholars who apply CDA.

The first principle is that CDA addresses social problems. CDA not only focuses on language and language use, but also on the linguistic characteristics of social and cultural processes. CDA follows a critical approach to social problems in its endeavors to make explicit power relationships which are frequently hidden. It aims to derive results which are of practical

relevance to the social, cultural, political and even economic contexts (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). In CDA, social cognition is the missing link between discourse and society.

CDA is a perspective that a researcher takes towards his/her subjects and therefore media discourse is rather subjective in nature. It is always argued that media is not as neutral as it claims to be or as it is supposed to be. Ideologies play a vital role in constituting attitudes and specifications of different elements of society and provide propagation of goals and interest of that very element (Van Dijk 2003, 352)

Studies have been carried out erstwhile using the CDA theoretical framework. Authors have come up with advantages of using CDA as a theoretical framework. As Omondicated ,Baker et al (2013), for example, lists several benefits of using CDA as a theoretical framework. The first advantage is that the larger amount of data studied using this framework makes the findings conclusive and more reliable than those that could be found from a handful of examples. For instance, newspapers are known to write about given topics by selecting one method and theme from a wider variety of those available. In this respect therefore, the analysts can come up with a pattern that the newspapers use to disseminate the news to people. If CDA framework is used, the analysts can also see the type of choices that are privileged. Such a study will give evidence for popular, mainstream or entrenched methods of thinking. CDA framework is also advantageous because of the presence of powerful tools like personal computers which augment the analysis of available vast amounts of data in electronic forms.

The texts for analysis are drawn from many different contexts however most critical discourse analysts focus on political texts. (Albert, et al. 2013,p.6) Critical Discourse Analysis offers a theoretical framework for the study of social issues through analysis of

discourse. Social media is a discursive system in which social issues are enacted through textual discourse.

The strategies and framework used the social media post analysis is appropriate because it helped in understanding the discourse about given subjects. It is however important to note that even though this framework was used, it did not seek to relate media discourse with violence in their respective communities. This study thus seeks to bridge the gap by using critical discourse analysis to relate discourse in social media posts to ethnic violence in oromia and somali region.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 Research Design

The researcher used in this study documentation and contextual analysis. Document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; see also Rapley, 2007). Documents contain text (words) and images that have been recorded without a researcher's intervention.

Document analysis looks at public records, biographies, private papers, photographs, artifacts, motion picture and sound recording. Qualitative context analysis is also defined as a method of analyzing documents' contents using qualitative measures of the frequency with which a particular element appears in a text. Here, the number of times that a given item is used and the number of context into which it appears are used to measure the importance of ideas and meanings in the analyzed document (Widdowson, 2008).

During context analysis, definite steps are followed. First, a researcher is expected to determine the type of data that is needed for the analysis (Jenner &Titscher, 2000).In my study, the data to be analyzed deals with the topic of ethnic conflict in Somali and or Oromiya region. The next step is to choose the population from which the data will be drawn. In this thesis the population of interests are the news that made top agenda in four facebook online websites, namely Oromia Communication Bureau, Somali region communication affairs bureau website, Rajo's facebook page and Jawar Mohamed's facebook page.Jawar Mohamed and Rajo have been reported restlessly many news on ethnic conflict between Oromia and Somali region. The context of interest in this study is how the media discourse affects ethnic conflicts. The second last step in doing context analysis is to determine the boundaries of the study. This study is limited to articles that dealt with news which generate discussions that relate to ethnic relationships in Somali and Oromiya region.

Document and content analysis has advantages and disadvantages. A researcher is able to get comprehensive and historical information. When collecting data, the researcher does not interrupt programs of other people because information is already in existence. The design is inexpensive and is useful for corroboration. The flip side of this design is that it is time consuming and a researcher is restricted to the data that already exists. Again, access to some content is limited. While analyzing some data, passages could be missing. This means that the data cannot be coded easily.

The researcher could be forced to do without the missing parts of the passage. Such analysis could give inappropriate inferences. In case a substantial amount of passages is missing in the articles to be evaluated, a researcher may be forced to stop the content analysis. This design may not provide an insight into personal thinking of the participant (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

The design is appropriate for this thesis because it will help me do an in-depth analysis of the way the discourse in the selected face book pages and websites affects ethnic conflicts in Somali and Oromia region. This method is ideal because my study is based on a critical discourse evaluation of contents in the four face book pages and websites. The advantage of using document-based data is that it is easily accessible in electronic media, print media or internet.

Document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; see also Rapley, 2007).

Documents contain text (words) and images that have been recorded without a researcher's intervention. For the purposes of this discussion, other mute or trace evidence, such as cultural artifacts, is not included. Atkinson and Coffey (1997) refer to documents as 'social facts', which are produced, shared, and used in socially organized ways (p. 47).

In discourse analysis, the researcher will aim to answer certain research questions. Given that Oromia and Somali region websites and pages on facebook are involved in discussing topical issues that touch on the ethnic dimensions in the two regions, how do they achieve the ends of these discussions using language? What does this achievement of discussing ethnic dimensions say about Oromia and Somali region websites and pages on facebook ? Given the fact that the study will deal on different websites, a comparative study will also be established. The research will also aim to answer the question: how do the new Media (Facebook) differ in their language use? Can these differences say anything about their

differences in journalistic values, objectives and principles? These questions will be answered using the analysis of the contents in the online websites sampled by the researcher.

3.2. Area of Research

3.2 .1. Sampling Design and Sample size

This study uses data from posts on websites and pages which are available online; Oromia Communication Bureau facebook page, Somali region communication affairs bureau facebook page, Jawar Mohamed's facebook page and Rajo page. The total number of new and article analyzed are twenty two (22), six from Oromia Communication Bureau, six from Somali region communication affairs bureau website, Five from Jawar Mohamed's facebook page and 5 from Rajo's facebook page. This study uses purposive sampling to gather data. Purpose sampling involves looking out for the groups, individuals and settings where the variables to be studied are most likely to occur. The advantage of this sampling method is that the study subjects are always available and accessible. The study samples are drawn from features, hard news and opinion pieces that discuss topical issues that deal with ethnic conflicts in Oromia and Somali region. The words of interest to this research includes "ethnic", "conflicts", "ethnic violence", "land and ethnicity", "ethnic politics" and "ethnicity".

Time boundaries are used in this study. This study purposes to focus on the publications made between 2017 and 2018. This time has been selected because it encompasses the period when Oromia and Somali region underwent border dispute and Because of the conflict more

than million people have been displaced. The year 2018 was a time of new Prime minister for the country. And the suspects for the border (Ethnic) conflict were under a court... This period will therefore be enough to generate the much needed information about media discourse and ethnic violence in the country.

3.2.2. Data collection, procedures and rules

The researcher tried to collect data from four Organizational and individual facebook pages namely Somali region communication affairs Bureau facebook page , Oromia Communication Bureau facebook page, Jawar Mohamed's facebook page and Rajo's facebook page Based on this , socially already produced documents are at hand and the message is done at the starting stage. The researcher then organized the document with respect, the identity of the writers (organization, individuals and pages), who decides what to be written, the time it is written and the frame that is used for the text is to be presented to the consumers. After organizing the text, a direct analysis of the text is done in order to understand its meaning. This study tries to keep any information and data that unnecessary for this research. And try to protect the writer's dignity.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. DATA ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION AND PRESENTATION

This chapter present the results and analysis of the study carried out. The aim of this study was to find the ways through which Facebook page discourse of news and articles in Oromia and Somali leads to situations that may propagate or escalate ethnic conflicts. The first objective of writing this research was to carry out an investigation of the issues concerning on ethnic conflicts in Oromia and Somali region. One of the aspects that I analyzed is the ways through which media discourse can lead to ethnic conflicts in the two regions. The study

intended to analyze how issues related to ethnicity were conceptualized by four facebook pages and their contributors between 2017 and 2018.

I was specifically focuses on obtaining data from 2017 because , during this time when ethnic related violence suddenly broke out in the two regions following as the border conflict and the two communication Bureaus and well known websites was blamed for taking sides. In 2018, therewas also violence in the two regions. In this year the government conducted domestic reforms to prevent recurrence of violence. Many discussions have been hailed on social media Violence on ethnicity and the solution could be made.

The researcher used in this study documentation and contextual analysis. Document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; see also Rapley, 2007). Documents contain text (words) and images that have been recorded without a researcher's intervention.

Qualitative context analysis is also defined as a method of analyzing documents' contents using qualitative measures of the frequency with which a particular element appears in a text. Here, the number of times that a given item is used and the number of context into which it appears are used to measure the importance of ideas and meanings in the analyzed document (Widdowson, 2008).

4.1 Somali Region Communication Affairs Bureau Facebook Page

4.1.1 Neutral Representation of Reporting

Peace journalism was included the news items and features posted in the website. A good case for this is news publish by the bureau titled “the border conflict between Oromia and Somali ethnic doesn’t represent the will of people and government of those regions”. This news narrates that the ethnic conflict in the border cities of Oromia and Somali is Because of few who have hidden interest. And it also explains there is no any interest of government officials. This article is neutral in its approach because it mostly highlights on the negative effects of conflicts without necessarily pointing a finger at a particular community as the aggressor. And also it discourages generalizing the conflict as whole supported act of the people and the regional governments For example, in the following statement; a tone of neutrality is identified;

1. *“The Oromia regional state president and Somali regional state president Lema Megersa and Abedi Mohamed said on press releases that, the conflict which happened in the two regions border never represent the government or the people. They called it evil act of few people and they will work hard to stop that”.*(September 17,2017)

In this phrase, it is seen that the authors tries to show the conflict is not ethnic based. By mentioning a phrase “**never represents**”. This implies that there are other groups who were working behind to make unrest between Oromo and Somali ethnicity. It can be concluded that this phrase seeks to bring out the negative effect of accepting the existence of mass ethnic conflict between Oromo and Somali region. This can be understood as an attempt to negatively reinforce good neighborliness among different communities that live side by side.

The other case of neutral reporting and peace journalism is identified in an article which reports about displaced people from Oromia and Somali region. The article tries to cover issues on people who were displaced because of the outrage of the conflict in the border of the two regions. The writer doesn't mention who displaced the people and how much damage was happened. Rather it only narrates where they from displaced (the place) and the humanitarian assistance given to them. One point to note is that the article avoids mentioning the names of the tribes involved in the conflicts. And the crisis happened during the conflict as long as the displacement. This is another case of political correctness where the author carefully avoids the advocate to rest blame on one side and victimize the other side.

The following phrase partly demonstrates that the author is not interested in creating baize of the aggressor and the aggrieved.

2. *"Theethio- Somali people living in camps that were **displaced from Oromiaregion** have accessed full ration from the Somali regional state"*

thisnews does not indicate the specific roles played by each ethnic community in the conflicts.the writer tried to calm the conflict by menentioning positive attitudes towards the readers.the news tried to sustain satabilityby showing how the officials are working to bring peace for the society.the researcher found that this new is paralel with peace journalism.

Another news which deals with the idea of peace deal between oromia and Somali region official with the mediation of the federalgovernmen.the news which was published in January 29,2018 titled "A discussion has heled on displaced people from both Oromia and Somali side in Addis Ababa.peace journalism and neuteral reporting is founinthe news which was published inSomali region communication Affairs bureaufacbook page.

3.*"Both Somali and Oromia region presidents and other higher official have*

Participated in the peace discussion. The discussion bolded that on rehabilitating the displaced people from both regions. The two regions have agreed to end the conflict of the people".

4.1.1. Victimizing one Side

Reports about clashes involving some of the ethnic identities do not look equal in terms of revealing the identities of the victims. News revealed in 2017 on Somali region communication affair Website gives the true identity of the victims. This news, revealed that the ethnic cleansing have been made on Somali ethnic people by Qero, Milishas, Jawar and other bodies in Aweday. The mentioned names are in other way implied as Oromo Ethnic. In the following statement,

*4. "In the border of Oromia and Somali region Aweday city 50 Somali Ethnicity people have been killed. The murder was historically never registered. The people were killed with cutting their limbs and burned. The **government officials, militants and individuals in the Oromo ethnicity** have participated."*

It is boldly seen that the writer reports the Oromo's as the attacker's and the Somali's as the ones on the suffering end. Specially namely mentioned people and groups are categorized as Oromo ethnic. This is in contrast with peace journalism which would have avoided drawing distinction between the two Ethnicity.

As this report is published in the same website, and it is in contrast with the previous report on the same issue, it can be said that the website does not use its news reporting to peace journalism. It could be at the sensibleness of the reporters (officials behind the reporters) to decide the best ways of delivering the message to the readers. However, it is also worthy to mention that unidentified reporter has not put in his own voice while reporting the clashes. Unidentified reporter thus does not intervene in the news to give his opinion or even to explain further the sources of these clashes.

4.1.2 Sensationalizing

Other posted news in the Somali region communication affair website have been found to use the posting space to announce ideologies that can lead to ethnic conflicts. Some pieces of news necessarily lead to ethnic conflict by having one side. Using words which could the reader make sensational. For example a news which talks about “the human crisis in the ethnic clash “clearly states that the killing that happened on Somali ethnic people never been in the history of Ethiopia. The writer states,

5. *"Different religious father in the funeral said we would like to express our deep sadness for our innocent people **mass murdered** by the order of the **Oromia officials and police forces**".*

It is clearly seen that the writer reports the conflict that having one side and using very sensitive words. The writer related the mass murder with Oromia officials and police forces. The words like mass murder, ordered attack, and Oromia officials could lead for more ethnic clashes and humanitarian crisis. So the sentence first tried to convince the readers to accept as an ideology of government supported attack. Then explained how much ethnic cleansing has happened on Somali people.

In another article also the writer sensationalized the ethnic conflict which happened between Oromia and Somali ethnicities in border areas. The writer in the article titled "the press release from the Somali regional state “explained the inhumanity that happened in Somali ethnicities by Oromo people. For example, in the following statement; a tone of sensationalism is identified;

6. *"More than 50 Ethiopian-Somali people have been killed in a way never been happened in Ethiopia. After they killed their body was cut and burned".*

The statement aggravates the situation by showing how much the murder was inhuman. It also used phrases like never happened and cute and burned. This type of language usage leads the readers to be sensationalized.

4.2.Rajo's Face book page

4.2.1. Peace Journalism

An article which deals issues of ethnicity in the two Oromia and Somali region was written by nick name, Rajotitled, "peace and love always win". In the article, the author expresses of the how the historical norms and cultures are becoming eroded in the two people's life from the governing dictator politician's come to power. He describes what he understood from some government officials are doing conspiracy to lead in to conflict the Oromo and Somali ethnicities. Here, he puts blame on negative ethnicity, which he thinks has led to many problems in the country. Undermining of the people, according to the author, leads to ethnic dictatorship. This is a formula for ethnic conflicts. In some of his statements, he states,

7."In governmental level it is been working to undermine the two peoples culture and Norms. This long standing culture, heritage and norms were undermined to outrage Ethnic based conflict between the Oromo and Somali people".

As such, he considers undermining ethnicity or negative ethnicity to be a source of hate and discrimination and wishes that it be dealt away with. This article is clearly against ethnicity and is takes an approach that can be used to eradicate ethnic conflicts in the in the two regions. The title of the article in itself stands for humanity and the writer's opposition to ethnicity in the two regions. The author makes emotional appeal to his readers, in his first argument he narrates the long stand norms and cultures of the Oromo and Somali people equivalently. And he also tells his readers how humanity and togetherness mattered than other things.

He also asks to their reasoning by digging holes into the logic that most of the criminals of negative ethnicity use to meet their end gains.

The appeal to emotion is also brought about by the use of examples of the problems that negative ethnicity can cause. Although in the very first incidence the author discusses ethnic conflicts, he dwells on other negative effects of ethnicity. He uses words that have an image of fear and terror to describe what negative ethnicity might cause. For example,

8. *"The undermining propaganda by the officials on Oromo and Somali ethnic is creating Fire for genocide. This type of creating heater will lead to war, and mass killing. Ignoring the Propaganda The people should stand together".*

This is a brief example of discourse that is used to fight ethnic conflicts in the Oromia and Somali region as long as in Ethiopia. Many viewers of the website could identify with his carefully expressed article and may spread this message to others.

4.2.2. Sensationalizing and anger creation

Other posted news in Rajo's website has been found to use the blogging space to announce ideologies that can lead to ethnic conflicts. Some pieces of news necessarily lead to ethnic conflict by having one side. The content of the news have carried a tone of emotionality. The author used words which could the reader make sensational. News which talks about the Somali regional state's president's plan on murdering the Oromo ethnic can be an example. The news which is written in May 30, 2018 was titled "abidee lie to announce war on Oromo people". The writer states,

9 *"Abdiele yesterday gives an order for the regional military forces who were deployed in legahidaweredas to kill Oromo ethnic people by changing their*

*appearance like the local people... Nothing was done when **1 million Orom's were fled** from their home, so who is going to stop him".*

It is clearly seen that the writer reports the conflict that having one side and using very sensitive words. The writer related the current prediction of murder with the previous murder and mass migration of the Oromo people to convince the readers. He wrote victimizing one side of the conflict. The words like 1 million migrants from Oromo by itself could create anger on the same ethnic people. And also leads for another conflict and attack. The tone of phrases like gives an order for killing are sensitive and could aggravate the ongoing conflict.

Another Case of Sensationalizing is identified in an article written by Rajo in May 23, 2018 titled "Ongoing alert". In this news, the author explains how bloody killings will happen between the Garri and Jaarso. The argument mentioned for this conflict is because of AbdiEle (the president of Somali region). The writer used words and phrases which can lead the readers to ethnic conflict. As the researcher founded the results the author created pictures of bloodshed and belongingness. This also leads the readers for a conflict.

The following statement shows the sensationalization act,

10. *"It is to be recalled that Rajo warned that AbdiIley is working on a **bloody conflict** Between the Garri and Jaarso clans in Tulli Gulled wereda Jigjiga zone. We also reported That Iley was telling the Garri clan the **Jaarso's are oromo** should leave the town."*

It is clearly seen that the writer reports the conflict a very scary way. The author used words which can create terror in the mind of the readers. The other message which is mentioned about Jarso's argues how an ethnic conflict and mass murder could occur. It tries to convince the readers the Jarso's who are living in Jigjiga are identified as Oromo and then they will be

killed. These types of discourse may lead the readers to protect themselves or to attack before they attacked. So, the researcher found that the author sensationalized the audience.

4.2.3. Victimizing one side

Reports about clashes involving some of the ethnic identities do not look equal in terms of revealing the identities of the victims. News revealed in May 2018 on Rajas blogging timeline gives the true identity of the victims. This news about a conflict between Somalis and Oromo's gives the true identity of the victims. The news is about the conflict between the Gari and Jarso in Jigjiga. The writer first mentioned that it been thought to the Gari clans (Somalis) Jarso are Oromos. Then they should leave the area. The author stated victimizing only the Jarso's in the following statement.

11. "We also reported that Abdille was telling the Gari clan that Jarso are Oromos and should leave the town".

It is clearly seen that the writer reports the Gari clans are the aggressors and the Jarso's as the ones on the suffering end. This is in contradiction with peace journalism which would have avoided drawing distinction between the fighters.

Given that this report is published in the same newspaper, and it is in contrast with the previous report on the same issue, it can be said that the website does not constantly relate its news reporting to peace journalism. It could be at the discretion of the journalist to decide the best ways of delivering the message to the readers.

4.3.Jawar Mohamed's facebook page

4.3.1.Peace journalism

In discourse analysis of Jawar Mohamed's facebookpage, it was however found out that not all of the news and articles tried to blame on certain bodies. A good example for this is news on the Oromia and Somali ethnic in the border of moyale.The writer tries to alert the government officials before bloodshed happen. The author used words and phrases what consequence will occur on the people and the city. His report doesn't side for one tribe. The following statement shows the neutrality of the approach by the analyst in the website;

12."The Oromia and Somali regional states as well as the federal government are not doing Enough to stop the **bloodshed** in moyale.Federal forces supposed to take over the Town, force out warring and militia and create buffer zone. Yet they are watching idly as the city is being **burned down** daily".

The message of the article could help to fight ethnic conflict in the two regions. It is well articulated news for both Government officials and the society. It terrorizes using words like **bloodshed** and **burned down** to stop the ethnic conflict.

4.3.2. Victimizing one Side

The news about conflicts concerning some of the ethnic identities does not look equal in announcing the identities of the victims and the aggressors. In news about clashes between the Somali and Oromo ethnic in 2018 gives the true identity of the victims and the attackers. In this new with the title "update Moyale" , the writer clearly mentioned that forces armed by forces armed by the Somali region thrown a grenade on the crowd on moyale.Here Somali region indirectly represents the Somali ethnic the victims in moyale are Oromo's. Here is the statement,

13. "the number of people killed in moyale has increased to 3. Over 50 people have been injured. The grenade was thrown on crowded bus station. The Oromia regional Government security administration has officially accused of "forces armed by Somali region of thrown the grenade".

The writer states that the Somali's are the one who is the aggressing and the Oromo's are the victims. These types of discourse strongly stand against peace journalism which would have destroyed putting distinction between the conflicts. The writer also convicts the Somali without full evidence of the attack.

As this report is published in the same website, and it is in contrast with the previous report on the same issue, it can be said that the website does not use its news reporting to peace journalism. It could be at the sensibleness of the reporters (officials behind the reporters) to decide the best ways of delivering the message to the readers. However, it is also worthy to mention that Jawar has not put in his own voice while reporting the clashes. The reporter thus does not intervene in the news to give his opinion or even to explain further the sources of these clashes.

Another story which is written in September 2017 by Jawar deals on ethnic clashes in different areas of Somali region (Jigjiga, Charti, Wuchale and others) clearly verified the victims of the conflict. The writer mentioned that victims are from Oromo ethnic. This news talks about how the head of Somali region and other groups purposely ordered to attack the Oromo ethnic people in different areas. Let's see the how the statement taken from the new discoursed below,

14. We now have names of 113 Oroms who were reported to have been killed in guidance Jigjiga, Charti, Wuchale and other town in Somali region under direct order of Abdilleh and the Tigrean general.

The author clearly wrote in the news that 113 Oromo ethnic people were killed by the Somali region president's order. In places that are mentioned by the writer an ethnic conflict between Oromo and Somali people was happened. Though, the author only told for the viewer's one side of the conflicts victims. This is strongly against journalism ethics and peace journalism principles.

In the same month at the end of September 2017 the writer also posted news which talks about the ethnic conflict between Oromo and Somali people and the quensquences because of the aggravation. The news story only talks about one side victims who were in camps. The writer used clear words and phrases that could victimize one ethnicity and the other aggravator. The following sentence,

*15. Over 10,000 Oromos who were displaced from Wuchale town and **confined** at the Military camp for the last two weeks have been finally **freed** and arriving in Oromia at this moment.*

The writer in this sentence reported the arrival of Oromo ethnic people who were in unsecured condition in the caps in Somali. He also victimizes only one face of the conflict. the author used words and phrases in his discourse. This words and phrases in the sentence **finally freed** and **confined** may mislead lead the viewers of the news. So, this news is against journalism ethics and peace journalism in the same time. This is also strongly against the principle of activism.

4.3.3. Creation of tension

In September 2017 Jawar has published news that could create tension between people of different ethnicity. These new talks about the Somali Liyu police is mishandling and committing crimes on Oromo ethnic people in Wuchale. The writer tries to convey message how the Oromo ethnic people are suffering in the camps. Here is the discourse in the following sentence,

16 “we are receiving alarming report from wuchale that Liyu police have come to the Federal military camp and several Oromos with declared intent to kill them. Over 10,000 Oromos remain stranded in the camp.

Here the writer published the information without giving enough evidence to the audiences. This type of information should be more acquired and evidence based. But the author wrote the news without mentioning any source. So the writers tried to explain a very sensitive issue only in his Perspective and emotion. This may create tension and frustration on the readers of the news. These types of reporting could lead for more tension and more conflict.

4.4. Oromia Communication Bureau facebook page

4.4.1. Peace journalism and Neutral reporting

Peace journalism was found to be part of the news items and features posted in Oromia Communication Bureau face bookpage. The first good case is an article written by Oromia communication Bureau in September, 2017 titled “message for Somali region”. This article narrate show Somali region ignored the long friendly of the two people in released press release which talks about ethnic conflicts between Oromia and Somali people. This counter article criticized victimizing and aggravating of the Somali region communication.

This article is neutral in its approach because its majority contents talks about two ethnics without criminalizing a particular community as the aggressor. For example, in the following statement, a sense of neutrality is identified;

17. "TheEthio Somali and the Oromo people are brothers. They have the same Culture, living style and also linked with marriage and blood relationship. The insecurities are not came from the two people rather there are groups behind this aggravation. We will fight these evils together"

In this statmentthewriter(the article)tries to creat peace and stability by mentioning history and brotheness of the Oromo and Somali people. It can be concluded that the article pointed the aggravation on unidentified groups who seek to unrest the two people for the sake of political profit. This can be classified as an attempt to calm tension and create peace among different communities that live side by side.

Another case of neutral reporting and peace journalism is identified in a news posted by OromiaCommunication Bureau with unidentified writer, titled, "Discussion on peace". In this news, the writer describesthe cause of conflicts between the Oromos and Somalis is not from the people rather from their leaders.theathuor based his analysis on the discussion of the elits of the two region.the writer doesnot want to to talk about the aggravation as long as the aggrieved the aggrasor.th news explains how rules and regulations(the costitution) based nigotiation is iportant for both peoples peace.

18. " the two region university elits have discussed in Addis Ababa on border issues of Oromia and Somali region.It was said that there are many historical similarities rather than their differences.it is recomended that based on rules finding important solution is the key which make them one.becaouse the reason for uncertainty are government officials in both side "

This news does not indicate the specific roles played by each ethnic community in the conflict.

the finding is the news tried to create togetherness peace between the two people. It also helped to the audience to think in peace and negotiation by balancing issues of ethnicity and border conflict. Even showing how political interference is affecting the brotherhood of the two people.

Besides news and articles, Oromia Communication Bureau Facebook page reports field events that involve ethnic clashes. An example is the piece of news, titled, "In the border of Oromia and Somali innocent people are killed". The news reported about clashes in living areas of Oromo and Somali ethnicity. From the analysis, it is found that the writer discusses about the clashes but does not come up with a contradiction of the right versus wrong ethnic. The statement below assures to this analysis:

19. "Groups attacked and killed innocents In the border of Somali and Oromia in different places called Meyumulukewereda, Mojoweldeyakebele and Rogena Egiba. The government announces its deep sadness with the death of both ethnic people".

In this statement, it is evident that the author does not mention the ethnic which suffered the deaths. The writer avoids creating a situation where the reader might identify the victims and the aggressors.

4.4.2. Victimizing one Side

Reports about conflicts involving some of the ethnic identities do not look equal in terms of revealing the identities of the victims. The news about border clashes between Somali and the Oromo in 2018 reveals the true identity of the victims. In this news, with the lead "In dembidolo and the surrounding many of our citizens' life has lost", the writer fully biased and sided the Oromos were killed in the clashes. It is clearer that houses of the Pokomos were torched by pastoralists. The following statement,

20. *“In dembidolo and the serounding many of our citicizens life has lost and **our brothers** were bleeding.theOromia regional state was working with the participation of the society to bring peace,but the probelem still existed as OromiaCommunication Bureau headsaid”.*(Sep 28 2018)

It is obviously seen that the writer reports having side only the Oromos are suffering in the conflict.Evenby using words like **our brothers**.The words by themselves could affect the readers and will misslead. This is in contradiction with peace journalism.

Given that this report is published in the same facebook page, and it is in contrast with the previous report on the same issue, it can be said that the website does not consider confine its news reporting to peace journalism. It could be at the will of the journalist and the heads of the bearueto decide the best ways of delivering the message to the readers.

4.4.3. Sensationalizing

Another story which was published onOromiacommunication Bureau face book page,triedto aggravate tention in Somali region by criminilizing Somali region officials.the news which was published on september 23,2018talks about the release of 49 people who wre detained by Somali region forces.the news did not used any reliable sources for the conviction.the news by it self is vegue .it mentioned that bussines men and civil survantpeoplefromwre released from detention becaouse of the helep of Somali people.lets see the following statement,

21, *“49 Somali region resident people who were detained illegally by the regional government and prisoned in Chiretiwre released with the help of **Somali people**. Thenthey moved to **Bale Sere wereda**.those people were civil survant and merchants”.*

the writer tried to tell for the audience that,Somali region goverment is attacking Oromo ethnic people who were residents in theregion.the people were helep by the Somali people

and moved to a place which is located in Oromia region **Bale Sere wereda**. then the researcher concluded that the writer's message can create anger and sensitiveness. this is against peace journalism.

In addition to this another news in September 15, 2018 posted on Oromia communication Bureau Facebook page, also tried to aggravate the tensions in society. the news content is about the frustration of people in Oromia Borena because of Somali region liyu police. the writer asserts how how the people in Borena are repeatedly tensioned and still the act is continued. the following sentence,

22. *“Borena zone residents have said Somali region Special Forces are continuously creating tension in the area”.*

here the writer only used information from one side of the aggravation. the suspected Somali region did not say anything in the news. This news simply did not fulfill even the minimum requirement of news writing. the writer simply tried to convince the audience that people are suffering because of Somali region special forces. The researcher concluded that the writer reflected over all political differences of the two regions rather than the situation which is happening right there. There is political ideology which couldn't solve the situation it rather create anger for people who view the news.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1. Summary

This research sought to find out the ways through which facebook pages discourse can lead to ethnic conflicts in Oromia and Somali region. In this study , four well known facebook page(websits) were analyzed. I selected facebook pages which were actively working on the two regions conflict. Then collected and identified news and articles that dwelt on issues and topics of ethnic conflicts and relationships. Somali region communication affair facebook page,Rajo’s Face book page,Jawar Mohamed’s facebook page and Oromia Communication Bureau facebook page wre the new Media that I analyzed. Table 5.1 contains a summary of the findings of the study. Critical discourse analysis was used as the theoretical framework to evaluate the content of the media. Presented in this section is the summary of the findings from the analysis.

Websites	Articles Analyzed	Positive Contribution to Escalation of Conflicts	Negative Contribution to Escalation of Conflicts
Somali region communication affair	6	3	3

facebook page			
Rajo's Face book page	5	2	3
Jawar Mohamed's facebook page	5	4	1
Oromia Communication Bureau facebook page	6	3	3
Total	22	8	12

Out of the 22 articles analyzed in this research, 8 were found to be contribute positively towards fighting ethnic conflicts while 12 were found to help escalate ethnic conflicts. Jawar Mohamed's facebookpage is the highest website in publishing news which could escalate ethnic conflict.

5.1.1 Somali region communication affair facebook page

From the analysis of the content published in the Somali region communication affair facebook page, this study found out that the facebook page had both negative and positive discourses on ethnic relations in Oromia and Somali region. Whereas some of the discourses were try to promote peace and good neighborliness among the people, others were escalate ethnic hatred among communities. In this research, six news and artcils were analyzed. Out of the six articles, one article content were like fire for more escalation of conflicts. Whereas two of the articles were discussing live events,which were concerned in ethnic conflict of Somali and Oromia in the border areas.the two news were victimizing one side.the two articles blame on a specific society creating mess in the human life lost and disaste happened

on Somali Ethnic people. Having this all facts these news and articles are published going the hierarchy of the website.

In Somali region communication affair facebook page three news and articles were totally talking on the togetherness and peaceful negotiation of the two people. They tried to convince the audience or viewers the conflict which happened between Oromo and Somali people were the fabrication of some people who have another hidden agenda. They also came with the idea of creating stability on people by showing the well beingness of people in camps because of the conflicts.

5.1.2 Rajo's Face bookcv page

The analysis of Rajo's Face book page shows that the facebook page had both negative and positive discourses on ethnic issues in Oromia and Somali region. Whereas some of the discourses were try to promote peace and good neighborliness among the people, others were escalate ethnic hatred among Somali and Oromo people. In this study, five news and articles were analyzed. Out of the five articles, the three were concerned in live Ethnic conflicts and contained a tone of sensational contents to the viewers of the page. Even most contents of the news included the real identity of the victims. In the other side they also clearly mentioned the identity of the aggressor. They also victimized one side of the conflict in revealing only one part of the victims. These news even worked as predictor of the conflicts. They revealed information in the news how much conflict and mese will happen to a specific ethnic. This also created frustration in the viewers of the news.

In Rajo's Face book page two news were concerned on creation of awareness how historically Oromo and Somali people are bonded and lived together. They mentioned the two people should not go to conflict because, there are false propaganda of people to create mese. The study saw the news have brought a tone of togetherness and peace.

5.1.3 Jawar Mohamed's facebook page

In this facebook page, five articles were analyzed. All of the news were written by Jawar Mohamed himself. The analysis of the content of the news shows that the website in majority seeks to have side and aggravate the conflicts which were happening in Oreomianad Somali region most border areas. Out of the five news , four news were identified to be biased and directed towards victimization of one part of ethnicity.

In these news, the writer used an approach of sensationalizing in reporting the conflicts between Oromia and Somali region. In these news the author clearly reveals the identity of the people and the number of dead people in the conflict. And also revealed the fled people from home only one side. In general the news had the tone of victimizing one side and creating anger in hte the victims side.

The other one news were found to have a tone of togetherness and negotioation. It tried to cover on issues that government officials should stop the ongoing conflict in Oromia Somali region. This news partially tried to call peace and stability in the two regions people.

5.2. Oromia Communication Bureau facebook page

In this facebook page, six articles were analyzed. All new published in this website did not mention the writer of the news. The analysis of the content of the news shows that half of them seeks to have side and have of them tried to positively contribute for the relationship of Oromo and Somali people. Out of the six news , three news were identified to be biased and directed towards victimization of one part of ethnicity. In these news, were identified victimizing one side and sensetionalizing conflicts which happened in the ethnics.

The other three news were found to have a tone of togetherness and peace. They tried to resolve the tensions between Oromia and Somali region. They also covered issues that could

indicate how the two people historically are brothers and sisters. The news also asserted Oromos and Somali people should live like one family, because they have been bonded with marriage and other social interactions.

5.2.1 Conclusion

From the analysis of the four Facebook pages, this research has found out that they contribute to ethnic conflicts both in a negative and positive manner. Somali region communication affair Facebook page, had both negative and positive discourses on ethnic relations in Oromia and Somali region. It can therefore be concluded that Somali region communication affair Facebook page, both positively and negatively contributes to escalation of ethnic conflicts in Oromia and Somali regions.

The discourse used in Rajo's Facebook page affected the readers negatively. The Facebook page mostly wrote news and articles that are meant to engage the readers about the disadvantages of ethnic conflicts and ethnicity. Even though the Facebook page adopts neutrality, some bias has been seen in reporting about ethnic conflicts existing in the society, use of divisive language in the articles is marginal. This study thus concludes that Rajo's Facebook page negatively influences escalation of ethnic conflicts in Somali and Oromia region.

Jawar Mohamed's Facebook page, the analysis of the content of the news shows that the website in majority seeks to have side and aggravate the conflicts which were happening in Oromia and Somali region most border areas. The website has more attributive words as seen through the clear bolding of words and phrases, when discussing issues that touch on ethnic identities. The writers mostly revealed the aggravators and the victims.

Oromia Communication Bureau Facebook page, had both negative and positive discourses on ethnic relations in Oromia and Somali region. It can therefore be concluded that Somali

region communication affair facebook page, both positively and negatively contributes to escalation of ethnic conflicts in in Oromia and Somali regions. The analysis of the discourses of the news shows that half of them seeks to have side and have of them tried positively contribute for the relationship of Oromo and Somali people.

The results of this research confirmed that media discourse plays an important role in minimizing conflict and promoting peace or in aggravating and expanding conflicts. It has also been assured that the ways through which facebook pages present their news, views and opinions about events involving different communities can influence the attitudes, perceptions, thoughts and opinion of the public about their neighbors thus could lead people into conflict. Similarly, media discourse can be used to foster harmonious relationships between communities.

5.3 Recommendations

Even though this study has analyzed the contributions of facebook pages (facebook discourses) to ethnic conflicts Somali and Oromia region, it has not come up with the end conclusion about the topic and the subjects. Improvement can be done in this area of study, to come up with more elaborate and comprehensive results. One approach that can be used to achieve such results is through carrying out of an in-depth analysis of every new media channels. Further studies should carry out the users of facebook pages and the owners of website owners. Especially it is strongly recommended to investigate why regional state communication office websites did not mention the writers of the news. Legal rules and regulations are very crucial for facebook page owners who have large number of followers. Future studies should also seek to assess the role of nw media not only in specific regions rather in wide range of the country.

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