

**Media Representation of Oromo's Political Freedom and Economic
Development: A Qualitative Content Analysis of Oromia Television and
Oromia Media Network**

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Workineh Diribsa, entitled “**Media Representation of Oromo’s Political Freedom and Economic Development: A Qualitative Content Analysis Of Oromia Television and Oromia Media Network**” and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and communication complies with the regulations of the university and the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

Media Representation of Oromo's Political Freedom and Economic Development: A Qualitative Content Analysis of Oromia Regional Television and Oromia Media Network.

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The purpose of this study was to examine how TVO and OMN represent the Oromo issues concerning political freedom and economic development and its further implications among the Oromo from various angles. Furthermore, the study has pointed out factors affect both televisions representation of the issues under study. The study has also indicated the implications of divergent media representations of the reality under study.

The study employed qualitative content analysis and in-depth interview to gather necessary data. Both data collected through content analysis and an interview record of the journalists were qualitatively analyzed. The analyzed content was selected per their relevance to the issues under study. In depth interview, five editors, four reporters and one producer were purposely selected from economic desk, good governance and news and current affairs of TVO. Snow ball sampling has been also used to select more experienced journalists. With this sample and their interest, two journalists and one former founder of OMN were involved in the interview. Due to the multidimensionality of the subject matter, media representation and political economy of the media as well as labeling theory were used as theoretical frameworks of the study.

Collected data have been organized per their similarities under major themes that were derived from content analysis and interview data. Through triangulation of all data, the analysis was done in a meaningful manner.

The study showed that both televisions paradoxically represent Oromo's political freedom and economic development. TVO represents that Oromo's political freedom is long been guaranteed. As a result, the Oromo are the main beneficiaries of the country's economic development; but the TVO journalists doubt this TV claims. Rather they stated that it is government version of the reality regarding the subject matter.

On the other side, the analysis of both content analysis and interview of OMN represents Oromo as undemocratic; economically undeveloped and politically colonized people.

The findings of the study showed that media ownership, media ideology, government control, editor's and manager's control, editorial policies and sources of information are identified as underlying factors that contributed to the conflicting representations of Oromo's political freedom and economic development with in both media outlets.

A controversial 'Addis Ababa Master Plan and its worldwide protests were portrayed as a best example of both political freedom and economic development of the Oromo and this issue was differently represented in both media outlets. There are concrete indications that as government repression increases, the political freedom goes worsening and resulted in more violence and tensions emerging in the country.

Thus, the study shows that the government and media responses to an ongoing Oromo protests over time becomes another causes for further protests.

The study indicates that both televisions have been used labeling in various instances. Television labeling at various level confirmed the devastating action and reaction between Oromo people and its governments (both federal and regional).

The study concludes that conflicting reality representation of the subject under study irrespective of public's interest and the reality on the ground blurred the relationship among people and media as well as government. Additionally, disparity was observed between the principles and practices of TVO and OMN outlet. In general, due to their one sided inclination, both media outlets have not well served Oromo public's interest.

Finally, the implications of conflicting media representations of both television outlets have been assessed in line with peaceful coexistences and in the process of building democratic system in Oromia and Ethiopia. Thus, the researcher recommends that these media better consider Oromo public interests and open to comprise diverse versions of reality from various sources.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ORTVO	Oromia Radio and Television Organization
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front
SDPRP	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
TGE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
EBC	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
OPDO	Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
MTWA	Mecha and Tulama Welfare Association
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
ERTA	Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
TVO	Oromia Television
OMN	Oromia Media Network
MP	Master Plan
MPP	Master Plan Protest
OBS	Oromia Broadcasting Corporation
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
TLF	Tigrean Liberation Front
ETV	Ethiopian Television

ENA	Ethiopian News Agency
OFC	Oromo Federalist Congress
QICA	Qualitative Content Analysis
QnCA	Quantitative Content Analysis
SYL	Somalia Youth League
IMX	Small Scale Enterprises
ETA	Ethiopian Telecom Agency
ETC	Ethiopian Telecom Corporation
DJ	Development Journalism
ESAT	Ethiopian Satellite Television
CPJ	Committee Protect Journalists
CA	Content Analysis
Qul CA	Qualitative Content Analysis
Qun CA	Quantitative Content Analysis

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Media has been understood and used differently in the world history in various contexts: war, religion, propaganda, state formation, and nation building. The understanding and use of media were various for the purpose that a given media attempt to achieve. That could be understood both from constructive and destructive role of media. For instance we can see the use of media in Rwandan genocide and South Africa post-apartheid. This implies that the same instrument can be used to propagate hatred and to preach peaceful coexistence and forgiveness respectively.

Representation refers to the construction in any medium (especially the mass media) of aspects of 'reality' such as people, places, objects, events, cultural identities and other abstract concepts. Such representation may be in speech or writing as well as still or moving pictures. The term refers to the process involved and the products (Tomas).

Specifically, media representation is understood as media cannot show the actual reality of an events, concepts as they are/were; instead it re-pret (re-produce) them in a way of mimicking the actual one therefore audiences could have information about what they have no knowledge and or have no partial knowledge regarding the subject to be represented. Representation is how you make sense of the word of people, objects and events, and how you are able to complex thought about those things to other people, or communicate about them through language in a ways which other people are able to understand Hall (1997, p 16).

In Ethiopian context, broadcasting media has been used for various purposes in different regimes. Actually, before 1991, it was obvious that media was fully controlled by the government to serve only its purposes. Since 1992, in principle the Ethiopian media is claimed to serve public interest, voice of diversity, and democracy with all in conveniences and criticisms from various angles.

In line with the emergence of internet proliferation and globalization many network, satellite, and web based media are emerging having both converging and diverging ideas, philosophies and perspectives in today's world. In the process many perceived realities are presented from their own perspectives.

This situation holds true for Ethiopian media as well and, today we are observing the diverging ideas from various media over the same issue/ matter. Therefore, the way each media institution represents one society and its constituencies and issues may vary from one medium to another per their philosophy, beliefs, aims, rules and regulations.

The concept of this paper is on the media representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development.

In relation to the key markers of identity- class, age, gender and ethnicity (the 'cage' of identity) - representation involves not only how identities are represented (or rather constructed) with in the text but also how they are constructed in the processes of production and reception by people whose identities are also differentially marked in relation to such demographic factors (Tomas)

Croteau and Hoynes, (2003) cited in Berhanu (2013, p 45) states that "media may not plainly put or simply multiply realities or happenings as they are in the real world. Instead, they deal with giving the reality different meanings or images desirable to them. The process of doing this is known as representation." According to these writers, through the processes of representation media reflects or re show the reality from the angle that fit to that media interest.

In the process of reality representation it is not a mere representation of some happening, concept, idea and event rather it is understood ideological wise. Implications are meanings (propositions) that are not explicitly expressed in the text but may be inferred from words or sentences in the text. Indeed, it is sometimes more important to specify what is not said by the text than what is actually expressed. In many respects, media texts are ideological icebergs, of which only the tip is visible to the reader John H. (1993, p 256).

As stressed above, representation is not merely reading the text, instead it is ideological wise. Likewise, Berhanu (2013) emphasized that representation is not actual or neutral

reporting of certain events rather it is made in a way that can achieve the intended goal of that media institution.

Coming to my point, the study dealt with the Oromo nation who is cited as the greatest nation in the horn of Africa and Ethiopia as well; the Oromo have their own state owned broadcasting media which is called Oromia Radio and Television Organization (ORTVO). On the other hand, there is diaspora owned media, Oromia Media Network (OMN) based in the United States of America, Minneapolis.

In its annual report, Human Rights Watch indicated that substantive number of the Oromo subscribe to Oromia Media Network (Human Rights Watch 2015, p 26). It is thus evident that the way these media outlets represent the issue of the Oromo society and the underlying factors behind their representation is worth studying.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Oromia Television and Oromia Media Network (TVO and OMN), though they have some basic similarities- regarding their audiences and whom they claim to represent or stand for, the way each television represents the issues of Oromo people may vary. From their own perspective each of them claims that they are the voice of the Oromo. In this regard, a statement by OMN leadership about the medium is worth quoting.

Oromia Media Network is a product of the unwavering spirit of the Oromo people and their firm belief in freedom of expression and freedom of thought. We believe that the primary purpose of any media establishment is to offer thoughtful perspective on various issues. Cognizant of this, OMN is our grand step towards reclaiming our voice, the voice of truth and fair representation (Statement from the leadership of OMN march 1, 2014).

Contrary to the OMN's claim, Oromia Radio and Television Organization (ORTVO) also claims that it is the voice of Oromo people. In aspects of campaign against poverty, ensuring rule of law and development in general and focused more on satisfying the needs of the Oromia region. Thus, it shows that the media is moving forward being the hopeful supporter of the Oromo. TVO

is playing a significant role that is expected from one modern media in showing true Oromo identity (Translated from Annual Magazine of ORTVO 2016).

Media has power in constructing and shaping reality. Through its representation of issues and people, their culture, religion and thought; it can influence people Berhanu (2013, p 6). Media representation refers to the construction in any medium (especially the mass media) of aspects of ‘reality’ such as people, places, objects, events, cultural identities and other abstract concepts. Such representations may be in speech or writing as well as still or moving pictures. The term refers to the processes involved as well as to its products (Tomas).

Several scholars have directly or indirectly touched up on the media representation of people, gender, sex, ethnicity, racial, religion, events, and various issues emphasizing how they are represented in different media institutions. Accordingly Berhanu (2013) studied the print media representation of Islam vs. Christianity in Ethiopia. He raised the issue of misrepresentation of the religions irrespective of the reality on the ground. Gizachew (2013) studied on the “Representation of Crime and Justice in State media: The Case of the Ethiopian Television’s Police Program.” His thesis focused ETV’s representation of crime and justice in its Police Program. Thus, the study showed that reality representation of the subject is affected and shaped with different interest groups and ideologies. It found out that there were a sort of serotyping and negatively attached moral panics to the criminals.

Dawi (2011) also studied “Audience satisfaction with TVO Afan Oromo programs.” Finally, he concluded that there is no satisfaction with the contents that TVO have been broadcasted. He listed different reasons of which over politicized content takes the priority.

Recently Bedada (2015) has researched “The Practice of Journalism Profession At TVO News Room: Journalists And Audience Reflections.” He pointed out that journalism profession is poorly practiced at TVO news room for various internal and external reasons. The study identified that, TVO news is what government needs to advocate and has positive implication for the government policy and strategies rather than something of the public

interest. Government officials used as sources of the news that they divert what the public needs being as information sources of the news and manipulating the public.

It justified that, journalists were not able to get information from the grass root public and they reflect the words of political officials. Moreover it demonstrates that the practices did not understand public interests. As a result media practices and public interest were not hand in hand. It was used by the government officials as a mirror and forum to reflect their views As a result, both media station and journalists were forget their responsibility and they were remained loyal to party in power rather than to the general public Bedada (2015, p 94). Thus, it indicates that there is gap with TVO and its journalists in serving public interests.

As far as the researcher's reading is concerned there is no research conducted on the subject under study. According to the political economy of mass media the two concepts are interrelated and one affects the other and vice versa. Therefore, the study attempts to explore how TVO and OMN represent political freedom and economic development of the Oromo and the main factors behind each media in the course of their representation regarding the issue under study.

1.3 Objectives of the study

This study have general objective and specific objectives.

1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of the study is to examine the media representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

- To explore how TVO and OMN television outlets, do represent Oromo's political freedom and economic development.
- To examine underlying factors influencing TVO and OMN representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development.

- To identify the similarities and differences among the selected media concerning their representation of political freedom and economic development of the Oromo.
- To analyze the implications of media representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development from various angles.

1.4 Research questions

Broadly, the following are used as the basic research questions of the study.

- How do TVO and OMN represent the Oromo's political freedom and economic development?
- What are the underlying factors in the TVO and OMN representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development?
- What are the similarity and difference between TVO and OMN concerning the political freedom and economic development of Oromo?
- What are the implications of TVO and OMN representation of political freedom and economic development of the Oromo from various angles?

1.5 Significances of the study

Significances of the study are understood from various angles. Mainly this study is believed to add something regarding the subject under study to the existing knowledge. Thereby it appreciates further and detailed study in the study area. Besides, this study will inform the media policies, rules and regulations of both Oromia Televisions at hand in a way it helps the media industry to be more comprehensive and inclusive. Further, this research will inform the revision of another government laws and policies that restricts political freedom and economic development of the Oromo. Finally, the study recommends TVO and OMN televisions to do according to the international standards and principles thereby to negotiate at least the general and ground truth about the society it represents and stands for. Accordingly John W. Creswell (2012, p 4-6) stated the significances of the research in three main points: improving the practices, it adds a new concept or reformation to the existing knowledge and finally, it puts as

research informs policy debates. All this research significances is aimed at creating a better world for human being and living and non-living things.

1.6 Scope of the study

The scope of the study is on the media representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development on the two selected Oromo televisions. These media were purposely selected. One from state owned Oromia Radio and Television Organization based in Oromia, Ethiopia and another diaspora run television, Oromia Media Network based in United States of America, Minneapolis.

It was proposed for the best of the research, considering the time, resource, and worthiness of the issue under study. Therefore, the scope of this idea was limited on the media representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development in case of two televisions: TVO and OMN.

1.7 Limitations of the study

The major limitations of the study were shortage of time, resource and the fear and unwillingness of the interview's to give information specifically on the Oromo's political freedom. The strict regulation of TVO has been another challenge to the study. Once a program is broadcasted it is not given unless you pay. Thus, using archive and other options, the study was successfully conducted. To with stand the above listed limitations the researcher did all he can to fix the problems and for the success of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The Concept of Media Representation

Representation refers to the construction in any medium (especially the mass media) of aspects of 'reality' such as people, places, objects, events, cultural identities and other abstract concepts. Such representation may be in speech or writing as well as still or moving pictures. The term refers to the process involved and the products (Tomas).

Moreover, representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent the world meaningfully to other people. Representation is an essential process by which meaning is produced and exchange between members of culture it does involve the use of language, of sign and image which stand for or represent things Hall (1997, p 15).

Every representation is motivated and historically contingent. The easiest way to understand the concept of representation is to remember that watching a TV program is not the same as watching something happen in real life. All media products re-present the real world to us; they show us one version of reality, not reality itself (Tomas). So, representation theory in media Studies implies about how a reality of particular person or group is constructed and being represented to mass audiences. Here representation implies that meaning making and exchange using language so as to communicate with in one group and to another group.

Every representation is motivated and historically contingent. The easiest way to understand the concept of representation is to remember that watching a TV program is not the same as watching something happen in real life. All media products re-present the real world to us; they show us one version of reality, not reality itself (Tomas). So, representation theory in media Studies implies about how a reality of particular person or group is constructed and being represented to mass audiences.

Hall (1997) concluded that representation is how you make sense of the word of people, objects and events, and how you are able to complex thought about those things to other people, or communicate about them through language in a ways which other people are able to understand. Therefore one can understood that representation is the way one group have an understanding about another group.

Beyond, he asserted that representation is not limited to the presentation of something as a symbol of object things; rather it can also be applicable for the meaning production of concepts in our mind. This can be through language which enable us to refer to either the real world of objects, people, events or imaginary world.

Berhanu (2013) added that media have the power of constructing and shaping reality which is undertaken through the representation of people's issue, culture, religion and thought.

In the course of media representation meaning depends on the relationship between things in the world: people, objects and events, real or fictional and the conceptual system, which can operate as mental representation of them. At the heart of meaning process in culture then, are two related 'system' of representation Hall (1997, p 18).

The first enables as to give meaning to the word by constructing a set of correspondences or a chain of equivalences between things people, objects, events, abstract ideas etc. and our system of concepts, our conceptual maps. The second depends on constricting a set of correspondences between our conceptual map and a set of signs, arranged or organized in to various languages for or represent those concepts. Here it could be inferred that meaning is made by the relationship between object things in the world and the conceptual system (the mental representation of them).

Further, Hall (1997) stated that there are three approaches of representation theory. They are Reflective, Intentional and Construction representation.

- Reflective: does language simply reflect a meaning which already exist out there in the world of objects, people and events?
- Intentional: does a language expresses only what the speaker, or writer or pointer want to say, his/her personally intended meaning?

- Constriction: is a meaning constructed in and thought language?

The process which links these three elements together is what we call 'representation'. The communication process is the procedure of sign production that reproduces cultural content. In this process we use representational system (concepts and signs) to construct meanings Hall (1997, p 4). Hall explains the function of language system in human communication. In this context, it defines the relationship between the material world and the symbolic practices and processes.

Representation is the production of meaning through language. (Hall (1997, p 16). Moreover, Hall defined representation in two ways:

To represent some thing is to describe or depict it, to call it up in the mind to description or portrayal or imagination to place a likeness of it before us in our mind and also to represent means to symbolize, stand for, to a specimen of or to substitute

Through the processes of representation, media reflects or re- show the reality from the angle that fit to specific media interest. Similarly representation is not actual or neutral reporting of certain events rather it is made in a way that can achieve the intended goal of that media institution Berhanu (2013). It implies that representation is not an actual reporting of some happening rather it is the means of achieving an intended goal of media institution.

Likewise, "Representation embodies the notion that the media assists in the construction of meanings in the world: the ways in which we look at the world. The ideas and meanings produced by representations." (<http://www.newinfluencer.com/mediapedia/politics-of-representation/>). This implies that it is the media representation that assists creating, producing, and constructing meaning. It is not the material world which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts.

It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others Hall (1997).

Moreover, he added that to convey meaning we want use of language systems, social actors, culture, linguistics and other representational systems in the course of meaning construction so as to communicate with or to others that constructivism approach emphasizes the signifying process of signs, i.e., the coding system that depends on ‘two different but related’ systems of representation Hall (1997, p 28). They are: a system of mental representation, which forms concepts in human minds and a language that consists of signs organized into various relationships. More importantly, these codes do not exist in nature, but are socially created and conventionalized through human communication.

Hall stressed that “Representation is how you make sense of the word of people, objects and events, and how you are able to complex thought about those things to other people, or communicate about them through language in a ways which other people are able to understand Hall (1997, p 16). Due to the reason that television uses a conventional way to present reality therefore, the audiences cannot distinguish convention from reality, nor did mediated reality from reality Chen (, 2006, p 5).

According to Fiske and Hartley (2003c) cited in Chen (2006 p 5) “They apply the concept “ritual condensation” to the process of television production. Ritual condensation is “the projection of abstract ideas into material form.” In television news production, ritual condensation is means in which abstract ideas of news directors and reporters about the event, issues, and relationships in a community, nation, or world, are projected into news stories.

These abstract ideas are related to conventions, dominant ideologies, and controlled by institutional units, such as “the army, the government, the Department of Health, local authorities, [and] trade unions. (Ibid). Indeed, dominant ideologies of an institution are reflected in the media representation of a given issue.

McQuil (2000) cited in Berhanu (2013, p 45) that the way media provide information to their audiences ranges from “neutrally informing, through negotiation, to attempts of manipulation and control.” Here three things are notably stated regarding media reality representation:

- Media may provide neutral information by helping the audience see the events and experiences for themselves as if the audiences are looking at realities through a window;
- Media may also provide faithful reflection of the reality with little distortion (as a mirror of events and experiences); and
- They may also provide distorted reality deliberately to influence the audience in some way.

But McQuil, 2000 considered that neutral mediation is less likely to happen due to the existence of various interest groups to influence the public attitude.

... Process of mediated contact with reality is complicated by the fact that mass media are not completely free agents in relation to the rest of the society. They are subject to formal and informal control by the very institutions that have an interest of their own in shaping public perception of reality. The media are themselves an institution with their own goals, rules, conventions and mechanisms of control (Ibid.)

From these two consecutive paragraphs, it can be understood that when any media engaged in the process of showing reality through the representation, the issue of *mediating or ritual condensation* would come in case of television due to the reason that conventional truth, dominant ideologies, media ownership formal and informal control by the various institutions that have an interest of their own in shaping public perception of reality and media houses are also an institution with their own goals, rules, conventions and mechanisms of controlling. Therefore, it would give the conclusion that media representation of something either in solid object and or conceptual abstract most probably have an angle of processing in turn it is influenced by either one reason or their combinations.

Media representation is understood as media cannot show the actual reality of an events, concepts as they are/were; instead it re-pret (re-produce) them in a way of mimicking the actual one therefore audiences could have information about what they have no knowledge and or have no partial knowledge regarding the subject to be represented. In fact, various ways in which media represent something have discussed above. Professionally, journalism is not about telling the story, instead it is how to develop a story about something and telling it from selected angle.

2.2 Instances of stereotype in Media Representation

A stereotype refers to a belief that individuals in a group – e.g., gender, occupation, race, ethnicity, or particular background – generally have one or more traits or behaviors. People make use of stereotypes to explain their own or others' behaviors, to justify actions or decide how to act, and to define group boundaries Kay, Matuszek & Munson (2015, p 2).

By the nineteenth century, Africa was regarded by Europeans and North Americans as “the dark continent” and Africans as fallen men who were incapable of development on their own and were inferior to white people in every respect to assume the self-appointed duty or burden of helping their unfortunate African brethren by colonizing them in the view to putting them back on the road to “progress” and “civilization.” Abdissa (2010, p 87).

Therefore, he has rightly addressed the view of Africa's distorted image on the other world. Africa had long been understood as dark continent, of conflicting illogical war, of hunger strike, of undemocratic, half human, less than whites, uneducated, backward, atheists and uncivilized irrespective of the reality on the ground. Accordingly their media had been used to represent this dominant white ideology. Thus, they have been used to legitimize their colony of Africa.

Similarly Poindexter, Smith, and Heider (2003) have reviewed in Chen (2006, p 5-6) that they conducted a content analysis to examine race and ethnicity in local television news stories and they raised the issue of media representation as more focused and less focused certain issue, group and subject to be covered and discussed in the media contents or outlets. As a result their analysis of TV network news, Dixon, Azocar and Casa (2003) demonstrate that,

Whites were more likely than Blacks to appear as perpetrators, victims, and officers. African American and White law-breakers were represented in a way consistent with their perpetration rates. Whites were over-represented while African Americans were underrepresented as victims of violent crime. Moreover, Whites were over-represented and African Americans were underrepresented as police officers (Ibid, p 6). Additionally, Rada and Wulfemeyer (2005) discussed the notion of stereotypically, negatively described of African American football and basketball players as persons by announcers. This study shows that many announcers still underestimate the mental abilities of black players and continue to craft the negative image of African American athletes.

They have been portrayed as physical specimens using their God-given, natural ability, whereas white athletes are hardworking and intellectually endowed Chen (2006, p 6). Thus, over or under representation of media is about focusing on one side of a story and defocusing the other side in the way that it can create a difference. In fact this could be happen through using labeling, pejorative words, demoralizing terminologies so that it can re- inforce what has been there before.

Politically, media representation is deep rooted in the dominant ideological and historical perspectives which has been protected by economic and political power of a given country.

On one side, representation is perceived like assisting the audiences to easily understand the point through what the media have re-present (re- produce) the reality. Other way round, it is understood as the means for controlling, manipulating, and using media for the propaganda so as to keep the status quo. Thus, to sustain and preserve the dominant ideology in many perspectives.

In Ethiopian media house, related to the previous government controlled media and journalists, the society perceive journalists as the mouthpiece of government Negeri (2013). Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a notion of stereotyping of Ethiopian journalists as pro government and of propaganda machine. It is due to government control over the content and message of media Bedada (2015; Negeri 2013; and Human Right Watch 2015).

Per Matuszek & Munson 2015, stereotype can be understood either as individual and or as group that often used to negatively portray one group class, role, or idea so that it would help in justifying certain deeds of group. It would be achieved through inclusion and exclusion of that specific group to be stereotyped. The portrayals often reinforce negative stereotypes, for example by showing racial/ethnic minorities as criminals, victims of criminals, and in low-status service jobs.

The portrayal of women and racial/ethnic minorities in television and other media has received considerable attention as both a possible source of stereotypes and opportunity to challenge them. Exclusion of these groups can imply that they are “*unimportant, inconsequential, and powerless.*” Their inclusion conveys specific examples whose implications depend on how they are portrayed, and these portrayals can reinforce or challenge stereotypes.

Similarly Abdissa (2010) also addressed the role of U.S. media discourse of negatively stereotyping Arab-Islamic world: the U.S. media discourse about the Arab-Islamic world has created a single image of Arab Muslims; it has made a sweeping generalization and a stereotype that crosses countless cultural and national boundaries.

This clearly shows that stereotyping can be reinforced through media representation of some issue or group. Thus, it construct meaning that at the end negatively shows the image of that group to other world.

2.2.1 Sources of Stereotype

Bias arises when an individual, group or process unfairly and systematically treats an individual or group favorably or unfavorably. Stereotypes about abilities or character are a common source of bias, often to the disadvantage of a particular race, sexual orientation, or gender. For example, stereotypes about gender and parental roles can systematically limit women's career advancement Kay, Matuszek & Munson (2015, p 2).

According to these writers, three possible sources of Stereotype:

- a. Pre-existing bias (arising from biases present in individuals or society),
- b. Technical bias (arising from technical constraints), and
- c. Emergent bias (arising in real use, in which a system is mismatched for the capabilities or values of its users). (Ibid, p 3)

Therefore, several forms of stereotyping and differences of representation includes: Stereotype exaggeration, systematic over-/under-representation, and qualitative differential representation. Consequently, media Stereotypes are meant to put pressure on the public perception of reality. Constructed media messages are not merely reproduce reality instead rather form hegemonic definitions of what should be accepted as reality Carter (2004) cited in Berhanu (2013, p 46).

It shows the fact that the media has the power to influence viewpoints and behavior of audience. Therefore the end of stereotype is to achieve certain goal through hardily creating hegemonic definition of what should be accepted as reality, and thereby become dominant ideology.

In so doing, language usage and various terminologies matters in dealing with creating dominant political discourse in a given society and how this subsequently shapes media portrayals and hegemonic definitions Berhanu (2013, p 109)

The use of terminologies and language in media is in accordance with dominant political discourse in society and how these subsequently shape media portrayals and definitions are important aspects of debate in media discourse. Extremism, fundamentalism, radicalism, fanaticism and terrorism are elusive terms and it is difficult to attach one single meaning to them.

In more recent instance, it has become arguable to label terrorist. One man's terrorist may be another man's freedom fighter Berhanu (2013). Further he argues that the consequences of such activity in media would resulted in negative outcomes. "The language the media use can shape opinions and perceptions and consequently influence action against certain groups in society." It concludes that the languages used in media representation shapes public opinion and their actions as well.

In Ethiopian media, various Stereotype has negative impacts on the journalist's practices and performances that in turn affects the citizens Negeri (2013). From these literatures it can understood that the notion of stereotype in media house has been serving to sustain dominant ideology and hegemonic definition of a given media discourse. In the process of media portrayal of some issue or group, media have to consider its influence on the public opinion and action. Thus, undesired result stereotype bring may be averted.

2.3 The History of Oromo

Oromo had been wrongly represented in Ethiopian history. With Ethiopian elites and some foreign (historians), Oromo had been labeled as the new comers, immigrant, expansionist, anti-thesis, deconstructionist of the Ethiopia Tabor (2015). To the contrary, Historical documents show that the Oromo people lived in the Horn of Africa and in the central and Southern parts of today's Ethiopia in the ninth century before Muslims entered eastern Ethiopia through the port of Zeila on the Somali border; and in the fourteenth century before Christian kings started their Southward expansion toward the Shawan highlands Tabor (2015, p 49).

Given the present scenario, discussing about Ethiopian media includes the Oromo's as well. But what matters most is the historical development of the Oromo and the courses of assimilation or inclusion of Oromo people and Oromia, the home land of Oromo in to the current day Ethiopia.

Historically there have long been various contradicting ideas regarding the Oromo people and its position in today's Ethiopian history. Thus, the debate still remains among the scholars. For the purpose of this study, the researcher used the current understanding of the issue at hand especially from the internal view.

Anthropologically, it is better to rely on the internal sources that came in to being through ethnographic understanding of how the society understands and defines itself.

The Oromo are the single largest ethnic group in the Horn of Africa Mohammed (1990) cited in Dejene (2002). The Oromo were independently ruling their own nation in all aspects through their indigenous sociopolitical and economic system called '*Sirna Gadaa*' (Gadaa system). The Oromo had been undertaken the socio-political institution called Gada system Asmarom (1973).

Gadaa is an indigenous socio-political democratic system of the Oromo people that regulated Political stability, economic development, social activities, cultural obligations, moral responsibility, and the philosophy of religious order of the society Dereje (2012, p 96). It served as a base of democratic and egalitarian political system. The system is self-sufficient system, which has influenced every aspect of Oromo's life. A system organizes the Oromo society into groups that assume different responsibilities in the society every eight years (Ibid, p 91). After the historic disputes between the Oromo and the Abyssinians kingdoms by then, the Oromo have been conquered under the Abyssinian rule through assimilation policy: divide and rule strategies of Menilik II in the 19th century.

The Oromo who are the largest Cushitic- speaking peoples, were brought in to the Absinnian (locally Amhara and Tigrayans are known as Habasha) they often identify themselves, both as a collectivity and as individuals, with that name. In the past, they were known as Abyssinians to Europeans and others Mekuria (2001).

The Oromo people, by and large, differ from their Abyssinians neighbors in language, religion, and political culture: they speak a single Cushitic language, Afaan Oromoo. Traditionally the Oromo believed in a supreme deity, *Waaqa* (God) Mekuria (2001).

In general, Gadaa system was the constitution of the Oromo society through which the society administered, defended their territory, maintained and developed their economy. Even though the tradition was reduced to social aspect following the incorporation of the society into the state, the system influenced every aspect of Oromo society, from politics to religion until recently. Dereje (2012, p 88).

After the Oromo people assimilated with the Ethiopian empire and failed under the feudal ruling system, Gada system has literally banned from many parts of Oromia.

However, there were some parts like Guji and Borena Oromo who have preserved it for this generation under hard pressure. Now it is intact in some parts of Oromia in a revived way. Surprisingly, almost all Oromo are eager to this revived Gada system irrespective of its religion and other differences.

Logically, Oromo history before Menilik II were excluded from the today's Ethiopia, but when talking about the modern history of Ethiopia by default it refers to the Oromo's too irrespective of some divergent points. To be specific, media history of the Oromo is also not an exceptional issue. Historically, Oromo have long been oral society. Culturally, they have been communicating, orally. Their culture has also been passed from one generation to the next orally. Generally, they were using various communication means in their daily life. Therefore, it is a recent history that Afan Oromo language begun used in modern education and media language. This has various socio economic, historical and political factors.

In various media, the issue of the Oromo has been represented differently in different historical and political passages. There were not enough media that gave due emphasis to the issue of Oromo both in print and broadcast.

It has happened due to the fact that there was a dichotomy between the Oromo and the Ethiopia itself. According to literatures, most of the writers have the view that the Oromo were excluded from the Ethiopian history for more than one and half century. Accordingly these writers stated that the Oromo were not considered as part of Ethiopia by then. Thus, they had been marginalized. In fact, this was resulted from denying the Oromo's from accessing the social, political and economic benefit of the country.

Beyond it is justified to the extent that the Oromo resources and treasures, political and cultural institution which safeguard their daily life were exploited and de humanized in the course of assimilating the Oromo.

On the other hand, there are few writers especially those who have the political motives of unifying Ethiopia have claimed that the Oromo were part of Ethiopia and currently they are the main beneficiary of the Ethiopia democratic and socio economic development. When there is dominant ideology, culture and language there would be most probably minority groups too but the way they respond to and interact with each other might have differences.

2.4 The Historical of Oromo Broadcasting Media

To be clear here the researcher's understanding of 'Oromo media' implies the time when 'Afan Oromo' is used in the media to talk over the Oromo's issue. It is understood in Ethiopian broadcasting history that radio was begun in 1930's and Television broadcasting was begun in 1964.

Television broadcasting was launched in Ethiopia in 1964. The Ethiopian Television expanded its coverage from one percent when established to 47 percent in 1998 and increased its staff from 31 in 1964 to 643 in 2005." Mekuria (2005) cited in Blen (2006, p 9). Ethiopian television (ETV) used to broadcast in Amharic and English until it also started broadcasting in Oromiffa and Tigrigna in 1991. ETV which is the only television the country has is a state owned station Blen (2006, p 9). Even though it is a recent history, Oromia broadcasting corporate (OBS), a private television was launched in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 2014. Specifically, it gives due emphasis towards culture, history, folklore and entertainment. It is the first private television broadcasting with Oromo language in Ethiopia so far (Oromia broadcasting service.org.com).

Additionally, Oromia Media Network television (OMN) has launched in the same year and broadcasting from United States of America. Priory, it broadcasts Oromo socio- political and economic and culture of Oromo predominantly by Afan Oromo language (OMN editorial policy, 2014). The Ethiopian media especially the broadcast history had long been controlled by the government contradict to the prior history the country has regarding cleric writing Blen (2006). She also asserted that, the Private press was nonexistent in Ethiopia before 1991.

It was only when the present government, Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) promised the press freedom. But still we are unlucky to have vibrant free press (Ibid).

Likewise, Shimelis (2000) stated that "Ethiopia is yet far from having a well-established vibrant free press." From the above paragraphs, the Oromo media broadcasting history is not seen independently out of the Ethiopian broadcasting history. From the other side, there are perspectives that the broadcasting history of the Oromo traced back to the time of Italian occupation of Ethiopia. According to the following source, the Oromo broadcast history especially of radio was traced back to the time of Italian occupation of Ethiopia.

During the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, the Oromo language was used in courts and on radio for the first time. Even some literature appeared in the Oromo language. Haile Sellasie, upon his restoration by the British and against the wishes of the Oromo people, reversed all these positive developments (Gadaa.com). Therefore according to this idea, the broadcast history (i.e. radio) of the Oromo goes back to the time of 1936-41 E.C. Even though it was not continued to broadcast with Afan Oromo, it was the milestone in the broadcast history of the Oromo media (in radio) with Oromo language.

The Italian fascists abolished slavery and the *nafxanya-gabbar* system, restoring some rights to their lands and introducing the wage system and an Oromo-language radio station, but all these were eliminated when Ethiopian colonialism was restored Asafa (2001, p 71). The second point is that in 1956, a radio program, called the Voice of Harar [Oromo], broadcasted in the Oromo language from Egypt. The Oromo and few Adares behind this project (organized as Harar [Oromo] came to Egypt after the crackdown on Somalia Youth League (SYL) in 1948 in Hararge. Following that in 1960, Somali radio started a program in the Oromo language.

At the time, there was no Oromo language program on Ethiopian radio. It was a new development and was very effective in educating the Oromo people about their own position and situation in the Empire. After the down fall of Dergue regime in 1991, for the first time Ethiopian Television began to broadcast in Afan Oromo.

2.5 History of Oromo Print Media

It was during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia that the Oromo people began to use their language (Afan Oromo) for mass media. During this time, the press in the country was demolished and was serving as a mouth piece of the fascist. Some nations like Oromos were given the opportunity to use their language as a medium of communication for official purpose and even were represented in the mass media of the country.

However after the liberation of Ethiopia from Italian occupation Emperor Haile Silassie proclaimed that the use of any other language for any communication purposes other than Amharic language was forbidden. Afan Oromo was one among others (Shimalis 2000; Asafa 2001; Chalchisa 2012; & Gada.com).

Moreover Tesfaye (200) cited in Chalchisa (2012) the writing of history of Oromo since the second half of 20th century was flourishing in volumes. However the history of Oromo language mass media has not been given such opportunities. Further Chalchisa (2012) justified that the beginning of using the language for education and mass media was very recent and it mismatches with the large number of Oromo people in Ethiopia. In addition to the recent history of Oromo language in education and mass media, there is also another mismatches between the Oromo demands and what is actually on the ground Gelana (2015).

Coming to the print media history of Oromo it goes to back to 1967 that was related to the Mecha and Tulama Welfare Association (MTWA), those members who escaped arrest continued the struggle both outside and inside the country where they operated in secret. Students, particularly those in the university, continued agitating through various means, including underground papers, such as "The [Oromo] Voice against Tyranny" and "Kana Beektaa?" (Gadaa.com). specifically, the newspapers in 1973, a committee was created to coordinate the work of the underground study. After the banning of the MTWA.

Two years later, in 1975, a group of Oromo nationalists started a weekly newspaper called 'Barrisaa' in Oromiffa under the guidance of the "Cultural Committee" formed in 1975. Since the government refused to grant permission, the Sabeen script was used instead of the Roman script. "Bariisaa" gained popularity among workers, students, even peasants within a few

months and became the largest newspaper in the Empire with over 20,000 copies per issue (Gadaa.com).

Following this, in 1977, The Oromo Cultural Committee organized an Oromo Cultural Show in Addis Ababa in which cultural troupes came from various parts Oromia participated. The Show was organized on the pretext of raising funds *Barrisaa*. The source further explained that Urjii was incorrectly referred to as the “first” privately-owned Oromo newspaper. It has been brought to our attention that *Bariisaa*, which was established in 1976, was the “first” privately-owned Oromo newspaper; *Bariisaa* was later confiscated by the Dergue regime to become the mouthpiece of the government. Calchisa (2012, p 31) assessed that “*Barissa* was the only Afaan Oromo newspaper established during Derg era and concludes as the Oromos, the majority ethnic group in the country were not represented in the country’s mass media.

Urji and Seife Nebelbal were the only two Oromo independent newspapers that existed in the country. Both were banned but the study has no detail of when did the newspapers begun and for how long it existed. According to a press release from the Urjii Publication Team, ‘*urjii*’ was an independently-owned Oromo (biweekly) contrary it is also mentioned as it was “a pro-Oromo (weekly) publication (The Advocates for Human Rights (2009). It was newspaper operating out of Addis Ababa and Spian authorities (EPRDF) and its editors and staff were subjected to imprisonments, harassment and forced exile. Human Rights in Ethiopia: (2009, p 50) cited in Gadaa.com).

Unlike to the newspaper notion, many books have been published, plays have been written and staged and so many books have been printed and distributed in Afaan Oromoo language inside the country. Oromo literature is fast growing not only as a medium of communication but also as a means to establish Oromo identity firmly. In addition to Barisa newspaper Kalaacha Oromia and Oromia Newspapers which are owned by the government were established after 1992 Mekuria (19969 cited in Chalchisa (2012, p 35).

However, Chalchisa (2012) argues that they are not popular and not long lived. Some private newspapers like Finfine post bilingual (Afan Oromo and English) Newspaper and *Urjii* Newspaper and also magazines like *Gadaa*, *Yoom*, *Harsadee*, and etc. were established following the 1992 press proclamation of the country. Further, he stated that there is no clear

reason for their total disappearance that leaves the Oromo with none private newspaper in Afan Oromo in the market. To conclude the scenario of none existence private newspaper for the Oromo people has adverse effects. Further it failed to meet the country's and region's claim of press freedom.

Given the presence of none private newspaper in Afan Oromo, the researcher purposely limited the subject under study to broadcasting media (i.e. television) representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development but this is not the only reason for the decision.

2.4 Brief profile of the Media under study: Oromia Television and Oromia

Media Network

Basically two televisions have purposely selected for this specific study. The study has dealt with media representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development. The Oromo's have been and is cited as the greatest nation in horn of Africa and in Ethiopia as well; the Oromo have their own state owned broadcasting media which is called Oromia Radio and Television Organization (ORTVO). On the other hand, there are another public owned television called Oromia Media Network (OMN) based in USA, Minnesota Minneapolis.

2.4.1 Brief Profile of Oromia Radio and Television Organization

Oromia Radio and Television Organization was founded on July12, 2006 by Proclamation number 113/2006 of the regional government, as Oromia mass media organization. During that time, the organization was named as Oromia mass media organization, there were no media channels and it was broadcasted both Radio and TV program by renting air time from Ethiopian Radio and TV Organization (Editorial policy of ORTVO, 2009).

After two years, the construction of its own Radio and TV studio, the organization was based at Adama town and began broadcasting Radio, FM, and Television programs for regional, national and international audiences by using modern technologies. This media become competent in the country and understood as the leading media in the region. Then, the regional government named

as Oromia Radio and TV Organization by the Proclamation No. 164/2011 (ORTVO: Audience Research 2013, p 4).

As stated in the proclamation, the overall purpose of its establishment was to be a preliminary media in the region and competent media who competes other media in the country. As mission Oromia Television gave due emphasis to provide current, real and reasonable information by using electronic media and providing entertainment program that recreate and educate the public as well as enable them to building democracy and good image of the region and development of the country (Ibid, p 4).

Accordingly its vision is, by the Year 2012 this media will be the choice of selected information in Oromia region, competent in the country, and on the developing emerging media in East Africa which will convey performance of socioeconomic development in the region (Editorial policy of ORTVO, 2009).

The largest of the regional TV stations is Oromia Television, which is based in Adama. Now, it claims to cover a population of 15 million people in Oromia region and beyond through a network of 16 transmitters Infoasaid (2011); Editorial policy of ORTVO (2009); and ORTVO (2013). DhRTVO (2016) assessed the unreplaceable role of Oromia Radio and Television in the promotion of democratization and development of our country. Consequently, it stressed that Oromia Television is the second largest media next to Ethiopian broadcasting corporations (EBC) in Ethiopia.

2.4.2 Brief account of Oromia Media Network

In its annual report of Human Rights Watch (2015) explained that Oromia Media Network substantive Oromo subscribe themselves to this media. OMN website (info@oromiamedia.org) provides it is an independent, nonpartisan and nonprofit news enterprise whose mission is to produce original and citizen-driven reporting on Oromia, the largest and most populous state in Ethiopia. It seeks to offer thought-provoking, contextual, and nuanced coverage of critical public interest issues thereby bringing much needed attention to under-reported stories in the region. Our goal is to create a strong and sustainable multilingual newsroom that will serve as a reliable source of information about the Oromo people, the Ethiopian state, and the greater Horn of Africa region.

We hold ourselves to the highest journalistic standards but unabashedly and proudly offer a uniquely Oromo perspective. We also aim to connect the growing Oromo diaspora to its homeland using innovative digital tools and people-centered storytelling techniques. Our high quality, high-impact multimedia content will be available in easily accessible formats including on the web, mobile devices, social media, satellite television and radio.

As the rationale OMN stated that the Ethiopian government or individuals close to the ruling party own and control nearly all newspapers, radios and TV stations in the country. The government continues to suppress freedom of expression and speech. It has shut down all independent newspapers in Oromo language and those tending to address unique concerns of the Oromo people. Neither are there independently run radio or television stations broadcasting in Oromo language.

Ultimately, the Oromo and other people in Ethiopia face two stark choices: state-controlled media that produces propaganda as the ruling party's mouthpiece or the anti-government opposition media disseminating partisan polemics.

Thus, OMN promised to close this gap through presenting factual, evenhanded and quality reporting by promoting civic discourse and fostering community engagement around social justice issues, press freedom, human rights, democracy, community health, and family and children welfare.

As a core values of the television, OMN's public service commitment is basically founded on the core values of seeking the truth. It aspires to seek the truth through editorial independence, respect for human dignity, and transparency. However, as an organization looking to bridge an ever-widening gap of independent journalism in Ethiopia, OMN will strive to present worthy stories in a clear, factual and accurate manner. Thus, it proves its genuine intention to public service by presenting diversified perspectives.

To sum up after listing out the media deficiency in the Oromia and Ethiopia, OMN puts various promises to fill the gaps with professional journalism in a responsible manner. More it stressed the view of diverse perspectives.

2.5 The Concept of Development

No single definition incorporates all of the different strands of economic development. Typically economic development can be described in terms of objectives. These are most commonly described as the creation of jobs and wealth, and the improvement of quality of life. Economic development can also be described as a process that influences growth and restructuring of an economy to enhance the economic well-being of a community (The International Economic Development Council's, IEDC, p 1).

The term development is vaguely defined from divergent views that its constituents are also vary. The term 'economic development' is generally used in many other synonymous terms such as economic growth, economic welfare, secular change, social justice and economic progress. As such, it is not easy to give precise and clear definition of economic development. But in view of scientific study and its popularity, a working definition of the term seems quite essential.

Development to refer to national economic growth emerged in the United States beginning in the 1940s and in association with a key American foreign policy concern: How to shape the future of the newly independent states in ways that would ensure that they would not be drawn into the communist Soviet bloc. Motivated by this concern, the United States enlisted its social scientists to study and devise ways of promoting capitalist economic development and political stability in what was termed the developing world. Development theory refers to the research and writing that resulted from this effort (<http://www.britannica.com/topic/development-theory>).

Broadly economic development has been defined in different ways and as such it is difficult to find a single definition which may be regarded entirely fitting. Development is a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. Focusing on human freedoms contrasts with narrower views of development, such as identifying development with the growth of gross national product, or with the rise in personal incomes, or with industrialization, or with technological advance, or with social modernization Sen (2000, p 3). Further, he underlined that development requires the removal of major sources of un-freedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over activity of repressive states.

Economic development, as it is now generally includes the development of agriculture, industry, trade, transport, means of irrigation and power resources. Thus it indicates a process of development. The sectoral improvement is the part of the process of development which refers to the economic development. According to Sen (2000) development is all about human development and as a process of expanding real freedoms for human being.

Contrary to the GDP and GNP economic understanding that almost view economic development from the material perspectives, Bhutan's own development approach, guided by its philosophy of Gross National Happiness (GNH), since the early 1970s, looks at the prevailing problems as symptoms of a single malaise. It considers all these problems as being rooted in our refusal to accept the obsolescence of the GDP-based model, which served well its purpose at the time it was needed Bhutan (March 2013)

Economic development is concerned with quality improvements, the introduction of new goods and services, risk mitigation and the dynamics of innovation and entrepreneurship. Economic development is about positioning the economy on a higher growth trajectory. Of the two, economic development is less uniquely a function of market forces; it is the product of long-term investments in the generation of new ideas, knowledge transfer, and infrastructure, and it depends on functioning social and economic institutions and on cooperation between the public sector and private enterprise Feldman et.al. (2014).

As it can be observed from the above ideas economic development is determined by the economic policy and strategy of a given country. So does its understanding and constituents. Thus, the political situation of that country is also considered. One determines the activity other and vice versa.

Irrespective of different ideology and view, there is a consensus that the main goal of economic development is improving the economic well-being of a community through efforts that entail job creation, job retention, tax base enhancements and quality of life. Thus, their main implication of development is goal of development towards genuine human happiness and the wellbeing of all life. Thus, in this study, economic development is understood in the view of Oromo people life situation, their life improvement, their involvement and benefits from the country's development per both media outlets.

2.6 Political Theory

In so far as political theory is concerned with the legitimacy of political power, it has, according to prevailing opinion, a mere ideological function; it is conceived as a rationalization of existing power relationships Neumann (1953, p 901). Moreover he pointed out that political theory is used by government to legitimize the interplay among the power relations and practices with in the stakeholders: an individual, groups and states in one way or another.

A theory's validity is thus determined by a pragmatic-utilitarian appraisal in terms of the assistance it gives in defending or conquering an existing power position, with its propagandistic-manipulative success the criterion of its truth. Here is, of course, no doubt for any realistically minded person that politics is a struggle for power-a struggle between persons, groups, and states.

There are conflicting definitions of politics. Politics is indeed a struggle for power-but in these struggle persons, groups, and states may represent more than their egoistic interests. Some may really defend national interests or those of humanity, while their opponents may merely rationalize their egoistic-particular demands. The thought structure of the former would be termed an idea; the latter, an ideology-an Arcanum domination is designed to hide and rationalize concerns which are actually egoistic Neumann (1953, p 902).

Machiavellianism: differently stated that nothing really changes in politics, that the "outs" always fight the "ins" for profit, prestige and security. The wise observer will add that you cannot expect anything else, human nature being as it is-basically selfish and evil. In a period of conflicts, of uncertainty, hatred, and resentment, this view-like pessimistic theory in general-seems especially attractive.

To conclude, political theory has been used to justify power relation and its practices in a given country. Further it has the notion that politicians used to hide their egoistic nature. Thus, political ideology is emerged from human ideology.

2.7 Political Freedom

To begin with, international communities came together and signed International convention on civil and political rights in 1966 (ICCPR, DEC, 19, 1966). It is a treaty that provides for what constitutes civil and political rights. Now a days states that are not party to the treaty are equally bound by the treaty enforce since it has already attained status of customary international law, status where states are bound by obligation under treaty without the need to secure their consent.

Political freedom is the sum total of civil liberty and public rights (Freedom House 2014). Specifically political freedom is a sub type of freedom that defined with the relationship between state power and man's freedom (individually and/ in group). What differs is the way and form their relationships are defined.

(ICCPR, DEC, 19, 1966) Article 1 sub 1 & 2 states that, all peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence. It implies that political freedom is inclusive where by a given country determines its socio-economic, cultural and the relation with another nation.

Broadly conceived (including what are called civil rights), refer to the opportunities that people have to determine who should govern and on what principles, and also include the possibility to scrutinize and criticize authorities, to have freedom of political expression and an uncensored press, to enjoy the freedom to choose between different political parties, and so on. They include the political entitlements associated with democracies in the broadest sense (encompassing opportunities of political dialogue, dissent and critique as well as voting rights and participatory selection of legislators and executives) Sen (2000, p 38). By implication it is holistic definition of political freedoms that includes civil rights, self-determination, who should govern them, in what principle, political expression, press freedom with uncensored sense, right to vote the political party they want, the right to participation and beyond.

The co-relations of politics and development clearly shown as freedom is understood both as the primary end and as the principal means of development Sen (2000). One interdependent on the other and vice versa. The existence of affects the practices of other.

Freedom is defined as first and foremost the absence of restraints. There is little doubt that this view underlies the liberal theory of freedom, that it is the key concept of what one understands by constitutionalism, one understands by juridical liberty.

Neumann (1953) has the notion of understanding freedom from the perspective of liberalism school of thought that recognizes freedom as the absence of restraints mostly from state. Thus, it believed that an individual can live independent of the state political system.

Individual freedom is essentially a social product, and there is a two-way relation between social arrangements to expand individual freedoms and the use of individual freedoms not only to improve the respective lives but also to make the social arrangements more appropriate and effective. Sen (2000, p 31).

He assumes that individual freedom as a social product and in turn the social arrangements as to expand individual freedoms. Beyond, he argues that individual freedoms are not limited the self-centric view rather it explained that it further make the social arrangements more appropriate and effective. On the other hand Riegel (2003, p 6) asserted that, “For freedom is constituted in unrestricted power to exchange, which in turn means prosperity and peace.” It stresses the concept of freedom from the point of view that an individual’s ability to exchange.

Thus, freedom is understood in sense that to what extent an individual can undertake exchange freely. In fact, Sen (2000) also supports the view of freedom that explained from the point of maximizing productivity and ability of exchange but his concept of freedom is more inclusive beyond than this understanding. Others defined freedom as the alienation of individual from state control or power.

The positing of man against political power implies, in varying degrees, an acceptance of man's political alienation. Political power, embodied in the state, will always be alien to man; he cannot and should not fully identify himself with it. The state must not completely swallow up the individual; the individual cannot be understood merely as a political animal. Neumann (1953).

This idea holds the view that an individual should be free from coercive state power because man is not a mere political animal. It generalizes that in practice it is state failed to let individuals alienate their form state power.

Revising different concepts of individual right of being free from the state power. He doubt the practice of absolute freedom of an individual from the state power or political system as the liberal's state. The law cannot rule. Only men can exercise power over other men. As far as an individual lives in a given country, somebody can't live free of that state power, but the degree of interference vary from one to another. There is a notion that there is no freedom without political activity.

2.7.1 A State of Press Freedom

Here it is good to discuss ideas like what we mean by press freedom, what are limitations, the bottom lines for press freedom and the violations of press freedom. By press freedom it means, the extent of freedom exercised by press of any kind. In broadcasting their intended programs are to make them reach the respective audience they are planned to address. Nevertheless the current FDRE constitution has guaranteed the press freedom in more explicit and credible way, Ethiopia had accepted this principle since 1966, when she signed ICCPR, during the era of Emperor Hailes Silase. It is undeniable argument that there is limitation or restriction, attached to every freedom, press freedom subjected to some restriction stipulated in both laws existing at regional level and International level.

For instance article 29 [6] of FDRE Constitution provides that, These rights can be limited through laws which are guided by the principle that freedom of expression cannot be limited on the account of its content or the effect of viewpoint it expressed. Legal limitation can be laid down in order to protect the well-being of youth, the honor and reputation of individuals. Any propaganda for war as well as public expression of opinion intended to injure human dignity shall be prohibited by law [art, 29[6] of FDRE constitution.

Hence from this legal stipulation it is inferable that, the limitation on the exercise of press freedom can be laid by laws, but still under the cover of that law it is illegal to limit press freedom as you wish and will, but the law enacted to limit the press freedom shall still stick to

those grounds provided in the constitution to limit the press freedom. Any law that come in to force in excess of the constitutionally provided ground to limit the press freedom shall be void and null for the FDRE constitution is superior law of the land (Art 9[1] cumm with art 29[6]).

Historically, press freedom is known as such because it was printers and newspapers that fought for this right, which refers nowadays to media in general. Media freedom is a right that goes beyond an individual's freedom of expression, although it is built upon that right James (ed.) (2007, p 14). In many places, it is privately owned newspapers that continue this quest or help preserve victories against powerful forces reluctant to allow certain information to become public

James (ed.) (2007) argues that "A degree of press freedom can exist without other aspects of democracy, as in Apartheid South Africa, but a democracy cannot thrive without press freedom. At its core, press freedom is about the limits of state power as regards the media both old and new as a social institution, and especially about the possibilities of critical journalistic information that bears directly on the exercise of public power."

This idea demonstrates the importance of press freedom for the democratization of a given country. It has the notion that at the absence of other democratic elements, a given country can have press freedom but the vice versa is not true. Any, how it has the thesis that press freedom is the pre requisite for a given country to be fully democratic.

With due respect to the counter arguments, the press freedom and other aspects of democracy are the slim side of the same coin where one cannot exist without the other, In the absence of free press there is no freedom of expression (one of corner stone for manifestation of democracy) where different political ideologies cannot come in to light and get involved in the minds of public at large.

Correspondingly Kellner also emphasized that a free press was vitally necessary to maintain a democratic society and it is often claimed by champions of democracy that freedom of the press is one of the features that defines the superiority of democratic societies over competing social systems. This concept of a free press was also extended to the broadcast media that were assigned a series of democratic responsibilities (<http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/>).

Generally it can be reached at the consensus that political freedom and press freedom are inseparable concepts and practices. They are complementary ideas that the existence of one flourishes the other.

Differently Riegel (2003, p 14) pointed out that “State bring no freedom. They merely undertake to curb the state and leave unimpeded our pursuit of freedom. There are no political methods for gaining freedom. To gain freedom, we must invent methods of maximizing our productivity and minimizing our labor expenditure therefore.” This idea described as ‘freedom’ is not given from the state rather it would be realized through maximizing our productivity and exchange ability.

From reviewed literatures, Neumann (1953); Wolfenbarger; Sen (2000); Freedom House reports on press freedom, political freedom and Riegel (2003) in one way or another the practices of a given political freedom is directly related with a press freedom and freedom of speech. Mostly, the literatures demonstrate that the extent of press freedom and freedom of speech are related with the practice of political freedom of a given country but in some countries this context may vary. The question which comes first is still debatable.

2.8 Theoretical Framework of the Study

The study used representation theory and political economy theory as the theoretical framework. Historically, various media have been undertaking reality representation of some issue or group. Thereby it reflects and vividly shows the reality from different angles. In this process reality may be distorted, biased, and or wrongly represented. In one way or another the political economy and socio cultural of a given country are also involved in the process and product of media representation. Thus, a given media work under the existing political economy of a country. Thus, the state powers and other interest groups are connected to and affects the practices media and its reality representation. Merely labeling theory is also used. It is meant to indicate various media labeling in the course of reality representation of political freedom and economic development of the Oromo.

2.8.1 Media Representation Theory

Representation refers to the construction in any medium (especially the mass media) of aspects of 'reality' such as people, places, objects, events, cultural identities and other abstract concepts. Such representation may be in speech or writing as well as still or moving pictures. The term refers to the process involved and the products. For instance, in relation to the key markers of identity- class, age, gender and ethnicity (the 'cage' of identity) - representation involves not only how identities are represented (or rather constructed) within the text but also how they are constructed in the processes of production and reception by people whose identities are also differentially marked in relation to such demographic factors (Tomas).

Berhanu (2013) argued the notion that representation is the reflection of reality/ actual reporting of the reality instead it is deeply constructed meaning with the dominant forces to further establish their interests and hegemony.

Representation in contrast to reflection, is possible through selecting and reporting so that things mean what is intended as contrast to reflection which is direct transmission of meaning of actual world or events already there. Representations in the media have a very strong influence on how societies formulate their knowledge, attitudes, stands and practices.

Many have argued that the produced images and constructed messages of the mass media productively allow society's dominant forces to further establish attitudes and behavior. As Wood explains, "woven throughout our daily lives, media insinuate their messages into our consciousness at every turn Berhanu (2013, p 45).

Croteau and Hoynes, 2003 cited in Berhanu (2013, p 45) also states that "media may not plainly put or simply multiply realities or happenings as they are in the real world. Instead, they deal with giving the reality different meanings or images desirable to them. The process of doing this is known as representation." According to these writers, through the processes of representation, media reflects or re show the reality from the angle that fit to that media interest. Further Berhanu 2013 argues that Representation is not actual or neutral reporting of certain events rather it is made in a way that can achieve the intended goal of that media institution.

Representation Theory is the easiest way to understand the concept of representation is to remember that watching a TV programmer is not the same as watching something happen in real life. All media products re-present the real world to us; they show us one version of reality, not reality itself. So, the theory of representation in Media Studies means thinking about how a particular person or groups of people are being presented to the audience (http://upload.reactcdn.co.uk/falmouth/uploads/asset_file/3__representation-revision-file.pdf).

Tehrani (1999) cited in Berhanu (2013 p 43) that “We define our images of the world, and our images of the world define us.” When the power of defining our images of the world lies in the hands of others, our self-image will consequently be defined by those others.

Representation is how you make sense of the word of people, objects and events, and how you are able to complex thought about those things to other people, or communicate about them through language in a ways which other people are able to understand Hall (1997, p 16).

Further he stated that representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent the world meaning fully, to other people. Further he asserts as representation is the essential way that meaning is constructed, produced and communicated showing the wide things, concepts and events it stands for and /represents.

Further (Hall 2003) cited in Gizachew (2013, p 4) asserted that representation is a complex business, and especially when dealing with differences, it engages feelings, attitudes and emotions and it mobilizes fears and anxieties in the viewer, at deeper levels than we can explain in a simple, common-sense. Gizachew (2013) added that the fact that representation stands not only for how facts are re-presented, but also for how they are constructed in a given socio-political and cultural context. Therefore representation includes both the construction of meaning and their representation in various socio-political and cultural setting.

Representation of certain characters can work towards explaining the political social landscape at a time, concerning ideas of or from political movements , for example the feminist movements against patriarchic oppression of women, or the black rights movements towards giving black people the same rights as white people (Ryan & Kellner 1990) cited in Chen (2012, p 7).

A key in the study of representation concern is with the way in which representations are made to seem 'natural'. Systems of representation are the means by which the concerns of ideologies are framed; such systems 'position' their subjects. Semiotics and content analysis (quantitative) are the main methods of formal analysis of representation. (Tomas).

Reality is always represented - what we treat as 'direct' experience is 'mediated' by perceptual codes. Representation always involves 'the construction of reality'. All texts, however 'realistic' they may seem to be, are constructed representations rather than simply transparent 'reflections', recordings, transcriptions or reproductions of a pre-existing reality.

2.8.1.1 Approaches of Representation Theory

Broadly there are three approaches that explain how representation of meaning through language works. They are reflective, intentional and constructionist or constructivist approaches Hall (1997, p 15-24).

Reflective approach: in the reflective approach, meaning is thought to lie in the object, person, idea, or event in the real world, and language functions like a mirror, to *reflect* the true meaning as it already exists in the world Hall (1997, p 24). So, the theory which says that language works by simply reflecting or imitating the truth that is already there and fixed in the world, is sometimes called 'mimetic'. Of course there is a certain obvious truth to mimetic theories of representation and language. As we've pointed out, visual signs do bear some relationship to the shape and texture of the objects which they represent. Within the conventions of the different language codes we are using, we are both right and for us to understand each other.

The second is intentional approach that meaning in the representation argues the opposite case. It holds that it is the speaker, the author, who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language. Words mean that the author intends they should mean. Again, there is some point to this argument since we all, as individuals, do use language to convey or communicate things which are special or unique to us, to our way of seeing the world.

However, as general theory of representation through language, the intentional approach is also criticized a flawed and meaning vary from one person to another.

We can't be the sole or unique source of meanings in language, since that would mean that we could express ourselves in entirely private languages. But the essence of language is communication and that in turn, depends on shared linguistic conventions and shared codes. Language can never be wholly a private game. Our private intended meanings, however personal to us, have to enter in to the rules, codes and conventions of language to be shared and understood. It is a social system through Hall (1997, p 25).

The third approach is Construction/ constructionist- which is a meaning constructed in and thought language that recognizes this public, social character of language. It acknowledges that neither things in themselves nor the individual user's language can fix meaning in language. Things don't mean: we construct meaning, using representational systems- concepts and signs. Hence, it is called the constructivist or constructionist approach to meaning in language.

According to this approach, we must not confuse the *material* world, where things and people exist, and the *symbolic* practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate.

Constructionist don't deny the existence of the material world. However, it is not the material world which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts. It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others. Of course, signs may also have a material dimension Hall (1997).

Representation is a practice, a kind of 'work', which uses material objects and effects, but the meaning depends, not on the material quality of the sign, but on its symbolic function. It is because a particular sound or word stand for, symbolizes or represents a concept that it can function, in language, as a sign and convey meaning- or, as the constructionists say, signify (sign-i-fy) Hall (1997, p 25-26).

Specifically, Hall (1997) cited in Chen (2006, p 29) that Constructivism emphasizes the signifying process of signs, i.e., the coding system that depends on "two different but related systems of representation" They are: a system of mental representation, which forms concepts in human minds; and a language that consists of signs organized into various relationships.

More importantly these codes do not exist in nature, but are socially created and conventionalized through human communication. Hall (1997) points out that the codes, thus, “become a crucial part of our culture – our shared ‘maps of meaning’ – which we learn and unconsciously internalized as we become members of our culture”

The reflective approach has also its own deficit that media images do not simply reflect the world, they re-present it; instead of reproducing the reality of the world “out there” the media engage in practices that define reality Gizachew (2013, p 30).

It can be understood that representation is a very different notion from that of reflection. It implies the active work of selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping; not merely the transmitting of an already existing meaning, but the more active labour of making things mean.

It is also pointed out by Croteau and Hoynes (2003) cited in Gizachew (2013) that we generally agree with the social constructionist perspective which suggests that no representation of reality be totally “true” or “real” since it must inevitably frame an issue and choose to include and exclude certain components of a multi-faceted reality. Thus, constructionist approach view reality that there is no objective reality, rather it is constructed involving various actors. Further John H. (1993) justified that, beyond that plainly media text there is ideological influence in the course of representation.

2.8.2 Political Economy as a Frame of the Study

Beside to media representation theory, political economy of the mass media is also used as the theoretical framework of the study. In fact, political economy is a multi-disciplinary theory that it is used in various disciplines like politics, economics, communication, information technology, and mass media with various goals and implications.

Historically media research (and particularly political economy) has been interested in exploring the structures and relationships of dominant media institutions Goodwilliam (2012–13, p 2). Due to the reason that political economy of the mass media is controversial in its very nature, specifically, among the four approaches stated by Mosco (1996) cited in Goodwilliam (2012–13, p 6) “The political economy of culture, media and communications analyses; the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually

constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources” is emphasized in the content of this study.

Political economy analyses of the media are holistic (Golding and Murdock 2005 cited in Goodwilliam (2012–13, p 7). They see the economy as interconnected with society, culture and politics, not as a separate domain.

It indicates that different social institutions including media works under existing political economy. Thus, media may not stand alone, rather it functions under dominant political economy which refers to power relations and money. Media independence, which is the core principle of journalism is ideal that cannot practically seen separate from the existing political economy. In one way or another the existing political economy affects the practices and overall of a media house.

The constructed media messages not merely reproduce reality but rather form “hegemonic definitions of what should be accepted as reality” This shows the fact that the media has the power to influence viewpoints and behavior at all levels of society Carter (2004) cited in Berhanu (2013, p 46). Additionally it argues that in the process of making this ‘hegemonic definitions’ the use of terminologies and language in the media is in accordance with dominant political discourse in society and how this subsequently shapes media portrayals and definitions is important aspect of debate in media discourse (Ibid, p 109).

Similarly Herman & Chomsky (2002) pointed out that “A propaganda model focuses on this inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalized is sent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public.” Herman & Chomsky (2002, p 2)

Political economy of a given country affects the practices of media and its representation either positively or negatively. Even according to some scholars in the area, the judgment of newsworthy are separately not the duty of the media professional but also of the power holders and other interest groups are included. What is important, newsworthy, or otherwise interesting is a judgment derived from current models of news events, as well as from shared social

cognitions about social and political structure and social groups. Source reliability is not judged primarily by the quality or the reliability of source messages, but by group or institutional membership John H. (1993, p 247).

Moreover, John H. (1993) asserted that

The power of the media is not defined only by their broad ideological influence on their audiences. We assumed above that as institutions, broadcast organizations, television networks, and newspapers, they also participate in complex networks of elite organizations or other powerful social actors. Due to the specific and nearly exclusive role of the mass media in communication and the production of public discourse, other elites need the media to inform both the-public at large and each other, to exercise their power, to seek legitimation, and to manufacture consensus and consent John H. (1993, p 243).

Herman Gray (1995) argues that representation of something on network television in an analysis that takes into account the structures and conventions of the medium as well as the sociopolitical conditions of textual production (<http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/>).

As Altschull, 1984; Bagdikian, 1983; Golding, Murdock, & Schlesinger, 1986; Lichter et al., 1990; Schiller, 1971, 1973, 1989 cited in John H. (1993, p 243) “Modern political and corporate power is unthinkable without having recourse to such mass-mediated processes of their own reproduction. This means that despite their dependence on other, for example, political, corporate, academia, and social elites, mass media institutions have at least some means to control these other elites, which is also an important element of the power dimension that goes beyond that of simple mediation.” As a result of these factors John H. (1993) concludes that the media play a central role in the reproduction of racism, both because of their relation to other elite institutions and because of their structural influence in shaping and changing the social mind.

In general Herman & Chomsky (2002, p 2) stated that a propaganda model focuses on this inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalized is sent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their

messages across to the public. The essential ingredients of our propaganda model, or set of news "filters, "fall under the following headings:

- (1) The size, concentrated ownership owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms;
- (2) Advertising as the primary income source of the mass media;
- (3) The reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and "experts" funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power;
- (4) "Flak" as a means of disciplining the media; and
- (5) "Anticommunism" as a national religion and control mechanism.

These elements interact with and reinforce one another. The raw material of news must pass through successive filters, leaving only the cleansed residue fit to print. They fix the premises of discourse and interpretation, and the definition of what is newsworthy in the first place, and they explain the basis and operations of what amount to propaganda campaigns Herman & Chomsky (2002, p 2).

In fact, Goodwilliam (2012–13 p 6) indicated that Theorists from both cultural studies and political economy adopt multi perspectival theoretical frameworks that explore how ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, nationality and additional influences may affect the way in which we interpret and understand media. According to Zanetta (2013) cited in Goodwilliam (2012–13) the differences between the two disciplines are predominantly the uses of macro or microanalysis. Political economy perspectives frequently employ macro-level analysis, examining structural and institutional issues regarding exploitation, power and class.

To generalize, “analysis must extend also to the ideological work of the media, in their dissemination of ideas about economic and political structures. A political economy of the media cannot focus only on the production and distribution of commodities but must also take full account of the peculiar nature of these commodities and the ideological work that they do.” (<http://users.ipfw.edu/tankel/Syllabi/Spring%202010/com%20330/bbarrettPoliticaleconomy.pdf>.

This quote implies that in political economy of the media it is not mere analysis of its production and distribution of commodities but it considers both the nature of the commodities and ideological work behind it. Thus, ideology underpins every activity in the media house that it has to be taken into account.

Moreover political economy of the mass media is used in this study from the point of view that how media ownership, source of fund, and source of information are either positively or negatively affect the reality construction and representation in the two selected televisions. Therefore, representation theory understands from the constructionist approach that believes reality is socially constructed and represented.

On the other hand, political economy theory has informed the study in line with the issues of ownership, source information, dominant mass media firms and government controls under incase of both televisions. The political economy under which both media works has in turn affects and shapes the reality representation regarding the issue under study. As a result, the way one media institution produce, construct and represent the reality would have a direct connection with existing political economy; even the economically and politically powerful group might use to control and manipulate there by the interest of those with power and money are reflected and represented in media outlet.

Indeed, the power relations with the media is also directed with the existing political economy of a given country. Representation in media is understood as media can't show the actual reality of events, issues, concepts, rather it re-preset them in a way that mimics the actual one so that audiences could have information about what they have no knowledge. Actually, journalism is not telling the story instead it is how to develop a story about something and telling it from selected angle.

2.8.3 Labeling theory

Labeling theory states that there are a multitude of factors that affect who gets labeled and treated as deviant. There appears to be a great deal of support for this contention. It ranges from characteristics of the actor to characteristics of the audience J Hamlin (2001, p 5). It further states that there social control groups in charge of labeling somebody or some group as deviant.

Labeling can be understood from various angles. In sociology it is understood from the criminology where by reaction between the actors and the social control groups constitute labeling. As per the sociologists argue that it is after certain individuals or groups are labelled that they accept and begun to act accordingly.

Frank Tannenbaum (1938) cited in J Hamlin (2001, p 1) asserted that “Juveniles held one conception of their behavior and the community held another. The community brought social control measures to bear on the youngsters as the idea of wrong shifted from the act to the actor. The young person may come to see him/herself as delinquent. The young person begins to act even more delinquent and the community reacts reinforcing that identity even more.” Per this paragraph the consequences of labeling in any aspect are not worthy.

Similarly media is also considered as another control that underway labeling activities. Social group control is true in terms of media as well. In today’s world it is believed that numerous international and national tourists, gangs, and other dangerous groups are created with such labeling especially with the support of media. J. Hamlin 2001 p 1 strengthen this idea, “When a significant other (another user) labels him/herself as an addict, the person comes to define him/herself as an addict.”

In fact, there are various social control group behind any media that labeling is considered in the TVO and OMN representation of political freedom and economic development of the Oromo. Specifically, the former has many things to do with this labeling issue. To sum up, all theoretical frameworks used in this study were negotiably employed. Representation was the main theory used to explain the manner in which both media represent the issue. Further, political economy was used to justify the environment in which media operate especially owner ship issue. In the course of media representation of issue, a sort of labeling was witnessed. So that, these theoretical frameworks were used to show these relationships and their interplays.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Research methodology is the general term that stands for how and by what means certain study should be informed. It is where the researcher decides research design, methods, tools and process of data gathering, organizing and analysis; data sources and ethical consideration are also the core idea discussed in this section.

The primary concern of qualitative approach is about meaning making, interpretation and careful analysis of those data obtained through qualitative methods. Accordingly, in the course of studying media representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development, the research attempted to explore how Oromia Television and Oromia Media Network construct meaning and represent the reality of the issues under study. Further, it needs the interpretations of the underlying factors make them the way they are doing. Thus, qualitative method was employed in this study

3.2 Research Design

The study used qualitative research approach. As a result, it enabled the researcher to qualitatively collect and analyze the data relevant to the subject under study. Thus, this research design elaborated constituents, ideology and from what angle selected televisions view the issue under study. This approach assumes that multiple interpretations of human experience, or realities, are possible. The study at all attempted to enlighten deep interpretation and explanation of the constructed meaning beyond than mere description of the event.

3.3 Methods of the Study

Given the subject under investigation, qualitative research was used in the study. Qualitative research, in contrast, is the name given to a range of research paradigms that are primarily concerned with meaning and interpretation Stokes (2003, p 3). The primary concern of qualitative approach is about meaning making, interpretation and careful analysis of data.

Additionally Wimmer and Domnick (2011, p 117) pointed out that qualitative research uses a flexible questioning approach. Although a basic set of questions is designed to start the project, the researcher can change questions or ask follow-up questions at any time. It implies that qualitative approach is flexible and further gives freedom for the researcher to access rich data. Beyond the question and answer it enabled the study to observe, interpret and analysis the data. Further, qualitative methods are demonstrated as follows: Qualitative methods are typically more flexible – that is, they allow greater spontaneity and adaptation of the interaction between the researcher and the study participant (F. H. I. 2005, p 4).

It follows mostly open-ended questions that are not necessarily worded in exactly the same way with each participant. With open-ended questions, participants are free to respond in their own words, and these responses tend to be more complex. Thus, the researcher used qualitative method to get reach data regarding TVO and OMN representation of the issue under study. Especially, it enabled the researcher to flexibly react to situations created in the course of the study.

3.4 Source of the Data

In this study both primary and secondary data sources are used.

3.4.1 Primary Sources

The study used various primary data that were obtained with qualitative tools: qualitative content analysis of both televisions, in-depth interview thereby the researcher used audio recording and note taking for further interpretations and analysis of those data. The interview was conducted with the media practitioners of both television stations: Oromia Television and Oromia Media Network.

3.4.2 Secondary Sources

Secondary data means data that are already available i.e., they refer to the data which have already been collected and analyzed by someone else. When the researcher utilizes secondary data, then he has to look into various sources from where he can obtain them. In this case he is

certainly not confronted with the problems that are usually associated with the collection of original data Kothari (1990, p 111). In this case, the study has used different secondary sources that in one way or another strengthen the study. Mainly, editorial policies of both televisions, previous research works, and another related documents were used to support the primary data for further triangulation of the data.

3.5 Sampling Techniques and procedures

Probability samples are those based on simple random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling, cluster/area sampling whereas non-probability samples are those based on convenience sampling, judgement sampling and quota sampling techniques Kothari (1990, p 15). In this study, purposive sampling and snowball sampling were used.

3.5.1 Purposive sampling

Deliberate sampling is also known as purposive or non-probability sampling. This sampling method involves purposive or deliberate selection of particular units of the universe for constituting a sample which represents the universe.

Quantitative content analysis requires that the data are selected using random sampling or other probabilistic approaches, so as to ensure the validity of statistical inference. By contrast, samples for qualitative content analysis usually consist of purposively selected texts which can inform the research questions being investigated (Zhang, Y. & Wildemuth, B. M. 2009, p 2).

Likewise, the researcher purposely selected the media stations under study. There are various reasons for purposely doing the judgment. Interest of the researcher, researcher's pilot study and review of the literature showed that both selected televisions claimed that they stand for Oromo and have worthy contents in entertaining the subject under study.

Selection of the texts, videos and interviews were followed similar trend. This selection was determined depending on the themes of the subject matter. For this purpose, similar programs were selected in both television outlets. Equally interview questions were designed from the research question.

3.5.2 Snowball Sampling

Snowball sampling is used when somebody involved in the data source (interviewee) informs the researcher that somebody she/he knows is best person for the research under study. The study also employed it in both television stations in case of interview. Three desks of TVO: economic and social, news and current affairs and good governance were selected per their relevance to the issue under study. Accordingly, researcher was communicated with each desk. Thus, they informed best experienced journalists regarding the study. In case of OMN using this sample three interviewees were involved. Though the numbers were not enough due to lack interest the researcher was limited to use them.

3.6 Data Collection Tools

In this study, qualitative data collection tools were used. The researcher employed qualitative content analysis and in-depth interview. The tools enabled the researcher's to get reach data both from the media content and the journalists in respective media houses.

Qualitative research allowed a researcher to view behavior in a natural setting without the artificiality that sometimes surrounds experimental or survey research Wimmer and Dominick (2011, p 48). Qualitative techniques can increase a researcher's depth of understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. This is especially true when the phenomenon has not been investigated previously. Qualitative methods are flexible and allow the researcher to pursue new areas of interest. Further, the authors stated that "Qualitative research uses a flexible questioning approach. Although a basic set of questions is designed to start the project, the researcher can change questions or ask follow-up questions at any time" (Ibid, p 118).

In the same token, Creswell (2002) explained the notion that triangulation is one strategy of proving the validity and accuracy of a research. He stated that qualitative inquirers triangulate among different data sources to enhance the accuracy of a study. "Triangulation is the process of corroborating evidence from different individuals (e.g., a principal and a student), types of data (e.g., observational field notes and interviews), or methods of data collection (e.g., documents and interviews) in descriptions and themes in qualitative research." Creswell (2002, p 258)

To assure the validity and credibility of the study data triangulation was used. Accordingly, qualitative content analysis and in-depth interview were used. Besides, various documents: editorial policy, press laws and other documents were accessed and reviewed in line with the subject matter.

Furthermore Creswell (2002) stressed this idea, the inquirer examines each information source and finds evidence to support a theme. This ensures that the study will be accurate because the information draws on multiple sources of information, individuals, or processes. In this way, it encourages the researcher to develop a report that is both accurate and credible.

3.6.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

Content analysis can be used to support studies of a more 'qualitative' nature. It is considered by one of its leading exponents, Klaus Krippendorff (1980), to be primarily a symbolic method because it is used to investigate symbolic material (media texts). Certainly, in conducting content analysis there is much interpretive work to do, relying on a good knowledge of the texts under examination.

Zhang, Y. & Wildemuth, B. M. (2009) stated that many current studies use qualitative content analysis, for the reason that it addresses some of the weaknesses of the quantitative approach. Qualitative content analysis has been defined as:

A research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p 1278); an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytic rules and step-by-step models, without rash quantification (Mayring, 2000, p 2) and Any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings (Patton, 2002, p.453).

These three definitions illustrate that qualitative content analysis emphasizes an integrated view of speech/texts and their specific contexts. It goes beyond merely counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns that may be manifest or

latent in a particular text. It allows researchers to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific manner (Zhang, Y. & Wildemuth, B. M. 2009, p 1).

At the heart of qualitative content analysis there is 'Integrated view of speech/texts and their specific contexts..... To understand social reality from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns' that it allowed the researcher to holistically understand factors related to the media text beyond the mere counting of them. John H. (1993) above discussed that there is ideology and intention behind media representation of reality. Therefore, the study used this method to get deep implications and ideologies behind both media outlets in their representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development.

For detail understanding of qualitative content analysis there are certain differences between qualitative content analysis and quantitative content analysis forwarded by (Zhang, Y. & Wildemuth, B. M. 2009, p 1-2)

Differences between qualitative content analysis (QICA) and quantitative content analysis (QnCA). To have better understanding and to differentiate between them, it is good to look the following points have assessed their points of difference (QICA vs. QnCA)

Research areas: As (Weber, 1990 cited in Zhang and Wildemuth (2009, p 1) the former, quantitative content analysis, is used widely in mass communication as a way to count manifest textual elements, an aspect of this method that is often criticized for missing syntactical and semantic information embedded in the text. By contrast, qualitative content analysis was developed primarily in anthropology, qualitative sociology, and psychology, in order to explore the meanings underlying physical messages.

Inductive vs. deductive: Quantitative content analysis is deductive, intended to test hypotheses or address questions generated from theories or previous empirical research. By contrast, qualitative content analysis is mainly inductive, grounding the examination of topics and themes, as well as the inferences drawn from them, in the data. (Ibid, p 1)

Data sampling techniques: Quantitative content analysis requires that the data are selected using random sampling or other probabilistic approaches, so as to ensure the validity of statistical inference. By contrast, samples for qualitative content analysis usually consist of purposively selected texts which can inform the research questions being investigated. (Ibid, p 2)

Products of their respective approaches: The quantitative approach produces numbers that can be manipulated with various statistical methods. By contrast, the qualitative approach usually produces descriptions or typologies, along with expressions from subjects reflecting how they view the social world.

As Berg (2001) cited in Zhang and Wildemuth (2009, p 2), (qualitative content analysis), the perspectives of the producers of the text can be better understood by the investigator as well as the readers of the study's results. Qualitative content analysis pays attention to unique themes that illustrate the range of the meanings of the phenomenon rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of particular texts or concepts Zhang and Wildemuth (2009, p 2). Thus, similar themes of both media outlets have been get due emphasis that various arguments have been analyzed in both selected media outlets. Cole (1988) cited in Per Elo S. & Kyngas H. (2008, p 107) strengthen the view that, content analysis is a method of analyzing written, verbal or visual communication messages.

Content analysis is a research method for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context, with the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts and a practical guide to action (Krippendorff 1980 cited in Elo S. & Kyngas H 2008). It is also much more than a naive technique that results in a simplistic description of data (Cavanagh 1997) or a counting game Downe-Wamboldt (1992). Thus, it can be used to develop an understanding of the meaning of communication (Cavanagh 1997) and to identify critical processes (Lederman 1991). It is concerned with meanings, intentions, consequences and context (Downe-Wamboldt 1992) cited in Elo S. & Kyngas H (2008, p 108-9).

These consecutive ideas explain that qualitative content analysis can best fit to the study at hand due to the reason that the subject under study demands of making valid inferences from data to their context, with the purpose of exploring knowledge, new understandings, a representation of realities regarding political freedom and economic development of the Oromo. Thus, the method has used to describe how both media outlets construct meaning regarding the subject under investigation. Therefore, it was used to explore the manner in which both media outlets construct meaning and its representations. Moreover underlying factors that influence both televisions in their course of reality representation were analyzed from selected TVs content.

Content analysis was the most popular data-gathering method reported in major mass communication journals. From 2007 to 2008 found that content analysis was and still a popular method, used in about one-third of all published articles. The method is popular with mass media researchers because it is an efficient way to investigate the content of the media Kamhawi and Weaver (2003) cited in Wimmer and Domnick (2006, p 156). Bernard Berelson's name is often associated with the latter type of content analysis. Further he describes that this method consists of analyzing the contents of documentary materials such as books, magazines, newspapers and the contents of all other verbal materials which can be either spoken or printed Kothari (1990, p 110).

Content analysis can be used to compare media content at different points in time to make an argument about historical change, to argue that there is more, or less, of something than there used to be Stokes (2003, p 56-57). Therefore in the study the method has facilitated to comparatively look at both televisions content regarding the issue under study.

Moreover he stressed that, one of the advantages of content analysis is that it enables to conduct your primary research and come up with your own facts and figures to use as evidence in your argument. You may count the number of stories, the number of images or the occurrences of mentions of a particular subject (Ibid.). So, according to this author, qualitative content analysis is the best means of getting the primary data.

The content analysis was done depending on the following major themes: Political freedoms are sub categorized under state of press freedom, freedom of speech, the right to elect and to be elected and peaceful demonstration. Coming to economic development: Oromo's economic development, indicators of Oromo's economic development, causes of under development and possible ways to development. Similarities and differences between OMN and TVO outlets regarding the issue under study. Factors influence both media outlets representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development; Master plan and its nationwide protest that latter known as 'Oromo Protests' was also discussed as both political freedom and economic development of the Oromo and the notion of media labeling in the course of their representation.

3.6.2 In-depth Interview

In addition to qualitative content analysis, in-depth interview was another tool used in the study. Interviews are among the most familiar strategies for collecting qualitative data. The different qualitative interviewing strategies in common use emerged from diverse disciplinary perspectives resulting in a wide variation among interviewing approaches. Unlike the highly structured survey interviews and questionnaires used in epidemiology and most health services research, we examine less structured interview strategies in which the person interviewed is more a participant in meaning making than a conduit from which information is retrieved Wiley (2006, p 2).

Since the subject under investigation demands the idea and view of journalists in both media stations, in-depth interview was used. The interview is a good method for getting at people's perceptions of what they are doing and to finding out about their attitudes towards and opinions of their work Stokes (2003). Individual in-depth interview allows the interviewer to inquire deeply into social and personal matters, whereas the group interview allows interviewers to get a wider range of experience but, because of the public nature of the process, prevents delving as deeply into the individual Wiley (2006, p 2).

Selecting in-depth interview participants was based on the purposeful sampling that seeks to maximize the depth and richness of the data to address the research question. The in-depth interview is meant to be a personal and intimate encounter in which open, direct, verbal questions are used to elicit detailed narratives and stories (Ibid, p 4).

In this study, in-depth interview with certain key informants from both televisions was undertaken. It is intended to get in depth information beyond what have been broadcasted. An in-depth interview was conducted with 10 TVO journalists: (editors, reporters and producer) working at various positions probably much experienced were involved.

Through in-depth interview, the researcher was got personal reflections and perceptions per their experiences. In this case, the questions were designed to get their responses taking in to account the media institution they are in. Thus, researcher has accessed data vital data regarding the differences between journalists view TVO and the actual practices of their media house. Disparities observed between principle and its practices were also listed out; factors affect their

media representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development have addressed. Similarly, it was employed to answer the questions related to the way TVO represents political freedom and economic development of the Oromo. As a result, it enabled the researcher to get reach data about how and why both televisions represent the issues under study.

3.6.3 Online in-depth interview

Online in-depth interview was used with two senior reporters and one former founder from OMN to answer the same questions addressed in- depth interview.

Online interviewing is emerging as an alternative data gathering tool where face-on face-communication is unlikely or the respondent does it better from his/ her environment Gelana (2015, p 63).

Another benefit is that interviews can be conducted with people over a wide geographic area, without travel expenses. Finally, this method may be helpful in collecting data from people who might be uncomfortable in a face -to-face situation Wimmer and Dominick (2011, p 140). Likewise, Daymon and Holloway (2002) cited in Gelana (2015, p 64) stated that on line interviewing is beneficial if the interviewer and the interviewee are across worldwide time-zones.

In case of the OMN journalists on line interview was used instead of the face-to-face interview because it is impossible as a result of distance and coast. Email and massager were the main instruments the study used to collect necessary data.

3.7 Methods of Data Organization and Analysis

In this study, data was organized in line with the methods used in data collection. Firstly data collected with interview were transcribed from the recorded material in to Afan Oromo and translated in English. Consequently, this data were combined with the notes taken during an interview in a meaningful manner. Finally, these data have categorized under their themes and sub sections in the way comfortable for analysis.

Secondly data collected from the media were organized by categorizing programs broadcasted regarding political freedom and economic development of the Oromo. In this sense, two means were employed. Firstly, the researcher was exposed to Oromia Television and Oromia Media Network program's regarding the issue under study.

Specifically *Dinagdee* (Economic), *Qonna* (Agriculture), *Magaalaa* (Town), *Furtuu* (A key) and *Bulchiinsa gaarii* (Good governance); *Fanaa baqataa* (foot of migrant), *Qophii keessummaa* (Guest program), *Qophii addaa* (special program) and *Xiinxala* (Analysis) respectively. As a result, the researcher enabled to manage the regular programs broadcasted by both televisions.

Another fundamental means was through downloading the above listed programs that were online. Downloaded programs were further analyzed. In both cases, data were separately organized per each television contents and interviewees of respective television stations. In case of TVO programs online accessible data were not enough that the researcher used TVO archives to retrieve them again.

Given the subject under study, the study used qualitative content analysis and in-depth interview. The mix of these methods: supported the study in data triangulation and also in observing the necessary gaps between media principles and its practices that in turn enabled the study to analyze the implications of variations on media representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development.

Thus, data were organized in sub categories per their themes in line with the subject of the study as comfortable for the general analysis. In chapter four, data analysis were done by composing both interview and content analysis data in a sound manner.

3.8 Code/Inter-coder, Reliability

Concerning coding, the researcher used categorizing the content of both televisions through their similarities. Considering both television contents and interview responses, various sub topics have derived. In line with formed sub topics/ check lists, data were organized per their similarities. Additionally, the researcher consulted his adviser that there is no probability for bias.

The coding system was done in line with the likeness of the issue broadcasted in both televisions outlet separately. Specifically, the video of both media are separately categorized in to various subsections per their themes regarding the subject under study. Political freedom and economic development issues were exclusively analyzed in both media.

In the study content analysis was employed to analysis the general message, implications, and the intensions of that video contents. Thus, it is not counting words and terms used, instead it is about the general message of the content. In this way macro analysis of the content under study were led to the conclusion that each television represents the political freedom and economic development of the Oromo.

The already identified main themes under qualitative content analysis were used as the check lists of content analysis. Given the macro analysis of the content broadcasted regarding political freedom and economic development, the researcher used to take note after observing the video. Content analysis here is in the sense that the sum total of each selected video message, conversation and implications.

3.9 Ethical Consideration

In the course of the study, ethical issues have well considered. During data collection any interaction, agreement, and communication were based on the census of the researcher and interviewees. Mainly four ethical issues related to the interview process: Reducing the risk of unanticipated harm; protecting the interviewee's information; effectively informing interviewees about the nature of the study, and reducing the risk of exploitation. Anonymity of the interviewee in relation to the information shared must be maintained. During interviewing, the interviewee may share information that could jeopardize his or her position in a system. This information must remain anonymous and protected from those whose interests' conflict with those of the interviewee Wiley (2006, p 6). Thus, due to the sensitivity of the time and the subject matter, the researcher was careful in keeping the confidentiality of the respondents in any circumstances not to disclose their identity. Therefore, in the study codes were used, instead of real names.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the presentation and analysis of the data obtained from media outlets and in-depth interview will be made. At the meantime, the data will be discussed. The analysis is made on the basis of different sub categories that have derived from the data. Considering research question of the study, the following sub categories are derived and the ground on which data presentation, analysis and discussion are made.

Political freedoms are sub categorized under state of press freedom, freedom of speech, the right to elect and to be elected and peaceful demonstration. Similarly, economic development included Oromo's economic development, indicators of Oromo's economic development, causes of under development and possible ways to development. Similarities and differences between OMN and TVO regarding the subject matter. Underlying factors affects both media representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development: media ownership, media ideology, government control, editor's and manager's control, editorial policies and sources of information identified. Master plan and its nationwide protest that latter known as 'Oromo Protests' is discussed as both political freedom and economic development of the Oromo. In the course of reality representation the notion of media labeling, Oromo's political freedom and economic development will be another point presented, discussed and analyzed in chis chapter turn by turn. Thus, finally, the findings have been discussed in view of the theoretical framework and literature related to the topic under study.

4.1 TVO and OMN Representation of the State of Political Freedom and Economic Development of the Oromo

Per data obtained through content analysis of both TVO and OMN and in-depth interview of the journalists of both media houses regarding political freedom and economic development issues, the two media outlets divergently represent the subject under study.

4.1.1 TVO and OMN Representation of the State of Political Freedom of the Oromo

As already discussed in the review of literature, the notion of political freedom in this study mainly includes the state of press freedom, freedom of speech, the right to elect and to be elected and undertaking peaceful demonstration but it also considered other related points as well.

4.1.1.1 Media Freedom

Regarding the practices of media freedom in TVO, one senior reporter asserted the following.

There is a sense of abstaining ourselves in the political issues because it is directly associated with public questions, problems and criticisms towards government. Fearing the consequences of speaking reality, we ignore it. Therefore, it has resulted in underestimation of the voices of our people. Consequently, TVO inadequately represents the view and interest of the Oromo people. Comparatively TVO representation of Oromo's economic development issue is better with all its propaganda and fabrications of the reality on the ground. Economic notion of TVO cannot represent the economic life of significant Oromo instead it selectively cooks and spreads the success stories. (X2)

This idea demonstrates that there is no media freedom for the reason that the political economy under which TVO is operating does not invite to speak the truth on the ground.

Mass media texts can, however, still be understood in ideological terms, as forms of communication that privilege certain sets of ideas and neglect others Devereux (2007, p 25).

Therefore, the political ideology determines to include one and exclude other on the basis of existing dominant ideology irrespective of the actual reality.

Historically, press freedom was used to refer to printed materials and newspapers that fought for this right, but now days it refers to media in general. Media freedom is a right that goes beyond an individual's freedom of expression, although it is built upon that right (James (ed.) 2007). Freedom of speech and the media are essential rights in a democratic society (Human Rights Watch 2015, p 55). Consequently, it is explained that "The ability to practice journalism free from undue interference, to peacefully criticize government representatives, and to express critical views are crucial to the exercise of many other rights and freedoms." Human Rights Watch (2015, p 55).

Correspondingly, "There is no political freedom in Oromia. The Oromia officials have position not power. Because there is no real power share between Oromia Region and Federal government. Thus, it is nothing more than 'the exchange of power between Amhara and Tigray elites'." (XX1)

Both OMN contents and journalists consistently represent the situation of media freedom of the Oromo as the people never freed since the failure of *Gada* system and the colony of Oromo people and Oromia (Oromo land) by *Habesha* or Abyssinian Christian highland kingdom. Though the country claimed to be democratic and multi-party system since 1991 she failed to implement the promises. It has the view that, the Ethiopian People Republic Democratic Front is 'TPLF led mafia government.'

Per the content analysis of TVO and OMN, the state of press freedom and its representation highly contradicts each other. Through action and reaction between two televisions, two ideal Oromos are constituted in Ethiopia. According to TVO, the Oromo in Ethiopia is living with significant political and economic power, highly developing, democratically governing and determine on its own affairs and are the people whom their media freedom is respected as well. In general, it concludes that the Oromo are the main beneficiary of the current democratic system in Ethiopia.

“In principle there are various proclamations and laws aimed to guarantee the media freedom of the Oromo but in practices it is not yet free. Media freedom has to be proved with increasing demands of people over time. If they get their voices hear and thereby get right responses, it is the indications for the presence of media freedom; if not it symbolizes its absences.” (X9)

“The moment we see new face and new car in ORTVO, we fear them because we are not sure who will be the target” (X3)

In principle, Ethiopia has freedom of press since 1991, in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) Constitution of 1995 and in the Ethiopian press law of 2009. Yet their practices are criticized due to these rules failure to meet the ideal promise. Per the criticizers, even though media censorship is officially stopped since 1991, self-censorship continues with various media in Ethiopia. In fact, the criticisms are from media elites, international human right watch, Amnesty International, human right activists, human right advocates, media professionals, and journalists at various level.

FDRE constitution of 1995 has nevertheless officially guaranteed the free press and prohibited censorship. FDRE Constitution, article 29/1-3/1995 stated that, “Everyone has the right to hold opinions without interference. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression without any interference. This right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of the art, or through any media of his choice.” (FDRE Constitution, article 29/1-3/1995).

As already discussed in chapter two, Oromia Regional State Constitution has also adopted this article. Moreover the analysis of almost all selected programs of OMN demonstrate that democratic packages like press freedom, freedom of speech, peaceful demonstration, human rights, democratic rights, right to elect and to be elected have been used to legitimize illegal government activities: mass killing, imprisoning, harassing and detaining undertaken on the Oromo following that there is a notion of condemning government laws, regulations and proclamations in this regard.

Recently, anti-terrorism law, land lease and Oromia town’s proclamation are represented as the target of killing Oromo activists, journalists and opposition politicians and grabbing the land of

Oromo farmers so as to weakening the political and economic power of the Oromo (Tsegaye, 2014; Mekuria, 2014; Gelana 2015 and Human Rights Watch, 2015).

Differently anti-terrorism proclamation is understood as state terrorism to legitimize the exploitation of targeted citizens like Oromo and with majority of Oromo elites and other international institutions as well.

The 2009 Anti-Terrorism Proclamation includes an overly broad definition of terrorism, leaving the authorities with wide discretion to invoke it when suppressing nonviolent dissent. Under the legislation, publication of a statement that is likely to be understood as a direct or indirect encouragement of terrorism is punishable by up to 20 years of imprisonment (Freedom on the Net 2011, p 139).

The government on its side argues that anti-terrorism law is mandatory to insure the peace and stability of the people. Unfortunately it has been criticized from freedom of media and of expression. Constitutional provisions guarantee freedom of expression and media freedom. Nevertheless, in recent years the government has adopted laws—namely the Mass Media and Freedom of Information Proclamation and the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation—that actually restrict free expression (Freedom on the Net 2011, p 139).

ATP 2009 article 2/4a defined terrorist organization as “A group, association or organization which is composed of not less than two members with the objective of committing acts of terrorism or plans, prepares, executes or cause the execution of acts of terrorism or assists or incites others in any way to commit acts of terrorism.”

On Article 3 of the proclamation it clearly states that, “Whosoever or a group intending to advance a political, religious or ideological cause by coercing the government, intimidating the public or section of the public, or destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social institutions of the country.”

Indeed, the proclamation looks like there is no reservation for privacy and freedom of press. With this regard, the analysis of majority of OMN’s content represents that the ultimate goal of these activities are to control the economic resources of the Oromo so as to sustain the political and economic hegemony ‘*TPLF*’ has owned. Hence, Ethiopian government is represented as not concerned about the unity, peaceful co-existence and for the future of Ethiopia as well. Rather it

is depicted as selfish and mission less for the future of Ethiopia. The Oromo proverb, '*Ani du'ee araddaan hin margin*', *jette harreen* implies that 'After I die, I do not care about grass to be eaten' said donkey. It has been used to highlight the notion that '*Woyane led Ethiopia government*' is not concerned about the future Ethiopia after they lose power. (OMN5)

Per the OMN content analysis, in various situations, Ethiopian officials have been labeling Oromo protestors and any media that cooperate their voice heard, as anti- peace and terrorist, who desire to take power through war. Currently, OMN has been actively carrying out this burden. Furthermore, government has claiming that these actors and their media have been diverted legitimate public questions to war and aggravated it. Thus, government accused OMN for the property destruction and loss of life in the highly developing and democratic country.

OMN journalists perceived this that government used it to escape taking responsibility. Correspondingly (Negaso, 2014; Mekuria, 2014 and Tsegaye, 2014) also doubt the claims of Ethiopian government and view it as the notion that government used not to take risk. One editor at TVO said that, if OMN should take this responsibility as the state owned media have been claimed, it is only for providing the reality happening in general in Ethiopia and more focused in Oromia that their media failed to do.

Two months after the establishment of OMN the 2014 Master Plan Protest broke out (HRW 2015). This study shows that there is no clear correlation between the two. But it is undeniable fact that OMN has been the right hand media in informing the society regarding the illegality of Master Plan and its destroying consequences of the Oromo from legal, political and economic perspectives. As a result, the Oromo began to stand against the plan. So that the media has been primary and actively supporting Oromo protests.

"There is no free media Ethiopia. Not only in ORTVO, but in all Ethiopian media. The case of (20) journalists who have been fired from ORTVO was very unconstitutional. Media has its own structure, but without telling them their bad doings, firing them by guard was disrespectful and also showed the world that how justice is practiced in Oromia." one journalist at OMN said. It is evident for the absence of media freedom and seriously doubts the organizational independence of TVO. Similarly TVO journalists have mentioned their fear due to the absence of organizational protection.

(Ameyu 2015) strengthen this view that there are undesirable consequences that come after speaking reality. He also touches the controversial Master Plan that has been defined both as developmental and political agendas. In line with this, he also touched up on the consequences towards Oromia Radio and Television Organization (ORTVO) journalists who speak their mind regrettably, they got an axe for the mere fact they did speak their mind. Hence, we can say that development is like politics in Ethiopia as it is an untouched area to be opened for deliberation (Ameyu 2015).

Luckily enough, recently new perspectives that government cannot easily suppress are emerging in various forms. In line with internet proliferation that government cannot control social media like its state run media (Ameyu 2015). Absence of independent media speaking for the Oromo has contributed to the consideration of Facebook as a gift from God to the Oromo. It has also become a driving wheel for the creation and promotion of more and more Oromo activists” Gelana (2015, p 8). Gelana further confirmed that the absence of media freedom and freedom of speech leads the Oromo activists and politicians choose to use social media for various successful purposes.

In general, TVO and OMN divergently practice and represent the notion of media freedom of the Oromo. The absence of media freedom is witnessed in case of the former one. OMN can speak whatever it wishes to speak. Abstaining themselves to cover serious political issues and government faults issues is not a case in the latter one. Thus, there is a practice of media freedom.

4.1.1.2 Freedom of Speech

According to the data obtained via in-depth interview, freedom of speech is rarely practiced in Oromia. One senior editor at TVO stated that,

“With our media, we have long been teaching our society that there is freedom of speech. TVO is accountable to ‘Caffee Oromiyaa’, the highest government organ of the region. Government beliefs, having media that broadcasts with Afan Oromo to promote Oromo culture and history is perceived as the indicator and improvements of political freedom.” (X6)

TVO represents political freedom as ‘Oromo are freed out of more than one and half century pressure and repression since 1991.’ In the same token, freedom of speech is also pointed out as the key element of political freedom.

Prior to this representation, it is guaranteed by the Ethiopian federal constitution that everybody has the right to express his/her idea and feeling without any interference. Practically TVO journalists do not believe this view. Rather they have the view that it ignores the voice of mass. Additionally, they argued that TVO is deaf and blind to voiceless mass of the Oromo, instead it favors individuals, officials, and government interests.

Earlier study also correlates this notion. Bedada (2015) also confirmed this notion of TVO’s failure of serving Oromo people, instead it serves the interests of government, ruling political party and higher officials at the expenses of the public.

In using freedom of speech, people are better than TVO journalists because journalists explained that they fear the consequences come after they confidently let the public know what are going on regarding the treatment freedom of political (i.e., freedom of speech).

Practice related to investigating problems in development and good governance activities was found to be unsatisfactory. The government media journalists in principle perceive their role as being developmental but were found to be less confident about the effectiveness of their practices Negeri (2013, p 128).

“In principle there are various proclamations and laws meant to guarantee political freedom of the Oromo but practically Oromo’s are not free yet. Political freedom has to be proved with the questions that people are asking over time. If they are getting right responses it is the indications of political freedom; if not it symbolizes its absences. That is what we are doing.” (X2)

As different from TVO representation, OMN representation of freedom of speech is highly conflicting. Concerning this, there is a legitimate question that is often asked by the Oromo: “why are federal government and Oromia regional state unable to implement the constitution?” The content analysis of OMN demonstrates that often Oromo people’s question of freedom of speech has a constitutional backing. But, once it is aired OMN, government and its state owned media give them refuting directions. In its long history, development journalism (DJ) has been used to support the government in power skjerdal (2011, p 70).

The content analysis shows that there is no freedom of speech among the Oromo. Analyzed contents in this area indicate the idea that it was only written on the paper but not practiced. In principle there are various laws and proclamations that guarantee freedom of speech. OMN simply views and represents it as a nominal rule included to be democratic and get aid from their developed allies.

“The freedom of speech in OMN and press freedom is operating in a good situation. You can speak out your feeling and even your political stand, if any. I don’t think it is fully practiced among Oromo people for various reasons of which political interferences comes on the top” (XX1)

In the course of representing speech freedom, it further used various pictures, graphics and video that indicate worsening situation of speech freedom in Oromia. Moreover, the US-based civil liberties organization Freedom House downgraded Ethiopia from “partly free” to “not free” in its 2011 Freedom in the World index of political liberties. This move followed a government crackdown on opposition parties and the media during and after the 2010 general elections Infoasaid (2011, p 13). Currently, imprisoning activists, journalists, opposition politicians, and citizens who speak for their rights is a serious indicator. Correspondingly Gelana (2015) shows the notion that practicing freedom of expression is sickening. In the context of Ethiopia, to be an activist is to take risk and go to jail or die on the streets speaking for the oppressed and calling for justice, freedom of speech and expression, equality and good governance Gelana (2015 p, 70).

Similarly, OMN stated that the one sided media discourses, government control and punishment over individuals who have been watching OMN clearly indicates none existence of speech freedom in Oromia.

4.1.1.3 The Right to Elect and to be Elected

Concerning this issue, journalists under good governance desk of TVO pointed out that it is the pillar of democratic system of a given country. At both federal and regional states constitution have the ultimate power in every aspects. Since 1991 Ethiopian citizens have been guaranteed various unconditional constitutional rights including the case in point.

With this regard, one chief editor and desk leader of good governance stated that TVO represents the issue as the right to elect and to be elected is the heart of country's democracy and fully practiced and respected among the Oromo. Besides, the representation demonstrates that this point is a pillar of political freedom. Further, the editor raised 2015 as good indication that it was election as fair, truthful and democratic beginning from campaign through media utilization and to the phase of election result announcement.

Likewise analysis of TVO content also explains the point in support of the notion that under the constitutional frame, Oromia is a country where the right to elect and to be elected is guaranteed. Majority of the interviewees have contradicting notion that it is only used for media consumption that this is unfairly represented.

According to (X6) TVO journalist, the understanding of the issue at hand is viewed as "an essential source of power and pillars of democracy on our country. Further, its practice is fair and democratic" contrarily another interview from TVO state the following,

"The so called political party debate and equal access to media are meant for the political consumption of the state and the formality to be called democratic election. Even there are many constraints in the process of utilizing media by opposing political parties in the country. One is high censorship of their content and message." (X1).

The latter idea implies that the practices of election campaign, political parties' debate, and indoctrination of 'developmental ideology' are not limited to election time. TVO has been campaigning for the ruling party since its establishment under the pretext of development and various discussion stages.

Other way round, content analysis of OMN television extremely conflicts with the TVO view that the right to elect and to be elected can be the indicator of political freedom in the country. Accordingly, the consecutive interviews of OMN with various politicians viewed that it is a mechanism through which 'Woyane led EPRDF' strengthening and legitimizing its unending network of economic and political power. Its flip side use to fool the opposition parties in the country. Thus, it gets national and international recognition of being democratic government.'

The content analysis shows that OMN has been exposing various tricks that government has been using during the 2015 election as done in other times as well. Among them detaining opposing

politicians under false accusation of inciting violence and acting unconstitutionally is one. The government has been secretly placing spy in each of opposition political parties. As a result conflict rise within the party and end up their opposition against the government.

Another mechanism that government has been used was forming its own opposition political parties to deceive and fool the public. Thereby it advances its own political age at the expense of others. With this regard, OMN contents indicate that if it is beyond than control with all these options physical attack and other harassments were undertaken to keep their status quo.

It was mentioned that during Ethiopia's 2014 Universal Periodic Review, the governments of South Korea, Germany, Chile, Canada, Denmark, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Australia, and Austria recommended that the government of Ethiopia "guarantee genuine freedom of expression to all political leaders and the media, in light of the next elections" and several states called for reforms of the anti-terrorism law (Human Rights Watch 2015, p 65).

Similarly, the content analysis of OMN disagree with the above claims. With this regard, it relates with the report of Human Rights Watch (2015). Thus, this television has been using the report as the source of information to further support the notion that there is no free, fair and democratic election.

This conflicting reality representation comes from the political economy of mass media argument that having power in or control over media is argued to impact upon the capacity to determine or influence the contents of the media products and meaning carried by them. This has grown out of a strictly Marxist perspective which states that the class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control, at the same time, over the means of mental production Devereux (2007, p 12). Representation also discusses that media do not simply show the actual reality, rather it favors some ideological view.

4.1.1.4 Right to (Peaceful) Demonstration

As usual trend, the right to demonstration is represented from two extreme perspectives. With this regard interviewees stated that TVO gives due emphasis to the post events after journalists are told to cover with a given angle from the government. The content analysis also confirmed

the same thing that in sensitive cases TVO has not covered issues on time. In the demonstration scenarios it is covered and reported after it comes to the stage that government is looking for so as to shift the basic intension of the demonstration. An interviewee from news and current affairs of TVO asserted the following with regard to peaceful demonstration.

In various moment an opposition party of Oromo Federalist Congress (OFC) has been asked the government for peaceful demonstrations but government blindly denied them. Constitutionally, it should allowed. Here it is government fault. As a result, opposition political parties and people undertook demonstrations accusing government and past grievances. Following this, government security and police have been attempted to stop them. Thus, conflict has been aggravated between them. Finally, it caused various undesirable results starting from destroying property up to killing human life. As a journalist, we all know what has been happened; but we could not covered until it reaches the point that government has been expected. When it reaches, we were let to cover only the final result of the protest but not the story behind it. All the rout causes, actions and reactions were not included in the report because direction was given to the journalist not to do so. At the end of the day, TVO ends up blaming and criticizing the peaceful protestors instead of giving balanced story and analysis of the action and reaction. (X7)

Content analysis of TVO states that the television has been labeled the protesters as illegal, narrow minded, enemy and unconstitutional forces grouped to demolish country's constitution and democratic system so as to violently take power. Concerning, demonstrations it is clear that often government tends to attach it to another force behind the Oromo demonstrators, most probably Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). One TVO reporter highlights the controversy with in government itself as:

Indeed, OPDO and EPRDF have been claimed that for once and the end OLF was destroyed; but Oromo people who questions, criticizes and speak for its rights and freedom are repeatedly labelled as the agent of OLF. As a result, government has been using this notion as pretext to suppress, jail, and kill Oromo peaceful protestors. But it does not necessarily mean that government should not monitor

such incidents. As some scholars like to say, OLF has physically left but living spiritually. (X3)

Coming to OMN news coverage of the demonstration in Oromia, it can be divided into two. Demonstration undertaken at home and abroad. Though the issue is the same it varies in various aspects. In the former case, home based sources have been reported what has been undergone. In this coverage, cell phone has been used as the main communication tool. Additionally, pictures and videos that depicts an ongoing demonstration in Oromia have been sent to OMN.

Among usually used pictures and videos, the dead body, fully gunned federal police, Oromia regional police, military police and defense forces beating, firing and killing the protestors; a group of students with their uniform and exercise book escaping police forces. Additionally, the shooting of elementary, secondary, college and university students have been used to show the brutality of the police forces.

On the other hand, majority of college and university students have been on hunger strike and showing their grievances with wearing black T-shirt. They were also showing their opposition sometimes by blocking road, burning of government cars, town administration and other government offices, Tigriayan owned properties and companies: Selam Bus, Derba cement, Medrock gold mining and killings of security forces. During the protests in the Oromia, OMN has long been using typical pictures to represent the Oromia wide protest that lasts for more than five months and slowly provoking until the end of this study. Further, these two photos have widely been used in other media like social media and national and international media to show international protests lately known as #Oromoprotests.



Figure 1 Oromoprotests, Mandi and Jeldu towns, Western Oromia

(Source: www.Oromianeconomist.wordpress.com)

Secondly, demonstrations held by the diaspora distinguished in certain issues from the demonstration held at home. From the content analysis of OMN, most of the demonstrations have been held in various states of United States of America, Europe, and Australia, Egypt and South Africa. Comparatively, they had been conducted in a well-organized manner.

In contrast to the former one, demonstration in this case caused no damage neither on life nor on property. In fact, they are physically far from their enemy that they have been condemning.

In the diaspora, there were many elites that have been participating. Elites at home are rarely observed unless they are already in opposition political position. In diaspora, participants freely share their idea and feelings to media. In turn, they safely made their voices heard to international society thereby to show their support to the protestors and victims at home. Irrespective of these differences, (peaceful) demonstrations held in both forms have indicated resistance against their common enemies ‘Woyane lead Ethiopian government’ and its regional messenger, the OPDO.

In the course of resistances against undemocratic and inhuman deeds of both at regional and federal state government on the Oromo people, social media (i.e. Facebook) has been actively used in the form of campaign to mobilize mass. Thus, in line with OMN there are other activists, elites, bloggers and politicians both at home and the diaspora Gelana (2015) that actively used social media for specified goals. Among fourteen points that have actively been an issues on the

social media Gelana (2015) majority of them have been also an issues on the OMN television with the same goal.

The pictures and the videos that have been used in in the course of representing the (peaceful) demonstration of the Oromo provokes some ethically and professionally debatable issues. OMN's editorial policies 2014 stated that, *It enable its audience understand how OMN, as an organization, engaged in a professionally viable and socially responsible service for the good of the public* (OMN, 2014).

Ethically, the media has to care about the ethical dilemma of things used on the media. Especially, the television, pictures and videos are among the major concerns of this notion. As a result, the of '*Socially responsible service for the good of the public*' is so questionable that the contributions of showing those pictures for the good of the public.

For instance, there are various pictures that have been used in OMN during the Oromo protests in Oromia. Among them, the following might be an indication: dead bodies, halfly naked person laid down on the ground and serious bleeding of person. This issue is not limited to OMN; TVO has been used such pictures and scenes from the other side of the story. It has been selectively used to deliver certain message. Thus, full version of reality has not been represented. With this regard, TVO has used the following pictures to indicate that the demonstrations that were held against government are the agenda of anti-peace and anti-development forces.

1. Group of demonstrators throwing stones on polices and various public and government property
2. Burning of vehicles, religious places buildings and blocking roads
3. Killing of police; Looting of property
4. Focusing on the adultage participants to frame the they are ignorant and agents of anti-peace



Figure 2 Oromoprotest, in different parts of Oromia (Source: Road-Blocks-in-Oromia-Ethiopia-Tadias-Mag-cover)

Therefore, TVO and OMN are on the two extremes points. Both used the devastated places that seems war field. The former represents the event that caused by anti-peace forces but the latter one represents to show the worsenning political condition in Oromia that is resulted from the undemocratic nature of federal and regional state polices. Furher, there is a notion of blaming government for not giving right response for the Oromo people at the right time.

Per the data discussed above it can be generalized that OMN stands for the Oromo to let them know their human rights and democratic rights. It appreciates Oromo's political participation through all means they have at hand that sometimes include 'forceful' means.

Contrarily, TVO represents that the political freedom of Oromo people is guaranteed by constitution. Thus, the representation has the view that now Oromo people are enjoying those freedoms. Moreover, it appreciates the current practices of political freedom of the Oromo people. Thus, it contradicts with the previous claims of OMN. The interview with TVO holds the view that Oromos are not practicing political freedom as TVO understood and represent.

Further, they explained that this differences and gaps of observing the same reality in quite opposing way is resulted from various complex factors. Mainly the environment in which both media and journalists operate, their locations, level of democracy and the political economy of the media determines their course of representation.

OMN represents the political freedom of Oromo that the Oromo are not yet free and even worse than that of the previous autocratic and military regimes because the current suppression of

political freedom is very systematic in nature. This finding correlates with the reviewed report of Freedom House regarding political freedom which demonstrates that the practices of political freedom in Ethiopia, particularly in Oromia, have been worsening from time to time. Thus, this television demonstrates that Oromo's political freedom is at stake.

4.1.2 TVO and OMN Representation of the State of Economic Development of the Oromo

Oromo's economic development is developing and showing change from time to time. Though it is not as our television represents there is an indications for the Oromo's economic development. All regular economic programs are designed in the way to deliver that there is promised development in Oromia. Further, they show deep political implication behind economic progress. Irrespective of the Oromo public economic development, economic programs are also used for political consumption. (X5)

Contrarily, one OMN journalist view Oromo's economic development from opposite way that, "There is economic development in the country, but the great question is, who is benefiting from the ongoing economic development? So, most of the Oromo are not benefiting from it, rather they are the victims of that development." (XX1)

Deviating representation of Oromo's economic development has been witnessed in both media outlets. With already discussed development paradigms, there are an evidence that TVO relates and understood the Oromo development form modernization paradigm. On the other side OMN defines and relates Oromo economic notion in line with dependency paradigm.

Economic and social desk leader and an editor in chief of at TVO explained the following regarding the economic programs regularly aired on TVO. Creating a conducive environment for the farmers to maximize their product is our ultimate goal. Per TVO there are economic and social desk. The economic desk deals with the economic development of Oromo people. Accordingly there are five regular programs. They are: *Qonna*- Agriculture; *Misooma Bu'uuraa*- Infrastructure development; *Dinagdee*- Economy; *Magaalota*- Towns and *Qe'ee qorannoo*- Home of the research.

As per conducted interview with economic and social desk, *Qonna* program is presented three times a week. Basically it deals with rural economic life. Given the majority of rural residents and agriculture as the main income of the country it is given due emphasis on how to maximize production, income and total development of the country. The content analysis shows that *Qonna* covers issues that corresponds with the data obtained by interview.

It touches different trainings for agricultural experts and farmers at various level regarding how to be productive and maximize their products using both summer rain and irrigations during winter. Furthermore, it includes the use of full packages like fertilizer or composite, selected seed, modern farming style, sowing in line and carrying out expertise advices. Additionally, it attempts to change the life style of each farmer and approving the betterment of their life one step ahead. But this does not mean TVO gives attention for the urban residents. (BRD 110808TG; OTOS Q1108HG; BRD0020708TA; OTOQ020808J & OTOQQ030808).

In parallel to this program, there is *Magaalota* in the context of urban residents. It is aired twice per a week. Indeed, it covers economic concerns of the urban residents. More of it deals with the cooperative activities undertaken in group like IMX, poultry, and fattening cattle. Per TVO, such programs strengthen group sprit that it resulted in productive job.

As per the content of the TVO, he following points are the main concerns of *Magaalota* program: (OTOM120808)

- The construction of various social service centers like road, national stadium, youth sport and recreational center,
- The establishment of pipeline, light, pure water,
- Highlights of the role of investment in the economy of the country and
- The advantage of Small Scale Enterprises- IMX that groups youths and engages them in various jobs.

Accordingly it lists followings as the challenges that the region has been facing on the way to development.

- Imbalance between existing job opportunities and job seekers;

- Corruption and the faults of rent seekers and
- Culture of working with in the college and university graduated students.

Misooma Bu'uuraa and *Dinagdee* are meant basic infrastructure and economy respectively. These are broadcasted once per a week and three wise per a week respectively. Almost, the programs are similar message wise. The only difference is the former one covers issues related to basic development like education, healthcare, and clean water.

Unique but not antonymous to the above discussed points per economic desk programs. *Qe'ee qorannoo*- which means Home of research aired twice a week. This program is aimed at researching and producing various technological equipments and practices to support the overall economic activity. Specifically it gives due emphasis to how to change the economic activity of the country by supporting it with various technological innovations. Thus, this technological transfer supports the economic struggle at different levels to improve further development.

In general, irrespective of their contents and message the ultimate goal of all these economic programs are teaching, transferring technology and good experiences from one area to another to improve the betterment of each individual's income and country's economic development.

As institution there is agricultural research center that is mainly concerned with coffee production in the region which is the highest export item in the country in general. In this center there are selected seeds, hybridization of animals, producing medicines for various crop diseases. (Qe'ee qorannoo, TVO, 12/3/2016)

One interviewee said that “*TVO is known by a nick name, Televizyinii Qonnaa*” literally it implies that TVO is agricultural television due to the reason that day and night it talks about agriculture. In fact, content analysis confirmed this assumption. At all, issues dealing with economic development are over repeated both content wise and message wise. Beyond that sources of the programs are limited to farmers, group of people working under IMX, agricultural expertise with development ideology. There has been no person with divergent point of view; all success story.

Other way round, the content analysis of OMN, on the special program discussion held with two economists: argue against the government version of Oromia's economic development. They also explain the core indicator of the development of a given country.

Development is a natural phenomenon. Ethiopia's development is a baseline development that can come under any government. The question behind the Ethiopian development should be about "who are the main beneficiaries of the development?" if Ethiopia's development is real development how do 10.2 million people unable to feed themselves? One way or another it implies that Corny capitalism is undergoing. As a result, some individuals have controlled the country's economy. It further shows the exclusions of the mass public from the process of Ethiopian development. They raised about environmental protections beside to underway development. Due to the base source of Ethiopia's economy is in Oromia the professors indicate that an Oromo protests will caused negative development consequences in the country, but government do not recognize such effect, instead drought and absence of rain have been given due emphasis as if development comes under the absence of peace and stability. GDP shows the total income comes from good and services in that country. Thus, it does not show the real development of the country at all. (OMN1)

The main argument of these economists were concerned about the main beneficiary of the development and the active involvement of people living in that area and country in the course of undergoing development.

Correspondingly, one journalist at TVO stated that "OMN represents economic development of the Oromia as not developed per its economic potential. There may be economic development in Oromia. But the Oromo peoples could not benefit from it. As I mentioned earlier, there is no political freedom in Oromia at all. The economic and political power is in the hands of few individuals those are in regional and Federal level." (XX1)

In general, the main argument of OMN with regard to Oromo's economic development is understood as Oromo people are not the main beneficiaries of the countries development. Specifically, Oromo has long been used as the center of country's economy. But OMN

represents this notion criticizing contemporary economic development In the Oromia for excluded and marginalized the Oromo.

4.1.2.1 Indicators of Oromo's economic development

The analysis of both interview and content analysis show that the concept and progress of development in Oromia, is contrarily understood. On one side there is the reality that state media and government officials have and on the other side there is a view that highly opposes to this reality. Content analysis of the TVO demonstrates that Oromia is registering fast economic development. Consequently, the media points out the following as its main indicators.

- The life style of Oromo farmers have been changing;
- The establishments of various public services like hospital, health care centers, school, road coverage, light, clean water have been primarily argued as indications of development ;
- The IMX at various level;
- The number of graduates from colleges and universities and the development of some small scale enterprises (IMX) to industry. (BRD00170708TAF)

Contradictory to TVO representation notion, (Ameyu 2015) explained that

Under the guise of development thousands get prisoned, displaced, ignored, dehumanized, unnerved, denied capability, bottled in poverty, whereas, few get rich, empowered, emancipate in such a way to fasten and widen the gap of living standards of citizens, which is shockingly inhuman. Inconveniently, for the development gained it is not the people but a party or officials get recognition as personal cult is common so far (Ameyu 2015).

The content analysis of (OMN1), clearly explained the indicators of development in Oromia from conflicting perspective that it opposes with TVO's point of view. The followings are the major ones:

- Development is seen in terms of GDP that does not necessarily represent the whole public
- The non-human centered development
- Numerical or quantity justifications of economic development
- The capital of the country is in the pocket of one person
- The public is not the main beneficiary of Ethiopian development instead they are used a good cheap labor for the few investors
- Famine and the undesirable life style of Ethiopian majority
- Development is taken for granted that it is the number of buildings in Addis Ababa and other towns of Oromia

The study finds out that there are two distinct ways of representing the same reality. Both televisions have been justified their state of arguments with elites, scholars, and from the concerned people of Oromo but with the different extent. In the analysis, it has been observed that consulted sources are one sided that supports their basic goal. If not at all, stories are one sided. With this regard, TVO is the most obsessed television. On the side of OMN there is a tendency of ignoring efforts seen in the country with all its faults.

4.1.2.2 Causes of under-development

As already discussed in the review of the literatures of the study, there are various development theory. Mainly three of them are discussed. They are modernization, dependency and multiplicity development paradigms. Each of them separately defines, points out causes of under-development and suggests ways to development. Underlying factors of under-development of the Oromo are differently represented in both TVO and OMN.

From the obtained data via content analysis and in-depth interview, the researcher has linked the televisions representation of causes of under-development to these development paradigms.

There is no clearly stated arguments that explains specific development paradigm each television used. But there are indications in both television representations. It attempts to logically view the

study per discussed paradigms. According to TVO representation, it can be understood from modernization paradigm. There are indicators that go in line with its assumptions.

This development paradigm believes that development comes from following developed countries. Further it explains the causes of under-development as failure to follow the model of developed countries, improperly using selected seed, fertilizers, being unable to consider expert advice and not properly using modern farming style as well. Accordingly, the content analysis of TVO demonstrated the same idea.

It merely shares the view of dependency development paradigm. In this sense, there are contents appreciate the indigenous mechanism of production maximization. For instance, TVO represents using composite as another option besides modern fertilizer and other indigenous knowledge of the area as well.

OMN supposes that Oromo's economic development can be realized only through ensuring self-administration. It corresponds with the assumptions and ideologies of dependency development paradigm. Accordingly, OMN represents economic and political dependency of the Oromo on the '*Tigrean led EPRDF government*' as the main cause of underdevelopment.

Per the content analysis of (OMN1 & OMN2), causes of under development per OMN representation are listed as follows:

- The undemocratic nature of the Ethiopian government
- The absence of active public participation
- The domination of development with few politicians and individuals
- The ownership of few individuals that have development attitudes
- Lack of self-ruling and self-determinism
- The violations of Human rights, democratic rights and the absence of free media as well.

Opposite to OMN's representation, TVO represents the current development of Oromia that is realized through active public participation. In its side, OMN strengthen this notion that "Had really Ethiopia been fast developing at 11.2 (two digit) development, 10.2 million people would

not have been failed under famine.” Thus, it argues that development in Oromia is not a country’s development, instead it is belongs to few investors.

The content analysis of OMN, stressed that to say there is development in a given country, it has to be seen from: the main beneficiaries of that development. The discussion has the notion that, if it does not benefit the people at large and does not involve them in the course of development, it is not healthy development; this is what Ethiopia’s development looks like and Oromia’s as well.

“The media are there to promote government policy and strategy, not to be voice for the voiceless Oromia. The economic development news and programs are presented for the mere purpose; instead it is used for political agenda.” (XX2)

Moreover, OMN television represents the economic reality of the Oromo attaching it to undemocratic political ideology in the country. As a result, it is believed that economic development will only be insured if and only if the political situation is changed and the Oromo gets the right of self-administration.

In contrast, TVO fights back this ideology as a narrow-minded and anti-peace, and Oromo’s enemy that dislikes the development and peace of the public. Thus, they represent the Oromo’s economic development as the main beneficiaries of the current political and economic development of the country. (OTV11; OTV12 & OTV13)

In general, beside to the conflicting reality representation of both televisions regarding Oromo’s economic development, there is a high desire to see developed Oromia in the future. Most of the data clearly indicates that both televisions representation of Oromo’s economic development is blurred, instead of showing the reality on the ground that is resulted from various factors discussed under 4.1.3 of the this chapter.

4.1.2.3 Possible Ways to Economic Development

At the end, both media differently suggest the way that Oromo’s economic development can be realized. As in other issues discussed earlier, it can be seen from two distinctive perspectives. In chapter two of this study, it has been discussed that economic development of a given nation is the view of development, state causes of under-development, and set possible ways to

development. Besides, it is informed with the development policy and strategy that are derived from development theory and paradigms.

Further development theorists divided this idea in to certain categories. In both content analysis and conducted interview, views and assumptions of modernization paradigm and dependency paradigm are practically seen separately in both televisions representation of economic development. The overall analysis of economic development of Oromo has been paradoxically represented with TVO and OMN televisions.

Mainly TVO seems to follow modernization development paradigm. As stated in the causes of under development, possible ways to economic development is also understood from the same phase. In this notion economic development comes with following the developed nation's policy and strategy that development can be realized through following the footsteps of developed nations.

In the course of their representation ach television has differently been suggested the way to economic development of Oromia. They are separately informed with the development paradigm each have justified the economic development of Oromo.

Accordingly, TVO representation suggested the followings to bring economic development in Oromia. (BRD 110808TG; OTOS Q1108HG; BRD0020708TA; BRD00170708TAF; OTOQ020808J &OTOQQ030808)

- Using full package: selected seed, fertilizers, sawing in line and modern farming style
- Seriously following and applying the advice's of agricultural expertise
- Having development attitude –*ilaalcha misoomawaa*

With this regard, OMN representation recommends the following points to be considered so as to realize Oromia's economic development (OMN1 & OMN2)

- Political disassociation of Oromia from Ethiopian empire
- Economic disassociation of Oromia from Ethiopian empire
- Ensuring the question of *abbaa biyyummaa*

- Forming powerful economic and political institution
- Developing human centered development policy and strategies
- Making media organization free from propaganda purpose

To generalize, OMN represents the development of Oromo as “TPLF led EPRDF/OPDO” development under which the ruling party used for Oromia’s land grabbing and resource looting. In the context of Oromo people, ‘land is beyond than its property-ness.’ Oromo said, “*Lafti keenya lafee keenya or dhimmi lafaa dhimmi lafeeti*” Gelana (2015). It implies that ‘our land is our life’. In more focused manner Gemechu (?) cited in Tabor (2015, p 52) explained about the origin of land as:

Biyya, the Oromo term for land or country, is derived from the term *biyyee* or *biyyoo* as it is called in some regions. *Biyyoo* is the Oromo word for soil. Thus, *biyya* refers to the soil and all living things that derive their sustenance from it. On this land, according to the Oromo can be found three categories of things: water and vegetation; animals that depend on this water and vegetation; and human beings and other carnivorous animals.

In general land has historical, identity, socio economical, national, cultural, psychological and spiritual attachments. As a result, OMN forwards various mechanisms that can realizes the development of Oromo people. Political disassociation (self-determination), economic independency and ideological freedom from colonial slavery of EPRDF are the main ones.

Irrespective to their ideological differences, both televisions beliefs that economic development and other development aspects will be proved given the fulfillments of the above separately listed suggestions.

4.2 Similarities between TVO and OMN regarding Political Freedom and Economic Development of the Oromo

So far what have been discussed were all about explaining TVO’s and OMN’s reality representation of Oromo’s economic development and political freedom from extreme viewpoints. Thus, it can be considered as the differences between the two media outlets. Accordingly, major underlying factors in the course of reality representation are also pointed out

per both televisions. So, it is logical through the study that both televisions differently understood and represent each issue discussed earlier that in one way or another OMN and TVO have differences in previously discussed issues. Audience is the only similarity that both televisions commonly share.

4.2.1 The Audiences of TVO And OMN

“The only similarity our media (TVO) and OMN have in common is our audience, Oromo people. Though these media represent the Oromo issue from different perspectives both of them are concerned about Oromo issues, but their images vary from one another.” (X3)

The data obtained from the interview of TVO journalists demonstrate that the only similarity both media have is their audiences whom both televisions claim to stand for, the Oromo people. Accordingly both televisions clearly state to develop Oromo culture, Oromo language, Oromo identity and Oromo nationalism (Oromummaa) issues; nothing else.

Surprisingly, their audience ‘Oromo nation’ is also differently understood. The manner the issues of this people have been represented vary per OMN and TVO. Here it shows about image issue. In fact, representation is discussed as ‘it is the way we sense of the world and communicate with another world.’

“To my view, the implications of the extreme representation of the same issues of Oromo’s political freedom and economic development may have its contribution in creating the ideological differences among the Oromo; doubting the unity of Oromo.” (X5).

Contradictory a journalist at OMN said, “I haven’t see any common share between the two different media because OMN works for the economically and politically disadvantaged Oromo people, while TVO has been working for the ruling party that systematically marginalized Oromo people from economic, social and political rights. Oromia Television cannot represent Oromo. It may represent the ruling party. OMN working for people by people. That is the difference.” (XX1)

As per majority interviewees of both the state owned TVO and OMN views, their editorial policy is used as the key for their daily professional practices. In the time, they did not deny that it is sometimes compromised under critical issues like terrorism, national security and country image

in the former media and less likely the latter stated that it is rarely occurred due to the mistake of journalist practices.

It is stated that there have been significant numbers of Oromos exposed to the OMN (Human Rights Watch 2014). At the same time, there are Oromo people who have been watched TVO. Per conducted interview, OMN has contributed a lot in the process of Oromo struggle for freedom and in awarding and educating Oromo's undemocratic treatment on its home. Oromo people considers OMN television with the assumption that it shows high nationalism and indicates loyalty to promote Oromo nationalism (Oromummaa) parallel with its (editorial policies 2014).

One senior reporter at Oromia Television news room emphasize the contradiction between the two television that, "*TVO dhugaa jiru hanqiseera; OMN dhugaa jiru guddiseera*" literally it implies TVO under represent or belittle the reality and the later exaggerates the existing reality. Both are one sided media but from two extreme angles. Further he justifies his argument that "The former television is serving the ruling party at both federal and regional levels and the later one is serving opposition political parties at home and abroad. It is undertaking activist role instead of professional journalism. Thus, I view both television as *the media of two different Oromo political parties*" (X2). Indeed, the notion of demanding optional media for Oromo media have been reflected in the interview conducted with both OMN and TVO journalists.

Both TVO and OMN are Oromo media. Journalists working in these respective media house all are Oromo but what differs is the socio-political, geographical and cultural environment they are operating in. Especially the political economy theory of mass media show the interplay between such differences that is resulted from the political economy of a given country. Thus, the body that controls power and economy manipulates the media as well.

4.3 Underlying Factors Affecting Media Representation of Oromo's Political Freedom and Economic Development

Both data obtained with content analysis and interview are used to identify underlying factors that contributed to the way TVO and OMN are separately representing political freedom and economic development of Oromo people. The researcher used to categorize and discuss under six subtopics: media ownership, media ideology, government control, editors and managers control, editorial policy and sources of information. Turn by turn, these are discussed in the content of both media the manner it contributes in the representation of reality regarding the issues under the study. In one way or another all of them are either directly or indirectly interconnected. One factor leads to another factor and vice versa.

4.3.1 Media Ownership

Media ownership is has been a critical factor that shapes the manner a given media function. As discussed in chapter of two of this study, political economy of mass media argues that one media functions under the existing political economy of a given country. In line with the political economy of mass media, Herman & Chomsky (2002) stated media ownership, source information, dominant mass media firms and government controls among other ingredients of propaganda model.

“There are times when government set an agenda for our media institution. The interference of government official are repeatedly seen. The logic behind owner ship of OTV is that, OTV is public media practically it is controlled by government of the region. The promise behind it is that this government is elected by people. Therefore serving government agenda is equivalent with serving public interest.” (X2)

Therefore, in one way or another the political economy of a given country either negatively or positively affects the practices of journalism. As a result, political economy determines the status of media. In turn, the situation of media that it affects the overall life of the public at large. Issue of media ownership is one way that government shapes and controls the overall activities of media. It has a direct connection with how a given media represents reality.

From the very beginning media has its own goals to achieve. Accordingly it favors certain ideology and devalues its divergent side. In Ethiopia, both state owned and some privately owned but belong to 'pro government ideology' has been criticized for their serious affiliations of ruling party that made them one sided media; representation of half-truth and blurred image of both political and economic reality.

Data obtained through interview demonstrates that media ownership is one of the crucial factor that determines the manner of both OMN and TVO representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development. Especially this notion is true in the TVO's representation of Oromo reality representation of the issues understudy. Correspondingly one editor from economic desk of TVO stated the following:

Officially TVO is a public media but it does not fulfill to be so. Public media ought to generate its own income and cover thing for the sustainability and development of a give media. In our case, this is not true. Everything including employee's salary and security for the organization are provided by government. Thus, practically it is government media. In this sense, government is EPRDF and OPDO. The later has more power and proximity to order our media. For me it is a party media than other else. Sometimes, it can go beyond than and seems a private media where a political official's do what they to do. They consider this media as their instrument to air out their feeling instead of recognizing TVO as independent media organization. They care for their image and status quo to sustain their power than other critical issues. Moreover it emerges from media ownership. We (journalists) are also expected to work under these premises unless it has another deep implication on our careers. (X10)

All journalists interviewed from the economic desk at TVO responded that media ownership is the critical factor that negatively affects their credibility and harass them in one way or another. As a result it affects the quality of their media production. Primarily this is true for TVO reality representation of the issues under study.

There are problems related to media ownership as Ethiopia state media in general Negeri (2013) and specifically in TVO as well. Bedada (2015) confirmed the same thing that the practices of

journalism at TVO were challenged by media ownership. Ethio Telecom can be another clue that government owned media can easily control the users for various purposes mostly for political control. The state-owned ETC, or Ethio Telecom, retains a monopoly on all telecommunications services, including internet access and both mobile and fixed-line telephony. Connection to the international internet is centralized via Ethio Telecom, from which cyber cafes must purchase their bandwidth. The Ethiopian Telecom Agency (ETA) is the primary regulatory body overseeing the telecommunications sector (Freedom on the Net 2011, p 136).

Media ownership is not clearly stated in the editorial policies of OMN (2014), but implicitly from its contents, CEO claims and interviewees of OMN, OMN's ownership goes to public. There are solid evidences that this television stands for Oromia. "OMN's public service commitment is basically founded on the core values of seeking the truth. Among the core editorial policies of OMN The ultimate purpose of OMN is promoting Oromo national identity (Oromummaa) and culture, and facilitating cross-flow of information. In other words, we wish to better introduce the Oromo people to the global community, and bring international news and knowledge to the Oromo people" (OMN editorila policies 2014).

"OMN is public media. The editorial and the management works for the general public interest. Therefore, I can say there is political freedom in OMN. Nobody can force you to do his/her personal/Organizational interest unless editorial policy allows.", stated (XX1).

An interview with a senior reporter at OMN and the nature of programs OMN has been aired, there are no government control, instead it has the reflections of public interests at all. As a result, there is over freedom to speak, broadcast, criticize, break news and in general let the Oromo public stay aware of what is going on at home. The Oromo and other people in Ethiopia face two stark choices: state-controlled media that produces propaganda as the ruling party's mouthpiece or the anti-government opposition media disseminating partisan polemics (Human Rights Watch 2015). Thus, OMN promised to be an independent, non-partisan and nonprofit news enterprise whose mission is to produce original and citizen-driven reporting on Oromia. Therefore, media ownership in this case can be understood that it is run by diaspora and Oromo citizens.

By its side Ethiopian government and its regional constituents disagree with the criticism and the notion that government controls on the media. Although Ethiopian authorities deny engaging in online censorship, Open Net Initiative (ONI) study in 2009 indicates that Ethiopia is the only country in sub-Saharan Africa to impose nationwide, politically motivated internet filtering. The blocking of websites is somewhat sporadic, tending to tighten ahead of sensitive political events (Freedom on the Net, 2011 p 136).

One way or another, the audiences of both televisions, Oromo people are the collateral damage of this extreme reality representations in various Ethiopian media in general and Oromia in specific. This dichotomy of representing reality from conflicting view still reflected in the study.

4.3.2 Media Ideology

Any media have its own ideology that informs how a given media operate. In turn, media ideology is often guided with or functions under the existing political economy of a given country. Media ideology is one among underlying factors that shape the manner TVO and OMN representation of Oromo's political freedom and economic development.

Broadly a close ally of the government, the Ethiopian state media have recently made development journalism (or 'developmental journalism' as it sometimes called) a key concept in official documents (Skjerdal 2011, p 59). Further it is elaborated that, "the concept was first introduced in the editorial policies of various state media institutions (ENA 2003; EPA 2003; ERTA 2004) and has more recently been explicated in great detail in a draft policy document specifically dedicated to development journalism (EPA 2008) cited in (Skjerdal 2011, p 59).

Currently philosophy of development journalism is supposed to inspire all reporting activity in the Ethiopian state media (skjerdal 2011, p 59). Consequently the editorial policy of ORTVO 2009, clearly demonstrates that TVO works under the ideology of development journalism.

However, development journalism (DJ) has been debatable and criticized from various angles. DJ has attracted considerable hostility over the years (skjerdal 2011). Following this claim he pointed out the following criticisms:

- DJ promotes political agendas instead of people's interests
- The strong dependency on the state- especially in African versions of development journalism
- It has caused concern among from press freedom organizations

(Skjerdal 2011) further claimed that redefined versions of DJ, however, claim to promote national interests while at the same time safeguarding independent reporting.

He doubts that the African versions of DJ for missing the basic assumptions of development journalism in Asia. "In the Africa meaning of he term, not the Aian, meant close collaboration between the media and the authorities, rather than critical reporting on development efforts. In effect, the state media and the governemnt joned the forces against the private media" (skjerdal 2011, p 60).

Similar to the situation else where in Africa, the Ethiopian media environment is characterized by polarization between private and sate owned media interprizes. The present Ethiopian government promise a free and open media climate when it came to power in 1991, and the markets were indeed opened up for private print publicathions (skjerdal 2011, p 63), but these promises fail to be practiced in TVO Bedada (2015) . Instead of implementing the the promises of media freedom Ethiopian state media see the positive image-buiding of the nation as an important part of their duty. According to one editor, a former information mnister made it clear during in-house training: 'We want you to focus on success stories' (skjerdal 2011, p 67).

Nowadays, developemnt journalim (DJ) has been differently used with in Ethiopians people. It carries a notion of upsetting with govenemnet and media's often use of the of this term in allmost all aspects. It tends to be a code used to identify either somebody is govenemnt affiliated or not. Media bombards it day and night. As a result, people develop its phobia that it is used in a joking style to show dislikeness of the term. It is not mere term, rather it has been ideological term that can be abused beyond its basic meaning. (X8)

It shows how polized Ethiopian journalists are. Actually the interviews held with TVO journalists show this view of indoctrinating journalists under the pretext of training. One

reporter at TVO said that in almost all, training priority is given to OPDO's/ EPRDF's political ideology. Always, the journalists were told 'to serve the developmental and democratic government', but the reporter blames that he is doing in TVO only for survival that he will leave if he gets another option. Focusing on positive development efforts, educating people, and generally supporting the national interest. This notion has deep implications that it also means neglecting critical stories, avoiding oppositional voices, and hiding information from public (skjerdal 2011).

In Ethiopian media house, development journalism is so prominent ideology that informs media policies and its practices. In developing world, where majority of the citizen suffer from undesirable socioeconomic and political problems, the media have long been recognized as engines of development (Melkote 2001).

Currently journalistic practices according to the finding, seem to have a good beginning in promoting socioeconomic development basically by practitioners of the government owned media institutions where development journalism model has been officially embraced (Since poverty is undeniable reality in our country, the vital role of media is promoting development, democracy and good governance. Media have also assumed key position in the political, economic and socio cultural activities of a society Negeri (2013, p 125-26).

In the case of TVO, journalists are concerned with promoting development, democratization, and good governance activities performed in the region as well as throughout the country. A senior documentary producer at TVO stated the following:

Most of TVO programs are designed to educate and entertain the society from the grassroots through sharing exemplary experiences that success stories are fabricated in all areas. No analysis and criticism at all. Criticism is understood in the notion that blaming and accusing government and considered as blurring its image with in the public's. Contrast to our editorial policy, journalist's practice at TVO show that the public learn nothing from the failure and criticism, instead it is covered with success stories that praise government as holy being. Because most of media institutions in our country are state owned. As you promote development, democracy and good

governance, you are indirectly sustaining the political position of the ruling party.

(X7)

But in reality the meaning of development journalism, thus, emerges from the understanding of a socially responsible profession, serving the needs and interest of the society. Sometimes the direct interference of government mislead the profession. Development journalism is promoting of development process rather than events; development news covers the entire socio-economic and cultural development. In practice it is not different from investigative reporting.

A development journalist should critically examine, evaluate and report the relevance of a development project to national and local needs, the difference between its impacts on people as claimed by the government officials and as it actually is. It is not synonymous positive news. But, in our case, the success stories are basically economic in nature and are designed from the government officials' perspectives. In our Institution, the political influence lead us to violate journalistic principles.

In case of OMN there is no clearly stated media ideology in their editorial policies. "Media ideology of Oromia Media Network looks like public broadcast funded by publically raised resources. It has been modelled in view of a social responsibility perspective even though practically serving as an activist role right now." (One former founder of OMN television). From the contents also it is understood that the television gives due emphasis to an activist role. Thus, reality representation of the issue under study is informed and affected with this ideology.

4.3.3 Government Control

According to TVO editors and reporters, government control is another crucial factor that affects the courses of reality representation. Ethiopia has joined the list of sub Saharan countries that are keeping a close eye on the media and are trying to control or influence editorial policies. Due to their increasing intolerance, the authorities are doing everything they can to stifle the critical impulses of journalists and to make life difficult for the private media," RSF said in a statement in March 2011 Infoasaid (2011, p 13).

Government control is a serious threat to TVO and its journalists past and present. It is reflected through direct and in direct pressure over time. There was a regular investigative program called '*Mil'uu qorannoo*' that seriously investigated on the

implementations of government policies and various projects. It also criticized those who improperly undertaken their duties and involved in corruption. It was very critical program that should keep on doing, but it was shut down for unknown reason. Similarly, the case of 17 journalists fired from ORTVO in 2014 confirmed this trend that both media and journalists are subjected to government pressure. (X5)

Furthermore, an interview conducted with other TVO journalists indicate that government intervention is observed in their daily activities of practicing journalism. As a result, journalists have faced challenge to do as their profession dictates.

In its long history, development journalism has been used to support the government in power skjerdal (2011). For general understanding the pressure lies under denial of access to government information flow, lack of recognition of the independent press, influence of party politics, and absence of proper implementation of the press law Chalchisa (2012).

The study shows that there is the notion of belittling each other's work. Specifically, In TVO, news and reports regarding the Oromo protests have been covered like anti-peace and anti-development agents. Moreover TVO has been accused OMN for its appreciation of the (peaceful) Oromo protests that it intensifies the protests so that it should be responsible for the property destroyed and lost life.

Additionally, both federal and regional structures have power relations and network that restrict flow of information against their ideology and rejects diversity of views. Instead of recognizing ideological diversity of individual or group, government and its media used to label a group or an individual under the pretext of having 'Rakkoo ilaalchaa' 'outlook or ideological problem' because of they are with divergent ideology from OPDO/EPRDF. Though, in a developmental democratic state, the government and media work together to promote development, democratization and good governance, it is important to note that if political influence on journalistic practices prevails, that is totally unacceptable because it contradicts the Constitution and democratic principles Negeri (2013, p 131).

With this regard, a reporter at TVO stated that when they go to report something at federal, regional, zonal, district, town or kebele level, there are government communicators with strong indoctrination of the government ideology. He gives the following idea:

Personally, I know my production before that communicator tell me. The obvious opening phrase they begin with is ‘Mootummaan misoomawaa keenya... our developmental government.’ Now, the term became old joke among the public. In short, government communicators at all levels are the political agents who promote and serve the government. Therefore, the government structure by itself dictates whom will be our respondents. As a result always stories out of this box are neglected. Rarely, if a journalist deliberately touches the other sides of the stories, s/ he must be fired or put in prison. (X3)

Indeed, this is a great indication that government can control the practices of political freedom (i.e. speech and media freedom, free flow of information, human rights and democratic rights).

According to conducted interview with one TVO editor, another guise under which government restricts political freedom is related to social responsibility theory. It is a media theory argues that what will be aired or published should be carefully done. It is between the ideas of both authoritarian and liberals’ media theory. In short, it is about choosing the best option for the public. Thus, media have the role of undertaking socially responsible activities for the audiences. It has been more than a decade since development became a buzzword in Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency. As ERTA is a pro-government media and sponsored by the state, there is a strong probability to be under the guise of social responsibility theory when addressing issues (Ameyu 2015).

In line with the Ethiopian government control on media, the study strengthens previous scholarly findings of (Skjerdal 2011; Chalchisa 2012; Negeri 2013; Ameyu 2015; Gelana 2015; & Bedada 2015) that there are various forms of government control over the practices of journalists in Ethiopian media both at regional and federal levels. State media in Ethiopia were operated and controlled by government and this were led it to serve government interest. In their practices they are loyal to the government rather than to the public Bedada (2015). Consequently, the trend affects the TVO representation of Oromo’s political freedom and economic development.

Besides there are also various international organizations who have repeatedly been blamed undemocratic nature of Ethiopia government. Testing by ONI found that the filtering focuses primarily on independent online news media, political blogs, and Ethiopian human rights groups' websites. International news outlets such as the U.S.-based Cable News Network (CNN) and nongovernmental organizations such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and Reporters Without Borders—all of which have criticized the Ethiopian government's human rights record—were available as of early 2009. Freedom House found that in mid-2010 the websites of Freedom House, Human Rights Watch, and Amnesty International were inaccessible (Freedom on the Net 2011, p 137). Correspondingly country's Telecom and Broadcast industry is under government monopoly Birhanu (2014).

“OMN has no relationship with any government or organization. Thus, we have no direct interferences from any institutions or interest groups. But indirect influences of jamming and stopping OMN have been undertaken by Ethiopian government more than 10 times within 2 years.” (XX1) As it can be understood from this idea due to the absence of direct influences there is significant chance for freely serving the public at large. Repeatedly jamming OMN has deep implication that shows the extent of media freedom in Ethiopia and the fear of true information regarding what government and state media have been done.

4.3.4 Editor's and manager's control

Media editors and managers are there in media institution to implement the very establishment of a given media that consequently affects media representation of reality. In line with the government control, some editor's and majority of media managers are there to keep the status quo of the government. It is one mechanism that government controls the journalists practice.

Ethiopian journalists mention political pressures, low salaries and a lack of professionalism as major obstacles to the improvement of the local media. Self-censorship and close vetting of news reports by politically appointed editors is common Infoasaid (2011).

In OMN editors and managers control is not the case. Managers and editors are there to keep the implementation of editorial policy. Interview with one editor at TVO)

“In TVO, managers at various level are appointed by the highest power of the region, *Caffee Oromia*. By implication, OPDOs put somebody who they believed that serve them honestly. Therefore, what matters is not about professional and knowledge, rather it is about ‘how loyal is s/he for the government’ (X1)

The majority of the interviewees view media managers in TVO as the mirror through which EPRDF and OPDO are reflect themselves. “Editors politically appointed were making journalistic practices greatly depend on reporting in a way that supports and overrides professional practices. Therefore, in this media station journalists were not able to practicing their roles in accordance to professional principle. Their story was rejected and editors and practitioners did not similar stance on the journalism profession and media practices”

Bedada (2015, p 70). Government has appointed them there to safeguard its image through defending any criticisms that come from the public at various levels that carry the notion of contradiction with government claims. Furthermore, they stated that there are a few humble editors and rare managers that stand for the society and media profession. Unfortunately, they are short lived. One TVO news chief editor said that, “on sensitive cases we have really been debating to not make a sort of professional and audience offense, but it is we that take the responsibility. In TVO, we are undertaking our job at our own risk. There is no such an organizational protection at all. As far as there is somebody with political and economic power, he or she can do whatever he/she wishes to do to us.”

Another reporter from TVO exemplified the following point for further understanding of the notion in point.

If a reporter wants to report the coverage of cobblestone in a given town, he/she has to carefully undertake it. Beginning from the selection of an interviewee and place (selecting background and camera angle). After the field, if there is any view and action indicate certain contradiction to development ideology. The reporter expects two responses from his/her respective editor: ‘this is the view of few people or else you have the problem of outlook’ meaning you are anti-development irrespective of the reality on the ground. (X3)

Ethiopian journalists mention political pressures, low salaries and a lack of professionalism as major obstacles to the improvement of the local media. Self-censorship and close vetting of news reports by politically appointed editors is common Infoasaid (2011, p 13).

Therefore, it is logical to conclude that editors and managers control in a state owned TVO are another factor that negatively affects reality representation of economic development and political freedom. But, it doesn't mean that journalists have no problems. There are also factors related with lack of skill, lack of self-confidence and defining themselves with the society's attitude towards them that few journalists at TVO loves and respects journalism practices but not the profession. This notion of lacking pride and confidence in journalism practices due to stereotypes come from private owned media, opposition political parties, government, societies and journalists themselves Negeri (2013) and Birhanu (2014).

4.3.5 Editorial policy

Editorial independence is needed in both public and private owned media organizations for the media to produce good journalism Bedada (2015). Editorial policy of both televisions appropriate and call for right voice of Oromo people. Thus, it claimed that both run to achieve high quality of journalism so as to satisfy a desire of Oromo to access true information that accounts more than a century and half. In this regard, there are also structural differences.

OMN editorial policies stated that "Trust, credibility, and respect owed by the public to OMN depend on our operational independence; thus, OMN unconditionally embraces the principles of editorial independence, professional integrity, honesty, factual accuracy, and efforts to undertake a balanced reporting" (OMN editorila policies 2014). Furthermore, it points out that "The ultimate purpose of OMN is promoting Oromo national identity (Oromummaa) and culture, and facilitating cross-flow of information. In other words, we wish to better introduce the Oromo people to the global community, and bring international news and knowledge to the Oromo people" (OMN editorila policies 2014).

"In principle there is no disparity between the editorial policies and its practices. As we see in many media organization, you don't expect full editorial policy to be practiced. There may be limitations depending on the situation. It depends on the journalist's view on the issue s/he is

reporting. Because who implement the policy is a journalist. I did not see any interference from the management.” (XX1)

To correspond, the content analysis of OMN shows that it sides any idea and opinion against Ethiopian government that OMN called ‘Woyane or TPLF government.’ It opposes the premise of OMN’s editorial policies that argues “OMN Strive to provide a balance that follows the weight of evidence; and a fair treatment of all sides and parties.”

Practically, in any instances there are no pro Ethiopian government view at all. From this, it is logical to conclude that OMN is fully against the party on the power.

In the same way TVO editorial policies give due emphasis to the betterment of people’s daily life. There is promise that TVO should constructively shows the gap and criticize both development polices and its implementations.

But it disagrees the total ignorance of activities of economic development. Per one chief editor at TVO the justification behind is that “we cannot develop country while destroying or denying the existing progress. Even though there is no significant thing to be seen, its beginning need to be recognized.” (X5). Bedada (2015) also realized that lack of editorial independency has been a challenging factor and deep rooted challenges that hinder professional practices at TVO.

Practically TVO journalists asserted that there are many circumstances in which the media and the journalists breach this editorial policy to fulfill individuals, organizations and government officials’ interest. Being fired from job and various harassments could be faced as a result of deviating from the intention of these interest groups and individuals.

4.3.6 Sources of Information

Sources of information is another factor that highly affects media representation of the reality under study. Both media and journalists have stressed this issue that resulted in conflicting representation of the reality.

The country has only two news agencies the Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) and Walta Information Center (Walta) which are both government controlled. ENA is the largest local news agency in the country which is government funded. It gathers news from all over the country

through its regional desks and also from international media houses while Walta has 39 correspondents in zonal towns Shimelis (2000, p 29). This also serves TVO being the significant source of information. As a result, source of information of state media are controlled by government Negeri (2013). Government officials are used both as source of information in media content and tries to reflect their views. In its practices media was not in way to serve the general public. As a result, TVO practices and what the public expected is highly separated Bedada (2015).

Regarding the sources of information OMN possibly used two main sources: in Oromia, Ethiopia and abroad. Due to the proximity and accessibility, the former has more power and reality regarding the situation at home country. “The major source of information is the peoples living in Oromia. We are closely follow what is happening in Oromia day and night. We have many sources there. If somebody report one news from Ambo we cannot rely only what is said. We have another technic to verify the news. Thus why OMN is the best source of information for Oromo people.” (XX1)

From the content analysis of OMN it can be understood from two perspectives. There are sources that publically show their identity and those who hide their identity for the sake of security and fear of psychological and physical harassment they suffer from the government cadres and security forces at various levels.

Most of the time, information flows via video, audio and image from the home country to broad (outward flow of information). Mainly, information about conditions in the country (especially, during the ongoing Oromo protests) has been given by phone call. Besides, Facebook, whatsapp Viber, E-mail, and Skype were used to get information to and from home. Specifically, higher officials like Oromia police, OPDO officials, students, teachers and various workers at different levels like doctors and other health professionals were the main sources of information. After systematically produced, finally this processed information is broadcasted back (inward flow of information) to the Oromo public.

According to conducted interview with news and current affairs, economic and good governance desks at TVO, the main sources of information are affected with the ideology of development journalism. Thus, it leads journalists to focus on those who have ‘*Ilaalcha Misoomawaa*’-

developmental outlook. “In principle, it infers that whomever they are and whatever their ideology are, but those who are positivist, who do not incite inter violence among different ethnic, religion group and anything that doubt the coexistences of nation, nationality and peoples’ of Ethiopia. Regrettably, in practice, it is equivalent with those who have the mentality of the ruling party, OPDO/EPRDF” (X2). As a result, TVO journalists praise government with no criticism, gives constructive comments and considered as the safeguards of government power. Accordingly, government communicators from federal up to kebeles (the smallest administrative classification) level, agricultural experts, politicians, health extensions, agricultural bureaus, selected elites, political organization (i.e. OPDO), small scale enterprises (IMX), and *Coffee Oromiyaa* are the main sources of news.

Success stories mainly originated from government sources were given more emphasis in development reporting. The success stories are basically economic in nature and are framed from the government officials’ perspectives. The information predominantly comes from government authorities and government news agencies than directly from the public who were supposed to be the major sources of information. As a result, 85% of the practitioners depend on government information for their development reporting. Media portrayal of the government as the champion of development and good governance and the selective presentation of only success stories equated the practices of government media journalists to image building exercise Negeri (2013, p 128).

On the other hand, most of the interviewee stated that welcoming diversity is not applied in TVO. “Most of the time government understands that individuals outside of the ruling political ideology are represented as alien, external, anti-government and deconstructs of this country. Since it is the ruling ideology that informed our media, including such labelled individuals in to our news report, another program and using as source of information is considered as you act against constitution” (X1). Correspondingly, government officials divert what the public needs being as information sources of the news and manipulating the public. Journalists were not able to get information from the grass root public and they reflect the words of political officials Bedada (2015, p 94). Thus, it has damaged the credibility of the media. Consequently, it marginalized the public from the media.

In the course of Oromo's political freedom and economic development representation, it is sound to conclude that there is a sort of using one sided sources. Thus, is resulted in producing one sided story. The case is observed in both televisions under study. Comparatively, OMN is better in attempting to include various sources via different mechanisms.

The total sum of the above listed underlying factors informs the notion of newsworthiness. Accordingly, TVO seeks for the issues that further show the positive and success story of the developmental state. Good achievements of the government and their meetings. In contrast, one OMN journalist asserted that "The newsworthy for OMN is Human rights violation in Oromia and economic in equality. Especially land grabbing. The reason why it has been newsworthy is, the Oromo Peoples asset is only land." (XX2).

So, OMN's sources of information are informed with these principles. Thus, wider public and opposition politicians, activists and international human right institutions are the main sources of information.

As the science of media, there should be diversity in any aspects especially for the credibility, reliability and truthiness of the information or news televisions air. Given the democratic system and development state of Ethiopia, the concepts of pluralism and multi-party with ideological diversity are the main concerns. Most of the journalists at TVO assumed that both government and media are not considering these issues, in practice. Rarely, there are also journalists that perceived that there is a beginning of involving various sources and entertaining diverse views. In general, sources of information in both televisions are highly one-sided against the view of welcoming diverse ideas and realities on the issues under study.

4.4 Master Plan Protests as both Political Freedom and Economic

Development of the Oromo

Both from content analysis and the conducted interview, it is clearly identified that the 'Master Plan' issue can be a good example of discussing political freedom and economic development of the contemporary Oromo. Given the study time, it has widely discussed in both television outlets but represented from diverging view point. Moreover, in various contexts it has recognized that it is very inclusive that it touches history and socio- political and culture of the Oromo. In this

study, particularly it is presented and discussed with its media representation as the political freedom and economic development. Over time, the name has optionally been used in both televisions. Among the names:

- Addis Ababa Master Plan (in 2014)
- Addis Ababa Integrated Development plan (in 2015)
- Addis Ababa and Oromia Special Zone Surrounding Addis Ababa Integrated Master Plan
- Addis Ababa and Oromia Master Plan
- Master Killer

In this study, Master Plan (MP) is consistently used for the sake of its preciseness. Accordingly, Master Plan Protest (MPP) is used to show the protest held against the master plan. The issue of Master Plan has been viewed by media, scholars and politicians from various perspectives since its beginning in 2014.

Modest economic growth and the lack of opportunities in rural areas have fueled massive rural-to-urban migration. The Master Plan is part of an effort to mitigate the city's resulting rapid expansion. But critics contend that the proposal focuses mostly on attracting investors and will ensure the continued erasure of Oromos' historical and cultural values from the city. Protesters on their side, say the central government is trying to evict Oromo farmers from their land under the auspices of urban development, with little or no compensation, essentially turning them into street beggars and daily laborers. Defending to the above claims, the government says its plan is mutually beneficial, will enhance cooperation and will make the area globally competitive by remedying its disorganized spatial growth (Mohammed 2015).

In the name of development people has been ignored freedom; few are benefiting but millions are joining poverty if not struggling to survive. Rather than sensitizing them the media is pursuing sedative under the auspices of development as submissive people at large are being produced in the country seeing that the issue of development became not open for discussion and untouchable (Ameyu 2015).

This quote clearly indicates the argument that government undertakes various hidden agendas under the guise of development. State media have unreplaceable roles in spreading this ideology. Master Plan is one means intended to ignore freedom and joining poverty if not struggling to survive.

Likewise “The campaign with a graphics Say No has been launched after news broke out earlier on September 30, 2015 that the government is finalizing the implementation of the controversial Addis Ababa Integrated Development plan which in 2014 used to be known by the name the Addis Ababa master plan.” Gelana (2015, p 84).

Moreover he analyzed Master Plan protests and its campaigning: *Say No to the Master Plan* on the social media dividing in to two phases. After he studied fourthly campaigning on the social media, ‘*Saying no to the master plan is the other biggest campaign still online.*’ Gelana (2015). Thus, it shows the extent to which Master Plans has been a serious issue.

The Master Plan and its protests have been conflicted from the pro MP and against MP groups. Ethiopia’s political economy has been criticized for assembling unpaired idea of development and democracy at a time.

Ethiopia, a nation came to be a laboratory of political economy is a dish for choose and pick philosophy of politics. The political economy of Ethiopia is democratic developmental state. By their nature such states are repressive. And there has never been a country both democratic and developmental at a time except Ethiopia. Nevertheless, it seems, what we are seeing is not in accord with the political economy (Ameyu 2015).

Relatively contextualizing this quote to the Master Plan issues, government said, ‘It is a new path to development that connect Addis Ababa and Oromia special zones surrounding Addis Ababa in basic services, joint development and integrated activities.’ On the other hand, the mass Oromo stands against it claiming that, ‘It is not about development, instead it is our identity and history.

Even Oromo’s have been claiming their constitutional rights and political freedom to be respected that they have the right of self administration.’ The action and reaction between Oromo

people and government can be realized as a good example of unpaired development and democracy (i.e political freedom).

Coming to the media representation of the Master Plan it has been very controversial issue that even attracts the attention of various international media. In Ethiopia, almost all, state media including TVO and other private media tend to cover the issue from the point of view of EPRDF ruling ideology. With these media, no attention has been given to the protestors in which Oromo people have been asking demanding constitutional question. Consequently, those media have reshaped and belittled the various question to 'the lack of good governance.' As a result, state media have been campaigning against who have been identified as the trouble makers and collaborators of the disruption in the country.

Oppositely, OMN television and other elites have been criticized government and its polarized state media for its notion of belittling Oromo's fundamental question so as to match with government's view of 'good governance.' (OMN1; OMN2 & OMN3)

"OMN has been reporting by listening the heart of Oromo people. Especially lack good governance in Oromia, huge land grabbing and Illegal Master Plan that violates the principle of federalism and the Country's constitution itself. Lately, the government admitted those as a mistake and canceled it." (XX1).

Even these issues have been served in the OMN television as a newsworthy. Thus, it shows how much OMN has been concerned about Oromo farmers. As earlier stated, MP is taken with the belief that it has multi dimensional perspective that includes both development and political freedom. Consequently, in the courses of MPP many actors have been participated. Its horizon becomes widening and worsening from the 2014 MPP.

Mainly there have been students and teachers from elementary to university, farmers, diasporas and other individuals irrespective of religion, status and political ideology. With continuous harsh and repressive responses from Ethiopian and Oromian governments, the MPP has become provocative in nature.

Basically as the case has been studied by some scholars, researchers and media, the reasons behind the nation wide MPP has been pointed out the major ones as follows: (Negaso, 2014 stated

that within two days, MPP became the national concern. *“The violence which erupted around the controversy on so called “Integrated Development Master Plan” of Addis Ababa started in Addamaa University last Tuesday, the 29th of April, 2014, and has spread throughout Oromia.*

Likewise, (Tsegaye 2014; Mekuria 2014; Negaso 2014; Ameyu 2015; Mohammed 2015 & Gelana 2015) have been asserted that MPP is not a newly emerged issue rather it is a historical deep rooted and fundamental questions that Oromo’s have long been asking.

As a result they pointed out that even though the cover is Master Plan the protest goes beyond that. Furthermore, fundamental questions are: (OMN3 & OMN4)

- Constitutional question of self determination that has been stated in the Art 39/1995 of FDRE constitution,
- Question of historical, cultural and national identity - the fear that if the MP is implemented Oromo’s historical, cultural and national identity will be lost,
- Question of political freedom and of survival

An interviewee from TVO stated the following regarding the coverage of controversial Master Plan Protest that causes hundreds killed, thousands prisoned and injured.

First when we heard from OMN and social media mainly Facebook that there was a protest in Ginchi high school. It spread like fire and reached all Oromia thereby it became the regional and country issue. Then TVO journalists asked to cover the issue so as to let the public what was going on. Regrettably, we were not allowed to do so but we had a responsibility as media house. Things continued going worse from time to time. Diaspora based media: OMN and ESAT (Ethiopian Satellite Television) were exposing what has been happening and updating the society. Mainly, the former has been concerned with the issue. Rarely, international media have also covered the issue. In the process government security, federal police, Oromia regional police and military police have been trying to cool down MPP. When the death toll fascinatingly increases, we have been ordered to cover the MPP. The narration of the story given to us before field. Therefore, the journalist should choose and shoot what fits to that narration. Fearing the unexpected situations that has been in the region, government

called us to interview them in their office. They told us that “ In few areas of Oromia region anti-peace agents have been trying to destroy property and incite war in the country. The government has been exposed that there has been a terrorist behind the destruction of property and loss of life. Finally, government announced and alarmed the those who have been knowingly or unknowingly involved in the disruption to withdraw from their action. If not government has planned to destroy them until ‘the devil that calls them back to its place.’ (X1)

Following various press releases and interviews of Ethiopian communication minister, prime minister, the regional president of Oromia and other higher officials, OMN has been analyzing and reported that “Ethiopian government has insulted the ongoing Oromo protests; labelled the protests as the protests have been called by devil and officially declared war on them.”

It has not been as expected; rather Oromo people have been angry to Prime minister of Ethiopia, Haile Mariam’s and communication minister, Getachio Reda’s press release through all state owned media. Following this, day and night the Ethiopia media have been promoting the goodness of the Master Plan and keep on propagating on the protestors through various labelings: narrow minded, terrorist, theft, agents of enemy, anti-peace, anti-development and extremist. Opposing to government and media expectations, government propaganda fired back. As a result, the death toll and property destruction increases.

One editor in chief claims that government made TVO and its journalist liar with the public.

During the ongoing protest in the Oromia, government called us and confess its previous claims and said that “Government is responsible for what have been occurred in the MPP. Further, government recognized that it were legitimate public question and asserted that nobody is behind the protest instead it is happened due to the carelessness of OPDO officials and rent seekers.” Following this we have been propagating for a while. Still, it continues. Then, OPDO announced that the Master Plan is cancelled. Even the continuation seen before that confirmed that MPP was not only the case of Master Plan. (X8)

Here it is observable that our public have been accusing TVO for its conflicting and standless representation of MPP. Here it is observable that our public have been accused TVO for its conflicting and standless representation of MPP.

“All these have not been our job, instead government has been made us the way we were. Finally, they told us “Let the public air out its grievances against the government i.e. OPDO but for nothing; just for the psychological relief” Here also government framed and belittle the fundamental questions of the Oromo to ‘the lack of good governance” (X10)

Per the content analysis of TVO, to cover something as news soon it happens, it must be pro government story, the death of a public figure, or else the issue of another country; If not, the news is changed to documentary or another program.

Discussion held with CEO of OMN, an Oromo activist, and other two MA and PhD students based outside of Ethiopia on April 11, 2015. All participants criticized Oromia development for its non human centered development.

The controversy created among the federal and regional government on the Master Plan. Even there were differences observed between Oromia regional owned TVO and federal state owned television (Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation) EBC. It shows the disagreement between regional and federal government structures. But the differences were few and soon fill the gap.

The 2014 Master Plan Protest confirmed this notion that government took illegal measure on the 17 ORTVO journalists for merely disclosing the ambiguity created around Master Plan and that they suggest discussion should be involve the public from the ground.

Recently, journalists of Oromia Radio and Television Journalists (ORTO) did a deliberation on the controversial master plan of Addis Ababa, however, regrettably, they got an axe for the mere fact they did speak their mind. Hence, we can say that development is like politics in Ethiopia as it is untouched area to be opened for deliberation (Ameyu 2015).

Coming to the media representation of MP and MPP have been seen from two divergent angles. Firstly, TVO tends to see it from OPDO/EPRDF point of that it is pure development agenda that is prepared jointly by both Addis Ababa and Oromia regional government contrary to its previous criticism that the MP lacks public involvement and it is the sole plan of Addis Ababa.

Recently, in May 2016 Jawar Mohammed, the CEO of OMN explained that OMN has been jammed more than 15 times by France and other technologically developed nation through the fund ‘*Woyane* led ERDF’ paid. Even OMN has actively been using social media especially Facebook and YouTube to keep the public aware. Thus why Gelana (2015) stated “The lack of free media made the Oromo belief that Facebook is the gift of GOD for them.”

Another face of the Master Plan Protest. As discussed in chapter two representation is all about how we see things and make sense of it thereby we communicate with world. Similarly, the content analysis of OMN and conducted interview with TVO corresponds that MPP has another version of truth and justification with the Oromo. For instances, president of Oromia regional government Obbo Muktar Kedir has been announced the following concerning the Master Plan Protest:

Basically, he stated and believes that having questioning citizen is a symbol of healthy society. This MPP has not continued so far for the reason that people do not want it. Thus, the government would like to thank the wide public. Secondly, the government extends its gratitude to the security forces for killing the anti-peace protests so as to restore the already exist peace and stability.

Analysts warn that continued violent responses to peaceful protesters could bode ill for Ethiopia’s future Mohammed (2015). Indeed, the prognosis confirmed in the 2015, second phase of MPP Gelana (2015). Furthermore, Bonnie Holcomb, an author and anthropologist based in Washington, D.C., said the current situation mirrors the violence of 2014. “The international media were silent when Ethiopian police opened fire into crowds, killing 68, permanently disabling hundreds and arresting thousands. Now the next stage of the Master Plan is being implemented; Ethiopian police have moved in to suppress this united demonstration of protest. Government sharpshooters are firing into crowds and killing students again,” she said Mohammed (2015). Still, it continues to be an issue on different national and international media. It is portrayed both from right and left wings- pro and against the ongoing Oromoprotests.

4.4.1 Strengthen and weakness of the Master Plan Protests

4.4.1.1 Strengthen of the Master Plan Protests

- Even though it has been earned by the loss of precious human life, certain questions had got responses from the government i.e. cancellation of Addis Ababa Master Plan (AAMP) and the decision to revise the approved proclamation concerning the Oromia towns;
- In the history of modern Ethiopia, it is the first time that Oromo people highly united against the undemocratic rule of government;
- Peaceful and systematic manner of protesting: boycotting food, boycotting specific production that has connection in line with public's question and Silence mourning in the campus of colleges and universities as well.



Figure 3 silent protests by the Haramaya University students following the government crackdown of Oromo peaceful protests (Source: Ethiopian Human Rights Project, March 2016)



Figure 4 Oromoprotests at Minilik II hospital against the killing of Oromo peaceful protesters

(Source:www.google.com.et/search?q=Oromo+protest+images+of+killed+students&rlz=1C1CHWA_enET616ET616&biw=1366&bih=677&noj=1&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwis69e0h4TNAhXJyRQKH2NBmoQ_AUIBygB#imgrc=hYfXISlaUlsopM%3A)

Both of the above pictures have been captured during the Master Plan Protest which came to be known as #Oromoprotests. Silence mourning and boycotting of food by Haramaya University Oromo students, doctors and health staff at Minilik II hospital. The peaceful protests can strengthen of the #Oromoprotests because it harms no body.

4.2.1.2 Weakness observed in the courses of the Master Plan Protests

- Lack of good leadership from the protestors - that is resulted from: one side, OFC, the vibrant Oromo opposition political party and its leaders accounted for more than 75% are announced to be in prison that they could not do this activity. As a result, what should be and should not be done have been mixed up.
- Lack of organization- this was happened due to the absence of good leadership; there have been some indications that the protest has been changed to another agenda like inciting inter- religious and inter- ethnic conflicts (but still who have undertaken the activity either government or the protestors is debatable which resulted in destroying and burning of both public and private properties).

4.4.2 Causes of the Master Plan Protests

- Carelessness of the government to the repeated public questions
- The absence of responsibility and transparency from the government side

- The disagreement between Oromia regional and central government structures; with in the region as well
- Irresponsibly killing, harassing and jailing the protestors that further incite the protests
- Intended killing of youngsters to the extent of 12 age



Figure 5 Oromo Protests at Ambo town, Western Oromia

(Source:https://www.google.com.et/search?q=Oromo+Protests+with+captions&rlz=1C1CHWA_enET616ET616&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj1ML8td7NAhUFvRQKHb99DIMQsAQIMg&biw=1517&bih=752&dpr=0.9#imgrc=FVYM)

- Denying the any public gatherings including market days and other public gatherings
- Denying the burial ceremony of those who died in the course of the protest: this further escalates the ongoing #Oromoprotests in the past five months. Culturally, Oromo said, “*Duutii fi cidhi tokkodha*” it implies that mourning and wedding days are the most respected days.

It is perceived that both days have a special ceremony because they come once in a life never come again. In line with this, there are various value laden indigenous practices on the burial ceremony. One among others is, relatives and families angrily speaks out their grievances towards government and its securities. Though this, the Oromo protests have been expanded to unusual places: both in rural and urban settings.

In general, the sum total of the above listed factors contributed to include various actors in this protests. Many Oromo singers have been producing nostalgic songs that have been using as the engine of the Oromo protests. Among them Chala Bultume, Hachalu Hundessa and Ittutuqa Tefari have been the aforementioned ones.

Similarly Poets, writers, researchers and activists have been moving the protest forward. Beside to OMN, social media i.e. Facebook Gelana (2015) has been crucial means of supporting the Oromoprotests. It is understood that various type of songs, dances, poetry and other creative works have been the means through which people make heard their voice. People to struggle for social justice, urge the common people to object evil deeds, aware the commons to condemn undemocratic governance, and to request for respect of human being each one of which happened in different parts of the world at different times Zelalem (2013).

Thus, in different places both federal and Oromia regional governments have been faced difficulty. Terribly federal police and defense forces have been killed and injured while they have been stopped the protestors. In this courses there have been clashes between state police and Oromo protestors that left untold traumas in the heart of all Oromo. As a result, with the total cancellation of the Master Plan, the life of many have been sacrificed. Tragically, the plan confirms its nick name that it is the Master Killer.

4.4.3 Consequences of the Master Plan Protests

- Killing of more than 600 people that includes mainly students and rarely teachers, farmers, merchants, private workers, government employees in almost all age, status, religion and places
- Destructions of government, public and private property
- the weaknesses of both regional and central governments
- Boycotting/closing of schools
- Jail of thousands of Oromos
- Developing the fear of ethnic tensions
- Mass killing (Not targeting even those who have been on the protests) and raping of females in their dormitory
- Denying injured victims access to be health care and to be treated
- Denying to give the dead bodies of who have been killed by regional and federal polices

- Denying the family to not bury their children died on the protests
- Government ignorance of the public interest and reliance on some of its cadres
- The emigration of Oromo youths that was resulted in the deaths of many on the Mediterranean Sea.
- Brutality of the government and its police and security forces



Figure 6 Oromo protests at Babicha Town, Western Oromia

(Source:www.google.com.et/search?q=Oromo+Protests+with+captions&rlz=1C1CHWA_enET616ET616&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj1ML8td7NAhUFvRQKHb9DlMQsAQIMg&biw=1517&bih=752&dpr=0.9#imgrc=x5luGUxB2ox-RM%3A)

Another confirmation that the demand of Oromo protests are complex and beyond than protest against the Master Plan, is until the end of the study, the protests and government measure were underway.

With this regard, the updates of majority Oromo activists hold true. Dr. Tsegaye Ararssa, a prominent Oromo activist who has actively been participating in the Oromo protests, posted on his Facebook timeline on June 13 at 8:14pm · Melbourne, VIC, Australia

Seven months into the #Oromoprotests, we keep saying NO!!!

We keep saying NO to the land grab, the killings, the mass arrests, the tortures, the bureaucratic/Exam violence, and the general act of State terror in Oromia and in the wider country. Above all, we say NO to the suppression of the truth by the lie fabricated by the state apparatus (the latest instance of which is the one issued by Ethiopian Human Rights Commission).

- We resist and persist in our resistance. We will not relent. We will not relax until the people are heard. We will resist until justice is done.
- We will resist until all the thugs and the criminals using the machinery of the state are properly dealt with and put in their place.
- We refuse to be distracted by a renewed war talk across the borders.
- We say NO to war inside and outside the country.
- We say NO to wars conducted in our name. We say NO, NOT IN OUR NAME!
- We say NO and we keep resisting because resistance now is our default position, a way of life forced upon us.

Yes, this space of resistance is not a place of our choice, as it is a place that is not a place. And yet, from this space of placeless-ness, we say NO!!!!

To conclude, the demand of Oromo Protests are developing from time to time leaving incurable pains in all Oromo hearts. Denial and harsh measures responses of government are further escalating the damages and worsening the scenario. Pseudo government promises to peacefully curb problems related Oromo demand is practically null. Thus, it doubts the peaceful and stability of the Ethiopian people.

4.5 The Notion of Media Labeling In Representation of Political Freedom and Economic Development of the Oromo

The study identifies that the notion of labeling is seen on both OMN and TVO contents. Conducted interview with news and current affairs indicates that TVO are very concerned with varies terminologies used in the representation of political freedom and economic development. Contrarily, it is affected by earlier listed factors. Thus, practically the intervention of various political officials, media managers and editors made this concern valueless effort.

Accordingly one in chief editor of TVO news room stated that

We have been struggling of not using terminologies thrown from political officials, parties and different interest groups. For instance, there was serious debate on the usage of various terminologies during the protest in Oromia. Government officials simply label some group calculating their benefit as a group but they do not care about the consequences it will bring. As media we are so concerned about it. In the protest lasts for five months, our news room showed its concerns on different editorial discussions, briefing, and discussion as news and current affairs. (X1 & X9)

The interviewees from news and current affairs stated that on their side also there is a tendency of simply copying and using labeling terminologies that higher politicians speak. As a media institution this should be after it is verified with court decision that the label is really fit to the idea and deeds of certain individual and or group. Concerning this, chief editor at TVO news and current affairs pointed out this idea:

Concerning labeling it is after we discussion with our staff members (news and current affairs) that to some extent we have decided not to use labeling terminologies that are not yet verified with our media and court as well. Prior to the discussion various labeling terminologies: anti-peace, anti- development, anti- democracy, terrorist, devil or enemy and violent group have been used in TVO. Instead of these we moderate them to terminologies like some groups, few forces want to use students, groups who want to protest against the government. It does not mean this is enough; considering the reality on the ground, the struggle of verifying all information used in our news room and our TV continuous until fully deciding what terminologies should and should not be used. (X1)

On the side of OMN the notion of labeling are from the divergent view with TVO. Here the labeling further goes to the government and its actors at various level. OMN appreciates any protest and struggle against the government and demoralize activities undertaken by government. Thus, the labeling practiced from the opposite to the state owned TVO. It labels government policies, actions and measures in the course of improving peace and stability, economic development and insuring political freedom.

In response to TVO's government and media labeling of the Oromo one editor senior reporter at OMN stated that, "The terminologies used to label OMN and the whole Oromo people as anti-peace and terrorist is expected. Because is the type of dictator governments. As Derg regime labeled TPLF and others as sellout and red terror. Ethiopia government is using those terminologies to silence free media, Oromo activists and Oromo politicians."(XX1)

In turn the notion of labeling in OMN is justified that the terms have been carried out with the justification that in human and undemocratic treatment of the Oromo on its own resources and country. Additionally, various international human rights institutions and scholars have been confirmed our media label. Further the content analysis of OMN television regarding labeling given the issue under study reflected with in the given time frame were the following ones:

- To say Ethiopian government, the media used *Mootummaa Wayyaanee* – Tigreayan People Liberation Front- TPLF government or else TPLF led EPRDF
- Fascist , killer, murderer, and Genocider Ethiopian government
- Instead of Master plan 'Master killer'
- Protestors in Oromo are represented as Peaceful protestors, innocents and civilians struggling their constitutional rights
- All bad and evil deeds are generalized as government undertakes and all good and constructive deeds as undertaken by protests.

In can be concluded that in both televisions the courses of labeling creates the dichotomy of we and they, ours and theirs; thesis and anti-thesis; constructionist and deconstructionist; violent and peaceful, terrorist and freedom fighter and others as well.

4.6 Implications of Media Representation of Oromo's Political Freedom and Economic Development in Case of Oromia Television and Oromia Media Network

The study shows that the manner in which the two televisions represent Oromo's political freedom and economic development totally vary from one another for different reasons discussed within them. Furthermore, the underlying factors have been clearly discussed that reality representation of the cases in point are highly kept apart.

Concerning the issue under the study, one might ask, well OMN represents this way and TVO represents that way; then what? Then the question of implication comes. What does these divergent reality representation mean? These notion of representing the same reality of an Oromo from conflicting angle have various implications in the process of democratization, improving the economic life of the citizens, ensuring the independence of a country, peaceful co-existence of different nation, nationality and people's in Oromia and Ethiopia as well and beyond.

The first and foremost implication is that it forms two different groups regarding the issue under study. Specifically, the study shows that TVO has been and is deceiving the audiences through presenting one sided and cooked information all over the region. Most of the TVO journalists argue that both economic and political wise there are a beginning. Irrespective to this view content analysis of OMN television recognizes nothing as the result of Ethiopian government, instead anything understood as the result of more than a century struggle of Oromo. Further, per the latter ones has the implication that the struggle is yet not achieved.

In the long run, this conflicting representation concerning the same reality will arise real conflict among the people whose reality is misrepresented favoring one and rejecting the other and vice versa. Consequently, it may hamper the peaceful co-existence of different nations, nationalities and people of Ethiopia due to controversial representation of media.

Most of the time OMN represents people belonging to other ethnic background that are living in Oromia as the agents of government to surrender Oromo, stop the Oromo protest and devalue the legitimate Oromo people's question in various instances. Further, OMN content justifies this notion with the usual campaign undertaken by both government and its polarized media to condemn the Oromo people and devalue its fundamental question.

It is true in the recent Oromo protest that these people have not been engaged in the protest. Further, they have been involved in the campaign against this protest using state and regional media. As a result being with government agents and certain Oromo spy, they have been propagating against Oromo protest and belittle their fundamental questions to 'good governance'. Moreover OMN content justifies this notion with the usual campaign undertaken by both government and its polarized media to condemn the Oromo people and devalue its fundamental question. As a result, OMN has been highly protesting such interferences from another ethnic background. In the future, it indicates that an accumulation of past grievance and aggravation will result in more tension in the peaceful co-existence of different nations and nationalities.

Today there are certain indications that confirm this notion in various instances of the Oromo protest. It seems that labeling theory is actively working. With different state owned media, Oromo and its questions and protests have repeatedly been labeled as 'a narrow-minded, terrorist, anti-peace and anti-development, robbery and outlaw activity.

Per the content analysis of OMN, 'TPLF' led EPRDF has long been used many techniques to criminalize and punish the Oromo and its protest. Among the techniques rising inter-ethnic and inter-religion conflict among the Oromo and within other ethnic group are the major but recently outdated technique that everybody is aware of. Practically, there were burning of religious places and injuring and killing of government agents. Destroying the homes and properties of an individual who cooperate with government. Moreover traders, investors, companies and other sectors suspected of supporting government who was detaining and killing of an innocent students and Oromo protestors. Therefore the above discussed points and its escalations from time to time indicate that the future of this country will be in doubt; it challenges an Ethiopian federal system as well.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

From the finding of the study the researcher has concluded the following grand points:

OMN represents political freedom and economic development of the Oromo as unfree and undeveloped respectively. This media argues that there are undemocratic and repressive governments both at Oromia regional and federal state. Similarly, it represents economic development of the region as undeveloped. Further, it views development of Oromo as “TPLF led EPRDF/OPDO” development which the ruling party used for Oromo’s land grabbing and resource looting. Thus, OMN forwards prerequisites that can realize the development of Oromo people. Political disassociation (self-determination); economic independence and ideological freedom from colonial slavery of EPRDF are the main ones.

There are solid indications that as government repression increases and hard measures are taken, the political freedom goes worsening as a result more violence and tensions emerge in the country. Specifically, the study shows that the government and media responses to an ongoing #Oromoprotests over time became another causes for further protests. In line with this, it elaborates that in place of solving public question and problem from its root, government has been used various pseudo defenses to detain journalists, politicians, students, teacher and other Oromo people at various level. In turn it escalates the issues and resulted in the death hundreds life and left thousands in prison. Thus, it may hampers public peace and stability.

Contrarily, Oromia Television represents political freedom and economic development of the Oromo from the ruling government’s point of view. Thus, both issues are represented from pro government ideology. TVO represents the subject matter as going well and developing since 1991. Oromos are represented in TVO as the main beneficiaries from the contemporary Ethiopian political freedom and economic development. So, there is a tendency that using economic efforts for the political consumption and promotion of the ruling party’s ideology. It

has the notion that political freedom is ensured and there is fast economic development among the Oromo people. Thus, the life of the Oromo farmers is changing better.

The study indicates that development agenda now a days is overwhelming and restricting the legitimate survival and freedom of the Oromo people that has already guaranteed in the FDRE and regional constitutions. Investigation and Criticism towards political and economic issues are considered as being critical to government policy and its implementations.

In both televisions, there is a trend of one sided stories in the courses of their representations that only support their very goals and basic arguments. As government ignores the people's question, the gap between them goes wider and it would result in the media's loss of credibility and trust from the public.

The study identifies main factors affecting both media outlets representation of political freedom and economic development of the Oromo people. They are Media ownership, media ideology, government control, editors and managers' control, editorial policies and sources of information. Thus, the aggregate of these factors determine the manner in which both media outlets divergently represent the Oromo reality. But their degree of affecting the representation vary from one to another. These factors are highly interconnected and re inforce one another.

In both televisions their editorial policies are understood as the ultimate document that rules the overall process of their media house. In practice, the study shows that there are moments that these claims can be compromised. Thus, though it is on different degree, editorial policies of both televisions are realized that it is not well practiced.

The study concludes that in practice government is systematically manipulating various laws like Anti-terrorism, land lease proclamation, Oromia towns proclamation and Addis Ababa Master Plan to override and restrict constitutionally and internationally guaranteed freedoms of development, speech, expression and thought.

Master Plan discussion puts substantiated realities that confirmed prior conclusions of the study. TVO represents Master Plan as part and parcel of both political freedom and economic development. In turn, its protestors "Oromoprotests" are understood as the disruption and violence against the democratic and developmental government. In reality, the protests have

various complex and interconnected factors, but it has been ongoing under the umbrella of ‘Master Plan Protest’ that latter on known to as “Oromoprotests”

OMN represents Master plan as ‘the Master Killer’ that was planned to destroy and undertake genocide against Oromo people, its culture, identity and history so as to replace it with another as it had done to Finfinne. It has been represented as the plan of Oromo’s land grabbing and resource looting. Thus, Master Plan Protests is represented as a right struggle that an Oromo have been undertaken to respect its political and economic and constitutional rights.

In the course of representing the issue under study, there were a sort of labeling one other. The labeling terminologies are so elusive and demoralizing. Within the study time frame the following terminologies are redundantly used: “*Woyane, Terrorist, Mafia, genocide, TPLF led Ethiopian government and Master Killer or land grabbing; a terrorist, narrow-minded, enemies, half-human, anti-peace and anti-development forces, who desire to forcefully take power*”. In both media outlets these have equally employed to degenerate and stereotype one other. The study shows that media labeling has another implications that doubt the peaceful coexistences of Ethiopian nation, nationality and peoples. Especially TVO has been provoking conflict and causes various undesirable results.

Indeed, TVO and OMN conflicting representations of Oromo’s political freedom and economic development have various implications in terms of political stability, peaceful coexistences of various ethnic group political parties and religions of the country. It realized that government ignorance of public voice and not learning from the past errors that have been recommitted on the Oromo people may lead the country to undesirable condition. It has serious implications to the extent that it doubts and erodes the core principles of democratic systems and economic development of the Oromo.

5.2 Recommendations

From the findings and conclusions of the study, the researcher has come up with the following recommends.

The study witnessed that hard measures like killing and imprisoning of the Oromo (peaceful) protestors further escalates the tension and leads the situation to undesirable outcomes. This may in turn incite the protestors ready to join armed struggle groups so as to face government forces. Thus, it will be resulted in the escalation of conflict that hampers public peace and stability. The absenteeism of autonomous institution and think tank groups that are free of politics and any other interests is another controversy. The manner in which the case of Master Plan Protest or Oromoprotests has been treated, the action and reaction in its courses and the number of injured, killed and imprisoned people have two extremes probably irrespective of the reality on the ground.

In case of Master Plan Protest that later known as #Oromoprotests, the study identifies that the government has shown the tendency of ignoring the protestors constitutional question; instead government has been exaggerating the faults of peaceful protestors. As journalism profession, balance of the stories have to be considered. Beyond than one sided stories, TVO has waiting for the issues until it reaches the point that government is looking for to divert Oromo's fundamental questions. This government strategy of diverting public question which has long been used intensifies mistrust and enmity between the government and the Oromo people. Therefore, the researcher recommends that this trend has to be changed so as to keep the balance of the news that allows both sides of the stories to be considered and to pay due respect to the fundamental questions of the public.

Ethiopian Human Right Commission (EHRC) announced in June 2016 that only 173 people have killed in the course of Oromoprotests. Strengthening that the measures were appropriate and proportional. In the meantime Human Rights Watch (HRW) specified that 400 people of mostly students have killed by Ethiopian security and police. It show the same trend with the first phase Master Plan Protest during 2014. No negotiable reality at all. Irrespective to both statements, Oromo activists, politicians and OMN as well have claimed that, more than six hundred people

have been killed by government security and police. Adding that the killing, detaining, harassing and imprisoning of the Oromo is still underway.

Thus, the researcher recommends that there should be think tank and independent groups that are free of any interventions either pro government or against government so as to investigate on the specific issues and happenings so as to narrow the gap seen between the two conflicting representations of the same reality. Furthermore, the government has to peacefully and responsibly deal with public protests like Oromoprotests. Governments both at regional and federal levels have to learn from their past errors and exert their utmost effort not to recommit the same fault in the future. They should pay due respect to the citizen's enquiries and respond to them constitutionally.

Additionally the study shows that there is unconstitutional government control on the journalists at TVO and even illegal and illogical suppression, harassments and prisoning have been undertaken by government officials and security forces to the extent that it could not be justified. Thus, the researcher recommends for the TVO administration to be independent and powerful so as to protect innocent and self-assertive journalists from such harmful measures.

Besides, the study concludes that there are illegal and unconstitutional measures taken on the TVO journalists. As a result, journalists neglect other side of the stories due to fear of heavy government hand. In turn it damages journalism profession. Thus, the researcher recommends the establishment of a sort of independent organization that protects journalists from illegal harms and makes both federal and regional governments responsible and hold accountable for illegal measures against journalists. In so doing, media and journalists freedom may be ensured.

In general terms the researcher recommends that unless and otherwise the media and journalists are allowed to work per the principles of their profession, issues may be out of control. Government, media owners and media managers should not repress media freedom and freedom of expression of the people that have long been guaranteed by constitution. Though press freedom has long been guaranteed in FDRE constitution, pragmatically the extent of exercising this freedom is being eroded systematically and in very visible manner. For instance the Anti-terrorism proclamation no. 652/2012 has narrowed the value given to the press freedom, as a result many journalist have been the victim.

Therefore, the researcher recommends for the revisions of these laws that restricts freedom of press and freedom of expression through take in to account the current practices of these rights. With due respect, proclamations, laws and regulations should create a conducive environment under which the media freely and independently operate. Thus, the first intention of any laws and regulations should be for the good of public at large. If not the trend will doubt the very existences of democratic system and press freedom.

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Appendexes I

Translation of Afan Oromo Words

Finfinnee	Addis Ababa
Sirna Gadaa	Indigenous Oromo Socio Political and Administrative System
Ilaalcha Misoomawaa	Developmental Attitude
Mirga Abbaa Biyyuummaa	The Right to Father Land, Ownership
Afaan Oromo	Oromo Language
Oromiyaa/Biyya	Oromo, the Land Of Oromo
Misooma	Development
Dinagdee	Economy
Qonna	Agriculture
Bariisaa	The First Afan Oromo News Paper
Farreen Nageenyaa	Anti-Peace Agents or Forces
Oduu	News
Qophii Addaa	Special Program
Xiinxala Siyaasa	Political Analysis
Bilisummaa Miidiyaa	Media Freedom
Caffee Oromiyaa	Oromia Regional Parliament
Oromummaa	Oromo Nationalism

Appendexes II

Online Retrieved programmes:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A_q0wkc6CeM 2015

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v5QXQ-koFKc> 14 jan 2016

OMN1: A discussion held with Prof. Tahiro and Prof. Bedhasa on the special program of OMN

OMN2 :A discussion held with CEO of OMN and a political analysist, Jawaar Mohammed,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wyz5hXReciQ1> Jan 2016

OMN3: OMN: Marii Dr. Obsa Hassan fi Ob. Girmaa Hassan waliin taasifnee #OromoProtests,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XtsEMgAF4NE30> Dec 2016

OMN4: Discussion held with CEO of OMN, an Oromo activist, and other two MA and PhD students based abroad

Oduu OMN, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yXdtaKIKL7Y> 21 Jan 2016

Oduu Oromia TV22 02 2016 Galgala sa'aa 4 <https://youtu.be/IKP4HpsceoI23> feb, 2015

OTV11: Marii barbaachisumaa nageenyaa Arsii Doodoolaa 23 Feb 2015

OTV12: Marii haala yeroo, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j70Ki0Snaxs> 27 Dec 2015

OTV13: Waltajjii Haala yeroo irrati ummataa waliin Kabajamaa obbo Muktaar kadiir gaggeessan TVO https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yK_24fVhbSU 7 March 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v5QXQ-koFKc> 14 January 2016

OMN5: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wyz5hXReciQ1> 1 Jan 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XtsEMgAF4NE30> Dec 2105, OMN: Marii Dr. Obsa Hassan fi Ob. Girmaa Hassan waliin taasifnee #OromoProtests

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yXdtaKIKL7Y> Oduu Ammme 21, 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j70Ki0Snaxs> 27 Dec 2015

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A_q0wkc6CeM

<https://youtu.be/xFLvig3NUDA>

<https://youtu.be/PHxGJiC08s>

<https://youtu.be/IKP4HpsceoI>

Appendexes III

Sources retrieved from ORTVO Archive:

OTOM 27/07/08

OTOMB 23/07/08

BRD 001050708 WT

BRD 110808TG

OTOS Q1108HG

BRD0020708TA

BRD00170708TAF

OTOQ020808J

OTOQQ030808

BRD003260708GL

OTOMJ080808ABFF

OTOMBG270708VM

OTOM 4/12/2016

Appendexes IV

An In-Depth Interview Questions: Media Representation of Oromo's Political Freedom and Economic Development

Year of service: -----

Position/role: -----

1. How do you view the state of press freedom and freedom of speech, in OMN and among the Oromos?
2. Given the firing of journalists from ORTO in 2014, how do you view the practices of free media and freedom of speech?
3. Do you think that there are problems related to media representation of political freedom and economic development in Oromia?
 - 3.1 If yes, what do you think of possible solutions for the improvement of representing political freedom and economic development of Oromia?
4. How do you view and justify the labeling of certain terminologies used in OMN and TVO in representing political freedom and economic development especially during the Oromo protest in Oromia as anti-peace, anti- development and terrorist vs. peaceful protestors that your media outlet are using?
5. What is your view regarding the disparity in representing political freedom and economic development of the Oromo in TVO and OMN?
6. Does TVO share something in common with OMN concerning the representation of political freedom and economic development of the Oromo?
 - 6.1 If yes, what are they?
7. Why do you think these two media portray the issue differently?
8. What are the indicators that political freedom and economic development of the Oromo is harmoniously represented by OMN institution?

9. How do you view the consequences of representing the political and development issue Oromia differently from the two media?
10. How does OMN represent the economic development of Oromia?
11. How does OMN represent the political freedom of Oromia?
12. What are the elements/characteristics of political freedom per your media institution?
13. How does OMN view the state of press freedom, freedom of speech, the right to demonstration, and the right to elect and to be elected among the Oromos?
14. What are the underlying factors make OMN the way it is representing political freedom and economic development of the Oromo?
15. What sort of relationship does exist between OMN and the government?
16. Is there any disparity between editorial policy and practices in your media house?
- 16.1 If Yes, what kind of difference?
17. What are the major sources of information about the political freedom and development for your media institution?
18. How do you justify/verify them?
19. How does OMN prioritize the newsworthy concerning the issue under study?
20. How do you view the way different forms of political freedom is expressed?

Afan Oromo Version of an In-Depth Interview Questions: Media Representation of Oromo's
Political Freedom and Economic Development

- **Bara Tajaajilaa:**-----
- **Gahee Hojii:**-----

- 1 Akka yaada keetti miidiyaa walabaa fi walabummaa yaada ofii ibsachuu Oromiyaa fi dhaabbata miidiyaa keessanii akkamitti ilaalta?

2. Dhimma gaazexeessitoota bara 2006 E.C. Dhaabbata Raadiyoo fi Televiziyinii Oromiyaarraa ari'atamanii fi seera miidiyaa bilisaa akkamitti ilaalta?
3. Akka yaada keetti, haalli itti miidiyaan keessan walabummaa siyaasaa fi guddina dinagdee Oromiyaa dhiyeessu rakkina qaba jettee yaaddaa?
 - 3.1 Yoo jira jetteef, haala kamiin furmaata argachuu danda'a?
4. Mormiin Oromiyaa keessatti adeemsifamaa ture akka gocha farra nageenyaa, farra misoomaa fi gocha humnoota badii ta'usaa akkamitiin dhugoomsita?
5. Haala dhiyeessa TVO fi OMN dhimmi walabummaa siyaasa fi guddina dinagdee Oromiyaa irratti ilaalcha akkamii qabda?
6. TVO fi OMN dhimma biisummaa siyaasaa fi guddina dinagdee Oromiyaa ilaalchisee waanti yaanni isaan ittiin wal fakkaatan jiraa?
 - 6.1 Yoo jiraate maal fa'i?
7. Miidiyaaleen kunneen lameen (TVO fi OMN) maaliif dhimmi tokko haala garaagaraatiin dhiyeessu?
8. Akka Oromiyaatti wantootni akkaataan dhiyeessi Dhaabbatni TVO walabummaa siyaasaa fi guddina dinagdee naannichaa calaqqisiisan maal fa'i?
9. Akka ilaalcha keetti garaagarummaan miidiyaaleen Oromoo lama dhimma tokko irratti (guddinaa fi siyaasaa) Oromoo irratti yaada garaagaraa (yeroo baayyee kan wal faallessu) dhiyeessan kun maal maal geessisuu danda'a jettee yaadda?
10. Dhaabbanni miidiyaa keessan guddina dinagdee Oromiyaa akkamitti dhiyeessa?
11. Dhaabbanni miidiyaa keessan walabummaa siyaasa Oromiyaa akkamitti dhiyeessa?
12. Akka TVO tti, amalootni bu'uuraa bilisummaa siyaasaa Oromoo ta'an maal fa'i?
13. Dhaabbanni TVO, yaadolee akka miidiyaa bilisaa, mirgaa bilisaan yaada ofii ibsachuun, mirga hiriira nagayaa bahuu fi mirga filuufi filatamuu Oromootaa akkamitti ilaala?

14. Sababootni gurguddoon haala ittin TVO walabummaa siyaasaa fi guddina dinagdee Oromoo ittiin hubatee dhiyeessaa jiru duuba jiran maal fa'i?
15. Dhaabbata televiiziyoonii Oromiyaa fi mootummaa gidduglaeessaa gidduu walitti dhufeenya akkamiitu jira?
16. Akka dhaabbata miidiyaa keessaniitti Iditooriyaal poolisii fi sirna raawwii isaa gidduu garaagarummaan n jiraa?
 - 16.1 Yoo jira ta'eef, kanneen akkamii fa'i?
17. Televiiziyoonii Oromiyaaf maddi odeeffannoo ijoo haala walabummaa siyaasa fi guddina dinagdee Oromiyaa ibsu eessaa dhufa?
18. Odeeffannoo maddeen kanneen irraa fudhattan akamiin dhugummaasaa mirkaneessitu?
19. Akkamiittin dhaabbanni TVO odeeffannoo dhimmi bilisummaa siyaasaa fi guddina dinagdee Oromoo irratti funaannatu keessaa kan oduuf dhiyaachuu qabu yookiin dursi kennamufii qabu murteessa?
20. Dhaabbanni TVO bu'uuralee walabummaa siyaasaa garaagaraa bifa kamiin calaqqisiisaa?

Yaada keessaniif guddaa galatoomaa!