

**Critical Discourse Analysis on Ethiopian Media Coverage of
Anti-ISIS Demonstration Held in Addis Ababa**

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ABSTRACT

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News reports are considered as the reflection of truth and reality. People all over the globe watch news reports to get information and to make valuable decisions that affect their lives. Language as a communication tool in news reports are naturally thought to be neutral, fair and independently textured. In line with this concept, in democracies, one cannot isolate the role and responsibility of media to make the society aware and well informed for what affects their lives. Media are expected to deliver this by upholding journalistic ethics of being unbiased, free, independent and neutral. Considering this notion, this study is mainly conducted to examine how the Ethiopian media covered the mass demonstration held against ISIS in Addis Ababa on the 22nd of April 2014. This is done by identifying the discourses of selected media organizations to mark their ideological tendency and how social actors were discursively represented in the news reports. The study is a qualitative research that mainly employed Fairclough's critical discourse analysis/ tripartite model as both theory and method. And, in order to strengthen the analysis as part of its theoretical frameworks, Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar is also used as analytic tool. To this end, the study reveals that, languages in the news reports are never ideologically free. They are branded by the institutional values and their respective ideologies explicitly and implicitly in protagonist-antagonist settings. It seems that the state owned media do serve the state's ideological interest explicitly by being sided and articulating biased report of the event as revealed in their media composition. Whereas, privately owned media are attempting to insight their readers' the other side or two sides of the event which can be referred as being against the news values of state owned media (in case of *Addis Admass*) and by being critical (in case of *Reporter*) to the event that make the mass demonstration to be held in the first place, as well as what was cited as the problem (illegal immigration) behind the event that triggered the mass protest.

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List of Acronyms

AZ	Addis Zemen
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Critical Linguistics
CNN	Cable News Network
DA	Discourse Analysis
EBA	Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority
EBC	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
ENA	Ethiopian News Agency
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ERTA	Ethiopian Radio and Television Authority
IS	Islamic State
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
MDA	Mediated Discourse Analysis
MR	Members Resources'
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar

Chapter One

1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the topic of the research, establishes the background of the study and statement of the problem. And then, states research objectives, research questions, significance and limitation of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

Journalism is considered to be service to society. Journalism is the reflection of truth, and is considered to be the source of revelation of hidden secrets. As Danny (2000), it encompasses different analytical and critical spectrums which are incorporated by the journalists in their contributions. The purpose of the sole exercise is neither glamour nor popularity, but rather it is a service which has the sole ambition of revealing truth to the viewers and readers. (As cited in Temesgen, 2013) Also, practitioners should be independent in reporting whether state or private media retain independence from those they cover, and attempts to see things from all possible perspectives (Kovach & Rosenstein, 2003), (Ibid:11).

The well-known news values that embody the professional beliefs and attitudes of newsmakers about the newsworthiness of events are practical. These news values are derived from the complex interplay of the social representations already mentioned—culture, ethnic or gender group, nationality, political ideology, dominant goals—together with the information that more specifically defines the communication model—readers, deadlines, and actual goals. It follows that the representation and reproduction of news events by journalists is not a direct or passive operation but rather a socially and ideologically controlled set of constructive strategies (Van Dijk, 1988).

Media are powerful communication platforms through constructing images of communities that are different from them. This may go to the extent of changing individuals and groups opinions. The media is by no means insulated from politics. International and regional media coverage of a particular story is not innocent of politics (Farid, Syed.et.al., 2005).

Furthermore, the representation of an event underlie within texts are whether manifested or covertly stated. As quoted in (Brain, 2006) Hyland (2005b: 4) observes ‘acts of meaning making (and in turn discourse), are always engaged in that they realize the interests, the positions, the perspective and the values of those who enact them’. As Rogers (2004:6) view, discourses ‘are always socially, politically, racially, religiously and economically loaded’.

In the Ethiopian context, as Getachew (2003) asserted, one can say that in all cases the media have, in fact been in different government hand’s whether broadcast or press. The information has been top down. In other words, as far as Ethiopian broadcasting corporation (EBC), is an official state media, it could be seen as a media for which decision are made by a few people in authority.

April 2015 was grieve month, for it was then that Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) has slaughtered 30 Ethiopian citizens in Libya. The story was initially reported from international news cables, such as CNN, BBC, EURO NEWS and PRESS TV to the world. Such phenomenon has been usual to be presented in news reports. This is because, ISIS was slaughtering peoples from different countries; victims was from Iran, Syria, USA, and Libya and some other countries. The first victims from Ethiopia was said to be illegal migrants.

EBC and different presses have reported this story consequently for more than a week. The main elements of these news reports was, confronting the actions of ISIS, condolences from officials

for victims' families, contamination of ISIS, anti-terrorism, and extremist (ISIS). The government then called for a demonstration in Addis Ababa on April, 22, specifically to protest against ISIS and its cruel actions against Ethiopian citizens. This was significant event of the time, so was its reporting also in different Ethiopian media. Taking this in mind, this study is going to conduct a critical discourse analysis of some purposively selected media (broadcast and print) in Ethiopia. The particular reason is that media discourse can be a resourceful vehicle to examine ideological interest of the respective institutions.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The media in Ethiopia, consequently, may have gone through the political twists and turns. Generally, it would be possible to say that the media in Ethiopia is the by-product of national and international politics (Negussie, 2014). In this case, the event which this study examined can be regarded as political report for it has a global feature and entwined with international as well as local politics. The print media, on the other hand, to a certain extent, has been owned by the private, but unsatisfying. Most of the newspapers have been weekly and political in nature and in turn offer challenges to the development of media and politics in Ethiopia. (ibid)

Historically, the former ERTA, under the Ethiopia Radio and Television or the now Ethiopian Broadcasting (EBC) is under the control of the last three governments from its initial inception in 1964 (Getachew, 2003; Meseret, 2013). This historical content even has its own implications on various dimensions whether political, social and economic. The media landscape in Ethiopia was also been criticized for serving those in power or as a propaganda machine. Therefore, media discourses so do have their own texture, ideology, meaning and values and worth to unveil the preventing fact and the Ethiopian media practice has. This is because as Fairclough and Wodak

(1997), that social and political issue are constructed and reflected in discourse. Discourse both reflect and reproduce social relations as well as ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse. According to van Dijk (1988:248), unless readers have different knowledge and beliefs, they will generally adopt these subjective media definitions of what is important information about an event. Although, media have been criticized for their bias, selectivity or partial representation and many other professional journalistic practices that journalism discipline endowed.

Thus to the knowledge of the researcher as there are no academic research, done in Ethiopia which critically analyzed the discourses presented in news reports in EBC and selected newspapers, and their implications in this particular event. Thus, this study attempted to find out how different media cover the anti-ISIS demonstration held in Addis Ababa.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to critically analyze news reports from EBC and some selected newspapers (private & state) on Anti-ISIS demonstration held in Addis Ababa on April 22, 2015. The specific objectives of the study are:

- To identify discourses of news reports on Anti –ISIS demonstration held in Addis Ababa.
- To find out ideological standpoints/tendencies of news reports on the demonstration.
- To examine how different social agents are discursively represented in news reports.

1.4 Research Questions

This study attempted to answer the following questions:

- What are the discourses of EBC's and newspapers (private and state) news reports on Anti-ISIS demonstration?
- What are the ideological tendencies of the news reports?
- How different social agents are represented discursively in these news reports?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Nowadays, people can get news from different kinds of media. Any forms of report cannot be value-free and unbiased information, which is not always the case though. Consequently, it is essential to analyze news reports through critical discourse analysis. Regardless of the conflict that followed the call for demonstration, no study has tried to approach critically the discourses of media news reports on Anti-ISIS demonstration held in Addis Ababa. And possibly, the study becomes the first of its kind in Ethiopia that applies CDA as both theory and methodology to investigate the same political event reported in different media institutions. Since discourses, whether emerged from institutional or personal, are relatively mirror to what they stand (ideological interest) for.

The researcher believes that the study significantly provide media institutions and practitioners a new outlook for addressing the audience when reporting conflicts and controversies with professional and ethical considerations of an event being reported. And, to consider more on the media role on democracy, bearing notions of social responsibility and to look in to the broader context of an event behind reality or what implications do events have to be considered rather

than reporting only who said what to whom kind of story. Furthermore, as this is the first study, it will serve as both indicative and reference of what such studies have to focus on in the future.

1.6 Scope of the Study

There are private and government owned media institutions operating in Ethiopia and globally that gave time and space to report on the demonstration against ISIS held in the capital. However, due to limited source of data and time that limit to offer fully rounded view point on the issue, this study only examined media discourses relevant to the issue in Ethiopian media: state owned national television broadcast from Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation, Addis Zemen newspaper (which is also state owned), and Addis Admass and Reporter private owned newspapers).

The reason behind selecting these media institutions was because of their relative wide coverage and circulation rate and being the very first media institution's for even streaming the event live globally. As there was no private owned news broadcasting television in Ethiopia till date, the study could not incorporate private broadcasting media. Thus, in the narrowest sense, critically analyzing the discourses of these selected media would be worthy and diverse as to hit the objective of the study, but being limited to these media for critical stance.

1.7 Limitation of the study

To lack of enough time and data, the study is limited to some selected media discourses that is purposively selected. However, the findings of the study could not be regarded as fully representative of the Ethiopian media landscape.

This respective study focused only on an event or is event oriented, leaving other issues that are relevant in analyzing the discourses critically since the event has a global feature, and future researchers may undertake research beyond or take it to a global level. This means, as the issue is important as to be looked from other direction, one can take perspective, but the present study is confined to the Ethiopian media.

More importantly, the study would have suffered from the nature of CDA as criticized for its subjective nature. Nevertheless, the researcher tried his best not to approach the texts subjectively.

1.8 Organization of the Study

The study is organized into five chapters. The first chapter discusses the background of the study including problem statement, research objective, and research questions, significance of the study, its scopes and limitation of the study. Chapter two focuses on reviewing of related literature including the theoretical frameworks underpin the study. In chapter three, features of methodological and analytic techniques of the study have been discussed. Chapter four is devoted to discussing the findings of the study through a critical analysis of the media discourses using different methods in line with the research questions and related literatures discussed. In the final chapter (Chapter five), summary and conclusion of the study are discussed.

Chapter Two

2. Literature Review

This chapter focuses on review of related literatures, which give the presentation a pinpoint for the overall study under investigation. It discusses background, basic tenets, principles and cornerstone of CDA and discursive practices and news-making and recent research findings in the Ethiopian media. It also provides the underpinning theoretical frame work of the study.

2.1 Recent Research Findings

CDA is an academic discipline which has different approaches that provide it different systems to conduct a study, but on the sum up it is an approach which is problem oriented and interdisciplinary toward social phenomena. Thus, it lays its investigation on institutions. These institutions could be media, public services, governmental or non-governmental and so on. The common ground of CDA; moreover lies on societal inequalities, access to discourse, racism, power, marginalization and political issues enacted in public institutions which societal issues benefit the participants during communication in valuable decision making whereas affects others in undetermined way.

CDA focuses on political bias, for instance; Mellanen (2012), study called "It's Barack Obama Who's Soft" Political Bias on BBC, CNN, and Fox News: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Websites, have tried to address political biases underlie within texts on these websites. The purpose of this study is to uncover hidden agenda or ideologies in language and in other way round to implicate the results found about what they have on the view of the news as well as the view of these websites. The theoretical foundation of this thesis is largely based on Fairclough's

three-dimensional theory; Halliday's systemic functional-grammar (SFG) analytic tools such as lexical classification, thematic structure, and referential identity chain analysis are employed. Based on these theoretical methods, the study tried to reveals CNN veers left and Fox News to the right of the political continuum. Moreover, the analysis revealed hidden agendas in the online reporting of these three websites.

Ghannam's (2011) thesis entitled 'Newspaper Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of an Event Published in Six Lebanese Newspapers' could be another example. This research focuses on analyzing ideologies registered in language use within six different Lebanese political news papers, published in three different languages (English, Arabic and French) in terms of ideologies behind texts as to what extent limits the freedom of expression of the news papers under investigation that report the same event. The theoretical framework of this research lies on; majorly on Fairclough's CDA, and Halliday, Fowler, Nordlund, Thompson, and Reah. The analysis adhere Fairclough's approach to discourse in order to define the relationship between language use and ideology.

Summarizing the findings of Ghannam's research, the analysis shows that some of the news papers do not encourage the existence of free press in Lebanon whereas some does. These six news papers in different languages represent the same event employing different methods that reveal their ideological favor such as; over-lexicalization, omission, sequence of quotations and headlines also plays a potent role in each news papers that are selected to enhance the intention to articulate around certain feeling in the reader.

Recent local studies with focus of CDA that could be mentioned is Yirgalem's (2014), work on media presupposition in reinforcing ideology which made its case on Hamlin Fistula Ethiopia. The aim of this study is to uncover how a particular kind of institution is reinforcing its ideology

through journalist's fair or unfair presupposition of information/knowledge, which is done by using Hamlin Fistula Ethiopia as its case. The study focuses on a set of media discourses in relation with the role and contribution of the hospital in curing obstetric fistula patients. He has used triangulation method in sampling, which is broadcast and print. He has used two documentary programs from EBC, other documentary from international media organization called 'Angel Entertainment' and two articles from two newspapers, 'The Ethiopian Herald' from local and "TsehaiNY" which is foreign. He employs critical discourse analysis as the main methodological tool and van Dijk's socio-cognitive theory, presupposition and relevance theory, and theory of privacy as the theoretical frameworks.

Yirgalem's analysis reveals there is a consciously or unconsciously unfair presupposition of journalists as well as probably fair kinds of presupposition too. The foreign based article and documentary presents more blackish side of shameful scare of obstetric fistula patients to the world and the locals were somehow presupposed fairly information by journalists and no ideological message was communicated.

This comparatively entails the foreign base media outputs attempts to presuppose, to some extent the image of Ethiopia and fistula patients in frightening shame. Whereas, local based media outputs seem fair and ideology free report. Here, one can argue that the foreign based media outputs are more interested in coloring the problem (life of fistula patients) and reporting the issue with more negative assertions. While, local media outputs are attempt to be social responsible and mediating the problem through educational reporting.

For paving the way towards my respective study, it's better to see the works discussed above in regard to the differences and similarities with method and theoretical frameworks. Initially, this study addresses coverage of same event on news reports and it's event-oriented. As of Mellanen

(2012), focuses on political bias, Ghannam (2011), CDA of newspaper ideology and Yirgalem's (2014), the representation of minorities. Three of them can be taken as international issues with respect to data source. For better distinguishing with this study, it worth good to look at their methods and theoretical frameworks employed in the studies.

Mellanen use Fairclough's (1992), Three-dimensional model and Halliday's (1995) SFG theoretical frameworks of CDA. Ghannam use Fairclough's critical approach to discourse analysis and other scholars discussed earlier and Yirgalem's method was CDA as a domain and Van Dijk's socio cognitive method, which are likely for their analysis.

These studies approved that, CDA is eclectic academic discipline in a way that it shares different spectrums from other disciplines. Though, it is common to observe CDA using a combination of models. The present study uses Fairclough's (1992), Three-dimensional model as a major, Halliday's (2014) SFG analytic tools such as lexicalization, theme and rheme analysis and reporting speeches and quotations likewise that of Ghannam on the same event but differ in focus.

2.2 Defining Discourse

Discourse can be defined as a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world) in relation to our experience and stand point. The term discourse has been used differently within different critical discourse analysts. This is because of their stance in diverse academic discipline. As the present study focuses on CDA, illustrating different views of critical discourse analysts would be of useful.

Fairclough (1989), views discourse as three dimensional. That is 'discourse-as-text, discourse-as-discursive-practice, and discourse as socio-cultural practice.' Thus discourse is the while process

of social interaction which is mediated through written, spoken or visual pieces in an instance of discursive social practice.

Wodak and Meyer (2001:66) explain discourse as “a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as ‘texts’, that belong to specific semiotic types that is genres.” They also stress that the most important notion of the definition of ‘discourse’ is macro-topic, like ‘Terrorism’. Interdiscursivity can be observed when, for example, a national security argument (taken from the discourse on illegal economic migrants) is used while arguing for other policies to combat terrorism acts. Each macro-topic (Terrorism) allows for many micro-topics: ‘Terrorism’ thus covers micro-topics like, ‘foreign policy’, ‘unemployment’, ‘social welfare’, ‘political freedom’, ‘entrepreneurship’ and many more. They then argued “discourses are open and hybrid and not closed systems at all; new sub-topics can be created, and intertextuality and interdiscursivity allow for new fields of action. Discourses are realized in both genres and texts.”

Van Dijk (1998a:193-4), also put a significant definition to the concept of discourse for more socially oriented discourse analysis studies. He views discourse as a specific communicative event, also complex which involves a number of social actors, typically in speaker (writer and hearer) reader roles (but also in other roles, such as observer and over hearer), taking part in a communicative act, in a specific setting (time ,place and circumstances) and based on other context features.

The most salient focus of van Dijk (1998a:192) in conception of discourse is in relation with ideology. That is the special status of discourse in the reproduction of ideologies. The vital point to understand the special relevance of discourse and ideology could be illustrated as follows;

Discourse, language use and communication do play a special role in such processes of reproduction, but ideologies are also being expressed and reproduced by social and semiotic practices other than those of text and talk. Also, discourse has a special status in the reproduction of ideologies. Unlike most other social practices, and in a more explicit way than most other semiotic codes (such as photos, pictures, images, signs, paintings, movies, gestures, dance and so on), various properties of text and talk allow social members to actually express or formulate abstract ideological beliefs, or any other opinion related to such ideologies. (P: 191)

In other words, discourse can be regarded as a means that allows the society around the perspective subjects or ideas to confront, legitimate, explain, impose and argue to one another during communication interaction. Thus, what van Dijk calls ‘ideological socialization’ takes prominent place through discourse by interactional confrontations which members of other groups, people are similarly able to discursively explain, defend or legitimate their ideologies which can change or confirm the social belief. That is, discourse is a part of society and so are the socially shared ideas of group members and in turn “...ideologies consist of socially shared beliefs that are associated with the characteristic properties of a group, such as their identity, their position in society, their interests and aims, their relations to other groups, their reproduction, and their natural environment (2000:10-2),

The very reason for defining ideology provisionally in terms of socially shared basic beliefs of groups is that, ideologies are not personal and one does not speak personal opinions rather it consists shared attitudes and beliefs within the community. Moreover, they are about important and valuable social and political issues that are of relevant for a group or society and its existence and dignity. Additionally, as Hyland (2005b: 4) quoted in Brain (2006): “observes, acts of meaning making (and in turn discourse), are always engaged in that they realize the interests, the positions, the perspectives and the values of those who enact them.

Generally, coming to this study, focuses on discourse in the context of media and event-oriented communicative act. Though, for the proposition of the study, it would be appropriate to adopt van Dijk's (1998a:193-4) concept of discourse that is 'discourse' as a specific communicative event, also complex which involves a number of social actors, typically in speaker (writer and hearer) reader roles (but also in other roles, such as observer and over hearer), taking part in a communicative act, in a specific setting (time ,place and circumstances) and based on other context features.

2.3 CDA, Media and Media Discourse

Modern mass media dominate (or influence) everyday communication. Media have become a primary means by which most people experience or learn about many aspects of the world around them as well as far from them. Even when peoples don't learn about these things directly from media, they learn about them from other people who get their ideas of the world from media (Baran and Davis, 2012:211). In another word, media have direct or indirect interaction with humans in different circumstances to an extent that structure and shape everyday life.

Media and media discourses have received critiques from CDA itself and other diverse academic disciplines within socially committed frameworks. Among these disciplines, journalism and communication, political science, critical linguistics, sociology, psychology and many more from critical or non critical paradigms are mainly observed. The critiques are mainly concerned with ideology, communication strategies, effect, impact (cognitive or behavioral) on audience, culture (cultural imperialism), ethics and professionalism, power, social class interests, media institutional structure and role, globalization, ownership and news values are the least critiques against mass media.

For instance, Herman and Chomsky (1988), in their book “Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media”, offers analytical framework called *a propaganda model* in which explores the relationship between corporate power, ideology and institutional structure, powerful social elites, media approach to news as well as domination in relation to performance of the U.S media.

In this model, five factors or ownership and control, (dominant media firms have common interest and interlocked relationship with other major corporations, banks, government), advertising (depending on other major funding sources, notably advertisers), information sourcing (symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interests), flak (to provide experts to confirm the official slant on the news in order to fix the basic principles and ideologies that are taken for granted by the media personnel and the elite), and anti-communism (combating the ideology of communism which is seen as ultimate evil threatening the very roots of their class positions and superior status and against American’s will to democracy) are introduced as filters through which information must pass in order to be considered news and serve as primary definers of the news collectively.

Reah (2002) argued that news discourses play a crucial role in changing and even shaping people’s points of view and opinions about the events, the people and the world around them. In newspapers, the events are not usually (re)presented as they are in reality, but are represented in a way that the newspapers intend them to be. Through this, one single reality may be represented differently in different newspapers with different attitudes and ideologies. Thus, the words are played with and different linguistic devices are used to influence the reader’s view of the events, quoted in Ahmadian (2014:2114).

In other words, news is value-laden in which representation, reflection, opinions, ideological standpoints, selectivity or priority, framing and many more other elements are (re)presented in texts, speech acts or visuals to recipients lies on the interest of those who enact it. Van Dijk (1988) argues that events usually become known through the already coded and interpreted discourses of others, most prominently through the dispatches of news agencies. Moreover, many of the discourse genres we just mentioned are themselves often news events (p: 97).

The undeniable power of the media has inspired many critical studies in many disciplines: linguistics, semiotics, pragmatics, and discourse studies (van Dijk, 2001:359). As Wodak and Meyer (2001), particularly the language of the mass media is scrutinized as a site of power, of struggle and also as a site where language is apparently transparent. Media institutions often purport to be neutral in that they provide space for public discourse, that they reflect states of affairs disinterestedly, and that they give the perceptions and arguments of the newsmakers (p:6). Accordingly, CDA takes critical linguistic approach at large to discursive unit of texts as the basic units of communication in institutions, for example media discourse. Thus, media is valuable and complex system structure to which CDA could be applied.

Media discourse is one of the research focuses in critical discourse analysis, among them racism, politics, inequality, gender, social power abuse, dominance and others could be mentioned. Media discourse can be referred as how an overall reality is represented and realized in different media platforms. But, in the narrowest sense, this study focuses on discourses enacted in both broadcast and print.

Additionally, O’Keeffe (2011:441) refer media discourse as the interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer. He stress that media discourse is a public, manufactured,

on-record, form of interaction. In order to understand these basic characteristics, obvious as these basic characteristics may sound, they are crucial to the investigation, description and understanding of media discourse.

Media discourse for Fairclough (1989:49) is a discourse in contemporary society that actually involves participants who are separated in place and time. The product of the media takes on some of the nature of commodity between producers and consumers. For better understanding of media discourse Fairclough extract differences between face-to-face discourse and media discourse: media discourse is one-sided and designed for mass audience, whereas, face-to-face discourse is linear and designed for particulars. Thus, media discourse is interesting because the nature of the power relations enacted in it is often not clear, and there are reasons for seeing it as involving hidden relations of power.

In this case, one important thing to consider is media discourse in not only the language of the media alone, but also to the context of communication and inculcation as well. “The struggle between communication and inculcation that is most salient. Inculcation can be thought of as motivated by a wish to re-create the universality and 'naturalness' of communication under conditions of class domination and division. It attempts to naturalize partial and interested practices to facilitate the exercise and maintenance of power. Broadly speaking, inculcation is the mechanism of power-holders who wish to preserve their power, while communication is the mechanism of emancipation and the struggle against domination.” (Ibid: 75)

2.4 What is Critical Discourse Analysis?

Critical discourse analysis has now contemporarily bound itself as a discipline within the humanities and social sciences, and the abbreviation “CDA” is widely used to denote an approach to language study manifested across a range of different disciplines. The roots of CDA

lie in Classical Rhetoric, Text linguistic and Sociolinguistics, as well as in Applied Linguistic and Pragmatics (Wodak and Meyer, 2001; Fairclough, 2003; Wodak, 2006).

Wodak and Meyer (2001:2) views: The term CDA is used nowadays to refer more specifically to the critical linguistic approach of scholars who and the larger discursive unit of text to be the basic unit of communication. Accordingly, Within a CDA framework, analysts of discourse starts with the assumption that 'language use is always social' and analysis of language occur above the unit of a sentence or clause. In this view, discourse both reflects and constructs the social world and is referred to as constitutive, dialectical, and dialogic. Thus, discourse is never just a product but a set of consumptive, productive, distributive and reproductive processes that is in relation to the social world (Rogers, 2004:5).

Chomsky, 1957: The 1970s saw the emergence of a form of discourse and text analysis that recognized the role of language in structuring power relations in society. At that time, much linguistic research elsewhere was focused on formal aspects of language which constituted the linguistic competence of speakers and which could theoretically be isolated from specific instances of language use (quoted in Wodak and Meyer, 2001). And, CDA as a network of scholars emerged in the early 1990s, following a small symposium in Amsterdam, in January 1991. Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak were among the scholars (P: 4-5).

CDA is a contemporary approach to the study of language and discourse in social institutions. As it's concerned with institutional discourse, such institutions could be social resources in a manner that resources are controlled by these institutions. Institutions like media, gender, ethnic, policy, trade, etc. Though, this study focuses on media institutions.

Many definitions have been set out to define CDA. One may come across varied definitions and are observable due different critical discourse analysts define CDA from their perspective academic discipline. For instance, van Dijk (2001), explicitly from sociopolitical stance “Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.” (P: 354)

In the same vein, Fairclough (1995a:32), defines CDA as “discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.”

On the sum up, CDA deals primarily with the discourse dimensions and discursive sources of power abuse, injustice, bias, inequality, dominance and demystify to make the connections of these aspects transparent for social enlightenment and emancipation by studying and analyzing visual, written or oral texts in relation with their context in critical and scientific stance. Wodak (2006:4) stress that, in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power CDA emphasizes on the need for interdisciplinary work or assemble diverse disciplinary resources (theories, methods).

In a different way, one may ask CDA as an academic discipline, is it a theory or method? For this misconception or which raise a question whether CDA is a method or a theory in its scientific application on the subject under investigation within its approaches, different scholars have tried to explain this misconception. As Wodak and Meyer (2001), argued, “CDA must not be understood as a single method but rather as an approach, which constitutes itself at different levels - and at each level a number of selections have to be made. Firstly, at a programmatic level, a selection is made of (a) the phenomena under observation, (b) some explanation of the theoretical assumptions, and (c) the methods used to link theory and observation. Within this triangle, the methodical aspect often becomes the distinguishing feature, because research is regularly legitimized as scientific by means of intelligible methods.” (P: 14-5).

Van Dijk (2001:352) also offers similar view: CDA is not so much a direction, school, or specialization next to the many other "approaches" in discourse studies. Rather, it aims to offer a different "mode" or "perspective" of theorizing, analysis, and application throughout the whole field. Furthermore, Fairclough (2012:452) added, Critical discourse analysis subsumes a variety of approaches towards the social analysis of discourse which differ in theory, methodology, and the type of research issues to which they tend to give prominence.

On the sum up, (Wodak, 2006:2) offers a precise outlook for the misconception between theory and methodology,

It is necessary to stress that CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory. Neither is one specific methodology characteristics of research in CDA. Quite to the contrary; studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical background, oriented towards different data and methodologies. ...I myself would suggest using the notion of “school” for CDA, or of a program, which many researchers find useful and to which they can relate.

In addition, for the term being ‘critical’ Wodak (1999:12) states that: Critical doesn’t mean detecting only the negative sides of social interactions and processes and painting a black and white of picture of societies. Quite to the contrary: critical means distinguishing complexity and denying easy, dichotomous explanations. It means making contradictions transparent. Moreover, critical means self-reflection while doing research and focusing on relevant social problems (As quoted in Yirgalem, 2014:20).

Different scholars have tried to offer credible approach of CDA. For instance Brain (2006:179) assert that, critical discourse analysis explores the connection between the use of language and the social and the political contexts in which it occurs. It explores issues such as gender, ethnicity, cultural difference, ideology and identity and how these are both constructed and reflected in texts. Elucidating the function of CDA in modern society, Huckin (1995: 95) defines it as “a highly context-sensitive, democratic approach which takes an ethical stance on social issues with the aim of improving society” (quoted in Pasha, 2011:23).

One may see different at the same time similar themes in the above different scholars view of CDA. For this reason, it’s important to sum up how CDA views language, social orders, processes, discourse, ideology as well as reality and the mutually constitutive ideal of these terms. Thus, in general, CDA can be understood as an academic discipline which attempts to uncover the complex relationship between social and cultural events, the discursive practices which produce, legitimate and deconstruct them and the overall context within the dialectical relationship, the role of discourse mediated through language use (written, oral or visual) and its historical context, which in turn is also a product of the social and discursive practice in producing social relation of power, ideology and reality.

To summarize, as Wodak and Meyer (2001) states: “The assumption of CDA is that all discourses are historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context. In accordance with this CDA refers to such extralinguistic factors as culture, society, and ideology. In any case, the notion of context is crucial for CDA, since this explicitly includes social psychological, political and ideological components and thereby postulates an interdisciplinary procedure.” Thus, discourse (language use), power, ideology, critique takes a prominent credit in CDA. Furthermore Wodak (2006), such a heterogeneous school might be confusing for some; on the other hand it allows for open discussion and debate, for changing in the definition of aims and goals, and for innovation when contrast to “total and closed” theories.

2.4.1 Principles and Tenets of CDA

One can identify a number of principles among the various CDA practitioners. In general, as quoted in Pasha (2011:23), Fairclough and Wodak (1997) offer five basic principles of CDA and the researcher has extracted these principles with Brain’s (2006:179-84) as follows:

1. Social and cultural structures are partly linguistic-discursive. Discursive practices, through which texts are produced and consumed, are important factors in shaping social practices. This indicates that not all social practices are formed by language. Discourse/language use as a form of social practice in itself not only represents and signifies other social practices but it also constitutes other social practices such as the exercise of power, domination, prejudice, resistance, and so forth.
2. Discourse is both constitutive and constituted. Discourse both constitutes social relations between individuals and groups in society and, at the same time, is constituted by these social relations. The representation of, for example, ‘Terrorists’ in the Ethiopian government broadsheet newspaper “*Addis Zemen*” or private broadsheet newspaper

“*Reporter*” is simultaneously socially constitutive (produced by a certain group of people – elites) and constituting of more social practices towards ‘Terrorists’. If then, Linguistic features and structures are not arbitrary. They are purposeful whether or not the choices are conscious or unconscious. All speakers and writers operate from specific discursive practices originating in special interests and aims, which involve inclusions and exclusions. So, discourse both reflected and reproduces social relations.

3. Language use should be analyzed within its social context. Here, CDA is different from other approaches in terms of degrees of focus rather than difference in qualitative analysis. CDA constitutes an empirical linguistic textual analysis of language use in social interactions. Texts acquire their meanings by the dialectical relationship between texts and the social subjects: writers and the readers, who always operate with various degrees of choice and access to texts and means of interpretation.
4. Discourse functions ideologically. CDA is based on the fact that discursive practices create unbalanced social powers and unequal relations between groups based on religious, political, racial, or gender issues. All these issues dealt with ideology and ideological stand points. Power relations are produced, exercised, and reproduced through discourse. Which in turn power relations are negotiated and performed through discourse. In this sense, ideologies are also produced and reflected in the use of discourse.
5. Discourse is historical in the sense that texts acquire their meanings by being situated in specific social, cultural, and ideological contexts and time and space. In other words, the historical context is always analyzed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts, though CDA is ethically critical. CDA commits itself to an agenda, social

change and uncovering of the manipulative power in society. CDA sides with the oppressed and unfairly treated ones. This is done with aimed at producing enlightenment and emancipation. Such theories seek not only to describe and explain, but also to root out a particular kind of delusion.

Taking the above principles the present study tries to specifically how discursively social actors are represented, how ideology is constructed and reflected through discourse, how is power linguistically expressed and more importantly what implication does this kind of discourse have on the society.

Once having in mind the basic principles of CDA it would be easier to illustrate the tenets, since tenets are one of the principles on which a belief or theory is based on. CDA practitioners (Fairclough, 1995a; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 2001) offer the main tenets of CDA.

The following account draws on Fairclough and Wodak's summary (1997: 271-80):

1. **CDA addresses social problems:** This entails the approach is problem oriented, rather than focused on specific linguistic items. Social problems are the items of research, such as “racism, identity, injustice, public relation and so on”, which in turn are and could be studied from manifold perspectives since problems in our societies are too complex to be studied from a single perspective.
2. **Power relations are discursive:** Power relations are negotiated, imposed, legitimized and performed through discourse (language use). As Locke (2004:1), “CDA views power in society not so much as imposed on individual subjects as an inevitable effect of a way particular discursive configurations or arrangements privilege the status and positions of some people over others.” Wodak (2006:4), added, in texts discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which is in part encoded in and

determined by discourse and genre. Thus, language provides a finely articulated vehicle for differences in power within hierarchical social structures.

3. **Discourse constitutes society and culture:** This is a shared tenet with Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA), with some grounded differences in CDA. Wodak and Meyer (2001:141), asserts that MDA takes it that discourse is among the means by which society and culture are constituted. MDA also argues that society and culture are constituted in the material products of that society as well as in its non-discursive practices.) However, cultural knowledge is shared by all competent members of a society or culture, and forms the basis or common ground of all social practices and discourses (p:114). The salience of discourse in contemporary social processes and power relations makes sense by recognizing that discourse constitutes society and culture by dialectical relationship. This entails that every instance of language use makes its own small contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations. That is the power of discourse; that is why worth struggling over.
4. **Discourse does ideological work:** van Dijk (2000:4) argues: The discourse dimension of ideologies explains how ideologies influence our daily texts and talk, how we understand ideological discourse, and how discourse is involved in the reproduction of ideology in society. Furthermore, as Locke (2004:1) puts, CDA views discourse as coloured by and productive of ideology (however 'ideology' is conceptualized). Thus, in our use of language, whatever communicative event is registered, is influenced by our ideological positions, the value, belief, the biases and perspectives (consciously or unconsciously) we adopt.

5. **Discourse is historical:** Wodak and Meyer (2001) views; “The discourse-historical approach attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive ‘events’ are embedded” (P. 65). Likewise, (Carvalho, 2008: 163) states; the historical nature of discourse is one of its most fundamental characteristics. Texts always build on previous ones, taking up or challenging former discourses.
6. **The link between text and society is mediated:** The link between sociocultural practice and text is mediated by discourse practice; how the text is produced or interpreted, in what discursive practices and conventions and how do texts articulate together depends on the nature of sociocultural practice in which the discourse is a part of. In this sense, each other (discourse practice, text production and discursive practices) shapes and shaped by. Locke (2004) asserts that CDA views reality as textually and intertextually mediated via verbal and non-verbal language systems, and texts as sites for both the inculcation and the contestation of discourses. (p.2)
7. **Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory:** Fairclough (2003:3) sees DA as “‘oscillating’ between a focus on specific texts and a focus on what I call ‘order of discourse’, the relatively durable social structuring of language which is itself one element of relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices.” Thus, DA is in favor of describing language where it was originally found, i.e. in the context of human interaction. That is, Interpreting the discursive events and to explain the connection between these systems and language. However, interpretations and explanations are never finished and authoritative; they are dynamic and open, open to new contexts and new information.

8. Discourse is a form of social action: The vast majority of social actions within do involve discourse as important way. In another words, social actions will have direct impact on raising and shaping a particular discourse in focus. Discourse guides social actions and vice versa. In this sense discourses and social actions are to suffice to be constitutive. Fairclough (2003), sees discourses not only represent the world as it is (or rather it seen to be), they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular direction. Discourses also constitute part of the resources which people deploy in relating to one another, cooperating, competing, and dominating and in seeking to change the ways in which they relate to one another. (P:124)

2.4.2 Cornerstone of CDA

Ideology, power and history are the central notions which CDA has founded. Wodak and Meyer (2001:3) assert that, consequently, three concepts figure indispensably in all CDA: the concept of power, the concept of history, and the concept of ideology. In the interplay, language (use) or discourse is a medium which these concepts are interrelated. In turn discursive nature of discourse takes prominent role in communicating these concepts consciously or unconsciously. As quoted in Wodak and Meyer (2001:6), (Fairclough, 1992, 1995a) and (Chouliariki and Fairclough, 1999) explain and elaborate some advances in CDA, showing not only how the analytical framework for investigating language in relation to power and ideology developed, but also how CDA is useful in disclosing the discursive nature of much contemporary social and cultural change.

2.4.2.1 Power

An important perspective in CDA is the notion of power. A central notion in most critical work on discourse is that of power, and more specifically the social power of groups or institutions. Thus in this respective study ‘power’ refers to social power of groups or institutions (i.e. the media). For instance, editors have control over mass media discourse and access to other forms of official’s talk, texts such as reports and authority to what to write, broadcast or what to not and the like; in this case power is being exercised.

Van Dijk (2001:354) defines social power in terms of control. Thus, groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups. This ability presupposes a power base of privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, "culture," or indeed various forms of public discourse and communication. Thus, discourse access to or control over public discourse creates fertile ground for a group or institution as an important resource for creating power base.

More importantly van Dijk (1993:255) asserts CDA is specifically interested in power abuse, that is, in breaches of laws, rules and principles of democracy, equality and justice by those who wield power. Thus, CDA researchers are interested in the way discourse reproduces social domination, that is, the power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse. In the same vein, Wodak (2006) added;

The defining features of CDA are its concern with power as a central condition in social life, and its efforts to develop a theory of language that incorporates this as a major premise. Not only the notion of struggles for power and control, but also the intertextuality and recontextualization of competing discourses in various public spaces and genres (Iedema 1997, 1999; Muntigl et al., 2000). Power is about relations of difference, and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures. The constant unity of language and other social matters ensures that language is entwined in social power in a number

of ways: language indexes and expresses power, and is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not necessarily derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and the long term. Language provides a finely articulated vehicle for differences in power in hierarchical social structures. (P: 4)

Discourse analysis receives its impetus to describe power relations from Foucault's description. Several concepts organize Foucault's perspective and are important to understand when considering discourse analysis. Describing the notions of power and resistance Powers (2007:27) argued that, disciplinary power or power/knowledge or bio-power is concerned with the production of willing and able bodies that support the status quo of power relations, such as the economic system of capitalism.

Power is not understood as a singular, unidirectional, reified phenomenon with identifiable instances of application and it is not necessarily viewed as a strategy consciously used by some people over other people. Social life is viewed as a web of shifting power relations influenced by micropolitics instead of brute physical force. (ibid: 28)

Notable theoretical 'Godfather' of CDA Foucault (1981: 52) views the relation of discourse and power: "... discourse is not simply that which manifest (or hides) desire. It is also the object of desire; and since, as history constantly teaches as, discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized." Fairclough (1989: 73) also argued power is exercised and enacted in discourse, and on the other hand that there are relations of power behind discourse. In both cases power is won, held and lost in social struggles. We might say that, in terms of 'power in discourse', discourse is the site of power struggles, and, in terms of 'power

behind discourse', it is the stake in power struggles - for control over orders of discourse is a powerful mechanism for sustaining power.

In this sense, language is not powerful on its own - it gains power by the use powerful people make of it as well as it's a tool for struggle. Another important element in mass media discourse is that the media constituted by those on power in which media are more interested in powerful sources of information which is vital for their credit. This explains why CDA often chooses the perspective of those who suffer and abused, and critically analyses the language use of those in power, who are responsible for the existence of inequalities, injustice and marginalization and who at the same time, also have the means and opportunity to improve conditions.

2.4.2.2 Ideology

Unfortunately, a proliferation of definitions available for the term "Ideology" is numerous. These definitions either hold a neutral or pejorative connotation. But, many of these definitions are contingent on the political framework favored by the analyst in media discourse studies. Simpson (1993: 5) describes ideology from critical linguistic perspective that ideology is the ways in which what we say and think interacts with society. An ideology therefore derives from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups. And when an ideology is the ideology of a particularly powerful social group, it is said to be dominant. Thus, dominant ideologies are mediated through powerful political and social institutions like the government, the law and the medical profession and media as well. Our perception of these institutions, moreover, will be shaped in part by the specific linguistic practices of the social groups who comprise them.

As language is in the heart of CDA and CL, there is a conviction that language reproduces ideology. Thus language is inevitably tied up with the socio-political context in which it

functions as an integrated form of social behavior. Language is not used in a contextless vacuum; rather, it is used in a host of discourse contexts, contexts which are impregnated with the ideology of social systems and institutions. Because language operates within this social dimension it must, of necessity reflect, and some would argue, construct ideology. (Ibid)

More importantly van Dijk (2000:4) offers a multidisciplinary introduction to the notion of “ideology”, in which he takes three dimensions; ideology in cognition, society and discourse. The cognitive definition of ideology is given in terms of the social cognitions that are shared by the members of a group. The social dimension explains what kind of groups, relations between groups and institutions are involved in the development and reproduction of ideologies. The discourse dimension of ideologies explains how ideologies influence our daily texts and talk, how we understand ideological discourse, and how discourse is involved in the reproduction of ideology in society.

In another words, language use and discourse are crucial social practices influenced by ideologies, which in turn also influence how one acquire, react, maintain or change ideologies discursively. Ideology as a general notion can be understood as fundamental belief of a group and its members. The conception of ideology here takes either negative or positive connotation. For example, one can be labeled as terrorist or freedom fighter which depends on the context and the belief one have or shared with group members’ or schema. In this regard, Wodak (2006:17) argued, both the words used and the meanings of the words vary accordingly to the class struggle position from which they are used in accordance with the ‘discursive formation’ they are located within. For instance the word ‘struggle’ itself is particularly associated with a working class political voice, and its meaning in that discursive formation is different from its meanings when used from other positions.

In this sense, ideologies emerge from group conflict, interest or struggle, and thus typically creates fever pitch “Us” against “Them” and vis-à-vis. More importantly (van Dijk, 2000:8) asserts that ideologies and social practices of group members are closely interrelated.

Fairclough (1995a:25) views ‘Ideology’ as both structures (discourse conventions) and events. The convention draws upon in actual discursive events, which are structured within ‘order of discourse’ associated with institutions, are ideologically invested in particular ways. On the other hand, ideologies are generated and transformed in actual discursive events. The conception of ideology here focuses on the effects of ideologies rather than truth and features of texts are seen as ideological in so far as they affect (sustain, undermine) power relations.

In relation to hegemony, prominent figure of this notion, ‘Gramsci’, has offers hegemonic role of media is that ruling groups could maintain their power through force, consent, or a combination of the two. So, it is the media that produce and reproduce everyday discourses, meanings, and activities to extract the class interests of those in power vividly natural as seen above, inevitable and unarguable general interest with a claim on the societies (Yirgalem, 2014). Huckin et.al (2012:122) argues that, authority and ideology are embedded in text and modes of composing; one must consider the ways in which others will be impacted by discourse practices. In other words, for instance people who have authoritative access and control (i.e. over media) can substantially impose their ideological standpoint to a mass audience through text, verbal or visual images.

In this respective study, the term ideology is taken from van Dijk (2000:4) view that have a multidisciplinary approach which guides to understand ideology from triple dimensions which is ideology in cognition, society and discourse, where offered earlier in this subsection.

2.4.2.3 History

The basic notion of history for CDA takes a position of understanding contextualized nature of discourse within its present form and its historical continuum which it is constructed through. Thus, CDA studies should also trace the historical background of the discourse of which they are interested to address whether written, oral or visual of particular discourse as well as its present occurrence. As Wodak and Meyer (2001:65), CDA's discourse-historical approach perceives both written and spoken language as a form of social practice.

Regarding this, Ruth Wodak is notable scholar associated with this approach which is called discourse-historical approach. Wodak and Meyer (Ibid) views the discourse-historical approach as an attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive 'events' are embedded. Further, it analyses the historical dimension of discursive actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change.

Moreover, Wodak, (2006:19), summarizes the connection of discourse and history as, every discourse is historically embedded, and has repercussions on current and future discourse. In addition to the above levels, the structure of discourse may be dissected into; discursive events and discursive context, discourse positions, overall societal discourse and interwoven discourses; themes, bundles of discourse strands, history, present and future of discourse strands.

Regarding this complexity of discourse-historical approach of CDA, (Huckin et.al, 2012:111) argued, Indeed, CDA's marriage of text and context, and its ability to consider history as part and parcel of analysis, provides an excellent methodological basis for archival work and ethnographic study that doesn't sacrifice either theory or practice.

More importantly discourse-historical approach in CDA is burdened with incorporating history, text, context, intertextuality, discourse, communication and discursive structures of events as nexus practices which gives scientific know-how to understand the historical/social background in which they were created. In regard, Blommaert and Bulca (2000) wrote as follows:

The way in which CDA treats the historicity of text (largely reducible to assumptions about intertextual chains) could benefit from genuinely historical theoretical insights. On the one hand, stock could be taken of the "natural histories of discourse" perspective developed by Silverstein & Urban (1996); on the other hand, the acknowledgment of an intrinsic and layered historicity of each social event could contribute to more accurate assessments of what certain texts do in societies. The contextualization of discourse data would benefit from a more attentive stance toward the historical positioning of the events in which the discourse data are set (as well as of the historical positioning of the moment of analysis: "Why now?" is a relevant question in analysis). (P: 460)

2.5 Ethiopian Media: Discursive Practices and News-making

The historical back ground of mass media in Ethiopia is of a recent phenomenon. Ashenafi (2013) puts; contrary to the most western world, broadcast media in Ethiopia started in 1933 as a government own entity (p: 25). And the first newspaper was introduced in the era of Emperor Minilik II in 1894, namely *Aimiro* (intelligence) which is published in Addis Ababa (Getachew, 2003:563).

Comparing and contrasting the status of Ethiopians media between (1941-2002), that of Imperial regime, the military regime and the post military regime Getachew concluded that, the media have been in the hands of the perspective regime, which information is top-down. The glaring commonality of all the newspapers under different regimes was being pro to the respective regime and criticizing and discrediting the former regimes. Lionizing the regime they serve was essential because of both strict government directives and the self-censorship necessary for survival. (ibid: 569)

Not paying much interest to the historical context but not for analysis though, it would be significant to discuss recent research findings. The Ethiopian media landscape have received critiques over big issues like censorship, libel , press freedom, role of media in democratization, access to information, reporter's privilege, professionalism and ethics.

For instance, Nigussie's (2014) study, 'A Critical Analysis on Media and Politics in Ethiopia', as media and politics in Ethiopia are highly intertwined, he argued that the constitutionalization of the freedom of the press is a good step forward in the democratization process. Nevertheless, the government has not granted complete freedom of press media yet still keeps an eye on the practice of the media. And more, lack of professionalism about the practice and ethics of media from both types of media have affected the overall media landscape development in Ethiopia. At most of the media discourses and political dynamics in Ethiopia revealed, the media practice and news making since the imperial time have been imperiled by political influence. Further, his study depict that although positive developments but yet to work on the full independence of the media. Generally, the study demonstrated that the media control system and ownership style, lack of professionalism and the economic level of the nation have their thumbprints on the overall development of the media and politics in Ethiopia (p: 92).

In relation to professionalism and ethics in Ethiopian state media (Berhanu and Skjerdal, 2009), study on bribery among journalists in the state owned Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency (ERTA) the now EBC could be mentioned. The study has revealed a wide variety of bribery practices in Ethiopia's state broadcaster ERTA, ranging from trivial freebies to straightforward brown envelopes that are given to individual journalists and reporting teams. The sources expect positive coverage in return and sometimes even negotiate details of the content with the reporter and a fair number of journalists reject bribes on ethical grounds (p:152).

Accordingly, the actual journalistic performance is also shaped by expectations in the local culture and by the norms for accepted ethical deviance that have developed within the particular journalism fraternity. In this sense the constitutive nature of discourse come at point of discussion in culturally sophisticated society like Ethiopia, while not ignoring the diverse ethnicity values, beliefs, and attitudes and norms to different discourses within eclectic language use in Ethiopia. Actions whether verbal or oral have a basis on thoughts that with what one come up with or been through to which identifies 'US' in the present context. For example, by considering the society's cultures and norms in the presentation of some crimes in EBC Gizachew (2013), argued that news stories of crimes on the process of investigation and trials in the courtroom seem to be constructed by different people, because crimes are committed in the community and realities are constructed within that community which makes crime stories a social construct (p: 141).

In regard to the notion of professionalism and ethics in journalism practice in the Ethiopian media landscape, a recent phenomenon which could be of concern is 'development journalism' Skjerdal (2011) observes key concern of this policy and, is economic poverty that entails the goal of the government is to level Ethiopia among middle-income country within 20-30 years, and all societal forces are in debt to the process. Apparently the main focus of the policy document is on the positive promotion of development efforts, rather than critical investigation. The study has also indicated that it also means neglecting critical stories, avoiding oppositional voices and hiding information from the public. Hiding information is not an exception, but belongs to the order of the day in official reporting. Concurrently, as Dejene (2010), found that development reporting in the state-owned daily Addis Zemen is 'government-centered, uncritical and excessively soft-option oriented' (ibid).

The paradox in theory and action lies in different presuppositions. Even though the authorities introduced developmental journalism in official media policy and the policy stresses that the media should accommodate the needs of the local community as well the policy itself is founded from domestic concerns in which poverty is most important (Banda, 2007). Most of Sub-Saharan Africa answers to state or (controlled by the state and represents state interests) or government (is controlled by the government of the day and represents the viewpoint of the executive) broadcasting (ibid: 163). Thus, journalists and practitioners are mediating the policy and journalistic professionalism on a basis sense that success story is employed as a tool to escape from poverty however, not professional and logical.

Central to the above view Skjerdal, (2011), argued that the negligence (conscious or unconscious) of critical reporting by maintaining such coverage do more harm than good to the nation and journalists are critical about what they regard as the mounting politicization of reporting in the Ethiopian state media, following the disputed 2005 election. It has become increasingly difficult to distinguish between journalistic decision made on professional ground and those made on political ground.

The Ethiopian media discursive practices and news making lays its blueprint on politics, and further it's hampered by different problems on the ground not to develop successfully. Self-censor of journalists or practitioners are not privileged to interpret or frame the news in their own words, lack of good financial problem, political parallelism among the practicing journalists and favoring the political ideologies of the incumbent party which in turn make the news biased, educational qualifications are among the problems encountered (Abate, 2003; Skjerdal, 2011).

Also, Public access to government information is hampered by a lack of awareness among information officers and a culture of secrecy, ongoing uncertainty around the policy-legal-

regulatory framework for radio. EBC channels are dominated by content promoting the views and actions of government, with the exception of some current affairs shows sponsored and produced by NGOs and other social organizations, newspapers are under censorship and all are pro-government and controlled by the government (directly or indirectly) (Kifle Mulat, private communication, 1 September 2006) (Gebremedhin, 2006). And, coming to the present study, it is the researcher aim to critically analyze the discourse of news reports on covering of the anti-ISIS demonstration in both state and private owned media.

According to Freedom House report, press freedom in Ethiopia in subsequent three years¹ (2013-15) press freedom score, on legal, political and economic environment remains ‘Not free’. In the legal ground, the report entails that while the constitution guarantees freedom of the press, the 2005 criminal code contains many provisions that limit this right, including restrictions on “obscene” communication, defamation, and criticism of public officials. And the 2009 antiterrorism law, ostensibly designed to address crimes related to armed insurgencies, has been used extensively against journalists and opposing politicians. In other words, the policy and the practices are distant ideal not a working reality.

The report of Freedom House in relation to the political ground, Censorship and self-censorship are routinely practiced in both government and private sector media institutions. Critical websites are banned and officials are attempting to control content through article placement requests and telephone calls to editors about stories that are critical of the government.

¹<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2013/ethiopia>
<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2014/ethiopia>
<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2015/ethiopia>

2.6 Theoretical Frameworks

This section discusses the theoretical underpinnings of the argument that ‘language is the primary domain of ideology and has always been the stake in struggles of power’ (Fairclough, 1989). Therefore, Fairclough’s (1995a) three dimensional method as a major framework, Halliday’s (2014) SFG model as toolkit for analysis, theme-rheme analysis, lexical choice and collocation analysis are applied to strengthen Fairclough’s model and are the theoretical frameworks of the present study.

2.6.1 Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model

This approach emerged from Critical Theory (Chouliariki and Fairclough, 1999), which was developed by the Frankfurt school. And, has been defined as a methodology which is fundamentally interested in analyzing “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” This framework, through deconstructing society, aims at critically investigating possible social inequalities as expressed, constituted, legitimized by discursive practices (Pasha, 2011:34).

Fairclough’s (1992) book “Discourse and Social Change” offers the social discursive framework which is a blueprint for CDA and makes its emphasis on the social aspect. It is also a condensed theoretical account of CDA. This model presupposes tripartite method of discourse analysis and is founded in the assumption that discourse constitutes the social practice and constituted by the social practice, meanings are created by both language production and conception, the connection between text and social practice is seen as being mediated by discourse practice.

The approach asserts that each discursive event has three dimensions. These three dimensions are distinct stages but intrinsically reciprocate levels of analysis. These are: discourse as text

(description), discourse as discursive practice (interpretation) and discourse as social practice (explanation). Fairclough (1995a:97) argued that, “The method of discourse analysis includes linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes.” The diagram below illustrates Fairclough’s (1995a:98) tripartite model:

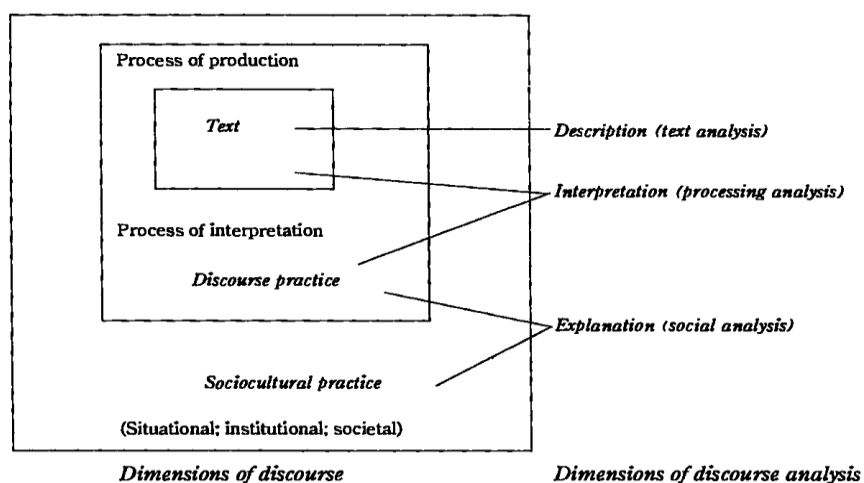


Figure 1 Fairclough’s CDA model 1995:98

2.6.1.1 Discourse as Text

The first level of Fairclough’s approach is discourse as text. Text is perceived in this level of analysis in a broader sense that texts are written or spoken languages but also transcripts of (spoken) conversations and interviews and may include visual images and sound effects (Fairclough, 2003:4). The analysis of text is form-and-meaning analysis. The text is characterized by a configuration of heterogeneous and contradictory properties. This level entirely focuses on the contents of a text.

Text analysis can be organized under four main headings: 'vocabulary', 'grammar', 'cohesion', and 'text structure'. Vocabulary deals mainly with individual words (e.g., wording, lexicalizing,

signifying), grammar deals with words combined into clauses and sentences (e.g., transitivity, modality), cohesion deals with how clauses and sentences are linked together (e.g., conjunctive words, schemata), and text structure deals with large scale organizational properties of texts (e.g., monologue, dialogue, turn taking-system, conventions) and should be analyzed in this level. Another dimension of text is intertextuality which sees texts historically as transforming the past - existing conventions and prior texts - into the Present. In other words, how texts articulate prior texts and conventions or linked to or interpreted in terms of other texts or other discourses.

Pasha, (2011) assert the analyst, basically, looks for what is represented in the text in terms of actors, recipients, benefactors, etc.; what is represented in the theme and rheme of the sentences composing the text and collocations; and patterns of co-occurrences of words in text, which simply means looking at which other words most frequently precede and follow any word which is in focus.

Fairclough (2003:15), stress that textual analysis is also inevitably selective: in any analysis, one chose to ask certain questions about social events and texts, and not other possible questions. Thus the general point is that there are always particular motivations for choosing to ask certain questions about texts and not others. For these reasons, textual analysis/ description of the language text in this study is analyzed focusing on the research question, which draws account on Fairclough (2003: 190-4):

1. **Discourses:** what discourses are drawn upon in the text, and how are they textured together? Is there a significant mixing of discourses?

What are the features that characterize the discourses which are drawn upon (semantic relations between words, collocations, metaphors, assumptions, grammatical features)?

2. **Difference:** which (combination) of the following scenarios characterize the orientation to difference in the text? An accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms, power or Consensus, a normalization and acceptance of difference of power which brackets or suppresses differences of meaning and over norms
3. **Assumption:** what existential, propositional or value assumptions are made?
Is there a case for seeing and assumptions as ideological.
4. **Representation of social actors:** what elements of represented social events are included or excluded, and which included elements are more salient? Are there instances of grammatical metaphor in the representation of processes? How social actors are represented (activated/passivated, personal/impersonal, named/classified, specific/generic)?

2.6.1.2 Discourse as Discursive Practices

The second level discourse-as-discursive-practice involves all the factors contributed to processes of text production, distribution, and consumption and these processes vary between different types of discourse according to social factors. In terms of text-producer, it is useful to deconstruct the producer into a set of positions, which may be occupied by the same person or by different peoples. Consumption like production may be individual or collective, for example compare love letters with administrative records. In terms of distribution, some texts may distributed simply- a casual conversation belongs only to the immediate context of situation in which it occurs- whereas as others have a complex distribution, i.e., texts produced by political leaders, or texts within international arms negotiation, are distributed across a range of different institutional domains, each of which has its own patterns of consumption, and its own routines for reproducing and transforming texts (Fairclough, 1992:78).

Furthermore, in terms of distribution, an intertextual perspective is helpful in exploring relatively stable networks which texts move along, undergoing predictable transformations as they shift from one text type to another (for instance, political speeches are often transformed into news reports). And in terms of consumption, an intertextual perspective is helpful in stressing that it is not just 'the text', not indeed just the texts that intertextually constitute it, that shape interpretation, but also those other texts which interpreters variably bring to the interpretation process (ibid: 85). Discursive practices are maintained by participation patterns (individual or group) in which constitute social identities and relations in turn constituted by interaction. This plays key role to reproduction or transformation of texts.

Interpretation of text and the wider context that contributed to the production and consumption of texts (Fairclough, 1989) the stage of interpretation corrects delusions of autonomy on the part of subjects in discourse. It makes explicit what for participants is generally implicit: the dependence of discourse practice on the unexplicated common-sense assumptions of Members' Resource (henceforth, MR) or as (van Dijk, 2001:354), Members-groups: Language users-engage in discourse *as* members of (several) social groups, organizations, or institutions; and conversely, groups thus may act by their members and discourse type. What it does not do on its own, however, is explicate the relations of power and domination and the ideologies which are built into these assumptions, and which make ordinary discourse practice a site of social struggle (p.162).

2.6.1.3 Discourse as Social Practices

Discourse-as-social-practice is concerned with the social, ideological and hegemonic practice forms in the society and how these practices shape and is shaped by discursive practices. Thus, it is explanatory level which considers more than language and discourse. Discourse as a social

practice does not only depict reality, but also has impact on the overall social structure and plays a potent role for social change. Fairclough (1992; 1995a) puts; the analysis of discursive event as social practice may refer to different levels of social organization- the context of situation, the institutional context or 'context of culture'. More specifically this dimension spell out clearly discourse in relation to ideology and to power, and place discourse within a view of power as hegemony, and a view of the evolution of power relations as hegemonic struggle. However, questions of power and ideology may arise at each of the three levels.

Somehow, this level is different from the other levels of analysis. It is analyzing and understanding the bigger picture of texts in relation to wider socio-cultural, political, ideological, institutional, economic and historical context. This in turn helps to explain processes of text production, distribution and consumption as what Fairclough, (1995a: 100) puts "the nature of the discourse production process can itself be referred to the wider sociocultural practice within which it occurs."

In dealing with discourse-as-social practice, it is also mean that to deal with semiotic as well as nonsemiotic elements. Fairclough (2012: 462) stress that in doing so, one has to be selective, i.e. to make judgments about which 'mix' of available resources yields the most fruitful theorization of the research topic including the most fruitful perspective on relations between semiosis and non- semiotic elements.

This wide-ranging analytic agenda assists in understanding and explaining:

1. The bigger picture of texts in which certain discourses and ideologies work and interact in society as well as shaped and are shaped by discursive practices as "the relationship between interaction and social context - with the social determination of the processes of

production and interpretation, and their social effects is mediated with discourse practice (Fairclough, 1989:26);

2. The power dimension of discourse is not only signaled by grammatical forms within a text, but also by a person's or institution's control of genre of a text on a social occasion. It is often exactly within the genres associated with given social occasions that power is exercised or challenged. This is CDA's view of power, that it is about relations of difference, and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures (Weiss and Wodak, 2003:15) ;
3. Social change includes change in social practices and in the networking of social practices, how social practices are articulated together in the constitution of institutions and organizations, and in the relations between institutions and organizations. Here, order of discourse is defined as totality of discursive practices of an institution, and relation between them. This includes change in orders of discourse and relations between orders of discourse (and so changes in genres, discourses and styles and relations between genres, discourses and styles). So, changes in semiosis (orders of discourse) are a precondition for wider processes of social change (Fairclough, 2012:457-8).

According to Fairclough (1989), in regard with explanation of a particular discourse under investigation, questions as follows are considered to be asked:

1. **Social determinants:** what power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape this discourse?
2. **Ideologies:** what elements of MR which are drawn upon have an ideological character?
3. **Effects:** How is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Is the discourse

normative with respect to MR or creative? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations, or transforming them?

2.7 Analytic Tools

2.7.1 Thematic Structure

The notion of a clause as a unit in which meanings of three different kinds are combined, the structure that carries this line of meaning is known as thematic structure. It refers to the concepts of theme and rheme which deals on the level of textual metafunctions. As a message structure, therefore, a clause consists of a theme accompanied by a rheme; and the structure is expressed by the order – whatever is chosen as the theme is put first (Halliday, 2014).

Three distinct structures, each expressing one kind of semantic organization, are mapped on to one another to produce a single wording. These three ‘lines of meaning’ components (called ‘metafunctions’ in systemic theory) are the ideational (clause as representation), the interpersonal (clause as exchange) and the textual (clause as message). What this means is that the three structures serve to express three largely independent sets of lexicogrammatical choice. (1) Transitivity structures express representational meaning: what the clause is about, which is typically some process, with associated participants and circumstances; (2) modal structures express interactional meaning: what the clause is doing, as a verbal exchange between speaker-writer and audience; (3) thematic structures express the organization of the message: how the clause relates to the surrounding discourse, and to the context of situation in which it is being produced. These three sets of options together determine the structural shape of the clause. The three functional components of meaning, ideational (what one knows), interpersonal (how one interacts) and textual (how one textures the knowledge in text), are

realized throughout the grammar of a language. Therefore, a theme-rheme analysis can uncover words that form certain message in their structure as well as ideologies mapped on these texts.

2.7.2 Lexical Classification

Initial position is thematic; and the natural theme of a process or participant is its relation to the here-and-now. Final position is informative; and the newsworthy component of a process or participant is some aspect of its lexical content. So the structure of groups recapitulates, in the fixed ordering of their elements, the meaning that is incorporated as choice in the message structure of the clause (Halliday, 2014).

In the same vein Fairclough (1989: 110), assert that the set of formal features one finds in a specific text can be regarded as particular choices from among the options (e.g. of vocabulary or grammar) available in the discourse types which the text draws upon. In order to interpret the features which are actually present in a text, it is generally necessary to take account of what other choices might have been made, i.e. of the systems of options in the discourse types which actual features come from. Consequently, in analyzing texts, one's focus is constantly alternating between what is 'there' in the text, and the discourse type(s) which the text is drawing upon.

In line with lexical choice of the writer or speaker, it is more fruitful to identify words that collocates these word choices. As Halliday (2014:59) argues, “The measure of collocation is the degree to which the probability of a word (lexical item) increases given the presence of a certain other word (the **node**) within a specified range (the **span**).” And the term Collocation can be defined as- a word/phrase tendency to appear in a corpus/sample text or this co-occurrence tendency is known as collocation. In a more specific terms, this occurrence of a word/phrase in a sample text can identify or reveals a specific articulation that connotes (negative or positive)

about the subject whom the writer or the speaker is discussing about. Analyzing Lexical choice within words that collocates these choices can be considered as the reflection of culture. Therefore, it is helpful to examine the classification in language to bring out different ideologies and representations of social actors embedded between the lines.

2.7.3 Quotations and Reporting Speech

As any report of an event or story is inevitably dependable on sources of information, so quoting sources for a report is providing factuality and credibility to readers or viewers. As Sheyholislami (2001:3), At the microstructure level, analysis is focused on the semantic relations between propositions, syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical elements that provide coherence in the text, and other rhetorical elements such quotations, direct or indirect reporting that give factuality to the news reports.

In regard, one important contrast in reporting is between reports which are relatively 'faithful' to what is reported, quoting it, claiming to reproduce what was actually said or written, and those which are not (Fairclough, 2003:49). By quoting sources, the writer or the speaker has the right to quote his/her source directly or indirectly to impart the saying to reader's or viewers. Direct reporting is a quotation, purportedly the actual words used, in quotation marks, with a reporting clause or verb and indirect reporting is a summary, and the content of what was said or written, not the actual words used, no quotation marks, with a reporting clause or verb (ibid.). Another point to consider is that other texts are intertextually incorporated in a text which may or may not be attributed.

Here, discussing about quotations and their implications though that the writer or reporter uses different techniques of intertextual representation to represent the view of the world. For instance, direct quotation is marked specially by inverted commas and indirect quotation or

reporting is a report which revolves around the original written or saying. As Bazerman (2004:87) states,

Direct quotation is usually identified by quotation marks, block indentation, italics, or other typographic setting apart from the other words of the text. While the words may be entirely those of the original author, however, it is important to remember that the second author, in quoting the writing, has control over exactly which words will be quoted, the points at which the quote will be snipped, and the context it will be used in. Indirect quotation usually specifies a source and then attempts to reproduce the meaning of the original but in words that reflect the author's understanding, interpretation, or spin on the original. Indirect quotation filters the meaning through the second author's words and attitude and allows the meanings to be more thoroughly infused with the second writer's purpose.

In regard with Bazerman's argument, the analysis of quotations in this respective thesis, whether direct or indirect reporting, is done in line with analyzing quoting verbs that could be helpful to draw a precise nature of what is connoted through the use of each kind of quoting verbs. Or, the potential meanings of quoting verbs used in the news reports. As Machin and Mayr (2012) identifies, these reporting verbs are: *Speech or Neutral structuring verbs* introduce a saying without evaluating it explicitly (e.g. say, tell, ask); *Metapositional verbs* mark the author's interpretation of a speaker. For example: 'declare', 'urge' and 'grumble' are assertive, directive and expressive respectively; *Metalinguistic verbs* are where the kind of language used by a speaker is specified.; *Descriptive verbs* categorize the interaction through voice qualifier (manner) and voice qualification (attitude) For example: 'whisper' and 'laugh' mark the speaker in relation to what is being said.; *Transcript verbs* mark the development of the discourse (e.g. repeat) or relate the quotation to other parts of the discourse (e.g. pause).

Chapter Three

3. Methodology

This study is interested in critically analyzing the discourses of media reports on the demonstration against ISIS held in Addis Ababa. And, tries to describe, interpret and explain how different media organizations cover the event, via engaging within the heart of CDA.

This chapter dealt with the main methodological approach, research design, data and data sources, sampling techniques and analytical techniques which underpin the objective of the study that concomitantly follows the discussion in preceded chapters.

3.1 Research Design

As discussed in earlier chapters, the study approaches the object under investigation by employing CDA both as theory and method and Halliday's (2014) SFG analytic tools to strengthen the overall textual analysis. As far as, CDA is eclectic method for its collection of different theories for discourse studies, it is crucial to understand and explain how the theories are working and applied for fruitful analysis.

Accordingly, this study tried to describe (description or discourse-as-text) the content of texts by using Fairclough's (2003), first level tools for textual analysis and Halliday's (2014) SFG analytic tools; theme-rheme analysis is used to analyze headlines and news reports to identify discourses embedded in the news reports, lexis in line with collocation, reporting speeches and quotation analysis for representation of social actors and to determine ideological tendencies of news reports as Fairclough (1995a) asserts textual analysis presupposes a theory of language and a grammatical theory which referred various points to systemic linguistics in which has a number of strengths from the perspective of CDA. Moreover, the view of language as social semiotic (Halliday, 1978), which helps incorporating an orientation to map the relation between language

(texts), social structures and relations. And, the interpretation and explanation of the discourse under investigation is analyzed through the last two Fairclough's methods of analysis which are discourse-as-discursive practice (intertextuality) and discourse-as-social practice/context.

3.2 Data and Data Sources

This study used data sources from both broadcast (EBC) and print media (Addis Admass, Addis Zemen and Reporter) which entails the researcher approached data sources from different perspectives. In other words, data triangulation is employed for collecting data sources, (Bryman, 2004:1) 'Data triangulation' refers to the use of more than one approach to the investigation of a research question in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing of findings. There are five types of triangulation as Guion (2002:1) discussed these are: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation, methodological triangulation and environmental triangulation which is different in approach to the study under investigation.

As of Grix (2004), it's generally a good idea to try to use more than one method of enquiry to improve chances of getting better, more reliable data and to minimize the chance of biased findings or data triangulation is simply about observing an object of study from different angles. He also stress that, the key point here is to check whether the methods are consistent with the research question and objective. In another words, the researcher should be aware of how to employ a specific method and what this method is pointing in which how it relates to the ways in how other methods are in use to justify a reliable findings.

Data triangulation can be used in qualitative and quantitative research strategies in order to strengthening validity of evidences and findings. Bryman (2004) emphasized, since much social research is founded on the use of a single research method and as such may suffer from

limitations associated with that method or from the specific application of it, data triangulation offers the prospect of enhanced confidence as triangulation is one of the several rationales for multimethod researches, so is CDA.

Accordingly, the researcher credence the use of multiple data sources to make the objective of the study feasible. Therefore, a total of seven data's are taken for analysis, which three of them are from broadcast media and three of which are from print media that the researcher hopes to get different views on the issue at hand in relation to research questions stated. Naming, four broadcast news report samples from EBC (state owned) and three sample news reports from; Addis Zemen (state owned) and Addis Admass and Reporter (private owned) respectively.

3.3 Sampling

This study has utilized three newspapers: Addis Zemen, Addis Admass and Reporter and four sample broadcast news from EBC's report specifically related to the demonstration. This is mainly done on the basis of higher circulation (for newspapers) as of April, 2015 and while EBC is the major broadcast media in Ethiopia and whilst the first news maker of the event. Another criterion is due to their longer years of experience in the field compared to any other similar print or broadcast media which the medium of language use is Amharic (national language).

The researcher has employed purposive sampling technique for collecting data. It is one of the non-probability sampling methods, (Wimmer and Dominic, 2011: 94) define purposive sampling which includes respondents, subjects or elements selected for a specific criterion or characteristics and qualities and eliminates those who fail to meet the criterion. Purposive sampling is used frequently in mass media studies in which subjects are selected to meet a predetermined or known percentage. In other words Singh (2006), it is the idea of picking out the

sample in relation to some criterion which are considered important for the particular study of which it is appropriate when the study places special emphasis upon the control of certain specific variables (p: 91).

However, one can raise a question on the bias of sampling technique in terms of generalizability of findings. Thus, this study does not attempt to generalize the findings in the Ethiopian media context, but attempts specifically to generalize to the selected media organizations outputs in relation to the demonstration which is also a central focus of the study in which the texts of the outputs are investigated from contents to their wider social contexts.

Elaborating reasons behind these criteria's for selecting mentioned media organization news reports are, as far as the medium of language use is Amharic, they can be understood by any literate reader, as Steeves (1997) argued mainly the print media can have influence on the educated and political leaders "who wield disproportionate power to effect change" (quoted in Betelhem, 2011). And, in relation to experience the researcher hopes, the more media organizations have longer years of experience the more ideological stand points could be enacted and observed. So, it's in the vein of CDA and this study to investigate discourses, ideological tendencies, and discursive representations of social actors in these sample news reports in the narrowest sense.

Addis Admass- is a private owned newspaper established in 2000 which mainly focuses on social, economic, political and entertainment issues. According to (Horne, 2015)² data retrieved from Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (EBA) website as of April, 2015 Addis Admas, Amharic weekly has a circulation of 6,267 monthly.

² https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/ethiopia0115_ForUploadR.pdf

Addis Zemen- is a government owned daily news paper established in 1941 which reports on social, economic, political and entertainment contents. Addis Zemen, Amharic daily has a circulation of this 14600 (Alemtsehay Alemu, Distribution Directive Manager) as of April, 2015.

Reporter- is a private owned newspaper established in 1995 which covers social, economic political and entertainment contents in its broadsheet. Reporter, Amharic biweekly has a circulation of 10,750 and 8,667 monthly as of April, 2015 (Horne, 2015) data retrieved from EBA. (See Appendix A)

Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation- is a government owned broadcasting institution established in 1964³ which reports social, political, and economic as well as entertainment contents.

In analyzing this sample, multimodality is also analyzed as words are combined with pictures, videos and sound to represent the event which is a feature of both print and broadcast genres. As Machin and Mayr (2012) point out, the observation can apply equally both to texts and images.... This means one explores the way that individual elements in images, such as objects and settings, are able to signify discourses in ways that might not be obvious at an initial viewing. One may asks which visual features and elements are foregrounded and which are backgrounded or excluded. But it is important to note that visual communication semiotic resources are used to communicate things that may be more difficult to express through language.

³ http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust/pdf/AMDI/ethiopia/amdi_ethiopia6_television.pdf

3.4 Analytic Techniques

Having in mind that CDA approach of a subject under investigation in a different way within diverse disciplines gives insight on the framework, so as to hit the objective and focus of difference within. Thus, CDA is a program with diverse theoretical and methodological approaches to study a particular discourse, i.e., media discourse. This affirms Wodak and Meyer (2009) view that different approaches of CDA with theoretical pieces of very different origins are employed to build their castles, neither is there any guiding theoretical view point that is used coherently within CDA, nor do the CDA protagonist proceed consistently from the area of theory to the field of discourse and the way back to theory.

Accordingly, this study work used CDA approach which incorporates systemic functional grammar analytic tools that the researcher hopes to come up in line with the objective and research questions of the study. In another words, CDA is approaching the news reports with the specifics of research questions ought to be answered by positioning the theoretical frameworks indebted. That is identifying discourses of news reports in which where their ideological tendencies are marked and at the same time the discursive representation of social actors. Therefore, this study goes through analytic techniques as follows:

Description or discourse-as-text: In this level, *description of sample news reports* are which analysis of texts mainly focuses on the content of texts. Identifying the discourses mapped on texts, the study looked at detailed linguistic items of news reports. This includes, discovering discourses drawn upon texts and features that characterize them. Thus, semantic relations, lexis, collocations, discursive difference and metaphors are analyzed. After identifying the discourses

in news reports, the study attempts to analyze differences in texts; this is mainly done through looking at the *choices* reporters made to represent the event through wording.

As, Thompson (2004) asserts, theme can be realized by almost any clause element, and, because in English what is considered given information comes first in the clause, the theme can reveal differences of opinion through highlighting certain parts of the message as what is already known or obvious (quoted in Mellanen, 2012:37). Theme-Rheme analysis in the present study is used to analyze headlines and news reports respectively and also as the very interest of the study to uncover and mark ideological tendencies of news agencies as well. Thus, lexical analysis in line with collocations and thematic structures are employed to analyze the news reports as well as for analyzing the discursive representation of social actors in which subjects are positioned and what word choices are used to represent them.

Interpretation or discourse-as-discursive practices: *interpretation of sample news reports*, once the description has done and as discussed earlier CDA is integrated form of discourse analysis so do the results of textual analysis is analyzed in which how texts are produced and interpreted in the news reports. Therefore, it is important to analyze intertextual contexts by examining speech reporting such as news source and reporting verbs. Representation of subjects and presuppositions of text producers, foregrounding and backgrounding aspects of participants, which text producers can affect the interpretation of the reading of the situation on subjects, is also analyzed in the news reports. As Fairclough (1989: 154) points, presuppositions can be sincere or manipulative. But they can also have ideological functions, when what they assume has a character of '*common sense in the service of power*'.

More importantly, analyzing intertextual contexts in the news reports must also include/trace the historical perspective of a particular discourse and texts. Discourses and the texts which occur within them have histories, they belong to historical series, and the interpretation of intertextual context is a matter of deciding which series a text belongs to, and therefore, what can be taken as common ground for participants, or presupposed (ibid: 152). Therefore, this study tried to take into account the broader sociocultural context specifically related to the place of *Political demonstration* and the *context of Election* in Ethiopian culture. In this regard, the researcher hope to answer ideological tendencies and discursive representation of social actors observed in the news reports in detailed context in order to offer an explanation to the third level.

Explanation- discourse-as- social practice: the *explanation of news reports* is more concerned with the broader ideological context within it occurs: situational, institutional and societal contexts. Thus, in this level, the institutional matrix of the discourse processes is explained in relation to power which they are ideologically determined and what discourse they belong to in relation to the mass public they constitute in their reports.

The concern of tracing explanatory connection for particular instances of discourse lies between the nature of the social practices of which they are a part, and the nature of their discursive practice, including sociocognitive aspects of their production and interpretation. More importantly, it is the basis for explaining why the discourse practice is as it is and the effects of the discourse practice upon the social practice.

Therefore, it is explaining the set of conditions that provides the particular discourse in which how it develops and come at contextualized form of such discourse. As Fairclough (1992), It is specifying how this instance stands in relation to these structures and relations (is it conventional and normative, creative and innovative, oriented to restructuring them, oppositional, etc.); and what

effects it contributes to, in terms of reproducing or transforming them and the relationship of the instance of social and discursive practice to the orders of discourse it draws upon, and the effects of reproducing or transforming orders of discourse to which it contributes.

Explaining the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes is addressed by analyzing the discourses that what significant connections exist between features of texts, ways in which texts are put together and interpreted in relation to the nature of the social practice. Thus, we are looking at “*discourse*” as an element in social processes at the institutional and societal levels, and to show how it is ideologically determined by, and ideologically determinative of, power relations and power struggle at this level” (Fairclough, 1989).

Summarizing the analytic techniques, at the microstructure level, the analysis of this respective thesis is focused on, thematic structures, lexis in line with collocation elements and rhetorical elements; quotations and reporting speeches, and verbs embedded in the news reports. At the macrostructure level, the analysis is focused on examining the context of social structure and ideology that pertain on the selected media discourses (situational, institutional and societal).

Chapter Four

4. Data Analysis

This chapter presents analysis of the selected sample newspaper reports and broadcast news media outputs. As discussed in the previous chapter, this section relies itself on analyzing the samples using a combination of CDA and Systemic Functional Grammar analytic tools to describe, interpret and explain the discourses. Thus, by analyzing the samples, the researcher attempts to answer the research questions: identifying the discourses and their ideological tendencies and discursive representation of social actors.

The structure of this section starts by analyzing print discourses followed by broadcast discourse. Taking each sample one after another, the researcher described, interpreted and explained the discourses specifically related to the research questions fortified. In doing so, the researcher hopes to achieve the objective of the study: that is identifying the discourses, the ideological tendencies of the discourses and the discursive representation of social actors in the discourses related to the demonstration against ISIS in selected Ethiopian media.

4.1 Description of News Reports

Indebting three dimensional framework and systemic functional grammar tools discussed in previous chapters, a study of news discourses is conducted to selected media outlets in detailed textual analysis.

4.2 Analysis of Addis Admass Newspaper

Synopsis of the News, Vol.15, No.791 Saturday, April 25, 2015

The news report about the demonstration takes place on the second page. A colour photograph is inserted at the beginning of the news report showing mass protestors on Meskal Square in protest

of the execution of Ethiopian nationals by ISIS. It shows an old man protestor who carries a slogan reading “*Any assault against our citizens in the whole world should stop immediately!*”⁴ This photograph adds importance to the meaning of the event. The mass protestors with difference in age and sex are involved. The photograph emphasizes the peaceful process of the demonstration in the location while the news report emphasizes on the controversy between the protestors, federal police, government officials and Blue party. There is no caption inserted to the photo but the writer of the news report was mentioned namely, Alemayew Ambese. See Appendix B

Theme-Rheme Analysis (Headline - Article)

Headlines are the most important part of any news information (van Dijk, 1988) as they raise reader’s interest and with the aim to summarize the content of the news effectively. Headline and the lead paragraph express the most important information of the cognitive model of journalists, that is, how they see and define the news event. The headline and subhead of Addis Admass (henceforth, AA) reads as follows:

(1) *Wednesday’s demonstration received attention from international media (headline)*⁵
*Blue Party denies the accusation claimed by the government (subhead)*⁶

The headline emphasizes on the attention given to the demonstration by international media and the subhead emphasizes on Blue Party denial of the government accusation. The theme position of the headline is ‘*Wednesday’s demonstration*’ where the rheme is ‘*received attention from*

⁴ በየትኛውም ዓለም በዜጎቻችን ላይ የሚደረጉ ጥቃቶች በአስቸኳይ ይቁም!!

⁵ የረቡዕ እለቱ ሰልፍ በአለምአቀፍ ሚዲያዎች ትኩረት ተሰጥቶታል

⁶ ሰ ማያ ዊ ፓር ቲ ከ መን ግ ስ ት የ ቀ ረ በ በ ት ን ውን ጀ ላ ተ ቃ ወ ማል

international media'. The writer here starting by putting the demonstration in a theme position and as rheme is remainder message that entails the attention given to the demonstration by international media gives importance to the event and more importantly sets the event as a global phenomena to readers.

The subhead lies in giving different information from the headline. *Blue Party* holds the theme position as participant, where '*denies the accusation claimed by the government*' in rheme position include process (denies), circumstance (the accusation) and another participant (the government).

Here in the subhead, the presence of Blue party in theme position implies that the writer consider and expect the denial and makes more likely to naturalize the denial in the minds of the readers. It is also possible that a pro-Blue party interpretation was the goal in which the writer may have aimed to highlight the absurdness (in humorous way) of the accusation.

In going to analyze the news report, taking the headline and subhead which are believed they summarize most important information of the news report which is in concern. The news is organized in fourteen paragraphs where the first four are devoted to the headline and the rest eight to the subhead. This implies that more briefings are given to the subhead than the headline. The analysis of the news report is demonstrated in relation to social actors and related structures as the news more relies on sources for the information.

The lead started the news report by giving new information emphasizing on the headline. The lead reads as:

(2) "*...protestors and security forces clashing gets attention from international media.*"

The writer here emphasizes on why the event gets attention from international media, which is clear because protestors and security forces clash. The next three paragraphs are briefings about those international media coverage of the event. By citing; Aljazeera, Euro news and BBC, the writer tries to show videos broadcasted through these media organization in words. The themes of these paragraphs entirely focused on the clash between protestors and security forces which confirms why these media organizations gave attention to the event.

The next ten paragraphs which give briefings about the subhead are entirely based on the controversy between blue party and the government. The writer has connected the headline and subhead by giving the very new information presented in the lead which aimed to impart the clash between security forces and protestors while between blue party and the government by presenting each of these entities in one process “*conflict*”.

In order to categorize the thematic structures in sentence level through the news report, there emerged six themes: Government, Blue party, Police, Protestor, critics and others⁷. In analyzing Addis Admass news report, sentence-level thematic structures are selected in order to answer the research question fortified, and enhance the reliability of the analysis method. The analysis selects these structures from each theme represented to which is believed to realize the content of the news report.

The government appears in theme position in the fifth paragraph which reads as follows;

(3) Government Communication Officer, Ato Redwan Hussein, hours after the demonstration ends told journalists that the demonstration ends in success, while some lawbreakers motivate turmoil during the demonstration and inform that Blue party is behind.

⁷ The word ‘others’ refers to Theme’s that has no direct attachment to the turmoil but articulated in Addis Admas article.

In the above reported speech, the writer tries to tell readers why Blue party is accused, in passive verb *told* in referring the officer (theme) that gives a sense of confirmation for why Blue party is accused in the new given information (rheme) in the subhead.

The following paragraph illustrates the injuries during the violence;

(4) Following the turmoil, seven Federal Police members were injured, the Minister informs; nothing was told by the Minister about harmed protestors participated in the demonstration.

Here, multiple themes (underlined)⁸ are observed. In this instance, the existential *Following the turmoil*, which represents the circumstance, appears as theme and the next theme *nothing was told by the Minister* appears as process. In this instance, Federal Police is identified as the actor in the process, instead of saying *following the clash between protestors and federal police*; it can be argued that protestors are pointed to the guilty party. But, in the next clause *nothing was told by the Minister*, changes the interpretation while the writer tries to reveal about the omitted actors (protestors). This may implicate that the writer tries to make readers ask about harmed protestors. In another way, the writer has attempted to criticize the government as being careless and irresponsible for the harmed protestors. The following statement confirms the intention of the writer which reads as follows;

(5) According to our reporter... youths who form themselves in a group, particularly around Saint Joseph school were observed chanting slogans loudly that denounce and criticize the government.

Another paragraph that identifies protestors as the guilty party was observed with multiple themes (underlined);

⁸ The underlined phrases whether theme or rheme are indicators of what they stand throughout the thesis for their respective examples.

(6) *Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn who appears in the demonstration, during making a speech that denounce terrorism, loud shouts and protests is observed, few do confront with police.*

In the above statement, the unidentified actor and theme in the second clause (few) is related to the voice qualifier in descriptive verbs (loud shouts) as Machin and Mayr (2012:60), Descriptive verbs categories the interaction by marking the manner and attitude of a speaker in relation to what is being said. Thus, the protestors are empowered with initiation of their own: *few do confront.*

In regard with, police in theme position, two paragraphs are there, which shows the action taken by the police, reads as follows;

(7) *Police, to end the demonstration has used tear gas; many were injured during the ado and disorder.*

(8) *Police have been grouping many protestors in different spots founded in the riot and take them recurrently to police stations, eye witnesses told Addis Admass.*

In the above texts, if one notes how agent-patient relations are depicted, we see that the police are initiating actions; they group, they end the rally, they arrest and transport. Interestingly, this sequence of events is precise opposite of example (6) chronology of event. Where the writer in example (6) asserts, the action of the protestors presumably precede those of police. But in example (7, 8), it is the other way round; the action of police presumably precede those of protestors. In this instance, the only phrase that connects the writer's intention with example (6, 7, and 8) is '*loudly denouncing and criticizing the government*' which is found in example (5). This entails and make the agent patient relation clear that, what makes the police to take action onto protestors is because they were denouncing and criticizing the government and why the protestors are criticizing the government, not stated; here the writer just only suggested but not communicated directly to the readers.

The rest of the news report from paragraph 8-12 emphasizes on Blue party announcement in relation to the accusation claimed by the government. The subhead which emphasizes on Blue party denying this accusation interestingly becomes the other way round which the accuser (government) becomes accused (by Blue party). The eighth paragraph reads as follows;

(9) The Government has organized the protest, Blue party accuses. On Wednesday's evening announcement; to support the governments call, members and supporters are called out to participate in the demonstration and following the call, members and leaders [of Blue party] who went to join [the demonstration] were haunted and arrested before they arrived at Meskal Square, Blue party announced.

(10) The Party in its announcement stated that "Governmental terror will worsen the peoples temper; it rather cannot be a solution" and added that "The government's cruel action towards citizens is strongly unpleasant and should be extremely denounced."

In example (9), where the theme is *Government has organized the protest, Blue party accuses* and in example (10), *the party*, is constitutive or signal each discourses. In another way, the writer's interpretation of the argument that "haunted and arrested" by unidentified actor but "Governmental terror" or state initiated terror act, can be used as an insight that there is an inside job done by the government to frame Blue party for the violence. At the same time, this implies the writer's intention in the subhead by using expressive verb "denies" to put Blue party in the position of power.

The next example, where the writer quotes specific sayings from the announcement, the theme emphasizes on Blue party strongly denying of the accusation reads as follows;

(11) The government's announcement that the turbulence was motivated by Blue party is extremely condemned by the party. Blue party said that, "Despite the fact that the government action towards citizens who protest against the carelessness of the government, relating the issue with some political institutions and devaluing protests is unacceptable and repulsive action, it is very uncertain mistake from a body who calls itself a government".

One thing to notice interestingly starting from example 9-11 and in the news report paragraph from 11-14, the writer has attempt to direct readers attention through consistent use of theme in each paragraph which allows readers to attend the rheme in each sentence where they expect new information. The new information or the rheme with unprecedented shift from what the subhead emphasizes on, through changing the agent patient relationship is where the writer directs readers' attention to the ideas he most wants to assert and express his opinion, namely issues like (the arresting and beating of Blue party members and leaders, confirming hundreds are in custody) in the last two paragraphs.

In the category other, different theme and rheme are observed which the writer textured the paragraph (8) as follows;

Following the call from the government to protest, many private and government institutions were closed. And it was known the nature of the taxi shortage in some areas of the city.

In the above example, the theme (underlined) emphasize on the government's call to protest ISIS and the rheme, or the new information, the closing of private and government institutions, shortage of taxi insights multiple interpretation. In one way, one can argue that, workers on both institutions are participating, but note that the writer is inferring to these institutions by emphasizing on the quantity by the word 'many' which entails *some* were open to serve. In another way, the writer is presupposing that the fear of these institutions (specially the private sector as they are not obliged to close), which entails that violence is seemingly expected. Thus arguably, let alone workers in those institutions, but the writer intention in relation to the call from the government to protest, turmoil is expected in his attitude without explicitly suggesting the reader, why the violence expected and why there were shortage of transportation specifically on taxi which is private service more.

In relation to visual semiotic resource, as Addis Admass news report accompanies a photograph as Machin and Mayr (2012) argued, images too are managed to present a particular interpretation of the attitude, character, and identity of a person and consequently is another semiotic resource by which events and comments can be evaluated implicitly. In Addis Admass news report, as discussed earlier in this subsection the image depicts massive protestors protesting peacefully on Meskel Square and slogan reading as “*Any assault against our citizens in the whole world should stop.*”

In the case of these texts appearing in the image, one can argue that there is an expected or alternative response possible as (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) thought images could fulfill two of these; ‘offer’ or ‘demand’, so images can be seen by viewers as referencing actual acts of interaction in talk (ibid.). Thus, categorizing this image to ‘demand’ is right because in speech commands are realized in imperative mood, as “*should stop*”. Realizing this, different interpretations could emerge. These could be, for example, demanding a reaction from the world community to stop assaulting our citizens or demanding a reaction from the government to stop assaulting our citizens as Ethiopia is part of the whole world. It is usual for newspapers to have access to a collection of stock images for representing an event, as success or failure. In this case, can argue that the writer’s choice to depict the event in relation to the event with this kind of image is vague and overt, when the themes of the article more over emphasize on the controversy appeared between Blue party and the Government. One reason behind, arguably can be the plenty time the writer have to articulate the article (as Addis Admass is weekly) and three days away from the actual event.

Lexical and Collocation Analysis

Lexical analysis is applied here specifically to analyze representation of social actors (Fairclough, 2003), as also there are choices in the representation of social actors as they are usually participants in clauses, though they may not be (they may be within circumstances instead), and not all participants are social actors, they may be physical objects. Thus, prominent social actors from the theme-rheme analysis are selected and their representations in Addis Admass news report are analyzed. Naming, the Government, Blue party, Police and Protestors.

Protestors are represented in more different ways than others, while police and Blue party amount equal, and the government in four ways. Here, one can observe the classification of the subject of discourse by the writer. Therefore, to be fruitful, the analysis of lexical classification of social actors is analyzed in referring to the goal of the discourse in which what follows these lexical choices to represent them in the way they are represented. Here the analysis of lexis revealed the stance taken by the news report through identifying collocations (Halliday, 2014) argue that on either of these two axes (lexis and collocations) and at their own level, in terms of the word choice and in terms of the relation into which they enter, one can realize the relation of a lexical kind (collocation and sets) and of a grammatical kind (structures and systems.) the following examples are the representation of the government with collocations and lexical choices by the writer;

(1) *nothing was told by the Minister about harmed protestors;*

(2) *the government has organized the protest;*

(3) *governments cruel actions;*

(4) *the governments carelessness;*

(5) *governmental terror*

At the phrase/sentence level these are word choices and connotations the writer uses. Verbs like criticize, denounce, cruel, carelessness, uncertain mistake are employed that distinctly describe the government as irresponsible (carelessness), militaristic (cruel actions), conspired (organize the protest). The government is depicted in unfavorable way in which the writer has textures these texts in many ways. For example, the government is realized as a participant in the clause in make things happen and represented as impersonally by referring to the government as cruel in example (3) and the government is realized in specific and generic way which the minister represents the government as the speaker represents his institution and the government represent the whole body in general in example (2, 3, 4 and 5).

Following, as police is an element of the government, here are some examples that represent the police;

Security forces taking actions; the police clashes with protestors; police beating youth women's; policemen's beating a youngster; police taking forceful actions; seven federal police members has been injured; police to end the demonstration has used crying gas; police grouping peoples founded in the violence

The police, significantly activated in which (Fairclough, 2003) their capacity for agentive action, for making things happen, for controlling others and so forth is accentuated or making the actions of the police clearly noticeable or as (Halliday, 2014:83), the actor function in the structure of the clause as representation, it has a meaning as a representation of some process in ongoing human experience where the actor is the active participant in the process. So, it is the element the speaker or writer portrays as the one that does the deed or intentional act. Here, one can argue that the writer has depicted the police impersonally by referring to it as beating and as the power employed by the government without explicitly foregrounding the responsibility of the

government for any of these actions towards protestors. In another way, the writer may assume readers could infer this then left it out.

Going to the representation of protestors, here are examples which the writer uses;

(1) *protestors and security forces clashing;*

(2) *as the people were loudly and aggressively chanting slogans;*

(3) *young women's being beaten by police;*

(4) *a youngster being beaten by many policemen's;*

(5) *few law breakers;*

(6) *youths who form themselves in a group particularly around Saint Joseph school were observed chanting slogans loudly that denounce and criticize the government;*

(7) *few do confront with police*

The first example puts two participants (protestors and security forces) as actors, which indicates both in the process (clashing). The writer depicting protestors in different words or rewording as the people, few, youngsters and women's is which (Fairclough, 2003) presuppose semantic relation, that both what allows the writer to reword social actors without having to make their relation explicit, and is what allows the readers to make sense of the text.

Looking at example (5 and 7), the writer in example five put the speech of government official passively and by interpreting the speech. In this instance the writer representing his own interpretation of the speech, one can argue that the writer is representing protestors not the whole but, as some law breakers, indicates that some did the turbulence, but not all the protestors. In other way, the writer is interpreting the view of the government official to the violence.

In example (2), protestors (*the people*) was represented by the writer as all the protestors who participate on the demonstration was extremely aggressive and loud, which entails the protestors

are not protesting against the issue at hand (against ISIS), rather criticizing the government. One important thing to notice here is that, the intention of the writer creates ambiguity, where in one way depicting few of the protestors as law breakers and in another way depicting the whole protestors (peoples participate in the demonstration) as aggressive and criticizing the government. Whereas, protestors are described as affected by the process as follows;

Young women's (affected) being beaten (process) by police (actor)

A youngster (affected) being beaten (process) by many policemen's (actor)

The writer's waving intention to represent protestors in different motives and frames, which is the clash between (police and protestors), and (government and Blue party). This can arguably draw the attention of the readers away from dealing the more substantive aspects of the event such as, human right, freedom of speech, the right to protest, political freedom and more importantly; the issue behind that motivate the rally in the first place.

In relation to Blue party, below is example

... Some lawbreakers motivate violence during the demonstration and inform that Blue party is behind.

In the above example, the pronoun 'some' is indirectly identifying Blue party by linking the Minister's speech to the noun 'lawbreakers' which again emphasize the government's attitude to the turmoil which views Blue party as a lawbreaker and criminal and at the same time draws the attention of readers in dual interpretation to the event.

Forwarding to another example, Blue party is entirely attached to its announcement which emphasize not on the party's denying the accusation but the writer puts Blue party in the accuser position as discussed earlier, for example *Blue party accuses, denies, confirmed, says* can be stated. In all these representations, the writer reporting the announcement made by Blue party

directly and indirectly which puts Blue party in the position of accuser and as ordinary citizen trying to participate in the demonstration and put the government extremely in unfavorable way by using connotations as careless, trivialize, terrorist. In this stance, the writer's intention to emphasize on who say what to whom regarding the eventual issues underlies the event as completely closed to discussion as (Huckin, 1997) , and this makes the events themselves seem more like an ineffectual ritual than a meaningful clash of ideas or put them in question in the minds of readers.

Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Report/Discourse

In this news report, the government or representatives of the government is indirectly quoted, whereas Blue party is both directly and indirectly quoted several times which entails the report has a mixture of direct and indirect speech features.

Using indirect discourse, the writer adds his own comments and expresses to what has been said directly by the speaker or writer. Examples of indirect discourse include, *Ato Redwan Hussein points, the minister told, following the government call*. Whilst the news starts by quoting the government's announcement indirectly in the fifth paragraph can be taken as the importance of the information and the reporter attributes to the announcement made by the government regarding the rally and then the writer attempts to relate this paragraph to the next paragraph by conveying or stressing what the Minister didn't say about harmed protestors.

The writer has used metapositional verbs (assertive, directives and expressive) and neutral-reporting verbs such as accuse, announce and say. As Machin and Mayr (2012), neutral structuring verbs introduce a saying without evaluating it explicitly and Metapositional verbs mark the author's interpretation of a speaker by assertive, directive and expressive verbs

respectively. Thus, the theme back in example (9) is reported by expressive verb “accuse”, which puts Blue party in accuser position. The rheme which holds new information in example (9) is the haunting and arresting of Blue party members and leaders before their presence at Meskel Square. In this sentence structure, who do the *haunting and arresting* is implicit but the assertive verb “announce” is used to encourage readers to make a particular interpretation of the event before and after. In regard, those who ‘announce’ things appear to have power and legitimacy though more likely to be true report of the event (ibid.).

In regard to Blue party, is quoted both directly and indirectly. For example, in direct quote, *Blue party accuses, the party said, the party’s announcement* and indirect quote as, *the party points, the party extremely denies*. One important thing to notice in the news report is that, even if the writer quoting Blue party directly, following the quote, interpretation of the writer dominates the speech of Blue party. In this regard, arguably, the dominance of indirect speech over direct speech indicates that the reporter wants to reveal his attitude or argument on the issue being discussed. Moreover, the repetition of indirect quote for example, *Blue party extremely denies and Blue party confirms* (both twice), entails the writer is ensuring the reader that they gets the message (Ghannam, 2011:51).

4.3 Analysis of Addis Zemen Newspaper

Synopsis of News’s, 74th year, No.225, Thursday, 23, April, 2015

The news about the demonstration takes the whole first page of this news paper in three different headlines. A colour photograph is inserted at the beginning of the news report depicting mass protestors at Meskel Square against ISIS carrying different slogans and the Ethiopian flag. From all different slogans, there is one readable which a young man carries, reading, “*We give no*

chance to what disturbs our peace".⁹ The caption beneath describes the photograph as being, "The residents of Addis Ababa town extremely denounce inhuman action of ISIS" and the photographer is namely, Dagne Abera. The writers name in order of news reports appearance are; Merid Kiflu, Mahlet Abdul and ENA and Wondwosen Shimelis. Likewise Addis Admass, the photograph emphasizes on the peaceful process of the demonstration while the news report mainly talks about the rally which creates three different headlines about the protestors, government officials, federal police and Blue party. See Appendix C

Analysis of the First News

Theme-Rheme Analysis (Headline-Article)

As headline can effectively summarize the content of news reports, Addis Zemen (henceforth, AZ)¹⁰ newspaper has three different headlines with their corresponding news reports concerning the demonstration. Therefore, is analyzed in their order of appearance. The first headline reads as follows;

*Ethos of tolerable way of living will not be impeded by terrorists*¹¹

The theme of the headline *Ethos of tolerable way of living* and the rheme *will not be impeded by terrorists* are more importantly addressing and emphasizing on the context of tolerance in Ethiopia as it won't stumble over the action of terrorists (ISIS) against Ethiopian nationals in Libya. Here, one can have dual interpretations on the writer intention. First, as Ethiopia is diverse in ethnicity, culture and more importantly in religion, he is pointing on how this diverse inhabitant lives tolerably and that tolerance will not be blacken by the action of terrorists (ISIS).

⁹ ሰላማችን እንዲፈረርስ ዕድል አንሰጥም!!

¹⁰ AZ₁ refers to the publication of Addis Zemen Newspaper report regarding the event on the next day that the demonstration held (April 23, 2015).

"ተቻችሎ የመኖር እሴት በአሸባሪዎች አይደናቀፍም"

Secondly, it shows the fear of the writer that the killing of Ethiopian Christians in Libya by what it calls itself 'Islamic state' may break the tolerance up especially between the Christian and Muslim community in Ethiopia but without communicating is explicitly.

Following the analysis of the headline proceeds to analyze the thematic structure of the news report. The lead of the news emphasizes on different slogans carried by protestors and their way of protesting in descriptive verbs that qualify the voice of protestors by using the word 'loudly'.

The slogans which the writer presents read as follows;

“Extremism and terrorism do not have religious ground rather political agenda; IS does not represent Islam; our anti-terrorism law, ethos of tolerable way of living and culture will proceed strengthening”

The slogans stated above are selected from numerous collections which protestors carried out; in this instance one potentially can determine what the writer wants readers to know which deliberately is strengthening his headline. In the first slogan, the writer asserts that extremism and terrorism got no religious doctrine but politically motivated, the second one emphasizes on the religious entity 'Islam' should not be related to IS as it is politically motivated but not on religious basis. And, the third emphasize on the anti-terrorism law which the state enacted will carry on and the people will keep on tolerable way of living and culture virtues.

The next eighteen paragraphs emphasized on speech acts of officials; religious leaders, government officials and two residents of Addis Ababa. The writer interprets these speeches by adding his own opinions and except one all are interpreted and strengthen his very intentions in the head line and the lead.

The thematic structure of these eighteen paragraphs emphasized on the way forward to fight extremism and terrorism, as IS does not represent Islam and strengthening the tolerance culture

between the Muslim and Christian community. In the paragraph next to the lead the writer starts by giving the information that who was there at official level; religious leaders, government officials and residents of Addis Ababa. The writer here at the end of the paragraph articulates the unity of religious leaders as follows;

All religion follower by being united will fight terrorism and they denounced the grievance action made by the leftist IS group on Ethiopians in Libya.

Here, two themes (underlined) emerged which the writer wants to indicate the unity of religious leaders as they represent their respective follower and religion and assuming the followers as having not different interpretations and the pronoun 'they' is used to refer followers as again they are denouncing which the process 'by being united' as the subject of a verb to refer the unity of followers so forth religious leaders. Pragmatically, this communication entails that in order to fix the feared threat that religious chaos might exist due to the action achieved by ISIS. Therefore, it is intended to achieve consent politically and socially between the political leadership and the public. This is done to suit the very condition (assumed) rather than obeying fixed ideas or rules against the problem of illegal migrants.

The following texts are organized by the writer, exchanging the theme and rheme positions as officials or what they address the crowd and all do have common points to what the writer wants to assert through his interpretation of the speeches; for instance religious leaders and government officials commonality in their discourse goal as in the thematic structure could be read as follows;

By believing these actions are not only initiated to Christians (Representative of Ethiopian Orthodox Church)

ISIS is masking Islamic doctrine But goes opposite direction, understanding this, the whole community should extremely denounce it. (Representative of Islamic Affairs)

The people by understanding that such actions are attempting to create a chaos between different religions which has been built for over centuries of tolerance and unity, though by strengthening values of tolerance and unity....(Mayor of Addis Ababa)

It is an action organized to break the tolerance and unity between, thus the people without being skeptical should strengthen the tolerable and respectful way of living... (Prime Minister of Ethiopia)

The above statements are committed to articulate the very intention of the headline which asserts as to keep the tolerance between specifically with two religions (Christians and Muslims) as it was before. As it is seen the writer is using a prominence source for his interpretation of what he meant to assert on readers or trying readers' to get the core message.

One different paragraph emerged and textured as the speech of the prime minister in relation to political parties which reads as follows;

In the country, beside political differences, to this unpleasant action we indeed need to have a common stance, all political parties should be careful not move isolated to get political profit rather they should denounce the action by being united, points the prime minister.

In the above statement, the theme (underlined) and the rheme (not underlined) refers to what should be denounced by holding common stance is the new information where the writer is asserting, political differences cannot be obstacles to have a common ground on the basis of what has happened to Ethiopian citizens in Libya. The next statement which puts *all political parties* in theme position and where the rheme is organized by a corrective conjunctive adjunct '*rather*' to make a precise of what should be the common ground which is *should denounce the action by being united*. In this case, another interpretation is as the rally ends in turmoil, in this regard one could argue the writer is asserting that political parties are behind the turmoil and as they are moving isolated to get profit from motivating violence which is political. Or, if violent is to appear at the rally the only guilty subjects to motivate violence are none but political parties.

The interpretation of the writer as information, is structured in two functions, the New and the Given but they are related, as (Halliday, 2014:120) argues Given+New and Theme and Rheme are not the same things, thus the theme is what the writer choose to take as his point of departure, the Given is what the readers already know about or have accessible to go and the New is what readers don't know or what the writer want to assert. In this instance Theme+Rheme (*In the country, beside political differences and they denounce the action by being united*) is writer oriented while Given+New (*to this unpleasant action we indeed need to have a common stance and all political parties should be careful not move isolated to get political profit*) is reader oriented. But both are, writer selected, it is the speaker who assigns both structures, mapping one to the other to give a composite texture to the discourse and there by relate it to the environment.

Analysis of Second News

Theme-Rheme Analysis (Headline-Article)

The second headline on the front page of AZ₁ reads as follows;

*The peoples for showing partnership in called demonstration that denounce IS act, government appreciates.*¹²

The headline puts *the peoples* in theme position and the process *for showing partnership* in the circumstance *called demonstration that denounce* and the existential *IS act* which the process in the clause structure is predicator that readers are allowed to know who appreciates ‘ *the government appreciates*’ the people. The headline asserts that all the peoples are on behalf of the government organized demonstration or was supportive and do have common stance with the government.

¹² ህዝቡ የአይ.ኤስ ድርጊትን ለመቃወም በተጠራው ሰልፍ ላሳዩው አጋርነት መንግሥት አመሰገነ

Going to the lead of the news report where the writer articulates different discourses in relation to the headline, reads as follows;

The presence of the Residents of Addis Ababa on the called demonstration to denounce the inhuman action on Ethiopian sects, showing partnership and determination as to side with the government in the operation against terrorism is appreciable, Ministry of government communication affairs announces. Blue party, by seizing this opportunity striving to motivate civil war which is terror act should desist, the ministry warns. The demonstration peaceful ending is announced by the city's security command post.

The lead had three sentences which emphasize on, the appreciation of the government for residents of Addis Ababa, warning to Blue party and the peaceful ending of the demonstration by the command post. The first statement puts *The Residents of Addis Ababa* in theme position and the rheme entails the appreciation of the government for different processes as the goal of the discourse. In this stance, the writer is asserting that peoples participated on the demonstration was supportive of the government and for the anti-terror policy enacted by the government. And the second statement, Blue party holds the theme position and the rheme holds that the subject using the opportunity is striving to activate civil war which is intended as terror act thus, received warning from the government. This issue is related to the preceding news report analysis which states if violence or turmoil is to be occur though responsible subjects are political parties thus Blue party is.

The third statement of the lead emphasizes on the peaceful ending of the demonstration (theme) and announcer command post in rheme position. Noticing that, the writer's assertion in the second statement as at least some activities was observed which Blue party is behind, but the activity is just signaled by the warning, though the writer without difficulty can articulate as the demonstration ends in peace. For instance, if the writer asserts, there happen violence on the demonstration, the third statement could automatically be changed, but it remains successful

demonstration as it follows the argument back in the second statement. Nevertheless, the writer can't escape, what was there at the rally, precisely security forces and protestors clash, not protestors to each other.

The next eleven paragraphs after the lead of AZ₁ news has seven sentence-level themes: Residents of Addis Ababa, Government, Blue Party, Command post/police, Political Parties, The demonstration and the development of Ethiopia. After identifying the theme, the rheme is analyzed with the overall thematic structure of the sentences (Halliday, 2014:112) as theme of a clause extends from the beginning up to, and including, the first element that has an experiential function- that is either participant, circumstance or process and everything after that constitutes the rheme or the new information. Therefore, what constitutes subjects in theme position in relation to the research question fortified is analyzed. Starting from residents of Addis Ababa in themes position and the rheme reads as follows;

Showing partnership and determination; out to denounce the act of terrorists; show their determination to fight terrorism; great respect and appreciation will be given; not to be terrorized and keep on fighting terrorists as always in faith and one heart.

The above stated rheme's emphasize on two main elements; the unity of Addis Ababa residents and their supportive and determinative manner for the governments' anti-terror policy. In this stance, residents are depicted by the writer as being sided to the government whereas those who act violently are not supporters of the government and of the people who show their stance with the government.

The theme category 'the government' and the rheme's of this category read as follows;

the whole people in the country are observed showing their grief in different ways; striving to prevent the damage caused by extremists who mask religion; some members of Blue party in organized way, besides stirring the demonstration were observed hitting peoples by stone who was trying to show their grief in the rally

The rheme in relation to the theme 'the government' emphasize on how the people was in grief by the execution of Ethiopian citizens in Libya, the governments' effort to combat terrorists and extremists and as Blue party is behind the turbulence and organize the protest in order to motivate riot between protestors but not protestors with security forces. The clash between protestors and security forces is precisely presented as a clash between some Blue party members and peaceful protestors where security forces are attempting to control the clash of protestors. The writer has classified protestors in two different subjects; protestors who are supportive of the government and not supportive (members of Blue party). Security forces are omitted actors where the agent-patient relationship is complete in between those classified protestors or (Huckin, 1997) at the sentence-level, the writer may manipulate by omitting agents, which escapes many uncritical readers.

As of Blue party being in the theme position, the rheme's emphasize on that, the party is trying to activate civil war, and is a terrorist group not a political institution, as the one who is responsible for the injures on protestors and police members, as anti-peace force and is against the peace loving people. These rheme's reads as follows;

Striving to motivate civil war; protestors and seven police members injured; has hidden political agenda; anti peace force; terrorist and extremist supporter

As of the command post or police members in theme position, the rheme's emphasize on the announcement of which forces that has hidden political agenda attempt to motivate violence and security force's cooperating with the community make the demonstration end in peace and the attempt was under control. The intention of the writer to depict the protestors cooperating with the police is again to make those supportive protestors as highly participated to end the demonstration peacefully.

Political parties' appearing in theme position and the rheme reads as follows;

Many political parties in the country, starting from the date the action been figured, they have been expressing their grief without needing any agenda adjustment, in political parties podium as well in their own, pointing Ato Redwan Hussein, they confirm their determination to work with the government in the Anti-terror movement.

Precisely noticing that the theme (underlined), entails that the clause 'many political parties' and the word 'many' is determining how considerable and large number of political parties. Whereas 'many' does not mean 'all', thus it means that there are some political parties. As the clause 'without needing any agenda adjustment' confirms that those 'some' political parties need to adjust their agenda in order to express their grief. In this stance, Blue party is represented as the party who needs to adjust its agenda so as to organize a riot on the demonstration, which is what the adjustment entails or more precisely, *hidden political agenda*.

In relation to the development of Ethiopia, where it appears in theme position reads as follows;

The development of Ethiopia and the people being in and out in peace makes terrorists and their supporters sleepless; tries to threatening the peace of the country.

The theme (underlined) by relating these clauses by the conjunction 'and' asserts that Ethiopia is a developing nation and the people is peace loving. The rheme (not underlined) entails that the theme in existential position doesn't give effort to terrorists thus attempted to threaten the peace in the country. Therefore, Blue party members are one of their supporters which the writer makes the readers to infer in different ways of labeling the party as terrorists and anti peace force. More importantly, what make terrorists or extremists unfavorable to Ethiopia are (the nation's development and the peace loving people), no other options are forwarded as to what makes them against Ethiopia which can raise a question on critical readers.

In relation to the demonstration in theme position, the sentence reads as follows;

The ending of the demonstration in peace as planned, the command post appreciates the peoples support and security bodies at different levels that surmount their duty accordingly.

The underlined clause initial implies the theme, where the writer tells the readers that was the plan made to end the demonstration in peace, whereas, the context of peaceful demonstration is vague because as there was harmed protestors and police members. And following, the writer gives new information, that the 'command post' appreciating the people and security forces. One may wonder most readers' of this report are likely to fall in spending much effort to judge whether the demonstration was a success or a failure.

Lexical and Collocation Analysis

As discussed earlier in this section, lexical analysis goes in line with connotation of how social actors are represented. The word choice of the writer and what collocate them is analyzed as major social actors in AZ₁ news report are; the government, Blue party, command post/police and protestors.

The government is represented in both generic (the Ethiopian government or the government) and specific terms (the Minister) and the police as well. Protestors are represented as (the resident, the people, and the community). In this stance, these representations only refer to those who were supportive for the government and the command post. But, those who were not or founded in the turmoil, are labeled to refer members of Blue party as (anti peace forces, terrorists and extremists and their supporters, lawbreakers) which entails more negative word choices are used to depict the party as terror organizer and the rest actors as affected in the process by Blue party.

In regard with the collocations that follows these word choices, the writer intends readers to understand the terms immediately by inferring to metaphors or as (Huckin, 1971) argues writers may convey connotations through the use of metaphor or other figures of speech. In this stance, Blue party, looking at metaphors conveyed by the writer is represented as institution of terrorists. For instance, the party in this news report is realized by nouns, pronouns and verbs as to help readers refer back to a noun previously used and the reference is specific rather than generic forms. This is because the writer achieves this through classifying protestors as ‘peaceful and violent’ in this news report. An example of this reads as follows;

Striving to motivate civil war intended as terror act; the party motivates the violence; anti peace forces, unlawful acts

The writer using the above stated phrases impersonalize the party by referring it to the negative connotations, passivated actor in the process as they are irresponsible and make the violence happen and backgrounding or (Fairclough, 2003:146), actors can be backgrounded that is mentioned somewhere in the text, but having to be inferred in one or more places (in case of Blue party) or by suppression, that is not in the text at all.

Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Report/Discourse

The news report is fully organized by the interpretation of the writer to speeches, announcements made only by government officials. Indirect quote is the only available entity, for instance; the government communication officer announces.... Warns, told, points; the command post told, announces. Here, the verbs used by the writer puts both actors as authoritative and legitimate, as Machin and Mayr (2012) argues these verbs can help define the roles of sets of participants or event even though these are not explicitly stated. That is defining the government as stuff of official groups and guardian of the people and the law. And, Blue party as criminal and

lawbreaker because the government says so; the writer needs no verification to what Blue party may offer because it is another whole new angle that exploit the whole articulation.

Analysis of Third News

Theme-Rheme Analysis (Headline-Article)

The headline of this news report reads as follows;

“We understood that delinquent recruits are living with us thus indispensable measure should be taken” Addis Ababa Residents¹³

The theme ‘*We understood*’ stands for the residents as the pronoun ‘*we*’ refers to the subject of the verb used to refer the residents. The phrase ‘*delinquent recruits*’ in the rheme stands for recruits of ISIS or other terrorist groups. Here the writer is following the argument back in the second news report where those who participated in the riot during the demonstration are supporters of terrorists and extremists. The only difference is, the writer asserts that this is how residents in Addis Ababa understands the event in which most of the report has emphasized. Therefore, justice must be served for those who attempted to stir the demonstration and the lead of the news also insures the understanding of residents by quoting them directly as follows;

“An attempt to stir the people who went out to denounce and express their grief for civilians assaulted by leftist groups confirm that delinquent forces existence with us that seeks the fall of Ethiopia, thus indispensable measure should be taken.” says residents of Addis Ababa.

The rest of the news report’s five paragraphs emphasize on the same patterns by presenting sources and their understanding. Sources include one official Ato Dagnachew Temesgen, Manager of Brave Patriots Association and three residents of Addis Ababa. The speech of the official holds historical discourse and the writer by introducing this official and his opinion

¹³ « የጥፋት ተላላኪዎች በጉያችን መኖራቸውን ተረድተናልና አስፈላጊው እርምጃ ሊወሰድ ይገባል» የአዲስ አበባ ነዋሪዎች

towards the people who express and denounce by the love and unity they have. And proceeds by quoting the official, which reads as follows;

...but “who would drink favorable if it turbid”¹⁴, peoples who operate on behalf of leftist groups, striving to defame the honor and pride of the country’s name who conquer and see off Inter Africa fascism system, is very sadly. He points, this act clearly shows, these forces are not only existing outside but recruits of these forces to implement their goal in the country. Therefore, the government and the people should disclose this recruit forces.

The quote, “who would drink favorable if it turbid” is an Amharic proverb. It precisely entails the attitude of the manager discussed after the quote. The quote simply means, in order to drink pure water, one first need to purify it. In this stance, the ‘turbid’ stands for peoples recruited by those leftist forces or anti-Ethiopian forces that make the demonstration violent, the pronoun ‘who’ stands for the people of Ethiopia where they can’t enjoy their love, peace and unity because of the turbid who attempt to break these virtues. Therefore, the people and the government in order to purify the turbid water should disclose these forces to enjoy their love, peace and unity. The reference of Ethiopia as who conquer the fascism legacy that face Africa, which this achievement is the honor but such forces attempting to spoil this pride of Africa in an event where peoples are expected to show their unity. This is positioning the government and the people have homework to deal with.

The other four paragraphs thematic structure emphasize on the same notion as the lead and the quote discussed above, where the writer uses residents as his source and strengthen his argument in their own words and his interpretation.

¹⁴ It is an Amharic proverb translated by the researcher and reads as «ድፍርስ ካለ ማን ጥሩ ይጠጣል እንዲሉ»

Lexical and Collocation Analysis

Much of the word choices and phrases collocates social actors are the same as the second news report. But this news report entirely focuses on the existence of recruited forces and the responsibility of the people and the government as to disclose these forces. For instance, these forces are represented as *recruits of terrorists; leftist forces; politically thirsty peoples; blood seekers; leftist missionaries; virulence recruits of killers* are words the writer used to represent these forces. The writer has used negative connotations to represent these forces in the entire news. These forces recruits' in relation to the violent behavior in the demonstration is directly related to 'Blue party' and is subjected to infer this selections but not communicated directly to readers by the writer.

Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Report/Discourse

As discussed above, the lead is a direct quote from residents of Addis Ababa. The emphasis here is to show how the residents understand the violence and the responsible actors for it. The interpretation of the writer follows the next paragraph where he used direct and indirect discourses to relate the speeches in his own words.

The manager of Brave Patriots Association, Ato Dagnachew Temesgen speech also follows the same pattern as the residents are represented in generic form and residents as sources in specific form. This entails that; the writer has potentially agreed with the sources presented in the news as the importance of actual words of those quotes follows the writer's interpretation of the writer. More, the writer articulates the news report in similar argument in different sentence structures both in direct and indirect preferences, highlighting the same idea, the writer tries to influence reader's opinion about the issue as observed; there is no option to infer another angle.

Analysis of Addis Zemen Newspaper (2)

Synopsis of the News's, 74th year, No.228, Sunday 26, April, 2015

Addis Zemen's (henceforth, AZ₂)¹⁵ news reports related to the demonstration is the same as the first newspaper; different headlines and two coloured photos at the beginning of the news report which depicts protestors running and a photo with caption beneath depicting protestors in group and could be interpreted as "we are imprisoned". The caption reads as "*Furor motivators besides pitching stone on peaceful peoples, they were subsist carrying emblem which IS uses*"¹⁶. The Writers are, naming in appearance of news reports (1-3); Wondwosen Shimelis and ENA, Merid Kiflu and Kifleyohanis Amberbir. And, the news reports mainly emphasizes on the report of federal police, the speech made by different Civic Associations and Ethiopian Youth Federation members as well the announcement made by Andinet party. See Appendix D

Analysis of the First News

Theme-Rheme analysis (Headline-Article)

The news report has two headlines in quotes and reads as follows;

(1) "*Legal action should be taken for those who motive furor on the demonstration.*"
*Civic Associations (headline)*¹⁷

(2) "*I knew who organized the furor on the demonstration.*" *Federal Police Commission (sub-head)*¹⁸

¹⁵ AZ₂ refers to the publication of Addis Zemen Newspaper report regarding the event after three days that the demonstration was held (April 26, 2015).

¹⁶ . ሁከት ፈጣሪዎቹ በሰላማዊ ሰዎች ላይ ድንጋይ ከመወርወራቸው ባሻገር አይ.ኤስ የሚጠቀምበትን አርማም ይዘው ተገኝተዋል፤

¹⁷ «በሰላማዊ ሰዎች ሁከት በፈጠሩት ላይ እርምጃ ሊወሰድ ይገባል» የሲቪክ ማህበራት

¹⁸ «በሰዎች ላይ የተቀሰቀሰውን ሁከት ያስተባብሩትን አውቄአቸዋለሁ» የፌዴራል ፖሊስ ኮሚሽን

The headline and the sub-head follow the same argument the news paper has in earlier analysis (AZ₁). The theme (underlined) of the first headline emphasizes on what action (legal) should be taken as the rheme puts subjects (those who) and the process, furor motivators infers back. And, the subhead, in regard gives the emphasis on those actors in the headline accused of the violent act are confirmed and known by the legal body Federal Police Commission. Note that, civic associations are presented in generic sense by questioning legal bodies and do not know who would be responsible for the act but the subhead answers in specific sense in authoritative manner responsible to disclose the responsible ones. This entails that the headline and the subhead form a question and answer texture where Civic Associations demand justice to be served and Federal Police Commission is addressing this services.

Going to the lead, it reads as follows;

Following Ethiopian innocent civilians brutally killed by the international terrorist group called IS; bodies that stir the peoples' out to denounce and express their grief on the demonstration must be screened and indispensable measure should be taken, Civic Associations tells. Furor motivated during the demonstration held to denounce the killing of Ethiopians by IS terrorist group is organized by Blue and Andinet parties and assuredly confirmed, Federal Police Commission announces.

The lead of the news precisely summarizes the idea of the headlines but gives out the very new information that who is responsible for the violence (Blue and Andinet parties) by the confirmation of authorized body but presupposed in earlier news reports analyzed. Notably, the lead set out the actors whereas the headlines just impress readers to read the rest of the news report by omitting the actors responsible for the violence.

The next twelve paragraphs emphasize on the speeches made by Civic Associations (4) and Federal Police Commission (8). Civic Associations in the news report nearly emphasize on the same idea as the headline and the lead does. Federal Police Commission in the news report gives

briefings about actors stated in the lead within different thematic structures. And, as the analysis of AZ₁ indicates; Blue party was the only responsible body for the violence but this news report adds Andinet Party as the other responsible body. This is because; violence is in the hands of political institutions as earlier analysis indicates. Moving to the new emerged thematic structures in the news report is illustrated as follows;

[Although they are arrested as] riot motivators, party members who were candidates for House of Peoples Representative are released on the basis of Election Law.

“...it is certainly confirmed and planned that, on the day while the people is getting back expressing their grief, organized force recruits of these parties joins them to transform the plan and use it for their political interest.”

...Majorly Blue party members, leaders and supporters participated and organized the riot, following this seven leaders of the party participates and all in all twenty Blue party members are arrested

...furor motivators are confirmed that they held the flag of terrorists..

...more than one thousand suspects were under arrest, but now not more than 150 suspicions left and they are in progress of investigation.

...more than six hundred thousand peoples were present [on the demonstration] to express their grief and the idea [to hold the demonstration] was a success.

The writer has inferred authoritative statements to express what officials said. The writer's intention more importantly lead readers to be judgmental not evaluative of the situation. In this instance, as Mayr and Machin (2012) argues describing how and what someone has spoken, can have a considerable impact on the way that the writers can shape perception of events. In this case, at least all sentences simply state the judgment of officials; the writer neither passes any judgment nor any evaluation on what officials said explicitly. The writer just interprets on behalf of officials that make them powerful and legitimate to readers. At the same time, the repetition of an idea is observed which entails that the writer particularly wants the reader to digest the entire

discourse to get the core message by organizing the news report with official speeches and neglect single claim of those arrested and accused of the violence.

Lexical and Collocation Analysis

The writer chooses the same words to refer different social actors as used in AZ₁ news reports. Whereas the accused parties (Andinet and Blue) are overtly stated but communicated through such connotative values of the writer's verb choices (riot organizers, observed holding a kind of flag that terrorists (IS) uses). The overall strategy of the discourse the writer used emphasizes the good things of the people and government institutions and de-emphasizes any things about the political parties. Moreover, Federal Police Commission is coherently depicted as evidential as they have the truth and the structure of argumentation dominantly holds those of officials as well some repetitions are observed.

Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Report/Discourse

As discussed earlier, this news report starts the headline and the subhead by quoting directly Civic Associations and Federal Police Commission as to demonstrate the importance of the actual words and is worthy. The rest of the report uses indirect quote or the writer interprets the speeches of these two government institutions as a corporate argument. No Blue or Andinet party members are quoted as a source which entails their claim is not worthy to discuss.

Sequence of quotation in the news report is organized as; Civic Associations are claiming justice must be served for those who motivate furor and Federal Police Commission is serving the justice by inferring election law as it was a time of election. Civic Associations used verbs and nouns (forces, bodies, groups', violence motivators) to infer those they claim should legally question. While Federal Police Commission directly uses nouns (Blue and Andinet parties) in

specific terms as the institution is responsible to disclose the investigation. Moreover, the reiteration of the same idea indirectly in the news report proves that the writer is trying to influence the opinion of readers' in relation to the confirmation of Blue and Andinet parties responsibility for the violent.

Analysis of the Second News

Theme-Rheme analysis (Headline-Article)

The headline of the second news report reads as follows;

“Every political party should desist from inspiring turmoil that stirs dwellers’ peace”¹⁹

Ethiopian Youth Federation Members

The theme of the headline ‘*Every political party*’ entails that the message includes all political parties by the determiner word ‘*every*’ and the rheme or the message is a command from the federation that they (all political parties) should be careful not to disturb the peoples peace by inspiring turmoil. One thing to notice here is that, the federation seemingly knows who is responsible for the turmoil but often omits and just jumped to the message the writer wants to impart. The lead of the news is the interpretation of the writer of the members of the federation opinion in regard to the violence, and it reads as follows;

Ethiopian youth federation members on their behalf connotes, every political party should understand that by the blood of the youth authority cannot be hold, therefore should abstain from motivating turmoil and stirring dweller’s peace.

The thematic structure of the lead lies in what (Halliday, 2014:119) identifies as there is a close semantic relationship between the system of information and the system of theme-between information structure and thematic structures, which is Given+New and Theme+Rheme. In this

¹⁹ «ማንኛውም የፖለቲካ ፓርቲ ብጥብጥ በመፍጠር የነዋሪውን ሰላም ከማወክ መቆጠብ ይኖርበታል» የኢትዮጵያ ወጣቶች ፌዴሬሽን አባላት

instance, the Given is *'Ethiopian Youth Federation Members'* in the headline and the New is *'every political party should understand that by the blood of the youth authority cannot be hold'* and the theme *'therefore'* or causal conjunctive adjunct which refers to the subject as them to be certain with the Given and the rheme falls on warning that all political parties to be careful from such acts. This implies that the writer using this system is attempting to achieve complex maneuvers of putting political parties down and making them feel guilty in reader's mind.

Following, the next seven paragraphs in their thematic structure, is organized by the interpretation of the writer by making the sources in theme or rheme position. The thematic structures emphasize on, the meeting held by members of the federation, political cleavage, anti peace forces, being united for peace and development emerges in the news report. Considering some examples from these texts is analyzed as follows;

As Tewodros Abayneh is a resident from Nifas Silk Lafto sub-city, he told that even if there were political or another differences, they should not express their opinion in such a way.

In the above statement, the writer starts by introducing the source (in theme position) then interprets the speech of the source and the new information (rheme) entails that as it is common for political parties have differences on social issues they stand within. But the writer here relates the manner of protestors and political difference in one vacuum which motivate the turmoil and follows the very argument of AZ₁ new report; which argues if violence is to be come into view, political parties are the only responsible bodies. The news report never mismatches the content as to depict political parties' irresponsible and pursuing their political interest to win over the nation's peace.

Another example could be the following;

Because of few opponent forces motivating furor, he express his sadness that youths' being inspired and unknowingly injured in the event as well for those few harmed dwellers.

The theme in conjunctive '*because*' is a given which hark back to why in the first turn or as (Halliday, 2014:119), the given item is anaphoric reference, the word '*because*' is used to refer political parties in different way as the clause '*few opponent forces*' realized as furor motivators. And this kind of clause is known as thematic equative, because it sets up the theme+rheme structure in the form of equation as theme=rheme. Here, *because* can be interpreted as 'which is why' as the result of the process is '*youths' being inspired*' and act violently that harms residents.

Lexical and Collocation Analysis

As the earlier analysis's done, in relation to social actors emerged from the news reports are; Ethiopian Youth Federation Members (element of the government) and Political parties (all political party's). The word choice of the writer to represent the federation is generic and specific (members). And political parties are inferred implicitly by metaphors such as; *few opponent forces, anti peace forces and furor motivators*. The writer uses negative connotations to infer political parties and as it is given in the preceding news reports, the references automatically goes to Blue party but not communicated directly, because of the writer using generic terms to refer political parties and are realized in metaphors.

Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Report/Discourse

In this news report beside the headline, the writer entirely quotes members of Ethiopian Youth Federation in indirect quotes or interpretation is applied to every source used. This implies the

opinions of these sources are important and the headline direct quote shows the importance of the actual words attached to summarize the news report. In the news report, indirect quotes are introduced using the following reporting verbs; said, tells, points, connotes, forwarded and this verbs are called transcript verbs as they mark the development of the discourse or relates the quotes to other parts of the discourse. As Machin and Mayr (2012:60) asserts press releases might present the person or persons they are promoting as ‘he/she points’ or ‘forwarded’ to give an impression of them offering more information when in fact it may be the same point and make them legitimate and formal and official groups.

Analysis of the Third News

Theme-Rheme Analysis (Headline-Article)

The headline of the third news report read as follows;

Andinet party “denounces those who stir the demonstration, if candidacies are confirmed participant in this action, will be discharged” says.²⁰

The headline above is sharply contradicting as it has passive sentence structure but represented as actual words of the subject in inverted commas. The rheme is what follows the subject or theme *Andinet party* in quote, but the reporting verbs (denounces, stir, confirmed, discharged and say) does the quote as the writer wants to add his own interpretation and intercede on the speech.

Following, the lead which gives new information reads as follows;

Unity for Democracy and Justice (Andinet party) announces that, the party extremely denounces bodies who insight furor on the people who were out to denounce and express their grief on Meskal Square on the brutal killing of Ethiopians in Libya by the terrorist group and the ill treatment of Ethiopians in South Africa. The parties candidacies, if confirmed and founded on this action by the government and the party’s check on, they will be discharged from their candidacy.

²⁰ አንድነት ፓርቲ «ሁላማዊ ሰልፉን ያወኩትን አወገዘ ፤ እጩዎቹ ቢድርጊቱ ተሳታፊ ሆነው ከተገኙ እሰርዛለሁ» አለ።

The theme of the lead is Andinet party and the rest lies on the rheme where new discourse is added (*the ill treatment of Ethiopians in South Africa*) else holds the same emphasis as the headline. In relation to contestant candidacies of Andinet Party as stated puts them in theme position, and another two actors (the Government and Andinet Party in generic sense) as having equal power in the (process) of investigation, thus it determines whether they are guilty or not. Here dual interpretations could be emerged. On the one hand; the writer is asserting that these two actors have equal authority to investigate the case and confirm the responsible body. In the other hand, depicting candidacies in specific way (membership does not make the party guilty or the party is escaping the case at hand by pointing on particular members) which implicitly makes the party not responsible but candidacies are. In this instance, the writer significantly by using activation and passivation (in the headline and lead) gives the actors a capacity of agentive action.

The lead and the headline express what the news is all about or as van Dijk (1985:77) argues, headlines and lead may therefore be used as expedient signals to make effective guesses about the most important information of the text and note however, that they express the macrostructure of the writer, rather than that of the reader; the reader may infer a different thematic structure depending on his/her own beliefs and attitude.

The next five paragraphs of the news report entirely emphasize on the same aspect as the headline and the lead does. But they are organized by referring to different discourses in their thematic structures. Thus the analysis of thematic structures depends on new information's and different angles selectively. The themes emerged are, bodies that insight turmoil, what suffers Ethiopian citizens, Ethiopian military and the government. Thus, the theme about bodies that insight violent act reads as follows;

Bodies that insight turmoil on the demonstration that denounces these abominable acts do not have competency of politics and moral and it disgraces the Ethiopian defined value of sorrow thus Andinet extremely denounce it.

However, on Meskal Square “even if tent isn’t folded up”, in the mean time it is a place of sorrow but unleashing music and insight a turmoil is unpleasant act and does not follow the country’s defined value of sorrow, thus it is an act which is to be denounced.

The emphasis of the above statements notes that the party’s stand on those who stir the demonstration. Verbs and nouns are used by the writer to depict violent motivators as they are not politically and morally competence; disgraces the defined value of sorrow; and the new information is that they were singing but generally realized by the noun music. What contradicts is, was there really a music or chanting a slogan, it is clear that these terms are extremely different in meaning but the writer is attempting to manipulate readers opinion by the clause ‘does not follow the country’s defined value of sorrow’ as to logically connecting the Ethiopians cultural makeup in times of grief. That is music is not tuned in place and time of sorrow.

The other new theme emerged from the news report emphasizes on what make the situation appeared and what makes the government responsible for what happens. Sentence level themes read as follows.

In the mean time what suffers Ethiopian citizens is, an economic problem of being unemployed and hunger for democracy and freedom.

“Migration remarks the absence of good governance in the country rather it is not an interest of citizens.”

In order to solve the problem, the government should take full responsibility.

The government, in order to counter attack for the loss of lives, by cooperating with similarly victimized countries and through diplomatic means by using the country’s prominence figure in African Union, IS should be punished.

Ethiopian military, as it is known pays a scarification not only for its country but also keeps peace and stability of neighboring countries and beyond the continent, thus it is not dubious that the power to defend and to counter attacks the assault by IS.

As the above sentences emphasize the announcement of Andinet party and interestingly pointing at the system of what makes the people seek economic and democratic freedom. It is a call upon the government to work on these essential issues behind the discourse of the event. Importantly, it points what makes the phenomenon to entail the very high commitment the government should engage in this alarming situation. Whatsoever, still what motivates the turmoil on the demonstration is not explicitly discussed but implicitly fostered as why Ethiopian citizens assaulted abroad but not inside (but bear in mind that the system is here not abroad). Moreover, questioning the government in all instances implies that the principle of freedom whether economic, politics or democratic environment is underneath and the government should not sit idle and express condolences when in fact things are getting worst.

Lexical and Collocation Analysis

In regard to the word choices of the writer to represent social actors is more of suppression or not in the text at all but realized as to be referred back to the first and second news report. They are referred in the noun form, '*Bodies*'. And connotations that follow them or metaphors are; not politically or morally competence, disgraced Ethiopians defined value of sorrow and furor motivators are examples. This entirely relates to Blue and Andinet (if found guilty) parties.

Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Report/Discourse

As the news report entirely depends on the announcement of Andinet party, it is organized by quoting the party in both direct and indirect discourse. More importantly, contradicting but as the headline is realized in quote by neutral verb structure else being passive in its structure, implies the writer's intentional intervention in the speech. Whereas, direct quotes the writer using actual words of Andinet Party by not evaluating it and at the same time asserting his opinion in passive

sentence structure as well as using metapositional verbs in assertive way such as *remark*, *announce* and expressive as *claim*, proves that very intention of the writer in regard to economic and democratic freedom as the very urgent issues that makes the government responsible. And in this case Machin and Mayr, (2012:61) asserts that quoting verbs play a big role in evaluation of social actors and the reliability of what they say. Therefore, the writer of this piece is seeking to shape how readers interprets the event and it participants; turmoil motivators (Blue and Andinet parties) and the government in different way than the other pieces analyzed.

4.4 Analysis of Reporter Newspaper

Synopsis of the News's, Vol. 20, No. 1564, Sunday, 26, April, 2015

The news report about the demonstration takes the first page with a headline and two subheads, and colour photograph (photographer; Nahom Tesfaye) which invites readers to page forty four. The picture inserted at the beginning of page one depicts mass protestors clashing with federal police, policemen beating protestors and protestors running. This photograph adds another different view to the meaning of the event which the other two news papers emphasize on. It emphasizes the clash between protestors and federal police who takes place at Meskel Square, the caption beneath says, “Violence motivated at the end of the demonstration in protest against ISIS brutal actions that took place at Meskel Square on April 22, 2015, many injured and many more were under custody by the police”.²¹ However, the news report at the same vein emphasizes on the controversy which the other two news reports does and is written by Tamiru Tsige. The second news report is attached to the politics column with the same photograph that

²¹ ሚያዝያ 14 ቀን 2007 ዓ.ም. በመስቀል አደባባይ የአይኤስ አረመኔያዊ ድርጊትን ለማውገዝ በተጠራው ህልፍ ማጠናቀቂያ ላይ በተቀሰቀሰው ረብሻ ብዙዎች ጉዳት ሲደርስባቸው፣ በርካቶች ደግሞ በፖሊስ ቁጥጥር ሥር ውለው ነበር

emphasizes on the controversy and the happening of the day before the demonstration held (April, 21) and is written by Neamin Ashenafi. See Appendix E

Analysis of Reporter’s First News

Theme-Rheme analysis (Headline-Article)

The news report has a headline and two subheads and reads as follows:

On the demonstration called to protest IS, the ensued clash with police, many were imprisoned and released. (Headline)²²

Those who were labeled as major disrupters of the demonstration are strayed and remanded. (Subhead1)²³

Blue party said the government is defaming my reputation. (Subhead2)²⁴

The theme of the headline (underlined), is a given and the rheme (not underlined), by omitting the actors who clashes with police just states ‘imprisoned and released’. And the first subhead, the theme (underlined) emphasizes on the labeling of protestors and the rheme entails the law (often omitted) that police can remand for sufficient time to enable the investigation fully completed. The second subhead put Blue party in theme position that the government (another actor) is defaming the reputation of the subject in theme position. This subhead is a reported speech and a statement that expresses the opinion of the party and it provides all participants in the process. But the headline and the first subhead are full of ellipsis or words are left out of the sentences but can still be understood. In this instance, the writer is leading readers’ to infer the full report. The lead of the news report reads as follows:

The demonstration that was organized to denounce the brutal killing of Ethiopians by IS terrorist group in North Africa, Libya, held at Meskal Square on April 22, 2015; due to the clash between participant demonstrators and police, over 900 participants have been

²² አይኤስን ለማውገዝ በተጠራው ሠልፍ ከፖሊስ ጋር በተፈጠረው ግጭት በርካቶች ታስረው ተፈቱ

²³ ሠልፉን በዋነኝነት በጥብጠዋል የተባሉ ተለይተው ጊዜ ቀጠሮ ተጠይቆባቸዋል

²⁴ ሰማያዊ ፓርቲ መንግሥት ስሜን እያጠፋ ነው አለ

imprisoned and released. Suspects who were labeled disrupted the demonstration and inflict police members are strayed and fourteen days of remand has been asked by the court house.

The lead of the news gives briefings on the headline and the first subhead. The new information given in the lead is; how many demonstrators (900 plus) imprisoned and released and the labeling of participants (inflict police members). Noticing the articulation of the lead; protestors are represented as participant demonstrators and while participants (demonstrators) in the second subhead is left out of discussion. The organization of the news report is more the interpretation of the event and in this way it is realized as the writer is expressing and describing his view of the event and forwarding the information in coherent way in relation to the second subhead. Sequentially, the order of the information is; *the event → the clash → new information → ←Blue party.*

The first eight paragraphs after the lead emphasizes on the existential (demonstration) and two actors (police vs. demonstrators) in the process (clash). The paragraphs are more of the happenings on the event and the writer uses descriptive writing technique as well uses sources to give the report a sense of credibility and to provide more details of related aspects of the event.

Some examples of sentence level themes read as follows;

(1) While the event of denouncing 'IS' is about to end, shouting, insult and throwing stone emerged and caused the federal and Addis Ababa police members to take action. Thousands has been arrested. Although it is known that on the evening, those who were arrested, only because of their presence on the demonstration are released.

(2) As the turmoil started, as there emerges stone throwing, among participants on the demonstration, unknown number of participants were seen gashed, whom legs extremely injured, few youths' who felt unconscious and on the rush. Police is seen lashing by bludgeon that they run and catch up.

(3) Youths' were heard extremely criticizing the government especially by calling names of two Ethiopian youths, 'Eyasu Yikunoamlak and Balcha Belete' whom brutally killed by IS. Besides diametrically protesting against the government and police whom they saw straight across, the clash that started by throwing stone was ferocious.

The thematic structure of example (1) initially puts the theme and rheme in causal effect. That is, as the verb *'caused'* connects the *'emerging of physical and verbal violence by omitted actors (the demonstrators)'* in resulting as to why *police take action*. Noticing that the demonstrators are realized by their actions in verbs which make them both agent and initiating by their own, process pattern as well put them in guilt position. More, the writer is describing (in example, 3) the demonstrator's attitude and stance against police and the government. Focusing on the emphasis of thematic structure of the sentences; clearly reveals that demonstrators do have their own purpose and goal to participate in the demonstration. That is to criticize the government on the loss of their relatives but not to denounce IS. The agent-patient relationship puts the relationship as; both as agent or initiating actions and affected in the process (clash). But, protestors are more affected in the process than police.

In regard to the announcement of ministry of communication affairs, only one paragraph emerges and reads;

In relation to the emerging clash between demonstrators and police, it is remembered Ato Redwan Hussein announcing, some opposition political parties deliberately prepared and organized few peoples to motivate the turmoil

The thematic structure of the sentence above is presumably granting the information as already given by signaling readers' closer to the saying's of the minister in relation to the turmoil by the verb *'remembered'* and inviting readers' to what the writer considers important to feed readers'. Interestingly, following the remembered announcement of the minister, the sentence *'on the day following Ato Redwan's announcement, Blue party also report its announcement.'* emerges. The announcement has the same emphasis as observed in Addis Admass news report but textured differently. Examples read as follows;

(1) The party announces that leaders and members were arrested while going to Meskal Square and founded on the demonstration.

(2) Because of many citizens presence in grief and rage, protesting against “speech makers” that makes the government end the program in rush, reports Blue party. For the temper and protest of the people whom the government hates to give the appropriate answer and the government taking actions on citizens is saddening and need to be condemned, explains the party.

(3) “The government, in order to deny the action taken on demonstrators and conceal the people’s extreme protest and, as stated by the Government Communication Affair office, is presenting the peoples’ temper and grief as Blue party’s agenda is sadly” says (Blue party).

(4) “Besides the government cruel action towards citizens who protest the government for showing frequent carelessness on citizens, relating the issue with some political institution and devaluing their protest is not right and is uncertain mistake from the government”. Blue party informs in its announcement.

(5) Peaceful way of power transition to be conducted and to avoid insurgency and war, the government trying to devalue our struggle by resisting oppression is extremely dangerous, likes to reflect and Blue party announcement withholds.

(6) Blue party announce that, bodies who pass orders and commit the arrest, sufferance and heinous beating on demonstrators, the party will ask to bring them to justice

The examples above in their thematic pattern focus on Blue party continuously in the texts, the theme (Blue party as subject) draws upon the focus (the party’s announcement) which follows the government announcement. The government functioning as actor in example (3 and 4), clauses used in the texts puts the government as active participant in the process and in responsible terms or as (Halliday, 2013:83) asserts, when a clause has meaning as a representation of some process in ongoing human experience, the actor is the active participant in that process and it is the element that the speaker or the writer portrays as the one that does the deed.

The thematic prominence of the message unfolds from the part that tells the announcement of Blue party following the government’s announcement in the rheme, typically contains prominence as news or what do Blue party’s announcement embodies. The writer represents the

speech of Blue party in gentle ways ably that creates more of an impression on the government as the attitude and character of the party and therefore to the credibility of Blue party's comments on the issue.

Moreover, the writer giving more space for Blue party in the news report than the government, potentially two arguments could emerge; first, the writer can be regarded as assuming that of government's announcement is already a given information in different media outlets thus trying to inform readers' the other dimension of the controversy. Second, Pro-Blue party stance could be of interpretation, which is leaving the government's announcement as given (*remembered*) and giving more space for Blue party. In both ways, the government holds negative properties that emphasize on either agency (as police is an entity of the government) or generic form. And, protestors in this news report are never attached to Blue party except the government's announcement that puts political parties in generic form '*some opposition political parties*' but realized as independent actors in their own intention and as active and responsible agents in the process.

Lexical and Collocation Analysis

In relation to social actors, the word choices of the writer to represent them are more of nouns; police, the government, Blue party and demonstrators. The collocation these nouns carries are more of manner specifying connotations. For example, demonstrators are connoted with verbs like, shout, insult, criticizing, throwing stone, grieve and police is connoted with verbs like lashing, beating which both actors in the process (clash) are depicted as affected but demonstrators hold the plurality than the police.

As of the government and Blue party, the words that connote the government are; deny, cruel actions, frequent carelessness, pass orders (for negative outcome), oppressor and arrester. And, phrases that connote Blue party are; *some opposition parties deliberately prepared and organized few peoples who will motivate the turmoil*, by the Government Communication Affairs but as set-up done by the government. In this instance, what is clearly revealing the writer's position is demeaning government and police actions or as van Dijk (2006:127) argues, by reporting their gruesome acts as being accomplished by active, responsible agents, that is by referring to them in first, topical positions of clauses and sentences, and not as implicit agents or in passive sentences in which agents are de-emphasized. In other words, the writer using Blue party as a source and giving special attention for the communicative and interactional function informed to readers', he structures the discourse to address readers his underlying attitude about the issue.

Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Report/Discourse

The writer employs indirect quote to infer demonstrators and police throughout the news report. Here, the preference for indirect speech indicates the attitude of the journalist in relation to the event which the importance of his own eyewitness (using himself as a source) attached to describe the event is worth presumably. In regard to the police, the writer used both Speech reporting verbs; *say* and *tell* and Metapositional assertive verbs; *explain* and *announce*. Here, the writer, introducing police sayings without evaluating it explicit in Speech reporting verbs, is trying to bring readers closer to the thought and feelings of the police. And other reporting speech '*withhold*' is a Transcript verb that the writer uses to mark the anonymous police he used as a source in order to quote the police in other texts.

Demonstrators are quoted in descriptive verbs that categorize their interaction. These verbs are prosodic or verbs that qualify demonstrators manner and attitude (*shout, insult, criticize, throwing stones*). The writer articulating the news report in this way signifies that the reader is directed more of how demonstrators were reacting against the government and police. More importantly, noticing the news report is more a narration of the event switched to (the journalist recounting) implies as Machin and Mayr (2012:60) there is a greater sense of him simply reporting on what happened.

Quoting the government in the news report appears once and indirectly which the writer uses a verb as process in 'verbal' clause used to quote the government with additional circumstance feature or related to the announcement of the government. This feature entirely leads the organization of the text to three direct and indirect quotes. Quoting verbs used by the writer are; *announces, say, tell, explain, disclose*. Speech reporting verbs (*say and tell*), metapositional assertive verbs (*announces, explain and disclose*) emerge equally by marking the interpretation of the speeches. The writer employing direct and indirect discourse in the texts related to Blue party reveal the journalist's attitude. Noticing, Blue party is depicted as 'announcing' than 'claiming' makes the party more assertive than a body that is violent. This precisely reveals the ideological tendency of the journalist in relation to the event which he underlies the expression of Blue party directly or indirectly in quotations.

Analysis of the Second News

Theme-Rheme analysis (Headline-Article)

The head line of the news report reads as:

*The controversy between the Government and Blue party on the demonstration that ended in clash*²⁵

The headline seems potentially written to impress readers' attention and the same picture is inserted that shows the clash between protestors and police. The expression of the writer is judgmental (*by the noun 'controversy' emphasizes on the conundrum and seriousness of the issue*) about the controversy and entails both actors as having a lot of disagreements in relation to the issue.

Following, the lead of the news is completely different from the headline. The writer starts narrating the happenings one day before the actual demonstration took place. The lead emphasized on the declaration of three days national mourning by House of People's Representative day before the demonstration . Eight paragraphs follow the lead and the writer narrates what has happened on the day before the demonstration. Precisely, entails that there was an attempt to protest by some residents of Cherkos and the slogan they carried reads as follows;

*"Sovereignty means respecting citizens right everywhere"*²⁶

This slogan puts 'sovereignty' in theme position and the rest (rheme) gives the meaning of the theme. In this case, as sovereignty is a *noun* form of the *adjective* sovereign and this means being independent and having the power to control its own government. Thus, protestors are referring Ethiopia as a sovereign state and being sovereign means respecting the rights of citizens to

²⁵ በግጭት በተጠናቀቀው የተቃውሞ ሠልፍ የመንግሥትና የሰማያዊ ፓርቲ ውዝግብ

²⁶ «ሉዓላዊነት ማለት የዜጎችን መብት የትም ቦታ ማክበር ማለት ነው»

protest and precisely, peoples can protest in their own intention. What confirm this are the following sentences;

Beside the protestors telling that the destination of the demonstration is the capitol, by whom is the demonstration organized and journalists questioning its goal and destination was not clearly stated.

By then, when protestors arrived at Meskal Square, police says “you can’t go further”, protestors by saying “respect our freedom to protest” pushes the rally forward till Economic commission for Africa. At this point, the protestors are obliged to get back by the police telling them that national demonstration will take place tomorrow. Then, protestor gets back inveighing against the government and police force.

The rest of the news report emphasizes on the announcement of Blue party and the government in sentence-level thematic structure. Themes emerged from this news report are; programs, religious leaders, voice of repulsion, the Mayor of Addis Ababa city, the Prime Minister, protestors and police, the Ministry of Government communication affairs and Blue party.

The theme ‘programs’ in clause initial ‘on the day different programs were presented’, and ‘speeches of different religious leaders, children’s musical act was the part of the program.’ is the structure of the rheme. Here the writer is introducing readers’ to what the event looks like in the mean time. Religious leaders in theme position ‘*while religious leaders*’ and the circumstance ‘*were making speech,*’ and the existential ‘*protestors on the place were observed being in different moods.*’ In this instance, the writer by being judgmental which depicts protestors manner and puts these different manners in specific terms by descriptive verbs such as; *crying, do not listening to anyone’s speech, singing canticles, being in extreme grief and attentively listening and following speeches.* The writer categorizes the interaction between speakers and protestors and signifies attitudes of protestors.

In relation to protestors and government officials, the interaction is represented as government officials take the podium to address their speech to the crowd; the protestors abused these

government official speeches with their shouting, voice of repulsion. In this instance, the writer is telling the readers' the manner of protestors when government officials are about to make a speech. For example, descriptive verbs (loud, chanting different slogans) that qualify the voice and manner are used to represent the situation. This is the time the clash between protestors and police force has begun. Here what clearly reveals the cause of the violence is that, '*the situation gets worst*' (the writer is comparing the degree of protestors act between religious leaders and government officials making speech) when government officials are making speeches and the violent act of protestors (*throwing of stone from unidentified place*). What follows is the interaction between protestors and police. Some examples read as follows;

The clash between protestors and police gets worsen.

Many testing police cudgel, were falling, standing and running.

Federal police started shooting tear gas.

In addition to police beating up, what harms many protestors was the shooting of the tear gas

On the day, many were injured and arrested.

The above examples emphasizes on the interaction of protestors and police force. The agent-patient relation reveals that protestors are endowed with less power, except they pitch stones on police force. Whereas, the other emphasize on police initiating actions such as, beating and using tear gas. Many other sentences depict police as agent and protestors as patient by backgrounding the responsibility of government officials on the issue and probably intended for the reader to refer the omission.

In relation to the announcement of Ministry of Communication Affairs, Ato Redwan Hussein in theme position, sentence level themes reads as follows;

(1) On the day, following giving briefings on issues related to the event, he went to his office without giving a chance to questions by journalists.

(2) ...disclose that, there are arrests and harmed peoples, “on the process, seven police members is harmed and two of them are extremely injured.”

(3) Additionally, for the motivated chaos; blue party is fully responsible.

(4) “...particularly, Blue party and few supporters who shares its agenda highly attempts to transform the grief of the people into political chaos.” Said and blames Blue party. “In addition to this, by being in group on two and three spots, they attempt a planned and practiced dramatic furor.”

The writer, before jumping to the speech of Redwan Hussein; in sentence (1), he evaluates the situation in his own judgmental way. This precisely entails the attitude of the speaker and remarks the interest of the official to why not to accept questions from journalists in relation to the issue. This implicitly indicates that freedom of getting information is hampered by official's interest and in this instance as Machin and Mayr (2012), journalists can use this strategy to avoid having to overtly claim that there is a guilt, which could place them in a difficult legal situation. Here, arguably the writer is obliged to put the speech of the official in monologic narrative and comments adjuncts which expresses the writer's opinion to the situation.

In relation to Blue party appearing in theme position, the rheme or the new information emphasizes on the announcement. Examples could be read as follows;

.....announces that members are arrested.

...list of members arrested are (eight members are listed with their respective role)

(a) “The governments’ standpoint on the issue is not justifiable.”

(b) “Blue party will not leave the assignee of government communication officer and the institution, quieten. We may issued accuse of defamation”

(c) “the problem, if it happen to be true, if Blue party does as stated; while public prosecutor and police who have the authority to investigate the case, decide and accuse, says nothing. We will not see such defamatory act simply.” Said and opposed.

(d) *The issue in relation to, we act organized, “the grief existed now, how is it possible to be organized in a day? It is improbable” said and oppose the opinion claimed.*

(e) *Ato Yonatan tells that he guessed that the violence might happen because of long and boring speeches of different men’s and religious leaders. And describes the issue as “it was a long speech; beside that the children’s performing dance like act tempered the people.”*

On the basis of the above examples, the emphasis lies on; the arrests of Blue party members by the police, the opposing view of Blue Party in relation to the issue and the cause of the turmoil. The writer have had sufficiently argued in the announcement of Blue party whether it seems presupposition or the truth. For instance, the writer may can evaluate the speeches and present it to the readers’ but puts them directly and in supportive view in example (e) where he used (*men’s*) plural form of the noun *man* to infer government officials by asserting that it is a guess of Ato Yonatan (Public Relation Officer) but texture in his own interpretation. In this instance, one can argue that, as the writer has referred directly to Blue party, he can potentially impose his interpretation of the speech and suggest a level of his attitude in his own expression.

The intention of the writer in the philosophical sense of ‘aboutness’ seemingly is not directly forwarded, or in other words as (van Dijk, 2006:127) argues, what counts are (foreseeable) social consequences, and not (good or bad) intentions. Confirming back, the writer narrating the happening of the day before the demonstration, stated, *“Following the death of innocent citizens being killed in inhuman and barbaric way, the first demonstration attempted to be held ends this way.”* This seems to inform what makes the government called demonstration end in violence. And, the slogan reading, *“sovereignty means respecting citizen’s right everywhere.”* presupposes that the government is presently not respecting the right of citizen to protest and the right to protest is restricted in Ethiopia.

As a conclusion, the writer forwarded his opinion as follows;

Due to the rampage motivated on the last Wednesday's demonstration ending, the government and Blue party is accusing each other... Generally, the concluding remark of the issue is; immigration, once and for all should be avoided and it is an opinion of many others. In order to prevent immigration; the solution is investigating the cause of political, economic and social problems in the whole country, are opinions heard more.

The thematic structure of the writer's conclusion puts 'the rampage' in theme position as a means of two participants (the government and Blue party) gets in conflict. Following, the concluding remark of the writer is marking the controversy as inappropriate on the issue. At the same time, makes the government responsible for the problem (immigration). It is not textured in the text but noticing the concluding remark (*political, economic and social problems in the whole country*) implies that immigration is the result of these three problems or what makes people to migrate. Here, the writer is suggesting that the responsibility totally goes to the government but not explicitly communicated.

Lexical and Collocation Analysis

In relation to the word choice of the writer to represent social actors and words that connotes them are realized in nouns, pronouns and verbs to describe their actions, for instance, protestors are realized as (*shouting, crying, throwing stones, singing canticles*), police as (*beating, shooting tear gas, arresting, taking to police stations*), Redwan Hussein as (*accusing, announcing the government stand, criticizing*) and Blue party as (*announcing the party's stand, accusing, denying, guessing*).

Following, the writer's opinion remarkably makes the government responsible but done so implicitly. The emphasis of the writer's suggestion clearly reveals that, there exist political, economic and social causes in the country that make peoples to migrate. But, these three broad categories of problem at a country level happen concomitantly. Perhaps, the country's status of

political, economic and social situations may be in question and this implies what might have really motivated the violence but is suggested indirectly.

The lexical verb serving the event of the verbal group functioning as process tends to be fairly general, and the lexical content is represented by the noun serving as thing in the nominal group functioning as range in the clause or in the propositional phrase serving as place, these tend to be collocation combinations of verb and noun.

Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Report/Discourse

The news is organized in both direct and indirect quotations. The subhead of the news quotes Blue party in indirect reporting by the neutral verb ‘*say*’ in order to catch readers’ attention. Redwan (the Minister) is quoted indirectly as an introduction to the readers’ in relation to the announcement and the issue. The rest quotes referring him are direct quotes except one reference indirectly with the following exception; *he disclosed that there were arrests and harmed peoples*. Before quoting Ato Redwan’s speech, the journalist introduces his own opinion about the situation in the process of announcement (as Ato Redwan only express his own opinions and values but do not let journalist’s do the ask). The preference for direct quote over indirect quote by the journalist in the report indicates that the reporter sought to be obliged to present the exact words of his source (Ato Redwan) because this official do not give a chance to journalist’s or one (the writer) ask a single question.

More interestingly, the writer quotes Redwan Hussein directly in inverted commas about groupings of people that have been criticizing the government at the event. And as, quoted by the writer “*additionally, groupings in two and three places...*” but the actual words of the official

speech could be reads as, “*if you have observed, in two different spots, few groups...*”²⁷ in this stance the writer adds his own words but quotes the speech directly which reveals his intention. Here, one can argue that, the writer is attempting to tell readers’ that this grouping’s was in three different spots not two. This precisely, though is purposively done to tell the readers’ that “I was there, thus what I have observed is more useful than the speech of the official”, but textured it with the speech of the official. This implies that, adding words to speeches that the writer has used as a source but in direct quotation, the event was full of unwanted procedures which the official conceals and remarks how many people’s was protesting not few. The writer’s intervention could be seen as interest to manifest what was there, but unprofessional.

In relation to Blue party, is quoted more in direct quotes than the government. This entails, the writer using the actual words of Blue party’s Public Relation Officer (Yonatan) and avoiding reported speech could reveal the journalist’s sharing intention in relation to the opinion of Blue party against the government. More, the journalist offering a narration about the happening of the day before the demonstration can be regarded as in terms of relevance which essentially gives an emphasis on ‘the right to protest’ and police force respond in phrasal verb ‘can’t pass beyond’ negatively entails what really determines the situation in the interim between these two official and unofficial protests against the government.

²⁷ See the video minutes from; 00:06:48-00:07:00 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=McseBs8vhtg>

4.5 Analysis of EBC's Newscast

Synopsis of EBC'S Newscasts, Wednesday, April, 22, Evening 2:00 a.m, newscast

EBC's newscast's has four different issues in focus; government focus, religious fathers focus, Addis Ababa Residents and Government Communication Affairs focus and textured as following. . See Appendix F

EBC's Newscast One

Theme-Rheme Analysis (Lead-Body)

The broadcast lead does both the job of the lead and headline, which summarizes the theme of the news, thus the lead of EBC's newscast one²⁸ reads as;

*Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn called upon all religions to jointly struggle on the anti-terror operation the country holdouts.*²⁹

The lead puts the premier (underlined) in theme and subject position, and the declarative clause 'called upon' is a reason for choosing the subject in theme position that relates the rheme (not underlined), the call for all religions to jointly struggle or to be the part of the struggle against terrorism. Here, what can be clear is that the reporter imparting the attitude of the premier can be interpreted as the adverbial clause 'jointly' means *belonging to or shared between two or more people (religions)* , another way round it can be assigned to mean; *terrorism does not have a religious ground, therefore does not confine religions in order to fight terrorism.*

Following, the reporter gives briefings, about the speech of the premier three times and the Mayor of Addis Ababa once, before presenting their speeches. The reporter quoting the premier tells viewer's his (the premier) presence on the demonstration and the rest reads as:

²⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b9TqXQ2BDIA&feature=share>

²⁹ ሀገሪቱ በተያያዘው የፀረ ሽብር ዘመቻ ሁሉም ሃይማኖቶች የተቀናጀ ትግል እንዲያደርጉ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ኃ/ማርያም ደሳለኝ ጥሪ አቀረቡ

...tells that, the terror act is not only intended on Ethiopians but against humanity. Ethiopia is a country where religious equality is proven, saying the premier, the terror act is sighted to set apart the culture of companionable way of life existed for centuries, tells.

“Although it is clear for us all that forces, attempting to set apart our cultural pride companionship and activate civil war never felt asleep. But, the unedifying act happens in Libya is not only extremisms’ extremity but it also bespoke the satanic interest and mission of these forces. Thus, we should struggle within the spirit of unity and courage better than ever.”

The thematic structure of the reporter’s sentence holds multiple themes and along with the rheme’s could be structured as (The terror act is against humanity. Religious equality is what features Ethiopia and this act against our relatives are intended to set this feature apart.). In line with the speech of the premier, the thematic structure of the sentence approves the reporter’s attitude. For instance, forces with terror intention never felt asleep to disrupt our companion way of life and this implies the satanic (inhumane way) which is against Ethiopian value, thus should keep our solidarity and courage to fight than ever. This is the composition the reporter used to mark ‘Ethiopians are humanely’ and ‘IS are inhumane’. The persuasive move of the reporter approves two of the above arguments and reads as; *followers of Islam religion, in countries where the terrorist group has control over, were also victims of such terror act, the premier points. And, this has no religious ground.*

Other themes emerged in this newscast reads as follows;

The Premier: In relation to extremism and terrorism, successful moves and results that our people and our government acquired until now is because it essentially makes the people the part of the resolve, thus we should keep strengthen it.

The Mayor: Besides denouncing the abominable act of extremist and terrorist group IS, by means of understanding the venture of extremism and terrorism profoundly, I would like to connote you to role firmly to the success of the anti-terror struggle.

The thematic structure of the above two sentences focuses on same idea but articulated in different grammatical structures. In relation to the premier’s speech; the anti-terrorism policy

that Ethiopia follows, employs causal and verificative modal adjunct '*acquired*' and '*because*' and the Mayor's speech employs entreaty modal adjunct '*I would like to connote you*'. The nature of these two sentences entails two important points: first, it puts the people the part of the struggle in the anti-terror operation which depicts them as supportive and the means for the success achieved in relation to the policy enacted against terrorism and extremism. What significantly follows is, stimulating this supportive and major actor's commitment to stamp out terrorism than ever. Because, Ethiopia is always under serious threat of terrorism as these groups never felt asleep to defy our values. More importantly, these two officials are implicitly exchanging their circuitous attitude to the viewer that the government, the people and the anti-terror policy are compatible and symbiotic.

Lexical and Collocation Analysis

The word choice in the newscast and words that collocates them which is used to represent the government is authoritative and respectful in general to the people as it emphasized on the good of the public. And IS, is represented in atrocious quality with nouns, adjectives and verbs such as; *satanic, barbaric, leftist and terrorist*. This implies the attitude of not only the government officials but also the news corporation too.

Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Report/Discourse

This newscast is both organized in direct and indirect quotations for both government officials which reporter explicitly agrees to report. The reporting verbs employed are Speech-reporting and Metapositional assertive such as *says, tells, and points* which the reporter openly strengthen the opinion of these two officials.

The discourse of illegal migrants and condolences appears once which the premier addresses as ‘*illegal migration should stop*’ by the reporter in indirect quote. This implies, the information is not relevance in relation to the prominence theme of the newscast so the reporter chooses to present it at last.

EBC’s Newscast Two

Theme-Rheme Analysis (Lead-Body)

The lead of the second newscast³⁰ reads as;

*Religious fathers of different institutions announce that they will jointly condemned the inhumane act of IS terrorist group on emigrant Ethiopian citizens in Libya.*³¹

The theme (underlined) of the lead puts religious fathers in subject position and the rheme (not underlined) emphasize on the commonality of these religious fathers speech acts by the adverb ‘*jointly*’ as condemning the act of IS. The lead, in this stance gives viewers the common ground religious fathers has in relation to the issue.

Following, the reporter quotes three different religious fathers (His Holiness Abune Mathias, Patriarch of Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church; Sheikh Mohamed Amin Jamal, The President of Ethiopian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs and The Secretary General of Inter-Religious Council of Ethiopia, Megabi Zerihun Degu). And, the speech of the first two religious fathers in thematic pattern reveals commonality; IS does not represent Islam. And sentence level themes reads as

The patriarch: This gruesome act is not only intended on Ethiopian Orthodox Church but for all religions around the globe.

³⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eVkomg2kc8w&feature=youtu.be>

³¹ አይ.ኤስ የሽብር ቡድን በሊቢያ በስደት ላይ ባሉ ኢትዮጵያን ዜጎች ላይ የፈፀመው ኢሰብአዊ ድርጊት በጋራ እንደሚያወግዙት የተለያዩ የሃይማኖት ተቋማት አባላቶች ገለጹ

The Sheikh: ... is an international leftist terrorist group that moves under the cover of Islam, and rather it is dangerous criminal group that does not represent Islamic religion.

Looking at different thematic structure, the patriarch's call for citizens not to move to unguaranteed and unstable countries and the Secretary General's speech holds multiple themes; the effort of the Inter-religious council to fight poverty and his sadness on the killing of Ethiopians. The reporter appears four times before every source she uses and leads the viewer by her reporting speech and reads as follows;

Quoting the Patriarch: tells that, the barbaric act of IS, which is not expected to be acted on humankind, against innocent Ethiopians made us all sad.... Terrorism has a global feature and is not only intended to single religion, thus everybody should fight it solidly.

Quoting the Sheikh: on behalf tells that, groups who puts on their faulty hands by purporting themselves as advocates of Islamic religion, are rather criminals that do not have religious ground.... It is the truth that we all realize.

Quoting the Secretary General: The act of groups whose consciousness betrays them has made him feel deeply sad, tells the Secretary General.

Conclusion: These religious fathers tell that they will fight such act in their teaching in prayers and education.

Noticing the reporter's reporting speech, one thing the newscast wants viewer to get the message is that, such inhuman act should not be attributable to religious views and does not represent religious doctrine except terrorism. More space is given to, what IS does not represent and killing others with the pretext of religion should be condemned. And, less space is given to citizens who seek to go abroad in an illegal manner by any means. Here one can argue that what's more important is, focusing on citizens not to get subjected to such forms of provocation as in fact, there is religious diversity which need not to be hatred than citizens not to make dangerous and risky journeys illegally. Precisely, the urgent threat is religious intolerance between the people for religious fathers than mitigating immigration because of such religion intended actions.

Lexical and Collocation analysis

The word choices and connotations entirely puts IS in extreme atrocity and examples could be *barbaric, gruesome, inhumane and criminal group*. Religious fathers are represented as corporate institutional argument; grieve and promising to jointly operate to such acts in their religious teachings.

Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Report/Discourse

Sequence of quotations, as the newscast entirely depends on religious fathers, is structured in both direct and indirect quotes. Speech reporting verb ‘*tell*’ is used by the reporter to introduce source speeches without explicit evaluation. Thus, do not carry any guidance to viewers as to how they should think about the speech and the speech makers. The report follows their assertiveness by directing viewers to what they have said and remarks their commonality to the issue, which at the same time influence the way viewers interpret the event and speeches.

EBC’s Newscast Three

Theme-Rheme Analysis (Lead-Body)

The lead of the third³² newscast reads as;

*Addis Ababa residents out to the mourning ceremony denounces the brutal killing of Ethiopians by the terrorist IS, in Libya.*³³

The thematic structure of the lead characterizes the theme and the subject (*Addis Ababa residents*) by the verb ‘*denounce*’ to the rheme (underlined). The verb ‘*denounce*’, summarizes

³² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P1SVL1I8hJk>

³³ በሊቢያ በአሸባሪ አይ.ኤስ በኢትዮጵያውያን ላይ የተፈጸመውን አስቃቂ ግድያ በአዲስ አበባ ለሃዘን ሥነስርዓት የወጡ ነዋሪዎች አወገዙ

the attitude and opinion of the residents. Following the anchor after introducing what the news is about, the whole newscast is organized by different interviewees without the intervention of the reporter. The interview holds five Christianity followers and three Muslim followers. This newscast informs viewers two basic arguments within the interviewees speech; the act of these terrorists do not have (Ethiopians) value such as religious tolerance, companionable way of life and these terrorist groups never represent Muslim or any other religion. And examples that justify these arguments read as follows.

“What we want is, everybody to be tolerable in their respective religion, to develop Ethiopia and to live peacefully, not this kind of useless crap.”

“It is an attempt to provoke the tolerable way of living culture existed in Ethiopia.”

“It is a barbaric act that no human creature would do and could not be agency for whichever religion.”

“This, ISIS called organization can’t represent Muslim (religious rules of Islam that extremely contradicts with ISIS)”

The discourse of illegal migrants in relation to interviewees speech emphasizes on, emigrants should stop going abroad illegally instead they can work home to fulfill economic necessities and the duty that families and teachers should firmly fight and teach their children’s. This is forwarded as the role of the community in order to mitigate migration. The perceptions of the interviewees in relation to the problem (illegal immigration), focuses on (illegal migrants) need to seek change here to develop their country and themselves. But what makes them join such kind of risky journey or what is the reason behind, is not the focus of these interviewees but are crucial to judge and propose a solution to this kind of national threat. This can be regarded as the social responsibility of the media to inform the society in what affects their life, by withholding the possible different views that ought to be scrutinized.

Lexical and Collocation Analysis

This newscast puts ISIS in dehumanizing way, with words like atrocious, barbaric, gruesome, and leftist. The selection of interviewees in the newscast is to show viewers the perception of Addis Ababa residents (only by interviewing eight residents of two religions- Muslim and Christians) as against ISIS and its acts and as a consensus building around the subject of the interview.

Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Report/Discourse

The entire newscast, except the lead, is direct quote. Here, one can argue that the newscast is organized to support the lead by the actual words of sources attached to ISIS and its act than using indirect quote. More, the newscast made these interviewees as representative of Addis Ababa residents and as having the same attitude and feelings towards ISIS.

EBC's Newscast Four

Theme-Rheme Analysis (Lead-Body)

The lead of the fourth newscast³⁴ reads as;

*The called demonstration, to denounce the brutal killing of Ethiopians found in Libya by IS, has had end in success, Ministry of Government Communication Affairs, Ato Redwan Hussein tells. The government hails the people for showing unity and partnership to condemn the murder crime. . But, at this grieve time, few forces has tried to run their political agenda and activate turmoil, the Minister announces in his briefing.*³⁵

³⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P1SVL1I8hJk>

³⁵ አይ.ኤስ በሊቢያ በሚገኙ ኢትዮጵያውያን ላይ የፈጸመውን አስቃቂ ግድያ ለማውገዝ የተጠራው ትዕይንት ህዝብ በተሳካ ሁኔታ መጠናቀቁን የመንግሥት ኮሙኒኬሽን ጉዳዮች ጽ/ቤት ሚኒስትሩ ሬድዋን ሁሴን ተናገሩ። የግድያ ወንጀሉን በማውገዝ መላው የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ላሳየው አንድነትና ወገንተኝነትም መንግሥት አመሰግኗል። በዚህ በሃዘን ወቅት ግን የግል የፖለቲካ አጀንዳቸውን ለማራመድ የሞከሩ ጥቂት ኃይሎች ግርግር ለመፍጠር መሞከራቸውንም ነው ሚኒስትሩ በሰጡት መግለጫ ያስታወቁት

The lead emphasizes on three information's within its thematic structure in relation to the event; the successful ending of the demonstration, the governments appreciation for the peoples solidarity and partnership as to end the demonstration in success (this has a causal relationship with the first information or the peoples behaving in this way made the demonstration end in success); few forces attempting to use the demonstration for their political agenda or interest. Here, two contradictory points emerge; the ending of the demonstration in success and few forces attempting to activate turmoil. In other words, the context of successful demonstration is vague as there are two different views structured on the same event by the same source.

The body of this newscast gives briefings to information's the lead holds. Sentence level themes read as;

The demonstration held in Addis Ababa, the people has denounced with one voice that terrorism is a common enemy which do not have religious ground and only represents extremism and terror act, said the Minister.

The people has officially proved that extremism and terrorism could not be covered up and hidden in the name of single religion and is an enemy of all religions and human kind.

The people for showing partnership, generosity, expressing their grief decently, the determination to strengthen their unity and bearing in mind that the people promising to be the owner and partner with the government, to support the operation against terrorism, the government would like to appreciate and honor.

The above text holds the same argument as in the preceding analysis's that presupposes the 'the common consent' among the people within two issues: against IS (terrorism) and no single (Muslim) religion represents it and the solidarity and tolerance the (people) have. More importantly, the peoples are depicted as supportive of the government's policy in relation to terrorism and extremism and even promising to sustain the anti-terror struggle are points that made the government to honor the people. The phrase 'bearing in mind' thematize back to the consensus within the people or as Halliday (2014), the point to *bear in mind* is that there will be

two thematic domains- that of the clause nexus (an important connection between the people and the government) and that of the clause (what the word itself provide someone with something).

The lead which emphasize on *'few forces'* is given more space on the body of the newscast. Reporting in line with the lead, the Minister's direct speech follows, what appear next frames the violent between the *honorable people and few forces* in its structure and sentence level themes reads as follows:

“ Whilst all religious followers are observed, holding hand in hand in queue, as the world community sides with us and as Ethiopian people's solidly grieves; some political forces, first on the blood of murdered citizens, secondly to profit from their grieve families, were stirring the people, as you observed practically. The people never gives up, rather ends the program “turning a deaf ear”³⁶. One thing, the people needed to be honored is not only because they win over their diversity, but end the program mannerly and for not giving up for those who were arousing and attempting to transform their grief to political chaos, is what makes the people more honorable.”

“As most of you observed, some groups in two different spots, permanently, if you saw their clothing, shouting's, hand movements, this practically proves that, it is planned, and organized by single body. Behind this, Blue party has been confirmed practically. Blue party and bodies who support its concept, starting from extremism were moving jointly.”

Sentence level thematic structures reads above implies both the bravery of demonstrators and consequences they face by other (few or some political forces). Noticing, the contradiction in terms of success that the Minister announced in relation to the demonstration fails to meet its equative rheme (*end in success*) in the lead. The people's effort to end the demonstration in success is more salient than *'forces'* attempting to end the demonstration in violence, in fact. Whatsoever, Blue party holds the guilt position without offering the other perspective in relation to the event, which in terms of political interest needs no explanation (in terms of EBC and

³⁶ It is an Amharic proverb which has relevant meaning with an English idiom and reads as «ጆሮ ዳባ ልበሰ»

Addis Zemen) from the party. Although, demonstrators (*the people*) are heavily topicalized in the newscast, they are endowed with bravery and ‘*few forces*’ are empowered with their own initiative but negatively. This is how the agent-patient relationship is depicted.

As a conclusion, the reporter quoting the Minister, tells how many police members injures and about peoples arrested labeled as “*participated in the criminal activity*” as the issue is being in investigative progress. The rest reads as follows:

(1) Countries where IS has emerged is empowered with internal and external interventions, thus in order to prevent terrorism jointly, we need to strengthen our internal unity, said Ato Redwan Hussein. (2) Taking ‘working home and change’ as a principle, citizens must seek out for a better life, he stresses. (3) There has been a mass demonstration held at Addis Ababa and Somali Ethiopian Region, Harari, as to denounce the terror act intended on Ethiopians, but tomorrow, there will not be any kind of mass demonstration taking place in Addis Ababa, he announces.

Here, the above report, report (1) constructs the belief and opinion of the Minister on how IS has emerged and what factors empowered IS (internal and external interventions), then the adverb ‘*thus*’ here serve as to connect the phrase (*internal*) with similar or related meaning (*internal unity*) is needed to prevent terrorism jointly. Or as (Halliday, 2014:313) the word ‘*thus*’ here can be regarded as manner (*in order to*) and quality (*jointly*) in which shows the means or how to (*prevent terrorism*) is by realizing our internal unity strengthening. And, the second report falls on enhancing the circumstantial element ‘*location*’ by adverb of place ‘*home*’ that citizens must engage to realize a better life. The third statement, besides telling where mass demonstrations took place on the day, gives new information (rheme) there will not be a mass demonstration taking place tomorrow at Addis Ababa.

Lexical and Collocation Analysis

This newscast entirely puts demonstrators (honored ones) favorably in words like; showing unity and partnership, with one voice, generosity, honored. And collocations followed describing them are; appreciates, support, determination are words that describe them in mannerly and humanly ways. Blue party is depicted unfavorably. The word choices potentially put the party in inhumane way. Examples could be, *activate turmoil, on the blood of murdered citizens, to profit from their grieve families, transform their grief to political chaos* are the metaphors employed to present Blue party as irrational. This implies, what makes the party different from 'IS' is only its name but same in terms of actions is communicated implicitly.

Analysis of Quotation in Direct and Indirect Report/Discourse

This newscast has employed both direct and indirect quotes evolving in single source. The emphasis of the newscast implies the reporter's trust and confidence has on her source. Speech reporting verbs such as, *tell, say* and metapositional assertive verbs such as *explain and announce* gave the reporter sense of assertiveness by using single source which respectively is assigned for the Government's Communication Affair. Interestingly, the reporter quotes the Minister's opinion about illegal immigrants and injured police members at the end and no information emerges in relation to injured demonstrators. In this instance, it highlights the information as less important. But, in relation to the people honored by the government is of importance. Non information emerges about injured demonstrators but the newscast giving statistics of injured police members entails the information (about injured demonstrators) is irrelevant or not worthy.

4.6 Interpretation of News Reports

This stage is concerned with factors contributed to the process of text production and interpretation. Thus, intertextuality, is employed to examine what relevant other texts or voices are included or excluded, are they attributed, specifically or not and the texture of voices in relation to authorial voice, and in relation to each other in the selected samples. The first step is categorizing news sources employed in the news discourses: definite news source, indefinite news source and no news source are illustrated in the following table (table):

News agency	Definite news source		Indefinite news source		No news source	
	Number	percentage	Number	percentage	Number	percentage
Addis Admass	4	20%	11	55%	5	25%
Addis Zemen	23	28.39%	42	51.85%	16	19.75
Reporter	8	10%	44	55%	28	35%
EBC	11	61.11%	6	33.33%	1	5.55%

Table 1 Distribution of news sources in selected sample media

On the basis of the results, for indefinite news sources the categorization depends whether the speaker's name is shown or not. In line with the results, Addis Admass news report uses more indefinite and no news sources than definite news sources. Three of them as a news source are organized in the news report, repeated pattern of denial which is done by referring to the indefinite news source (55%) and no news source (25%) against the direct news source (Ato Redwan Hussein) announcement in relation to the event.

In regard with texts included, two different perspectives are observed. One is the negative properties of the government is specifically given more space than the government's

announcement in both definite news sources (attributed specifically) and indefinite news sources (Blue party) and in no news sources as well. The other is, looking particularly in terms of how different voices are textured in the text; the news report is less favorable to the government. Voices of relevancy that significantly excluded from the news report are institutional arguments that go in line with the governments stand, for example, Religious Fathers.

In relation to assumptions with respect to ideology as (Fairclough, 2003) asserts, the capacity to exercise social power, domination and hegemony includes the capacity to shape to some significant degree the nature and content of the ‘common ground’, which makes implicitness and assumption an important issue with respect to ideology. In line, Addis Admass news report, propositional (assumptions about what is or can be or will be the case) and value (assumptions about what is good or desirable) assumptions are realized. This assumption in relation to the event reveals, the government threatens/is a threat to Blue Party, which means there is an assumption in the report that the government is undesirable and Blue party is desirable.

More, indefinite news sources employed in the report, for example words like ‘*many*’, ‘*eyewitnesses*’ gives readers’ a sense that the number is large or persons concerned, to show the argument and the analysis of the report as credible more for negative evaluations given to the government. Here, one can argue that Addis Admass’s ideological tendency can be regarded as Pro-Blue party.

Addis Zemen’s news report, as realized in table 1, more space is given for the event than other samples, so the news source holds higher in number. Addis Zemen news report is or can be said, is organized in consensus or as having a common ground, as Fairclough (2003:82) points out, “arguments can take a dialogical form, i.e. the form of two or more people arguing.” As observed

in the news report: religious fathers, Addis Ababa residents, government officials and the public as whole is abstractly represented in logical structure with major arguments: strengthening tolerable way of living, ISIS does not represent Muslim or no other religion and strengthening the commitment to sustain the anti-terrorism struggle which also contains a number of sub-arguments that affirm their common stances. This is done through reporting legitimation in different ways; Authorization- is a legitimation by referring to the authority of persons in whom some kind of institutional authority is vested (government officials and religious fathers), Rationalization- legitimation by referring to the utility of institutionalized action and to the knowledge's society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity (religious leaders so their respective followers), and Moral- legitimation by reference to value systems (religious tolerance, companionable way of life and unity).

In relation to voices excluded in the news reports, Blue party's opinion is left out which at the same time puts the party unfavorably while the report included voices of value assumptions desirably. Precisely, the report is structured and ordered in arguments to each other (religious fathers, Addis Ababa residents and government officials) are against Blue party and its negative properties. As Fairclough (2003:54) argues, in this stance, there seem to be a covert 'protagonist-antagonist' structuring which effectively sets the good guys (religious fathers, Addis Ababa residents and government officials, whom has a dialogical arguments) against the bad guys (Blue party).

Interestingly, as it is useful to analyze 'monological' arguments, AZ news report quotes Andinet party's president Ato Tigistu Awelu, reads as *"In the mean time what suffers Ethiopian citizens is, an economic problem of being unemployed and hunger for democracy and freedom"* and *"Migration remarks the problem of governance leadership skill in the country rather it is not the*

citizens interest.” These two statements put the government unfavorably in inverted commas. This two different themes attributed specifically in AZ₂ last news report essentially marks two important factors implicitly attached to the event but explicitly reported in relation to the overall context of the problem of illegal immigration attached to the government but not to the conflict arises during the demonstration. First, economic problem and the citizens hunger for democracy and freedom (as existential assumption) and the absence of good governance as the very cause to make peoples migrate (propositional assumption). In regard, pointing out intertextuality is inevitably selective with respect to what is included and excluded from the events and texts represented and realizing that none of Addis Zemen news reports includes such precise statements that put the government in responsible position in relation to illegal immigrants.

More importantly, one can argue that the emerging of the explanation in precise statements in relation to the problem (illegal migration) within clear responsible agency (the government) in such way but only related to the problem confirms Fairclough’s (2003:55) argument one explanation is that such detail becomes important potentially politically significant by important peoples but selectively relates to genre. How something was said is much more likely to be specified in a representation of speech in a novel than is a news report, where the focus is likely to be more exclusively on the representational meaning, or content, of what people say.

Moving to ‘*Reporters*’ news reports, holds the second position in employing sources. As shown in the table, the *Reporter* employed no news sources than other samples. The news reports are organized; first, focuses on the negative property of the event, then secondly, implicit suggestion as to why the event has had end in conflict which is followed by a concluding remark to the problem of illegal migration. Texts included in the reports are; the government, Blue party and demonstrators on the actual event and protestors the day before the demonstration held. Texts

excluded are: religious fathers. Particularly, texts incorporated in the 'no news source' category are not intertextually attributed as the second news report is more organized in narration. The repeated pattern that denial (Blue party denying) followed by assertion or negative clause followed by positive clause is realized in the report. Denials as Fairclough (2003:47) implies the assertion 'elsewhere' of what is being denied (*Blue party said the government is defaming my reputation.*) in the first news report. In this case, the party has asserted that the government is attempting to blacken the party's reputation to its own political interest and the issue is never attached to the party in the news report by the writer as well.

Distinguishing assumptions in the news report; there emerges existential assumptions or assumptions about what exists on the event (highly attached to Blue party and the writer) and value assumptions about what is good or desirable (highly attached to Blue party than the government when comparing their frequency) which gives the government negative properties.

In relation to strategies of legitimation, the text presents a series of logically and chronologically related events with certain manner which opens the second news report in narration about the happening of the day before government called demonstration. Fairclough (2003:83) asserts, the story is a fabula that is presented in a certain manner- this involves the arrangement of events in a sequence which can be different from their actual chronological order, providing the social agents of actual events with distinct traits which transform them into 'characters' and focalizing the story in terms of a particular 'point of view'. The Reporter's news report focalize the story in terms a particular point of view that is realized intertextually; the cause to the clash between protestors and police is attached to the protestors attempting to protest in their own initiation (the right to protest is not legally protected). The writer employs; Mythopoesis legitimation strategy or

legitimation conveyed through narration “*In actuality, the protest has not had peace related problems.*”³⁷ Where, at the same time this reveals the writer’s observation in judgmental way.

More, as the emphasis of the second news report lies on the inappropriateness of the controversy between the government and Blue party. The concluding remark intertextually and implicitly make the government responsible for the negative properties the demonstration holds by scrutinizing the social, political and economic problems attached to Ethiopia. Interestingly, the report never attaches Blue party to the turmoil rather demonstrators are. In this instance, one arguably put the tendency of the Reporter’s news report as Pro-Blue party or depending on the report’s argumentation is preceded with an introduction (the protest before the day national demonstration organized by the government) which the report assumes are relevant and important. In other words, Van Dijk (2000:49) argues, stories may serve as premises in an argumentation as reliable stories, in this case provides the experiential ‘evidence’ for the general statement.

Moving to the only broadcast sample EBC’s newscast used the least sources than other samples, as it is different medium so time management is an important factor to manage all the report to cast in precise and summarized way. The news casts follows or is organized (Government officials → Religious fathers → Addis Ababa residents → The Government Communication Affairs announcement) as sequence of relevance information. This is persuasively done through successively showing all the sources common understanding of the event and the phenomenon.

Voices excluded in the newscast are; demonstrators (who were labeled as few forces and members of Blue party) and Blue party’s opinion is entirely left out. And, as broadcast news

³⁷ ለነገሩ ሠልፋም ምንም ዓይነት የፀጥታ ችግር አልነበረበትም::

holds visual aids to support the reports, interestingly visuals and texts are incorporated significantly accommodating. The only visual aid that supports the Minister's claim in regard to Blue party shows demonstrators' protesting in gesture politics that can be interpreted as "*we are not here to hear your speech.*" The speech of the minister entails '*shouting's, stirring the people, hand movements*' whilst the visual aid only shows the motion pictures (hand movements) without sound feature. This exclusively conceals the demonstrators' reaction and so Blue Party's, thus concealing does itself shows ideological interest and proves EBC's ideological tendency as Pro-Government media. Likewise Addis Zemen, the same legitimization and assumption processes evolved in the newscasts: Authorization, Rationalization and Moral legitimization and, value assumptions that persuasively shows the space for consensus to be reached.

Other texts that are intertextually incorporated in the report whom attributed to Ato Redwan Hussein but does not exist, reveals the attribution is not-attributed intertextuality or never exists or not true of the speech made by the Minister. The reporter reporting "*but tomorrow, there will not be any kind of mass demonstration taking place in Addis Ababa, he announces.*" If one looks at the statement intertextually, the agency (who), what was it about (its goal and where) are relevant questions to be asked, where as vaguely communicated. Interestingly, the announcement never holds such statement as the researcher realized from the speech of the official.³⁸ Here one can arguably state that, the information is only given to EBC reporters but not for other media journalists as the announcement is a monologue or a situation where journalists has never had a chance to ask questions to the Minister.

³⁸ See the video <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=McseBs8vhtg>

4.7 Explanation of News Reports

Explanation is the last stage to analyze sample news reports in relation to their situational, institutional and societal contexts or sociocultural practices embedded in these news reports in relation to ideology. This is looking at same features of the discourse at three different levels by changing the filters on the camera angel.

Respectively, situational analysis, in order to present contextualized interpretation or as (Huckin, 1997) to offer a full discussion of texts, one should also take into account the broader sociocultural context surrounding the texts. Thus, this analysis includes the place of protestors and election in Ethiopian cultural context. A useful reference to choose could be argued that the situational context of the event is since, the discourses are embedded in line with the 2015 election and the political protest is both entwined situational.

The sociocultural context of political protest and election in Ethiopia, even recently, has a connotation of historic sea change in relation to political power and competition which is coloured by violent and protest within pre and post election periods. For instance, reports of international organizations such as Human Right Watch, 2010³⁹; The Carter Center 2009⁴⁰ and Amnesty International 2015⁴¹ give an incentive to view the context of election and political protesting in Ethiopian cultural setting. Or, precisely putting it; it is flawed and challenging to build a democratic media system and veracity that rests on the dominant party system (EPRDF) that ruled the country starting from 1991 when come to power. This concept confirms Samuel

³⁹ <https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/.../ethiopia0310webwcover.pdf>

⁴⁰ https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/Ethiopia-2005-Finalrpt.pdf

Huntington's view to the development of the theoretical basis for a dominant party system in the Ethiopian context, reads as follows

“Under a dominant party system, there will be ‘one broad based party that has a wide appeal to a number of groups’, regularly wins elections and more or less continuously controls government (Huntington 1993: 271).” (As quoted in Asnake, 2009:72)

In regard, the 2015 National Election in Ethiopia has only left a month, when the event (protest against ISIS) was held. Thus, the demonstration called by the government infers two features; first, it can be regarded as informal campaign in the name the demonstration and secondly, strengthening the ideological bases of the government in vanguardist tradition which develops new ideas against competitors, specifically to Blue Party. These two features in terms of situational context manifest the interest of the government to rebrand dominant party system under EPRDF. In other way round, the situation manifests struggle in discourse or meaning making specifically between the Government and Blue party. In line with this, can be argued that the discourses embedded in the news reports contribute to sustain existing power relation between the Government and Blue party but not transform them.

Looking at the demonstration as an element, one cannot isolate its ending in violent where the discourses of news reports emphasize on the conflict and at the same vein the change in discourse in regard the controversy. *Addis Zemen* and *EBC's* overall political culture and political socialization are portrayed as an important element in sustaining democracy and are realized employing discursive strategies of (van Dijk's, 2006:126) expressing ideological discourse in rhetorical structures in form of emphasizing the good will of the incumbent party's as consensus and de-emphasizing Blue party in forms of repetition and metaphors. Whereas,

⁴¹ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/06/ethiopia-investigate-suspicious-murders-and-human-rights-violations-1/>

Addis Admass and Reporter news reports are realized employing discursive strategies of expressing ideological discourse in forms of action; speech acts, communicative acts and interaction in relation to the event. Here, these three representations of actions more presuppose the good things of Blue party and the bad things of the Government.

The news report of the *Reporter*, the discursive strategies employed to express ideology in discourse are the same as within *Addis Admass*. The interactional strategies are used by the writer as a stand point in order to impose a concluding remark as argument which *many* approves or agreed. This is interesting revealing that make *Reporter* doing it in informative way that challenge the status quo but *Addis Admass* does not.

Moving to the institutional matrix of these sample news discourses, are rather complex. This is because; the event '*the demonstration*' potentially revolved across a number of institutions such as, political parties, government and religious institutions, and the immediate institutional matrix the *media*. The government, in *Addis Zemen* and *EBC* seems not constrained in both matrixes. Whereas, in the private presses *Addis Admass and Reporter*, the government is constrained by sources of information these reports employed vice versa to Blue Party in state owned media matrixes.

The institutional processes which these samples discourses belong to are; the struggle between political parties (specifically between Blue Party and EPRDF) in the media for intertextual context and meaning making. More specifically, the struggle between Blue party and EPRDF in to building of new political consensus attached to the conflict on the demonstration in their own way. The discourses of EPRDF and Blue Party can be regarded as potentially ideologically determinative in regard to social relationships as it affects a specific articulation of consensus

(negative or positive) with respect to authority and solidarity in relation between the government's political leadership and the public, and to political parties.

The media, as an important site for political struggle during election times, plays potent role to political leaders. In relation to the concept of the role of media during elections as Lange and Ward (2004:208) argues, the media have to independently reflect the pluralistic structure of such a society; they have to inform, enlighten and educate the public. They have to provide a platform and forum for controversial societal debates, and because of this, an important factor is forming public opinion. In this stance, looking on selected media roles, they can be regarded as failed institutions and, with the exception, to a slight extent *Reporter* has offered suggestion in a consensus form or an idea that lets the government rethink the political, economic and social problems existed in Ethiopia in relation to '*illegal Immigration*'.

State owned media *Addis Zemen and EBC* claims solidarity with in all the diverse public by their information sources. As Fairclough (1998:193) argues, "Versions of the solidarity/authority mix are now conventional for political leaders, but their effects in terms especially of solidarity upon the actual social relationship between politicians and the rest of the population cannot be taken for granted." Stating the institutional context of these state run mediums: the mantra of extremism and terrorism policy, solidarity of the diverse public of Ethiopia and of the world community in relation to the event justifies the interest of EPRDF to resonate the legitimacy at sudden promotion attached to the developmental policy the state enacted through tagging Blue party as against all these values of the people and the government. In light of EPRDF's interest, both *Addis Zemen and EBC's* news reports are lubricant engines playing an important role to the incumbent party way or vehicles for political patronage in favor of EPRDF.

The private owned mediums *Addis Admass* and *Reporter* institutionally contextualized within the conflict specifically between the government and Blue Party, but in different extents. In regard, *Addis Admass* is precisely the opposite of state run mediums: the extent to which the headline and the lead evolved around international mediums (BBC, ALJAZEERA, and EURO NEWS) view of the event and broadly to the government, political cleavages between EPRDF and Blue Party, and protestors clashing with police force. Whereas, *Reporter* can be contextualized as *Addis Admass*, albeit it offers a critical support in relation to the defacto ‘illegal immigration’ problem existed in the country. More interestingly, *Reporter* has offered a certain political, economic and social problem bases, in sense of reasonable doubt to both, in particular to the cause of the conflict on the demonstration and generally to the issue of illegal immigration. The last level of explanation is societal context. The selected media discourses could be regarded as a part of two societal processes: political struggle between EPRDF and Blue Party and institutional struggle between state and private run mediums in order to meaning making. Beginning with social relationships in Ethiopia between political leadership and the public, EPRDF have exercised economic and political domination for over 25 years starting early in 1991. Huntington suggested that in the Ethiopian situation, where there is no a large middle class, the EPRDF that he assumed had broad appeal and a peasant base could play the role of the dominant party system under the EPRDF, serve two key purposes.

“First, it would provide political stability needed for economic development and attracting foreign investment. Second, the presence of smaller opposition political parties that compete in elections but can never form a government either individually or collectively provide ‘democratic legitimacy’ for EPRDF’s rule and facilitate the flow of foreign aid.” (As quoted in Asnake, 2009:72-3)

In line with Huntington’s suggestion, accordingly what becomes reality is that the relationship of power holders in public life to the mass population has a controlling and authoritative feature.

And, opposition political parties who aspire for governmental power have been seen struggling, promising and being exploited (by EPRDF) in varying degrees to ameliorate the condition of the public life and other intermediate strata of the population.

Correspondingly, the discourses of state owned mediums; there emerges a partnership and consensus ideology which has tried to portray EPRDF's political leadership as controlled by partnership and consensus between the government and the people. This is revealed through texturing of semantic relations set up in the part of social agents (as the causal effect of agency) implicitly. In this stance, as there is no direct link between fallacies or ways of arguing and ideology, as van Dijk (2000:58) argues, where these links exist, they are only semantic though the contents of arguments are of course related to ideological attitudes that favor EPRDF. In relation to the big picture which supports Huntington's view is Meseret's (2013:332) argument that, EPRDF had a much better awareness than its predecessors about the use of media as a propaganda instrument. Therefore it allocated a higher budget for media operations ever since it came to power. However, it still does things just to please western donors of for some other political gain, without genuinely believing in press freedom.

The strategy employed in both state and private owned mediums purport to relate audiences' or readers' as individuals who share large areas of common ground, which the term (Fairclough, 1989:195) called *synthetic personalization*. Synthetic personalization as a concept, stimulates solidarity: it seems that the more 'mass' the media become, and therefore the less in touch with individuals or particular groupings in their audiences, the more media workers and 'personalities' (including politicians) purport to relate to members of their audience as individuals who share large areas of common ground.

In line with Fairclough's argument, one can advance that this form of solidarity functions as a strategy of political containment represents a concession to the public strengthening of cooperating with the policy's of the government and, in other way round, constitutes or draws a veil over the people that why and how the government organized and called the demonstration that ends in violence and controversy. Therefore, the ideologically creative element (*the violent*) is contained within the ideologically determining element (the *Ministry of Government Communications Affairs announcement*). This could be regarded as the relationship exists right across the governments discourse: in the context of political struggle between political parties, however, what is decisive is much precisely how the '*public*' is defined, as ensuring that the people is defined in terms of the interest and supportive nature. Nevertheless, what insights protest against the government is defined as a mere local variant of ISIS recruits (Blue Party members and supporters) rather than screening the why of the people is protesting against the political leadership of EPRDF and is out of subject and concealed but was a serious issue in focus.

In relation to the social identity, the government set up for the public is different from Blue party. Apparently, the ideological creativity of EPRDF holds interests within parameters set down by the longer-term power relation which the government is operating. Let alone, the implication of the government winning the 2015 National Election extraordinarily does have, but can be taken as a single factor that made EPRDF wins. Whereas, this situation makes Blue party as to struggle to intertextual context which relatively is against the social identity EPRDF constructs of the '*public*'. At the same vein conceals the protest and represent the violent as terrorist and extremist's activity and linking it to Blue Party within media discourses as maxim.

Chapter Five

5. Summary

The aim of this study was to uncover, by means of critical discourse analysis, the reports of Ethiopian media on the demonstration against ISIS held in Addis Ababa, in which these media discourses are structured in the news reports as well as their underpinning ideologies through discursive representation of social actors participated on the event.

The study intended to achieve the overstated objective by identifying: what discourses are there in the news reports? What are their ideological tendencies that entrenched in the news reports? And, how are social actors discursively represented?

The news reports are analyzed majorly by Fairclough's three-dimensional model and, Halliday's systemic functional grammar analytic tools likely to strengthen the analysis. This study ranges from the micro-level *linguistic features*, to the macro-level institutional and social setting. To this end, using purposive sampling techniques, four media outputs (i.e. from Broadcast and press) was chosen as extracts, which are from both state and privately run media institutions. One broadcast news were selected of which produced by Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and Addis Zemen (press) that are state run. Two newspapers, Addis Admass and Reporter of which are privately owned.

All these media outputs are critically analyzed based on the outlined analytic techniques. For instance, indicating did it; first, looking thoroughly into the discourses of these news reports, then by identifying the discourses. On the way, this helped to know what different discourses are textured in the news reports at micro and macro-level through viewing detailed linguistic items (words, phrases, lexis, reporting speeches and verbs as well as quotations) helped consequently

to explore the ideological tendencies that the media hold and at the same time helped to identify how discursively are social actors are represented, as far as ideology holds “*us vs. them*”.

Discourses identified in these news reports are macro-topics such as: the discourse of Terrorism and extremism; tolerance and companionship; inter-religious; international media; social values and systems; conflict; fascism; election and election law, political institutions and illegal immigrants. And micro-topics such as: the discourse of anti terrorism and extremism, entrepreneurship, humanity, religious doctrines, political parties, violent, development and many more other sub-topics are articulated in these news reports.

5.1 Conclusions

Accordingly, based on the analysis the study demonstrated that in respective of state owned media; there was explicit and consciously articulation of texts that serves the legacy of ownership interest. It also reveals, these media institutions are serving those in power not the public as the discourses mapped in state owned media news reports are one sided, consensus that legitimize the government and biased. The same flow of idea often in different grammatical textures is realized that finely serve to legitimize the incumbent party at the expense of ownership. Significantly, no other angle or side of the demonstration is presented in the state owned media that could possibly change the whole texture and context of the news reports. Concealing participant social actor’s view of the world is of significance because that is of against the ideological interest of the government and is automatically left out or represented as ‘bad guys’ of the event, so is Blue party. 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. In this regard, *Addis Admass*'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. More, *Addis Admass* was implicitly communicating its ideological standpoint as Pro-Blue party which is realized by concealing what the government official told about injured protestors as not stated. The news report has lots of grey areas where uncritical readers can't get the message, if they are uncertain about what was there at the event and what was not there.

Accordingly, *Reporter*'s news report can be regarded 'critical' of the event and behind the event. Likewise, the news reports of *Reporter* presented two different sides, besides what adds importance to the report is that, it considers what was there behind the event and scrutinize the political, social and economic setting of Ethiopia. The presupposed information, is presented as common consent, besides revealing its ideological stance as Pro-Blue party, has its own solid message in relation to the problem '*illegal immigrants*' and to the cause of the conflict.

The three-stage analysis reveals that language, ideology and institutional setting are mutually determined. Language in news discourse is or can be regarded as a reflection of institutional interest, overwhelmingly ideological. The state owned media reports the event for the importance of their institutional setting (i.e. media or ruling party). Whereas, the privately owned media, by presenting the two views of the event, but in uninformative way (in case of *Addis Admass*) and critically insights readers' through their mirror of the social structure (in case of *Reporter*).

The reporter's employs various linguistic tools to set up quite different images of the *government* side and the *Blue party* side in relation to the event. These news reports have hidden ideologies that guide reporters to write or broadcast for what their institutional setting lies on. The language use of these reports inevitably reflects their distinctive attitudes towards the two sides, *the Government and Blue party*.

The protagonist-antagonist structure of news reports in media institutions is the very first order of the day that incentivizes reporters to overcome political reporting that lays decisions to be made on the political ground not on journalistic ground. This goes to the extent of deciding or setting up the time sensitive target of the event being reported, when in fact there is a controversy and sensitive political issue which embeds terrorism facet in Ethiopian media respectively. There is another discourse interdiscursivity embedded 'of not being critical' to journalists and practitioners that it would be against the nation's security as well as personal survival in which both are entwined for an argument consequentially.

The principles and theories of journalism in state and private media is an exception but belong to the interest of ideological pattern of respective institutions. In this regard, journalism practice is being a way to promote and advance institutional values using different platforms which is a way too far to label journalism 'a profession' but a tool that holds some element of it. Precisely, journalism is becoming politician's profession not journalist's to argue, confront legitimize or advance their interest in different mediums. This in turn creates a wonder in one's mind if questions: as a political reporter where is the part teacher and part watchdog role of the journalist from which to scrutinize and demystify key aspects of the event to readers or viewers. .

More importantly, the analysis of these news reports implicates and the researcher also believes, critically analyzing news reports is of great significance in assisting media professionals and

students or news reader not only to achieve a better understanding of what they write/broadcast, learn and read. More importantly helps to know more about the situation, institutional, political and historical backgrounds and dimensions of the story being reported. Thus, are able to increase their critical context sensitivity, as well as awareness' about news reports.

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Appendices

Appendix A: The following 20 newspapers and magazines are licensed by the Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority and reports on political, economic, social and entertainment content and their circulation (as of April 2015).

Publication	Name of Publisher	Language	Schedule	Monthly Average Print Run
Addis Admas	Admas Advertising, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Weekly	6,267
Addis Guday	Roze Printer, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Weekly	12,000
Addis Standard	Jaken Publishing, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	English	Monthly	1,000
Afro Times	Gizaw and Thomas Entertainment and Press Works, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Biweekly	3,000
Arhibu	Sankopha Printing and Advertising, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Bimonthly	2,000
Capital	Crown Publishing, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	English	Biweekly	5,875
Enku	Alemayehu Printing and Advertising and Relation, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Bimonthly	2,000
Ethio-Channel	Z Press Promotion Agency, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Weekly	1,600
Ethio-Mihidar	Hulenta Printing and Advertising, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Weekly	3,067
Fact	Yofa Entertainment and Press Works, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Weekly	2,500
Jano	Asnakech Entertainment Press Works, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	English	Bimonthly	1,750
Keha iske pe	Berhanu and Tiruneh Advertising and Relation, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Bimonthly	500

Konjo	Tewodros Entertainment and Press Works, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Bimonthly	3,000
Life	Life Printing, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Bimonthly	2,500
Lomi	Dadimos Entertainment and Press Works, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Weekly	12,000
Sendek	Sendek Printing and Advertising, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Weekly	1,667
Sink	Abreham Gizaw Entertainment and Press Works, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Bimonthly	1,500
Reporter	Media and Communication Center, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	Amharic	Biweekly	10,750 and 8,667
The Reporter	Media and Communication Center, Pvt. Ltd. Co.	English	Weekly	4,250
Yegna Press	Yordanos Seyoum Media Printing and Advertising, Pvt. Ltd. Col.	Amharic	Biweekly	2,700

የረቡዕ እስቱ ሰልፍ በአለም አቀፍ ሚዲያዎች ትኩረት ተሰጥቶታል

ሰማያዊ ፓርቲ ከመንግስት የቀረበበትን ውንጀላ ተቃውሟል

አለማዊ አገልግሎት

በአሸባሪው በድን ገደብ ታጣቂዎች አስቃቂ ግድያ የተገፀመባቸው አትቶጵያውያን ስምዕታትን ለመብከርና ሽብርተኝነትን ለማውገዝ ባለፈው ረቡዕ መንግስት በጠራው ህዝባዊ ሰልፍ ላይ ተቃዋሚ ከፀጥታ ሃይሎች ጋር የጠሩት ግጭት የዓለም አቀፍ ሚዲያዎችን ትኩረት ሰጧል።

በአለቱ በአልጀዚራ በተላለፈ ዘገባ፣ ህዝቡ በከፍተኛ ጩኸትና ቁጣ መንግስትን የሚተቹ መፈክሮችን እያሰማ ባለበት፣ በፀጥታ ሀይሎች የተወሰደው አርምጃ ታይቷል። ሰልፈኛች ሲደበደቡ የሚያሳዩ የተለያዩ ምስሎችም ተሰራጭተዋል።

የአትቶጵያውያንን በSISIS ታጣቂዎች የመገደል አስቃቂ ትዕይንት በተደጋጋሚ በምስል አስደግፎ ሲያቀርቡ የነበረው ዩዊ ኒውስ፣ ረቡዕ እስቱ ምሽት ጀምሮ ሰልፍ ሲጀመር የነበረውን ሁኔታና የሰልፍ ግጥምቶቹ ላይ ፖሊስ ከሰልፈኛው ጋር የተጋጨበትን ትዕይንት አሳይቷል።

በዚህ አጥፊ የቤዲዮ ትዕይንት፣ መራት ላይ የወደቁ ወጣት ሴቶች በፖሊስ ሲደበደቡ እንዲሁም እንደገና ወጣት በርካታ ፖሊሶች መራት ላይ በወደቁበት ሲደበደቡ ተከውሏል። ለረቡዕ እስቱ ሰማያዊ ሰልፍ ትኩረት ሰጥቶ የዘገበው ቢቢሲ በበኩሉ፣ ሰልፈኛው ያሰማውን ትቃውሞና በመጨረሻም ፖሊስ የሃይል አርምጃ ሲወሰድ የሚያሳይ ዘገባ አስተላልፏል።

የመንግስት ኮሚሽኒን ጉዳዮች ጸ/በ/ት ሚኒስትር አቶ ሬድዋን ውሳኔ ሰልፍ ከተከናወነ ከአለታት በኋላ ለረቡዕ ሰልፍ ስለሰጡት መግለጫ፣ የፖሊሱ ሰልፍ በስነ-ምግባር ጠቅላይ ስነ-ምግባር ህገ ግጭት በሰልፍ ላይ ረባሻ ማስላታቸውንና ከዚህ ጀርባም የሰማያዊ ፓርቲ እጅ እንዳልበት ተናግረዋል።

ረባሻውን ተከትሎ በ7 የደራረል ፖሊስ አባላት ላይ የመቆራረጥ ለደጋ መድረሱን የጠቅሙት



ሚኒስትሩ፣ በሰልፍ የተሳተፉ ሰዎች ላይ ጉዳት ስለመድረስ የተናገሩት ነገር የለም። በአለቱ ሪፖርተሮችን በመስቀል እደባባይ ተገኝቶ እንደተመለከተው፣ በተለይ በቅዱስ ዮሴፍ ት/ቤት እኩባቢ በቡድን የተደራጀ ወጣቶች በከፍተኛ ጩኸት መንግስትን የሚያውጡ መፈክሮች እያሰሙ ሊቃውሙ እንደነበር ለመታዘብ ተችሏል።

በአማግሮ ሰልፍ ላይ የተገኘት ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ኃይለማርያም ደሳለኝ፣ ሽብርተኝነትን የሚያውጣውን ጉግግር እያደረጉ ሳለም ከፍተኛ ጩኸትና ተቃውሞ የተሰተጋገጠ ሲሆን እንዳንደችም ከፖሊስ ጋር ግጭት ረገጧል።

በመንግስት የተጠራውን ሰልፍ ተከትሎ፣ አባባላቸው የሚሆኑ የመንግስት መኖሪያ ቤቶች ዝግ የነበሩ ሲሆን በከተማው አንዳንድ አካባቢዎች የታክሲ አጥረት ተፈጥሮ እንደነበርም ታውቋል።

ፖሊስ ሰልፍን ለመቀነስ አለለቃሽ ጭስ የተጠቀመ ሲሆን በርካቶች በግርግርና በትርምስ መሃል ወደቀው ለጉዳት ተዳርገዋል። የቀይ መስቀል አምባላጎችም ተገኝዎችን ወደ ዘውዲቱ መታሰቢያ

ሆነበት ሲሆን ቀላል ጉዳት የደረሰባቸው ግለሰቦች ከሰዓት በኋላ እይታከሙ ከሆነበት ወጥተዋል።

ፖሊስ በረባሻው መሃል ያደረገውን በርካታ ግለሰቦች በየቦታው በቡድን በቡድን ከሰበሰቡ በኋላ ወደ ፖሊስ ጣቢያ ሲያመላልስ እንደነበር የአይን ለማኞች ለአዲስ አድማስ ተናግረዋል።

መንግስት ተቃውሞውን እደራጅቷል ሲል የሚጀለው ሰማያዊ ፓርቲ፣ ረቡዕ ዕለት ማምሻውን ባወጣው መግለጫ፣ መንግስት የጠራውን ሰልፍ በመደገፍ አባላቱና ደጋፊዎቹ በሰልፍ ላይ እንዲገኙ ጥሪ ማስተላለፍን ጥሪውን ተከትሎ እንደሚገኝቸውም ዜጋ በሰልፍ ላይ የሄዱ የፓርቲው አባላቶችና አባላት ግና ወደ መቆራረጥ አይደሉም ማድረጋቸው ይፈት እይታዎች መታሰራቸውን አስታውቋል።

ፓርቲው መንግስታዊ ሽብር የሆነበትን ቁጣ ያባብሳል እንጂ መፍትሄ አይሆንም። በሚል ባወጣው መግለጫው፣ መንግስት በዜጎች ላይ የወሰደው የግዛቴ አርምጃ በአጅጉ የሚያሳዝንና ርጉነቶች ሊወገዝ የሚገባው ነው ብሏል።

መንግስት፣ ረባሻውን ያነሳሳው ሰማያዊ ፓርቲ ነው ማለቱን አጥብቆ የተቃወመው ፓርቲው፣ የመንግስትን ቸልተኝነት በተቃወሙ ሰዎች ላይ የተወሰደው አርምጃ ላይንክ፣ ጉዳዩን ከአንዳንድ የፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች ጋር አሳምሮ ተቃውሟቸውን ማጠልሸት በፍጹም ተቀባይነት የለለው እውነት ተግባር ነው። መንግስት ነፃ ከፖሊስ አካል በፍጹም የማይጠበቅ ስህተት ነው ብሏል። የፓርቲው አባላትና ደጋፊዎች የተገኙት እንደሚገኝቸውም ዜጋ በሰልፍ ለመሰተፍ እንደሆነም ፓርቲው አስታውቋል።

በአለቱም 8 ያህል የአመራር እርሳቱ ክስልፍ በፊት እና በኋላ ተደብድበው መቆራረጥ ፓርቲው አስታውቋል። በመጨረሻም በመቆራረጥ ሰማያዊ ፓርቲው ለማረጋገጥ ችያለው ብሏል።

ሁለት የፓርቲው አውጭ የምርጫ ተወዳጅዎችም ፖሊስ ጣቢያ ለታሰሩት የፓርቲው እውረርሻ አራት ለማድረስና ለመጠየቅ በሄዱበት ወቅት መታሰራቸውን ፓርቲው አስታውቋል።

«በሰላማዊ ሰልፉ ሁከት...»

ከ1ኛው ገጽ የዘረ

በአደባባይ መውጣቱ ተገቢና ትክክል ነው። ሆኖም ይህ ህዝባዊ ሰልፍ በተከናወነበት ወቅት በአንዳንድ ቡድኖች የተፈጸመው የመረበሽ ተግባር እጅጉን የሚያሳዝን ነው። በመሆኑም እነዚህ ኃይሎች ሊወጡና ሊሰሩላረው ሕጋዊ እርምጃ ሊወሰድባቸው ይገባል።

በላይ አስ የሽብር ቡድን በኢትዮጵያውያን ላይ የተፈጸመውን ግድያ ለማውገዝ በሉዲስ አበባ በተካሄደው ሰልፍ ላይ የተቀሰቀሰውን ሁከት ያስተባብሩት ሰማያዊና እንደነት ፓርቲዎች መሆናቸው በተጨማሪም መረጋገጡን የፈጅረው ፖሊስ ኮሚሽን ማስታወቁን የሊዘሉ ዘገባ አመልክቷል።

በአመጽ ቅስቀሳው እጃቸው አለበት የተባሉ የገር ግን የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ዕጩ የሆኑ የፓርቲዎቹ አባላትን በሕገ መሰረት ከአሰር መልቀቁን ኮሚሽኑ ገልጿል።

ኮሚሽነር ጄነራል አሰፋ አብዩ እንደተናገሩት፣ የፓርቲዎቹ አባላትና አመራሮች ለሰላማዊ ሰልፍ በወጣው ህዝብ መሀል በመግባት በሰድብ፣ በጨዥትና ድንጋይ በመወርወር ሁከት እንዲፈጠር ማስተባበራቸውና መሳተፋቸው ተረጋግጧል። «በዕለቱ ህዝቡ ጎዘጉን ገልጾ ሲመለሱ በእነዚህ ፓርቲዎች የተደራጀ ኃይል መሃል ላይ በመግባት ዓላማውን ለማስቀየርና የፖለቲካ መጠቀሚያ ለማድረግ ወደ ሁከትና ብጥብጥ ለመለወጥ ታሰቦ የተሠራ ሥራ መሆኑ ተረጋግጧል» ብለዋል።

በዋናነት የሰማያዊ ፓርቲ አባላት፣ ደጋፊዎችና አመራሮች ሰልፉን ያስተባብሩ እንደነበር የተናገሩት ኮሚሽነሩ፣ ይህን ተከትሎም ሰባት የፓርቲው አመራሮች በአመጹ ላይ ሲሳተፉ የተያዙ ሲሆን፣ በአጠቃላይ 20 የሰማያዊ ፓርቲ አባላት መያዛቸውን ተናግረዋል። ሁከት ፈጣሪዎቹ አሸባሪዎች የያዙትን

ላይነት ባንዲራ ይዘው መታየታቸውንም ኮሚሽነሩ አረጋግጠዋል።

በተሳው አመጽ የሰው ህይወት ሳይጠፋና ንብረት ሳይወድም ቢጠናቀቅም 41 የፖሊስ አባላት እና ሦስት ንጹሃን ዜጎች ከከባድ እስከ ቀላል ጉዳት እንደደረሰባቸውና ህዝምና እየተከታተሉ እንደሚገኙ አስታውቀዋል። በተቀሰቀሰው አመፅ ከአንድ ሺህ በላይ ተጠርጣሪዎች ተይዘው የነበረ ሲሆን፣ ጉዳዩ ተጣርቶ በአሁኑ ወቅት ከ150 የማይበልጡ ተጠርጣሪዎች ቀርተው ምርመራ እየተካሄደባቸው ይገኛል ብለዋል።

የማጣራቱ ሥራ እንደተጠናቀቀም ጥፋተኞቹ ተለይተው ለኖርድ እንደሚቀርቡ የተናገሩት ኮሚሽነሩ፣ በአመፅ ላይ በመሳተፍና በማስተባበር የተያዙ የሁለቱ ፓርቲዎች አባላት ከ30 እንደማይበልጡ አመልክተዋል። ሌሎች እንርሱን ተከትለው ሁከቱን የተሳተፉና የተለዩ አላማ እንደሌላቸው የተለዩ ዜጎች እየተለቀቁ ነው ብለዋል።

ኮሚሽነሩ እንዳልተ ከተያዙት የፓርቲዎቹ አባላት መካከል ሦስት የሰማያዊ እንዲሁም ሁለት የአንድነት ፓርቲ አባላት ለህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ዕጩ ተወዳዳሪዎች በመሆናቸው የምርመራ ሕጉ በሚያዘው መሰረት ከእስር ተለቀዋል። በመስቀል ላደባባይ በነበረውን ሰላማዊ ሰልፍ ከ600 ሺህ በላይ ህዝብ ወጥቶ ጎዘጉን ቢጋራ የገለጸበትና ዓላማውም የተሳካ እንደነበር ኮሚሽነሩ አስታውሰዋል።

ህብረተሰቡ የሁከት ፈጣሪዎችን ድርጊት በማውገዝ «በሕግ ይጠየቁልን» ማለቱን በማስታወስ ወደ ፈትም ህብረተሰቡ ሁከት ራሱንና ቤተሰቡን እንደሚጎዳ አውቆ የተለዩ ሁኔታ ሲያጋጥሙ ለፀጥታ አካላት ማሳወቅ እንዳለበት አሳስበዋል። በከልል ከተሞችም ከ25 ቦታዎች በላይ ትዕይንት ህዝብ መካሄዱንና በሰላም መጠናቀቁንም ኮሚሽነሩ ተናግረዋል።

«ማንኛውም የፖለቲካ ...»

ከ1ኛው ገጽ የዘረ

እንደሚከተለውም በላይ በአገሪቱ ላይ ያለውን ሰላም የደረሰበት መሆኑ ይህን ድርጊት የፈጸሙ ኃይሎች ከድርጊታቸው እንዲቆጠቡ አስገንዝበዋል።

ወጣት ቴዎድሮስ ለባይኔህ የገፋሰ ስልክ ላፍቶ ከፍለክተማ ገዳሪ ሲሆን፣ በፖለቲካም ሆነ በሌሎች ገደቦች አለመግባባቶች ለኖሩ ቢኾሉም ያላቸውን አለመግባባት በእንደዚህ ዓይነት መልኩ መግለፅ እንዳልነበረባቸው ይናገራል።

በተከሰተውም ብጥብጥ ለሰልፍ የወጡት አዛውንቶች እናፋች መገዳታቸውን የሚጠቀሙ ወጣት ቴዎድሮስ፣ ማንኛውም የፖለቲካ ፓርቲ ፍላጎት ማገገሚያ የሚገባው በውይይት መደረግ ላይ እንጂ በአደባባይ ብጥብጥ አለመሆኑን አመልክቷል።

ለላው አስተያየት ሰጪ ከገፋሰ ስልክ ላፍቶ ከፍለ ከተማ የመጣው ወጣት አብዱሳም አብዱዳርግ ጥቂት ተቃዋሚ ኃይሎች በፈጠሩት ሁከት ምክንያት ወጣቱ ተገፋፍቶ ላልሆነ ላይጋ መዳረጉንና በጥቂት ነጥቦች ላይ በደረሰው ጉዳት ማዘጋገፍ ገልጿል።

በፍጣሪ ወጣቱ የረሳቸውን ዓላማ ለማሳካት ብጥብጥ የሚፈጸሙ ፀረ ሰላም ኃይሎችን በመዋጋት የአገሪቱን ሰላም በማስጠበቅ በሚደረጉ ሥራዎች ላይ ማዘር ቀደም ተሳታፊ መሆን እንዳለበትና የብጥብጥ ተሳታፊ ኃይሎች ከድርጊታቸው መቆጠብ እንዳለባቸው አሳስቧል።

ከአራት ከፍለ ከተማ ወረዳ አራት የመጣው ወጣት ሚኪያስ ታምሩ፣ በጥቂት ሰላም በማይፈልጉ ኃይሎች የተከሰተው ብጥብጥ ሁሉንም ወጣት የማይወክል ከመሆኑም በላይ

በዕለቱ የተንጠረቀቀ ሃሳቦች የተወሰነ ቡድንን አላማ ማክኒያ እንደነዙ ጠቁሟል።

በቀጣይም እንደዚህ ዓይነት ብጥብጦችን ለማስገሳት ያሰቡ ኃይሎች ከድርጊታቸው በመቆጠብ ለሰላምና ለሰላማዊ ሰልፍ እንዳለባቸው ወጣት ሚኪያስ መልዕክቱን አስተላልፏል።

ለሰማዊት ቅርንጫፍ ከፍለ ከተማ የመጣች ሲሆን፣ የተወሰኑ ቡድኖች አሁን ያለውን ሰላም ለማወክ እየደረጉት ካለው እንቅስቃሴ ተቀየረው ህዝቡን የሚጠቅም ሥራዎችን መስራት እንዳለባቸው ተናግረዋል።

ሰላምን በመስቀል ላደባባይ የታየው ብጥብጥ አሳራ ከመሆኑም ባሻገር ጎዘጉን ለገልፅ በወጣው ዝግጅ ላይ ከፍተኛ ጉዳት የደረሰ መሆኑን የድርጊቱ ፈጣሪዎች በህግ መጠየቅ አለባቸው ትላለች።

«መንግሥት በዚህ ላይ በተደጋጋሚ የሚያሳየውን ቸልተኝነት በተቃወሙ ዜጎች ላይ የወሰደው የጭካኔ ፅርምጃ ሳያገስ፣ ከአንድ የፖለቲካ ደርጅት ጋር አዛምዶ ተቃውሞአቸውን ማጠልሸት ትክክል እንዳልሆነና ከመንግሥት የማይጠበቅ ስህተት ነው።» በማለት ሰማያዊ ፓርቲ በመግለጫው አስታውቋል።

በሰላማዊ መንገድ የሥልጣን ሽግግር እንዳካሄደና የአመፅና የጦርነት አዙሪት እንዳይከሰት፣ ጭቆናን ተቋቁሞ የሚያደርገውን ትግል ለማኮላሸት መንግሥት መሞከር፣ የከፋ እደጋ እንዳለው ለማስገንዘብ እንደሚወድ ሰማያዊ ፓርቲ በመግለጫው አካቷል።

የአይኤስ የሽብር ቡድን ደርጊትን ለማውገዝ የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት በጠራው ሠልፍ ላይ ለመሳተፍ ሲወጡ፣ በሥልፉ ውስጥ እያሉና የታሰሩትን ሊጠይቁ ሲሄዱ የታሰሩ አባላት የደርጅት ጉዳይ አባል ወይንሸት ሞላ፣ የ2007 አገራዊ ምርጫ ለተወካዮች ምክር ቤት የምርጫ ተወዳዳሪ ጠና ይታያል። የፓርቲው አባል ኤርሚያስ ሥዩም፣ የቂርቆስና የጉሳለ ክፍለ ከተማ አስተባባሪዎች ማስተዋል ፍቃዱን ጥንካሬ ተስፋዬ፣ የአዲስ አበባ ምርጫ ጉዳይ ኮሚቴ ሕዝብ ግንኙነት ቴዎድሮስ አስፋው፣ በ2007 ምርጫ ለተወካዮች ምክር ቤት አባልነት ተወዳዳሪ እስከገደር ጥላሁንና ሌላው የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ተወዳዳሪ ይደገቃቸው አዲስ እንደታሰሩበት አስታውቋል። በሥልፈኞቹ ላይ እስር፣ እንግልትና አሰቃቂ ደብዳቤ የፈጸሙና ትዕዛዝ ያስተላለፉ አካላት ለፍርድ እንዲቀርቡ እንደሚጠይቅም ሰማያዊ ፓርቲ ገልጿል።

Reporter's second news report

በግጭት በተጠናቀቀው የተቃውሞ ሠልፍ የመንግሥትና የሰማያዊ ፓርቲ ውዝግብ



ፎቶ፡ ዜጋ ለፖርቲያው ተኮረፎ

ሚያዝያ 14 ቀን በተጠራው አይኤስ የተከሰተውን አሰራር ደርጅት የማውገዝ ሕገወግ ሠልፍ ማከደላ ላይ የተሰጠው በግብጽ

በግጭት በተጠናቀቀው...

ከክፍል 1 ገጽ 7 የዞረ

አባላቶቹ እንደታሰሩበት የሚገልጽ መግለጫ ያወጣ ሲሆን፡ በዚህም መሠረት አባላቱ መታሠራቸውን አረጋግጧልሁ ብሏል። በዕለቱ የታሰሩት የሰማያዊ ፓርቲ አባላት ብሎ የክረክራቸው ወይንስት ሞላ የደርጅት ጉዳይ አባል፡ ጠና ይታየው የ2007 አገራዊ ምርጫ የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ተወዳዳሪ፡ ኤርምያስ ሥዩም የፓርቲው አባል፡ ማስተዋል ፈቃዱ የፓርቲው የቂርቆስ ክፍለ ከተማ አስተባባሪ፡ ዳንኤል ተስፋዬ የፓርቲው የጉለሌ ክፍለ ከተማ አስተባባሪ፡ ቴዎድሮስ አስፋው የአዲስ አበባ ምርጫ ጉዳይ ኮሚቴ ሕዝብ ግንኙነት፡ አስከገደር ጥላሁን የ2007 አገራዊ ምርጫ የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ዕጩ ተወዳዳሪ፡ ይደነቃቸው አዲስ የ2007 አገራዊ ምርጫ የተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ዕጩ ተወዳዳሪ ናቸው በማለት ሰማያዊ ፓርቲ አስታውቋል። በተጨማሪም በጉዳዩ ላይ ለሪፖርተር አስተያየት የሰጡት የሰማያዊ ፓርቲ የሕዝብ ግንኙነት ኃላፊ አቶ ዮናታን ተስፋዬ በበኩላቸው፡ «መንግሥት በጉዳዩ ላይ የያዘው እጅም ተገቢ አይደለም።» በማለት መግለጫውን ተቃውመዋል።

«ሰማያዊ ፓርቲ የመንግሥት ኮሙኒኬሽን ጽሕፈት ቤት ኃላፊውንም ሆነ ጽሕፈት ቤቱን ዝም ብሎ አያልፋቸውም። በስም ማጥፋት ወንጀል ከስ ሊመሠርት ይችላል።» በማለት ለሪፖርተር አስፈጻሚዎቹ፡

«ይህ ችግር እውነት ቢሆን እንኳን፡ ሰማያዊ ፓርቲ እንደተባለው አደርጎ ቢሆን እንኳን፡ ጉዳዩን አጣርቶ የመወሰንና የመክሰስ ሥልጣን ያላቸው ዓቃቤ ሕግና ፖሊስ ምንም ሳይሉ እንደዚህ ዓይነቱን ስም ማጥፋት በተለይ አናልፈውም።» በማለት አቶ ዮናታን ተቃውሞአቸውን አስምተዋል።

በተደራጀ መልኩ ተንቀሳቅሰዋል የሚለውን ጉዳይ በተመለከተ ደግሞ፡ «ሐዘኑ የተፈጠረው አሁን ነው። እንዴት ነው በአንድ ቀን ውስጥ እንደዚህ ዓይነት ዝግጅት ሊደረግ የሚችለው? የማይመስል ነገር ነው።» በማለት የተሰነዘረውን አስተያየት ተቃውመዋል። አቶ ዮናታን በዕለቱ የተከሰተውን ግጭት የፈጠረው ከአንድ ሰዓት በላይ የፈጀው የተለያዩ ግለሰቦችና የሃይማኖት መሪዎች ንግግር አሰልፎነት ሊሆን እንደሚችል ግምት እንዳላቸው ገልጸው፡ ጉዳዩንም እንዲህ ያስረዳሉ። «ረዥም ንግግር ነበር። ከዚያም አልፎ በሕፃናት የተደረገው ዳንስ ዓይነት የሚመስል እንቅስቃሴ ሰውን እንዳስቆጣ መረዳት ይቻላል።» ብለዋል።

አረመኔው አሸባሪ ደርጅት ዓላማው ምንድነው?

በሶሪያ የተፈጠረውን ቀውስና አሰራርጋጋት ለእኩይ ተግባሩ መጠናከር ምቹ ሁኔታን የፈጠረለት አይኤስ የተሰኘው ይህ የሽብር ቡድን፡ ምሥረታው ግን ከሶሪያ ቀውስ ቀደም ብሎ ነው።

በቡድኑ ዙሪያ ጥናት ያካሄዱ ተመራማሪዎች እንደሚገልጹት፡ ከአሜሪካ መሪሾ የአራቅ ዘመቻ በኋላ በአራቅ የተከሰተው ቀውስ ለቡድኑ መስፋፋት ከፍተኛ አስተዋጽኦ አበርክቷል።

ቡድኑ ግኑና ዓላማ አስላማዊ መንግሥት መመሥረት ሲሆን፡ በአራቅ በሁለቱ የሙስሊም ቡድኖች መካከል የተፈጠረው ግጭት ደግሞ ከአራቅ አልፎ ወደ ሶሪያ እንዲስፋፋ አስፈላጊውን ምቹ ሁኔታ ፈጥሮለታል።

የደርጅቱ የገንዘብ ምንጭ ከተቆጣጠራቸው የአራቅና የሶሪያ ከተሞች በሚያገኘው የነዳጅ ጉድጓዶች ከሚገኝ ገንዘብ መሆኑ ይነገራል። ይህም ይህንን የሽብር ቡድን ለመቆጣጠርና ለማክሰም የሚደረገውን ጥረት አስቸጋሪ አድርጎታል።

ከአራቅ በመነሳት በተለይ ራቃ የተባለች ሶሪያ አሌፓ ከተማ አካባቢ የምትገኝ ከተማን ከተቆጣጠረ በኋላ፡ ቡድኑ የአስላማዊ መንግሥት ለመመሥረት ዕቅዱ ውስጥ ካካተታቸው በርካታ የመክከለኛው ምሥራቅና የሰሜን አፍሪካ አገሮች ተርታ አትቶጽገንም እካቶ ከወራት በፊት ይፋ አደርጎ ነበር።

ሆኖም ግን ጉዳዩን በቅርብ የሚከታተሉና የሚያጠኑ ተመራማሪዎች ይህ ሐሳብ ከህልም የማይዘል የቁም ቅዥት ነው ይሉታል። ለዚህ የሚያቀርቡት መከራከሪያ ደግሞ ቡድኑ አሁን በያዘው አካሄድ እንኳን በካርታው ያካተታቸውን አገሮች ሊቆጣጠር ቀርቶ፡ መረጋጋት በተሳናቸው ሶሪያና አራቅ ውስጥ እንኳን አገሮቹን ሙሉ በሙሉ መቆጣጠር የሚያስችል እቅድ አልፈጠረም የሚል ነው።

በተጨማሪም ቡድኑ በእስካሁኑ እንቅስቃሴው መቆጣጠር የቻለው የግዛት ስፋት መጠን ልክ በደረጃው ከአውሮፓዊቷ ትንሽ አገር ቤልጂየም መጠን ጋር የሚመሳሰል ነው በማለት፡ የደርጅቱን ህልም ለምን የቀን ቅዥት እንደሆነ አስረገጠው ያስረዳሉ።

ይህ የሽብር ቡድን የተለያዩ አገሮች ዜጎችን በግፍ ሲገድል የከረመ ሲሆን፡ አሁን አትቶጽገውን በአሰቃቂ ሁኔታ ሕይወታቸውን እንዲያጡ አድርጓል። በዚህም መላ አትቶጽገውን ሐዘን እንጀታቸው ውስጥ ገብቶ እንሰፍስፏቸዋል። ባለፈው ረቡዕ በሠልፋ ማጠናቀቂያ ላይ በተፈጠረው ረብሻና ግርግር መንግሥትና ሰማያዊ ፓርቲ እርስ በርስ እየተወነጃጀሉ ናቸው። በሽብር ቡድኑ ሕይወታቸውን ያጡ ሌሎች ሚቸችም ማንነት እየታወቀ ነው። አጠቃላይ የጉዳዩ መቋቋሚያ የሚሆነው ስደትን ለአንዲት ለመጨረሻ ጊዜ ማስወገድ ነው የሚለው የበርካቶች ሐሳብ ነው። ይህንን ስደት ለማስቆም ደግሞ መፍትሔው ዙሪያ ገባውን የአገሪቱን የፖለቲካ፡ የኢኮኖሚና የማገባረድ ችግሮች መነሻን በሚገባ መመርመር ነው የሚሉ ሐሳቦች በብዛት እየተደመጡ ነው።

Appendix F: Ethiopian broad Casting Corporation, Wednesday, April, 22, Evening 2:00 a.m, newscast

EBC's Newscast regarding Government Officials

See URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b9TqXQ2BDIA&feature=share>

EBC's Newscast regarding Religious Fathers

See URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eVkomg2kc8w&feature=youtu.be>

EBC's Newscast regarding Addis Ababa residents and the Government communication Affairs

See URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P1SVL1I8hJk>

Declaration

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

Name: Kosun Birhanu

Signature:

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of several overlapping loops and curves, positioned to the right of the 'Signature:' label.

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