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**Framing of the 2016 Amhara Uprising by Local and International Media:
EBC and VOA Radio in Focus**

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Acronyms

ANDEM	Amhara National Democratic Movement
EBC	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
GCAO	Government Communication Affairs Office
HRW	Human Right Watch
TPLF	Tigrayan Peoples Liberation Front
VOA	Voice of America
WAIC	Wolkait Amhara Identity Committee

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this thesis is prepared by Getenet Shenkute entitled “Framing of the 2016 Amhara Uprising by Local and International Media: EBC and VOA Radio” submitted in fulfillment the requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication compiles with the regulation of the university and accepted standards.

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ABSTRACT

Framing of the 2016 Amhara Uprising by Local and International Media: EBC and VOA radio in Focus

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This study examines how the local and international media framed the Amhara Uprising that was a popular anti-government movement from 8 July to 30 September 2016. The study on Amhara Uprising examines that how this social movement/protest was presented in the pro-government news media i.e. Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) national service and Voice of America (VOA) Amharic by employing frame and the protest paradigm model under the umbrella of critical theory as a dominant theoretical frameworks. This frame textual analysis comprised all news, news stories, news analysis and radio programs in the selected periods of the Amhara Uprising on the two news media outlets. The study peruses a purely a qualitative method approach has been employed both to examine the dominant themes/frames narrative structure and editorial pressures and political influences on journalists working in the selected media outlets to use a balanced frame or perspective during the Amhara Uprising. A semi-structured and open-ended in-depth interview was conducted with five respondents or journalists from the two radio stations to understand whether they practiced the very fundamental journalistic professionalism or they had faced some external pressure from political actors and editors when they produced and covered news stories during this social movement. The study selected two media outlets employed different narratives to frame Amhara Uprising. In this regard, the pro-government EBC radio predominantly used the “anti-peace and development forces” frame while VOA Amahric employed an overarching “Ethnic Tension” frame dominantly as a casual analysis for Amhara Uprising. EBC radio with its anti-peace and development forces frame, demonized, marginalized, delegitimized and downplayed the protesters as threat of the social status quo by using the set of routine that always the main stream media employ the conventional protest reporting known as protest paradigm model.

However, VOA radio portrayed the protest as the result of political, economical and social marginalization on Ethnic Amhara people were accommodated in the last 27 years. VOA emphasized on the ethnic tension frame and victimization frame that was characterized by high focus of injuries, causalities and civilians or security forces death. The study of editorial and political pressure on journalists has shown that the respondents were highly influenced by poetical actors and editorial policies to follow a journalistic merit.

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Chapter One

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Nowadays, media are becoming as the engines of the information for the society in modern societies by shaping the globe we live in and how we interact with the external world. Media also serve for the public by providing them important information on a single issue or on various issues of national and international level (Sadaf, 2011).

Despite its positive role in contemporary world, media have a complex relationship among the protest groups. Evidently, mass communication model for research studies have pointed out the mainstream media have always the tendency to trivialize and denigrate protest movements. In each case, the news media disseminate a harsh criticism towards the protest groups. According to McLeod and Detenber (1999), examinations of news content show that news stories about protests tend to focus on the protestors' appearances rather than their issues, emphasize their violent actions rather than their social criticism, pit them against the police rather than their chosen targets, and downplay their effectiveness.

One the other side, the protest groups operate with limited resources and have a difficult time securing public visibility, disseminating information, and exerting influence for their social criticism. In each of this drawback, protesters try to create their own platform and attract considerable media attention to become focal points for news coverage. Rucht (2004, p. 56) identifies four non-mutually exclusive 'reactions' of social movements to mainstream media.

First, movements may 'abstain' from interacting with media. Next, the protest groups may deploy an 'attack' strategy consisting of explicit critiques towards media and even action against them. Third, they may develop their own social movement media with an

‘alternative’ strategy. Or, they may engage in ‘adaptation’ accepting and engaging with the rules of media in an effort to secure and influence coverage.

Therefore, mainstream media always often discredit and marginalize protest actions, with journalists relying on a “protest paradigm” that focuses on tactics, spectacles, and dramatic actions, rather than the underlying reasons for the protest (McLeod & Hetrog, 1999).

When people have little direct knowledge of events, they become increasingly reliant on news media for information, but also an understanding or interpretation, of those events. The claim of framing theorists is that the media frame reality for their audiences: ‘how people think about an issue’, the argument runs, ‘is dependent on how the issue is framed by the media’ (Semetko, and Valkenburg, 2000:94). The result is ‘a “media constructed” version of reality’ (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001:184).

In this regard, the same is true for 2016 Amhara Uprising that people were reliant on mainstream media for information due to lack of alternative media accessibility to have the option of understanding and interpretation on the social protest. In those cases in which audiences do not possess direct knowledge or experience of what is happening, they become particularly reliant upon the media to inform them (Philo, Miller, &Happer, 2008).

1.2 The Media and Politics in Ethiopia

Like many African countries, Ethiopian politics and the country’s media system have always been a close relationship. In Africa, colonial rule, followed often by one-party rule, resulted in the creation of authoritarian press systems. The political climate usually required journalists to align themselves with the government as propagandists rather than serve as watchdogs to inform the public (Pitts, 2000). Similarly, Mukhonko (2009) stated the media is regarded as a nation-building force and in any country the mass media acts as a potent political force complementary to a body of activities entrusted to the government.

While the feature of Ethiopian political and press history differ significantly in some ways from other parts of Africa, but the latter years of its modern history the country has faced similar challenges as many other African countries. In Ethiopia, Journalism is a new phenomenon in which freedom of expression is guaranteed as the basic right in the constitution, is among the leading countries in the world in suppression of the rights to freedom of expression and access to

information Tewedaj (2015). Journalists with strong position to balance their stories would be accused of having conspired with the opposition and are usually labeled as terrorists or anti-government and taken to prison.

On the onset of 1991 Ethiopia under the current Government, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Party (EPRDF), offered a positive response and opened political space which enabled to the unprecedented flourishing of the free press in Ethiopia. However, despite its promising start, the development of Ethiopia's private press has suffered significant setbacks (Zewge, 2010).

The new leaders seemed to be committed towards creating an open political environment with the state television and radio allowing diverse views and the private press flourishing for the first time in the country's history (Henze, 1998). The 1995 Constitution of Ethiopia has made important provisions for freedom of expression and the right to assembly and demonstration. Not only has the local media environment begun to enjoy relative expansion, but access to international media has also intensified with transnational media such as the South African Digital Satellite Television (DStv) launching subscription services to urbanites. Free-to air television services such as ArabSat have enabled even a far cheaper access to international media packages for a wider range of society.

However, the historical legacy of authoritarian political culture still seems to be impediment towards creating a free media environment and open society has suffered significant setbacks. One of these setbacks came in the aftermath of the highly popular social resistance (Amhara Uprising) when dozens of media outlets were attracted but many in the opposition camp and those working in non-public owned media charges ranging public incitement to violence to attempts of instigating total chaos in the Amhara Regional State leads the country into overall political space in Ethiopia has significantly narrowed ever since. In such a way, it will become imperatives to closely look at how the Amhara uprising has been framed by Ethiopian radio, and VOA, which gets little attention by media research both locally and globally.

1.3 The 2016 Amhara Uprising

In July 2016, Ethiopia has witnessed a wave of unprecedented anti-government protests in Gondar one of the northern part of the country's oldest and historical city which is situated in

Amhara regional state. The anti-government protest marched in Gondar was the spinning point of Amhara uprising as a second political revolt after the so called and wide range of Oromo popular protest which has brought a far reaching consequences in Ethiopian current political narrative. Over the two first weeks of July, there were many casualties that more than a dozen of people were killed in a protest in Gondar, Gojam and Bahir Dar northern Ethiopia, that followed a raid by heavily armed federal security forces (Human Right Watch, 2016).

On the government side, it said 11 of its security forces were killed during a shootout between members of the protest groups and security forces. Many cars belonging to the government were set ablaze and businesses considered to be affiliated with the Tigray People Liberation Front (TPLF), among the four ethnic based political front of ruling EPRDF, were vandalized by protesters which has been still sparking unfounded fears of ethnic violence and political turmoil.

Amhara uprising came due to the people of ethnic Amhara have been regularly complaining discrimination and the government's decision to place a local district, *Wolkait community* under the administration of the neighboring Tigray regional state. The fertile land and locality Wolkait is an administrative district in Tigray that borders Amhara. This Wolkait identity question is more than a trigger that brings the birth of Amhara nationalism finally boiled to the surface in the summer of 2016 when the Wolkait identity question became a flashpoint. According to the Wolkait Amhara Identity Committee (WAIC), which a legally registered organization says Wolkait and others areas were taken out of Gondar's control by the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) in 1992, when Ethiopia has established in a new federal system, which structured the country and its people along with ethno-linguistic lines.

The significant majority of the Amhara people in the region primarily believe in being Ethiopian but there is no doubt that currently there is a nascent Amhara nationalism attributing following by the historical issue of Wolkait and the resistance in the region. The Amhara Uprising is still an exceedingly political tension among politicians in Ethiopia by nurturing the rise of Amhara nationalism has been the very narrative of Ethiopia's current federalism, which is based on ethnic arrangements.

For instance, in a speech given at the discussion forum organized by the Amhara Regional State for academics and few selected business people of Bahir Dar city, the newly elected Prime Minister Dr. Abiy Ahmed said that he was worried by the growing Amhara nationalism, calling for scholars to study, understand and suggest ways forward to the government.

Another major factor for Amhara's resistance is frustrating genuine political participation as it led to repeated identity based attacks on the Amhara living in large numbers in different parts of country. According to Amaneal (2017), the Amhara thus become victims of mass displacements, indiscriminate killings, dispossessions of property, and complete disruption of livelihoods. While harassment, arrests, exiles, and killings of individuals for political participation and expression of opinions is the common experience of all Ethiopians over the past 27 years, repeated identity-based attack of an entire group has been the unique experience of the Amhara than any other group until very recently.

Predominantly, through its narrative and discourse the current ruling party EPRDF believed that the root cause of oppression and injustice in Ethiopia lies in "Amhara's chauvinistic great nation" mentality, thus making its struggle a de facto attempt to eliminate this mentality within the Amhara.

Amaneal farther stated that the immediate period following the collapse of the Derg regime saw repeated sporadic violence on ethnic Amharas in various parts of the country, leading to the death and displacement of many. Such violence, however, did not stop with the restoration of order. Among others, in different parts of Oromia, the Southern Nation Nationalities Peoples Region (SNNPR), Gambella, and Benishangul Gumuz regions, hundreds were killed and thousands were displaced for the simple crime of being an ethnic Amhara on multiple occasions (ibid)

Finally, Amhara nationalism has been a trigger factor for the unprecedented political revolt in Gondar and another part of the region like Gojam has been gripped by at times mass demonstrations over demands that the district, populated by the Welkait community, be returned to the Amhara region.

As I have been closely following the progress of this political revolt and the media outlets approach, my interest originated from my eagerness to work on this topic to know the two broadcast media outlets namely EBC Radio and VOA framed Amhara uprising.

During the Amhara uprising, there had been different parties with various interests and concerns. In this regard, the study will test the selected media outlets whether they employed the set of protest paradigm and what frame approaches were used.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

Many past researches on news framing and mainstream coverage have yielded evidences and exemplified that a set of news coverage patterns generally disparages protesters and hinders their role as vital actors on the political stage. For the reason that, scholars have long noted that media face choices with regard to what and how to cover politics, be that news of a broad social/political issue like social protests, a discrete political event, and electoral campaigns as well.

McLeod (2007) stated the lack of respect for the value of social protest inherent in such coverage has created frustration among the protesters, which has in turn contributed to dysfunctional confrontations. At the same time, protesters must rely on the media to reach the public and policy makers (Rucht, 1991). To combat the negative portrayals of protesters typically found in traditional media, social movements and activists often turn to alternative media outlets or create their own media (Downing, 2001; Rodriguez, 2001; Padovani, 2010).

Despite the fact that, journalism is a socially responsible profession, serving the needs and interest of the mass of society through creating the necessary intelligence, the practices are usually liable to various challenges. As a result, many are skeptical about journalisms' ability to convey the trustworthy information particularly, in the news coverage of protest and political turmoil effectively.

In each of these cases, Amhara uprising attracted considerable media attention largely because the abovementioned actions made for good media outlets and served as focal points for news coverage. In each case, though, the protest actions have drawn harsh criticism from the media especially from the mainstream and public media outlets.

The mass communication literature provides many studies that lead to the conclusion that the mass media can “delegitimize” or “marginalize” protest groups that challenge status quo (McLeod & Hertog, 1992; Shoemaker, 1984). Examinations of news content show that news stories about protests tend to focus on the protesters’ appearance rather than their issues, emphasize their violent actions rather than their social criticism, pit them against the police rather than their chosen targets, and downplay their effectiveness.

As the uprising in Amhara region is exceptional in its some aspects and becoming popular anti-government protest after the ever lasted longer Oromo political movement experienced in Ethiopia, there is little media research in relation to the conflicts and their coverage has been conducted in this specific issue.

There are claims that the public media are largely criticized as being a server of the government rather than the public. Despite criticisms from right groups such as Amnesty International Article 19 and Human Rights Watch, Allen & Stremlau (2005: 9), asserted that the ruling party has generally failed to cooperate with the independent media, normally excluding their journalists from official events within the two decades and Ethiopia had more imprisoned journalists than any other African country (an achievement that has subsequently been eclipsed by its neighbor Eritrea).

The country could be said to be “pursuing a path of media development” with combined elements of “aggressive constraint procedures with provision of relatively considerable space for dissent”. The writers attempt to justify the measures of some African Governments including that of Ethiopia against the private press by, among other things, the need to go beyond the common and simplistic dichotomy of free/unfree media environment to address complex situations and ensure eventual peace and order (ibid).

Government hostility has been expressed through strong media denunciation of the allegedly irresponsible behavior of the Diaspora media contents have been broadcasted from Europe and US and private press as well as the detention of journalists. According to Haberson (1998:148), the EPRDF has led a de facto one party state after the transitional period and it “has responded in heavy-handed fashion to criticism from the opposition and the fledgling private media.”

1.5 Objectives of the Study

This study will have the following general and specific objectives respectively.

1.5.1 General Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is to find out how the media including the public and international media have framed the Amhara uprising

1.5.2 Specific Objectives of the Study

- To find out the major frames of the selected media outlets in reporting the Amhara Uprising.
- To find out the main frames differences between these two media outlets and find out possible reasons of their differences.
- To identify the major frame sponsors in the coverage of Amhara Uprising and examine how the protestors were portrayed in the two media outlets namely in EBC Radio and VOA.

1.6 Research Questions

- What were the major frames of the stories of the Amhara Uprising in the two selected media outlets?
- What were the major actors in the framing of the stories case?
- How did the protestors were represented by these media outlets to construct their news stories during the Anhara uprising?

1.7 Scope of the Study

The focus of the study is mainly on two media, namely EBC National radio service and FOA radio, from a period 8 July 2016 was the official kickoff of this popular protests) to September 2016 (30 September 2016 was registered as the last day of refraining the protests). This media were included because of their wide coverage, popularity, language, proximity, ownership and their nobility in covering political, economic and social issues as well as their long existence in the service. Also the period was selected as the conflict was wide spreaded.

the local and international media outlets during the Amhara resistance, and for that extent, it covered media products which have been produced by journalists and other media practitioners in the two selected media outlets including EBC Radio and VOA from July 8, 2016 to September 30, 2016 when the protest was wideapreaded.

1.8 Significance of the Study

The finding of this study will service as a reference document for future media researchers specially who will conduct study on media framing can affect the public by manipulating frames during protests. It will also help other learners to know journalistic bias during the coverage of hard news or event the particularly during the conflict situation.

1.9 Historical Background of the Selected Media Outlets

As selecting media outlets is vital to study its news story/program in framing study, this study conducted based on the purposive sampling using the classification from the state owned/pro-government and international radio broadcast outlets to show a broader picture these media coverage on Amhara Uprising. Selecting the two radio stations out of many convinced the researcher that they provide information for the public primarily focusing on political, economic and social issues.

Two radio stations were selected because of their high coverage, popularity, language, proximity, ownership and their nobility in covering political, economic and social issues as well as their long existence in the service.

Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) National Radio: it came into being during the reign of Emperor Haileselesie I in 1941. EBC national radio previously known as Radio Ethiopia started its transmission that year with a seven kilo watt shortwave transmitter which hardly covered the scale of Addis Ababa. Through a political change in government like many other countries of Africa, Ethiopian media have become a focal target for different governments. In the subsequent years, Radio Ethiopia as a state-owned outlet is the dominant radio player in the country has undergone different phases of development. The changes have served as hopeful signs of making radio the medium of the masses.

“After 1970, Radio Ethiopia has succeeded in substantiating its claims to be the voice of Ethiopia by completely overcoming the problems of its formative years with coverage of 40 percent of the people in all major cities, towns and hamlets of the country under the direction and guidance of the Ministry of Information” (Makuria, 2005: 10) .

Following the 1974 Revolution, the socialist government and military junta, Dergue changed the name of Radio Ethiopia to ‘Voice of the Revolutionary Ethiopia’, so as to fit the name into the revolutionary changes which occurred by that time. The name ‘Radio Ethiopia’ was restored soon after the existing government EPDRF came into power in 1991.

Currently, EBC national state-run radio broadcaster broadcasts in Amharic, Oromiffa, Tigrigna, Afar, Somali, Arabic, English and French with its signal covers over 80% of Ethiopian territory.

Voice of America (VOA): is one of the international broadcasters that enabled United States of America to have an influential presence on the international airwaves in 1940s particularly, VOA station was launched by government that could respond to German propaganda during World War II. Accordingly, The Voice of America is a multi-media international broadcasting service still funded by the U.S. Government. It is believed that VOA broadcasts more than 1,500 hours of news and other programming every week in 49 languages to an audience of more than 125 million people.

VOA has its own Horn of Africa Service broadcasts to Ethiopia and Eritrea in three languages: Amharic, Afan Oromo, and Tigrigna. The researcher has preferred news stories, program featuring and an expert opinions were aired in Amharic language is meant for the more than 100 million people living in Ethiopia and Eritrea, as well as Diaspora communities throughout the world.

The service broadcasts local, regional, U.S. and international news, as well as an array of programming about Ethiopian and American culture, politics, current affairs, economics, health, education, entertainment and more. According to a 2016 Gallup World Poll Survey, VOA is the leading international broadcaster in Ethiopia with a weekly audience of more than five million adults, of which 70 percent are aged 15 to 34. Survey results indicate that more than 90 percent of Horn of Africa Service listeners say the “station is reliable and trustworthy” and that it has “increased their understanding of current events.”

Despite VOA considered as a reputation station for honesty to tell its listeners the truth, regardless of whether the news is good or bad, Ethiopian officials have often described VOA's Amharic Service as the 'voice of the opposition', saying its broadcasts reveal an anti-government bias.

Therefore, Selections of the sample were drawn from the same period ease the efforts to compare the similarities and differences of the newspapers' approach to frame the Amhara Uprising in Ethiopia that gripped their attention. In this regard, the contents of EBC national radio and VOA service are the identified sample of the study and all the selected programs and featuring were aired on the stations during the specified time frame are included in the study.

Chapter Two

2. Review of Related Literature

The first segment of my thesis sought to review the introduction part how the Amhara Uprising has become the popular social movement and the media perceived the movement by attempting to establish the relevance of the literature reviewed with the theoretical perspectives to be advanced in this chapter. In this section, I will attempt to provide the theoretical ground within which this study is framed.

My study intends to analyze media coverage of the Amhara Uprising or the movement through the uses of the social movement, framing theory and Protest Paradigm respectively.

2.1 Triggering Factors for Amhara Uprising

It is believed that Amhara Uprising is a result of immense grievances and deep-rooted causes were accommodated during the past 27 years, after EPRDF came into power. Per the 2007 Population and Housing Census, Amhara is the second largest ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Most of the Amhara population lives in Godner, Gojjam, Wollo and Shewa provinces. However, due to historical reasons significant number of Amhara people are distributed throughout Ethiopia which makes the most widely dispersed ethnic groups in Ethiopia as well. Many historical evidences show that, before the 1991 that the current ruling party EPDRF coming to power, EPDRF Amhara people were leading relatively a stable life in different parts of Ethiopia. However, coming into power and its consequent introduction of ethnic federalism has resulted in the surge of anti-Amhara sentiment by the narrative of the government on power as pervious leaders who ruled Ethiopia were from Amhara ethnic and they oppressed other nation nationalities of Ethiopia was started as “an anti-Amhara” front.

Most of the ethno-nationalist movements that were striving to overthrow the military regime, Derg, had an implicit and/or explicit assumption that the main motivating factor behind their struggle was Amhara oppression. The Tigrayan Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) one of the hardliner EPRDF party, for instance, in its 1967 manifesto declared Amhara are its arch enemy that must be crashed and believed that the root cause of oppression and injustice in Ethiopia lies in “Amhara’s chauvinistic great nation” mentality (Bimrew, 2016). This had made its struggle a

de facto attempt to eliminate this mentality within the Amhara blatantly describes its struggle as “anti-Amhara national oppression”, clearly identifying the Amhara as the principal enemy along with imperialism (ibid).

The dominance of this narrative and its disastrous consequence just by frustrating genuine political participation as it led to repeated identity based attacks on the Amharas living in different parts of the country (Amanuel, 2018). Amanuel stated the Amhara thus became victims of mass displacements, indiscriminate killings, dispossessions of property, and complete disruption of livelihoods. While harassment, arrests, exiles, and killings of individuals for political participation and expression of opinions is the common experience of all Ethiopians over the past 27 years, repeated identity-based attack of an entire group has been the unique experience of the Amhara than any other group until very recently.

A documentary in December 2017 produced by the regional Television broadcaster exhibited the immense pressures on rural communities as a result of lack of access to electricity, with an official admitting that the last power transmission centers in the region were built by the Derg regime; nothing new added since.

The dismal condition of elementary and secondary schools throughout the region have been among the rallying points of Amhara advocates, with activists continually documenting spectacles of collapsed huts, tree-sheds, and tattered tents serving as makeshift schools throughout the region. Social media has thus been another galvanizing factor, enabling activists to bring to the fore the dire condition of the socio-economic development of the region.

However, the very critical and immediate cause of Amahara Uprising was a request by representatives from the Welkait community known as the Welkait Amhara Identity Committee (WAIC) that their land is annexed and their identity is forcefully positioned by Tigray identity up on the Amhara people of Welkait, Tegede, Telemt and Armachiho.

The uprising was erupted when Tigray regional police allegedly attempted to arrest the lead member of the Amhara Identity Committee Member, Col. Demeke Zewdu, disguised as federal police. Tens of thousands of Amhara protesters then went to the streets in rally, chanting an end to Tigray annexation of Amhara land as well as an end to a minority Tigray rule in Ethiopia. The

protesters resisted the arrest of their leader by blocking all roads leading to Col. Demeke Zewdu's residence and when resisted by armed police, they start attacking vehicles and businesses that are affiliated to the ruling TPLF.

2.2 Social Movements and Mainstream Media

Much of mass communication studies and scholars in the area consider social movements and mainstream media have a contentious and longstanding history. Research on how the mainstream media portray social movements across various media is perhaps the oldest and most-travelled trail in studying the media/social movement dynamic. Within the academy, the relationship between mainstream media and social movements has received academic attention since the late 1960s (McCurdy, 2012).

As the mainstream media hold the upper hand for the social movements that rely on its coverage, different scholars have argued in various ways as to how and why protest groups or movements need the media to gain public acceptance. (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993) have pointed out that the social movements need to generate media attention that fit their own purpose in a positive way for three major reasons.

First, media coverage helps mobilize the public by extending the movement message beyond and arguably outside of the scope of internal movement publications. Second, mainstream media attention validates the existence of the movement. Third, media discourse performs 'scope enlargement' whereby the reporting of conflict over an issue, opens that issue up for debate thereby potentially increasing the power of the social movement (1993, p. 116)

They add that most protest movements "must reach their constituencies in part through some form of public discourse, and need the media to be able to validate their message" (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993, p 117).

It is an evident that mainstream media may have a supporting or disregarding role when it covers the social movements. However, "although the media most of the time don't act as directly mobilizing agencies, they are often indirectly instrumental in spreading the information that a protest event is planned (vliegthart&Walgrave, 2008, p. 19)

As Blanco (1997) and Stone (1989) asserted all kinds of social protests share common characteristics in that they should present a social problem as non-reducible “to fate or nature” in order to call for governmental action. Second, they seek proposal of policy solution and third selection of the actors in charge of those policies. Both legitimate solution actors are highly dependent on the existing “opportunity windows” (Blanco, 1997, p.6)

However, regardless of the aforementioned goals that the protester groups want to realize, the mainstream media is known taking side intentionally or unintentionally to one of the political group.

For a long time, the mainstream media tends to use a set of routines to cover social movements. Halloran et al. (1970) argued that the media’s portrayal of demonstrations was influenced and, in fact, restricted by the occupational and institutional arrangements and practices of journalism. The author suggested that event orientation of reporting, the short news cycle, the angles taken on a story in the lead up to an event and the professional standards of journalism such as ‘objectivity’ shaped how a story is compiled and reported (ibid).

These mainstream media tendency generally support the status quo which has significant effects on viewers leading them be more critical of and less likely to identify with, the protesters; less critical of police; and less likely to support the protesters’ extensive rights (McLeod & Detenber, 1999). These kinds of mainstream media approach produce lower estimates of the social movement effectiveness, public support and perception of newsworthiness (ibid).

Therefore, framing analysis social movement or protest is becoming a very important area of research in the mass communication scholarly. When analyzing how different media frame social events such as political protests and social grievance like Amhara Uprising, the comparative analysis is an effective method, and cross-media comparison is one of the most frequently used contexts.

2.3 Framing: History and Theory

Media framing is the way in which information is presented to its audiences. It is also considered as a contemporary communication theory and also one of the mass media effect theories looking

towards how certain information is used to make an issue the people's knowledge and understanding. Frames organize the individual experiences of events or they determine the actual social or organization of the events themselves. Goffman was the first to concentrate on framing as a form of communication and defined "framing" as a "schemata of interpretation" that enables individuals to "locate, perceive, identify and label" occurrences or life experiences (Goffman, 1974, p.68).

Robert Entman modernized this definition by specifying that "to frame a communicating text or message is to promote certain facets of a 'perceived reality' and make them more salient in such a way that endorses a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or a treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p. 51).

On the other side, Gamson & Mogdliani (1987) conceptually defined a media frame as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of event and suggests what the controversy about the essence of the issue" (p.143).

Media frames also serve as working routines for news producers that allow the journalists to quickly identify and clarify information and "to package it for efficient relay to their audiences" (Gitlin, 19 80, p.7). Since the news frame organizes everyday reality, it is essential feature of the news media and the journalists. Gamson (1989) conceptualized that this notion of media framing include the intent the sender but the motive also unconscious.

In his detailed justification of news media framing, Entman (1993) offered explanation how media provide audiences with schemas for interpreting events. For him, essential factors are selection and salience: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality of and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (p. 52).

(Entman, 1991) has farther clarified frames as existing in the specific news narrative that encourages those perceiving and thinking about events to develop a particular understanding of them.

“News narrative are constructed from and embodied in the key words. Metaphors, concepts, symbols and visual images emphasized in the news narrative. By providing, repeating, and reinforcing words and visual images that reference some ideas but not others, frames work to make some ideas more salient in the text in the text, others less so and other entirely invisible (ibid.p,68).

Some of the more general assumptions on framing are shared by many mass communication researchers today which are patterns of making sense of the world. Framing theory aims to identify schemes in which individuals perceive the world by interpreting and reconstructing reality. Framing occurs in different locations (Entman, 1993): Public actors strategically send out messages with a frame. Journalists frame their news stories. Media users frame information received through the media.

To this end, the researcher selected this theory as useful instrument to analyze the contents of the newspapers and the type of framing they used in reporting the Amhara Uprising in Ethiopia. The use of framing theory also allows us to detect journalistic bias.

Primarily, framing creates saliency do more than creating saliency through inclusion and exclusion idea into the news story. As Entman suggested, the mainstream media highlighted or excluded some aspects of conflicts or social protests, the media environment, the researcher assumed that there would not be a homogenous coverage of the Amhara protest.

For that matter, a group of studies has identified various types of framing, the study adopted those framing by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) (conflict, human interest, economic consequences, attribution of responsibility and morality) would occur in news stories or programs that fits to the content analysis with the 2016 Amhara uprising in the two radio stations.

2.3.1 Conflict Frame

As Sematok and Patti (2000) explained this frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest. In conflict situations, framing is evident in two processes: discourse use and development of the issues. They also mentioned conflict

frame is common in Europe and US news media that draw on a few central frames for reporting a range of issues and that conflict is employed. Because of the emphases on conflict, the news media have been criticized for inducing public cynicism and mistrust of political leaders (ibid).

In discourse use, conflict framing is performed through the naming or labeling of events or parts, the use of words that imply blame, and explanations about the nature of a situation. Particularly, the media, frame issues through naming what the conflict is about, exploring causes for it, and providing explanations for on-going events. For instance, the uprising, turmoil, chaos, disarray, unrest, demonstration, and so on caused by social anger, lack of good governance and other factors driving people to protest.

2.3.2 Human Interest Framing

This framing is commonly known by bringing a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). It refers to an effort to personalize the news, dramatize or emotionalize the news in order to capture and retain audience interest; employs adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy caring, sympathy, or compassion. As market for news everywhere becomes more competitive, journalists and editors are at pains to produce a product that capture and retain audiences interest (Bennett, 1995).

In crisis situation, 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).

2.3.3 Economic Consequences Frame

This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, groups, organizations, or country. News is often framed in terms of the actual or potential economic impact or consequences on the audience (Neuman et al., 1992). The wide impact of an event is an important news value, and economic consequences are often considerable (ibid). The economic impact of an event has an important news value that is why news producers have been suggested to use the consequence frame would enable them to make an issue relevant to their audience (Gamson, 1992).

2.3.4 Responsibility Frame

The attribution of responsibility news framing presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or an individual, group, party and institution; news items suggest the issue or problem requires urgent action and call on immediate response. Because of the professional objectivity,

2.3.5 Morality Frame

This frame puts the events, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. Because of the professional norm of objectivity, journalists often make reference to moral frame indirectly through question or inference for instance by having some else raises the question (Neumanet et al., 1992).

2.4 Framing and representation of protests

A key concept linking many studies on the media's representation of social movements is the media 'frame' and the process of 'framing'. One of the earliest and perhaps most well-known studies of media framing is Gitlin's (1980) *The Whole World is Watching* where media frames are conceptualized as powerful, hegemonic mechanisms which structure the practice and routines of journalism and ultimately influence what the news reports and how the news reports it. William Gamson has conceptualized media frames as the central idea of a news story and places the events being covered into perspective (Gamson and Modigliani 1989).

A media frame, in this context, is like a picture frame; it presents a certain version of reality. However, what goes into the picture frame is not simply decided by the media; its framing is struggled over by as political actors who have competing interests in how an issue is represented. To this end, Gamson has used the concept of framing to analyze struggles over the representation of social issues such as nuclear power and examine the dynamics between social movements and the media (Gamson 1989, 2005; Gamson and Meyer 1996; Gamson and Modigliani 1987; Gamson and Stuart 1992; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993).

The importance of studying media frames is premised on the view that media both reflect and contribute to the creation of public discourse and understanding. Thus, how the media portray

(frame) an event and the processes (framing) by which they do this are important fields of inquiry. In fact, the idea of the media frame and framing is arguably one of the most influential and important concepts in the study of media (Entman 1993; Matthes and Kohring 2008) while processes of framing have also been key concepts in social movement studies (Benford 1997; Snow and Benford 1988, 1992; Zald 1996).

Moreover, as framing is about struggles for, and over, power, research must not only focus on the output of media, but also to also analyze the tactics deployed and struggles engaged in by social movement actors in order to get themselves and their message in the media (McCurdy, 2012). Media output is obviously an important component of this (ibid).

2.5 Trend of Mainstream Media coverage on Popular Protest

The main feature of social protests is a disruptive action that aims to mobilize public opinion and put pressure on its opponents. It is therefore a political resource of ordinary people, who lack regular access to the political process, information, organizational and financial resources, and access to the media (Vladisavljević, 2015). Vladisavljević has further stated protesters' success in terms of achieving their particular goals doesnot depend on the direct use of power, but on indirect persuasion mediated by the news media and by other political actors.

While using unconventional action against their opponents, social movements do it with an eye on the mass audience that they can reach through the media coverage of their action. The media coverage of a movement also grants it credibility as an important player, which is necessary to have any impact, and helps expand the range of players in conflict, which increases the movement's influence (ibid).

However, for almost a century, the mainstream media reported popular protest largely by drawing on the 'law and order' frame, which identified protesters not simply as unconventional but as outright deviant (Vladisavljević, 2015, p. 16). This frame put emphasis on the violence and drama of protest, while shifting attention away from their goals and undermining their legitimacy as political actors. For instance, Vladisavljević in his media framing and political conflict news content analysis has mentioned the 1960s anti-war protest of U.S. how the mainstream media underestimated student movement.

A prominent example is the media coverage of the New Left in the U.S. in the 1960s. Large anti-war protests brought media attention to the student movement. The media trivialized its goals and other important features, presented the movement parallel with counter-protests to highlight its ‘extremism’, emphasized internal disputes, presented protesters as deviant or unrepresentative of broader currents in society, deliberately underestimated their numbers and derided their effectiveness.

All social movements face this sort of framing and have to endure pressures that transform leaders into celebrities, put emphasis on extravagant behavior and trigger ‘transitional crises of generations’, as well as encourage a showdown between moderate and radical factions can retain media coverage only as ‘deviants’, which in turn earns them even more disparaging framing (Gitlin, 1980, p.30-31).

2.6 Journalistic Framing Practices and Protest

Journalistic framing practices describe what journalists do when they produce media texts during the social movements that include certain frames and neglect others. According to the model advanced by (Brüggemann, 2014), journalistic framing practices lie on a continuum between frame setting and frame sending. Both journalistic agenda-setting and frame setting can be viewed as instances of strong media interventionism, understood as the different ways in which journalists – deliberately, or not – shape news content (Strömbäck&Esser 2009). *Frame setting* implies that journalists mostly frame their coverage in line with their personal interpretations of what is at issue on the social protest or other movements. *Frame sending* denotes the practice of merely relaying the frames as presented by different public actors.

Journalists do not only influence the media agenda or they do not just write about given topics but often they also define what is at issue (ibid). Pure frame setting is also unlikely to happen. Journalism is not only the result of individual decision-making. It is the result of a process of collective sense-making within the newsroom and a negotiation of meaning between journalists and sources (Cook, 1998; Gans, 1979). With this in mind, journalistic products will only partly reflect the frames of an individual author. Instead, journalists will always practice some degree of frame setting and frame sending when assembling bits of information into news stories.

However, (Brüggemann (2014) noted that the journalist presents different ways of framing an issue, some of them in line and others in conflict with his or her own views. Then, the journalist frames the frames provided by external actors.

“Taking an example from the climate change debate: Journalists may quote actors who frame climate change as a hoax. If the journalist adheres to the scientific mainstream view on climate change, he or she may emphasize that the climate skeptic quoted has not published in peer reviewed journals. Finally, labels such as “skeptics” or “deniers” do already suffice to contextualize frames in a way that indicates the preferred reading of a debate and the evaluation of the respective actor as not warranting the readers’ trust” (ibid).

Social movement like anti-government protests are taken more seriously by power holders if the protests and protesters are portrayed positively in the media government official could exert a maximum effort to influence media outlets. That is way both the journalists and the mainstream media coverage reflect repression of social movement.

Habitually, the press behavior and in which there is often elite consensus, such as national security and foreign policy, the media largely relay the official perspective (Bennett, 1990, p.106-107; Bennett et al., 2007, p. 48-50).

2.7 Protest Paradigm

A protest paradigm can be viewed as having the ability construct a comprehensive understanding of how protest movements operate and advanced as a model for research studies. This protest Paradigm aim to understand how the media frames protest movements, because it helps to reinforce the view that the mainstream media can have the tendency to trivialize and denigrate protest movements (Bubb, 2011).

Scholars and researchers including Monica Brasted (2005), McLeod (1995) and among others have discussed what is known as ‘protest paradigm’. The term protest paradigm is used to articulate the common characteristics of media supporting the existing power in covering movements or protests.

According to McLeod and Detenber (1999), examinations of news content show that news stories about protests tend to focus on the protestors' appearances rather than their issues, emphasize their violent actions rather than their social criticism, pit them against the police rather than their chosen targets, and downplay their effectiveness. This kind of coverage constitutes what has been called the 'protest paradigm' (Chan & Lee, 1984), which leads to news coverage that supports the status quo (p. 3). Status quo support in news coverage of social protests has been well documented (Gitlin, 1980; Tuchman, 1978).

Based on this complex relationship between media and protest groups, McLeod and Hertog (1998) have classified the characteristics of the protest paradigm, which provides a template for the construction of a protest story, into four categories.

The first is the narrative structure in which it is common for the journalists to cast the protest as a battle between the protestors and the police, rather than as an intellectual debate between the protestors and those they oppose. The emphasis quite often is on social disorder. The second is the reliance of journalists on official sources and official definitions in protest stories which results in support for the status quo by telling the story from those sources' perspectives. Third is the invocation of public opinion. News stories can convey cues to public opinion through opinion polls, overt characterizations, invocation of social norms, violations of laws, and symbolic use of bystanders (McLeod & Hertog, 1992). Finally, there is the use of frames that delegitimize, marginalize and demonize the protestors in the protest stories.

Broadly, research in this domain argues that social protests are predestined to be covered negatively due to the practices, conventions, frameworks and characteristics inherent in both the practice of journalism and the media system (Boyle and Schmierbach 2009; Brasted 2005; McLeod 2000; McLeod and Detenber 1999).

McLeod (2017, p.186) further argued:

Protest paradigm is a routinized template for creating protest stories that has been naturalized through the process of journalistic socialization; that is journalists learn how to apply the protest paradigm as they learn how things are done in media organizations. (

McLeod added the origins of the protest paradigm are the product of the forces that shape news production including the bias of the individual reporter, the impact of the news organization, the canons of the journalistic profession, the cultural and ideological blinders of the social system, and the constraints of the medium (ibid).

McLeod also emphasized that the protest paradigm would increase violence as protestors to feel their voices are not heard and overlooked due to a negligent media frame.

2.8 Characteristics of the Protest Paradigm

As identified by McLeod and Hertog (1998), the protest paradigm has its own characteristics. One characteristics of the protest paradigm is narrative structure. According to McLeod and Hertog, journalists usually use a violent story narrative that casts the even as a battle between the protesters and police, rather than an intellectual debate between the protesters and their chosen target (Brasted 2005, p.6). The second characteristics protest paradigm is reliance on official sources and official definitions. Evidence of the heavy reliance on official sources by mainstream news media has been long-established. The use of official sources gives news stories prestige, increases news production efficiency, and adheres to the rituals of objectivity. When public officials are the predominant source of information for news stories, stories tend to be told from the perspectives of the powerful, downplaying perspectives that challenge that power.

This perspective of the chosen sources (official sources) is used to support the status-quo or the existing structure (Brasted, 2005, p.7). Invocation of public opinion is third characteristics of protest paradigm “cues to public opinion typically point out differences between protesters and mainstream society”. They include reports of opinion polls, sweeping generalizations about public opinion, bystander portrayals, norm invocation, and legal transgressions.' Most protest stories do not contain reports of actual public opinion polls, with the occasional exception for issues like abortion and anti-war protests.

In her article, entitled with *Framing Protest: The Chicago Tribune and the New York Times during the 1968 Democratic Convention* (2005) Brasted compared the coverage of the protests in the Chicago Tribune and the New York Times during the 1968 Democratic Convention. In that

article, Brasted found that both papers utilized the protest paradigm in their coverage of the protestors and offered support for the status quo.

Brasted (2015) wrote the protest on the convention was delegitimized by framing the protestors “as antagonists and enemies of the police. In this study of the Amhara Uprising, the researcher will prove if the major elements of the protest paradigm were used in the coverage of this popular protest in Ethiopia in the selected media. Consistently, the media outlets determine the utilization of protest paradigm. As a result, the selected pro-government outlet (EBC national radio service) and an international radio broadcaster (VOA) would make the framing content analysis an interesting comparative study by offering various perspectives used to frame Amhara Uprising in 2016.

Chapter Three

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design

The Literature Review, I presented examined some of the scholarly work informed by the three theoretical perspectives discussed in Chapter two. This current chapter will look at the methodology informing how textual content analysis and in-depth interview were conducted for this study. The methodology will attempt to justify how the research questions are relevant to the articulated theories of social movement, framing theory, and the protest paradigm respectively.

Methodological appropriateness is vital that would enable to answer the research questions. My investigation pursues the qualitative research tradition with data collected through different techniques within the same paradigm.

A number of media and communication studies try to identify frames with a text-based, non-quantitative analysis. Rooted in the qualitative research method, the tradition allows the researcher enables to explore meaning from words, paragraphs and text in content. Typically, frames are described in-depth, with detailed quotes with all its content richness, but without quantification that studies extract frames inductively.

Many researchers prefer to study framing in a form of qualitative content analysis which is more rewarding approach in media frame analysis. Newbold et al. (2002) note that quantitative content analysis “has not been able to capture the context within which a media text becomes meaningful” (p. 84) and advocate attention to qualitative approaches as well.

Media framing analysis pretty much requires interpretation particularly it involves context and implication. According to Kuyers (2009), emphasized on the importance of qualitative for media framing study that “quantitative approach does not integrate the context” in the existing text which he believes is the key to determine a frame.

Qualitative content analysis is one of numerous research methods used to analyse text data through careful reading of documents of various kinds including media texts. This is because, in mass communication research qualitative method relies heavily on researcher ‘readings’ and interpretation of media texts and often employed to answer the *whys* and *how’s* of human

behaviour, opinion, and experience information that is difficult to obtain through quantitatively-oriented methods of data collection.

My study aimed at looking at how the two radio station (EBC national radio and VOA) framed the anti-government protests in the Amhara Regional State in the fall of 2016, labeled as the Amhara Uprising purely employs qualitative approach allows me to view the political and historical context to be interpreted.

3.1.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

In some news media framing studies, qualitative research technique has certain advantages which can increase a researcher's depth of understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Qualitative message analysis methods applicable to analysis of media content include text analysis, narrative analysis, rhetorical analysis, discourse analysis, interpretative analysis and semiotic analysis, as well as some of the techniques used in literary studies such as critical analysis, according to Hijams (1996).

Azpiroz (2014) noted that qualitative methods in framing have a more realistic and contextualized interpretive look, so that they don't overlook the presence of elements with high symbolic content or cultural resonance, or what is evoked without being explicit, or the omission of important data.

The qualitative content analysis major concern is that variety of meanings, attitudes and interpretation in each category. Therefore, the method would help to describe, to understand, to interpret and to evaluate the nature and extent of coverage of EBC national radio and VOA radio for the Amhara uprising effectively.

Qualitative research can provide 'deeper' understanding of social phenomena (Silverman, 2005:10). Klaus Krippendorff (2004:242) generated the same argument saying qualitative content analysis in general is a passport to listening to the words of the text, and understanding better the perspective(s) of the producer of these words. With this rationality, the data on the coverage of the two selected radio stations were collected and value judgement generated on the portrayal of the outlets.

3.2 Methods of Framing Research

Framing is one of the theories that suggest research methods of its own and has informed many communication studies were aimed to know how the media essentially the mainstream media represented several political conflicts as well as social protests by influencing the public perceptions. Therefore, it will make possible to conduct study the framing of the Amhara Uprising by local media, EBC radio which is a pro-government news media and VOA is considered as the international media respectively.

Framing research employs a variety of methods inspired by content analysis a hermeneutic approach, a linguistic approach, a manual holistic approach, a computer-assisted approach, and a deductive approach. Jörg Matthes distinguishes four ideal types of frame analysis to describe approaches that exist in scholarship even though they often overlap in practice (Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Scheufele, 2003).

“Hermeneutic” or “qualitative” frame analysis inductively constructs frames, typically based on media content, document, or (qualitative) interview data. Many media framing studies that employed the hermeneutic approach are “well documented and especially through in their discussion of media frames” (ibid). In this approach, emerging frames are identified through, careful, deep and repeated reading of articles and news stories. Downs (2002) admits the inherent subjectivity of the hermeneutic approach: “Researchers bear the burden of supporting personally observed claims, and support is more experiential and contextually contingent than empirical” (p. 47). Hence, “careful description may be the only way to convince readers of a frame’s existence and validity” (Downs, 2002, p. 48). There is link between hermeneutic and linguistic approach as compared to others.

In linguistic studies, frames are identified by analyzing the selection, placement, and structure of specific words and sentences in a text (Mathes & Kohring. p, 260). Mathes and Kohring also stressed the linguistic approach in the same hermeneutic approach in a study of news media framing. However, we have seen a slight difference between the two approaches that the Linguistic approaches “distinguish structural dimensions of frames that can be measured: syntax, script, theme, and rhetoric” (ibid).

According to, Simonand Xenos (2000), the hermeneutic method of the reliability and validity of this approach strongly depend upon the transparency in extracting the frames. Because the perception and coding of frames strongly depend upon how the researcher perceives the issue. As a result, from the five methodological approaches, hermeneutic was employed as a dominant method borrowing some of the coding strategies in other approaches.

3.3 Sample and Sampling Technique

I employed two kinds of data sampling sources on this research used to analyzed the 2016 media framing of Amhara Uprising by EBC national and VOA radios. The two media outlets (radios) themselves were chosen as a primary source, conducting semi structured interviews with the journalists working in the two broadcast outlets had advantage to get intensive knowledge about the selection criteria of specific frames, the placement of stories and other important issues in relation to the coverage of Amhara uprising in Ethiopia.

Therefore, purposive technique was employed in this study. The two broadcast media outlets were selected because of their wide coverage, popularity, language, proximity, ownership and their nobility in covering political, economic and social issues as well as their long existence in the service (they are pioneers outlets in their blocks).

EBC national radio (former Ethiopian national radio) has been described as a ‘major pro-government outlet’ that is being listened by many Ethiopians since the time of Emperor Hailelasse and among the most dominate domestic news source across the country. Unlike many radio stations in Ethiopia, Ethiopian Broadcast Corporation (EBC) national radio widely accessible in the capital Addis Ababa city and all the rest of the regional states would enable the station to be relevant for this study.

Being a state-owned radio station, the researcher was convinced and satisfied to select EBC national radio is necessitated to make comparison between the international media (VOA radio) has been already selected.

Voice of America (VOA) is an international reputed radio station that emerged influential and independent media from the liberal western culture. As VOA radio has shortwave bands and an international shortwave broadcaster in Ethiopia, millions of Ethiopian listeners tune in to the radio programs via shortwave, satellite, and medium wave, in addition to digital and mobile platforms. The outlet also broadcasts to Ethiopia in the country’s three languages including

Amharic, Afan Oromo, and Tigrign to provide wide ranging of incidents in exhaustive ways. As a researcher, I found that VOA radio had more news and program coverage on the Amhara Uprising than other international media outlets so far.

To examine how the two media outlets (radio broadcasts) framed the Amhara Uprising, a total of 30 news stories, opinions and news analysis programs that were transmitted, viewed, listened and posted within a particular period of time on these media outlets were selected. The data collection occurred in February 2018 and covers the period from July 2016 (8 July 2016 was the official kickoff of this popular protests) to September 2016 (30 September 2016 was registered as the last day of refraining the protests). From thirty news and radio programs 20 were news stories while the remaining 10 were opinions and news analysis radio programs. Among the total number of stories, 18 of them from EBC national radio and 12 stories were from VOA Amharic.

Furthermore, in addition to the content analysis, *five* journalists working in the selected media outlets were interviewed to examine their involvements on these mainstream media coverage on the 2016 Amhara Uprising. The journalists were selected purposively who were produce news program and assigned to report the protest. The journalists were found by searching their mobile number and physically contact in their working place. I contacted 10 journalists, but only *five* of them accepted my interview request. I asked several questions to determine whether they had been part of these media framings (by wring or heralding) the news stories in person or whether they were just observing the political revolts during the Amhara Uprising.

These journalists were selected on purpose and enough convenience for an in-depth interview. Initially, they are working in Addis Ababa as well as in the selected media outlets that were easily accessible to the researcher. The other convincing reason to use purposive sampling to select the reporters, they were very close to the Amhara Uprising and some of them were participant in producing, writing and disseminating news stories to their audience as a media professionals. Particularly, *two* correspondent respondent from VOA radio and *three* respondents from EBC national radio were identified snowballing that the researcher obtained information from other persons that indicated some of the staff members (journalists) repeatedly engaged in reporting the protest and they were active to producing news stories.

3.4 Data Collection Sources

The framing categories were conceptualized by reviewing the literature and can be studied based on texts transmitted or published in the media outlets. According to Entman, news framing in communication can be framed in multiple ways (Entman, 1993). Scholars use several common themes to explain media coverage: emphasizing the conflict, emotional aspect of the news, and the economic consequences of the conflict (Entman, 1993). These themes are common because they can provide a definition of the problem and a diagnosis of the reason.

Based on the aforementioned rationale, the researcher accessed relevant news stories from the selected radio broadcast outlets specifically; news and programs were used as a primary data from VOA radio online for the purpose of content analysis.

To access data from EBC national radio and VOA radio, the researcher used their organizational archives and their official websites where the outlets usually store the transmitted version of their daily or weekly aired news and programs.

After collecting the relevant news stories and transmitted and audios voices, the researcher reviewed both the soft copies and sound bites from July 8, 2016 to September 30, 2016 extensively. The news headlines of sound bites were aired by the two radio stations were downloaded, copied and pasted on the station's website by using the headlines as a searching key to get the stories and programs online.

3.5 Procedures of Content Analysis

It is important that scientific research must yield valid results, in the sense that the research effort is open for careful inspection and the resulting claims can be upheld in the face of independently available evidence. Usually, a qualitative media framing requires bringing the available data e.i. news stories, programs and articles into a meaningful cluster before starting to interpret the themes.

Different types of frames can be extracted with varying methods. Some researchers prefer to use the five standard frames identified by the previous media framing scholars while extract conceptualized frames. In this study, the frame identified by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) i.e conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality and responsibility frames were simply used as an umbrella frames which served as a basis for the specific frames the researcher

identified. In qualitative framing study, the researcher has to be totally engaged data careful reading or listening to extract the theme and the frame device of each news story.

By conducting a pilot study using random selected news stories of the outlets from the sample, the researcher extracts *five* dominant frames from 30 news stories, radio programs collected from EBC national and VOA radios. In pilot study, each news articles is read several times, while the researcher makes thorough notes, and thereafter the news frames are decided on (Linsöm & Marias, 2012, p.26).

According to Abera (2017), there are two rationales behind not using the five standard frames aforementioned including hermeneutic approach, a linguistic approach, a manual holistic approach, a computer-assisted approach, and a deductive approach as specific frames of this research area. Firstly, these standard frames are too general.

Due to the fact that, my study on the media coverage of Amhara Uprising, aimed at to explore any frame be it the standard once or any other new frame rather than the already existed frame standards. Linsöm & Marias (2012) suggested the following points to consider in identifying frames.

The two scholars suggested that frames “must have identifiable, conceptual and linguistic characteristics; it should be commonly observed in journalistic practice; it must be possible to distinguish the frame reliably from other frames” (p.30). They also underscored that the frame shall be understood by others and “not to be a figment of researchers’ imagination” (ibid).

Not all frames are identified by the researcher of this study. Sometimes it is preferable to use frames identified by previous researcher (who didn’t mention the standard frames) provided that the concepts have been studied by some other researchers. In this study, for example the researcher may use a “battle frame” which Brasted. M. (2005) coined to indicate the dominant narrative structure used in the Chicago Tribune’s coverage of the protest against the 1968 Democratic Convention. The frame had narrative structure that portrayed protesters as elements that seek to disrupt social order. This frame may not be taken for granted but operationalized to the context of this research area.

In this study, Brasted extracted the dominant narrative structure in the stories that many of the stories recreated the battle between the protestors and police through the use of warfare metaphors such as battle, charge, attack, retreat, outflanked, and skirmish line about the protests of the Democratic Convention in 1968.

Based on the pilot study conducted which in this case means repeatedly listening and several deep readings of the media contents taking thorough notes in the process, **five** major frames were identified. These identified themes/frames include “*Anti-peace and Development Forces Frame*”, “*Good Governance Frame*”, “*Unitary System Seekers Frame (Nostalgias or one who yearns for the old order) Frame*”, “*Ethnic Tension Frame*” and “*Victims and Emotive frame and Ethnic Tension Frame*”.

Once these frames were identified, questions were design to operationally define the identified frames. The questions used for the coding or categorization or the contents were designed that they respond to the frame elements known in Entman’s (1993) work on the concept of framing produced the following definition of framing in the news:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem, definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (p. 52; italics in the original).

The elements constitute a frame is problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, retreatment recommendation. Gamson & lasch (1983) have also stated that symbolic elements and sign are elements that are installed in news stories should be used to analyse the text. Some argue that all framing devices has to be used for analysis but (Linsöm & Marias 2012) argued that the research problem will guide that researcher interims of whether to look for the single framing device (such as news sources) or multiple framing device (p.13). Therefore, the coding/categorization process in this study will be exhaustive only to the extent that it could provide answers to the three research questions.

In this qualitative framing study, the researcher used coding as data organizing tool helping to take care of creating bias in a large quantity of radio news stories and online content as well as abusing the analysis of frames.

The code was also helped to systematically identify the dominant sources used in each news story, news program and article. once the news stories, articles and programs transmitted on the outlets were coded or categorized under each master frame, the researcher brought each three research questions and provided them with answers by writing, coping and pasting the key

words, phrases, sentences, headlines and photographs that meaningfully serve as device of the narrative structures of two broadcast media outlets, EBC national radio and VOA radio that the contents were discussed subsequently.

3.6 Analysis of Interviews and Documents

Interview data was also analyzed interpretatively. The researcher first of all carefully read the transcript by making notes. Then he labelled all the relevant pieces of data including words, sentences, phrases and actions were obtained from in-depth interview. This is known as coding or indexing. The transcripts were coded based on repeated appearances of similar labels in many places in the transcript. Then the most important codes were identified and grouped together to create a category.

The researcher also used video document data. The video documents/speeches of politically prominent people and opinion leaders who spoke about the role of the media on the Amhara Uprising within the frame of the study were transcribed and interpreted discursively.

Therefore, the researcher used public speech video documents to supplement interview analysis that was dominantly used to study the role of journalists in framing the Amhara Uprising. In the process coding and discussions of the findings, the video documents will be treated along with the interview data.

Chapter Four

4. Data Presentation and Analysis

The study investigated how Ethiopian Broadcast Corporation (EBC) national radio service and Voice of America (VOA) have framed the Amhara Uprising in Ethiopia and its aftermath from 8 July to 30 September 2016. This period witnessed the climax of popular uprising in Amhara Regional State and reached the entire region until the federal government of Ethiopia have been forced to declare the state of emergency.

First, this chapter presents the analyses of the five extracted dominant frames were used in the two selected radio stations as a device. These dominant frames include *Anti-peace and Development Forces Frame*, *Good Governance Frame*, *Unitary System Seekers Frame (Nostalgias or one who yearns for the old order) Frame*, *Ethnic Tension Frame* and *Victims and Emotive frame and Ethnic Tension Frame*.

The above extracted frames were drawn from a total of 30 news stories and broadcasted radio program collected from the two media outlets based on their approach, selection and elaboration of the 2016 Amhara Uprising. This in-depth analysis of the identified frames would answer the first research question of the study i.e what were the major frames of the stories of the Amhara Uprising in the two selected media outlets.

Moreover, the section also presents the major actors in the news stories of the two media outlets when they framed the Amhar Uprising in 2016 enable to answer research question two which says that what are the major actors in the framing of the stories the case. This analysis part also brings conclusive proof whether these two selected radio stations applied or not the characteristics of the protest paradigm which is the third research question i.e how did the protestors were represented by these media outlets to construct their news stories during the Anhara uprising. Finally, this chapter is dedicated to the analysis of interview data collected from five respondents who worked as journalists in EBC national radio service and VOA radio Amharic service.

4.1. Identified Frames

4.1.1 The Anti-peace and Development Forces Frame

The Amhara Uprising as anti-government protest, started on the onset of 2016 however, the movement received wide popularity in the beginning of July 2016 and vigorously advanced and continued for the consecutive three months. Due to that the uprising has been receiving news media coverage by both the local and international media since then.

EBC radio national service, a pro-government radio employed the anti-peace and Development elements as the dominant narrative structure in the stories about the Amhara Uprising. In its story broadcasted on 15 July 2016, the radio station dealt with the demonstration of North Gondar Zone residents, students and youth in different districts, towns and among other places. From the very beginning of this story, EBC radio national service didn't present the case and problem of the protest that originated from the public grievance but it portrayed the protest groups as adversary and disrupting social order. The following excerpt of story entitled that “*Government Condemns Violent Groups Action in north Gondar*” would support the argument.

The Amhara Regional State has condemned the recent violence in north Gondar zone. It was described that the violence is an illegal act carried out in collaboration with anti-peace forces to hold back the ongoing all-round peace, development and democracy of the regional state and the country. The incident was orchestrated by groups who were operating under the guise of ‘we hold the legitimate questions of the community’ to implement the instruction they have received from the foreign enemies of Ethiopia. According to the statement sent to EBC radio, the loss of lives and injuries on civilians and security forces and property damage occurred by the continued efforts of violent groups to destabilize the country. (EBC radio: July 15, 2016, 55 seconds).

Although Wolkait serving as the flashpoint for the Amhara version of uprising, there is no any attribution about the emergence cause of the anti-government protest as a politically conscious force. The radio station merely displayed the demonstrators who were disrupting the ongoing peace, development and social order that the country has been enjoying. Its story frame of the theme focused on destruction of government and private properties death of civilians and security forces by protester groups to delegitimize the social movement and to characterize them as violent, anti-peace and anti-development forces.

Furthermore, EBC's anti-peace and development frame characterized protestors as a deviants, having an evil agenda, they are threat of the national development, instigate chaos and seeking power unconstitutionally. Indisputably, this story indicates that the protest paradigm was used in EBC radio while it broadcasted Amahara Uprising by emphasizing on the violent nature of the group and its disruption to the social order through the violation of laws.

For instance, EBC's frame on anti-peace and development forces blamed the protest groups were receiving mission from the terrorist elements and Ethiopian foreign enemies. The following story which appeared in EBC radio station "*Government Confirms Involvement of Anti-peace Forces behind Chaos in Amhara Regional State*" emphasized that violations of law and order. The frame articulated on the protestors who were receiving hidden agenda from the outsiders and they threatened the country's development and renaissance journey.

The government of Ethiopia has confirmed the involvement of the foreign enemies and other anti-peace forces who were masterminds behind the turmoil in Amhara Regional State. It deplored the illegal activities carried out by forces of destruction trained and deployed by the Eritrean regime and other foreign enemies. "The terrorist mission of Shaebia and its mercenaries will be foiled by the joint efforts of the public just as it was thwarted now," said the Government Communication Affairs Office in a statement. The Shaebian government will leave no stone unturned to ruin peace and deter the ongoing renaissance journey of the country, it added. The loss of lives and injuries occurred on civilians and security forces are indications of Eritrea's continued efforts to destabilize the country, it said. The statement also stressed which needs to bring those responsible for the violence to justice. (EBC radio: 13 July 2016, 1 minutes and 10 seconds).

The intimidation of the protest groups was further underscored in the above story by developing the frame of anti-peace elements. In this story, the message is that the protestors orchestrated the turmoil who deliberately planned and received evil agenda from the outsiders particularly, from neighboring Eritrean government to disrupt the region and as well as the country. This theme was developed as a threat to the country's peace and development by foreign enemies. The action of the protestors was also used repeatedly to justify and defend the actions of the security forces lost their lives on the line of duty. The protestors are not the only ones accused of violent

acts, so too are the death of security forces. Because of that traditionally, police action is framed not as violence in the pro-government media, but as an effort to maintain or restore social order. This frame explicitly indicates the marginalizing frame that the protestors didn't have any inherent linkage with public interest at large.

In examining the protest frame in EBC national radio service during the 2016 Amhara Uprising it is clear that the protest paradigm was used in the above script. As discussed extensively in the previous chapters, protest paradigm emphasizes on the mainstream media constantly downplay protest groups and demonize their role as an indispensable body of social and the political issues. According to McLeod (2007), the mainstream coverage generally hinders the role of protesters as vital actors and disparages their alternative ideology.

Accordingly, the news reporting frames of EBC radio dominated by the peace disruption or conflict towards the protestors. In general, the frame approach of the station is partisan oriented (to government) and gave more in-depth insight to the audience enabled them to perceive the protest groups as futile, pointless, and even downplayed their major grievance labeling it as irrelevant and irrational.

Delegitimizing and Marginalizing Protestors: Since EBC national radio service is the pro-government news media, its usage of the de-legitimizing and marginalizing frame is not surprising because the government officials also used this frame during the Amhara Uprising to dehumanize the protestors. Before his resignation, Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn briefed local journalists at his office in 28 July 2016 the protestors had connections with Eritrean government and Gnibot-7 were trying to obstruct Ethiopia's economic growth. This kind of officials' violent and marginal discourses were clearly reflected in this the pro-government radio station.

For example on 6 and 7 August 2016 EBC radio ran a leads (headlines) respectively stating that *“the anti-peace forces are actively involved in damaging and burning public and private properties in the recent Gondar and Bahir Dar cities' turmoil”* and *“one foreign owned flower farm and dozens of vehicles had been damaged in attacks by anti-peace forces,”*. These above mentioned headlines evidently indicate that the radio station predominantly focused on how the

demonstrators were violent and how this vicious behaviour could damage Ethiopia’s economic growth, affecting peace and foreign direct investment.

According to McLeod (2007), media coverage of radical social protests often treats demonstrators as deviants, ultimately delegitimizing their efforts to play a role in social, economic and political decision making (p. 193). This routine approach of the mainstream media protest paradigm would increase the violence as it pushes the protestor to feel their voices were not heard due to a negligent media frame (ibid). This conventional negligence frame was excessively employed by EBC radio to frame Amhara Uprising. The following titles are brought to display the narrative structure of this pro-government radio station.

The anti-peace and development theme/frame of news stories, news analysis and radio programs collected from the selected media outlets particularly from EBC radio station.

Table-1

Theme/Frame Category	Lead	Date	Program Type	Media/Outlet	Time Duration
Anti-peace and Development Frame	1.The anti- peace elements condemned	13 July 2016	News	EBC radio	2 minutes
	2. The heinous act of illegal demonstrators	15 August 2016	News	EBC radio	2 minutes and 5 seco.
	3. Violent groups try to fish in a troubled water	11 August 2016)	News Analysis	EBC radio	
	4. The evil agenda of anti-peace forces	14 August 2016	News Analysis	EBC radio	12 minutes
	5. Some brainwashed demonstrators by anti –peace and development forces	19 August 2016		EBC radio	
	6. The crimes of anti-peace forces were masterminded, financed and coordinated by foreign enemies	25 August 2016	News Analysis	EBC radio	13 minutes
	7. The act of chauvinists and violence instigators in Gondar	8 September 2016	News Analysis		3 minutes
	8. Conspiracy against Ethiopian development journey	18 September 2016	News Analysis		13 minutes
					20 minutes

Nouns or words which enable to delegitimize and marginalize protestors including chauvinists, destructive forces, anti-peace and development forces, political profit seekers, illegal demonstrators and chaos instigators were excessively used in the radio. This frame approach tried to shape the sentiment of audiences by shifting their perception towards the government that was restoring peace and security whereas the protest groups were framed as irrelevant and unrepresentative entities.

Invocation of public opinion: In the work of McLeod and Hertog (2007) Cues to public opinion typically point out the protest paradigm characteristic having distinctions between protesters and mainstream society. They include reports of opinion polls, sweeping generalizations about public opinion, bystander portrayals, norm invocation, and legal transgressions (p. 187).

By employing bystander portrayals of informal cue to public opinion, EBC radio ran a story under a title “Youths condemn recent violence in Amhara Regional State”.

Addis Ababa youths have condemned the recent violence in occurred in some part of the Amhara Regional State. They also expressed their condolences over the loss of lives, injuries and damage to property caused by the violent groups. The youths said peace and security should be restored in the region and as well as in the country by a joint effort with the government and public at large. According to them, the government has to take the necessary measures to stop the problem once and for all. Yonas Tilahun, residing in Gulele Sub-city described the violence as an “illegal act carried out in collaboration with anti-peace forces from outside by twisting the agenda to foment confusion in order to push our country into unrest and disturbance using innocent and emotional youth to satisfy their greed while the country is entering to its fast track socio -economic development.” Similarly, another Youth Abayneh Asmare deplored the illegal activities carried out by forces of destruction trained and deployed by the foreign enemies of Ethiopian. He stated that “the terrorist mission and its mercenaries should be foiled by the joint efforts of our government and public just as soon as possible before this evil action lead into extra crisis”. On her part Mestewat Arega urged young people to abstain any violence activity. “Since Ethiopian enemies like Eritrea will leave no stone unturned to ruin peace and deter the ongoing renaissance journey of the Ethiopia, youths should refrain themselves to be the weapon of their hidden agenda.” The youths also pointed out loss of lives and injuries occurred on civilians and security forces are indications of Eritrea’s continued efforts to destabilize the country. They also called on government needs to bring those responsible for the violence to justice. (EBC radio: 4 August 2016, 3 minutes and 18 seconds).

In this given script, individual opinions like that of the three youths from Addis Ababa city were used as aggregated opinion of Addis Ababa's youths for the Amhara Uprising. The opinion of these three individuals as bystanders was employed much like measured by public opinion polls. For instance, the lead sentence of the story says "*Youths Condemn Recent Violence in Amhara Regional State*" which aggregation is clearly seen and probably it means to the listeners feel the entire youth condemn the uprising.

Stating on the characteristics of public opinion polls, McLeod & Hertog (2007) declare that most of protest stories do not contain reports of actual public opinion polls, with the occasional exception for issues. They said commonly reporters or the sources they quote to make generalizations about public opinion on protest issues or about public reactions to the protesters. This argument is demonstrated in the above story of EBC radio. In the story, the narrator or anchor attributed the youths by using news reporting attributions like 'they stated', 'they indicated', 'according to them' and 'they said' despite the fact that all youths couldn't speak the same statements. Here one of the attributions in the above story was broadcasted 4 August 2016. The youths said "peace and security should be restored in the region and as well as in the country by a joint effort of the government and public at large". The following leads were used by EBC radio to demonstrate public opinion or bystander portrayals.

<p>“Religious leaders have urged youths to refrain themselves from violence and claim their question legally” (EBC radio: 23 July 2016, 10 seconds).</p> <p>“Residents urged the government to take action in accordance with the findings about the turmoil and conflict that occurred in some parts of North Gondar Zone of Amhara Regional State” (EBC radio: 28 July 2016, 18 seconds).</p> <p>“Residents in Gondar are actively involved in the reinstatement of public and private properties damaged in the recent turmoil in the city, according to EBC radio’s interviews conducted in the zone.</p>	<p>“Religious leaders, elders and the public have carried out commendable activities by taking initiatives to return looted properties and rehabilitate damaged institutions by the violent groups” (EBC radio: 10 August 2016, 16 seconds).</p> <p>“Residents in Bahir Dar city in the state of Amhara have vowed to restore peace and tolerance spoiled due to the recent turmoil” (EBC radio: 15 September 2016, 16 seconds).</p> <p>“Amhara, Oromia and Afar regional states have condemned the recent violence in north Gondar zone, Amhara Regional State” (EBC radio: 15 September 2016, 13 seconds)</p>
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Reliance on official sources and official definitions: As characteristics of protest paradigm, evidence of the heavy reliance on official sources by mainstream news media has been longest blushed (McLeod, 2007). The reliance on official sources, such as the prime minister, and other government officials, by the EBC radio helped to further develop the perception of the protestors as destructive forces of the country. Speaking on the government’s action on the protestors who were trying to rally in Amahara regional state, the radio use the former prime minister as the official source in the following story.

Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn on Tuesday issued a strong warning against groups involved in the recent turmoil in some parts of the country. The government will be forced to take strong measures against those instigating chaos in different parts of Amhara Regional State, Hailemariam told a group of local journalists at his office. Anti peace forces are taking a different direction as they instigate turmoil in the name of unity, he added. Hailemariam confirmed the involvement of the Eritrean regime and other foreign anti-peace forces who he said were masterminds behind the turmoil. He mentioned the loss of life and destruction of government, public and religious institutions

as well as infrastructures, promising strong government action against these groups. “More than ever, the government will commit to alleviate problems of good governance raised by the public,” the premier assured. (EBC radio: 14 September 2016, 1 minute and 22 seconds).

This position of taking action on the protestors advocated by the official sources (the prime minister) was broadcasted by EBC radio. In this story, the framing of the protestors were portrayed as violent forces have disrupted the social order and instigated turmoil in the country. Apparently, the story emphasized on the actions of the government or police were supported because they were presented as responsible forces to restore the law and order disrupted by the protestors. A reliance on official sources in this story represents the template of the protest paradigm that this pro-government radio failed to balance its story by attributing or quoting from protestors and others. In addition to that, the story legitimized the action as vital could be carried out by the government or the security forces on the protestors. The prime minister was used as an official source in the news story that identified a group of protestors as anarchists were seen as threatening peace, violating laws and posing a danger to the status quo and the country as well.

The following stories were broadcasted on EBC radio would be a good example how this outlet heavily relied on official sources.

<p>“Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn on Tuesday issued a strong warning against groups involved in the recent turmoil in some parts of Amhara and Oromia” (EBC radio: 30 216, 13 seconds)</p> <p>“Government said the loss of life and destruction of government, public and religious institutions as well as infrastructures, promising strong government action against these groups” (EBC radio: 30 July 216, 20 seconds).</p> <p>Premier assured that more than ever, the</p>	<p>“Government Communication Affairs Office (GCAO) Minister Getachew Reda said since problems of good governance hold back development, the government and the public had reached consensus to address them until it was disrupted by anti-peace forces those who were behind the recent chaos” (16 August 2016, 30 seconds)</p> <p>“Security forces in partnership with the communities have managed to put under control the violence in north Gondar zone, Amhara</p>
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<p>government will commit to alleviate problems of good governance raised by the public” (EBC radio: 3 August 2016, 13 seconds)</p>	<p>Regional State, said Government Communication Affairs Office (EBC radio: 22 September 2016, 18)</p> <p>“GCAO Minister Getachew Reda said that the violence was orchestrated by groups who were operating under the guise of ‘we hold the legitimate questions of the community’ to implement the instruction they have received from the enemies of Ethiopia” (15 July 2016, 23 seconds)</p>
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4.1.2 The Good Governance Frame

EBC radio continued with its dominant “Ant-peace and Development Forces frame” which tends to adopt negative appearance of the protestors through the employment of various marginalization devices since the end of September 2016 on Amhara Uprising. However, in the middle of the popular protest, the outlet became with the overarching “Good Governance Frame” in defining the cause of the popular Amhara Uprising. Here is the news analysis that was broadcasted in 25 August 2016 on EBC radio, under a title “Raised public Questions could be answered by maintaining good governance”

Those questions raised by the residents in Amhara Regional State could be answered by maintaining good governance. In connection with the security problem occurred in some parts of Amhara regional state, queries raised by the residents and students are appropriate questions that should be asked by free citizens. As they are information-seeking public questions, they should be asked legally and democratically. However, as the questions were turned into uproar and disturbance, it gave an opportunity for anti-peace forces to create violence, disseminate terror and kill people under the pretext of the Wolkiet question which could have been answered by the constitution. The situation goes to the extent of committing an organized attack on people and leaderships, other nationalities as well as on public and government institutions. In order to give a swift response, those people and residents who raised the questions are holding discussions with the government. However, these anti-peace forces are witnessed and they are

striving to take actions to divert the information-seeking question. Anti-peace elements have been attempting to hijack the public's quest for their destructive objective while the government of Ethiopia is striving rigorously to reply the questions of the people for development and good governance. As regards to the question arose in connection with Wolkait, the ruling EPRDF called on the Tigray Regional State to look into the questions in accordance with the Constitution. It should be an imperative believe that all issues which caused conflicts to be resolved through public consultations and by maintaining rule of law. Despite those efforts have been made by the government, armed terror are following the anti-development paths and destroying public service delivery institutions and infrastructures. However, their attempt was foiled by the active participation of the peace loving people, including with the utmost efforts of the security forces.(EBC National Radio Service: 25 August 2016)

In this transmitted story, unlike its dominant “Anti-peace and Development Frame” used by EBC radio, the protestors were relatively legitimized. But the root cause of the Amhara Uprising was not diagnosed rather the radio station followed systematic farming approach to moderate the real cause of the popular social movement. By employing the so called superficial narrative mentioned as “Anti-peace and Development Frame”, EBC’s frame was denial for the legitimate grievance of the protestors. Thereby, EBC radio adapted the narrative that portrayed the demonstration as demonstration caused by good governance and maladministration should be address by the government. As the good governance frame is a shift from the anti-peace and development frame, has technically reduced the big picture cause of Amhara Uprising into lack of good governance.

4.1.3 Unitary System Seekers Frame

The current Ethiopian system along with Ethnic federal lines has become a hegemonic narrative and has been given institutional expression. This federation intended to liberate the multitude of ethnicities from the past system that enables them to have their own self-determination, while simultaneously containing the Amhara regional state can continue to exercise their self-administration like other groups have been practicing in the country.

However, there are derogatory terms like “Nostalgias or ‘የቀድሞ ስርዓት ናፋቂዎች’ (one who yearns for the old order), ‘Chauvinist’, ‘Oppressor’ and ‘Neftegna (gunslinger)’”, became the favorite

expressions used by EPRDF officials including those from the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM) and other ethno-nationalists to refer to the Amharas. This narrative seems purposive that the government officials use it to frustrate Amhara opposition groups who always strive to establish unitary government system by dismantling the current federal system.

Based on this argument, EBC national radio service framed the Amhara Uprising by using those derogatory terms and the outlet perceived Amhara’s political revolt which posed threat on the federal system. The radio’s news and press releases when it came from the ruling part EPRDF articulated on the chauvinist forces are behind the Amhara Uprising and they were taking a different direction as they instigate turmoil in the name of unity. The following expressions were broadcasted on EBC radio to show the frame of the uprising in connection what government and the media call them “chauvinists” in order to develop a negative impact on people’s perceptions of protests and demonstrations.

<p>“The destabilizing efforts made by the chauvinists who made unholy marriage with narrow nationalists, rent collectors, and terrorist groups has disqualified by the joint endeavors of the people and government”. (EBC radio: 2o July 2016)</p> <p>“Chauvinists who wish to hold power unconstitutionally do not in any manner represent only their own political agenda but are also serving as transmission belts for those who do not wish to see stronger and developed Ethiopia in the East African region.” (EBC radio: 6 August 2016)</p> <p>“Had the collaborated attempts of the rent-collectors, the chauvinists and the terrorists got the upper hand, there won’t be any hope in the country” (EBC radio: 11 August 2016)</p>	<p>“The chauvinists and extremists’ action in some part of Amhara regional state have been attempting to destabilize Ethiopia under the pretext public questions which resulted in loss of a number lives and destruction of properties and investments.” ((EBC radio: 21 August 2017)</p> <p>“Chauvinist actors seemingly have taken center stage in politics, especially among the Ethiopian Diaspora and there were anti-peace elements who took advantage of the maladministration as a fertile ground.” (EBC national radio service: 8 September 2016)</p> <p>“Ideas raised during the demonstrations do not represent the public but only reflected the interest of chauvinists and anti-peace forces” (EBC radio: 16 September 2016)</p>
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The main theme of the above lead stories is clearly mischaracterizing the Amhara people's cause by labeling the protest groups and their grievance as "chauvinists." According to the governing narrative in Ethiopia, Amharas are chauvinists who seek to restore the old feudal order by establishing a unitary system while Oromos are narrow-minded and exclusionary people who seek to disintegrate Ethiopia into smaller republics. These governing narratives were being depicted on EBC radio station during the coverage of the Amhara Uprising and the two groups began to see how these narratives were crafted and are expressing solidarity towards each other as victims of the same system. The mischaracterization nouns, such as chauvinists, rent seekers, narrow nationalists and anti-peace forces were crafted in the above given lead stories for the purpose of frustrating protestors.

4.1.4 The Ethnic Tension Frame

The ethnic tension news framing of Amhara Uprising was emanated and built on analysis of deep-rooted cause of the rising Amhara Nationalism. Even if, the major principal factor behind the rise of Amhara nationalism has been Ethiopia's current ethnic arrangements federalism, the issue of Welkait identity is the most popular one it has been still playing a greater impact in terms of galvanizing the Amhara activists base and enabling it to mobilize a larger section of the Amhara population for political action for this uprising.

In those frames of VOA radio, the question of economic marginalization, ethnic identity and imbalance political power in the federal government of Ethiopia were highly employed during Amhara Uprising. Following by 31 July 2016 popular residents of Gondar demonstration amid a long-standing territorial dispute with the neighboring Tigray region, VOA radio broadcasted news story with a title "Welkait identity Question Leads Residents of Gondar to March Massive Demonstration".

Tens of thousands of residents marched in Gondar city coming with placards and chants that demonstrators denounced what they see as putting Amhara people at a disadvantage. The protestors flocked to the city center "piazza" around 9 am with the slogans on the rally "Restore the historic border of Amhara", "Wolqait is Amhara", "Qimant and Amhara are one" and "Return the land given to Sudan". The protestors also demanded "Respect for Amhara-ness", "Amhara is not terrorist", "Stop mass

“killing and displace Amhara people” and an end to alleged TPLF dominance in the region as well as in the country’s political economic activities. The incident followed a confrontation between members of the “Wolkayit committee” with the Tigray regional state police and the Federal Anti-Terrorism Taskforce attempted to detain five members of the committee, as a resident from Gondar city, told VOA Amharic over the phone. “The shooting of Gun fire broke out when the Anti-Terrorism Taskforce moved to arrest the ‘Wolkayit committee’ who are the organizers of a movement for the relocation of Wolqait district from Tigray region to Amhara region”, he said. But our source, who wants to be anonymous for “fear of retaliation”, said tensions began running high following intensive searches conducted by police forces during the previous days to arrest members of the ‘Wolkayit committee’ who have been protesting against the government’s decision to administratively include the Wolkayit community and its land into the neighboring Tigray Regional State. The clash left three security officers and five civilians dead, it was indicated. He also said that “tensions were running high between Tigrayan and Amhara residents of the Gondar town” in what he sees as a dangerous ethnic confrontation (VOA radio: 2 August 2016, 4 minutes).

Unlike EBC national radio service VOA radio has employed the ethnic tension frames by using some phrases which were the trigger factors of the uprising and the emerging Amhara nationalism such as the “Wolkait Amhara identity question, “Amhara displacement”, “Amhara resistance”, “Amhara people at a disadvantage” and “marginalization of Amhara”. In the above give script, VOA radio has recognized what the root cause of Amhara uprising that of Wolkiat question is the flash point beside many social, economic and political motives for this social protests in the region. Moreover, this story depicted in a very explicit way that ethnic tension was rising between Tigrayans people living in Amhara regional state and Amharas.

Additionally, VOA radio strived to legitimate the demonstrators by using some positive phrases towards the protest groups such as the “*peaceful protestors in Gondar*” and attributing their motto like protestors called on “*stop mass killing and displacing Amhara people*” *Wolkait identity question should be addressed*”. The story that was broadcasted 22 August 2016 on VOA radio Amharic program would be a good evidence for this argument.

Peaceful protesters in Bahir Dar and Gondar demanded equal wealth distribution and the reinstatement of the Wolkayit area in the Tigray region back to the Amhara administration. The protestors claim that Wolkayit district was illegally incorporated into the neighboring Tigray region after 1991. But both the federal and regional governments insist the Wolkayit question has been answered once and for all. In the peaceful demonstrations held one week earlier in Gondar, the same question was the main agenda. The arrest of members of a committee set up to oversee the reinstatement led to violent clashes over the past week in Gondar city and nearby towns including Debarq. The protests in Amhara began on July 12 when security forces attempted to arrest Demeka Zewdu (Col.), one of the leaders of the Wolkayit Identity and Self-Determination Committee, for alleged terrorism offences. “We are demanding the government has to address the substantive demands of the Amhara people, which include the restoration of historic Amhara territories, putting an end to the economic and political marginalization of the Amhara people”, said Tesfahun Tilaye among the protestors. Tesfahun added that “although our grievance is legitimate, we have witnessed that government is trying to respond by gun. Today demonstration was very peaceful, but police fire to us and I saw some protestors were killed and injured.”

Clearly, in the frame construction of VOA radio “ethnic tension frame”, the anti-government sentiments were displayed by the protestors who insisted for regime change since Amharas have been marginalized in social, economic and political participations. Ethnic tension as a central theme of causal analysis, the radio station was critical of the immediate and long overdue factors inspired these demonstrations in Gondar and other places of Amhara regional states. Its definition of the problem was different from that of the pro- and public owned EBC radio station that most used definition was the restoration of the Wolkayit and other areas in the Tigray region back to the Amhara administration as the cause of the uprising. On the contrary side, EBC radio defined the problem of the uprising it was because of the deviant characteristics of the protestors who had linkage with foreign enemies.

As noted, a variety of sources including the Amhara Regional State Head of Communication, opposition party leaders, protestors, organizers and community leaders were cited in most of VOA news analysis and programs on Amhara Uprising. This practice allowed to VOA radio to

have a variety of perspectives to be presented and the officials were not able to monopolize the framing of the events.

In this regard, there is actually little evidence of the characteristic of the protest paradigm of framing the protestors as delegitimize, marginal or deviant. Overall, there is general support for the protestors in that there were many stories were broadcasted that allowed protestors to speak for themselves in coverage that seemed to be more balanced than usually found when the protest paradigm is exhaustively used in EBC radio.

Themes/frames of news stories, news analysis and radio programs collected from the selected media outlets particularly from VOA radio station.

Table-2

Theme/Fra me Category	Lead	Date	Program Type	Media/O utlet	Time Duration
Ethnic Tension Frame	1. Amahara people demand economic and political equal right in Ethiopia	10 July 2016	News	VOA radio	1 minute
	2. Many people charged by security forces in different part of Amhara's cites	15 July 2016	News	VOA radio	2 minutes
	3. Amharas are fighting for the looting and annexation of their fertile land of Wolkaite-Tegede by Tigray state, which is the foothold of TPLF	16 July 2016	News Analysis	VOA radio	10 minutes
	4. Protestors urged government should urgently release Col. Demeke Zewdu and Nigist Yirga are the latest in a series of political prisoners	14 August 2016	News	VOA radio	2 minutes
	5. The protest in northern Amhara region is against an earlier deadly crackdown that killed dozens of people in the town of Gondar and other districts last Sunday	19 August 2016	News	VOA radio	3 minutes
	6. Although the immediate cause	13 August 2016	News	VOA	12 minutes

	for the latest round of protests is the extrajudicial killing of civilians in Gondar and Bahir Dar cities, the Amhara allege far deeper political and economic grievances.		Analysis	radio	
	7. Opposition groups called on the government to address the worsening crisis and must begin by withdrawing its army from Gondar and other towns	6 September 2016	News	VOA radio	2 minutes
	8. Many political observers and activists urged the government must turn to addressing the substantive demands of the Amhara people, which include the restoration of historic Amhara territories, putting an end to the economic and political marginalization of the Amhara people.	6 September 2016	News Analysis	VOA radio	16 minutes

4.1.5 An Emotive or Victims Fame

As the selected media outlets are radio, the construction of an “Emotive Frame” has focused on verbal narrative of victimizations that were used to reinforce the emotional news angles rather than visual images in the Amhara Uprising. The news angles of VOA radio tried to choose an emotional news slants such as victims by the security force, police opens live pullet on the demonstrators, Wolkait Committee members are targeted by security forces, and having an interview with the injured people and the families of dead protestors.

For instance during an exclusive phone interview with VOA radio Journalist, Tsion Girma, one of the young man whose brother was killed by the police due to he wore a white t-shirt, was extremely upset and spoke emotionally by calling further revenge on his brother’s murderers . “I don’t know how I can express my deepest grief regarding to my brother death. He was really innocent and didn’t commit any crime,” he said. (8 August: 2016). The following examples of lead stories would explicitly show VOA radio’s an emotive or victim frame approach.

<p>“Dozens of peace protestors killed following by security forces crackdown” (VOA radio: 9 July 2016)</p> <p>“Violent weekend clashes between protesters and security forces have claimed the lives of more than a dozen people in Amhara region” (VOA radio: 9 July 2016)</p> <p>“More than ten killed in Amhara festival stampede” (VOA radio: 12 July 2016)</p>	<p>“Human Right Watch accused of Ethiopian government for its bloody crackdown on protestor” ((VOA radio: 9 September 2016)</p> <p>“Tens of thousands of people from Ethiopia’s ethnic Amhara group took part in an anti-government demonstration in the northern city of Gondar the largest such gathering yet in a string of recent protests” (VOA radio: 24 September 2016)</p>
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By giving emphasis on the emotive and human interest frame, VOA diagnosed the reason for the uprising and suggested the remedy to the problem of the protest that government should reconsider the issue of boundary and unfair economic distribution for Amhara people including poor infrastructures and social service.

Habitually, news framings involve selection and salience that define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies. In the following table the pervious identified were characterized.

Table 1: The Identified Frames of Characteristics

Identified Frames	Media Outlets	Frame Elements
The “Anti-peace and development forces frame”	EBC National Radio Service	<p>Problem definition: Illegal act carried out in collaboration with anti-peace forces to hold back the ongoing all-round peace, development and democracy of the country.</p> <p>Cause Diagnosis: The mayhem was orchestrated by the anti-peace forces to implement the disrupt instruction they have received from the foreign enemies of Ethiopia.</p> <p>Moral Judgment: The anti-peace and development forces, rent collectors, chauvinists, Nostalgias, gunslingers, oppressors, destructive forces and narrow nationalists.</p>

		<p>Remedy: The anti-peace forces’ attempt should be foiled by the joint participation of the peace loving people, government and the utmost efforts of the security forces.</p>
The “Good governance frame”	EBC National Radio Service	<p>Problem definition: Lack of good governance occurred in Amhara regional state.</p> <p>Cause Diagnosis: Anti-peace elements have hijacked the public’s quest for their destructive objective while the government is trying to reply the good governance questions.</p> <p>Moral Judgment: The violent groups committed crime on human life and damaged public properties</p> <p>Remedy: Government should consult with the public in order to address lack of good governance and maladministration.</p>
The “Unitary System Seekers Frame”	EBC National Radio Service	<p>Problem definition: Chauvinists were taking a different direction as they instigate turmoil in the name of unity.</p> <p>Cause Diagnosis: The chauvinists conspired to dismantle the federal system and hold power unconstitutionally.</p> <p>Moral judgment: chauvinists who made unholy marriage with narrow nationalists, rent collectors, and terrorist groups.</p> <p>Remedy: destabilizing efforts chauvinists narrow nationalists should be disqualified by the joint endeavors of the people and government</p>
The “Ethnic Tension Frame”	VOA	<p>Problem definition: Protestors held demonstration in Amhara region who feel to have been marginalized from the existed economic and political sphere</p> <p>Cause Diagnosis: The restoration of Wolkiat boundary district is the flash point alongside many social, economic and political marginalization</p> <p>Moral judgment: The protestors have claimed a legitimate question and reflected their grievances peacefully but security forces used excessive forces to attack them.</p> <p>Remedy: Readdressing or reassuring the social, economic and political interest of Amhara people in Ethiopia.</p>

Comparison of Frame approaches: There was an important difference between the two selected media outlets in terms of framing Amhara Uprising. In Framing of the Amhara Uprising the selected radio stations namely EBC national radio service and VOA Amharic radio constructed frames by using the news technical devices (leads, information and metaphorical devices). Based on the analyzed and the identified five frames, EBC radio unlike VOA fully applied the characteristics of the protest paradigm i.e marginalizing and demonizing the demonstrators and use cues to public opinions that condemn the action and demand of the protest groups.

On the contrary, VOA radio coverage of Amhara Uprising breaks from the protest paradigm by not relying solely on official sources and there was a detachment from a set of mainstream media routines (protest paradigm) to frame this Amhara social protest. The station used the legitimizing frame to show the government putting pressure on real grievance. This frame displayed that the protesters had legitimate reasons to protest but the government was trying to obstruct the protestors' criticism even if they were not seeking violence and the protest was peaceful. The stations had also significant differences in diagnosing the reason for Amhara uprising. While EBC radio employed the violent nature of protestors and lack of good governance consideration, VOA preferred instead the legitimate grievance of protestors and human rights frame.

4.2 Journalists' Engagement on the Uprising and Their Contribution

Journalists are professional people, trying to work within a code of professional ethics and they need to be fair to all parties involved in any news story. In addition to editorial direction from the media outlets they receive, reporters employ journalistic practices to describe certain frames and neglect others to produce media texts. However, journalists cannot operate in a vacuum, doing what they think is right without pressures being put on them. *Journalists face pressure from a variety of sources, all trying to make the journalist behave in a way which is not the way the journalist would choose.*

In order to know how the journalists frame the Amhara Uprising and what perspectives were employed in the news stories, news analysis and programs by the media practitioners, the researcher conducted an interview with five journalists from the selected media outlets. The questions brought to the interviewees were directly related to the news frame elements and their experiences to employ a balanced frame. Therefore, to understand which dominant frame they

employed when they produced and broadcasted the Amhara Uprising. Three important categories emerged from the journalists' responses including use of frame elements, editorial direction and major news sources during the protest.

After the end of the interview and get their consent, I asked my respondents whether they were willing to be quoted by name, or not. I have already got two interviewees' full consent to use their ideas with their names, but three of them wanted to remain anonymous. As a result, I decided to discuss all informants' ideas anonymously due to sensitivity of the issue.

4.2.1 Use of Frame Elements

Commonly, media product specially news framing define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies for the event. Following by this rational the respondents were asked in what way they employed this elements. Unlike VOA radio, EBC radio had reported a relatively large number of events on the Amhara Uprising which has enforced the researcher to have a concern with informants from this radio station. One of my interviewee who works as a reporter share his experiences how he framed the uprising. According to him, he defined the problem and frame Amhara Protest likewise the government have portrayed that it was illegal and the act of destructive forces.

As a reporter I was actively following Amhara Uprising and reporting it successively what happened in the region. Even if, I had no opportunities to witness the reality on the ground, I gathered news information about the incident from officials and report it what my sources (officials) said. In most of my story, I defined the problem as some people were disrupting the region and hindering who don't want to see Ethiopian peace and stability.

This shows that the interviewee employed the set of mainstream media routines that always enable to marginalize the social protests. But not relied on the journalistic professional standards and merits of balancing the report and working for objectivity. The other interviewee has totally different idea how he framed the uprising, defined the problem and understood the cause. In his opinion, the news reports of EBC radio including his work always broadcasted from propaganda perspective of the ruling party rather than the reality what happened during the Amhara Uprising.

I have personally witnessed that our works were influenced by government officials and favored the narrative of the government to cover Amhara Apprising. Efforts were not made our staff including me hold an interview with the protestors and know what was the real cause enforced them to protest.

4.2.2 Editorial and Officials Influences on Journalists

Several times alleged interference with journalists and other media actors was made by political actors. Government officials often put pressure on journalists to report things which are favorable to the government (even when they are not newsworthy) and they say not report things which are unfavorable to the government or the system. Similarly, media outlets have their own editorial policy emanated from their interest to frame any issue. This situation is really difficult to resist in the third world or developing countries like Ethiopia, where there may be little or no alternative to oppose government or leave job.

By supporting the above argument, the respondents from EBC radio believe that since radio station is pro-government media, where such pressures were existed to bear upon reporters and editors. They agreed ideally, any news organization should dismiss such conflicts, hostilities and threats, and judge each story only on its news merits. However, the interviewees there were external pressures on the news frames and perspectives to be broadcasted on the 2016 Amhara Uprising. Speaking on his practice, one of respondents shared his experience in this regard.

“During the time of the Amhara resistance, I was assigned to report the meeting which focused on good governance and peace following by instability in Amhara and Oromia Regional States. The participants came all societal level that allowed me to make interviews with them and to having diversified source. However, my story was rejected by the editor because of I included sources’ opinion about “Wolkiat” which was triggering factor for Amahara Uprising. After that incident, I always censor myself when I report such conflict and social movement by framing the issue based on the interest of government or report by considering my editor what he wants to.”

This interviewee’s experience shows that journalistic framing and perspective had less value to frame Amhara Uprising rather than employed the official perspective the majority source of information relied on government official.

However, my respondents from VOA radio had totally a different point of views regarding to exercising the real profession of journalism particularly they had editorial freedom to frame the Amhara Uprising by demonstrating the real cause of the protest.

Chapter Five

5. Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1 Summary

This study intended to identify how the pro-government radio station and an international radio broadcaster frame Amhara Uprising one of the popular political revolts that Ethiopia has seen almost in its three decades of history. Focusing on framing of Amhara Uprising by EBC radio (public-owned) and VOA radio (international broadcaster) from 8 July to 30 September 2016, the analysis reveals that several features of the protest paradigm. Among those characteristics of protest paradigm were analyzed i.e. demonizing and marginalizing protestors, emphasis on violence and disruption, delegitimizing of the protestors' voices, and invocation of negative comments from bystanders were more likely to appear. With this in mind, the selection and salience of framing including define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies were addressed how they employed in two outlets.

By using a pure qualitative method, a total of thirty radio programs and news stories were collected, which enabled the researcher extract five dominant frames through examination the collected data.

The "anti-peace and development Forces frame" which has been stated the first dominant frame abundantly employed by EBC national radio station. In this frame, the characteristic of protest paradigm was merely used in EBC through downplaying and mischaracterizing the protest groups in each and every single story. The radio used the de-legitimizing frame to define the demonstrators and accommodated the foreign influence and conspiracy frames which labeled the protestors' grievance as disarray was orchestrated jointly by the anti-peace forces and foreign enemies of Ethiopia.

Clearly, using these frames was an attempt to dehumanize and marginalize the protestors and favor the government frames. Moreover, the pro-government definition of the problem adhered to the protest paradigm. EBC also y relied on government officials' frames. According to (McLeod and Hertog, 1999), traditional media outlets (mainstream) marginalize and dehumanize protestors and usually rely on official frames. So EBC as a pro-government news outlet, it used this frame to remind citizens of property damage and life losing through characterizing the protestors as vandals.

On the other side, VOA radio employed an “Ethnic Tension Frame” which tried to demonstrate the real cause behind the Amhara Uprising and grievance emphasizing on Amharas people economic and political marginalization by the current system. Unlike EBC, radio VOA stressed on identity question of Wolkaiet Amhara people and recognized what the root cause of Amhara uprising that of Wolkiat question is the flash point beside many social, economic and political motives for this social protests in the region. In better way, VOA radio legitimized the protestors as “tens of thousands peaceful protestors in Gondar city” denounced what they see as putting Amhara people at a disadvantage and they claimed restoration of the historic border of Amhara.

By giving emphasis on sense of victimization, the radio station used verbal “Emotive Frame” about causalities during the protest including death and injury. This verbal emotive or victim frame was supported by the sound of victims’ family and slogans were used on the protest days which reflected victimization.

Moreover, VOA radio definition of the problem differed from that of EBC radio. While EBC a pro-government media defined the problem as turmoil and chaos instigated by anti-peace and development forces and relied on official frames, VOA radio station employed the boundary, identity question, economic, social and political marginalization to define the problem. VOA also called this social movement as an uprising which is a strong word to use because it refers to an uprising against the government. All in all, the data presentation indicated that the framing of Amhara Uprising was relatively less negative in VOA radio coverage when it compare with EBC radio. Therefore, the finding shows that not all kinds of mainstream media dismissed protestors as deviant and threatening actors.

5.2 Conclusion

This study has presented a broad-disciplinary perspective about protests and their coverage by mainstream media particularly, focused on how Amhara Uprising was framed by the public-owned and international broadcaster news media. The study, which offers insight into how the protests and protestors were portrayed, and what those portrayals mean for credibility of is particularly important and timely in Ethiopian context. Media’s portrayal of Amhara Uprising among the selected news media outlet was influenced and, in fact, restricted by the ideological,

editorial approach, institutional arrangements and practices of journalism.

Conceptualizing the media frames as the central idea of a news story and places protest and conflict being framed into perspective, is like a picture frame it presents a certain version of reality. However, the perspective of protest is not simply decided by the media outlet and journalists but its framing is struggled by political actors who seek an issue is represented based on their ideological interest. In many developing country like Ethiopia, mainstream media service as mouthpiece to political elites and them as a vital actors in building frames. The Amhara Uprising is a clear manifestation for this argument that EBC and VOA radio situation framed this political and social in line with their organizational and political influences.

The reason behind EBC radio that capitalized on the anti-peace and development forces is obvious due to the political system and organizational establishment enforced the outlet to favor the official frame despite journalistic merits. Rather than adequately explaining why there is a problem that has driven citizens to protest, EBC relied on the usual routine and formulaic reporting, like violence, and spectacle of the protests and reducing protesters' grievances. The radio has totally ignored protesters were fighting for democracy and economic equality.

This kind of news media framing approach which lacks balanced frames especially during conflict would be cause extra political crisis and disagreement by escalating the actions of marginalized groups. While media considered as the 'fourth state' and it strives to be independent voice of public, do not allow to serve personal, organizational and any group interest at the expense of public.

5.3 Recommendation

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher offers the following recommendations. Typically, mainstream media is still the dominant news source and play indispensable role to shape public opinion about events specifically in framing social protest. In social protest framing, exclusion of some perspective and inclusion of another fact is always witnessed by the mainstream media in order to some favor group interest or marginalize other group interest. Based on this fact, the study has indicated that the domestic radio station, EBC interpreted the Amhara Uprising and the protesters' view in a very extreme way and emphasized on the negative connotation of their grievances. This marginalized approach was demonstrated by

words and expressions such as “anti-peace and development forces,” “chauvinists,” “violence instigators” and among other downplaying terminologies were exclusively employed by the station. This tendency to follow a protest paradigm pattern of coverage could damage credibility by focusing too much on official perspectives and not enough on injustices the plight of protesters, and the reasons driving them into violent actions. On the contrary, VOA radio also selected the “Ethnic Tension and “Emotive/Victim” frames could lead to protectors for revenge and increase violence. In this regard, the following recommendations are suggested.

- Media should ignore the conventional reporting culture of protest paradigm which characterize protest groups as deviants by replacing constructive form of news coverage with multi-perspective farming approach
- Media should adhere to journalistic principles of objectivity and balance rather than consider the possibility of one-sided news reporting when it covers the conflict or social protests
- The implication the news media outlets must be remained neutral that that the media should restrain itself to undermine the protesters’ claims and perhaps even the government or other bodies
- The media personnel also follow the professional standards of journalism such as ‘objectivity’ when they compile and report conflicts and protests

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Appendix: I

In-depth I interview question provided for the five interviewees for the framing impact study.

The following questions are prepared for five people that would help the researcher to know the role of journalists and how did the work the news stories during the Amhara Uprising.

1. Where you part of part Amhara Uprising in reporting the event?
2. How did you frame the protest?
3. Who were the protestors to you?
4. Do you think their grievance was legitimate?
5. Who were your news stories' sources/officials or the protestors themselves?
6. How did you portray or characterize the protestors in your news stories?
7. Do you think the protestors were violent or peaceful?
8. Do think the protestors represented the whole grievances of the entire Amhara people?
How?
9. Do you believe the protestors were the masterminds of the anti-peace and development forces during the Amhara Uprising?
10. Did any external force have interest to influence your story during Amhara Uprising?
11. Did you censor yourself when you frame Amhara Uprising?
12. Was there editorial pressure from your organization or editor?

****There were more follow-up questions

Appendix: II

Identified themes or frames for categorizing data

The following are the identified themes/ frames after several deep listing and readings of all news stories and radio programs collected from the two radio station. These identified themes were very helpful for the researcher to categorize the large quantity of data (30 news stories and radio programs).

Anti-peace and Development Forces Frame

- Does the story characterize the protestor as deviant or members of certain disruptive elements?
- Do the news or radio programs portray the protest groups as hindrance Ethiopian development journey?
- Does the story emphasize on government and security forces that they are responsible for death and property distractions?
- Do the stories employed word and nouns to marginalize, demonize and delegitimize the protestors?

Good Governance Frame

- Do the stories and news program give good governance problem is the cause of Amhara Uprising?
- Do the stories and news programs rely on official sources for their stories concerning about good governance and excluded ethnic identity and the issue of boundary?
- Does the story show government policy is viable but it is a problem of implementation on the ground

Unitary System Seekers Frame

- Des the story contain derogatory terms like chauvinists, Nostalgia, oppressors, gunslinger and yearn of pervious government system to define the protestors?
- Des the story or radio program mention chauvinists who are working to replace unitary government system in Ethiopia?

Ethnic Tension Frame

- Does the news or radio program present Amhara Uprising as entire political and economic marginalization of Amhara people?
- Does the story mention the specific cause of Wolkaiet identity and boundary disputes with Amhara and Tigray regional state?
- Does the story contain leads or hardliners the unfair political establishment and the dominance of TPLF as claimed by protestors?

Emotive of Victims Frame

- Does the radio story contains emotive anecdotes and touching stories of protest or victims and their families sound beat
- Does the radio story contain human touching approach about police brutality and its excessive forces on the demonstrators?

Declaration

This Thesis is my original work and has not been presented in another department of the university or institution. All sources and materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Getenet Shenkute

This thesis is submitted for examination with my approval as an advisor of the candidate.

Dr. Mulatu Alemayehu

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