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FRAMING OF THE 2015/16 AMHARA  
ጸገ AND OROMIA REGIONS PROT  
IN THE ETHIOPIAN PRINT MEDIA:  
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ADDIS  
ZEMEN AND THE ETHIOPIAN  
REPORTER AMHARIC NEWSPAPERS

Sojat, Fedlu

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**FRAMING OF THE 2015/16 AMHARA AND OROMIA REGIONS' PROTESTS IN  
THE ETHIOPIAN PRINT MEDIA: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ADDIS  
ZEMEN AND THE ETHIOPIAN REPORTER AMHARIC NEWSPAPERS**

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**School of Graduate Studies**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Sojat Fedlu, entitled: “The Framing of the Amhara and Oromia Regions Protests in The Ethiopian Print Media: The case of Addis Zemen and the Reporter Amharic Newspapers” and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Media and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality. Signed by the Examining Committee:

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Examiner \_\_\_\_\_ sig. \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Advisor \_\_\_\_\_ sig. \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

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Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator

## Abstract

The 2015-16 Ethiopian protest is a series of protests that started on August 2015 in Oromia region and then spread in to different parts of the country mainly, Amhara region, Konso zone, and Gedeo zone. This study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative content analyses to examine how news articles written by Addis Zemen and the Reporter Amharic newspapers portrayed the 2015/16 Ethiopian protests. The study examined the newspapers based on the thematic theoretical framework of framing. Thus, it examined through conflict, economic consequences, Value/ morality, attribution of responsibility and human-interest frames. In addition, to the above frames the newspapers analyzed based on connotations and references. In this regard, “Anti-Peace” and “Protest” frames derived from the literature. The study revealed that Addis Zemen used “Anti – Peace”, Conflict and “Protest” frames predominantly. On the other hand, “Protest” and Conflict frames discovered as the dominant frames for the Amharic Reporter. Addis Zemen frequently argued that the protests are the activities of anti-peace and anti-development groups who were bearing hidden agenda to destabilize the country. However, the Reporter did not use such references. Rather, it emphasizes on the negative implications of such connotations and tries to present the root causes of the issue. Framing indicates that editorial decisions about which terms to use in a news story, which attributes of a person or an issue to highlight, and what social values to invoke can affect the audiences’ opinions. These decisions are not necessarily deliberate, but they can be one of the great consequence. “Schemas” (Scheufele, 1999). Therefore, depend on the analysis and the finding the study recommended to the newspapers, or other media outlets and decision makers the following points. To provide and make news stories in journalistic standards, the media ought to give a chance to ordinary people and be a voice to the voiceless, the government needs to have an open ear for different complaints and also it needs to identify how the people perceive the protest by opening dialogues with the general public and different stakeholders.

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## **Acronyms**

### **Media outlets**

AJE - Al-Jazeera English

CNN - Cable News Network

BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation

EBC - Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation

ETV – Ethiopian Television

FBC - Fana Broadcasting Corporate

ENA – Ethiopian News Agency

RTLMC - Radio Television Libre Mille Collines

### **Political parties and other organizations**

FDRE- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

EPRDF - Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front

ANDM - Amhara Nationality Democratic Movement

OPDO - Oromo People Democratic Organization

TPLF - Tigray People Liberation Front

SPLF - Southern People Liberation Front

EDF - Ethiopia Democratic Front

EDP – Ethiopian Democratic Party

EVP – Ethiopian Vision Party

EFC- Ethiopian Federalist Congress

CSA - Central Statistical Agency of

EU - European Union

HRW - Human Rights Watch

IGO - Intergovernmental Organization

OAU - Organization of African Union

RVI - Rift Valley Institute

SNNPR - Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region

WAIC - Wolkait Amhara Identity Committee

WCC - World Council of Churches

WPE - Workers Party of Ethiopia

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# CHAPTER ONE

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

In our world today, the mass media is playing a pivotal role in presenting different social, economic and political activities occurring in different parts the world. By doing so, it is playing a big role in the globalization process to which the world is heading for. Through the mass media people in different parts of the world can now get information faster than ever before. Thanks to the technological development for the world, it is now possible to transmit the same message to the mass audience at the same time (McQuail, 1994). Such technological advancements in mass media have enabled them to share different social, economic and political happenings faster. Furthermore, it has a great role in the dissemination of different technological and political progresses the world.

The introduction of the mass media, people in the per- mass communication era more of traditional way of communication like interpersonal communication to exchange about the major happenings in their localities (McQuail, 2005). As a result of communication strategy, people in this era were prone to information loss, which is when the message passes from the sender to the receiver. Currently, all these hindrances revealed with the emergence of new technological advancements in mass media. Presently, it is a common phenomenon to see different disciplines using mass media addressing issues involving the wider public. Among these disciplines, politics is the one heavily uses mass media. Despite politics, social and economic concentrated disciplines are using the media in wide range. The mass media are the main channels through which issues are communicated and when, as a consequence, the perception of reality that are through the mass media presumably have an impact on how people perceive reality (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008). World today is going through different changes the structural and functional system of society is becoming more dynamic than ever. The high alarming expansion of globalisation is accelerating the rise of change demanding society. This changing society is highly connected with and communicated through different channels. The technological advancements also made the flow of information to be very easy.

Though the tools and means of communication are becoming diverse, the mass media is still playing a crucial role in the flow of information.

The mass media are playing the vital role to mould the behaviour and attitude of society and individuals and to share knowledge. The ever expanding demand for information by the mass currently paved the way diverse media outlets to emerge and different media organisations to flourish. These media outlets have craving different methods to attract their audience. They; the mass media organisations establish and maintain different frames depending on their philosophy and motives. They also craft their issues based on the type and organizational policies of the media, as it is mentioned above, different media outlets may frame the same topic in ways based on the type of media, the organizational (editorial) policy of the media, ownership of the media outlet and the prevailing social, political and economic condition of the country (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008). The framing of media has cross-national variations in the reporting of different issues globally (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008; Esser & Angelo, 2006). Likewise, issues happening from political dynamics are also taking different models of framing depending on the situation of countries. The mass media provided diverse outlook towards issues that are politically motivated. In this regard the framing of political issues like protests, crisis and violence varies from country to country and society to society. How media framed issues regarding politically motivated protests, crisis and violence had very huge impact for the issues to be addressed or aggravated. The media framing such issues needs to give high attention for the morality, legal, social and others aspects of the society. If negatively framed such issues might create mistrust, misunderstanding and discomfort between the government and society and vice versa. Stories of such issues requires due attention when framed and presented. So, the media should act as the means to political deliberation, should become public forum and should be geared towards performing these salient functions by providing accurate information. (Jarvis, 2009, p.749). underscored on the importance of media in the public sphere as it is a means to facilitate political communication by exchanging “information between a nation’s leadership, the media, and the citizenry”. Hence, media is the life heart of a society and government when it becomes an intermediary power between and among society’s life. Since the overthrow of the Derg military regime by the EPRDF rebels,

Ethiopia is considering relatively the most stable nation in the most fragile East African region. The most serious problem it has faced is while it went to war with its neighbor

Eritrea. The stability of the nation that was constant for quite some time had become the opportunity for the country to see highly applauded economic growth and development. Being found in this fragile East African region in addition to its widely recognized economic boost the paves the way to be the power epic of its region. These positive aspects enabled the ruling coalition party EPRDF to be a strong ally for the west. But the human rights record of the government and handling of dissents have been shadowed these achievements. In most cases its western allies were urging and were echoing their concern about it. In addition to this the critically raised questions on the distribution of wealth among Ethiopians was the dark mark on the government. Ethiopians home and abroad were reflecting their dissatisfaction on being beneficiaries of the fruits of their country's economic growth; it is a believable which was also shared by the big donors of the EPRDF ruling government. These annoyance and grievances had been observed for a while. Nevertheless, these conditions got momentum when mass protests held in Oromia and later Amhara Amnesty International. (2016, November 9). The ground established by the EPRDF's ruling government began to shake by these protests. When the protests were begun the people demand were economic equality, good governance and corruption but later changed their question and demanded regime change. It was during this stage that the government took the protests and the protesters seriously. Miss handling of the situation even in later stages rocked the ruling party's central point. Many argue that EPRDF in its history had not been challenged like this. The protests also triggered wide spread uncertainty among the ruling party itself. The seriousness of the protests extended to climax, forced chairman of the coalition and the country's prime minister to resign which was a trend unlikely of EPRDF. (Abbink, J. 2016).

Therefore, this research examined media framing of the issue by selecting two newspapers. For this purpose, the study used governmental owned Addis Zemen and private owned the Reporter Amharic newspapers. It is the researchers believe that for such purpose looking and studying such most dominant newspapers will have a significant role.

## **1.2. Statement of the problem**

According to political sciences' conflict theory, conflict is inevitable. If conflict is inevitable, the media play a major role for the conflicts. Media contribute on the escalation of conflicts either constructively or destructively. The Rwandan Genocide can be a nice example. A report by the United Nations regarding the Rwandan Genocide states that, "the station

(RTMLC) went so far in its verbal abuse of the Tutsi and in provoking the Hutu against them; it significantly raised the bar of permissible hatemongering”. In addition, the media used for propaganda during I and II World Wars, Syrian conflict, the Arab Spring and other conflicts can also be mention to elaborate the role of the media in conflicts. The media interpret and put stories into perspectives; that way, they assign meaning to information and indicate the values by which it should judged. As Vladislavljević (2015), explains it more “by representing conflicts they report on in particular ways, the media strongly influence the dynamics and outcomes of conflicts, and thus also shape the prospects of success of conflict parties” (p. 2). Tobeckukwu also argues that, “by creating and sustaining political values, the mass media are also important tools for political stability and social equilibrium” (2009, p. 67). Therefore, the reality for Ethiopian media should not be far from the above perspectives.

However, in Ethiopia, politics and the media are highly intertwined. The media have been highly shaped by governments which ruled the country over the years”, (Nigussie, 2014, p. 91). He also argues, “The extent and growth of independent media in Ethiopia is regarded as lower”. In the past regimes, the governance system was authoritarian and the media had given no space to become the voice for the voiceless, but to serve the interest of those in power. In Ethiopia, the media mostly criticized for their role of political patronage. Asmeret (2013), she acknowledged, “governments in countries like Ethiopia own their media outlets and use them to promote their interests”. She also states that, “government media outlets in Ethiopia were criticized for being used as tools of propaganda for the ruling political party” (p. 42).

The problems of news framing to deliver ethical, balanced and lack of professionalism from both media types have affected the development of the media largely. Nigussie (2014), he also maintains, “there is great hostility and acute polarization between government and private media” (p. 91). Particularly, the government media criticized for they are les0s critical about government policy and agenda. Albeit the several accusations on the government for adversely affecting the media freedom, the government claim, it uses the media in order to herald development and democracy (Skjerdal, 2011).

Checking for framing related studies in Ethiopia, the researcher found out studies that only focused on identifying news frame and factors that influence the media to frame in that particular way. Some of the studies are about a framing of foreign issues in local and/or international media, or a comparative analysis of the two media institutions. Wibshet (2016)

studied how Al Jazeera English /AJE/ and Cable News Network /CNN / reports and covered about ISIS. Mohammed (2014), conducted a study to investigate how Aljazeera, BBC, and ETV framed the Syrian conflict. Desalegne (2014), also conducted “Framing of the 2011 uprising in Egypt: Content Analysis of the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter”. Methodologically speaking, almost all of the researches that the researcher encountered were qualitative and/or quantitative content analysis of certain issue, which some of them supported by in-depth interviews with journalists and editors (Bethelhem, 2006; Ketema, 2015; and Senait, 2011). One of recent framing studies on Ethiopian domestic political issue is that of Ketema (2015). He analyzed how competing political parties were frame in the news during the pre-election time. The study found out that the government media framed the ruling party positively and the private media tried to be neutral on the subject matter.

However, the first two researchers did not see the framing of the 2015/16 protest in Amhara and Oromia regions at all, so that this study looked at this and tried to fill the gap. On the other hand, Tesfagebriel (2017) studied the framing of the 2015/16 protest in Amhara and Oromia regions’ which the study mainly focused on audience perception, but this study did not see from the audience perception instead this study focused on how comparatively government and private print media framed the 2015/16 protest in Amhara and Oromia regions’. In addition to this study filled the gap by look at the framing of 2015/16 protest in Amhara and Oromia regions from the point of positive and negative media framing effects, Which Tesfagebriel (2017) did not see.

### **1.3 Objective of the study**

#### **1.3.1 General objective**

- The main objective of the research is to examine how Addis Zemen and the Reporter Amharic Newspapers framed the 2015/16 protest that had taken place in Amhara and Oromia Regions.

#### **1.3.2 Specific objectives**

- To find out how the two Amharic newspapers framed about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest
- To identify the tone of Addis Zemen and Amharic reporter towards the protests
- To find out the dominant frames applied by the newspapers



- To determine the major sources that are quoted in the news

#### **1.4. Research Questions**

The study posed the following research questions:

1. How did the selected newspapers frame the protests in Oromia and Amhara Regions?
2. What was the tone of the news towards the protest?
3. What are the dominant frames that Addis Zemen and the Amharic Reporter Newspapers used to structure its news about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest?
4. Who are the most quoted source of information in the news?

#### **1.5. Scope of the study**

The purpose of this study is to examine how the 2015/16 Ethiopian protest framed by Addis Zemen and the Reporter newspapers and how their media frames used the themes and sources of the story. The study is conducted by taking 16 months of publications covered the issue. Therefore; it is conducted on publications by the newspapers from the start of the protest August 2015 to November 2016 the declaration of the first state of emergency. It does not cover protests before and after the given period.

#### **1.6. Significance of the study**

The research benefits the newspapers that are studied. It provided conclusions and recommendations based on the theoretical framework of framing. Moreover, it helps these media outlets to improve the problems of framing while covering such issues that needs significant care and attention. In addition to the other points this study is important to the other media outlets. It will also serve as a reference for other researchers, academicians and media practitioners who intend to work on the subject matter more deeply.

#### **1.7. Organization of the paper**

This research paper divided into five different parts; the introductory part of the paper contains background of the study, statement of the problem, general and specific objectives of the study, significance of the study and others. The second part of this study paper, allotted for literature review. This part of the paper starts by defining, discussing what frame, and framing meaning used most often in covering election campaigns in different parts of the

world. The next part, in part two of this study paper is very devoted to reviewing different scientific journal articles, which written on framing election campaign in different parts of the world. In this part of the paper, different types of media frames are identified and discusses thoroughly. Further to this, the media landscape and the use of media for election and political purpose in Ethiopia included for the discussion. Moreover, the research questions designed to conduct this study posed after reviewing other studies conducted on framing. Data presentation, analysis and interpretation of results presented in part four of the paper. Final, part contains the conclusion and recommendation part where the major findings of the study summarized and possible recommendation points given for the future.

### **1.8. Limitations of the study**

The researcher facing time limitations and tried to overcome by working hard on day and night and use time effectively through making plans. Secondly, the researcher expectation about the number of items published on the 2015/16 Amhara and Oromia protests were adequate to conduct the study effectively. Nevertheless, the total number of items published is less than the researcher expectations during the selected period Reporter Amharic newspaper issued only 89 items. At the beginning, the researchers hope was that the newspaper might publish 128 items. Yet, the researchers' expectation to gather during 15 months of the selected study period from Addis Zemen by considering its nature as a daily newspaper was 384 items but; the researcher only gets 122 items that cover the protest. Therefore, the whole data collected from Addis Zemen and reporter Amharic newspapers analyzed. Given that the Addis Zemen and the Reporter Amharic newspapers published every day and each week the data will be more and the researcher might have the chance to have a large number of data to be analyzed and the study night have a different result.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### 2.1 Media and Politics

For the society to exist in a proper manner and to function there are many institutions, which function together. The correlation, coordination among institutions and of their functioning together is vital for the society to exist and survive. Among these institutions, the government and media believed to be the main once. These social institutions are influence by their relationship to each other. According to Fourie (2004, p. 463), governments are the most important of these institutions. Government is formed by a group of individuals that seize the power through legitimate (ex. election) or illegitimate (ex. coup) way. No matter the way, they seize power media are an integral part of the process. The media can be subject to the control of political institution in a legal, normative or structural way. Therefore, the media plays the role of a bridge between the government and the people. Hence, “the mass media of a country, more than any other kind of institution, are shaped by the prevailing type of political power. This relationship obviously gives a government a lot of potential control over and influence on the nature of news” (ibid). In the contemporary world, no government or particular political party can pursue its functions without having the backing of the media. Scholars also assert that it is almost impossible to separate media and politics because they cannot live without each other. Among the roles of media, “Politicians needed the media for publicity and to inform the people about their activities”, (Tiung & Hasim, 2009, p. 11). According to Curran & Seaton (2003), “to inform, to discuss, to mirror, to bind, to campaign, to challenge, to entertain and to judge – these are the important functions of the media in any free country” (p. 379). In an undemocratic political system, the media serve as a means of mass manipulation in favor of those in power. They are determined to fulfill the interest of the ruling class. On the contrary, in the presence of a democratic political system which is “a favorable political environment that provides media with a remarkable degree of independence from the ‘threat of political interference’, the media are destined to unite, educate, and as a result, improve the actions and decisions of the polity” (Yetnayet, 2008, p. 24).

## **2.2 Media and Politics in Ethiopia**

Assessing the link between Ethiopian media and Ethiopian political system in the country's history it would not be difficult to notice, "Media and politics in Ethiopia are highly intertwined and the media has been highly shaped by the governments which ruled over different periods" (Nigussie, 2014, p. 91). He also argues, "The extent and growth of independent media in Ethiopia is regarded as lower". In the past regimes, the governance system was authoritarian and the media were not give space to become the voice for the voiceless, but to serve the interest of those in power. The development of Ethiopian press has further complicated by Ethiopian political history. Given the undemocratic feature of the previous Ethiopian governments both the monarchy and the military regimes, it is not surprising that they tried everything possible to curtail any of the human and democratic rights of the society, including freedom of expression and of the press. As a result, "except with some short lived deviations the press throughout Ethiopian history till 1991 has been the sole property of the governments" (Dessalegn, 2004; Shimeles, 2000). In addition, "political censorship has been the antagonist of press freedom for centuries, governments notoriously tried to encourage the holding of opinions they favored" (Nahum, 1997: 130). In addition to media, ownership and censorship Ethiopian governments have used every possible political and economic ways to ensure the flow of information that may shade negative impact on their activities. Even if the respective constitutions of the imperial and the socialist military regime have granted FoE and FoP the exercise of these rights country has regarded as subversive and anti-revolutionary. This rights also derogated by the arbitrary actions of politicians. "Whatever press existed during the reign of Emperor Haile Sillassie the first (1930-1974) and the following dictatorship behaved, with a few exceptions, like willing mouthpieces for the rulers" (Oyvind and Fackler, 2003). Any attempt to establish a 38 private presses or exercise FoE and FoP regarded as anti-governmental, anti-revolutionary, and subversive. The first and probably landmark deviation from this established media ownership pattern appeared during the final years of the imperial regime. The private papers that started to mushroom following the weakening of the government have helped in raising public awareness and agitating social reform that lead to the downfall of the monarchy.

The short infiltration of the private press during the imperial regime has "continued for a limited time during the military regime" (Shimeles, 2000). However, the following regimes firm holds of power. The growth of the fledgling media was cut short as "private media

wasn't allowed to exist during the military regime of the Derg (1974-1991) and the State controlled print and electronic media was solely used for communist propaganda and rallying support for its wars with what it called "enemies of the revolution" (Nolawi, 2006). The socialist military regime of the Derg has followed authoritarian and socialist media ownership pattern of the media. During the imperial regime when the Emperor and Ethiopia regarded as one being, the press targeted to satisfy the interest of the imperial Crown and Royalty (Getachew, 2003). High media censorship and journalists' intimidation were the key characteristics of the regime. Following the 1974 revolution by a military group (DERG), mass media institutions reorganized as propaganda tools. Which aimed at spreading the then new Marxist-Leninist ideology, during this period the function given to the country's media is to become the mouthpiece of the government. Therefore, media institutions forced to function upon high-level censorship. Since the press was property of the government, it values what the party values, it discredited what the party, and the government does not favor. This condition had left the media with no room to exercise its freedom. "It had no room for private rights and freedom" (Nigussie, 2014, p. 88). The military government overthrown by a popular revolution in May 1991. With the coming into power, the new government appeared that promoting respect for freedom of expression would be prioritized. This was manifest by the Transitional Period Charter, which provided respect for individual human rights at large and for freedom of expression in particular. The first Article of the Charter which has derived from the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations which was adopted by General Assembly by resolution 217 A (III) stated that every individual human rights shall be respected fully, and without any limitation whatsoever. Additionally, the article states the following:

- a) *The freedom of conscience, expression, association and peaceful assembly;*
- b) *The right to engage in unrestricted political activity and to organize political parties provided the exercise of such right does not infringe upon the rights of others*

The new regime proclaimed 'Press Proclamation No. 34/1992', which gives room for freedom of press. It also permitted the country's constitution to carry the concept of media freedom, which framed in Article 29 of the new constitution. It also granted freedom of the press where every person has the right to seek, obtain and impart information. There have

recently been improvements in both number and practice of media use with the introduction of dual ownership system by the incumbent government and the private press for the first time in the nation's history. Certainly, the current government has introduced the private media, which it can be seen as pioneering move for media institutions development. EPRDF (EPRDF, 2001). ...Bringing dual ownership system of the media for the first time in the nation's history and the constitutionalization of the freedom of the press was regard as a good step forward in the democratization process. Nigussie (2014, p. 91) However; he argues that the lack of commitment from the government to grant full press freedom left the media to contribute a very limited role for the building of democratic society and for the democratization process. He also argued that the continuous intervention by government imposed alarming fear to the media. Thus, the media forced to function under self-censorship practice. "There is a growing politicization of the Ethiopian state media" Skjerdal (2011, p. 70). Skjerdal criticizes the democratic character of the Ethiopian media environment. Albeit the several accusations on the government for adversely affecting the media freedom, the government claims it, uses the media as echoing voice of development and democracy (Skjerdal, 2011). These days the government is granting license for private television and radio agencies (Example: Fana Broadcasting Corporate, Walta Information Center and Arki Broadcasting Service).

### **2.3 Media and Movements around the world**

Political, social and economic movements are the reasons for the advancement of the world. These movements are the driving forces that brought the world to its current situation. The demanding natures of human beings are the aggravating conditions for the different movements, which have been happening throughout the history of humankind. The movements occurred around the world through different times shaped and determined the situation of today's world. It argued that these movements of humankind never seem to end as long as the world exists. Among these movements, people use the most common type of movement like protests. Protests are inevitable incidences of human society. It would be a utopia to claim that there could be a country without a protest. Social movements often seek to draw attention to problems and issues they deem important organizing public demonstrations with the aim of attracting mass media coverage. Not only the protest need media, but vice versa. Vliegthart and Walgrave (n.d) explain the bond as follows, "movements need media more than other political actors to mobilize potential supporters,

gain public support for their claims and, ultimately, political change. Media need movements since they stage newsworthy events; they 'make news' (p. 5). Nevertheless, the interests of movement actors and journalists most often do not coincide. According to McLeod (2007), "most protest groups operate with limited resources and have a difficult time securing public visibility, disseminating information, and exerting influence. A peaceful protest is not likely to fit established news conventions for what makes a good news story. As such, protest groups often engage in activities that provide the kind of drama that garners media attention". Smith, et al. also claim that, "not all public demonstrations receives media attention" (2001, p. 1399). This is because the media often select and give emphasis for issues they think should need to be report. Even, when protests succeed at obtaining the attention of mass media outlets, media reports portray protests in ways that may undermine the movement's agendas. Journalists often focus on other things newsworthy. As Vliegthart and Walgrave (n.d), asserts, "Media are more interested in covering the violent characteristics of contentious confrontations, the internal conflicts in the movement, or personal details about movement leaders" (p. 5).

This is best elucidating by a protest paradigm; according to a protest paradigm, protests have two options: ignored by the media, or resort to drama and risk that events might be use to delegitimize the group (McLeod, 2007). McLeod and Hertog (cited in McLeod 2007) identify that protest paradigm characterized by news frames, reliance on official sources and official definitions, and the invocation of public opinion, de legitimization and demonization. Selective and over reporting of negative, although not false, news can affect the way we perceive a situation and, sometimes, an entire group of people. "By selectively reporting on the small percentage (in relation to the total number of demonstrators throughout the country) of those who are rioting and inciting violence and showing the same incidents repeatedly, the media portray a false narrative," Pena (n.d) argues.

Without a cognizant of this, we might come to think of what we see as an accurate depiction of the movement. This let people to have a distorted reality about the issue, which will eventually affect the outcome of the movement. Covering movements' mostly political and social protest draws high attention to the media. While covering such stories the media institutions tries to impose, their agenda that they perceive is important to influence the public. Their dissemination of the stories varies based on their interest.

## **2.4 Political movements in Ethiopia**

Ethiopia in its long history has gone through different movements. These social, political and economic movements shaped the state of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian society in different times. History shows that it was the Ethiopian empire, which founded in the Ethiopian highlands by the movement of Habesha people. In addition, the Oromo people movement that took place in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> C considered the major movement of the people in Ethiopian history. Richard Pankhurst (1997). The establishment of Ethiopia as a state had been characterize as migration and imperial expansion. Zewde, Bahru (2001). The movement of state expansion and unification reached its climax during the era of Tewodros II who reigned over the then Abyssinia from 1855 to 1874. Molvaer, Reidulf K. (1998). This state building also continued during the regime of Menilik II in the 19<sup>th</sup>c. Menilik II believed to be the successful emperor through the process of establishing modern day Ethiopia. Marcus, Harold (1975), argued that, there a number of movements that shaped the country. The trends of movements in Ethiopian society continued to modern era. In addition to the country shaped by the movements the country also overseen social, political and economic movements on this era,(Nicolas, Gildas UCLA. p.55). The Gojjam and Bale peasants' movement against the administration of Emperor Haileselassie I, which the latter days becomes the corner stone for the Ethiopian student's movement is a case in point. Peter Schwab (1970). Politically motivated protests over governments in Ethiopia continued until today. Thus, the current government EPRDF ruling government has been facing different protests since the early periods of clinch to power. Alfa-Shaban, A. (2016). Nevertheless, it argued that the protests started three years ago in Oromia and spread to Amhara region regarded as the strongest because it hits the EPRDF ruling government to its central and forced its chairperson, which is also the country's Prime Minister to resign.Rift Valley Institute Meeting Report. (2016).

### **2.4.1 Background of the Amhara and Oromia protests**

Ethiopia have been governed by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) since they captured the capital city Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian Civil War in 1991. Members of the Tigrayan ethnic group constitute a minority of Ethiopia's population. However “members of this ethnic group dominate the senior positions in the country's military and political system while the majority of Amhara and Oromo people are marginalized” according to a report by, ‘The Rift Valley Institute’ (2016). The Ethiopian government has pursued a partly successful development agenda in recent years and the



country has been experiencing rapid economic growth since the 2000s that makes it one of the world's fastest-growing economies. This reflected in remarkable growth figures, prominent new infrastructure, and strong rates of poverty reduction, good grades from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and praise from donor countries. Nevertheless, many people are not satisfied with only the developmental progress that Ethiopia had been under gone, rather these people are complaining about the unbalanced unfair distribution of wealth. John Abbink (2016). He also argues that, “this has not been enough to satisfy the populace. It proves that development consists not only of economic factors but an overall social, cultural, and political context of inclusiveness and opportunity”. Ethiopia’s stability compared to neighboring Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and even Kenya, has also been highly valued. Abbink emphasized that, “the stability is, however, only relative and temporary, owing to unresolved issues of political freedom and social justice”. He also stated, long-standing grievances erupted in November 2015, only six months after the ruling Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) won a total electoral victory earlier in May the same year. After two decades of relative social and political order, the country’s largest ethnic groups, the Oromos and the Amharas, which constitute 61% of the total population of the country, began their protests before three years ago and they still are on protest. It was the Oromos who were first started challenging the central government, when the central government announced a master plan to integrate some parts of Oromia region with the capital Addis Ababa. Amnesty International, (2016, November 9).The main reason for the broke out of the protest was the youngsters of the region believed the integrated master plan will evict the peasants from their land. Then, the Amhara have been in the protest’s vanguard more than a year. “Their respective grievances have converged into heated rhetoric and violent action, not only against their regional governments, but also against the Tigrayan ethno-national group who have dominated the most powerful state offices since 1991”, the report of RVI (2016) explained.

#### **2.4.2 How the protest in Oromia and Amhara Regions began**

The Protests in Oromia erupted in opposition to the Addis Ababa Master Plan that saw the fast expanding federal capital encroach on lands administered by the Oromia regional state. That plan was drop, but the demonstrations exposed some underlying issues and protests continued. According to the Rift Valley Institute (RIV) report November 2016, “since at least 2014 there had been growing frustration at the federal government’s top-down developmental

approach. That bypassed Oromia self-government and at local Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization (OPDO) party officials benefitting from land deals”. The Amhara protests came later, the same report by RVI describes, originally in reaction to the alleged transfer of territories from Amhara regional state to Tigray. Local Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM) politicians reportedly had sympathy with the initial protests, which they may also have seen as means of leveraging greater influence at the center, the report claims. Protests erupted again in Ethiopia on 5 August 2016 following calls by opposition groups. Protesters demanded social and political reforms including an end to human rights abuses (including government killings of civilians, mass arrests, government land seizures, and political marginalization of opposition groups). The government shut down the internet across the country for two days, fearing that was how the demonstrations were being organize. There is only one, state-controlled internet service provider so this was straightforward, Abbink describes. He also said, the government responded by attacking as well as arresting protesters on 5 August 2015. In the three days leading up to 8 August, Reuters reported that at least 90 protesters had been shot and killed by Ethiopian security forces, marking the most violent crackdown against protesters in Sub Saharan Africa since at least 75 people were killed during protests in Ethiopia's Oromia Region in November and December 2015.

#### **2.4.3 Escalation of the protests**

As Abbink explains it, “the mass protests of students, youth, the poor, and others started peacefully. There was no agenda of armed insurrection ‘fed by Ethiopian Diaspora and foreigners,’ as the government likes to assert”. Although, early in September they turned into a full-blown revolt, notably in the northern Amhara region populated largely by Amharic-speaking people. “There were instances of communal violence against Tigrayan communities, as well as reports of armed banditry” (ibid). On October 2, the annual Oromo (Irreecha) cultural celebration in Bishoftu, 40 km south of Addis Ababa, descended into chaos, after protest groups took over the customary leaders’ stage chanting political slogans. “Security responded by firing tear gases creating a mass stampede in which there were 50 fatalities according to official statements; opposition groups claimed hundreds died” (ibid).

Following Bishoftu, “locals attacked administrative offices, police stations, and army units (some members of which defected to their cause)”(ibid). It reported that in some districts, authorities chased out and local committees have taken over. According to RVI’s report,

“both Oromia and Amhara regions saw well organized gangs attack and destroy foreign-owned or party linked farms and factories. Special Forces sent to quell protests were also attacked”.

#### **2.4.4 Causes of the protests: Dissatisfaction towards the governance system**

The wider background factors of the protests as RVI's (2016) report are “mounting dissatisfaction with authoritarian politics, interference of party cadres in local life, a lack of government accountability and proper compensation for those removed from land, the dismantling of civil society organizations over the last decade, a lack of political and civic freedoms, and a dysfunctional justice system”. Though the government acknowledged that there was a dissatisfaction towards the governance system, Abbink argues the protests were “result of decades of deep seeded corruption, high youth unemployment rate, land seizures with no proper compensation and above all a need for free political sphere”. According to a statement from human rights watch, “the protests are a manifestation of Ethiopian citizens' expectation of more responsive governance and political pluralism, as laid out in the country's constitution”. The statement openly insisted the government of Ethiopia to listen to its citizens, to admit mistakes, and to offer redress to those it has unjustly harmed: Rift Valley Institute Meeting Report, (2016).

#### **2.4.5 Political and Economic consequences of the protests in Oromia Region**

According to diplomatic, NGO, and opposition sources, “hundreds of thousands of people marched in more than 100 towns and cities in the vast Oromia State, in protest at "the government's draconian and ever-escalating repression." This resulted in at least 148 people being killed on 5 and 6 August 2016” (RVI, 2016). Under the ethnic-based federal system, Oromia and Amhara are the two biggest regional states, which are the largest sub-national administrative regions and defined along ethno-linguistic lines.

Protests in the two regions pose a great danger to the federal government. This risk is especially high in the event of the protests becoming coordinated across regions. The Oromos, who make up around a third of the population, “have long complained that they have been excluded from the 17 country's political process and the economic development which has seen the capital, Addis Ababa, transformed in recent years” (ibid). The ruling party, EPRDF (a coalition of four major political parties: TPLF, OPDO, ANDM and SPLF) “has long been criticized for its internal inequality among the parties” (ibid). TPLF branded

as a superior amongst all, a claim that the government firmly oppose. EPRDF has undoubtedly created a sense of persistent dissatisfaction between these two large populations, Abbink wrote. “The explosion of pent-up anger appears fueled by issues of humiliation and discrimination caused by Ethiopia’s regionally skewed and ethnic-based politics” (ibid).

#### **2.4.6 Protests in Amhara Region**

At the root of the demonstrations in Amhara is a request by representatives from the Wolkait Amhara identity Committee that their land, which currently administered by the Tigray regional state, has moved into the neighboring Amhara region. The disputes over land, which closely tied to heritage and identity, have been central to the demonstrations, even though private ownership has been outlawed since 1975. “Territorial identities are still quite strong and sometimes reinforced by ethnicity. The Wolkait committee says “community members identify themselves as ethnic Amharas and say they no longer want to be ruled by Tigrayans” (ibid). The federal government restricted itself from interfering in the subject matter, claiming that since the place is in the Tigray Regional state, it is a jurisdiction of the regional government to deal with the situation. In the ensuing confrontations, security force members were killed. On the weekend of August 6- 7, renewed protests erupted in several locations and “about a hundred demonstrators were shot and killed” (ibid). Later in August, the large Esmeralda flower farm near Bahir Dar was burned to the ground and the Dutch owners withdrew from Ethiopia. In July 2016, the Anti-terrorism task force detained members of the Wolkait Amhara Identity Committee (WAIC). Soon after, protests erupted in many areas of the Amhara Region. One of the biggest demonstrations took place was on 1st August, 2016 in Gondar city.

Thousands of people held a demonstration over “the arrest of the WAIC members, government repression and objected Federal government encroachment in regional affairs. Protesters carried placards expressing solidarity with the Oromo people” (ibid). They also drew attention to the dispute over the administration of Wolkait Tsegede. Further demonstrations soon followed in the Amhara region. “Many protests spiraled into violence as security forces fired live bullets on protesters. On 5 August 2016, 50 student protesters were killed while protesting in the populous city of Bahir Dar” (ibid). Evidence collected by Ethiopian Human Rights Project has so far shown that major protests took place in 6 of the 11 zones in the Amhara Region. The zones include North Gondar, South Gondar, Bahr Dar Special Zone, Awi, West Gojam and East Gojam. Anti-government street demonstrations and

“stay at home” protests took place in small Wereda towns and in some cases in rural Kebeles across the six zones.

#### **2.4.7 The Oromia and Amhara protesters**

The protestors were youthful. According to the RVI’s report, the protesters were better educated and better connected to the outside world than previous generations. Smart phones are ubiquitous, and the government is shutting down of the internet seen to be deliberately targeting a means of internal mobilization. “Despite the accusation that hostile external forces are fuelling opposition from afar, including Ethiopian-diaspora based groups using satellite channels, which is at least partly true, the primary drivers remain internal” (ibid). The US embassy released a statement regarding the protest, and it “believes that though the vast majority of participants were exercising their right under Ethiopia's constitution to express their views, few of the protests may have been used as a vehicle for violence. The statement also recognized that Ethiopia faces real external threats such as Al-Shabaab, “a ruthless terrorist group based on the border. Individuals and groups outside Ethiopia, often backed by countries that have no respect for human rights themselves, sometimes recklessly call for violent change”. However, the embassy argues that it is from within that Ethiopia faces the greatest challenges to its stability and unity. “When thousands of people, in dozens of locations, in multiple regions come out on the streets to ask for a bigger say in the decisions that affect their lives, this cannot be dismissed as the handiwork of external enemies,” the statement claims.

Ethiopian government officials have also acknowledged that protestors have genuine grievances that deserve sincere answers. Though the government claimed that they are working to address issues such as corruption and unemployment, “the security forces continued to use excessive force to prevent Ethiopians from congregating peacefully, killing and injuring many people and arresting thousands, the US embassy explicates. The statement also put that, “thousands of Ethiopians remain in detention for alleged involvement in the protests - in most cases without having been brought before a court, provided access to legal counsel, or formally charged with a crime” (2016).

#### **2.4.8 Reactions to the protest**

New York-based Human Rights Watch reported that more than 500 people have been killed in clashes with the security forces as of October 2016, although the government disputes this

figure. Several bodies including the United Nations and the European Union called for restraint on the part of security forces. An Amnesty International report stated that over 600 people were killed and hundreds more sustained injuries in heavy-handed but ‘unsurprising’ response by Ethiopian security forces to the widening protests. As part of Government’s official response, they disputed HRW’s figures disclosing that 173 people died in the protests out of which 28 were police officers. The United States and France raised international concerns. The European Union (EU) also expressed concern, being the first political bloc to wade in on the issue. The Africa union at the time had yet to comment. Eventually; the AU recognized the violent protest and called for the Ethiopian government “to find peaceful and lasting solution to the social, political and the economic issues that were underlying the protests”. “The U.S. Embassy expresses its deep condolences to those who suffered as a result of the violence and regrets the damage to livelihoods, economic development, and the social fabric that such violence brings,” the US statement said. The World Council of Churches (WCC) also issued a statement, mourning persons who were killed in the protest. They called on the authorities to exercise restraint over the security clampdown. As August closed, the United States upgraded their caution to Citizens issued earlier in the month to the status of a travel alert. The State Department said the travel alert remained valid until February 18, 2017.

Another significant development in August was at the 2016 Olympics in Rio, Brazil. In Rio Ethiopian athlete, Feyisa Lelisa crossed his arms over his head at the finishing line, to show his solidarity to the Oromo people. He believes being treated unjust in the country. The incident famously brought the protest to the attention of the international community through major international media and social media. Moreover, the Israeli Foreign Ministry issued a travel warning on 1 September 2016. Places in the Amhara Region included in the warning were Gondar city, a popular site for many Israeli tourists and an area where many Ethiopian Jews originated. In addition to international warning and wide spread condemnation, the context of the protests resulted in declaring the state of emergency which lasted for a year. On October 9, 2016 the then prime minister Hailemariam Dessalegn appeared on EBC the National television agency and announced the declaration of the state of emergency he also gave direct order for the Ethiopian Army Forces to use any force necessary to bring order to the region.

#### **2.4.9 The First state of emergency**

A six-month State of Emergency (hereafter SoE) declared on 9<sup>th</sup> of October has seen protest subside. The SoE was declared by Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn. Constitutional government is overridden rule by a Command Post chaired by Prime Minister Haile-Mariam Desalegn. According to Article 93 of the Ethiopian constitution, the council of ministers has the power to declare the State of Emergency under three conditions: 1) during foreign invasion, 2) during a natural disaster or natural epidemic, and 3) when there is a breakdown of the country's law and regulation which will endanger the constitutional order. The state of emergency authorizes the military to enforce security nationwide. It also imposed restrictions on freedom of speech and access to information. The SoE initially included curfews, social media blocks, and restrictions on opposition party activity and a ban on diplomats travelling more than 40 kilometers outside the capital without approval. The SoE was followed by an unusually far-reaching cabinet reshuffle on 1 November, changing the government only appointed a year earlier in October 2015. The new cabinet brought high profile ministerial appointments from the ethno-national groups most associated with the protests. Several top positions went to Oromos.

Dr Workneh Gebeyehu, who shifted from his very recent appointment as Oromia regional president, promoted to Minister of Foreign Affairs. An Addis Ababa University lecturer in journalism, Dr. Negeri Lencho, was appointed as minister in charge of the Government Communication Affairs Office. On March 15, the SoE was relaxed; arrests and searches without court orders stopped, and restrictions on radio, television and theatre dropped. On March 30, the Ethiopian parliament announced the extension of the SoE by four months. The extension came amid reports of continued violence and anti-government activities in some rural areas. According to Ethiopia's defense minister, Siraj Fegessa, "we still have some anti-peace elements that are active and want to capitalize on disputes that arise among regional states in the country". The minister also claimed that, "some leaders of the violent acts that we witnessed before are still at large and disseminating wrong information to incite violence".

#### **2.4.10. The outcome of the Situation**

The protest that shows no ease continued immediately after state of emergency lifted. The protest on two regions is never seem to stop rather its growing by number of participants and changing in the strategy which is being implemented by the protesters. The accumulated

grievances occurred due to lack of good governance, political inequality, and marginalization once again brought many Oromo and Amhara youngsters to the streets. The escalation reached momentum when the Oromia region protesters engaged in boycotting after they claim they are angered and become frustrated by the reluctance of the government to address their issues, which were causes for their grievances. Its argued that the delay of political reforms which were promised to be implemented by the government including releasing political prisoners were the aggravating conditions for the protests overseen specially in Oromia region. After three days of boycotting that was witnessed allover Oromia region the government seem to ease the tension and released many prominent political leaders like Dr. Merara Gudina, Bekele Gerba, Andualem Arage and the prominent journalist Eskunder Nega. Following the release of these prominent political prisoners, the situation seems stable and calm. The surprise moves by the primer and the governments' decision to free political prisoners and dissents received high applause from home and abroad.

While addressing the nation the prime minister claimed, he reached to this decision because he believed his resignation would play a vital role for the stability and peace of the country. He suggested that his resignation is part of the reform that being implemented by his party EPRDF. According to Aljazeera, He also quoted as saying.

***“I see my resignation as a vital in the bid to carry out reforms that would lead to sustainable peace and democracy.”***

However, after days its prime minister resigned from his post the country declared the second state of emergency in two years' time on February 2018. This SoE encountered wide concern and condemnation from home and abroad. After the unexpected resignation of Hailemariam as prime minister, the uncertainty of the country's fate has become the central theme of Ethiopian politics. However, the decision to release more than 6000 political prisoners and dissents gained praise the declaration of the recent state of emergency met with stiff critics and condemnations. This decision met with tough criticisms and condemnation from home and abroad. The biggest ally of Ethiopia, the United States of America expressed its concerns immediately. After months of speculation that would succeed Hailemariam Dessalegn as prime minister, the central committee of EPRDF elected Abiy Ahmed to be its chair from one its four coalition party OPDO Oromo people's democratic organization. A few days later Abiy sworn in on the new prime minister of the country on April 2, 2018



## **2.5 Framing Theory**

### **2.5.1 Definition**

An analytical technique of framing developed by social psychologists (Goffman, 1974; Entman, 1991; Gitlin, 1980) to study and explain the role of the news media in defining issues for the public. Several studies suggested that the concept of ‘framing’ is now more or less established as a field in mass communication studies. Although framing is a useful concept, it has become difficult to provide a clear and coherent definition. According to Kirk Halaham (1999), an exhaustive literature search suggests that there are more than 1000 citations about framing in the academic literature. One commonly used definition is that of Entman (1991).

He defined framing as the selection of some aspects of perceived reality and made them salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation. According to him, frames are an information-processing schema that operates by selecting and highlighting some features of reality while omitting others (Entman, 1993). Gitlin (1980) defines media frames as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual”. In addition, Gamson and Modigliani said that framing is a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about and the essence of the issue (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987: 640). Another familiar definition is Chang and Druckman’s definition. They defined framing as the process of organizing everyday reality by providing meaning to unfolding strip of events and promoting particular definition and interpretations of political issues (Chang and Druckman, 2007: 106). For McGrath (2002), framing devices are operative, whether consciously or unconsciously, in the media reporting of unions, feminism, environmentalism, antiracism, lesbian and gay activism, and most certainly anti-globalization protests. However, there are different definitions for a framing concept, most studies of framing either focused on contents (frames in news, articles, editorials etc) or framing effects.

### **2.5.2. Framing as Practice**

Framing practices are observed by studying the social organization of the news and by analyzing the linguistic and rhetorical organization of journalistic texts. The underlying implication of the frame concept is that a story has more than one way of being told and that editorial decisions affect the way reality is transferred from its actual occurrence to its symbolic representation in the news. Journalists collect a body of facts relating to an event or series of events, and they are then required to digest considerable information and incorporate it into short news stories by choosing which elements to tell and deciding how to tell them. Reducing news occurrences into narrow frames allows journalists to deliver the news efficiently to their audience.

The efficiency of framing has to do with not only brevity but also with the use of words and concepts that are already familiar to the audience and established in use. Otherwise, journalists would have to introduce and explain each occurrence they report without assuming prior knowledge by their audience. As a result, Sterling (2009) notes, journalists are less likely to frame the news in a manner that challenges their audience's pre-existing beliefs. The news media frame news by stressing certain aspects of issues or people on which they report while de-emphasizing others. They may choose to cover a new presidential initiative by emphasizing its merits and shortcomings, or discussing it as an election gimmick. Either approach may be justified, but the way in which the story told (the policy-frame or the gimmick-frame) becomes socially important, since it can affect the way the public will consider this policy.

### **2.5.3. Framing as Effect**

The expectation for framing effects premised on the notion that frames are likely to shape the way people think about issues, persons, and events. This effect can drive at times by choices of particular words, which activate distinct and predictable ways of thinking. The workings of this process are understood through psychological studies, dating to the 1970s, which are the foundation for the study of framing effects. Economists, Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky, (cited in Sterling, 2009), observed how seemingly minor changes in wording can bring impact on people's support for policy choices. Famously, they found that people would prefer a program where 200 out of 600 people might be saved as opposed to one in which there is a one-third probability that all 600 will live but a two-thirds probability that no one will be saved. Even though the prediction for lives saved were mathematically equal, the way in

which the options worded, emphasizing risk or gain, activated biases that are inherent to human nature. In this case, the bias was against risk. Since people are, largely risk averse, they will likely oppose political candidates that framed as riskier, even where the facts may not back this estimate of risk. Along the same lines, health information can affect behaviors differently when it centers on avoiding loss rather than on possible gains as well.

For example, young women exposed to information about breast cancer were found more likely to conduct breast self-examinations when provided with negatively framed information, which emphasized the risks of not doing so, than when presented with the benefits of such action (Sterling, 2009). The receiving end of the framing effect is the individual exposed to the news media message. For the effect to take place, the media frame needs to activate pre-existing mental “nodes,” or pre-existing frames, through which the person receiving the message might think about the world, such as risk and gain. Such pre-existing frames of thought are called “schemas” (Scheufele, 1999). Media frames make certain schemas more accessible to the receiver, which means the way the story told becomes the way in which the individual thinks about the issue discussed. The evidence for framing indicates that editorial decisions about which terms to use in a news story, which attributes of a person or an issue to highlight, and what social values to invoke can affect the audience’s opinions. These decisions are not necessarily deliberate, but they can be of great consequence.

#### **2.5.4. Types of Frames**

In a broad sense, there are two types of framing: episodic and thematic. Episodic framing depicts public issues in terms of concrete instances or specific events (Iyengar & Simon, 1993, p.369). Thematic framing, on the other hand, places public issues in some general or abstract context (Iyengar & Simon, 1993, p. 369). When we see crime for example, it can be framed episodically-covering crime by covering criminal acts and their victims, and it can be framed thematically discussing the causes of crime or the changes in crime rates and occurrences. Iyengar (1991) found that subjects shown episodic reports were less likely to consider society responsible for the event, and subjects shown thematic reports were less likely to consider individuals responsible. In one of the clearest demonstrations of this phenomenon, subjects who viewed stories about poverty that featured homeless or unemployed people (episodic framing) were much more likely to blame poverty on individual failings, such as laziness or low. Education, then were those who instead watched stories

about high national rates of unemployment or poverty (thematic framing). Viewers of the thematic frames were more likely to attribute the causes and solutions to governmental policies and other factors beyond the victim's control (Ibid).

Communication researchers, in their part, have identified two distinct types of media framing effects: equivalency framing and emphasis framing. Equivalency framing derived from the experiments described above. Involves “the use of different, but logically equivalent, words or phrases” to describe the same phenomenon while emphasis framing involves highlighting a particular “subset of potentially relevant considerations”, (Druckman, 2001, cited in Iyengar, 2005). Based on previous studies, as cited in Ann and Gower (2009), Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), analyzed five national newspapers and television news stories in the period surrounding the Amsterdam meeting of European heads of state in 1997 and identified five news frames in order of predominance: attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic, human interest, and morality. In addition to the above, Sterling (2009) added two frames, Strategy and Issue Framing and Attribute Framing, which are common in political communication.

#### **2.5.4.1. Attribution of Responsibility Frame:**

Presents issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving either to the government or to an individual or to a group. This frame defined as “a way of attributing responsibility for a cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) also found that the attribution of responsibility frame was most commonly use in serious newspapers (cited in Ana and Gower, 2009). A long-standing body of research illustrates how the framing of news stories affects the way people attribute responsibility for various social problems. Consider two ways of discussing a problem such as homelessness. Stories may provide straightforward facts as to the underlying cause of this problem, such as an economic downturn. Alternatively, news organizations may choose to personalize a story, as they often do, by centering on the individuals affected by homelessness in order to illustrate the issue. Political communication researcher Shanto Iyengar’s experiments found that viewers exposed to a problem through the travails of particular victims (“episodic framing”) are more likely to attribute responsibility to dispositional or individualist factors, while stories that focus on the problem itself (“thematic framing”) are more likely to lead viewers to fault systemic factors

and ultimately the government. As a result, this difference in media framing has undeniable political implications (Iyengar, 1991).

#### **2.5.4.2. Conflict frame:**

Give emphasizes about conflict between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing audience's interest. The conflict frame is used in an away as to reflect conflict and disagreement among individuals, groups, or institution. Neuman et al. (1992), found that conflict was commonly used by U.S. news media. In the Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) study, the conflict frame was the second most common frame, and the more serious the newspaper, the more the conflict frame was in evidence.

#### **2.5.4.3. Economic consequences frame:**

Reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region or country. This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, groups, organizations, or countries. Neuman et al. (1992), cited in Ana and Gower (2009), identified it as a common frame in the news. The wide impact of an event is an important news value, and economic consequences are often considerable (Graber, 1993). Economic frame, which was totally ignore in Polis Ermijaw, is the least employed type of frame by the Ethiopian print media while reporting gender violence (Bruktawit, 2008).

#### **2.5.4.4. Human interest frame:**

It brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem. This frame “brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). In crisis, the frame stimulates the psychological pulse of people, which ultimately leads them to a more negative attitude toward the crisis (Padin, 2005 cited in Ana and Gower, 2009). According to research work by Bruktawit (2008), human interest was the frequently used type of frame by the Ethiopian print media while reporting gender violence.

#### **2.5.4.5. Value/Morality frame:**

Puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. This frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of morals, social prescriptions, and religious views. Neuman et al. (1992) found that the morality frame was commonly used by journalists indirectly through quotations or inference, rather than directly because of the

journalistic norm of objectivity. Media coverage can affect the types of moral, religious, or social values that people apply when processing a news story. When news reports stress values such as honesty or discuss which candidate can be an agent of change, they are also framing these criteria as central to the audience. Framing occurs through the salience afforded to different values and by subtle linguistic differences that favor one value or another (Sterling 2009). Value-framing research often finds that framing is dependent on individuals' predisposition, suggesting that framing is not inevitable. One experiment found that people's support for national security policies is affected differently when the story's wording centers on individuals impacted by the policy than when it focused on groups (thematic). Media framing in this case affected the type of values (national security or individual rights) activated by the individuals in conjunction with their own ideological leanings. Liberals were more likely to be affected by the individual rights frame than conservatives, while the national security frame affected conservatives more than liberals (Sterling 2009).

#### **2.5.4.6 Strategy and Issue Frame**

In the course of political campaigns, candidates make countless speeches, issue numerous position statements, and offer a set of policies and promises for the voters. Political news coverage, however, often seems more interested in "horse race" matters such as poll standings and tactical strategy by the candidates. Communications researchers Joseph Cappella and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (2003) studied the effects of these two types of frames ("issue" and "strategy") on people's sense of political trust. Experiments they conducted revealed that when people watch politics discussed through the strategy frame, they express higher levels of political cynicism, or distrust, than when the campaign is discussed by focusing on the issues at hand (cited on Sterling, 2009).

### **2.6. Framing and Individual Factors**

People tend to process information in accordance with their pre-existing outlooks, rather than by invariably reacting to new information as it is transmitted to them. At times, individuals may resist or ignore this new information and they will tend to see, understand, and remember things as they always have. Therefore, media effects, such as framing, may be conditional on the extent to which a frame is compatible with individuals' pre-existing knowledge structures and with the prevailing beliefs in a given culture. Some frames may simply not be registered with their audience. The less congruent the media frame is with an individual's schemas, the lesser the likelihood of frame transfer (Sterling 2009). Framing

research does not assume automatic frame transfer. This is evident in a study that exposed participants to political messages that were focused on either candidate traits or the issues. As framing theory would predict, those in the trait frame condition expressed more thoughts about candidate traits than those in the issue-frame condition and vice versa. However, the effects were particularly strong for those who were more likely to think that way to begin with: people who thought traits were most important (“trait schematics”) in politics were more affected by the trait frame than the issue schematics while those who considered issues most important were more affected by the issue frame than the trait schematics. In this way, framing reinforces existing conceptions (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). Most of the researches on framing discussed above took place in lab settings that do not amount to an exact replication of the way people actually receive media messages. Some scholars have demonstrated that framing effects are short lived and may dissipate quickly, especially if people discuss the media messages with others, who may have different viewpoints. The fact that framing may be conditioned by individual factors as well as by the setting in which the message is received should not, however, diminish framing’s importance.

There is an overwhelming body of evidence that indicates that how a story is told can have a significant effect on how broader social concepts and central political figures are considered by the public. In some cases, the way news media frame a story can affect not only opinions but also actions and behaviors; that is why Knight (1999) said “Frames are powerful mechanisms that can help define and solve problems and shape public opinion” (cited in An and Gower 2009: 107).

## **2.7. Media framing in Ethiopia**

Ever since the establishment of media institutions in Ethiopia before hundred years ago the Ethiopian media is highly related and sometime hugely intertwined with the political system of the country. The media during the imperial and Derg periods expected to function and echo the ideologies of the regimes. Therefore, the media were performing its duties under strict rules. This situation in most cases abide the media institutions to frame their stories in a way that wouldn’t offend the governments. The censorships laws which were put in effect by the two regimes forced media institutions and journalists to give high attention the way how to frame their stories. Most of the time the media during those periods is were highly sensitive and even the practice of self-censorship was common. But after the Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and its allies, which joined hands to

topple the military regime, formed the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) in July 1991. TGE has enacted several laws that granted democratic and human rights. Among these laws one is proclamation number 6/1992. According to Andargachew (2007), this law is one of the most liberal laws enacted by the EPRDF. It is aimed at regulating both the private and state media (print and broadcast included). As part of its move towards democratizing the country the ruling party has designed creative (or “different from the western media laws”) ways of handling state-media relationship and media ownership patterns (Oyvind and Fackler 2003). The new government seemed committed in respecting media freedoms. Elaborating on this Andargachew (2007: 1) writes: “EPRDF had a choice of policies it could have pursued regarding the mass media. On one hand it could have maintained state control of all the media, as its predecessors did....and on the other extreme, EPRDF could have left all the media to the private sector. ... Instead of pursuing either of the positions,

EPRDF adopted a middle of the road option. It retained the pre-existing state media under its control and greatly expanded it, and it allowed the private sector to participate in the media industry.” The press law also brought “the anticipated end to systematic censorship indicative of the preceding Emperor Haile Sillassie and military regimes” (Dessalegn, 2004). For better or worse, the issuing of these proclamations, in addition to the constitution, has restructured the Ethiopian media landscape. However, some of the legal provisions provided by the constitutions are liable to claw back measures and derogation. Also there are complaints that some of the proclamations have been used by politicians and their offices to arbitrarily interfere and limit the independence of the media. Even if direct censorship has been banned by the constitution and the practice is said to be no more in place, officials have been ensuring the repression of unfavorable views through forcing the journalist (both state and private journalists) to undergo self-censorship also direct censorship on the state media. In its review of the Ethiopian media for the year 2007 the IPI mentioned state media journalists saying “the government’s political appointments within the media organizations—for instance Ethiopian Television—shaped the organization’s content by deciding on the story, the story’s angle and who undertook the assignment” (IPI, 2005: page). The role of the journalists in such cases is also limited as a channel of conveying the interview or press releases read by officials as the “planning came directly from the Ministry of Information. Journalists also said that the same story from the same angle would appear across all state media” (Ibid). Gatekeepers assigned as top media officials based on party affiliation (Daniel,



2003) also oversee Ethiopian state media organizations. However, far from the profession of journalism and communication in some cases these officials decide which news and information should be provide to the public. The government manipulation of the media for its own purpose and agendas make government media institutions to frame their stories in favor of the government. In the contrary, the private media operating in the country chooses to function in the opposite manner. The antagonistic nature of these media sectors highly influenced how each framed their stories. Today in Ethiopian context, some of the private newspapers appear to develop habit of merely opposing the government's policies without putting forward alternative policy options. The agenda set by such newspapers are not predicate upon the public interest; rather they are loaded with certain selfish political or other interests. Getachew Metaferia, (2003).

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1. Research Design**

In this study, mixed research method employed as the main research method. Zoltan Dornyei (2007) noted that mixed research method helps to address the research questions posed by this study; the empirical as well as the content aspects of framing. In addition, it is taking as an ideal study method that it reduces the inherent weaknesses of individual methods, qualitative and quantitative, by compensating them with the strength of the other. The quantitative approach was used to quantify frequency of coverage, tone, themes, the type of frames and sources of information used by the newspapers, whereas the qualitative approach was used to interpret themes, words and expressions (idioms, metaphors and proverbs) of the texts written on the issues related to the 2015/16 Ethiopian protests.

#### **3.2. Method of Data Collection**

##### **Content Analysis**

This study used content analysis techniques. As mentioned earlier, the research used a mixed research method. Therefore, both quantitative content analysis and qualitative content (textual analysis) were employing. Weber (1990 as cited in Zhang and Wildemuth, undated) pointed out that the best content analysis studies use both qualitative and quantitative operations. The content analysis aspect is based on the news source, focuses on the news text concept, written script, discussed theme, and structure. Generally, content analysis is a method to collect and analyze data on media contents such as topics or issues, frequencies, messages determined by key words, circulation and media type. Content analysis has been long used in communication studies and could be detected through Lasswell's examination of propaganda in 1927 (Wimmer and Dominick, 2010). Neuman, Marion and Ann (1992) also explained that content analysis is a technique to collect and analyze text content where the content mentioned consists of words, meaning, picture, symbol, idea, theme or any message that could be use in communication. The Neuendorf (2002 cited in Vreese, 2005) defined media content analysis as a way to shorten and analyze quantitative message through scientific method. Different scholars have said different things about media content analysis. Shoemaker and Reese (1996), for example, explained that media content analysis could split

in to behavior tradition and humanity tradition. Behavior tradition prioritizes the media's effect by using scientific method, whereas in humanity tradition, the content analysis done by looking through the media's content and what they wish to deliver to the society and the culture where the media exist. Nevertheless, this matter was not the focus of the study. Instead, it focused on the idea of Shoemaker and Reese (1996), which suggests that media contents should be analyze from the aspect of medium, publication technique, message, source, reference, and the context to find the meaning of a certain message.

### **3.3 Determining Media Frames through Content Analysis**

Content analysis is preferred among researchers for it is an efficient means to scrutinize media content. Content, as Deacon et al., (1999) define is any message that can be communicated in forms of words, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes or meanings. Kothari also articulates that, "content-analysis 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" ((2004, p. 110). Content analysis is also a technique used for gathering and analyzing the content of a program. Other scholars also described content analysis as a method of research that is "widely used in communication research and provides a brief description of important aspects of text or data collected" (Wilkinson, Joffe & Yardley, 2004, p. 38). Therefore, content analysis is going to consider the most appropriate method of study since it involves the analysis of the content of the media institution under study. Quantitative and qualitative content analysis was use to comparatively assess how Addis Zemen and Reporter Amharic newspapers framed the 2015-16 protests in Ethiopia.

### **3.4 Selection of Media Outlet**

The study involved four types of subjects, first selecting two newspapers from the print media out lets that are currently operating in the country. Second, collecting data like news, opinions, features, articles, and editorials is another subject. The purpose of this research focused on news framing, identifying news items used as third subject. Finally, selecting samples from the whole news items that cover the protests on Oromia and Amhara regions conducted as a subject. These two newspapers selected from other media outlets is because of logistic and conceptual reasons. The selected newspapers conceptually regarded as media

outlets that are important in reaching the ruling powers and decision makers as well as to the larger public on the national level according to Ethiopian press agency (EPA 2016). The circulation of this particular Newspaper is fifteen thousand. Moreover, they have far-reaching consequences in determining the public attitude and perception for many years. In addition, the wider distribution of these newspapers is another reason for selecting them. (ibid)

### **3.4.1. Addis Zemen**

Addis Zemen, ("New Era" in English) is the state-owned daily Amharic newspaper, longest serving over 75 years in Ethiopian press history. The Ethiopian government under Emperor Haileselassie I founded the paper as a four-page weekly on 7 June 1941 and On 5 May 1946 the paper became a broadsheet publication and later, a daily newspaper. At presently, Addis Zemen based in Addis Ababa and published by the Ethiopian Press Agency (Mekuria, 2006). It is the oldest among the present-day newspapers in the country, which mainly focuses on social, political, Economic and entertainment issues and it covers international issues. The Newspaper was established with “the permission of His Imperial Majesty to explain to the people about what they should do for their country, for their King and for his government” An Amharic publication which has remained the most important state-owned newspaper in the nation ever since (Addis Zemen 7 June 1941, quoted in Skjerdal, 2012, p. 11). It's the dedicated servant of the last three governments of Ethiopia.

The government uses Addis Zemen Newspaper, to publicize its national policies, strategies on various social, political, and economic issues; the circulation of this particular Newspaper is fifteen thousand. The reason behind picking Addis Zemen Newspaper was since the Newspaper owned by the government and the government considers protests as one of its challenges. Other than that, its circulation, ownership, and printing frequency put the Newspaper to take into account. It understood that, the issue of the 2015-16 protests in Oromia and Amhara regions as one of its priorities and subjects to cover. Ethiopian press agency (EPA, 2016)

### **3.4.2. The Reporter Amharic newspaper**

The Amharic Reporter is a newspaper that issued for two days in a week by the Media and Communication Centre (MCC). The newspaper has survived for more than 20 years in a volatile private media market. The Newspaper covers perpetually Social, Political, Economic and Entertainment issues for the past two decades. According to the Amharic Reporter information, currently, the circulation reached around 13,500. World press (2016) Because of its huge circulation and covering wider issues concerning in the country including the 2015/16 Ethiopian protests. This is the reason the researcher chooses Amharic Reporter to be part of the study.

### **3.5. Data collection instruments**

In order to collect the necessary data, a quantitative content analysis implemented and to understand the meanings of texts and qualitative content analysis was employ. Qualitative content analysis applied because, the method is widely used to conduct a research about media framing. Furthermore, it is guided by framing theory yield data which most readers' pickup (Entman, 1993.57). This study used all of the main framing types and the literature driven protest and anti-peace frames.

### **3.6. Definition of Variables and Terms**

As mentioned above, this research aimed to show how Addis Zemen and the Amharic Reporter newspapers framed the protests in Oromia and Amahra regions. The framing analyzed based on the main framing types and two literatures driven frames. The researcher also shows frequency of each frame, the tone of the newspapers while covering the issue, the main sources used by them to tell the stories, what is the perceptions of the newspapers about the issue and how did they portray it. Each news items accordingly coded in relation to a number of variables including framing types, location, themes, sources and functions. The coding sheet was composed of four parts. The first dealt with genres i.e. whether the story was news, feature, or interview. The second refers to location whether the story placed on front or inside pages. The third part deals with the focus of the story the categories will be protest, conflict, disturbance, anti-peace, anti-development, hidden agenda etc.

### 3.6.1. Definition of Terms

The frame is the predominant thematic structure employed to present the story. The researcher looks at the special angle used to present the news, ideas that stated frequently to determine frames used. As proposed by Vreese (2005) deductive and inductive approaches used to identify frames. These frames are identifying based on a review of studies completed about a specific topic. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) postulated five generic frames: conflict, economic consequence, human interest, morality and responsibility. For this study, the following broad frames derived from other studies that had been employ to examine protest and other political topics are used.

#### Frames

**The conflict frame** emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries. (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

**Human Interest frame** brings a human face, an individual's story, or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem. (Sterling, 2009)

**The economic consequence frame** presents an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country. (Sterling, 2009).

**Value/Morality frame** interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. (Neuman & Shklar, 1992)

**Attribution of responsibility frame** presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group. (Vreese, 2005, p. 56)

**Protest:** In the current study, protest refers to statement or action expressing disapproval of or objection to something. Though some media preferred to use words such as unrest, violence, demonstration and others, the researcher preferred to rely on the nomenclature used by international organizations to avoid framing bias. Different international organizations

such as the United Nations, African Union, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International used the word protest to refer to the 2015- 16 Ethiopian protest.

**Anti-peace** for this study is an implication found in news that describes the protest as violence and disturbances aimed at looting and damaging public and private properties. The issue related as a move to destabilize and disintegrate the country.

Note: the definition of protest and anti-peace frames is not equivalent to that of frames of protest and anti-peace, and therefore it differently defined in the chapter four.

### **Sources**

The first two sources cited in the story coded to determine who or what individuals, organizations or groups tried to influence or shape the media frames. These sources may be the government or other policy-makers at all levels, politicians, opposition parties, research institutes, investors, and member of the public.

- A. Government: this refers to any government officials at federal and regional level. These include the nine regions in the country that are recognized by the FDRE constitution.
- B. Police: this refers to people and organizations that are responsible for the enforcement of law and order by the country constitution.
- C. Political parties: this includes the ruling party as well as other organized political parties.
- D. Individuals: this refers to the public or ordinary citizens who do not represent any organizations, but quoted as main sources of the news. (ibid)
- E. University Intelligentsia: this represents academicians or scholars who took part in the news by reflecting their views on several issues.

### **Tone**

It is refer to the story's orientation: whether the news depicts the protest as a positive, negative or neutral. The following are three potential types of tone:

1. **Positive tone:** - displayed by news that mainly discusses the advantages of the protest. This news considers the protest as a solution to a problem

2. **Negative tone:**-displayed by news that mainly discuss the risks and disadvantages of the protest. This news considers the protest as a means of destructing development and creating instability.
3. **Neutral tone:** - is displayed by news that are mainly event-oriented and do not mention pros and cons of the protest. They neither treat the protest as a solution nor as a problem.

### **3.7. Sample Unit of Analysis**

The unit of analysis is the complete news. Only news publications that mainly discuss the protest analyzed. Articles that discussed the topic in an indirect way and those that made only superficial references to the protest excluded from the sample.

#### **3.7.1 Sampling Technique and Sample Size**

Employing the appropriate sampling technique and selecting the relevant sample size ensures the representativeness of the sample. The researcher employed purposive sampling collecting data that only talks about the issue. The researcher took fifteen months' news items related to the Ethiopian protest, from August 2015 to November 2016. This 15 months' period saw a number of protests in the country that resulted in declaring a state of emergency in October 9. Within this period, journalists and media houses were able to discuss the protest from different angles, and gave the public enough exposure time to learn about the topic. During the selected period, which is for 15 months, Addis Zemen published a total of 360 editions and the Amharic Reporter newspaper 104 editions respectively. Among these editions Addis Zemen published a total of 122 news, about the protest in Oromia and Amhara regions. Whereas the Amharic reporter published 89, stories related to the issue. Therefore, the study conducted by using purposive sampling. The purposively data collected from the Reporter and Addis Zemen newspapers were items analyzed. Each newspaper considered and included in the unit and content analysis. The data are relevant if their headline contained words such as 'protest', 'conflict', 'disturbance', 'anti-peace', anti-development', 'hidden agenda', morality and value".



### **3.7.2 Coding process**

To identify attribution of responsibility frames regarding the protest, the researcher focused on the main idea and content of the collected data. All types of frames detected and the data coded. In addition to the researcher, another two Journalism and communication Bachelor's Degree graduates were participated to code the data the literature frames identified in the literature reviews used in the content analysis portion.

### **3.7.3 Method of Data Analysis**

After gathering the relevant data to answer the research questions, the next step is analyzing the data. "Data analysis is the crucial stage where researchers begin to understand their findings in light of their research aims" (Basit, 2003, p. 145). Frequency distribution tables used to compare the frames detected in Addis Zemen and the Amharic Reporter newspapers. First, the content analysis of Addis Zemen publications had been conduct. Following the content analysis, identifying the dominant frames done finally, examination about the sources of stories was conduct. This is the same for the Reporter Amharic newspaper. As mentioned before, the research used both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. The quantitative data classified into five analytical categories. The first part was frequency of coverage, and this helped the researcher to examine how frequently the issues of the protest in Oromia and Amhara regions. The second category was identifying dominant frames. The third category was the tone of the news, which refers to whether the coverage was positive, neutral or negative. The fourth category was source, and this dealt with individuals or organizations that were directly or indirectly quote as source of the information. The qualitative aspect of content analysis looked into the words and expressions used by the writers of the stories. Here, words, figurative speeches, proverbs and other expressions ware analyzed. In addition to the quantitative data, thorough interpretations of the themes of the articles took place. The study also tried to examine how differently the print media framed issues by comparing different headlines of the newspapers on same issue. Once the data were gathered and classified into different categories based on their themes, types and other important concepts of framing, they translated from Amharic into English. Finally, a thorough analysis and interpretation of the gathered data took place the conclusions and recommendations of further

research were drawn. Inter-coder Reliability Inter-coder reliability assessed through Holist's formula where:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2 \times M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

M represents the number of coding decisions with which the two coders agree while N1 and N2 are the total number of coding decisions by the first and the second coder, respectively.

The inter-coder reliability across all categories ranges from 89 per cent to 100 per cent for the stories the two coders coded.

Cochran sampling formula

$$N = \frac{N_o}{1 + (N_o - 1)/N}$$

Where "N" refers to population size

"No" refers sample size of population therefore, based on the above formula The sample size calculation for Addis Zemen presented as follows;

$$N = 360$$

$$N_o = 122$$

$$\frac{122}{1 + (122 - 1)/360} = 122$$

While provided the given formula the sample size for the Amharic Reporter resulted as follows;

$$N = 104$$

$$N_o = 89$$

$$\frac{89}{1 + (89 - 1)/104} = 89$$

In relation to reliability the data collected calculated by using the formula of reliability i.e.

$$2 \times M / (N_1 + N_2)$$

Where by M refers for the number of coding decisions

N1 is for decision of coder 1

N2 is for coding decision of coder 2

Therefore, reliability of Addis Zemen presented as follows;

$$N1 = 115$$

$$N2 = 110$$

$$M = 122$$

$$R = 2 \times 122 / (115 + 110)$$

$$R = 244 / 225 = 92.21\%$$

For the Amharic Reporter

$$N1 = 84$$

$$N2 = 80$$

$$M = 89$$

$$R = 2 \times 89 / (84 + 80)$$

$$R = 178 / 164$$

$$R = 92.13\%$$

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

A story may have various theme and frames. However, the dominant frame is the single main theme of a story, while secondary theme might considered as supplementary ideas. Most often, the supplementary frame can give strength to the main frame. Stories could also have one dominant frame and several supplementary or secondary frames (Baysha & Hallahan, 2004). According to Iyengar (1990), frames could be classified into two categories as Episodic and Thematic frames. The majority of articles found from the data interpreted the issue in focusing on events and certain incidents rather than presenting the issue in a broader context. Based on this, dominant frames used in this study such as attribution of responsibility, solution, morality and conflict frames were categorized into Episodic frame whereas, Diagnostic frames which deal with causes of the problem put under the thematic frame. This section presents the results found from the quantitative and qualitative analysis. The quantitative aspect focuses on frequency of frames, frequency of tones, number and frequency of sources of information, whereas the qualitative aspect focuses on analysis and interpretation of themes and expressions of the selected newspapers.

#### 4.1. Result on Quantitative content analysis

##### Coverage of the protest by the newspapers

**Table 4.1 Addis Zemen coverage by region**

Newspaper					
Addis Zemen					
Amhara		Oromia		Amhara and Oromia	
No. of items	No. of items/%	No. of items	No. of items/%	No. of items	No. of items/%
32	26.23	74	60.66	16	13.11

In order to address the first research question how did the selected newspapers framed the issue? 122 news items were collected from Addis Zemen , among these 32 stories covered

the protest in Amhara and 74 stories about the protest in Oromia , and the rest of 16 stories were published by combining both regions were coded.

**Table 4.2. The Amharic Reporter coverage by region**

Newspaper					
Amharic Reporter					
Amhara		Oromia		Amhara and oromia	
No. of items	No. of items/%	No. of items	No. of items/%	No. of items	No. of items/%
12	13.48	46	51.69	31	34.83

On the other hand, the reporter Amharic newspaper published 12 stories about the protest that had taken place in Amhara and 46 on Oromia protest the rest of the stories that accounts 31 items covered by combining both of them.

#### **4.2. Frames**

As thoroughly discussed in the chapter two of this research, there are five general frames that various framing researches have applied: economic consequences, morality, conflict, human interest, and responsibility frames. Though content analysis is done in an objective manner, Wimmer and Dominick stress, “perfect objectivity is seldom achieved” (2011, p. 157). This is because, in specifying “the unit of analysis and the precise makeup and definition of relevant categories individual researchers must exercise subjective choice” (ibid). Using this as a reference point the researcher has proposed the following two new frames after making preliminary assessment of the content and identifying frames that could not be categorize among the five frames discussed in the literature part. They are present below.

- **Anti-peace frame:**

This frame is found in news that describes the protest as violence and disturbances aimed at looting and damaging public and private properties. This frame also discusses the issue as a move to destabilize and disintegrate the country.

Example1. In recent days, the anti-peace elements in Oromia and Amhara regions are staged protests to destabilize the country. They hijacked the peaceful demands that

rise from the public to execute their agendas. (*Addis Zemen Dec. 30, 2016*) **Protest frame:**

This frame acknowledges that there are people who brought their grievances to the street because of little attention given by the government to resolve the concerns timely. It rather treats the issue as a peaceful demonstration.

Example1. The Amharic Reporter “The concern on political arena will not be only decisive for EPRDF. It is also decisive for the country. The development of the federal system providing solutions for rising problem constitutionally now becomes the core issue. (*August 24, 2016*).

**Table 4.3 frequency of frames distribution on Newspapers**

Framing type	Theme /key word	Newspapers			
		Addis Zemen		Amharic Reporter	
		No of items	No. items / %	No of items	No. items / %
Conflict	Conflict	28	22.95	15	16.85
Human interest	Human distraction	2	1.63	11	12.36
Economic consequence	Material distraction	3	2.47	3	3.37
Attribution of Responsibility	Responsibility	-	-	2	2.25
Value/morality	Value	-	-	-	-
	Morality	2	1.63	-	-
protest	Protest	13	10.66	58	65.17
Anti-peace	Destructing elements	28	22.95	-	-
	Disturbance	24	19.67	-	-
	Hidden agenda	22	18.04	-	-
	<b>Anti-peace frame in Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>60.66</b>	-	-
<b>Total</b>		<b>122</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>100</b>

Both the literature frames and the emergent frames coded. A considerably high amount of news was structure around the ‘anti-peace frame’ is detected from Addis Zemen. 74 (60.66%) news items were presented by applying this frame. On the other hand, this frame did not appear in any of the Amharic Reporter publication. Conflict frame was the second dominant frame that was detected in Addis Zemen, this frame occurred on 28 (22.95%) of the stories. In this regard, this frame detected as the second dominant frame on the Amharic Reporter. The newspaper presented on 15(16.85 %) of the stories. In relation with “Protest” frame, which is literature, based the Amharic reporter applied it in 58 (65.17 %) news stories. Thus, the frame detected as the most dominant frame applied by the newspaper. On the other hand, Addis Zemen framed 13 or 10.66% stories through this frame about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest. A total of 7 or 5.73 %news stories were framed by Addis Zemen using value/morality, economic, consequences, responsibility and human-interest frames. The Amharic Reporter in its part used the mentioned frames to cover 16(17.98%) news stories to cover the issue. Data presented on table 4.3

### **4.3. Tone of the stories**

**Tone:** refers to the story’s orientation: whether the news depicts the protest as a positive or negative. The following are three potential types of tone:

4. Positive tone displayed by news that mainly discusses the advantages of the protest. This news considers the protest as a solution to a problem
5. Negative tone displayed by news that mainly discusses the risks and disadvantages of the protest. This news considers the protest as a means of destructing development and creating instability.
6. Neutral tone displayed by news is that mainly event-oriented and do not mention pros and cons of the protest. They neither treat the protest as a solution nor as a problem.

**Table 4.4 Tone of the stories presented by Addis Zemen**

<b>Tone</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Positive	4	3.28
Negative	118	96.72
Neutral	-	-
Total	122	100

As table 4.4 shows that out of 122 news stories that were analyzed 118 (96.72%) of the stories were found to be negative towards the 2015/16 Ethiopian protest; only four stories (3.28%) were positive, and no stories were found to be neutral. This indicates that Addis Zemen considered the protest as a means of destructing development, creating instability and disintegrating the country

**Table 4.5 Tone of the stories presented by Amharic reporter**

<b>Tone</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Positive	70	78.65
Negative	7	7.87
Neutral	12	13.48
Total	89	100

Unlike Addis Zemen, the Amharic Reporter viewed the protests as opportunities for the country to change. The newspaper applied positive tone on 70 (78.65%) news stories. Its neutral view reflected on 12(13.48%) news items and 7 or 7.87% news stories presented as negative effects of the protests. The data presented as follows.

#### **4.4. Sources of information by the selected Newspapers**

##### **4.4.1 Sources of Addis Zemen**

Discussing about framing news, it is better to go through the most frequently cited sources of information in the news, because they are the one who might be influencing media institutions and their outlets in order to frame in a way they frame news.



**Table 4.6. Sources of frequency on Addis Zemen**

Sources	Frequency in No.	Frequency in %
Government officials Government releases, governmental organizations	80	65.57
Individuals	13	10.66
Opposition political parties	5	4.12
Religious and professional organizations	4	3.28
Police	10	8.19
University Intelligentsia	7	5.73
Diplomatic and international organizations	3	2.45
Total	122	100

As Table 4.6 depicts Addis Zemen presented 80 stories by referring government officials and press releases this accounts 65.57% of the total stories. This is including government offices and officials at federal and regional levels. Among the government, the Government Communication Affairs Office and the Prime Minister take the highest share in making news. Individuals in general quoted in 13 stories, religious institutions and professional organizations were use as sources quoted in the news reports; these sources cited on 3.28 % of stories. Police as a source cited on 10 or 8.19 % of news. University intelligentsia accounted 5.73 % as a source. Out of the total sources referred by Addis Zemen opposition political parties cited on 5 stories last but not least diplomatic and international organizations are mentioned as sources of information on 3 stories that covered the 2015/16 Ethiopian protest.

#### **4.4.2 Sources frequency of the Reporter**

The third question which was raised to conduct this study was about the sources that had been referred while the selected newspapers used while covering the issue of the 2015/16 Ethiopian protest. The discussion about framing news, it is better to go through the most frequently cited sources of information in the news, because they are the one who might be influencing news to frame in a way they frame news.

**Table 4.7 Sources frequency by the Amharic Reporter**

Sources	Frequency in No.	Frequency in %
Government officials Government releases, governmental organizations	45	50.56
Individuals	9	10.11
Opposition political parties	14	15.73
Religious and professional organizations	3	3.37
Police	8	8.99
University Intelligentsia	6	6.74
Diplomatic and international organizations	4	4.5
Total	89	100

According to table 4.7, 45 stories about the protests in Amhara and Oromia Regions were presented by making government officials and press releases from the government as main sources this number accounts 50.56% of the total sources. The sources, that highly presented included government offices at federal and regional levels. The second most dominant sources according to the Reporter are political parties were cite on 14 news stories, which shares 15.73% of the sources. The other that comprised religious institutions and professional organizations that uses as sources of information on 3 stories. Diplomatic and international organizations quoted by the newspaper on 4 news stories moreover, the police cited as source in 8 (8.99) of the news. University intelligentsia mentioned as a source for 6 stories that covered the protests

#### **4.5. Results on qualitative content analysis**

The qualitative aspect of content analysis looks into the words and expressions used by the writers of the stories. Here, words, figurative speeches, proverbs and other expressions analyzed. In addition to the quantitative data, thorough interpretations of the themes of the

articles took place. In the next section, the research addressed how the selected newspapers were portraying the protest through qualitative content analysis.

#### 4.5.1. Tone of Addis Zemen on Oromia and Amhara Regions' protest

In order to have a firm understanding on the details of how Addis Zemen portrayed the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest predominantly by referring it to “Anti Peace” as it is indicated on table 4.4, out the protests were an act of disturbance, instigate violence, and it is initiated by disturbance and destruction elements who aspire to disintegrate the country. To show the negativity tone of the stories the following is a detailed article had taken from Addis Zemen which was publish on Dec. 15, 2015 is presented as follows.

በአሮሚያ ክልልም ይሁን በአጠቃላይ ኢትዮጵያን እንደ ሃገር ለማተራመስ እና የህዳሴ ጉዟችንን ለማደናቀፍ ከማውጣት ውጪ ስራ የሌላቸው ሰዎች እንዳሉ ይታወቃል።

Translation:

Whether it is in Oromia or other parts of the country, there are people who are engaged to destabilize our country and to hinder our renaissances path.

Addis Zemen on editorial page issued on August 10, 2016 stated that the protests in Oromia and Amhara Regions are not only peace protests the script presented as follows:

ሰሞኑን በአሮሚያ እና በአማራ ክልሎች የነበሩት እንቅስቃሴዎች በአብዛኛው ሰላማዊ ሰልፍ ሳይሆኑ የሁከትና የነውጥ እንዲሁም ህገመንግስታዊ ስርአቱን በሃይል ለመናድና አለማቸውም አፍራሽ እና ጸረ ሕገመንግስት መሆናቸው ሊታወቅ ይገባል። ባለቤት አልባ መሆናቸው ብቻ ሳይሆን አለማቸውም አፍራሽ እና ጸረ ህዝብና ሃገር መሆኑንም በተጨማሪም መስረጃዎቹ ማረጋገጥ ይቻላል።

Translation

The recent activities in Oromia and other Regions revealed are not peaceful demonstrations. Rather their core motive is to disrupt the country through unconstitutional manner. Their target is instigating disturbances to topple down the constitutional system through violence. It should understand that they are anti-people. This can proved through evidences.

On the other hand, Addis Zemen on its Jan. 15, 2016 publication stated that the cause of the protests was the Addis-Oromia integrated master plan. Therefore, the Oromia Regional Administration held discussions to address the issue. With this discussion, the Administration

learned that the master plan should have been suspended because it had negative effects on the people of the region quoted one official from the region.

በፊንጫ እና ኦሮሚያ ልዩ ዞን የተቀናጀ የጋራ ማስተር ፕላን ሙሉ በሙሉ እንዲቆም የተደረገው በክልሉ መንግስት እና በህዝቡ መካከል ውይይት ከተካሄደ እና ህዝቡ እንደማይቀበለው መረጋገጡን ተከትሎ ነው ሲሉ የአህዴድ ጽ/ቤት ሃላፊ አቶ ዳባ ደበሌ ትላንት በሰጡት መግለጫ አመልክተዋል።

Translation

After discussing with the people of Oromia region, the regions' administration decided to drop the integrated master plan, which designed to integrate Addis Ababa and the special zones in Oromia. The decision came after the people announced that they will not accept the master plan according to OPDO secretariat head Mr. Daba Dbele

#### 4.5.2 Tone of Amharic Reporter on Amhara and Oromia regions protest

As indicated on table 4.5, Unlike Addis Zemen, the Amharic Reporter viewed the protests as opportunities for the country to change. The newspaper applied positive tone on 70 (78.65%) news stories. It is neutral view was reflected by 12 (13.48%) news items. Besides 7 or 7.87% news stories were presented as negative effects of the protests, among these stories one, which is issued on its Dec. 20,2015 states that “the source of the problem is the compensation that the government pays for those who evicted from their land, the question of the farmers is not more that. They are demanding their rights no more any less.” This story perceived the protests in a positive tone

የችግሩ ምንጭ ያለው ከመሬታቸው ለሚነሱ ወገኖች መንግስት የሚከፍለው ክፍያ ላይ ነው። ገበሬው ከዚህ የዘለለ ጥያቄ የለውም። እነሱ የሚጠይቁት መብታቸውን ነው። ሌላ ማንኛውም አካል ከዚህ የዘለለ የራሱ ፍላጎት ከሌለው በስተቀር ጥያቄው ከዚህ የዘለለ አይደለም።

Translation:

The problems rose from the compensation that the government is paying for those who evicted from their land. The peasants have no question rather than this. Never the less, others who demand different from this are not part of the activity. It confirmed that the peasants demand not more.

Another script that taken from the newspaper, published on Jan. 3, 2016, stated that, if the government failed to address the problems that are taking place due to its failure such protests will continue in the future too. The transcript presented as follows:

.....በኢህዴግ መንግስት መልካም አስተዳደር የተማረ፣ የማህበራዊ ጥያቄ ያላቸው ከፌደራል ስርአቱ ተግባራዊነት ጋር በተያያዘ ሊነሱ የሚችሉ እና የኢኮኖሚ እድገቱ በራሱ የሚፈጥራቸው አይነትና ደረጃቸው ከፍ ያሉ ጥያቄዎችና ተቃውሞዎች አሁንም ወደፊትም ሊነሱ ይችላሉ። ለዘመኑ የሚመጥን የፖለቲካ አስተሳሰብ እነዚህ ልዩነቶች እየሰፉ እንደሚመጡ መጠበቅ አለበት።

Translation

.....questions of dissatisfactions with EPRDF, social demands, federal structure loopholes, and the effects of economic development are the reasons for the protests. Such and beyond demands are instigating protests and will continue to do so. It should have been kept in mind that a timely political perception that can fit to address such issues must come to surface.

The following story published on the newspaper on Dec. 16, 2016 carry news that show negative tone about the protest

ህዳር 10 ቀን 2008 ዓ.ም በአዲስ አበባ እና ኦሮሚያ ልዩ ዞን የተቀናጀ ማስተር ፕላን እቅድን ተከትሎ የተነሳው ግጭት ለህይወት እና ንብረት መጥፋት ምክንያት ሆኗል። ግጭቱን እና አለመግባባቱን ለማብረድ የኦሮሚያ ክልል ከፍተኛ ባለስልጣናት ህዝቡን በማወያየት ስራ ቢጠመዱም ግጭቱ ግን ተባብሶ በመቀጠል ህይወት እየቀጠፈ ነው።

Translation

The clash began on Dec. 16 with rejecting the integrated master plan has become a reason for human loss and property destruction. To ease the situation officials of Oromia Region are holding discussions with the people, though the situations is still tense.

## **4.6. Frames analysis through Qualitative content analysis**

### **4.6.1 ADDIS ZEMEN**

The analysis of Addis Zemen newspaper’s coverage of the Ethiopia protests reveals that it has framed the protests by employing a number of frames. Among these anti-peaces, conflict and protest frames were examining as dominant frame types. Out of 122 or 100 % of the stories, anti- peace frame presented in 74(60.66%) stories, conflict frame accounts 28 (22.95%) of the stories and protest frame applied in 13 or 10.66 % of the news. Whereas frames like human interest, economic consequence and value/ morality had given less attention by the newspaper. Many of the articles and stories written by implementing the anti-

peace, conflict and protest frames published on the front, editorial and feature pages of the newspaper.

**I. Anti- peace frame and the protest**

As indicated on table 4.3 the most dominant frame that was applied Addis Zemen is that the Anti- Peace frame this frame printed on the front, editorial and feature pages of the newspaper. While using the frame the newspaper-referred words like destruction elements, disturbance, and hidden agenda are anti-peace, hidden agenda and. The anti-peace frame is the most extensively used connotation for covering the Oromia and Amhara protests. Among the articles published on Addis Zemen newspaper 66.66 % of stories presented through this frame. To show some of the headlines “the road to renaissance will not be hindered by destruction forces”, “no chance for nation destabilization”, with the society the government is taking measures on anti-peace forces” and quoted Hailemarima Dessalegn the then Ethiopian prime minister and the story goes....

..... በአማራ ክልል የቅማንት ህዝብ የማንነት ጥያቄን ተከትሎ የክልሉን ብሄር ብሄረሰቦች ለማጋጨት የተደረገው ተመሳሳይ ጥረትም የጸረ ሰላም ሃይሎች እጅ ያለበት እንደሆነም አስታውቀዋል።

Translation

..... the movement started to address the identity inquiry of the Kemant People who live in Amhara Region has twisted to complete violence. It is an action of anti-peace people who want to create ethnic clashes he added.

Another story taken from the newspaper to show the use of attribution of responsibility the headline states, “the youth are urged to fight anti-peace forces” the news published on the front page of the newspaper on Dec. 9, 2015

ወጣቶች የጥፋት ሃይሎችን ሴራ እንዲታገሉ ተጠየቀ፡ የኦሮሚያ ክልል ወጣቶች ጥያቄያቸውን በሰላማዊ መንገድ ማቅረብ እየቻሉ የህዝባቸውን ሰላማዊ እንቅስቃሴ በሚያደናቅፍ ተግባራት ላይ መሳተፍ እንደማይኖርባቸው እና የጥፋት ሃይሎችን ሴራ ለማክሸፍ ከመንግስት እና ባለድርሻ አካላትጋር በትብብር መስራት ይኖርባቸዋል ሲሉ ነዋሪዎች ገለጹ።

Translation

Residents of Oromia Region asked youths to fight destruction forces. The Oromo youth should present their demands in a peaceful manner. They should not be part of these forces rather they should fight and avert the sabotage of these destruction forces.

Another instance to show the case in point a story published on Dec. 15, 2015, Addis Zemen on its editorial stated that “disturbance cannot be source of power” and a quote from the article states:

ሰሞኑን በአሮሚያ ክልል የሚገኙ የትምህርት ተቋማት እና ከተሞች መሰረት የሌለው ሁከት አስተናግደዋል። በዚህም ክቡሩ የሰውልጅ ህይወት ሲያልፍ የንብረት ጉዳትም ደርሷል። በአዲስ አበባ እና በዙሪያዎ የሚገኙ ከተሞች በማስተር ፕላን ተሳስረው በራጋ እንዲያድጉ በ2006 ዓ. ም የተዘጋጀው ማስተርፕላን መነሻ ቢሆንም ይህንን ርእሰ ጉዳይ መነሻ በማድረግ ጉዳዩን ለብጥብጥ አጀንዳ የተጠቀሙ ወገኖችን ተጨባጭ ምክንያት ለማወቅ የሚያስችል ሁኔታ አለመኖሩ ከጀርባው ያለው ሃይል ማነው የሚል ጥያቄን ያስነሳል።

#### Translation

In recent times, educational institutions have in countered baseless violence. This resulted in deaths and property loss. However, the initial reason was to oppose the master plan which was drafted on 2015 to incorporate Oromia special zones with Addis Ababa, the protests which, is still on course turned it is reason. It will be hard to understand the true purpose of those who are using this protest for their agenda to instigate violence. Unlike Addis Zemen the Amharic reporter does not apply “Anti- Peace” frame. Rather it highly refrained to give the issue such connotations. On the contrary, the newspaper presented that such references towards the issue had no positive implications.

## II. Conflict framing and Protest

Addis Zemen while presenting the issue of protest has given much emphasis to present it with conflict frame. According to the collected data, conflict frame implemented as a second dominant frame. It employed to present 28 or 22.95% news stories. These stories mostly published on front page, editorial and feature pages on the newspaper. Most of them used headlines like “what do we learn from the disturbance,” youth for development why for disturbance”, how come the federal system could be a reason to instigate disturbance”? Some presented as follows: one article published on the editorial page of Addis Zemen on Dec, 16,2015 issue states that “power through disturbance is impossible”.

ለሰሞኑ ሁከት አስፈጻሚ ሆነው የተመረጡት ከዝቅተኛ እስከ ከፍተኛ ደረጃ የሚገኙ ተማሪዎች ናቸው። ምንም እንኳን የከፍተኛ ትምህርት ተቋማቶቹ ተማሪዎችን ንቃተ ህሊና የሰፋ ቢሆንም ጥቂት የማይባል ቁጥር ያላቸው ተማሪዎች ሁኔታውን ባለመረዳት ተሳትፎ እያደረጉ ናቸው። ተማሪዎቹ ሊረዱት የሚገባው ሰልጣንን በብጥብጥ ለመያዝ ሞመከሩ አደጋው የከፋ እና ማይቻል መሆኑን ነው።

Translation

Students from elementary to higher education are chosen to destruct peace. Nonetheless, the consciousness of higher students to understand the reason behind the violence many are participating in it. The students must bear in mind that to claim power through force will have higher consequences.

Another story published on the front page of the newspaper issued on Dec. 17, 2015 presented as follows: its headline said, “The university students condemn the disturbance”

የሲቪል ሰርቪስ ዩኒቨርሲቲ የኦሮሞ ተወላጅ ተማሪዎች በአዲስ አበባ እና በፊንፊኔ ኦሮሚያ ዙሪያ የተቀናጀ የልማት መሪ እቅድን መሰረት በማድረግ የተቀሰቀሰው ሁከት በአፋጣኝ ሊቆም ይገባል ሲሉ አሳሰቡ።

Translation

Students of Civil Service University that comes from Oromia region urged the violence started in Addis Abeba and other place with the integrated master plan has stopped.

**III. Protest Frame and the Oromia and Amhara protest**

Table 4.3 shows that the third predominantly applied frame by the newspaper while covering the issue presented frames of protest. Among the when data 13 (10.66%) of the stories were presented through protest framing. Unlike conflict and responsibility frames get the inside pages of the newspaper. In addition, frames of protest highly reflected on the features and opinionated articles.

‘Peace is crucial for this country’s existence,’ “the main solution is to address the problems”, “the people demands are lawful”. Some stories indicated below



ቅሬታ በህገመንግስቱ መሰረት መቅረብ እንዳለበት ተገለጸ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች የጋራ ምክርቤት ማንኛውም ጥያቄ ሲቀርብ ህገመንግስታዊ ስርአቱን ተከትሎ ሊሆን ይገባል ሲል ገለጸ።

Translation

Dissatisfactions on the government presented according to the constitutionally and peacefully. The council of political parties stressed that; questions raised only through constitutional manner.

The difference with his framing is that it smoothen the issue and has given more emphasis for solutions and compromise. Unlike the above frames, the newspaper shows some degree of balancing in judgment and covering the Oromia and Amhara protests in a manner that complies with the majority. As it is indicated above the articles put various reasons while stories were framed through the protest theme possible solutions for these protests were discussed on the stories. The following quote from one article tries to show the government’s response on the protest. The article published July 6, 2015. The source quoted is the former prime minister of Ethiopia Hailemariam Dessalegn.

መንግስት ከህዝብ የሚነሱ ጥያቄዎችን አሳታፊ እና ዲሞክራሲያዊ በሆነ መንገድ ለመፍታት ጥረቱን አጠናክሮ እንደሚቀጥል ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ሃይለማርያም ደሳለኝ ገለጹ።

Translation

Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn announced that demands from the people will be addressed through democratic and participatory ways.

ኪራይ ሰብሳቢነት ብልሹ አሰራር እና መልካም አስተዳደር ችግሮችም በሚፈለገው ደረጃ አለመዋጋት የህዝብ ጥያቄ እያስነሳ መሆኑንም ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ አስታውቀዋል።

Translation

..... failure to tackle rent seeking and lack of good governance to the level is still a reason for questions to be raise from the people.

#### **IV. Protest and other frames**

As table 4.3 depicts frames like human interest, economic consequences, responsibility and value/ morality are also included and discovered in Addis Zemen’s coverage about the protests in amhara and oromia regions. The total number of news stories presented by using these frames accounts 7 (5.73%) from the total stories. To show the case in point the story reflects value frame presented as follows:

በተለያዩ አካባቢዎች የተፈጠረው ብጥብጥ እና ሁከት የሃገሪቱን ሰላም ከማደፍረሱም ባሻገር አሁን ያለውን የልማት እንቅስቃሴ ወደ ኋላ የሚጎትት በመሆኑ መቆም እንዳለበት የኢትዮጵያ ሃይማኖት ተቋማት ጉባኤ አሳሰበ።

Translation

The Council of Ethiopian Religious Institutions urged the conflict should stop according to the council. In addition to, disrupting the country’s peace hindering it is hindering the development of this country.

#### **4.6.2 THE AMHARIC REPORTER**

##### **I The Amhara and Oromia protest and frames of protest**

The data obtained from the newspaper suggested that most of the stories about the issue presented by using protest frame as it is indicated above. Reporter newspaper was covering the issue since its initial stage. While presenting the story during its starting period the newspaper tries to uncover the reason for the protest. It has been highlighting the causes of the issue rather than presenting it in terms of raw scenarios. It’s understood that most of the stories framed were presented on it’ editorial and highly opinionated pages. This can an easily show that the newspaper has predominantly used the protest frame. An excerpt from an article, which published on Dec. 13, 2015, reads as follows:

ከህዳር 10 2008 ዓ.ም ጀምሮ በኦሚያ ተቃውሞ እየተካሄደ ነው። ይህ ተቃውሞ መነሻ ምክንያቱ ደግሞ የአዲስ አበባ ማስፋፊያ በሚል የተዘጋጀውን የተቀናጀ ማስተር ፕላን ተከትሎ እንደሆነም ይታወቃል።

Translation

Since starting from Nov. 2016, protests are held in Oromia. The reason for the protest is the integrated master plan between Addis Ababa and Oromia special zones.

Another story published on 20, 2015 reads:

ባለፈው ሶስት ሳምንታት በኢትዮጵያ አካጋጋሪ የሆነው ጉዳይ ከአዲስ አበባ የተቀናጀ ማስተር ፕላን ጋር በተያያዘ በአሮሚያ ነዋሪዎች እና ተማሪዎች የተነሳው ተቃውሞ እናግጭት ነው። የዚህ ማስተር ፕላን እቅድ በርካቶች ህገመንግስታዊ መሰረት የለውም ሲሉ ይሞግታሉ። ይሁን እንጂ በርካቶች ባቀረቧቸው ጽሁፎች መሰረታዊ ችግሩን ሳያቀርቡት ያልፋሉ። ...የዚህ ጽሁፍ አላማም በርካቶች የዘነጉትን ይህንን ችግር ማሳየት ነው። የችግሩ ምንጭ ያለው የከተማው መስፋፋት ላይ ሳይሆን ለዚህ መስፋፋት ተብሎ ከመኖሪያቸው ለሚፈናቀሉ አርሶአደሮች የሚከፈለው የካሳ ጉዳይ ላይ ነው። እውነተኛው የገበሬው ጥያቄም ከዚህ የዘለለ አይደለም።

Translation

For the last three weeks, the protests started with the integrated master plan by Oromo peoples and students have become center of attention. According to many people, the master plan has not constitutional grounds. However, many who try to analyze the issue fail to present the root cause of the protest. ... this is the main reason for this article is written. The main reason is not the expansion of urbanization rather it lies on the compensation that is paid for peasants who are evicted from their land for this grounds.

The Amharic Reporter states that the action taken by the Ethiopian government worsened the situation. The forceful responses and labeling the protesters as terrorists have met with fierce confrontation between the government and the public at large. The newspaper writes:

ፓርቲው ተቃውሞውን እያካሄዱ በሚገኙ እና የሃሳቡ ተጋሪዎች በሆኑ ዜጎች ላይ የድሮ ስርአት ናፋቂ አሸባሪ ጸረሰላም የሚል ስያሜን እየሰጠ ዕድሰረ እና እያሳደደ ከሃገር እንዲወጡ ቢያስገድድም በተጓዳኝ አስተሳሰቡን ለማራመድ የሚካሄደው ሰላማዊ ትግልም መሰረት አሳጥቶታል። የሃሳቡን ተጋሪዎች አሸባሪ በማለት ከሰላማዊ መድረክ ውጪ ለማድረግ የሚወሰደው እርምጃ ከጥቅሙ ጉዳቱ ከማመዘኑም በላይ ከሃገሪቱ የፖለቲካ ብዝሃነት ጋር አብሮ ሚሄድ አይደለም።

Translation

Connotations of anti-peace, old regime nostalgia and terrorists given by the ruling party are aggravating the situation. Mistreatment, arrest and forceful eviction from this country had left no space for peaceful political engagement. Forcing who oppose the parties to accept its

perception hand no positive outcome rather negative consequences. It will not fit to the nation's political diversity.

## II Protest and conflict frame

According to table 4.3, the second most dominant frame used to cover the protests story is conflict. This frame presented on 15 or 16.85% stories. The newspaper reflected the protests while presenting it from conflict framing point of view focused more on its consequences. Unlike the pro government Addis Zemen newspaper, the Amharic Reporter have given due emphasis on the remedies of the protests. Consequences like Human loss, arrests of protesters and material destructions were highly discussed. Headlines like “conflict happened on western Oromia zone of Arsi becomes for the death of police officers”, “following the conflict in Oromia OPDO remove its chairman and its co from power”. The following story taken from the newspaper indicated that the protest in Amhara region was a reason for destruction.

በጎንደር ከተማ በጸጥታ ሃይሎች እና በነዋሪዎች መካከል በተከሰተ ግጭት በንብረት እና በሰው ህይወት ላይ ጉዳት ደረሰ። .....የሪፖርተር ምንጮች እንደገለጹት ተቃዋሚዎቹ የተገደሉት ከወልቃይት ጠገዴ የማንነት ጥያቄ ጋር በተያያዘ የሚፈለግ አንድ ግለሰብን ለመያዝ የመንግስት የጸጥታ ሃይሎች የወሰዱትን እርምጃ ተከትሎ ነው።

### Translation

Conflict between security forces and residents in Gonder resulted in human loss and property damage. .... sources for the Reporter said that the clashes are started with the security forces are started after the police attempt fail to arrest a person who is related with the identity question of Welkayet Tegede.

Furthermore, the reporter tried to echo the concerns different stakeholders. Data obtained from the newspaper shows that political parties provided opportunities to reflect their concern a story published on Dec. 28, 2015 made a headline like this “different political parties call the government to stop its violence crackdown on Oromia protest”. Below are some encryptions from the newspaper

ኢዴፓ እና ኢራፓ በአሁኑ ወቅት በሃገሪቱ የተለያዩ ከተሞች እየተከሰ ተየሚገኘው ችግር ወደ ለየለት ቀውስ እንዳያመራ መንግስት ጉዳዩ ከሚመለከታቸው አካላት ጋር ግልጽ እና ቀጥተኛ ውይይት በማድረግ መፍትሄ እንዲፈልግ ጠየቁ።

Translation

Ethiopian Democratic and Ethiopia Vision Parties have urged the government directly to talk with stakeholders in order to solve the situation. Otherwise the protests in different parts of the country will turn to a complete chaos according to the parties.

The newspaper addressed and had given much coverage about mass arrests which, taken place during the selected period. Especially, the extensive coverage of the court due process of the prominent opposition figures can be seen cases to cement the argument.

የኤፍኮ ሊቀመንበር እና ምክትል ሊቀመንበር ከኦሮሚያ ግጭት ጋር በተያያዘ በቁጥጥር ስር መዋላቸው ተነገረ። የጋዜጣው ምንጮች እንደገለጹት በቁጥጥር ስር ከዋሉት መካከል የስድስት ወራት እስራት ጊዜያቸውን ጨርሰው ከእስር የተለቀቁት የፓርቲው ሊቀመንበር አቶ በቀለ ገርባ ይገኙበታል።

Translation

Ethiopian Federalist Congress chairperson arrested. Mr. Bekele Gerba arrested because of the connection of the conflict in Oromia Region. According to the newspaper sources, Mr. Bekele had spent six months and he released recently.

**III the Protest and other frames**

The data collected from the newspaper and indicated on table 4.3 reflects that other frames like economic consequences and human-interest frames. These frame used to present 16 (17.98%) of stories. The newspaper presented these frame in relation to human loss and economic catastrophe. A story issued on the front page of the newspaper

የኢፌቻ በአል በሚከበርበት ቢሾፍቱ በተቀሰቀሰ ተቃውሞ በርካታ ቁጥር ያላቸው ሰዎች ለህልፈት ተዳረጉ። የሰላም እና የፍቅር ስነ-ስርአት በሚከበርበት በዚህ በአል ላይ ሰዎች የተገደሉት ሲያስተጋቡ በነበረው ተቃውሞ መነሻነት በተቃውሞ አድራጊዎች እና በጸጥታ ሃይሉ መካከል የተፈጠረውን አለመግባባት ተከትሎ መሆኑንም የጋዜጣው ምንጮች ተናግረዋል።

Translation

Dozen have dead on Erecha celebration. The deaths are resulted after protests broke out. These people were chanting slogans that leads to confrontation with security forces. Erecha regarded as celebration of love and peace.

Another story focused on the economic impact of the protest issued on the newspaper presented below:

ካለፈው ሰኞ መስከረም 23 ቀን 2009 ጀምሮ በአሮሚያ ክልል በድጋሚ ባገረሸው ተቃውሞከ 130 በላይ ኢንቨስትመንቶች ወደሙ። በተለይም በተቃውሞው በክልሉ የሚገኙ የጨርቃጨርቅ የኮሚኒኬሽን እና ኬብሎች ማምረቻ የጠጠር ማምረቻ እና ሌሎች ግዙፍ ፋብሪካዎች ናቸው ለውድመት የተዳረጉት።

Translation

Since October 9, 2016, more than 130 investments destroyed in Oromia Region. This destruction caused after protests in the region started again. The protests destroyed telecommunication cable factories, textile as well as other huge factories,

#### **4.7. Discussion of the findings**

Media can frame an event by choosing what to present and what not to present. What is more, framing could achieve through elaboration and emphasis. According to Entman (1993) to frame means “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text in such way as to promote particular definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993, p.52). In order to frame an event in the direction they want, journalists have to select some facts at the expense of others and make those facts salient in their text. It is when they include and exclude facts that they are able to promote particular definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation and recommendation. According to the above rationales, the newspapers reported the Ethiopian protests by providing their own interpretation and connoted it based on their establishment. Addis Zemen tried to perceive and presented the protest from the government side only, and had given less emphasis for the real questions of the majority. The data collected prevail that the way texts and interpretation of situations in favor of the government. It also correlated the situation with the action to destabilize the constitutional framework by using cohesive mechanisms. In addition, the newspaper tried to give another dimension on the protests and relentlessly worked to undermine and ignore the voice of the majority who had been part of the protests.

As Vliegenthart and Walgrave (n.d), asserts, “Media are more interested in covering the violent characteristics of contentious confrontations, the internal conflicts in the movement, or personal details about movement leaders” (p. 5). Addis Zemen in most of its stories about

the protests focused on individuals and groups who are participating and referring them by giving different connotations, such as Anti-peace elements, instigators of violence, anti-developments etc... Addis Zemen the 2015/16 Ethiopian protests perceived and was more inclined to the government there is a high tendency of salient in communicating the issue.

These elucidate by a protest paradigm; according to a protest paradigm, protests have two options: ignored by the media, or resort to drama and risk that events might used to delegitimize the group (McLeod, 2007). Such paradigm immensely employed by Addis Zemen.

As Gamson and Modigliani said that framing is a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them. The frame suggests that, what the controversy is about and the essence of the issue. On this study, the Amharic Reporter portrays the protests by providing meaning to unfolding strip of events wavering connection among them and it tries to connect the reason of the situation with different elements such as, bad governance, corruption, unbalanced distribution of wealth, grievances and unbalanced power distribution.

As Iyengar (1991) defined the effects of framing those subjects shown, episodic reports were less likely to consider society responsible for the event, The Amharic Reporter therefore used the thematic reports were less likely to consider individuals responsible. Therefore, the newspaper tried to view the government on federal as well as regional levels are responsible for the cause of the protests. It had given much emphasis for the true desires of the people as the newspaper quoted. Thus, Emphasis framing that involves highlighting a particular “subset of potentially relevant considerations” (Druckman, 2001, cited in Iyengar, 2005) were observed.

The media outlets researched had framed the issue by presenting some facts and by evading others. They also gave emphasis and elaboration to some concepts so that they will to promote them a particular definition. The presentation of the data previously showed that the selected newspapers in their coverage of the Ethiopian protests used different frames. Therefore, Addis Zemen used six of the frame types while the Amharic Reporter implemented five frames to present the stories. The types of frames used by the newspapers can also classified as episodic and thematic frames. While conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility are episodic frames (Iyengar, 1990)

Significantly, high amount of news was structure around the ‘anti-peace frame is detected from Addis Zemen. 74 (60.66%) news items were presented by applying this frame. On the other hand, this frame did not appear in any of the Amharic Reporter publication. Conflict frame was the second dominant frame that was detected in Addis Zemen, this frame occurred on 28 (22.95%) of the stories. In this regard, this frame detected as the second dominant frame on the Amharic Reporter. The newspaper presented on 15(16.85 %) of the stories. In relation with “Protest” frame, which is literature, based the Amharic reporter applied it in 58 (65.17 %) news stories. Thus, the frame discovered as the most dominant frame applied by the newspaper. On the other hand, Addis Zemen framed 13 or 10.66% stories through this frame about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest. A total of 7 or 5.73% news stories were framed by Addis Zemen using value/morality, economic, consequences, responsibility and human-interest frames. The Amharic Reporter in its part used the mentioned frames to cover 16 (17.98%) news stories to cover the issue.

Gatekeepers assigned as top media officials based on party affiliation (Daniel, 2003) also oversee Ethiopian state media organizations. However, far from the profession of journalism and communication in some cases these officials decide which news and information should be provide the public. The government manipulation of the media for its own purpose and agendas make government media institutions to frame their stories in favor of the government. In the contrary, the private media operating in the country chooses to function in the opposite manner. The antagonistic nature of these media sectors highly influenced how each framed their stories. Today in Ethiopian context, some of the private newspapers appear to develop habit of merely opposing the government’s policies without putting forward alternative policy options. The agenda set by such newspapers are not predictable upon the public interest; rather they are loaded with certain selfish political or other interests. Getachew Metaferia, (2003). As both Daniel and Getachew argued, this research revealed that Addis Zemen tried to present the issue by inclining in favor of the government and mostly used government officials as a source of information that had the power to influence and served as gatekeepers while it is presenting the issue. This in comparison hold a different notion on the Amharic Reporter i.e. in contrary the newspaper used different sources other than government officials it tried to integrate the perception of the wider public and other political parties who bear a different agenda than the government.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Conclusion

The 2015-16 Ethiopian protest is a series of protests that started in 2015 in Oromia region and then spread in to different parts of the country mainly, Amhara region and Gedeo zone. According to human rights watch and amnesty international reports during these yearlong protests, more than hundreds of deaths and property damages had been observe. The protests were first erupted in November 2015 and it is still in progress. Though in recent times the tension seemed to ease it is unlikely to claim that it is all over. Still tensions sometimes conflicts are observe here and there. The country's government also shares this sentiment. The peace and stability of the nations as it was use to be seems far from reach soon.

The main objective of the research is to examine how Addis Zemen and the Reporter Amharic newspapers framed the 2015/16 protest that had taken place focusing on the Amhara and Oromia regions. Addis Zemen, and Amharic Reporter newspapers were selected from the Ethiopian print media. This study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative content analyses to examine how news articles written by Addis Zemen and the Reporter Amharic newspapers portrayed the 2015/16 Ethiopian protests. To analyze the data sets and to answer the research questions posed. As defined by Cohen (1980),

The study examined the newspapers through conflict, economic consequences, value morality, attribution of responsibility and human-interest frames. In addition, to the above frames the newspapers analyzed based on connotations and references. In this regard, frames from the "Anti-Peace" and "Protest" frames derived from the literature. To analysis, Quantitative and qualitative content analysis was conducted to identify the frames used by each (textual analysis) was employed to provide supportive arguments for the frames. The analysis conducted to answer the first question of the study i.e. examining the types of frames applied by the two selected newspapers reveal that, the five framing types four of them conflict, attribution of responsibility, human interest, economic consequences and value/morality were are put in to effect to present stories on the issue. Although, these frames used, the frequency and the reference of themes differ from newspaper to newspaper. The connotations used by these newspapers were highly different in relation to referring to the protests. Addis Zemen correlated the issue with high emphasis on anti-peace, anti-

development, hidden agenda; in contrary the reporter refrain from using these wordings. Not a single story presented through these themes. Rather the newspaper criticized the government to use these words. Addis Zemen have given much attention and suggested that the government should work to fight and hinder these groups. It also urged the government to put its maximum effort to maximize the danger that imposed by these groups of anti-peace and the like. Nevertheless, the Amharic Reporter newspaper argued that the root cause of the problem is the policies and practices of the government. The protests according to the Reporter are the cumulative effects of grievances that had brought because of lack of good governance, narrow political space for other stakeholders like opposition parties. Tackling the danger posed by the protests need to be addressed through dialogue and negotiations. The use of force only brings more instability, which will incur more uncertainty the country's future. Addis Zemen firmly argued that the Ethiopian government was successful in maintaining the peace and security of the country. The federal system ideology (ethnic federalism) is the only solution for the stability of the country but the view reflected by the Reporter Amharic newspaper is the contrary one. As to the newspaper, the federal government system established on basis of language and ethnicity had played huge role for the problem so it advocate the government to open dialogue once again to discuss on the issue.

## **5.2. Recommendations**

News is a product of transactions between journalists and their sources. The primary source of reality for news is not what displayed or what happens in the real world. The reality of news is embedding in the nature and type of social and cultural relations that develop between journalists and their sources, and in the politics of knowledge that emerges on each specific newsbeat. (Ericson *et al.*, 1989:377; see also Shibutani, 1966) sources are critical for producing media content, and media sources are also very important elements in framing issues, because sources who talk to a specific media outlet can make some issues salient and ignore some other issues deliberately or unconsciously (*ibid*). The findings of this study also showed that single sources highly influenced the theme of the news content. As a public printing outlet, Addis Zemen need to entertain diverse and plural views, so that everyone might feel represented in the media. Elites get to influence news more frequently than ordinary individuals do. The media also need to discharge its responsibility of keeping the public well informed so that citizens make an informed decision towards any issue. By providing news made as per the journalistic standards the media can contribute to the

country's stability and positive transformation instead of spreading only the government side of the issue or messages of hate and division. The media also need to conduct timely researches to evaluate their performances and implications they make. For the Reporter it should have to give positive outlooks towards what the government is trying to address the issue. Providing options to solve the problem rather than simply criticizing the government. Moreover, both newspapers and other broadcast as well as print media outlets should encourage and give space for scholars, public figures and prominent personalities to express their idea in order to contribute their share for building a society.

The findings of this research shows that institutionally affiliated sources mostly dominated the news discourses regarding the protest. As a result, the news reflects government interests. The stories mostly condemn and delegitimize the protest by framing it as a deed of anti-peace forces. Significant numbers of news were also legitimizing government's actions and measures taken to resolve the protest. Therefore, it is possible to say that most of the stories carried government's stance on the issue. On the other hand; the public think that there were legitimate concerns that needs proper answers, and the protests were necessary. Thus, based on the findings the following recommendations forwarded.

- The media needs to have open ear for different complaints so that it can solve them by discussing the concerns with its people before they bring it to the streets.
- To address the issues, the media has an assignment of getting back to the people for discussion. When the information that comes from the government is incongruent with that of the public, it shows that there is miscommunication between the two.
- The media needs to aware how the people perceive the protest by opening dialogues with the people.
- In order to discover the root causes of the problem the media should conduct researches and opinion poles
- The media has the responsibility to open dialogue with other stakeholders so as to hear their concern and implement solutions to address the problems

### **5.3. Direction for Future Study**

Future studies can also conduct the same framing influence research by using more than one medium (print vs. broadcast vs. online, private vs. public, local vs. foreign or Diaspora), in order to make comparative analysis. This is because; different media institutions may have used different perspectives to report about the protest. It is good if future studies might focus on studying the influence of media frames on problems like this. Further studies should compile the effects of media framing on addressing such issues from different perspective psychological, social, economic and political.

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# Appendices

## Appendix –A

### The Amharic version of the extracts used in the text.

#### አዲስ ዘመን

ሰሞኑን በኦሮሚያ እና በአማራ ክልሎች የነበሩት እንቅስቃሴዎች በአብዛኛው ሰላማዊ ሰልፍ ሳይሆኑ የሁከትና የነውጥ እንዲሁም ህገመንግስታዊ ስርአቱን በሃይል ለመናድና አለማቸውም አፍራሽ እና ጸረ ሕገመንግስት መሆናቸው ሊታወቅ ይገባል። ባለቤት አልባ መሆናቸው ብቻ ሳይሆን አለማቸውም አፍራሽ እና ጸረ ህዝብና ሃገር መሆኑንም በተጨማሪም መስረጃዎቹ ማረጋገጥ ይቻላል። (ነሃሴ 4 ፣ 2008 ፣ ገጽ 3)<sup>1</sup>

በፊንፊኔ እና ኦሮሚያ ልዩ ዞን የተቀናጀ የጋራ ማስተር ፕላን ሙሉ በሙሉ እንዲቆም የተደረገው በክልሉ መንግስት እና በህዝቡ መካከል ውይይት ከተካሄደ እና ህዝቡ እንደማይቀበለው መረጋገጡን ከተትሎ ነው ሲሉ የአህዴድ ጽ/ቤት ሃላፊ አቶ ዳባ ደበሌ ትላንት በሰጡት መግለጫ አመልክተዋል። (ጥር 8 ፣ 2008 ገጽ 5)<sup>2</sup>

በአማራ ክልል የቅማንት ህዝብ የማንነት ጥያቄን ተከትሎ የክልሉን ብሄር ብሄረሰቦች ለማጋጨት የተደረገው ተመሳሳይ ጥረትም የጸረ ሰላም ሃይሎች እጅ ያለበት እንደሆነም አስታውቀዋል።

(ታህሳስ 10 ፣ 2008 ፣ ገጽ 4)<sup>3</sup>

ወጣቶች የጥፋት ሃይሎችን ሴራ እንዲታገሉ ተጠየቀ፡ የኦሮሚያ ክልል ወጣቶች ጥያቄያቸውን በሰላማዊ መንገድ ማቅረብ እየቻሉ የህዝባቸውን ሰላማዊ እንቅስቃሴ በሚያደናቅፍ ተግባራት ላይ መሳተፍ እንደማይኖርባቸው እና የጥፋት ሃይሎችን ሴራ ለማክሸፍ ከመንግስት እና ባለድርሻ አካላትጋር በትብብር መስራት ይኖርባቸዋል ሲሉ ነዋሪዎች ገለጹ። (ህዳር 29 ፣ 2008 ፣ ገጽ 2)<sup>4</sup>

ሰሞኑን በኦሮሚያ ክልል የሚገኙ የትምህርት ተቋማት እና ከተሞች መሰረት የሌለው ሁከት አስተናግደዋል። በዚህም ክቡሩ የሰውልጅ ህይወት ሲያልፍ የንብረት ጉዳትም ደርሷል። በአዲስ አበባ እና በዙሪያዎቹ የሚገኙ ከተሞች በማስተርፕላን ተሳስረው በራጋ

እንዲያድጉ በ2006 ዓ. ም የተዘጋጀው ማስተርፕላን መነሻ ቢሆንም ይህንን ርዕስ ጉዳይ መነሻ በማድረግ ጉዳዩን ለብጥብጥ አጀንዳ የተጠቀሙ ወገኖችን ተጨባጭ ምክንያት ለማወቅ የሚያስችል ሁኔታ አለመኖሩ ከጀርባው ያለው ሃይል ማነው የሚል ጥያቄን ያስነሳል። (ታህሳስ ፣ 05 ፣ 2009 ፣ ገጽ 3)<sup>5</sup>

ለሰሞኑ ሁከት አስፈጻሚ ሆነው የተመረጡት ከዝቅተኛ እስከ ከፍተኛ ደረጃ የሚገኙ ተማሪዎች ናቸው ። ምንም እንኳን የከፍተኛ ትምህርት ተቋማቶቹ ተማሪዎች ንቃተ ህሊና የሰፋ ቢሆንም ጥቂት የማይባል ቁጥር ያላቸው ተማሪዎች ሁኔታውን ባለመረዳት ተሳትፎ እያደረጉ ናቸው። ተማሪዎቹ ሊረዱት የሚገባው ሰልጣንን በብጥብጥ ለመያዝ ሞመከሩ አደጋው የከፋ እና ማይቻል መሆኑን ነው። (ታህሳስ ፣ 06 ፣ 2008 ገጽ 8)<sup>6</sup>

የሲቪል ሰርቪስ ዩኒቨርሲቲ የኦሮሞ ተወላጅ ተማሪዎች በአዲስ አበባ እና በፊንፊኔ ኦሮሚያ ዙሪያ የተቀናጀ የልማት መሪ እቅድን መሰረት በማድረግ የተቀሰቀሰው ሁከት በአፋጣኝ ሊቆም ይገባል ሲሉ አሳሰቡ።( ታህሳስ፣ 07 ፣ 2008 ፣ ገጽ 4)<sup>7</sup>

ቅሬታ በህገመንግስቱ መሰረት መቅረብ እንዳለበት ተገለጸ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች የጋራ ምክርቤት ማንኛውም ጥያቄ ሴቀርብ ህገመንግስታዊ ስርአቱን ተከትሎ ሊሆን ይገባል ሲል ገለጸ። (ጥር ፣ 16 ፣ 2008 ገጽ 7)<sup>8</sup>

መንግስት ከህዝብ የሚነሱ ጥያቄዎችን አሳታፊ እና ዴሞክራሲያዊ በሆነ መንገድ ለመፍታት ጥረቱን አጠናክሮ እንደሚቀጥል ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ሃይለማርያም ደሳለኝ ገለጸ። (ሰኔ ፣ 29 ፣ 2007 ፣ ገጽ 6)<sup>9</sup>

ኪራይ ሰብሳቢነት ብልሹ አሰራር እና መልካም አስተዳደር ችግሮችም በሚፈለገው ደረጃ አለመዋጋት የህዝብ ጥያቄ እያስነሳ መሆኑንም ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ አስታውቀዋል።( (ሰኔ ፣ 29 ፣ 2007 ገጽ 7 )<sup>10</sup>

በተለያዩ አካባቢዎች የተፈጠረው ብጥብጥ እና ሁከት የሃገሪቱን ሰላም ከማደፍረሱም ባሻገር አሁን ያለውን የልማት እንቅስቃሴ ወደ ኋላ የሚሰጥበት በመሆኑ መቆም እንዳለበት የኢትዮጵያ ሃይማኖት ተቋማት ጉባኤ አሳሰበ። (ዳጉሜ ፣ 3 ፣ 2008 ፣ ገጽ 5)<sup>11</sup>

**ሪፖርተር**

ከህዳር 10 2008 ዓ.ም ጀምሮ በኦሮሚያ ተቃውሞ እየተካሄደ ነው። ይህ ቃውሞ መነሻ ምክንያቱ ደግሞ የአዲስ አበባ ማስፋፊያ በሚል የተዘጋጀውን የተቀናጀ ማስተር ፕላን ተከትሎ እንደሆነም ይታወቃል። (ታህሳስ ፣ 3 ፣ 2008 ገጽ 1)<sup>12</sup>

ባለፈው ሶስት ሳምንታት በኢትዮጵያ አነጋጋሪ የሆነው ጉዳይ ከአዲስ አበባ የተቀናጀ ማስተር ፕላን ጋር በተያያዘ በኦሮሚያ ነዋሪዎች እና ተማሪዎች የተነሳው ተቃውሞ እናግጭት ነው። የዚህ ማስተር ፕላን እቅድ በርካቶች ህገመንግስታዊ መሰረት የለውሲሉ ይሞግታሉ። ይሁን እንጂ በርካቶች ባቀረቧቸው ጽሁፎች መሰረታዊ ችግሩን ሳያቀርቡት ያልፋሉ። ...የዚህ ጽሁፍ አላማም በርካቶች የዘነጉትን ይህንን ችግር ማሳየት ነው። የችግሩ ምንጭ ያለው የከተማው መስፋፋት ላይ ሳይሆን ለዚህ መስፋፋት ተብሎ ከመኖሪያቸው ለሚፈናቀሉ አርሶአደሮች የሚከፈለው የካሳ ገዳይ ላይ ነው። እውነተኛው የገበሬው ጥያቄም ከዚህ የዘለለ አይደለም። (ታህሳስ ፣ 10 ፣ 2008 ገጽ 3 )<sup>13</sup>

ፓርቲው ተቃውሞውን እያካሄዱ በሚገኙ እና የሃሳቡ ተጋሪዎች በሆኑ ዜጎች ላይ የድሮ ስርአት ናፋቂ አሸባሪ ጸረሰላም የሚል ስያሜን እየሰጠ ዕያሰረ እና እያሳደደ ከሃገር እንዲወጡ ቢያስገድድም በተጓዳኝ አስተሳሰቡን ለማራመድ የሚካሄደው ሰላማዊ ትግልም መሰረት አሳጥቶታል። የሃሳቡን ተጋሪዎች አሸባሪ በማለት ከሰላማዊ መድረክ ውጪ ለማድረግ የሚወሰደው እርምጃ ከጥቅሙ ጉዳቱ ከማመዘኑም በላይ ከሃገሪቱ የፖለቲካ ብዝሃነት ጋር አብሮ ሚሄድ አይደለም። (የካቲት፣ 2 ፣ 2008 ገጽ 13)<sup>14</sup>

በጎንደር ከተማ በጸጥታ ሃይሎች እና በነዋሪዎች መካከል በተከሰተ ግጭት በንብረት እና በሰው ህይወት ላይ ጉዳት ደረሰ። .....የሪፖርተር ምንጮች እንደገለጹት ተቃዋሚዎቹ የተገደሉት ከወልቃይት ጠገዴ የማንነት ጥያቄ ጋር በተያያዘ የሚፈለግ አንድ ግለሰብን ለመያዝ የመንግስት የጸጥታ ሃይሎች የወሰዱትን እርምጃ ተከትሎ ነው። (የካቲት ፣ 27 ፣ 2008 ፣ ገጽ 8)<sup>15</sup>

ኢዴፓ እና ኢራፓ በአሁኑ ወቅት በሃገሪቱ የተለያዩ ከተሞች እየተከሰሰ ተየሚገኘው ችግር ወደ ለየለት ቀውስ እንዳያመራ መንግስት ጉዳዩ ከሚመለከታቸው አካላት ጋር ግልጽ እና ቀጥተኛ ውይይት በማድረግ መፍትሄ እንዲፈልግ ጠየቁ። (ታህሳስ ፣ 19 ፣ 2009 ፣ ገጽ 19)<sup>16</sup>

የኤፍኮ ሊቀመንበር እና ምክትል ሊቀመንበር ከኦሮሚያ ግጭት ጋር በተያያዘ በቁጥጥር ስር መዋላቸው ተነገረ። የጋዜጣው ምንጮች እንደገለጹት በቁጥጥር ስር ከዋሉት መካከል

የስድስት ወራት እስራት ጊዜያቸውን ጨርሰው ከእስር የተለቀቁት የፓርቲው ሊቀመንበር አቶ በቀለ ገርባ ይገኙበታል። (ሰኔ ፣ 19 ፣ 2008 ገጽ 16)<sup>17</sup>

የአፊቻ በአል በሚከበርበት ቢሾፍቱ በተቀሰቀሰ ተቃውሞ በርካታ ቁጥር ያላቸው ሰዎች ለህልፈት ተዳረጉ። የሰላም እና የፍቅር ስነ-ስርዓት በሚከበርበት በዚህ በአልላይ ሰዎቹ የተገደሉት ሲያስተጋቡ በነበረው ተቃውሞ መነሻነት በተቃውሞ አድራጊዎቹ እና በጸጥታ ሃይሉ መካከል የተፈጠረውን አለመግባባት ተከትሎ መሆኑንም የጋዜጣውምንጮች ተናግረዋል። (መስከረም ፣ 22 ፣ 2009 ፣ ገጽ 23)<sup>18</sup>

ካለፈው ሰኞ መስከረም 23 ቀን 2009 ጀምሮ በኦሮሚያ ክልል በድጋሚ ባገረሸው ተቃውሞክ 130 በላይ ኢንቨስትመንቶች ወደሙ። በተለይም በተቃውሞው በክልሉ የሚገኙ የጨርቃጨርቅ የኮሚኒኬሽን እና ኬብሎች ማምረቻ የጠጠር ማምረቻ እና ሌሎች ግዙፍ ፋብሪካዎች ናቸው ለውድመት የተዳረጉት። (መስከረም ፣ 25 ፣ 2009 ፣ ገጽ 20 )<sup>19</sup>

## **Appendix B**

### **Coding Guide**

Only items written by staffs or official columnists will be coded

**1. Coverage Frequency-** refers to what the story talks about.

**2. Tone-** refers to whether the story is positive, neutral or negative.

**Positive-** a story that shows agreement, support, or affirmation to the protest

**Neutral-** a story that favors or assists neither support or denounce the protest

**Negative-** a story that shows disagreement, toward the protest

**3. Sources –** refers to name(s) of a person, group or organization that are quoted directly or indirectly in the story as source of the information.

#### **4. Frames**

##### **4.1 The conflict frame**

Emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries

##### **4.2 Human Interest frame**

Brings a human face, an individual's story, or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem.

##### **4.2 The economic consequence frame**

Presents an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country.

##### **4.3 Value/Morality frame**

Interpret an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions.

##### **4.4 Attribution of responsibility frame**



Presents issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving either the government or an individual or group.

#### **4.5 Anti-peace frame:**

This frame is found in news that describes the protest as a violence and disturbances aimed at looting and damaging public and private properties. This frame also discusses the issue as a move to destabilize and disintegrate the country.

#### **4.6 Protest frame:**

This frame acknowledges that there are people who brought their grievances to the street because of little attention given by the government to resolve the concerns timely. It rather treats the issue as a peaceful demonstration.

## **Appendix C**

### **Coding Sheet**

Coder \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ 4

#### **Coverage Frequency**

\_\_\_\_\_ Oromia protest

\_\_\_\_\_ Amhara protest

#### **Tone**

1) Positive

2) Neutral

3) Negative

#### **Addis Zemen**

\_\_\_\_\_ 1) Positive \_\_\_\_\_ 2) neutral \_\_\_\_\_ 3) negative

#### **The Amharic Reporter**

\_\_\_\_\_ 1) Positive \_\_\_\_\_ 2) neutral \_\_\_\_\_ 3) negative

#### **Sources**

\_\_\_\_\_ Government officials

\_\_\_\_\_ Opposing parties

\_\_\_\_\_ Community members

\_\_\_\_\_ Researches and researchers

\_\_\_\_\_ International organizations

\_\_\_\_\_ No specified source

If other, please specify

---

**Frames****Attribution of Responsibility**

- \_\_\_\_\_ Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Does the story suggest that an individual or group is responsible for the issue/ problem?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?

If other, please specify

---

**Human Interest frame**

- \_\_\_\_\_ Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Does the story employ adjectives or personal explanation that generate feelings of outrage, empathy caring, sympathy or compassion?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/ problem?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Does the story go into the personal or private lives of the actors?
- \_\_\_\_\_ Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy caring, sympathy or compassion?

If other, please specify

---

**Conflict frame**

\_\_\_\_\_ Does the story reflect disagreement between parties, individuals or groups?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does one party, individual or group criticize another?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does the story refer to winners and losers?

If other, please specify

---

**Morality frame**

\_\_\_\_\_ Does the story contain any moral message?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does the story refers to morality, God and other religious tenets?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?

If other, please specify

---

**Economic consequences frame**

\_\_\_\_\_ Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?

\_\_\_\_\_ Is there a mention of the cost/degree of expense involved?

\_\_\_\_\_ Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

**Anti-peace frame**

\_\_\_\_\_ Does the story used anti- peace elements?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does the story mention anti- peace groups?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does the story apply destructing forces?

If other, please specify

---

**Protest frame**

\_\_\_\_\_ Does the story used peaceful demonstrations?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does the story mention grievances?

\_\_\_\_\_ Does the story apply dissatisfactions towards the government?

If other, please specify

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## Appendix D

### Open ended Questions for the Qualitative Content Analysis

1. How many times the newspapers covered the protests?
2. How many stories are presents in positive, neutral or negative tone?
3. How many persons, group or organizations that are quote directly or indirectly in the story as source of the information.

### Words and expressions used to describe the political parties

No.	Source	proverb	Source	Proverb
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