



A Critical Discourse Analysis on the news coverage of the 2006 Military Conflict between Ethiopia and the United Islamic Courts (UIC): The case of The Ethiopian Herald and The Daily Monitor

By: Aemere Seyoum

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis (A Critical Discourse Analysis of the news coverage on the 2006 military conflict between Ethiopia and the United Islamic Courts (UIC): The case of The Ethiopian Herald and The Daily Monitor) is my own work and I have duly acknowledge the sources of materials I have used.

Name : AEMERE SEYOUM Signature:-----Date:June,2015

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By: AEMERE SEYOUM

Approved by the Examining Board

Head of the Department -----Sig.-----Date-----

Examiner-----Sig.-----Date-----

Examiner -----Sig.-----Date-----

Advisor-----Sig.-----Date-----

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the *Ethiopian Herald's* and the *Daily Monitor's* discourses towards the 2006-07 military operation of the Ethiopian defense forces against the United Islamic Courts (UIC). The study has been situated within the broader critical research paradigm. The polarized-pluralist media system model of Daniel.C Hallin and Paolo Mancini and CDA inform the study. In order to address the research questions a qualitative methodological approach was employed.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), specifically Fairclough's Socio-cultural practices model is used. The data for the study is obtained virtually from the media texts (newspapers). The selection of the sample newspapers is based on the private –government divide. The study uses samples from December, 2006 to January, 2007.

The study revealed that the public newspaper The Ethiopian Herald showed a tendency towards using official sources. To the opposite, the private newspaper was leaning more towards using non government sources. The same newspaper adheres reporting negative news in contrast to the Ethiopian Herald, which dedicated every piece of news to the reproduction of the government discourse. The Daily Monitor at its disposal tried to expose matters ignored by the Ethiopian Herald. The Ethiopian Herald taking the side of the government casts a positive light on the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and demonizes the UIC and forces around it. The Daily Monitor contrarily sees the TFG as weak and divided inside.

In general the findings revealed that the newspapers have their own distinct perspectives on most matters on the subject under study. This distinctiveness basically motivated by the country's sharply divided political environment.

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List of Acronyms

| | |
|----------|---|
| CDA | Critical Discourse Analysis |
| EPA | Ethiopian Press Agency |
| EPRDF | Ethiopian people Revolutionary Democratic Front |
| HOA | Horn of Africa |
| IGAD | Inter Government Authority on Development |
| LAS | League of Arab States |
| TFG | Transitional Federal Government |
| SICC/UIC | Somalia Islamic Courts Council |
| SICC | Somalia Islamic Court Council |
| UIC | United Islamic Courts |
| WIC | Walta Information Center |

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Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter introduces the topic of the study. Hence, it establishes background, states problem.

It also deals with objective, significance, scope and limitation of the study.

1.1 Background of the study

The termination of the imperial regime in the mid 1970s didn't stop the improper media practices of the country. The media had been misused by the rulers for the promotion of their own interests and the subjugation and silencing of others. A new media culture was badly expected. Unluckily, the upcoming government would only make the situation worse. Ethiopia experienced a break-through coup in 1974, where the military, allied to other movements, established a socialist state by deposing the long reigned Emperor (Thompson, 2010)

This is one of the three types of coup, where the military ousts an outdated (authoritarian or traditional) regime, seeking to change society entirely. The coup d'état becomes a revolutionary break from the past. So either eliminating all forms of practices and establishments or shaping to its cause was inevitable.

The new government's natural place is the Marxist –Leninist press theory, which had been number one enemy to the western concept of the press until the iron curtain was cracked to give way to the champion liberalism. This theory criticizes the western press freedom as a vehicle of quenching the unbridled greed of the haves to power. As one follower of the Leninist ideology, President Mengistu marked press freedom as an elusive concept that could drag Ethiopia into turmoil and inequalities.

To Lenin the press was an integral part of the communist party, which was seen as a teacher to instruct the masses and lead the proletariat (Hachten & Scotton, 2002). Media should serve the interests of, and be in control of, the working class and should not be privately owned. A society has the right to use censorship and other legal measures to prevent or punish after the event, anti-social publication (Mc Quail, 1994). By the same token, the socialist state brought all existing handful newspapers in to the strictest supervision solely for the dissemination of communist ideology and official talk. In doing so Derg commenced to piss on one of the demands of the students' movement, such as the right to free expression. The press discussed above is one-party press. It enjoyed a monopoly on all forms of news both outgoing and coming. Information was controlled by the government; the party version of events was all that mattered. This reality had perpetuated till the last minute of the military government. The media analyst Frank Barton (1979) in his book "The press of Africa" wrote, "The Derg's media became the worst piece of Marxist mouthpiece on the continent" .

On the other hand, the media environment in Ethiopia has changed dramatically in the past two decades. The country that had a few governmental media outlets has come to provide its population with diverse print media and electronic media. Dozens of privately-owned newspapers and magazines flourished overnight after the fall of the socialist Derg.

The newly formed government in 1991 granted freedom of the press and freedom of artistic creativity. The transitional charter was immediately followed by a proclamation that granted freedom of the press. Proclamation No.34/1992 was a green light, that highlights the role the free press could play, such as protection of individual and collective rights, promotion of democracy, extending the citizenry a chance to build balanced view and inventing platform for citizens to

freely express opinions. Like any responsible press legislation, the proclamation set civil and criminal penalties for incitements of war and for publications encroaching on the rights of individuals, which reminds the notion freedom is not free. This opportunity had shown the country unparalleled volume of newspaper and magazine production.

The same reality had been happening in parts of Africa too, in the 1990s, though the process in Ethiopia was different for the change was very dramatic and radical precipitated by the ideological shift from the East to the West. Many governments in Africa were relaxing the tight and deadening press laws. Noticeable shift has taken place in the African media in the 1990s particularly in the press, which is an established process during and after the collapse of colonialism. Broadcasting is still largely under government control, while print journalism has been able to respond to political changes (Bourgalt,1995). The realization in Ethiopia seems an overnight development, however this doesn't mean that there was no quest in the emperor's and Derg's period, though the demands were muffled under gun with a slim chance to germinate.

The system that changed the totalitarian President Mengistu had to appear with a new western cloak. Such a change was option less to the new government, since there was no choice to resort as the cold war tension had already subsided and Washington and her allies had been attending the funeral of the socialist camp. This change of dress released the press from the handcuff. Everybody thought that the answer neared to the old aged quest of Ethiopians. The constitution of 1995 perpetuates one of the ideals of the transitional charter regarding the press it contains important rights to the press and free speech under article 29. In specific, sub-article (4) has given an insight to the free flow of information: “the press shall, as an institution, enjoy legal protection to ensure its operational independence and its capacity to entertain diverse opinions.”

when we unpack the quote it reveals freedom of expression without interference is guaranteed and prohibition of any form of censorship is affirmed. Following the constitution the number of independently owned newspapers and magazines reached 287 by the year 1997(Hallelujah,2008).

From day one after the release of the proclamation and even before the release the private press and the government had begun ideological conflict .An ideological contrast that can't be compromised in the near future. Skjerdal (2012) asserts that the ruling body has regarded private media outlets as largely contrary to aims of national cohesion and social development, other than labeling them as disobedient oppositional voices in the public sphere. The oppositional position of the private press mainly emanated from questioning the legitimacy of the ruling and the policies towards state integration and economy.

The government throws every stone at its disposal to attack the private press. To the incumbent government most presses are outrageous and loaded with destabilizing contents, whose owners deliberately misinterpreted the notion of press freedom. The newspapers, according to the government, are produced by people who have no professional capacity plus ethics and filled with reactionary mentality, who have ardently vowed to drag Ethiopia in to bloody years. Hallelujah (2008) in his study of the political history of the private press ardently backs the government claim.

“ ...the Ethiopian press failed to play its role as an independent institution in the new system as it acted irresponsibly and unprofessionally against internationally accepted ethical and professional yardsticks of journalism creating a negative state-press relation where one considers the other as an archenemy” (p. 11)

Studies mentioned above show that the private presses went to the extreme of the exercise of freedom. It seems that they forget 'freedom is not free'. Many say to the contrary; the independent press is not inherently bad, but the politics with its domino effect made them to appear so.

When they add, the existing government is not basically different from its predecessors. When the critical time comes the camouflage melts away and the true color rules. According to Terje the media policy of the incumbent, the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), is commonly portrayed as an exemplar of Ethiopia's alleged authoritarian turn. Repercussions against journalists and tightly controlled state media channels are widely used as evidence of restrictions of public liberties. Evidently, the current political leadership regards the media as an integrated part of its governance strategy (Skjerdal, 2012) . This clearly shows there has been a marked difference between the rhetoric and the actual implementation of the proclamations.

Since the 1990s there are two clear forms of news making patterns and discourse development. All the newspapers can be regarded as the prisoners of their respective political outlooks and agendas. Critical and balanced reporting is becoming a myth. The private press labels the government as the one doing the business of a small powerful circle, with little interest and action to engage the people in the decision making process and with minimal concern to the protection of human rights and civil liberties.

The private press came up with its own distinct ways of discourses on socio-politico and economic issues with greater margin of differences with that of the government press. The private press has an aversion to ethnic federalism, the ruling party's stand on country's

sovereignty, the concentration of power in the hands of few and ethnic favoritism. This gives them a rebel appearance before the ruling system. The private press has been arguing against the government accusation ever since the commencement of the production of critical newspapers in the 1990s to these days. The argument matches with Mbembe's and Bourgalt's views:

The press is reacting to the homeostatic thinking i.e. journalists are adjusting to a new single world order where western values of democracy and respect for human rights are gaining currency ” (Bourgalt,1995).

The African journalists have moved from defending the compromised press of their respective countries to disavowing it. They are moving to smash the golden calves of dictators and overturn the tables of law (Mbembe,1992).

The private press especially in its early years of foundation had the above self consciousness and of course tried to play the stated roles to the extreme. The opening of the play ground by the new government in 1991 gave the press a kind of euphoria. It finally found itself in the freest media zone. It started to trace and criticize every piece of the government weakness until it was sacked. The unbridled journalistic practices of the media coupled with the government unpreparedness to tolerate such kind of practice shortened the life of the would be vibrant journalism that could smash the golden calves of dictators.

When the private press appeals to save Ethiopia from the threat of authoritarianism, it is a mere cheap gamble to win political and economic gain before the eyes of the government. It seems the government synchronizes discourses of the newspapers at its disposal and those outside to conform to the ongoing political dedication. The newspapers' discourse on the military

expedition is chosen for the consumption of this thesis since; it is a high value national issue. Probably millions have been crossing the Ethio-Somali border, since Emperor Menelik incorporated Ogaden as the eastern most part of his empire. But there are only a few crossings that affected the two countries in a lasting manner. The 1935 Italian crossing, the 1977 crossing ,which is part of the Greater Somalia project run by Seyeed Barre and the recent one (2006) by the Ethiopian army.

Had it not been Somalia, the campaign mayn't trigger that much interest and in turn this study wouldn't be conceived. Somalia has few, but deep wounds inflicted by Ethiopia in different courses of history. Especially her irredentist sentiment is a potential danger to Ethiopia as long as the major five clans live in Somalia. What is more, the military campaign has an international character. Furthermore the war was waged after the controversial 2005 election. So dealing with the reports variations or similarities in the discourses and representation enables the audience to understand the issue from broader socio-politico perspective.

1.2 Statement of the problem

There are only few as powerful as the media to influence public opinion, behavior and political outlooks. Knowing these realities different groups in Ethiopia have been adapting it as a weapon to inject their political and other agendas in to the public. The press media culture in Ethiopia can be labeled as the oldest in the African context with regard to its indigenous establishment, but this long history has been enjoyed only by governments. The private press has a history of only two decades. The working environment of the private press is full of ups and downs. Restrictive proclamations such as the anti terrorism proclamation No. 652/2009 section 2 article 6 and the bureaucratic barricades to access information are the commonest challenge

other than the economic determinants that erodes the culture of critical examination and longevity in the market.

The credibility of both the private and the state owned press in Ethiopia is under big question mark, since they are devoid of the following three; accountability to the public, acknowledging mistakes and ensure that ethical and professional standards are upheld .Our media system, which is the product of the antagonistic politics, dictates journalists to behave in a condition where the above three are missing. This study therefore is interested to surface and examine the discourses of the two blocks in their respective newspapers over news stories of the military campaign and relevant issues .The Ethiopian government claims that the military campaign to Somalia was driven by a rationale to sterile the open and immediate threat to the national security offered by the fundamentalist, Union of Islamic Court (UIC). The government press depicted the stories of the campaign in the way that best suits to its national security policy by synchronizing with the collective stances against the blossoming terrorism in the Horn. In contrast; most private newspapers do it in their own ways showing their ideological variations in their discourses.

The tug - of - war that exists between journalists from the government media and those from the private media makes everyone pessimist towards achieving ethical journalism in Ethiopia. Professional journalism standards, in Ethiopia are strongly affected by lack of political preparedness which, emanated from the polarized ideologies.

Therefore this study will show the aspects and extent of the variations in the discourses of the Daily Monitor and the Ethiopian Herald stories on the military action of the Ethiopian government in Somalia. As to the researcher's current knowledge there is no academic study on the discourses of the two presses over the military campaign of the Ethiopian government against UIC.

1.3 General Objective of the study

The general objective of this study is to examine the discourses of the Daily Monitor and the Ethiopian Herald on the military mission of the Ethiopian government to Somalia.

1.4 Specific objectives

- 1- To examine the way the Ethiopian Herald and the Daily Monitor portrayed the military campaign.
- 2- To find out the portrayal of the major actors and other directly or indirectly involved elements (e/g domestic armed groups& political parties) in the war.
- 3- To analyze the discursive practices of the Ethiopian Herald and the Daily Monitor on the military activity and related issues.

1.5 Research questions

The research attempts to answer the following questions:

- 1- How the military campaign was portrayed by the Ethiopian Herald and the Daily Monitor?
- 2- How the major actors and other involved elements in the war were portrayed in the Ethiopian Herald and the Daily Monitor?
- 3- What are the discursive practices employed by the newspapers?

1.6 Significance of the study

This study is conducted with the expectation of showing how the sampled private and government newspapers exhibited their ideological differences through their journalistic practices. Identifying the bases and extent of differences may help to create the possibility of

reform and compromise in the country's politics, which directly influences journalistic practices and the growth and maturity of democracy. In a poor country like ours polarized media system plays a debilitating role.

More over this piece of research plays its part in disclosing hidden meanings behind words sentences or language in use in general. Simply put it indirectly informs readers on the need to become critical and cautious as opposed to taking the textual material information for granted. By implication a readership that librates itself from being a mere receiver of information cannot be engulfed by a mistaken impression , fooled and manipulated, since he/she knows the nation's true reality that shapes discourses. Furthermore, it could help in exposing abuse of power and professional ethics .It also helps to induce socio-economic and political awareness and inspire social action. The paper has a didactic mission carried to the two opposing press brands to make self criticism on the poor performances and a moral boost for the good professional deeds as well.

1.7 The scope of the study

The Daily Monitor from the private and the other daily Ethiopian Herald from the public press is the focus of the study. The major focus of the study is on the discourses of the selected press outlets specific to the military expedition and its developments. The newspapers are basically selected in consonance with the conceptual framework established for this study (polarized-pluralist model of media systems) .The other selection criteria are high number of copy circulation, availability and the long experience they have, since the beginning of the liberalization of the press in the 1990s . The study limits itself on those newspapers samples produced within the two months time (Dec, 2006-Jan, 2007).

1.8 Limitations of the study

It is definite that the shortage of time and lack of research experience limit the overall progress and the quality of the paper. Especially, as the area of this study is new at this level the researcher was devoid of significant model practices, which would possibly enrich the thesis.

1.9 Organization of the study

The thesis has five chapters. The second chapter contains related literature review on the theoretical frame works .The third chapter engages in the methodological aspects. Fairclough's three dimensional model of CDA has given attention. Chapter four is devoted to the presentation and analysis of the data in line with the research questions and literatures discussed. The final chapter is dedicated to conclusion and implications based on the findings.

Chapter Two: Review of Related Literature

2.1 Introduction

The first section of this chapter focuses on the fragile and sensitive Ethio-Somali relations beginning from the imperial regime up to the incumbent EPRDF. The purpose of this section is to show the historical development of the problem under study that helps to shade light in the attempt to answer the research questions. The second part of the literature review engages in discussing the theoretical frame works. The polarized pluralist model of the media system within the political economy of the mass media and Critical Discourse Analysis is employed to inform the study.

2.2 Ethio-Somalia Relations in Historical perspective

2.2.1 Somalia

Occupying 3,000 kilometers of coastal territory where, the Red Sea flows into the Indian Ocean, Somalia forms the ‘Horn’ of East Africa. It is a country of arid plains which rise to mountains in the North. Traditionally, the Somali are a nomadic people whose subsistence relies on the herding of goats, cattle, sheep and camels. Arable cultivation, however, can be found in a fertile region located between the country’s two permanent rivers (Thomson,2000).

Ethnically, Somalia is one of Africa’s most homogeneous countries. The Somalis were deprived of their natural ethnic homogeneity before the turn of the century, however when their ‘nation’ was one of many victims of the whimsical carve-up of Africa by colonial powers at the Berlin conference of 1884-85 (Peterson,2000) .

The Somali state was created by the partition of the Horn of Africa by Britain, Italy and France, and the Abyssinian Empire, during the scramble for Africa in the nineteenth century. Formed by colonial treaties, Somalia's borders today bear no resemblance to the distribution of the ethnic Somali people who, as well as predominating in Somalia itself, inhabit lands within neighboring Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti (Gardner&Bushra,2004).

In 1960 North and South united behind the leadership of the Somali Youth League. Most Somalis, however, saw this instance of unification as only the beginning. They desired a greater Somaliland which would include all their people. Consequently, the new government supplied arms to insurgent movements in both northern Kenya and the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. The Republic also rejected the OAU's 1964 declaration on acceptance of the colonial boundaries clearly identified Somalia as an irredentist state (Thomson,2000). Irredentism is the desire to unite under one flag a community that is currently divided.

The Somali Republic was dependent upon external actors at independence. Having very little domestic capital to invest itself, most of the costs of Somalia's development projects were met by foreign donors (Yohannes, 1997).

With respect to military assistance, for example, the government tapped into a number of external sources. Although wary of Somalia's irredentist ambitions, the superpowers jostled for influence in the Horn of Africa (Marina,1982). The multi source aids had flooded Somalia only before the coming of Seyeed Barre to power in 1969.The new leader adopted socialism so that the shrinking of the wide source of support was inevitable.

2.2.2 Imperial Ethiopia and Somalia

Professor Mesfin W/Mariam referred Somalia as ‘‘the problem child of Africa’’ This reference was a title to his book published in 1977. The professor has sound reasons at giving such representation to the country under discussion. From the very make up of the country Ethiopia’s state integrity and security have been at stake. This is the salient feature of Ethio-Somalia relation, which is dominated by fear, distrust and inevitably military conflict. When land is at the center of any political dispute the problem assumes eternity.

Despite the need for access to pasturage for local herds, the Somali government even refused to acknowledge the British treaty with Ethiopia guaranteeing Somali grazing rights in the Haud because it would have indirectly recognized Ethiopian sovereignty over the area. Within six months after Somali independence, military incidents occurred between Ethiopian and Somali forces along their mutual border (Ofcasky & Berry,1991).

It was vivid that the new state of Somalia can’t wait to show the world that the irredentist feeling is transforming itself into action. Of course the time was so neared that wounds Ethiopia.

After three years in 1964 the Republic of Somalia threw the second stone on the Ethiopian empire. This year witnessed the nadir of the ‘ The greater Somalia’ nightmare. Destabilizing the Ogaden region was the major strategy of the Mogadishu government through infiltrating raiders and using internal accomplices such as WSLF and Somali Abo.

In the 1964 military conflict, president Nasir, receiving information that the Somali republic was short of ammunition had to dispatch plane-loads of all the arsenal Somalis needed at that time (Abraham,2004).

Now the Ethiopian army reacted harshly. The emperor ordered General Michael Aman Andom to clear Ogaden from the insurgents and even to penetrate deep into Somalia. The Somalis were no match to the superior Ethiopian army. The army stopped the attack when the US and USSR insist. America threaten Ethiopia that she could stop the military aid unless the army evacuate Somalia (Spencer,1994) The 1964 conflict was ended by the intervention of an individual country Sudan and the OAU (ofcasky & Berry,1991)

Professor Mesfin in his book the “problem child of Ethiopia” writes, the Somalis invaded Ethiopia in the direction of tog Wuchale. The imperial army crushed it soundly. To make it worse the Ethiopian air force bombarded Hargessa .

The Somalis attack during the 1960s were not determined and potent to bring large scale damage as the 1977, the attempts were only a warming up. This could be attributed to their weakness of various forms, Ethiopia’s government stability and the emperor’s international acceptability.

By 1970 the new Somalia had built a huge arsenal much greater than an old Ethiopia. In the same year the emperor travelled to Washington seeking the help of Washington, which found ineffective. In the mentioned year the emperor travelled to Moscow to notify Russia how much the region’s de stability had intensified by the huge flow of the Russian high military tech to Somalia. The paradox was Moscow rushed to finish the Berbera military base on the wake of the emperor’s return (spencer,1994).

In 1973 Ethiopia arranged a diplomatic mission to Mogadishou under the then foreign minister Dr.Minase. The aim was to talk on the possibility of curbing the growing potential for major Military conflict. In 1973 the emperor went to Mogadishu. The mission bore no fruit.

Spencer (1980) stated that the aging monarch was losing the genius that he was known for the last forty years. Had it not been this the emperor wouldn't make such a foolish trip. The monarch failed to realize the depth of Seyyed Barre's Greater Somalia ambition.

2.2.3 Socialist Derg and Somalia

After the revolution, Ethiopia was in turmoil, and its army was bogged down in the war in Eritrea and fighting insurgencies in several provinces. The time was the best ever to Somali to strike on Ethiopia.

In the first months of 1976, the WSLF became active once again inside the Ethiopian Ogaden. With a leadership based in Mogadishu and close to President Seid Barre, it drew recruits from the frustrated and alienated pastoralists. Its main base was Hargeisa, infiltrating through the Haud reserve area into Ethiopia to make guerrilla raids. The Somali media trumpeted its successes, but the claims made were out of all proportion to the reality: in fact, the guerrillas were making little real military headway (waal ,1991).

The year 1977 saw the emergence of the most serious external challenge to the revolutionary regime that had yet materialized. The roots of the conflict lay with the desire of the Somali government of Muhammad Seid Barre to annex the Ogaden area of Ethiopia.

On 15 April 1977 Fidel Castro went to Addis Ababa and discussed with Mengistu the possibility of creating a confederation made up of Ethiopia, the Republics of Somalia and South Yemen, in the hope of thwarting the impending crisis over the question of the Ogaden. In subsequent meetings held between Mengistu and Bare in Aden (South Yemen) and between officials of the two countries in Moscow, East Berlin and Havana, Ethiopia is reported to have expressed interest in the proposal while Somalia rejected it out of hand (Tiruneh,1993). President

Mengistu's consent was a strategic one, since he was facing a mounting catastrophe in the northern part of his country. The confederation could buy him time and concentration to get rid of the northern insurgents. But to seid Barre the Havana proposal was nothing more than a waste of time.

On July, 1977 Moscow came up with an alternative proposal; an Ethiopian delegation in Moscow was asked to consider ceding the territory of the Ogaden to the Republic of Somalia since the unification of all Somali people was a fundamental tenet of the state of the Somali Republic. Mengistu rejected the proposal on the ground that the dispute between the two countries related to border and not territorial questions. He was as intransigent on the alternative suggestion as Bare on the proposal of confederation (Tiruneh, 1993). Moscow was the one to lean on when the Americans divorced with Ethiopia in the late April, 1977 following the closure of the Kagnew base in Asmara. Many Ethiopians believe that the US support encouraged Somalia to invade Ethiopia and control a large part of its territory (Metaferiya, 2009).

The full-scale war that broke out between the two countries was claimed by Ethiopia to have been launched on 23 July, Somalia insisted that it was being fought between Ethiopian forces, on the one hand, and the forces of the Western Somalia Liberation Front and the Somali Abdo, on the other. The Somali army reached the city of Harar, 300 miles from the Somali border, by November 1977 (Tiruneh, 1993).

President Sadat was prepared to send an Egyptian armored division to support the Somalis in their ongoing war with Ethiopia which was supported by the soviet Cuba and east Germany (Abraham, 2004). It was America's intervention that stopped the Egyptians.

Ethiopia, with the military hardware, technical and personnel support it received from the USSR, Cuba, and South Yemen, managed to halt the Somali advance and reverse the tide. During the height of the fighting, in February, 1978, the number of Cuban fighters in Ethiopia reached about 18,000 and the Soviet Union provided 1,500 advisors. This international coalition cobbled together by Moscow finally rolled back the Somali force and led to its devastating defeat (Metaferiya,2009).

Had there been not the support of external actors the internal war effort under the slogan ‘everything to the war front ‘ would take longer time to win back Ogaden. The ogadeen defeat was humiliation to Barre at the same time signals the return of his old fear, tribalism. The fear consumed Somalia soon. To Mengistu, on the other hand, the war polished his appearance before his people. He was seen as a deliverer from humiliation and an oath keeper.

Internationally as per Tiruneh (1993) Ogaden created an occasion to President Mengistu to win the friendship of the socialist countries, to rub shoulders with world statesmen like Castro, Honecker and Brezhnev, and to be seen as the man who saved his country from the humiliation of external aggression.

2.2.4 EPRDF and its security concerns posed by Somalia

2.2.4.1 The Fracture of Somalia

After the Ogaden defeat, Barre had attempted to retain power by arming loyal sub-clans, and encouraging them to pacify other factions. The secessionist Somali National Movement in the North, the Majestein Somali Salvation Democratic Front in the North-East, the Somali Patriotic Movement in the South and West, and the United Somali Congress around Mogadishu were

offering the government a serious challenge (Thompson,2000). Essentially, as power in the centre faded, local factions based on clan allegiances carved up Somalia and the civil war was the result, that forced, Seidd Bare fled the country in 1991.

The Somali state had collapsed in 1991 as civil war engulfed Mogadishu and the corrupt and oppressive military regime of President Mohamed Siad Barre was forced from power. After 30 years of independence Somalia had ceased to function as a single state (Gardner&Bushra,2004).

Somalia's former patrons had no wish to take part in the civil war. Clan warlords were left to fight among themselves. The world in face of the relaxation of the cold war tension looked on as the state of Somalia disintegrated .It didn't imagine Somalia in the decade to come to be the hatching ground for anti west sentiment that could be explained through "terrorism" as the west would like to call.

Despite the huge indifference the US took the lead in trying to bring peace and stability under a UN program. Accordingly, on December 3, 1992, the UN Security Council voted to authorize US-led forces to safeguard shipments of food to Somalia. Within six days, the US Marine Corps troops landed in Somalia at the head of the international humanitarian relief effort called Operation Restore Hope (Metaferiya,2009).

The television pictures of dead US troops being paraded in the streets of Mogadishu in 1994 proved too much for the American public. America's appetite for New World Order humanitarian peace enforcement was at an end in Africa.

Like its predecessors the current government of Ethiopia found itself in security problems caused by the failed state of Somalia. The only difference is the former two governments were clashing with the organized state of Somalia which was loaded with explosive irredentist feeling,

when the today's government has to deal with one faction in a dissolute Somalia, which is offering as claimed by Ethiopian government immediate and clear danger in the form terrorism and the old quest of Ogaden .

2.2.4.2 Peace Efforts

Despite efforts by IGAD, AU and individual countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti to assist the Somalis towards achieving sustainable peace and development the country showed no meaningful forward step. The trauma of Said Barre's reign and above all the greed factor made all peace efforts a zero sum game.

From the onset of the civil war many attempts have been made by the international community in bringing together the many political factions in to a table. Ethiopia is one of the states which seriously occupied by the Somali problem. In this respect two major peace conferences were convened in Addis Ababa in March and November 1993. Unfortunately the efforts didn't produce the desired result (National salvation,1997).

By the virtue of the mandate given by the OAU and IGAD the Ethiopian government organized and convened high level consultation among the leaders of the political parties in Sodere in November, 1996. A total of 26 Somali political parties participated at the consultation. On 3rd January 1997 the political organizations signed a historical peace agreement culminating in the formation of National Salvation council (National salvation, 1997).The agreement was assumed to be a giant step towards reconciliation, but ended in futility.

According to Abraham (2004) the Mbagathi (Kenya) peace effort which is the successor of the Sodere and Djibouti peace efforts finally succeed in restoring peace and statehood to Somalia by establishing the Transitional Government (TFG).

The Transitional National government (TNG) established under the auspices of the UN in 2004 has proved incapable to control Mogadishu let alone Somalia and was forced to retreat in 2006 to Baidowa, 150 miles north of Mogadishu leaving the capital to the Islamic Courts (Abraham,2006) .The TFG was the outcome of a lengthy process of public dialogue and negotiation that placed more emphasis on civil society involvement rather than factional representation (Gardner & Bushra,2004). The idea of the civil society centered talk towards achieving a new brand of unity to the Somalis was conceived at the 2000 Djibouti peace effort. It was coined as the “Bottom up” approach. Furthermore the formation of TNG applied the concept of ‘power dividend’ one of the most vital component for the realization of a stable and true government.

President Seid Baree had pointed his finger on tribalism as enemy of the state so did his actions tried to eliminate the cancer through the hard way, only to breed hatred and to accentuate tribalism. There is a grain of truth in his words. This clan affiliation made the Somalis not to think beyond the hill. Clan loyalty is one good reason behind the incessant wars. The Somalis as a stateless people for most of their history clan loyalty is a priceless element when the concept of state and government is new and of value not worth dying for. In the contrary I can argue that the clan system by itself was not the basic cause of the failure of the peace efforts. The causes lie in a complex set of issues relating to distribution of resources, power and power relations problems such as corruption, exploitation, oppression and uneven development which were the legacy of Barre’s government. The trauma of Seid barre’s regime put a mountain of distrust among the Somalis.

In the mid-2006, a new force known as the United Islamic Courts (UIC) a coalition of eleven autonomous clan-based courts have sought to bring order in southern Somalia even with a bigger aspiration to unite the whole Somalia under Islam.

Kassim (2009, p.202) provides the context of the conflict between UIC and Ethiopia as follows:

“The UIC blamed Ethiopia of interfering in Somalia’s internal affairs while Ethiopia in turn accused the UIC of promoting a hidden agenda aimed at destabilizing the unity of the Ethiopian State. Ethiopia also contended that the leadership of the UIC was controlled by forces that are still actively pursuing the vision of a Greater Somalia—a vision that aspires to integrate Ethiopia’s Somali-speaking Region of Ogaden into mainland Somalia and hence threatens Ethiopia’s political independence and territorial integrity. The threat of “terrorism” and “violent extremism” was also another important context.”

In David Shinn’s, recent study entitled “Ethiopia coping with Islamic fundamentalism before and after sep11” stated, the event of September, eleven have caused Ethiopia to focus on the situation in Somalia particularly on the threat posed by hostile Islamic groups (Abraham,2004). The study also underscored the significance and vulnerability of Ethiopia to the region adding “Ethiopia is the linchpin to the Horn of Africa”. It seems that the study is trying to tutor Ethiopia about the conceived danger and at the same time creates false consciousness to Ethiopia by referring her “linchpin”. The intent seems to exploit the country for the region’s problem in one way or another.

December, 26, 2006 witnessed the crossing of the Ethio-Somali border by the Ethiopian troops. As per the government the move was mandatory for the UIC has declared war on Ethiopia. Ethiopia repeatedly argued that its intervention was justified by invitation of the internationally

recognized government of Somalia and its inherent right to self-defense under the Charter of the United Nations.

The following quotes show the cleavage amongst sections of the Ethiopian society

Ethiopian troops were forced into war against Union of Islamic Courts (UIC). To protect the sovereignty of the nation and to thwart the attacks from extremists of the Union of Islamic Courts

The Ethiopian Herald, Dec, 26, 2006

“..... attacking an already dismembered states is not bravery but tantamount to cowardly action. The invasion benefits Ethiopia nothing but a lasting grudge of the Somalis and Muslim states”

- Professor Mesfin W/Mariam-

Having no exit strategy, Ethiopia seems to be bogged down in Somalia. Ethiopian troops in Somalia are seen by the Somali public as an occupying force.

- Getachew Metaferiya- (Author of ‘the United States and Ethiopia’)

This military act could invite diplomatic crack with the Muslim neighbors for Ethiopia is currently seen as a US bulwark against religious extremists in the region.

-The Daily Monitor, Jan 4, 2007-

The necessity of the military action plus the validity of the rationale of the Ethiopian government to the military action has been a source of conflicting discourses amongst the government, the media, political parties, the academia and the society to these days.

2.3 Theoretical Frame works: Polarized Pluralist Model & CDA

The major theoretical frame work for this study is the polarized pluralist model of the media system encompassed in the larger political economy of the mass media. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the other one that informs the study. The study's cardinal purpose is to examine discourses of the Ethiopian Herald and the Daily Monitor on the military intervention in the light of the concept of the two frameworks.

2.3.1 The Genesis of the Polarized-pluralist model

The model chosen to inform the study is the indirect bearings of the 1950s scholarly activity. Sibert, Peterson and Schramm, authors of the 'four theories of the press' tried to answer questions. "why is the press as it is?" why does it apparently serve different purposes and appear in widely different forms in different countries?" (Siebert & Schramm, 1956)

Hallin & Mancini (2004) the brains behind the three media systems models namely Polarized pluralist, Democratic Corporatist and North Atlantic or Liberal Pluralist Model proposed a decent burial to the limitations of answers forwarded by the "Four theories of the press". According to the two the Four Theories of the Press has stalked the landscape of media studies like a horror-movie zombie for decades beyond its natural lifetime. It did not, in fact, empirically analyze the relation between media systems and social systems. The theory neither looked the actual functioning of media systems nor at that of the social system in which they operated. The four theories has little room for the actual diversity of world media systems for it was only focused on USA ,Britain and the soviet, which is hard to call it comparative. The four theories also neglected the material existence of the media.

The division of the world's media system into three ideological systems, the western, communist and the third world was no impressive to Hallin and Mancini. The analysis as claimed by the two contains huge generalizations within the groups. Limitations of comparative data impose severe restrictions on our ability to draw any firm conclusions about the relations between media and social systems (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1975).

If the question 'why is the press as it is' has to be answered in a better way it must only be through a relatively extensive comparative analysis with due emphasis on the relation between the media as a material entity and the prevailing political pattern. Comparative analysis has capacity to render the invisible visible to draw our attention to aspects of any media system (Ibid).

So to fill the perceived gaps from the previous media system studies Hallin and Mancini (2004) put eighteen individual countries in their comparison, sixteen European and two from North America, USA and Canada. The number matters for it avoids generalization. We should be reminded that the authors are not saying our finding does perfect needing no polish or universally valid, but better.

Their final word reads:

"We will argue that one cannot understand the news media without understanding the nature of the state, the system of political parties, the pattern of relations between economic and political interests, and the development of civil society, among other elements of social structure"

The findings have a normative aspect. The authors provided the implication the models could have on democracy. Hallin and Mancini tried to assess weaknesses and strengths of each media

system model as a support for democracy; this much of the normative orientation of communication theory is certainly worth maintaining.

2.3.2 The Polarized-Pluralist Model

The polarized pluralist model as the other face of the political economy of the mass media well explains the political, economic and historical backgrounds and realities of Ethiopia which directly and radically influenced the newspapers discourse making.

In polarized pluralism, cleavages are likely to be very deep, consensus is surely low and the legitimacy of the political system is widely questioned. In this media model degree of professionalization of journalism is extremely low which, means that journalism is poorly differentiated as an institution and form of practice from other institutions and forms of practice.

The Polarized pluralism tends to be associated with a high degree of political parallelism. Newspapers are typically identified with ideological tendencies, and traditions of advocacy and commentary oriented journalism with severely limited journalistic autonomy are often strong other than the organizational connection between the media and political parties (Hallin&Mancini,2004). The notion of politically neutral journalism is less plausible. In such model, the media deviate in many ways from the norm of professionalism which supposed to be neutral and playing watchdog role.

Media instrumentalization by political elite and commercial owners is also common in such model. Besides, Media function as battleground between contending social forces, mainly politics (Ibid).

Similar to clientelism, with which it has common historical roots, polarized pluralism tend to undermine a conception of the “common good” transcending particular ideological commitments (Hallin&Mancini, 2004).

In Ethiopia the state controlled press always strives to produce counter offensive discourse to frail the opposing discourse and promoting its own political agenda. These newspapers always play a vanguard role. All of them vowed to serve as an ideal indoctrination and propaganda machine. It is almost unthinkable to practice journalism in a way deviant from the prescribed route especially in sensitive time and issues. The Structural factors in the political economy of the media such as ownership and control permit the government to be the giant news definer. The state media behavior and performance are tailored by the political economy of the dominant economic system.

The private press almost always appeared the antithesis of the government stand especially in the sphere of politics. The source for such position is emanated from the elite’s very belief that the government is not legitimate. The change of the socialist government in the early 1990s was followed by critical disagreements between the elites on the nature of the government, question of sovereignty and the constitution, which instantly put the media in deeply polarized state reflecting these fundamental divisions. Even sometimes the owners and editors found themselves in opposition political parties.

The sharp division in Ethiopia’s media continued to these days since there was no common ground in the country’s politics. Both camps showed no strong effort to reconcile or mitigate the basic national differences which markedly influenced the media system.

For this reason the private press became rebellious and came up with its distinct way of political discourses which aimed at discrediting the government and trivializing its efforts if possible to supplant someone else of its taste in power. It is hard to say that this extreme position has always enough rationality and responsibility.

It doesn't mean that all the private presses are against the system. There are few exceptions which do not qualify the general reality. These exceptions are not adequate to deter us from portraying the Ethiopian media landscape as sharply polarized between private and government media. By implication the polarize pluralist mode is strong enough to inform the study. The current Ethiopian media situation, as for the past 20 years, is commonly described as a polarized state of affairs between the state media and private media outlets (Skjerdal,2012).

2.3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourses are representations of the world as they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions. Discourses constitute part of the resources which people deploy in relating to one another keeping separate from one another, cooperating, competing, dominating and in seeking to change the ways in which they relate to one another (Fairclough,1992).

The main specialty of discourse which separates it from a simple speech act is that as van Dijk says it takes place within a more extended frame of social practice. It is something which takes place “within a framework of understanding, communication and interaction which is in turn part of broader socio-cultural structures and processes” (van Dijk,1997) .

CDA is a critical perspective. It mainly focuses on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination.CDA research combines what somewhat pompously

used to be called ‘solidarity with the voiceless’ with an attitude of opposition and dissent against those who abuse text and talk in order to establish conform or legitimate their abuse of power (Van Dijk 2001). He explicitly talks that CDA declares its socio-political position unlike other scholarship. Within this declaration CDA’s bias to the powerless is embedded. He strongly believes that academic neutrality assure the continuity of dominance.

A research which takes an impartial stance towards iniquitous social injustice doesn’t solve the problem; rather, it could contribute to the permanence of such iniquity (Van Dijk, as cited in Richardson, 2007).

The adjective ‘critical’ in CDA denotes the need for analysts to unpack the ideological underpinnings of discourse rather than describe its features.

As concluded by Wodack, Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart (2009, p.8) the aim of Critical Discourse Analysis is to unmask ideologically permeated and often obscured structures of power, political control, and dominance, as well as strategies of discriminatory inclusion and exclusion in language use. In contrast to other types of discourse and conversation analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis does not pretend to be able to assume an objective, socially neutral analytical stance.

Indeed practitioners of Critical Discourse Analysis believe that such political indifference ultimately assists in maintaining an unjust status quo.

Critical Discourse Analysis, which is committed to an emancipator role, socially critical approach, allies itself with those who suffer political and social injustice. Its aim is therefore to intervene discursively in given social and political practices (Wodack et al., 2009).

Fairclough (1995) writes, discourses are structured in a way that reproduces those common-sense structures of society (i.e. ways of thinking or doing things) which benefit those with power,

be it power through money, numbers, or authority. Consequently, for CDA it is crucial to expose the hidden agendas to denaturalize those common-sense conceptions of how the world functions. One of the aims in CDA research is, therefore, to reveal these ideologies to create transparency. The way that CDA works is a top-down method that despite the fact that power relations are bilateral, it only pays attention to those aspects of power abusing and dominance which are imposed from top to down e.g. from institutes or elites to the society or the mass.

2.3.3.1 The diversity of CDA

CDA is not known to be a single theory or method of analysis because it is neither. In fact, there are several theoretical standpoints that can be adopted within CDA to create a range of different approaches, ranging from those that highlight cognitive or socio-psychological theories to those highlighting discourse theories or even general social theories (Wodak, 2001). This diversity of the field can be partially attributed to the variety of uses to which CDA has been applied. For example, some of the more popular topics in CDA research include political discourse, media language, ideology, racism, and gender. Professor Ruth Wodak (2004) states that the speeches and texts calling to arms and war mostly have some characteristics in common such as an evil and aberrant other and a unifying construct such as nationalistic, religious or racial. Except for racism and gender all the three are connected to this study in one way or another.

2.3.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis and the Media

One of the major areas of interest for research in the CDA vein is media language. CDA is, in fact, the approach through which media language has been explored most (Bell and Garrett, 1998). This is partly because CDA views all language as reproducing an ideology of sorts and is

interested in exposing and investigating those hidden agendas in language that may be ideological. This relates directly to the media. The media language can be seen as dependent on various factors ranging from the society to corporate interests and the power of advertisers. In this view, the media functions as a kind of mirror of the society through which it reflects that image of the world which represents these outside interests and ideologies. In other words, "all news is always reported from some particular angle" (Fowler 1991). CDA aims to uncover these ideologies and views critical analysis as the tool through the use of which it becomes possible to expose hidden prejudices and conscious or subconscious viewpoints of the writers, the particular language community, or even the entire society.

The quantity of input plays an important role in ideological influence. This idea has been visited by Fairclough through the concept of naturalization. In the words of Fairclough (1989) "the constant doses of 'news' which most people receive each day are a significant factor in social control". To explain this idea of social control further, one must consider the kinds of people who are employed as sources in news stories they are, for the most part, people with power. Politicians are likely to be referred more than someone who is not in a position of power.

In addition to who is referred to in the news article, what is more important and less easy to detect - is to "whose perspective" the news report conforms (Ibid). In other words, referring to the same group of people in different ways, for example, can reveal the perspective from which one views them. Words such as protesters perhaps used by the group itself, rioters possibly used by the industry or entity the group is protesting and criminals perhaps used in cases of extremely negative views against the group all denote very different things. Both the people who are used as sources and the perspective that is adopted are important factors in reinforcing ideologies that benefit the powerful.

In addition to the distorted view that the news provides of the world through its use of sources and its perspective on events the news media are especially influential because of their position in society. It is this position as an important source of information which could be argued to also allow for its ideological influence. Due to the ability of the news to affect how people think, it is important to understand what forces go into constructing the news and what ideologies the news may produce. Thompson (2004) writes that "the way we normally talk about our experiences in the world and the way we hear other people talk about them influences the way we see them.

To conclude, what has been discussed above makes the reasons behind employing CDA clear. One must understand the root of the ideas that influence the way one thinks. It is only through this understanding of the ideologies that one can begin to see the forces shaping his/her life and make correct decisions about issues at hand.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design

This chapter is devoted to the general methodological orientation intended to be used in the study. The study employs Fairclough's CDA model to explore the connections between the newspapers' use of language and the wider socio cultural practices. So I will explicate Fairclough's three dimensional model of CDA Method of analysis and the how of selecting media text. The time frame the sample texts selected is also explained. Furthermore the method and the sampling techniques are presented. And finally a brief history of the sampled newspapers is presented.

3.2. Sampling Technique

3.2.1 Newspaper Sampling

The two dailies The Ethiopian Herald from the public and the Daily Monitor from the private press are purposefully selected for the study. The Ethiopian Herald is chosen for its traditional mouth piece role for the government and for the fairly large circulation and the high readership among the educated native and non-Ethiopians. The Daily Monitor brought to the study since it had dealt with the issue under study with a profound degree of consistency. Furthermore it satisfies the theoretical assumption.

3.2.2 Data sampling

The study employs purposive sampling with a motive to focus only on texts pertinent to the conflict and the subsequent discourses that follow. The samples selected are those within the two months time, from December, 2006 up to January, 2007.

3.3 Brief history of the sample Newspapers

3.3.1 The Ethiopian Herald

The Ethiopian Herald is the only state owned newspaper in English language. It is daily except Monday. It was established in 1943; ten years later to the Daily Amharic---Addis Zemen. It is among the five products that are published under Ethiopian Press Agency (EPA) which include Addis *Zemen*---Daily Amharic, Barisa---weekly Afan Oromo Newspaper, Al-Alem---weekly Arabic Newspaper, and *Zemen* monthly Magazine. Structurally, The Ethiopian Herald is organized as one of the departments of the Agency .For the whole news departments and other functional departments there is one general manager accountable to the Board which is represented by the House of People’s representatives.

It has one chief editor and four deputy chief editors including the night editors. The Newspaper entertains home and world news including various socio-economic and political issues. Most of the local news published is reported by the staff reporters while some of them are from subscription to Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) and Walta Information Center (WIC).

This Ethiopian Herald has also different daily as well as weekly columns and pages: Editorial, opinion/politics, development, and society are the daily permanent pages of The Ethiopian Herald. In addition, the Newspaper has permanent weekly pages which include sport, Herald guest, and school at a glance, gender, art and culture. According to Market Development and promotion section of Ethiopian Press Agency, The Ethiopian Herald’s circulation is between 10,000 to 15,000 copies.

3.3.2 The Daily Monitor

The private Daily Monitor is owned by the Monitor plc. It started circulating as a weekly English paper in 1993. It could be considered as the only private daily paper that survives for the last sixteen years. According to Ethiopia media mapping (2011) the newspaper naturally focuses on domestic and international current affairs. As per the same source it has a sale of 1200-1500 per issue.

3.4 Data collection

As the country lacks the privilege of accessing old materials online, the data was collected entirely from the hard copy archive of different sources, which makes the process of selecting relevant texts very difficult.

Accordingly, from the large pool of texts in the Ethiopian Herald as it is a daily newspaper except Monday twenty five items were selected ;of which, five of them are editorials, seven feature articles and thirteen news stories. Twenty four items were selected from the Daily Monitor of which twelve samples are news stories and the remainder six analysis and six feature articles. A total of forty nine samples are selected for the study.

3.5 Research Method

This study aims to conduct a critical examination of the newspapers' discourse, which deals with the latent rather than the manifest textual meaning. Such research interest obviously rests in the qualitative mode of inquiry. The central research issue in this study cannot be examined through an objectivist method seeking quantifiable answer through a quantitative research dimension. Such a research tradition never gives enough room for creativity but the manifest content of communication. This qualitative approach examines the two newspapers having different

ownership. There is no good reason to study one of them. If such a trend was followed the findings could be senseless that definitely reduces the value of the study. Contrarily the comparison will give a better opportunity to examine diverse discourses in the assumed polarized pluralist media system of Ethiopia.

3.6 Discourse as Socio-cultural practice

Any analysis of media language must first deal with a methodological decision. This qualitative study is attached with Fairclough's multi dimensional model of CDA as analytical tool to dig out hidden meanings in the texts. Textual meaning is built up through an interaction between producer, text and consumer, rather than simply being read off the page by all readers in exactly the same way (Richardson, 2007).

In accordance with the definition of the discourse as a "particular unit of language, specifically, as a unit of language 'above' (larger or more extended than) the sentence." (Schiffrin, 1994, Cited in Richardson, 2007), along with taking into account the social aspect of the language understanding; the audience surmise the discourses, mainly unconsciously, based on their Social knowledge, one can reach a conclusion that the meaning of the written language in journalism is perpetually attached to the context. Taken in this light, discourses are "institutionalized and regulated because they are linked to actions" (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). In this regard, this study sticks to Fairclough's three dimensional model of critical discourse analysis.

For Fairclough, every social practice has a semiotic element. Put another way, he discerns *CDA* as "the analysis of the dialectical relationships between language and other elements of social practices (Wodak, 2001). Fairclough's method of doing CDA is grounded on: a circular process in which social practices influence texts, via shaping the context and mode in which they are

produced, and in turn texts help influence society via shaping the viewpoints of those who read or otherwise consume them (Richardson, 2007).

Fairclough reached a conclusion that “the meanings encoded/decoded in texts are the result not only of producer intentions, but also of the outcome of specific professional practices and techniques, which could be and can be quite different with quite different results (Fairclough, 1995a, cited in Richardson, 2007)

Fairclough’s CDA model informs that there is a two-way relationship between the producer and the text; the producer and mode of production not only encode meaning into the text by the process of selecting stories over another, choosing words over another, or even foregrounding one view rather than another, but also the text can militate against the producer, via shaping the way that information is gathered and presented.

Fairclough’s model of doing *CDA* has three dimensions to be considered in this study. The lists under each stage are only those, which go in consonance with the study.

Stage 1: Textual analysis

In this stage words and phrases that suggest bias or jaundiced attitude are examined. Furthermore, the naming and references of the people in the events at issue, presupposition (hidden & presupposed meaning in the text), and rhetorical tropes are scrutinized.

Stage 2: Discursive practices

Here, questions like: Why specific stories were given that space they were allocated in the newspapers in hand? Why was not it longer or shorter? Why this story is selected when so many choices are available? In addition the intertextuality aspect is considered. Richardson (2007) explains that there is always a reason for a news text being the way that it is.

The text, indeed the newspaper as a whole, is the result of journalists making a multitude of choices between alternatives.

Stage3: Social practice

Social practices are the social phenomena existing prior to, and hence shaping, impinging upon and accessible to journalistic practice (Richardson, 2004). Fairclough believes that journalism is inescapably connected to the social, political and cultural context in which it is written and consumed and hence needs to be located in these contexts during analysis. So in this final phase the study will try to go outside the text to investigate how much power and social influence may impact the news stories.

Chapter Four: Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

As mentioned earlier in the methods chapter this study makes use of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method to identify the ideological orientations of the sample news papers. The study tries to highlight how texts are used to uphold and foster particular ideologies. The three dimensions of the approach are applied in different conditions and depth where they are appropriate. The chapter has four themes to be studied under the CDA tools.

4.2 Ideological Tendencies of the Newspapers

4.2.1 To what extent the war found news worthy?

The discursive practice feature in Fairclough's CDA method is used in search for the answer to the question. Why specific stories were given that appearance, space and why selected in the newspapers under study? Why was not it longer or shorter?

The Ethiopian Herald had started its serious coverage long before the outbreak of the conflict. Especially, Nov. 30,2006 marked the beginning of the most serious treatment of the development of the war, a treatment that continued throughout December and January. On Dec 2,2006 after the passing of the Nov. 30 resolution that granted the government a free hand to do "whatever necessary" in Somalia the Herald came up with an extra large front page news story that allotted two full pages head lined " A critical and timely resolution to defend our sovereignty" .The Herald as the mouth piece of the government had been exploiting all resources at its disposal to justify the war and win the heart of the public on the necessity of the war.

The Herald was also doing the best of it in Dec. 2006 to pave the way to the war that the government badly needed by using a shower of editorials, opinions and news reports from inside and outside. One of these examples is the long interview story with Lidetu Ayalew, a leader of opposition party, who once was the sworn enemy of the incumbent government. The headline of the story reads as “The Ethiopian government has to close all dangerous developments in Somalia” published on Dec, 6. The story was allocated large space topped with a photograph of Lidetu, the chairman of EDUP-Medhin. The newspaper capitalizes this interview story to show the legitimacy of the government position on the Somalia case even in the eyes of its ardent opponent.

The first report on the actual war appeared in the 26th December, 2006. The whole front page was dedicated to two news entitled “Fundamentalists in Somalia retreating in disarray” and “Forced to go to war”. The stories have big map on the right side of the page showing the Horn of Africa (HOA) with specific references to the movements of the Ethiopia’s, TFG’s and Islamist forces plus spots of the main clashes. The map is very detailed most likely obtained from the military, which is a privilege to the Ethiopian Herald.

In the same publication (Dec,26) the Ethiopian Herald editorialized the Issue under a title “To conclude the undesired war in the shortest time possible” .The premier was the source for this editorial. Issues paid heed by editorial piece was the long patience of Ethiopia despite the proactive action of the militants and the danger posed by UIC, which is notably the wing of Al-Qaeda. The editorial concludes by addressing the people to focus on the main enemies of Ethiopia, poverty and backwardness nothing the fact that the army still needs backing from all section of the society. The editorial is justifying the action of the government for it was a response to militants’ who are an extension of the international terrorist group.

Two days later, Friday 29 Dec. 2006 the Herald presented four news pieces in the front page. The first one “UIC leadership dissolved” was a lead story in which the premier was attributed. The portrait of Prime Minister Meles was placed amid the story. “Tripartite meet issues communiqué on Somalia situation” “Extremist forces abandon Somalia’s capital” “Somali state cabinet expresses happiness over victory of defense forces.

The first Story “Tripartite meet. . . . ”is about announcing the conformity of the AU, League of Arab states (LAS) and the inter Government Authority on development (IGAD) ten point joint communiqué with the policy that Ethiopian has been perusing on the Somali case. The news “Somali state cabinet...” engaged in discussing the Cabinet determination and the Ogadene clan elders to pursue the fight against UIC and its accomplices in the Ogaden region. The story aimed at displaying the Ethiopian Somalis support to the military operation against their sister people next door.

In Jan, 2007 the Ethiopian Herald had still been investing the editorial staff maximum energy and skill on the war. The newspaper has the luxury of resource and the necessary political dedication to keep the coverage constant. Most of my sample publications’ front pages were dedicated to the war. The inside pages were also serving the purpose better than the Daily monitor its sustenance is partly at the mercy of ads.

The first of January publication was in circulation on Tuesday 2, 2007. It carried extensive and well articulated editorial piece entitled “much optimism in new year for Somali people”. The editorial praises Ethiopia for bringing the glimmer of hope to the country.

In the same publication a front page story titled “Military operation in Somalia achieves set targets” discusses both Somalia and Ethiopia hit target on the head. The story depicted the war as

perfect. The next publication on Jan, 3,2007 allocated most of the front page and one full inside page to the Prime Minister Meles's report to the parliament on the progress of the operation. The headline appeared with a huge type face taking fairly large space "we have never expected any country to back us; neither we asked anyone to do so" the speech aimed at neutralizing the claim that Washington is the midwife of the war. The herald is defending the sovereign status of the regime by declaring that Ethiopia executed the war for herself and by herself.

The Ethiopian Herald was providing the reader with well substantiated and contextualized information despite its one sidedness and source bias. Despite the better access to the government resources it pays little attention to use new pictures in relation to the military activity. This is probably dictated by the Herald's disinterest to report activities in the field of war, which is more of the Daily Monitor's inclination. To add, the newspaper hadn't use a single carton in my samples. This may be dictated by the house style.

As for Daily monitor since the unfolding events in Dec,2006 which, led to the outbreak of the war paid serious attention. The headline in the front page of the Dec 1 , 2006 publication "MPS vote to fend off Islamist "Jihad" appeared with a huge type face with a photo of prime Minister Meles at the middle. The story came up with a different perspective to that of the Ethiopian Herald.It tried to display the polarized views in the parliament between the opposition parties and the ruling party over the endorsement.

On the Dec, 13,2006 Publication the main headline was "Somali Islamist gave Ethiopia week to exit" the headline has a half page story that appeared with a picture of Islamist fighters carrying guns. The photo has caption, "the Islamists have called for all Somalia to fight Ethiopia". The Monitor is messaging the possibility of an all out resistance to the Ethiopian Army.

On 21,dec,2006 the Daily monitor came up with a big news article entitled “Somalis clash on front lines, EU envoy jet in” the headline is extremely big as large as a column size. Beneath it there lies a big picture captioned “Islamic Court fighters prepare anti aircraft gun in Mogadishu” the article focuses on the skirmish between the UIC fighters and Ethiopians not far from Baidowa.

The Dec, 25 publication dedicated the entire front page to the eruption of the war. The news headlined “Country at war with Somalia Islamists” was fetched from the ministry of national defense. The news story appeared with a huge type face bearing a picture of the UIC fighters with machine guns captioned “the Islamists urged foreign Muslim fighters to join their holy war”. At the bottom of the same page another news article entitled “Ethiopia scoffs at Somalia Islamists Jihad appeal” takes the remaining half bottom page.

The Dec, 26 lead story headlined “EU condemns escalation of conflict in Somalia” the Daily monitor allocated half page at the middle with the portrait picture of Louis Michel EU envoy to the Horn. Half of the remainder front page was given to a news article entitled “Ethiopia has no intention to establish a government in Somalia”

On Dec 30 publication the main headline was “Somali prime minister enters Mogadishu, crowds line route” The masthead has a deck “Ghedi says parliament to declare martial law” appeared with a huge type face underneath a photographs showing the portrait picture of the prime minister and supporters greeting the Pm.

The Jan, 2, 2007 a large feature article entitled “victors win cheers but for how long” topped with a cartoon attempts to show the undesirable factors in Somalia which are capable of

disrupting the feeling of triumph won by the coalition of TFG and Ethiopia. This article enjoys a cartoon depicting a soldier who shaves putting his gun and bombs on the ground recklessly.

Both newspapers found the war with United Islamic Courts (UIC) extremely newsworthy. This is shown through the positioning of most news in the front pages and large space allotment with in depth discussion. Both shared the usually accepted notion that says there are only few as news worthy as one's country at war. If comparison has to be made the Ethiopian Herald's dedication excels the Monitor's especially in the consistency it shows throughout the selected months for the study purpose. This difference emanated mainly from the political determination the Ethiopian Herald has to the cause of the government.

4.2.2 Who has given a speaking Wright?

In this part I make use of the social practices and discursive practices aspects of Fairclough's CDA method to answer which sources are used and why a specific story preferred in the newspapers at issue. The brand of the newspapers is communicated through story selection.

The Daily monitor predominately relies on international news sources like the Reuters. The newspaper has no interest to subscribe to domestic news agencies for they don't deserve the credible source status before the Daily monitor. Probably the most basic reason is the news produced by the agencies isn't fit to the newspapers ideology at a greater margin.

The distaste to use the ready-made news of the agencies projects too to the government officials and institutions save Prime Minister Meles Zenawi. The premiere has relatively a better speaking chance than anyone in the government apparatus. Limited access to press release and to the rare press conference plus the slim opportunity to interview officials must be among the minimum

factors to be considered when we talk about the kind of obsession the daily monitor displayed to international news sources.

The Reuters has fairly large space in the Daily Monitor. Aljezeera the one known for its pro-Muslim states position used a few times. The stories from this source are focused on the Possibility of quick withdrawal of the Ethiopian army from Somalia.

The UIC has given a better space in the Daily Monitor when the TFG officials are one of the dominant voices in the Ethiopian Herald. In many news stories and feature articles the UIC military officials, the PR and Mogadishu and Baidowa residents had given an opportunity to be heard in the Daily Monitor.

The Daily Monitor occasionally restored to expert voices. There are instance in relation to this. One of it is in the article entitled “Ethiopia gives the US a new year’s gift in Somalia”. Weinstein, professor of politics from the Indiana University had allotted a large space. Matt Bryden an expert on the Horn and a Reuter analyst John Prendergast are good examples. These people reflected their doubt on the possibility of achieving lasting stability in the post war Somalia and Horn.

The Ethiopian news agency (ENA) and walta information center (WIC) are the leading news feeders to the Ethiopian Herald. The commonest voices in the coverage are prime Minister Melese, officials from the foreign affairs, local experts and TFG officials. The top ranking Somalia officials, President Abdullahi Yusuf, premier Mohammad Ghedi and the interior minister Hussein Aided are good news makers in the newspaper.

Xinhua, the BBC and the Reuters are important international sources for the newspaper. Meles Zenawi is routinely monitored than any other sources. In most of the front page news and even in

some editorials his voice is heard in depth. The Herald heavily relies on local officials and its own voice unlike the Daily Monitor.

Local expert voices from kotebe college of teachers education (KCTE), Jimma and Mekele University and professor knife Abraham from EIIPD were allotted space in the Herald's pages. The Herald showed preference to local experts to that of the external pundits, whose expertise usually bleeds its established ideological corner.

The rank and file of EPRDF including soldiers, association, youth leagues, petty Muslim officials and dwellers of different cities and towns are incorporated in the coverage. The Ethiopian Herald has a tendency of presenting the voice of Muslim Ethiopians especially in the opinion pages. Usually these voices are followed by the traditional Ethiopian discourse of peaceful coexistence of Muslims with their Christian brothers. This approach is ideologically motivated. In a relative sense the voice of ordinary people is heard in the Herald than the Daily monitor, despite the bias in the selection.

In general both the newspapers are least interested to incorporate non-authorial voices as a source. This fact is attributed to the general leaning of the media houses to elite source to avoid criticism, to give weight to their claim and at the same time to sell more copies.

It is obvious that source selection is not innocent rather ideological and a manifest of power relation. Richardson (2007) puts: if some group or individual does not succeed in having their voices heard then the reason is a sedimented inequality.

Fact or story selection from a range of choices has to synchronize with the newspaper's political perspectives. For example most of the Herald's news can't fit to the Daily monitor, since they are naturally tailored to the newspaper's position and target audience.

The following selected themes from the sample stories of the Daily Monitor can show the political line followed and the consideration it paid to the readership. It is crystal clear that the audience is the backdrop against which reporters and editors consider questioning of news value.

Here are few of the themes of the Daily Monitor stories:

Opposition parties' resistance to the war effort, the UIC capability, the risk of the war, America's vested interest and support to the war, humanitarian crisis, casualties and the TFG's weak and fragile foundation and nature are embedded in the systematically selected stories. All this facts reflect a divergent position from that of the Herald. But the unfolding events in field of war somewhat forced the Daily monitor to change the pattern of the story selection.

As for the Ethiopian Herald it extensively engaged in the reproduction of the government discourse. In this regard the above facts in the Daily Monitor's stories have no room in the Ethiopian Herald. So the stories selected meet the policy direction of the government and the interest of the think tank behind the curtain. The severity of source bias and story selection is much stronger in the Ethiopian Herald than its counterpart.

The Ethiopian Herald is extremely source biased. The government is the leading news maker. The newspaper is devoid of the culture of triangulation of sources that adversely influences the quality of journalism it does. The Daily Monitor mostly resorted to international news agencies with a limited tendency of using government sources. But Prime Minister Meles has given a better speaking right than any government officials. The Islamic Courts officials are allotted a considerable speaking right in the Daily Monitor; meanwhile the TFG was given a larger space in the pages of the Ethiopian Herald. Unlike the Monitor the voice of the newspaper has a fairly important position in the Herald. The editorial section is well exploited to channel its stance on

the war. The Herald's story selection is in perfect conformity to the government position, while the Daily Monitor resorted to those stories laden with negative spirits towards the issue under study.

4.2.3 Portrayal of the war

This section dedicates itself to the consideration of the social practices of the sample newspapers. The analysis reveals the nature of the relation the newspapers have with the system and other external factors. The discursive practices dimension is also into use.

4.2.3.1 Portrayal of the war by the Ethiopian Herald

Appeasement an obsolete concept

An interview story entitled "UIC extremist leaders hell-bent on establishing a Taliban-like regime in Somalia" published on Dec, 16, 2006 portrayed the war as best option to deter terrorism.

Washington post: The conflict between Ethiopians and Somalia would ultimately span terrorist across the region.

Premier Meles: It does *surprise* me that intelligent people in the 21stc could claim that if you respond to the terrorists with force you spawn terrorism, but if you *appease* them, you somehow tame.

The noun "appease" is a substitute to diplomacy that lowers the concept of the later. The voice that was echoed by the Herald staunchly believes in the language of gun than to exploit the slim chances available to kill the opportunities to terrorism. The voice also took the idea of the

civilized people as absurd for their skeptic view concerning war as an effective means of stopping terrorism. The adjective “surprised” a less direct one that connotes absurdity or illogicality. So the Herald depicts the war as an effective means of stopping terrorism.

Ethiopia teaches the world

In the publication of Dec, 28, 2006 which contains a feature article titled “Ethiopia said showing new way of solving problems with terrorism” Ethiopia regarded as an engineer of novel way of fighting terrorism. The Ethiopian Herald imported the article from Daily online Komersant. The story has given a space since it conforms to the editorial belief.

“Ethiopia is showing a *new* way of solving the problem with terrorism, which will replace the global anti terrorism coalition, slow, *expensive* and out of date. Perhaps the *world should thank* Ethiopia for relieving great countries from the unpleasant necessity to gather, to summon UN Security Council and to think what to do with Somali Islamists” .

The adjective “new” shows there were a prior attempt in dealing with terrorism. The Herald is using the writer’s claim to depict the war with UIC as short, inexpensive and modern.

Why the world should thank Ethiopia? We have one convincing answer. Ethiopia did the dirty work alone. The Ethiopian Herald or the original source make a list of reasons why Ethiopia should take the thank. Do the lists have weight? No!

A war against a specific target

In the same feature article the UIC is identified as the sole target. Despite the blurring of the line between people in UIC and people of Somalia the war is framed as an operation targeting a specific group not a nation of people.

Keeping the development on track

In the editorial published on Dec,26“ legitimacy of measures against extremists in Somalia” the Ethiopian Herald categorizes poverty as number one enemy worth fighting

“Ethiopian has worse enemy than the fundamentalist group that declared war on the country. The enemy of Ethiopian is poverty and backwardness. The country has been bitterly fighting this enemy and it is becoming victorious over it. The award accorded to hero farmers drawn from all over the country in Bahir Dar over the week is manifestation of the victory being scored in fostering development”.

The Ethiopian army started the war two days after the award accord on 24, Dec, 2006. This simultaneous beginning is not coincidences rather planed to justify and decor the war as protector and perpetuator of the fruit of development.

In the same editorial the Ethiopian Herald discusses:

“The people and government of Ethiopia have a firm belief that they have little to gain from destabilized Somalia. The interest of Somalia and Ethiopia are so interwoven that it is a matter of time for developments in one to flow over into the other.”

The extract announces the potential of Somalia as development partner. Though a destabilized Somalia has scanty advantage to Ethiopians, she has more thorn to give unless she is rescued. Therefore the war was fought to save the inseparable interests of the two countries.

Ethiopia the linchpin of the Horn

In the Herald’s editorial “To conclude the undesired war in the shortest time possible” published 26, Dec. 2006 states the reason as to why Ethiopia entered into war.

“Ethiopian is now talking a counter action to defend its sovereignty and maintain peace and stability in the Horn region.”

The Ethiopian Herald gives two reasons, to defend sovereignty and to maintain peace and stability in the Horn of Africa. The first reason convinces anybody weather it is hollow or genuine. But the second one triggers question. Why Ethiopia? The former American ambassador to Ethiopia David Sheen in his 2004 study referred Ethiopia as the “linchpin of the Horn”, which means the one keeping the Horn in position. May such kind of recognition dictate the newspaper to forward the second reason? The newspaper implicitly claims the war is partly a response to a call for regional or international security problems.

A reaction to global quest

A news story entitled “measures against UIC extremist forces timely and justified” published on Dec,28, 2006 the Ethiopian Herald brings the testimony of a history professor from Kotebe Teachers’ college.

“The measure Ethiopian took on the extremist forces is not only palatable but also expected of all government that stands firmly against terrorism.”

The passage presupposes there is a universal dictating factor (terrorism) that pushes governments into war. Ethiopia as part of the compressed world (globalization) reacted to inhibit the spread of terrorism to the local good and the rest of the world.

Sympathy to the Somalis

In the publication of Dec 30, 2006 in the home news page a news entailed “BBC listeners to praise Ethiopian defenses” the newspaper presents the voice of a Mogadishu dweller, Mohammed Daha.

“Thanks a lot the defense force led by Melese Zenawi for their helps to Somalia as always”.

The extract implicates this war is a part of the long experience and tradition of Ethiopian sympathy to the cause of Somalia. The newspaper found worthy of giving Meles Zenawi the credit.

In defense of the peaceful co-existence

An article published on Jan, 2, 2007 headlined the “Ambassador says military operation in final stage” in the publication of the Ethiopian Herald described the relationship between Ethiopians and Somalis

“Ethiopia’s support curb the fundamentalists plan to destruct the brotherhood and trust people of the two countries built over year.”

The nouns “brotherhood” and “trust” show the manner the two people lived. They speak of brotherly connection and trustfulness among the Ethiopians and the Somalis. The nouns implicate the connection between the two people is not ordinary but an elevated one like a family. So the war was fought to the interest of the two people at the perpetuation of the family like relationship. But history tells that the two people have been living in the state of fear and suspicion.

Somalia on the gate of bright opportunity

In the same news article the war was praised for guiding the Somalis to a better future:

“The people of Somalia are now entering a new chapter after many years of tribulation.”

The metaphor “a new chapter” pushes the reader to make a look on the dirty past of Somalia, which is now replaced by a bright new start. The people in the new chapter are destined to write with a new ink and speak different language not to return to the troubled past.

Killing the hope

The newspaper in its Jan,9,2007 publication presented the report of the Prime Minister on Mogadishu campaign, which is claimed to be last phase. The Herald assigned the following headline to the report “The operation shuttered the destructive hopes of extremists”

The headline is powerful for the messages are transmitted metaphorically. The headline implicates, the war decisively neutralize and uprooted the extremists. What is destroyed is not only the extremist capability but fundamentally their hope, which is basic to survive or revive.

Manifestation of national reconciliation

A news article entitled “Eritrean government desire to attack Ethiopia using Somalis blood”

Published on Jan, 9, 2007 discusses the Somali unpreparedness to collaborate with Eritrea and how supportive the Ogaden Somalis were in the course of the war.

“Ethiopian Somalis have contributed a significant share to reverse the declaration of war by the UIC. The situation in Ethiopia today is quit new. Today Ethiopian Somalis enjoy every right as citizens”

This extract mixes the present discourse of equality with the past inequalities. The Ethiopian Somalis used to stab Ethiopia at the back in old conflicts but now giving hand to reverse a danger since the new Ethiopia made them feel at home. In this regard the Ethiopian Herald depicted the war as a manifest of national consensus and healing of old grievances.

The curbing of the immediate danger

Under the same headline the newspaper consults an established fact to construct a case.

“The direct threat has been curbed but terrorists’ threat would be there. No country can defend itself from terrorists hundred percent”

This claim has based itself on an existing discourse. In the world where economic, cultural, and political inequalities prevailed no country knows where and when terrorism strikes. So the war only eliminates immediate danger. It can’t give a guarantee to shield terrorism. In this case the newspaper seemed to be caught by the fear of the flowering of terrorism threat in the region as many pundits and media forwarded.

The war awaits logical end

In its Jan, 14 publication an editorial headlined “bringing the Somali operation to its logical conclusion”’: anchors the above interpretation

“Failing to provide the necessary help the government of Somalia needs will do de-service the anti terrorist efforts being made at the global level. The international community has to work closely with the government of Somalia inch of the way in order to bring the commendable achievement so far to a logical conclusion”

The Ethiopian Herald poses the international community a choice between acting and cleansing the threat or inaction and nurturing terrorism. The passage has two implications the first one is the war with Somali is the part of global initiative against terrorism. The second hidden point is the war against UIC is half a success since it lacks logical conclusion. To put another way the achievements of the war stretches only half a mile leaving the rest half full of uncertainties.

The Ethiopian Herald is a pure propaganda machine. It has never been critical towards the war effort. It boldly declared the war as the best ever opportunity to the rebuilding of peaceful Somalia and the Horn. The Ethiopian Herald is convinced that the conflict erupted for it was indispensable to Ethiopia's security and development programs.

4.2.3.2 Portrayal of the war by the Daily Monitor

War of intervention

'US, AU support country's Somalia intervention'' was the headline for the Dec,28,2006 front page story .

The newspaper attitude on the war displayed by the lexical choice of "*intervention*" the eleventh edition of Oxford dictionary defines intervention as interference by a state in another's affair. By this definition the Daily monitor does not take the conflict as originated from the very inside reason.

Bulwark to regional terrorism

In the same article the newspaper gives an account of Ethio-American connection

“Ethiopia has long been a strong *ally* of Washington in the horn of Africa. The America military *has for years trained* Ethiopian troops at bases in the eastern region. The training is part of the pentagon effort to build the Ethiopian military into bulwark against regional terrorist networks”

The phrases ‘strong ally’ ‘years of training’ are selected in order to show the US –Ethiopia intimacy in the military area, which is very important to give context to the later claim of the Monitor, Ethiopia a” bulwark against terrorism” for the West. The hegemonic west naturalizes the threat of terrorism. Every nation big or minor felt threatened regardless of the actual developments. The Pentagon effort made Ethiopia “defensive shield”, “buffer”, “wall”. Prime Minister Meles might be honest to his claim that no one ordered the country to enter in to Somalia. But he was given the instinct when and where to strike.

A war that saved the face of President Bush

The next article published on Jan,4,2007 under the head line “Ethiopia Gives the US a new year’s gift in Somalia” also reflects the above assumption:

“under fire at home for costly military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan the US Government has managed to achieve a major policy goal in strategic Somalia without firing a shot. Thanks to Ethiopia!”

The Daily monitor invites the audience to picture out what is going on in USA for the costly overseas war by using a hyperbolic expression “under fire” This fire forced the Bush government to search for hit nations for his Somalia project. So Ethiopia fires and takes all the bullets to the fulfillment of the major American policy.

In Ethiopia where effective check and balance is missing there is no fire to scare the government. The newspaper ironically thanks the government for saving face for Bush, whose main stay on power was war on terrorism.

The following extract from the same article speaks of the diplomatic cover Washington provided to Ethiopia

“Washington encouraged Addis Ababa to go ahead. They provided the same sort of diplomatic cover they did for Israel going into Lebanon last summer”

The Daily Monitor brought an outside text (The July, 2006 Israeli-Lebanese war) to trace similarities with the case under study. The wider belief on this war was the White House gave the green light to execute the attack on Hezbollah. The United States loudly denied. As a diplomatic ploy Jandayi Frezer, assistant secretary of state for Africa warned Ethiopia deploying its forces in Somalia. The noun “catapult” used two times in the article with reference to Ethiopia to show the extent America manipulated Ethiopia.

Somalia likely to fall into anarchy

The Daily monitor was keen to foreground the Somalis worst possible future in few of its December and January publications:

“fight an Iraqi style insurgency” “slide back into anarchy”, “no guarantee of stability in the horn” all these choices of lexis in the phrases intended to show the hollowness of Ethiopia’s involvement.

A feature article entitled “Somalia’s endless struggle for peace” the publication of Jan, 8, 2007 conforms the above claims:

“Somalia warlords will no doubt see this as a new window of opportunity for they have not gone away”

The selection suggests that the war lords will take this opportunity as they did in the past for they are next door camouflaged. To explicate, the war with the UIC was an opportunity to the rejuvenation of the war lords than to the pacification of Somalia. Simply the war was portrayed as a zero sum game.

Commitment to pay debt

In the same news article the late prime minister portrayed metaphorically as “darling of the west”

“as darling of the west Prime Minister Meles Zenawi has been able to get away with Brutally putting down internal dissent in his own country and now moving thousands troops into Somalia” The text has an embedded outside text which is designed to show why Ethiopia fought the war.

Meles is depicted as lovable and endearing of the west. He is allowed to rule even after heavily suppressed the 2005 election crisis. Washington sees no problem to overlook the undemocratic excess of their darling who plays his part in the war on terror. The extract latently forwards that Ethiopia was dragged to war because of the deep commitment of Meles to pay his debt. ”

Apparent victory

A feature article published on Jan,2,2007 shades pessimistic view on the sustainability of the victory. To the Monitor the war only brings ephemeral cheers.

“Somalia victors win cheers but for how long” The headline casts doubt on the longevity of the victory. The doubt of the headline emanated from the past realities of Somalia, where a single peaceful day is a luxury .The headline is loaded with an embedded meaning: Doubtfulness, vagueness and obscurity that could fall on Somalia following the war.

The newspaper ideological slants to the war are vividly put. For example it believes that external interests are more weighing than the internal reasons to drag the country into war. The Monitor usually reflects its pessimistic view concerning the role of the war in pacifying Somalia and quelling all potentials for terrorism against Ethiopia.

4.2.4 The portrayal of actors involved in the war

One of the research questions of this study is pertinent to how the newspapers in hand portrayed the parties involved in the war in line with their ideological perspectives and affiliation. I tried to analyze this aspect using the textual analysis tools offered in Fairclough’s CDA method such as lexicalization, presupposition metaphors and reference of people. Intertextuality from the discursive practices aspect is also considered. To both newspapers the TFG,UIC and the Ethiopian Army are the major actors. Other than these all other groups which have part or related directly or indirectly in the war are also under the study.

4.2.4.1 Portrayal of the Actors by the Ethiopian Herald

Opposition parties appendages of the UIC

The Dec,7 publication in its news story entitled “public support for the HPR decision continued” the news paper identified the opposition parties leaders as auxiliaries of the UIC.

“Opposition parties repeated announcement of differences on the national cause indicate that they are *appendages* of the extremists”

The newspaper sees no problem when using the derogatory term “appendage”, which is equivalent to attached or showing fondness to the enemy giving an implication, anyone who is not with us, is enemy. The next news story reinforces this analysis.

The news story entitled “Opposition needs to redress its mistake” in the publication of Jan,5,2007 the newspaper shows its extreme stand towards the parties which denied vote to the Somali campaign.

“The opposition parties committed *historic mistake* by rejecting the decision to defend the country against the war declared by the Jihadist. Deviating on issues of national sovereignty is *un Ethiopian.*”

“Historic” mistake implies the mistake is no ordinary that evaporates after a while, but one that generations to come will remember for the scar on the nation. The newspaper sees the divergent perspective of the opposition as mistake and treason.

The newspaper when selecting “Un-Ethiopian” to criticize the opposition parties it was communicating the past. The writer brings tradition in to use to construct allegation against the parties. They are branded as “non-Ethiopian” for the country only knows those as children who put aside their differences when external enemy is at the gate. Therefore the deviant behavior of the opposition parties cuts the mother children relationship. They are no more Ethiopians.

UIC in the cloak of Taliban

The Dec,12,2006 publication entitled “A critical and timely resolution to defend our sovereignty” has a passage to scrutiny.

“It is now six month since the Somalia *militants* disguised under UIC took control of Mogadishu. Since then the *fundamentalist* have been busy expanding their territory. The *hardliners* within the UIC have made it clear that their intention is establishing a Taliban- like administration”

The newspaper’s ideological stance is surfaced through the use of adjectives from semantic field of adherence. The lexis casts a negative light on the UIC .It is depicted as a group close to talk and compromise that only understands the language of gun.

Empty opposition Vs informed opposition

The same article has an extract to be examined.

“Opposition in a democracy doesn’t mean enmity. Opposition parties do not need to oppose everything simply because it was proposed by the government”

The journalist brings external text to establish his argument from the philosophy of the liberal west “Honest disagreement is agreement”. The extract presupposes that Ethiopia is a democracy and depicts the opposition parties as a mere opponent without substance.

Making Somalia a blood bath

A feature article a published on Dec15,2006 entitled “UIC detrimental to growing continental, economic, political integration” The writer topicalized the UIC. He wanted to highlight the

capability of UIC towards thwarting an overall continental integration by placing it in the subject position. In this article the journalist portrayed UIC as an organization thriving to create the replica of terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq. This is achieved through the use of figurative language, Oxymoron.

“He said that (professor Kinfe Abraham quoted) the major aim of UIC is to turn Somalia into a safe *haven of terrorism* just like Afghanistan and Iraq and other countries in the Middle East”

Coincidence gave rise to UIC

The publication of Dec, 26,2006, in its a feature article “why Ethiopia enters into war with UIC” opens the Islamists’ early pages of history. “The Islamists group that now controls Somalia’s capital Mogadishu has come out to look in to wrong doings founded by the powerful business community to try offenders and bring some law and order to the country which had no government for more than a decade.”

The passage presupposes that the UIC is not self made lacking its own foundational base molded by elite merchants .It came into being by chance doing the donkey work in the routines of pacifying the capital.

Asmara-Mogadishu Axis

In a feature article published on Dec,26 head lined “why Ethiopia enters into war with UIC” the selection has something to be analyzed from the intertextuality angle.

“Dahir Aweys is radical and close to Eretria, which is promoting a proxy war on Ethiopia from Somalia. It is as a result of his close connection with the Eritrean leadership that he declared Jihad on Ethiopia.”

The newspaper formed Asmara-Mogadishu axis in this passage. Eritrea is depicted as the one sponsoring holy war. The Ethiopian Herald tries to bring the old Eritrea-Muslim states connection to reach on the conclusion that a close connection of Dahir Aweys with Eritrea pushed him to declare the war. Eritrean/Shabia had been a close ally of the Arab world ranging from the biggish Saudi and Syria to the minors Sudan and Somalia .The country has been working together to wound Ethiopia. This rich profile of Asmara made the UIC feel confident at getting all the necessary in puts to declare Jihad.

The UIC lacks cohesive political program

The newspaper allotted a front page and a lead story status to the news on the press conference Meles had with foreign correspondents in its Dec,27, publication. Under a headline “Ethiopia, TFG forces routing international forces in and around Baidowa”

“Much of the UIC military is out of the game now. Either they have *gone to their clan bases* or *neutralized*” The first emphasis presupposes two points. The one is the absence of elite military foundation and the rest is the missing of cohesive ideology that can keep them longer together. Accordingly the UIC is the amalgam of undisciplined fighters who are not yet divorced from clan loyalty. The Herald prefers the euphemistic neutralize to kill in order to make it less straight.

In the feature article published on Dec,28 entitled “Ethiopia said showing new way of solving problems with terrorism” The Herald shows the Moderate-Fundamentalist divide in the UIC rank.

“The moderates within the Islamic courts Union had been held *hostage* by the fundamentalist element”

The newspaper depicted the UIC as fundamentalist dominated organization. The moderate are taken hostage both physically and for their ideas.

The resurrection of irredentism

In many of the December samples the UIC usually depicted as the new father of the monstrous “Greater Somalia” idea. This approach is employed to resurrect the phobia of the 1977 Seyeed Barre invasion so as to justify the war. This would take us to the disparity between the rhetoric and what is on the ground. The Foreign Affairs and National security policy and strategy of Ethiopia in section II.1.3 gives the next piece of reality concerning Somalis capability to rejuvenate the Greater Somalia scheme.

....since it has been the cause of much suffering first and for most to the people of Somalia, this slogan “Greater Somalia” has been discredited and its chances of survival are indeed very slim
(National Security Policy)

After three years from the production of the new security policy the slim chances by miracle grew into a fat one as per the discourse of the Herald.

UIC a mixed bag

In The newspaper’s front page a news story entitled “Fundamentalist in Somalia retreating in disarray” published on 26, Dec, 2006 listed a pack of enemies destroyed by the Ethiopian army and the TFG.

“The fundamentalist group, the Eritrea government, the OLF and international Mujahidin have incurred heavy human and material loses.”

The placement of OLF close together with the two gives the reader an impression that the newspaper wanted. The Ethiopian Herald without talking loud categorized OLF as terrorist and no other than foreigners. The passage also implicitly refers to the UIC as a mixed bag with the giant Asmara in the middle.

Eritrea trying to revenge past scores

In the publication of Dec,28 an editorial entitled “all that Ethiopians seek is a defensive position against war and terrorism” Eritrea is metaphorically represented in an extremely bad light

“After sometime of respite and a *licking of wound* they have found a fertile ground and a live weapon in Somalia to try their luck once more”

The extract has a historic dimension for it covertly talks about the Ethio-Eritrea war. The leaders of Eritrea figuratively depicted as a wounded dog, which barks again after taking rest for some time.

Mogadishu defended with an army of straw

The Herald in its Dec, 29,2006 publication through which the fall of Mogadishu to the hand of the TFG and Ethiopia announced a front page news story entitled “UIC leadership dissolved” discusses the consequences of the Mogadishu war upon the anti Ethiopian forces.

The lexical choices of the writer “melted away” “dissolved” “Remnant” and “fleeing towards sea” is open to implications.

The minor sentence “Melted away” and the adjective “Dissolved” imply the extreme frail military status of the UIC and its backers to stand before the Ethiopian army. As a wax melts

when, gets closer to flame so did the UIC. The noun “remnant” implicates the death of the considerable number of the fighters.

“Ethiopian forces are pursuing the remnants of the extremist elements of the UIC, international Jihadists fleeing towards the coast.”

A sea for its wilderness is a last choice to save life. The phrase fleeing towards the sea coast presupposes the UIC and co-fighters are isolated and denied and inch to hide.

Draconian Sharia

The Herald in its Jan,4,2007, feature article headlined “The speculative adventurism” citing Professor Kifle Abraham a renowned diplomatic and political historian depicts the UIC as a religious extremist group guided by “draconian” Sharia laws. This hyperbolic depiction is not innocently used but ideologically driven. The Herald didn’t hesitate to use this offending terms to qualify the Sharia at use by the UIC without giving a single good example .When does Sharia law assume the shape of a draconian law? Can a Sharia changes in to a draconian one? The Ethiopian Herald fall an easy prey to the western centric discourse that takes Islamic laws a source of problem.

The super genius leadership

An article published on Jan 9,2007 “Operation in Somalia proves leadership rock-slide” gives the testimony of the quality of the people who mastermind the hit against the UIC

‘the counter offensive planning reflects the *high mental* caliber’

‘..has the *cerebral acumen* capable of carefully weighing any dangerous situation’

“it is a *clinically executed* operation”

To the verbosity of the writer the selected phrases were placed in two small paragraphs. What preoccupied the writer is praising the leadership. He brings them close to a war deity. It seems that the newspaper is responding to those external pundits and home grown oppositions pessimism about the mission.

The enemy a pack of unfits

The praising words given to the Ethiopian military dramatically changed to obscene words when referring to the UIC:

“Ignorant of the combat skills of the Ethiopian army and the experience

of its officers their *nomad army* and its OLF and ONLF auxiliaries tried to storm ”

“Nomad” is an extremely value loaded word. The context the word is used is not friendly. Despite the newspaper’s specific reference to the UIC fighters the nasty effect of the noun can project to the populace with Somali descent. The audience could generate the following list of rough meanings out of it “uncivilized” “untidy” and “uncultured”.

Immoral deed

The newspaper in its Jan,3,2007 publication a news story appeared with this headline “recruitment of child soldiers observed in the ranks of UIC.”

The headline demands the evoking of specific text in the reader’s mind. The embedded outside text is telling the audience that the UIC is committing a serious child right violation by acting

against the Security Council Resolution 1612. The Herald is showing the lowered moral standard in the UIC rank.

OLF and ONLF conspired

An article published on Jan, 9, 2007 “Operation in Somalia proves leadership rock-slide” the newspaper portrayed the OLF and ONLF as surrogate outfits

“it was only Ethiopia that the Jihadists attacked *using surrogate*

Outfits such as the ONLF and OLF”

The extract identifies the two no different than the UIC by using the noun ‘surrogate’. The lexicon surrogate highlights the auxiliary status of the two groups by disregarding their independent organizational status and mission.

TFG striving to bring national reconciliation

In the Jan 2, 2007 publication a news article entitled “Ambassador says military operation in final stage” depicts the TFG as far sighted with a gut to welcome enemies to the good of the country, which is quiet alien to the Somalia’s past.

“The TFG is planning to integrate the ex-police members, ex-military and ex-security forces so as to involve them in the process of peace and stability.”

The treacherous ONLF

The Ethiopian Herald in the home news page an article published on Jan 3, 2007 headlined “Ogaden clan leaders members call for concerted struggle against ONLF remnants” assigned the following to describe ONLF.

“organized in the guise of liberating the Ogden people” “destabilizes the peace of the region siding with international terrorists” “Treacherously making children cannon fodder” “To quench its thirst for power has been disrupting peace”“forcing the youth into felony ”

The ONLF is one of the actors to the Ethiopian Herald. In all the samples where ONLF is present including this the mention of it is without context. It is treated like something that fall from the sky without any traceable beginning and evolution. It has been demonized to sanitize the acts of war. The true independence fighter probably to millions depicted as a pseudo one and has given the metaphor of Dracula.

The late prime minister was known for coining new expressions and words. The Ethiopian Herald is an important channel at popularizing the newly made words.

The UIC and Taliban one and the same

In its news story published on Jan,4 2007 entitled ‘the operation shuttered the destructive hopes of extremist’ the Herald applies the phrase coined by the prime minister.

“Somalia Taliban” and a mixed bag of mujahidin terrorists and the destructive force of Eritrea formed a front”

The White house and the international media usually use “Al-Qaeda linked” “Al-Qaeda elements” to refer to the UIC connection with Al-Qaeda.

This new reference was picked by the Herald to show how far the Somalia’s in the UIC are consolidated by the image of Taliban. The Ethiopian Herald found it less comfortable to share the western references when the Somalis in the UIC themselves are recognized Taliban.

To summarize, the Herald indecently criticized leaders of the opposition parties for not supporting the war. Even they were branded enemy of the state. OLF and ONLF are regarded as the twin sisters of the UIC. The UIC assumes the image of demon in the Ethiopian Herald's depiction. It was depicted as expansionist, extremist and war monger to destabilize Ethiopia's and the region's peace and stability. The analysis showed the newspaper's perfect ideological alignment to the established political culture. For example it reflected the hate politics up on the opposition parties' leaders who were trying to avert the war. The domestic liberation fighting groups were also collectively treated with the international Mujahedin and the UIC. Other than this it has never used a balanced and contextual treatment regarding the major actor, UIC. It seems that the newspaper failed to keep one of the basic journalistic missions, which is a fair and balanced treatment of subjects in the news stories. The newspaper was more of a propaganda vehicle.

4.2.4.2 Portrayal of the Actors by the Daily Monitor

The UIC a power to be consider in the region

A news article published on Dec, 15 2006 headlined "Diplomats push for Somali talks to avert war" the Daily Monitor portrays the UIC as "Powerful". This positive representation implicates that the UIC is a power to be consider in the Horn's peace process. The newspaper also qualifies the UIC as powerful religious movement as opposed to Herald's reference as extremist.

"The newly *powerful religious movement* objected to Kenya arguing that Nairobi was biased because it already backed an African union plan to deploy peace keepers in the chaotic country".

Frail administration

A news story piece published on Dec,19, 2006 headlined “Somalia Islamists advance on Baidoa despite talks” the monitor shades negative light on the TFG. The collocation of nouns and adjectives “administration” “weak” “confined” played the role.

“ The religious movement has declared holy war on thousands of troops from Neighboring Ethiopia it says invaded Somalia to prop up the country’s *weak* Western backed *administration confined* to Baidowa.”

The choice of the words discerns the newspapers regard to the TFG. “Administration” came into use instead of “government”. It is inferable that the monitor is not comfortable to call the TFG government for the aforementioned tentacle is limited to a town barely capable of defending it without external of support.

Striving to end internal disunity

An extract from the same article contains Hashi Ahemd’s statement. one of the commanders of the UIC.

“we want to bring the whole of Somalia” including the self declared states of punt land and Somali Land under Sharia law. Somalia is one and we plan to reunite it”

“Somalia is one” is a borrowed idea from the pan Somalia discourse. This political discourse was solidified by the insertion of a religious one “Sharia”. The text hybridized the discourse of politics with a religious one.

The extract is open for another interpretation. The monitor connected the concept “Somalia is one” specifically to the merger of the self declared states of Punt Land and Somaliland under the

Sharia law. The newspaper depicted the Islamic court as harbinger of a united Islamic state of Somalia on the debris of the de facto states.

Fighting for independence

Another news story from the same publication came with an exclusively UIC discourse.

“God willing, within this week we will set the Ethiopians out of our country”. We are obliged by Allah to defend ourselves. They invaded as so we have to take them out”

The passage represents the UIC as a nationalist group. The extract mixes theological discourse with discourse of sovereignty. The UIC is depicted as an independence fighter fulfilling the will of Allah.

Strict Sharia Vs Draconian Sharia

News story entitled “UN report links Somali Islamic foreign military” published on 20, dec,2006 the newspaper collocates the “Sharia” of the UIC with “Strict”

“fighter from Pakistan and elsewhere are involved with Islamists who aim to impose strict Sharia on Somalia’s 10 million people”

In the same vein the Daily monitor in the Dec,21 publication a story headlined “Islamist leader says forces at war against Ethiopia”

The Sharia that the UIC practices collocates with the same adjective “strict” “Troops of the SICC, which controls most of Southern Somalia by military might and the *strict* Sharia law...”

This is a quite different approach of identifying the UIC with “strict Sharia law” when compared with the Ethiopia Herald’s “draconian Sharia”

The UIC an indigenous entity

In a feature article published on Dec,23 entitled “Somalia East African epicenter of Jihad” The Daily Monitor argues about the UIC , as the “Movement created out of internal dynamism of Somalia”

The presupposition out of this selection rejects the Herald’s accusation that UIC is the offspring and the lackey of the renowned fundamentalist and extremist establishments.

Christian state of Ethiopia

In a piece of news story entitled, “Islamists making war inevitable” published on Dec,20 the Daily Monitor represented Ethiopia as “Christian State”. This reference is an antiquated one. But the government discourse that labels the growing threat from Somalia as a jihad one probably influenced the newspaper to bring the old fashioned identification of Ethiopia with Christianity. May be this reference intends to falsify the theory that teaches the end of Christian hegemony in the country’s politics.

The reporting made the newspaper ignorant of the destructive aspect of the adjective “Christian” .In a nation where the Muslim population is significantly large and the church-state marriage divorced the reference is irresponsible and lethal to the country’s well being.

When the newspaper represents Ethiopian as Christian it was more influenced by the old external text that reminds “Ethiopia a Christian island” and less influenced by the current political paradigm. Had it been the Ethiopian Herald in place of the monitor, the reference “Christian” would have been the mother of all mistakes before the eyes of the government.

The TFG lacks internal harmony

The Daily Monitor in its Dec, 17 publication came up with a front page news story, “Somalia’s TFG asks speakers to reconsider plans to negotiate alone with Islamists”. The story was about the unilateral plan of Sharif Hassan Aden to meet the UIC in Mogadishu to talk on the possibility of peaceful resolution. Sheik Aden was considered the most sympathetic leader in TFG to the Islamic courts.

“He announced the plan without consulting the president or prime minister. Just days after peace talks with the Islamists collapsed in Khartoum.”

The newspaper capitalizes the selection of this story to demonstrate how the TFG is divided inside. Accordingly, the aforementioned lacks harmony even in dealing with its worst enemy. The unilateral decision to hold talks with the UIC is a serious internal challenge to the TFG presented by a single individual.

Ethiopia sets fire in Somalia

Ethiopia and Eritrea are put in the same basket in the article published on Dec, 21, 2006 entitled “Somalia Islamists dismiss U.N report as fabrication”

“The primary violators of the widely ignored 1992 arms ban on Somalia are Ethiopia and Eritrea who are respectively backing the government and Islamists.”

Using a credible (Security Council report) source the monitor declared that Ethiopia and Eritrea are alike, which is a bit painful. The adjective “primary” connotes the rest of those interested countries on Somalia only started to smuggle arms following the footsteps of Ethiopia. Shortly Ethiopia is depicted as bad model.

TFG referred as government

A Decembe28,2006 publication contains an article headlined “Conflict deepens Somalia’s humanitarian crisis ” in this article for the first time the Somali people are identified with the TFG.

“...the world’s poorest and most violent nation , Somalia face yet more suffering following the outbreak of war between their government and a rival Islamist movement.”

In all the sample news stories and feature articles there in no such reference.The monitor had never been creating association between the TFG and the people rather than calling it the “western backed government” Ally of Ethiopian and the “Baidowa administration” .In most cases the daily monitor is not that comfortable to consider the TFG as deserving entity to rule the country .When the newspaper refers to the UIC as the “powerful Islamist movement.” The adjectives “weak” “shaky” “tottering” “fragile” used to come before the TFG.

In this article the government is painted as an asset of the people “their government”. The Daily monitor shift is probably dictated by an external development, which is definitely the fleeing away of the UIC fighter before the TFG and Ethiopian army.

The fleeing UIC fighters

In the story published on Dec,30,2006 entitled “Ethiopians help seize Somalia capital” with a deck “Islamic fighters vanish flee South ” The newspaper presents the manner the fighters flee.

“Islamic fighters who for six months had enforced a rigid moral code in Mogadishu disappeared some simply shaving their long beards and vanishing into neighborhoods.”

The extract presupposes that the fighters' religious discipline and loyalty to the Sharia they assume the "the law" was not genuinely followed; this was clear through the breach of the Suna, one of the most venerated component of Sharia. When a rough time comes the moral codes and every other things they sworn to die for are not that difficult to abandon as it was to the long beards.

The hated Christians led occupiers

In a news piece published on Jan,5, 2007 entitled "Egypt understands Ethiopia's Somalia intervention", shows how the TFG and Ethiopia troops perceived

'Many Somalis resent the government as *Ethiopia's puppet propelled to power* by Ethiopia troops and the SICC may still launch an insurgent against a government they see as supported a *hated Christian led occupiers.*'

Ethiopia and the TGF presented as partner, but the partnership is not between two equals rather between one robust and one frail tantamount to a relationship between a puppet and its creator. The weak one as it is supplanted by Christian Ethiopian would serve anything to its creator. The phrase "propelled to power by Ethiopia" implicates that the TGF is an isolated one without a popular base. The passage also implicitly announces that the UIC could make an insurgent attack on the TFG for it harbors a hated non-believer state on a Muslim soil.

The will of Addis Ababa rules Somalia

"Somali victors win cheers but for how long" is a headline for the Jan,2, 2007 publication of a feature article. In this news article the noun "puppet" appeared together with "strings"

"They (TFG) are merely puppets with Addis Ababa *pulling their strings*"

The puppet in this condition specified with a trait “strings” with which Ethiopia vibrates to make her own arrangements of notes. The writer’s shows the extent of the TFG’s parasitical nature metaphorically.

To conclude the Daily monitor muted on the case of OLF and ONLF. The newspaper showed its deviant ideological position in a subtle way by shading a positive light on the UIC and by criticizing the TFG, which is the beloved one by the Ethiopian Herald. One of its stories declares Ethiopia as an international law breaker. The Daily Monitor showed its distinct ideological perspective by taking the UIC Saharia as a strict moral code and the UIC itself as a product of internal political and religious evolution.

4.2.5 Issues not deemed news worthy

In this section the discursive practice and social practices aspects will be considered.

The Ethiopian Herald had never paid attention to following four issues.

The stand of the Arab countries

All of my samples from the Ethiopian Herald are without a major trace of Arab countries opinion. The Ethiopian Herald says the international community has supported the war effort. But this claim has to be supplemented by the voices of the Muslim countries. For example a word had not written about the ‘November Arab consensus’ that denounced the stationing of the Ethiopian army in Somalia.

Anti war domestic voices

The newspaper lacks the slightest interest to host opposing voices. The substances of the coverage are too homogeneous tailored to the loyal audience and forces controlling it. Those resisting the making of the war portrayed as” Un Ethiopian” “appendages of the UIC” ‘’committer of historic mistake’’ and even the extreme’ Us’ and’ they’ divide witnessed.

Casualties& expense

Even in the high technology backed warfare there is always damage of some sort. The public was devoid of chance to know how many soldiers killed, maimed and lost. The Ethiopian Herald in the Jan, 13 publication came up with a news story headlined “not one Ethiopian soldier has been killed”. The premier’s press conference to the domestic and international journalists was the source for this story. Some were joking on this naked lie ‘’were the Somalis deploy fire brigade to the battle fields?’’. The Ethiopian herald channels what the powerful wanted to. In a sharply divided political environment reporting deaths would be a punch on a face. There is also another external influence that shaped the media practice. In a society where transparency and democracy is stunted declaring loses or failure is almost taboo and giving data on casualty would be unwise, so what is normal to the general public and lucrative before those opposing the war is reporting damages done to the enemy.

The other aspect in the domain of casualty is the civilian one. The Ethiopian Herald generally had sought to downplay the issue of civilian casualties and collateral damage, evidently in the hope of not to lose face before the public and international community. In one of the news samples the Herald claimed the military operation as “clinically executed” which mean a nit finishing.

In addition to this, the material expense of the war was not publicized. How cheap or costly the war was not even allotted a word. Human interest stories such as displacement, which is the inevitable feature of most wars is detopicalized. The Jan,9, 2007 publication of a news story entitled “Eritrea’s government desire to attack Ethiopia using Somalis blood” came up with a humanitarian call by prime Minister Meles:

“Meles called on nations around the world to provide financial and food supply to the people of Somalia flooded by the overflow of the Genale river rather than supplying bullet.”

The newspaper tried to radiate the concern of the premier to Somali people. The Ethiopian Herald committed significant omission. The cause for the Somalis’ misery is only attributed to the over flow of the rivers, despite the fact that the war had significant contribution.

In contrast the Daily Monitor has a pack of crisis oriented news. For example, a story headlined “conflicts deepens Somalia’s humanitarian crisis” reports that the war has contributed to the escalation of the humanitarian catastrophe.

In a news story entitled “EU condemns escalation of conflict in Somalia”, published on Jan,3 the Daily Monitor highlighted the deteriorating humanitarian situation due to heavy fighting in several fronts.

The Daily monitor under a headline “UN envoy urges Somali government to talk to Islamists” reported the death of six Ethiopian soldiers by an ambush in northern Somalia.

In another news story published on Jan,5,2007 headlined “Somali minister denies any Ethiopian armored vehicle blasted or soldiers killed” The Daily monitor gives a figure on Ethiopia’s lose by citing Abdurrahman Ali Mudey, the information secretary of UIC. “Bardaole residents who

are against Ethiopian troops in their country have blown up two Ethiopian armored vehicles, alleging that residents have also killed at least fifty soldiers”

What is a bit common in the Herald is talking about wounded UIC fighters who are hospitalized. This is just to show the magnanimity of the Ethiopian Army. But nothing said about collateral damage or any mishap that could bring civilians in to hospital beds.

In a news piece entitled ‘‘Egypt understands Ethiopia’s Somali intervention’’ the Daily Monitor discusses the Arab’s position on the presence of Ethiopia’s troops in Somalia.

‘‘before the Somali government and Ethiopian troops captured the capital Mogadishu the Cairo based Arab league unanimously agreed that Ethiopian troops should leave the country.

This article discusses the ‘November Arab Consensus’. The opposition parties exploited this situation to resist the passing of the Nov,30 2006 resolution that granted a go ahead to the government. The war would isolate Ethiopia especially from the Muslim world was the core substance drawn from the consensus by the opposition parties.

Chapter Five: Conclusion & Implication

This chapter presents conclusion and key findings. It would also highlights possible implications for further studies in the future.

5.1 Conclusion

This study was conducted with the purpose of examining how the public and the private newspapers treat issues with regard to the 2006-2007 Ethio-Somalia (UIC) military conflict. Assuming that the public and private media are naturally contradictory in their journalistic practices this study chooses the polarized pluralist model of the media system to inform the study, while the Fairclough's CDA model was applied as a method of analyzing the media text.

The technique I employed in examining how the newspapers developed their respective discourses to the military conflict was entirely qualitative method. By using a purposive sampling strategy, two newspapers were selected to represent the public and private media. The Ethiopian Herald from the public newspapers, while the Daily Monitor from the private newspapers was selected.

News stories, editorials and feature articles of the two newspapers products, since December,2006 up to January,2007 were collected to the study purpose Based on the methodological approaches employed, I examined the sample texts under four different but interrelated subtopics designed to explore how the press under discussion construct discourses over the conflict.

The analysis of the data showed that the newspapers have more divergent position on the themes selected for analysis than similarity. The military conflict was equally newsworthy to both

newspapers as it was a national security affair. The Ethiopian Herald's texts mostly contain quotations from officials of Ethiopian government and other friendly parties. All of the Herald's discourses are at best harmony with that of the government. According to Skjerdal (2011) the Ethiopia public media are negligent of reporting hard political facts or negative reports which are challenge to the government .In support of this claim I would say the Ethiopian Herald was serving only official talks in this study. The Herald justifies the act of war by the inherent right to individual self defense. To this end the newspaper primes stories on the threat of terrorism, violent extremism and the endangered state integrity. To all these threats the Ethiopian Herald accuses the UIC, Eritrea, OLF, ONLF, and volunteer fighters across the world. Even, the opposition parties, which have seats in the House of Representatives, are labeled as enemies.

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

The Daily Monitor declares that the war is mainly fought as part of the Americans' global anti terrorism policy. Furthermore it sees the war as an individual deal between the "darling of the west" and President Bush. The study reveals that the aforementioned personalities were playing the game in the Horn based on the theory 'scratch my back and I will yours'.

Under the discursive practices aspect of the study issues that are not paid attention were identified. The Ethiopian Herald committed this omission at a greater margin. For example inflicts done to Ethiopians in the battle fields, collateral damages and humanitarian crisis are

almost neglected. Contrarily the Daily Monitor was trying to bring the issues to the public knowledge. Unlike the liberal media system which is a myth to this country the private press under study exhibited a greater margin of difference from the Ethiopian Herald, which was proven to be a mouth piece of the government in its whole. The political difference is so huge that even can't be narrowed by such kind of military incident. The legitimacy of the system has still been under question. Had there been not for the presence of the draconian media laws the Daily monitor would have confront more seriously. The post 2005 election trauma put most newspapers under a state of fear.

In sum the methodological approach applied in the study leads to the fact that both newspapers were ideologically biased and slanted.

5.2 Implications

As it was stated in the first chapter of the study the media landscape in Ethiopia is full of problems and challenges. The media cannot detach itself from the politically powerful entities, which emerged in different epochs of the country. Having an independent media that can play the fourth estate role is becoming a myth to the people of the nation.

The birth of the private media in the early 1990s was a glimmer of hope to the nation, but it remained futile because of the mistakes it committed and the problems from the very nature of country's politics. It has been two decades since we saw the proliferation of the media without giving the country any meaningful change. The private-public divide is only to multiply and sharpen differences rather than bridging.

The study believes that the media practices of the country are the reflections of the politics. Most likely it is when the politics liberalizes itself that the media culture changes. Putting this basic factor in mind I would like to imply few points:

The findings of this study show there is a lot of gap in the media practices waiting to be filled. Both media houses under scrutiny are captives of their respective ideological interests. Such media tendency would limit the country's chance of survival as strong, united and prospered. It is only when the press action geared to the general cause of the people and to the true interest of the nation that it said to be truly serving.

The first step to the solution has to be the cleansing of enmity cropped up between the two media blocks which are represented by the newspapers under study. The press under study and the blocks behind need to be rigorous and turn their critical focus to understand the true nature of such kind of critical national issues before involving with a motive to score another day in power or in the market.

The newspapers must try to be as much representative as possible. The cutting out of genuine public voices, criticality and the truth from the news coverage would only be catastrophic to the future of the country, despite its short term advantage. Being a propagandist of a certain group interest puts the nation into a quagmire and gives generations to come a home work.

The Daily monitor is highly attached to external news feeders and analysts who are significantly detached from Ethiopia's reality. Texts written to fit other contexts come into use if they have the necessary negative tone. This has to change. The Ethiopian Herald has a kind of obsession to official talks, which is tantamount to playing propaganda to form consent.

The press needs to be careful and reasonable when assigning meanings to different groups if there is a need to build a country on a stable ground, since the ultimate goal of the media must be all rounded building of a nation. In general the findings suggest that the media has a lot of weaknesses need to be redressed if need be creating a media that can play the Fourth estate role.

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