

ASSESSING THE PERCEPTION OF ONLINE MEDIA
USERS ON THE DEBATE OF THE RECENT
VIOLENCE IN ETHIOPIA (2015-2018); THE CASE OF
FACEBOOK AND ITS RELATION WITH VIOLENCE



Henok Tesfaye

**A Thesis Presented to the School of Journalism And Communication in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in
Journalism and Communication.**

June, 2018

Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Henok Tesfaye, entitled “Assessing the perception of online media users on the debates of the recent violence in Ethiopia (2015-2018); the case of Facebook and its relation with violence” and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

Examiner_____ Signature_____ Date_____

Examiner_____ Signature_____ Date_____

Advisor_____ Signature_____ Date_____

Chair of the Department or Graduate Coordinator

Abstract

Currently billions of people are sharing different contents on online media. As Facebook is one of the dominant social media tools throughout the world, millions of Ethiopians are also using it for various reasons including political issues. The objective of this research is to assess the perception of Facebook users on violence occurred in Ethiopia from 2015-2018. The violence here is to refer the nationwide riots that occurred in Ethiopia and that seems to last in May 2018. Triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods has been employed in this research. The qualitative data were collected from a Focused Group Discussion with seven prominent Facebook activists and some violence related Facebook posts by “Ethiopians”. 166 people have participated through questionnaires for quantitative data and survey responses were analyzed using frequency distribution and percentage analysis. Coding and analyzing of these data were carried out using SPSS version20 software. The result obtained from both FGD and questionnaire substantially shows Facebook has been at the center of the violence by creating a platform to exchange information related to violence. According to the Facebook users, the information was basically instructional and guiding messages on how to protest in an organized manner. Peoples on the research have witnessed that there is strong relation between what has been posted on Facebook and the type of violence on the ground (59.1%). Furthermore, the research shows there is strong level of consensus among online users that the role of Facebook for the consequent Political Change is immense by impacting the pace and space of the violence (65%). The study also indicated that Facebook can't be considered as the cause of the violence, rather it was the main tool for the intensification of the violence using as a catalyst for the riot.

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I am grateful to the God, for his unconditional love revealed in whole of my life. I would also like to forward my sincere thanks to my advisor, Teshager Siferaw (PhD), for his constructive comments and suggestions through the making of this research.

My gratitude to my wife, Kidist Solomon, is unique. Her encouragement has always been instrumental for my success, and she has always been source of inspiration.

Similarly, I would like to thank all the respondents who filled the questionnaires, and all my friends who helped me in coding process especially my classmate Yared and Abel.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Lists of Acronyms	vi
Chapter One.....	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	4
1.3 Significance of the Study	7
1.4 General objective.....	9
1.5 Specific objective	9
1.6 Research Questions	9
1.7 Scope of the Research.....	9
1.8 Organization of the Paper	10
Chapter Two.....	11
Review of Literature	11
2.1 Concept of Social Media.....	11
2.2 Social Media within the World of Politics	13
2.3. Media with respect to Mass Demonstration.....	15
2.4 Social Media as practiced by countries.....	18
2.5 Facebook Generation	20
2.6 Internet and Social Media in Ethiopia.....	20
2.7 Social Media theory	23
2.7.1 Social Media/Facebook and Agenda Setting Theory	23
2.7.2 Use and Gratification theory in Social Media	26
2.7.3 Theory of the Network Society	27
2.7.4 Technological Determinism Theory	29
2.8 Over View of the Recent (2015-2018) Violence in Ethiopia.....	31
2.9 Group of people attached to the violence	34
2.10 The Present Situation.....	35
Chapter Three	37
Methodology.....	37

3.1 Research Method.....	37
3.2 Research Design.....	37
3.3 Quantitative Research.....	39
3.4 Qualitative Research.....	39
3.5 Population and Sampling	40
3.6 Data Gathering Tool.....	43
3.6.1 The Questionnaire.....	43
3.6.2 Focused Group Discussion with Facebook activists.....	45
3.6.3 Textual Data.....	46
3.7 Validity	48
3.8 Methods of Data Presentation and Analysis.....	48
3.9 Ethical Considerations.....	49
CHAPTER FOUR	50
PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA	50
4.1. Introduction.....	50
4.2 Themes for Analysis of Data.....	50
4.3 Qualitative data/ Focused Group Discussion (FGD).....	51
4.3.1 Why Facebook is dominant social media in Ethiopia?	52
4.3.2 How Ethiopians are using Facebook?.....	54
4.3.3 What was the role of Facebook on the violence?.....	56
4.3.4 How would you characterize the violence without Facebook?.....	65
4.4 Quantitative Data Presentation and Discussion.....	66
4.4.1 Demographic Background	67
4.4.2 Trend of Social media usage in Ethiopia.....	69
4.4.3 The Relation between Violence and Facebook.....	75
Chapter Five	86
Conclusion.....	86
Reference.....	89
Appendix 1: Questioner	98
Questioner.....	98
Appendix 2 Questions for FGD; English	103
Appendix 3: FGD Amharic.....	104

Lists of Acronyms

ANDM: Amhara National Democratic Front

EBC: Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation

EC: Ethiopian Calendar

EPRDF: Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

ETC; Ethiopian Telecommunication Corporation

Ethiotelecom: EthioTelecom

FBC: Fana Broadcasting Corporate

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

HPR□ House of Peoples Representatives

ICT: Information Communication Technology

INSA: Information Network Security Agency

ITU: International Technology Unit

NGO: Non Governmental Organizations

OPDO: Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization

RVI: Rift Valley institution

SM: Social Media

SMN: Social Media Network

SMS: Short Message Service

UNECA: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHCR; The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

VPN: Virtual Private Network

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background

Communication is one of the major facets of civilization that helped shape the world as we know it. It has, throughout the ages, played a leading role in international politics, trade and normal day-to-day life of humankind. Human beings, in their quest to make communication faster, easier and more reliable, have consistently been inventing different communication media from simple stone tablets, print technology and radio, to television and now the Internet.

Today, thanks to the advancement of technology, the world has literally shrunk, bringing everyone closer: the phenomenon of globalization. This advancement has brought about considerable changes in almost every sphere of modern life in the 21st century. The Internet has become the dominant communication medium in the world today. Its variable applications have made it indispensable for performing a wide variety of tasks from shopping to carrying out sophisticated medical tasks and the like. The adoption rate of Internet technology exceeds by far that of all technologies developed before it. The Internet has impacted upon every sector, from health and education, to businesses and the personal lives of many humans (ITU, 2005).

Access to Internet and the right to expression go hand in hand. According to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, “one of the basic rights of human beings is access to information”. Now a day, the implementation of the above principle is made practical through the use of Internet more than any other technology. This is because the Internet eliminates the time and distance barrier between the disseminator and recipient of any type of information (UDHR Article 19, 1948).

Although many people believe digital technologies have a lot of positive contributions, a good many of them have their own suspicions. Those who have reservations are called, by media scholars, as skeptics and cyber-pessimists (Norris, 2001).

Since its introduction in 1997, the Internet in Ethiopia has been mainly accessed by the elite minority who reside in major cities. But in concerted efforts made by the Ethiopian government and some non-governmental organizations, this is now changing slowly through the provision of the Internet in the ubiquitous Internet cafes, public libraries, schools, government offices, homes and individuals cell phone.

Since the Internet has revolutionized the way most people in the world live, its reflection and extension has reached to Ethiopia because Ethiopia is part of the world communities. Internet service exists in the country even though it is completely monopolized by the only state owned telecom service provider, i.e., Ethio-Telecom. According to Ali (2011), the internet has become the integral part of our economic, political, and social life. It alters the way we purchase goods, the way we bank, and the way we communicate with one another.

Currently Internet broadband subscribers stand at 3.5 million. Until June 2015 the number of broadband Internet subscribers was 1.9 million. Mobile Internet data coverage has also reportedly grown from 8.5 million to 16.9 million users, while overall Internet data coverage is now at 3.3 percentages (Ethiotelecom, 2017). According to IT Web's report ethiotelecom is now the largest mobile operator in Africa in terms of subscriptions, with 57.34 million mobile subscribers in 2017 (IT Web, 2017).

Even if Ethiopians are slightly immersing in to the world of Internet since recently, the effect is already being felt by many. Social media mainly in terms of Facebook and Youtube have become sources of information in which people use for range of issues. It is common to see various ideas in every issue putting on table for discussion through the social media. Some people use the social media to express just ideas that cross their mind and some others use it in

group to create mob and chaos for their political agenda which ends by public demonstration and violence (Hale, 2012, p.135).

Public demonstration or violence is an old fashion in Ethiopia that the people use to express their anger against the wrong doings of the government. During the era of Emperor Haileselesie farmers of Tigray (1933), farmers of Bale (1935) and farmers of Gojjam (1955) have participated in uprising by opposing the land system of the government. University Students movement was another well-known uprising especially during Emperor Haileselesie and Derg Regime (Fiseha, 2014, p.35). The way the people used to communicate each other didn't incorporate technology for obvious reasons. Because of that the movements were much localized in space. And one uprising might not necessary link with the other one.

Ethiopia has also seen various uprisings during the current EPRDF regime. Among them the violence that occurred following the 2002 national election will never be forgotten in Ethiopian democratic history. One of the unique features of the violence was the involvement of media as a form of communication between the political parties and the people. The political debates in TV and Radio and the press freedom especially in the use of newspapers among opposition political party played a key role in shaping the violence in various ways.

After the 2002/03 violence, Ethiopia has been observing a massive uprising in many parts of the country ever since. The violence that started in the late 2015 and lasted for more than three years has its own another unique feature. The violence seems to have strong relation with social media in different forms. People used the online media as a discussion point on the political issues of the country. Various media outlet claim the political discussions on social media for the violence occurred in the country (Mohammed, 2018, p.5).

In the Arab spring that occurred just few years back and caused to be a means of political change, the role of Internet specifically social media was undeniable. The social media has been serving to gather the people of nation in to their common agenda and fight their government. The

result was multifaceted. For some it was very successful and for many it remains to be the source of social unrest until now (Philip, 2011).

Ethiopia is not an exception. For the last three years political unrest has been common in some parts of the country. Some questions are for political justification and some are ethnic based crisis. All the issues were primarily presented to the social media entertainers and people have got various ideas on the issue. Social media users have a range of debate over the relation between Facebook and the recent violence in Ethiopia. But it was always a question that what were the major debating issues among the Facebook users and what Facebook has played in the situation?

In this master thesis the researcher has tried to bring the answer about the perception of social media users specifically Facebook users over the recent Ethiopian unrest that started in late 2015.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The Internet and social media came with tremendous benefits to many people and countries around the world but also with some serious flaws. In fact, there is no nation in the world that is not dealing with the negative aspects of social media and the internet, including racism, sexism, messages of hate, propaganda of all sorts, fake news that inflame conflicts and disagreements, to name a few. Studies show that a significant percentage of content on social media is negative by its very nature (Argomaniz & Diez, 2014, p.93). In fact, just going through twitter or comment section of any news section could make one realize that hate is a predominant theme of social media content. People take advantage of hiding behind the computer screen, creating fake accounts to hide their true identity, and then writing destructive opinions. Some have clear agenda, be it is political, social or personal. Others are just mean and ill-informed people.

This endless negativity has its effects on real life, and it can alter the political and social landscape for many countries. Though there is little or no research on social media impact in Ethiopia, there are many examples that show its damaging aspects. In 2016, the fact that the

national exams were stolen and distributed online, many celebrated this as some sort of political win.

A wave of anger was triggered by a development scheme for Addis Ababa, which would have seen its boundaries extended into Oromia. Demonstrators saw it as a land grab that would force farmers off their land. The protests soon spread to the Amhara region in the north, where locals argued that decades-old federal boundaries had cut off many ethnic Amharas from the region. Almost 700 people have been killed during violence in Ethiopia since August 2016, a government-sponsored commission has said, bringing the total death toll since the unrest began in late 2015 to more than 900 (Yonas, 2017, April 22).

The nation declared six months of emergency rule in October 2016 after almost a year of anti-government violent protests in its Oromia, Amhara and SNNP regions. In March 2017 the measure was extended by four months amid reports of continuing violence in some remote areas. The emergency rule has incorporated limiting access for Internet specifically social media.

Following the unrest the government used shutting Internet access in order to calm the violence. According to The Atlantic's website, the number of nations who intentionally interfere with the digital world and shutdown of the Internet for variety of reasons is increasing. Countries like Bahrain, Iraq, India, Saudi Arabia, Cuba, Gabon, and of course Ethiopia, are well-known for surveillance and censorship, as well as total blackout of the Internet for reasons other than cyber-attacks or service issues (Darrel, 2011, p.44).

Further, during last year's political unrest in the country, while social media played a positive role in simply allowing people to communicate and unify for things they have in common, there was a tremendous and shocking amount of hate, insult and disrespect directed to specific groups. Sadly, social media seems to make anyone with a few followers on Facebook or Twitter an expert on some of the most critical aspects of society (Argomaniz & Diez, 2014, p.98). A misinformed opinion expressed by one becomes a fact worth defending by others. What makes

this trend terrifying is that Internet penetration in Ethiopia is very small, less than 10%, and that little amount has a significant impact on what goes on offline already. In a nation where there isn't a strong and credible traditional media, and where the academia and civil society are weak (basically incapable of disseminating good information on history, economy, politics, or any other thing for that matter), it becomes far easier to sway people one way or another through social media tools (Sileshie, 2014).

In the modern world, Internet is being used as a crucial means of communication. The communication could finally lean people in to something relevant to them and sometimes to the other way round. It has both power of unity and disintegration. For the country like Ethiopia – where there is diverse Ethnicity, culture, religion and economic status, using Internet widely could actually bring social unity. But all people might not use it responsibly. The government of Ethiopia has been closing the Internet service in different times with the assumption that it would be a danger to the 'national security'. It shows how much the social media is becoming a threat to the government. The last three years is the time that social media took the highest power to bring the people especially in the urban area together both for the good and for the bad (Sileshie, 2014). But which one is the dominant one; the bad or the good?

When we give it just a bird view to the contents entertained in recent time, issues related to violence against government and ethnic based hate texts take the dominant position among Ethiopian social media users. The types of violence suggested in the social media were also seen on the ground practically. In addition, it's almost common to see the texts that were posted on Facebook and YouTube, among people who created the violence on the ground. The people who write hate texts have tens of thousands of followers. In the name of activists, there are also many groups specifically created to facilitate mob against the government or shape the people toward racist thinking. To the extreme dozens of people have died following the violence in some parts of Ethiopia in 2016/17. There are also many people who transfer messages in the intention of unity for stability, tolerance, peace and social positive discussions. Governmental offices have been also using the social media to give information and calm the violence. But the

conclusion on what role the social media specifically Facebook, played in this situation is still in doubt.

Various researches have been done over the use of Internet and social media in different times. But researches specifically targets its value in causing violence does not get proper attention in Ethiopian perspective. Proper use of social media could bring social change for the better. Improper usage might bring a total destruction to the country just like what happened in some Arab countries. It would be vital to assess our trend of using the social media and take action to come to the better.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The impact of social media could be demonstrated in every discipline. As various researches indicated, the immergence of social media has conveyed a global impact on media, communication, human rights and sociology disciplines. However, of all disciplines, the impact of political debate on online media is enormous. This would be worth noting, especially, especially in developing countries like Ethiopia where freedom of expression is significantly suppressed.

Disturbed by the amount of online racism, bullying and hate and misinformation, UNESCO recently proposed citizen education program as one solution going forward. The fact that social media is new and that people are figuring it out as they go makes it basically a game without rules (UNESCO, 2017). The suggestion is that there should be some level of morality and ethics taught to people on social media use (UNESCO suggests this should be part of a curriculum and media content). In addition, it is also very critical to try to enforce such rules through different encouragement mechanisms and some legal framework for serious offences. Hate speeches, hacking and sharing classified information, and defamation of any sort are criminal offences, regardless of the medium.

Of course, what worried UNESCO should also be the matter of Ethiopia. By searching the contents of Facebook users' debate and other significant violent triggering news regarding the recent violence on Facebook, the paper tries to find out the contribution of Facebook on the violence and its implication for the country's political sphere.

There are very few research outputs on social media specifically Facebook and its relation with violence in Ethiopia. Therefore, by and large, the significance of conducting this study is that it will contribute to the very rarely studied area.

This research will help for any interested group to know updated information on what has been said on the social media about the violence of the 2015-2018. The study may also help Facebook activists to widen their knowledge about the relation between Facebook and influence of Facebook over violence.

The study would give the real picture of how online users, specifically Facebook users, were exchanging information related to the recent violence in the country. In addition, the debates among the users would have paramount importance in showing the perception of the users about how the violence was articulated in the country. Thus, different potential actors of the social media such as politicians, political parties, activists, and journalist would plan how to use Facebook for their activities in Ethiopia. In addition, it would indicate a hint to conduct further studies on the issue. Moreover; it will give imperative insight for other researchers to find out the relation between Facebook and Ethiopians in various parts of life.

Hence, governmental and nongovernmental organizations as well as policy makers would also base this study to plan how to set agenda on Facebook and utilize its potential in achieving their agenda.

1.4 General objective

The general objective of the study is to assess the perception of Facebook users on the debate of the recent violence in Ethiopia (2015-2018).

1.5 Specific objective

1. To find out how the political debates among Facebook users impacted the violence.
2. To find out the major debating issues of the recent violence by the Facebook users.
3. To find out the perception of Facebook users over the relation between Facebook and the violence on the ground as well as the consequent political change in the country

1.6 Research Questions

- What were the debating issues among Facebook users over the violence?
- How the political debate among Facebook users does impacted the violence?
- What is the perception of Facebook users over the relation between Facebook and the violence on the ground as well as the subsequent political change in the country?

1.7 Scope of the Research

This study makes its focus on assessing the perception of online media users on the debate of the recent violence in Ethiopia (2015-2018) with case study of Facebook. Hence it does not focus on other types of social media platforms. This study confines itself to the recent violence in Ethiopia which can make the researcher to give focus on this scope.

The target groups of the study were political activists on Facebook who are encircled the researchers Facebook timeline. Purposive sampling method was used to select the respondents

by checking their participation on social media specifically Facebook. So the representativeness of the research might be affected.

In regard to information gathering, it is difficult to get firsthand information from the people who get involved in the conflict with influence of information from the social media. Closer data are collected from the items posted on Facebook with the content of calling people for violent action and showing the effect on the ground just using focused group discussion with Facebook Activists.

According to data from Facebook website, there are more than 4 million Facebook users in Ethiopia. Incorporating these all people in one research is impossible due to economy and time issues. The researcher used feasible mechanism to get imperative data from the people who are around the researcher's Facebook address. 166 people are used in the questionnaire. Due to the confidentiality and inaccessibility of Facebook activists, only seven activists were included in the Focused Group Discussion. But all the people who were participated in this research have huge attachment with Facebook and were close to the issue of violence in Ethiopia. The experience they share in the research is believed to valuable in research arena.

1.8 Organization of the Paper

This thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter mainly deals with the background, statement of the problem, the research objectives, the research questions and limitations of the study. In the second chapter reviews of related literature relevant to the study has been made. The third chapter is where the methodology of the study is discussed in detail. The fourth chapter includes the findings and discussions. And finally, the fifth chapter concludes the thesis. In the next chapter, relevant literatures are discussed in detail.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Literature

2.1 Concept of Social Media

Users and scholars of Social Media (SM) may assert their own justification as to why these networks are labeled as social, but Zaidieh (2012) has introduced distinctive justifications claiming that it is labeled as social, because it allows users to communicate with friends and colleagues, strengthens the ties between large members of these networks in space of the Internet. Furthermore, Bala (2014; p.87) added that social networking sites in general were created for social interaction that it completely serves and to Zaidieh (2012; p.124) illustrated that SM is playing vital role in communication and interaction as people depend on these networks for communication.

SM is a difficult concept to define with a couple of words alone as diverse views are forwarded by different scholars (Safko, 2010, p.3). SM is individuals' activity and practice on media that enables sharing. This includes the cultural product and the relationship among the users. In defense of this, Howard and Parks (2012) define that social media consists of tools, contents and those that produce and consume the digital content.

As a result, social media is not merely application or social networks, but the interconnected entities that are to produce and consume and the related characteristics (Mandiberg, 2012, p.2). Therefore, social media is not about one way it is two ways the users produce something and they consume something as well.

Rybalko and Seltzer add that social media are offering various ways for the organizations to engage in dialogic communication with their publics. Also, organizations may use targeting as it seems that different online tools are used to reach different publics with different needs (Rybalko, 2012, p.421).

Therefore, social media is the best to create dialogue with friends and/or followers. The nature of communication in social media is feedback oriented (Vos, 2010) It is then understandable that (Vos, 2010, p.72) ponders on the challenge of communicating symmetrically considering the vast audience in social media. As (Kenta, 2002, p.221) have explored dialogue in several studies, they also suggest ways to incorporate dialogue in everyday public relations: the interpersonal, the mediated, and the organizational. In brief, the organization needs to have the personnel communicating with the public's "comfortable engaging in dialogue", mass mediated channels to nourish the interaction, and finally preparedness in terms of organizational mechanisms for facilitating dialogue. However, incorporating dialogue requires organizational commitment and realizing the value of relationship building (Kenta, 2002, p. 30-32).

The social media can be defined by the characteristics of participation, openness, conversation, community, and connectivity' (Hermida, 2010, p.311). These features or characteristics of social media show the powerful nature of the media over traditional media. They are incongruent with the networked society (global modern society) that is why they are mutating strongly. On the other hand, (Kanwar, 2012) stated five distinctive characteristics of social media.

Accessibility: - social media is easily accessible, takes no or low cost to use. It is easy to use and connect with others as well.

Speed:- the content once published will be visible to all connected communities. Not only publishing responses are not delay – they are near instantaneous as well.

Interactivity: - social media offers a two - way or more communication. Users interact with each other; ask questions, comments, share, offer the other version of viewpoints and others.

Longevity/Volatility:- owing to the nature of the medium, social media content remain accessible for a long time. It can be updated any time as well.

Reach: - should the tribute go to the internet; anything put on social media can reach anyone crossing social interaction of the yore limited by cut breaks. (Kanwar, 2012, p.270)

Communication mediums may share common features and characteristics in addition to its dissimilar characteristics and features like accessibility and openness. Among the fundamental characteristics that make Social Media dissimilar to other means of communication mediums is its interactive nature and enabling free access to different contents anytime, anywhere by the help of any digital devices like computer, laptop or smartphone (Bala, 2014, p.93).

Social Media is also highly accessible media in attracting enormous number of people as it enables both generation and consuming of contents, contrarily to other medium whereby people are only assumed to consume, not to generate (Brussee and Hekman, 2009,p.67).

From this, we can comprehend that people prefer to search for information by themselves using technological products like the Internet based information and communication mediums, instead of looking others to get information and advices, but this is quite appropriate when individuals are knowledgeable segments of the society with unimpeded Internet connection.

2.2 Social Media within the World of Politics

According to Safranek (2012), digital technologies influence the formation and activities of civil society groups. While mass popular protests are by no means a new phenomenon, digital tools are facilitating their formation. On January 17, 2001, during the impeachment trial of Philippine President Joseph Estrada, loyalists in the Philippine Congress voted to set aside key evidence against him. Less than two hours after the decision was announced, thousands of Filipinos, angry that their corrupt president might be let off the hook, converged on Epifanio de los Santos Avenue, a major crossroads in Manila. The protest was arranged by a text message reading, "Go

2 EDSA. Wearblk." The public's ability to coordinate such a massive and rapid response (close to seven million text messages) were sent that week so alarmed the country's legislators. Estrada's fate was sealed; by January 20, he was gone. The event marked the first time that social media had helped force out a national leader. Estrada himself blamed "the text-messaging generation" for his downfall (Safranek , 2012, p.27).

Now we are with social media that billions of people get President Trump's tweets within a short period of time. Of course, many scholars agree about the fact that Social media is changing the way we learn about the world. The Internet based communication networks are promoting freedom of speech. People are no longer passive readers, but rather engaging in news as a conversation at local, national and international stage. Local and global societies are instantly collaborating, contributing, interpreting and interacting (Barrie, 2011, p.55).

Social media also lowers traditional socio-economic barriers for commanding the spotlight. Politicians, regimes, and activists look to purposeful tap into the potential of SM. Since the rise of the Internet in the early 1990s, the world's networked population has grown from the low millions to the low billions. Over the same period, SM have become a fact for civil society worldwide, involving many actors – citizens, activists, nongovernmental organizations, telecommunications firms, software providers and governments (Shirky, p.201).

The Internet seemingly summons societies into virtual town hall meeting, where citizens openly question authority, discuss conspiracies and argue over social trends. A global union is asserted everyday online. Anyone connected to the Internet can attempt to understand public opinion, concerning nearly any issue (Barrie, 2011).

Trottier and Fuchs (2015) argue that SM are an arena in which power and counter power is taking place between SM, state and people in different forms of activism, riots, protests, crime and other up-ward movements. This makes the SM a space for multifaceted expression of politics. As a result, SM has become a place where struggle takes place either for transformation

of politics or national liberation. The new information infrastructures created by SM have brought political changes. Clay Shirky (2011) argues that social media has the power to create political opinions which in turn has an impact on politics. This is for the fact that, he argues, conversations on SM surpass access to information alone.

Ali (2011) has indicated that the story of social media in developing nations so far is one of individual empowerment. Social media not only connects deprived nations to the outside world, but also provide the power to shape the Internet in a way that is relevant to peoples' lives, the power to organize in scale, and the power to speak. These features make social media to be incredible tools that should be embraced by anyone with an eye towards development. Thus, policymakers and development organizations should consider the capacity of social media to attract a wide user base, stimulate content creation, and promote basic ICT skills, and foster participation and democratization in developing nations.

Generally, the innovation of these social networking sites and media has greatly assisted the public to engage on different activities in the world.

2.3. Media with respect to Mass Demonstration

Protests are inevitable incidences of human society. It would be a utopia to claim that there could be a country without a protest. Social movements often seek to draw attention to problems and issues they deem important organizing public demonstrations with the aim of attracting mass media coverage. Not only the protest need media, but vice versa. Vliegenthart and Walgrave (2012) explain the bond as follows, “movements need media more than other political actors to mobilize potential supporters, gain public support for their claims and, ultimately, political change. Media need movements since they stage newsworthy events, they ‘make news’ ” (p. 5).

Nevertheless; the interests of movement actors and journalists most often do not coincide. According to McLeod (2007), “Most protest groups operate with limited resources and have a difficult time securing public visibility, disseminating information, and exerting influence. A

peaceful protest is not likely to fit established news conventions for what makes a good news story” (p.76).

As such, protest groups often engage in activities that provide the kind of drama that garners media attention. Smith, et al. also claim that, “not all public demonstrations receives media attention” (2001, p.139). This is because the media often select and give emphasis for issues they think should be reported. Even, when protests succeed at obtaining the attention of mass media outlets, media reports portray protests in ways that may undermine the movement’s agendas. Journalists often focus on other things newsworthy.

For Shirky (2011), the communications landscape gets denser, more complex, and more participatory; the networked population is gaining greater access to information, more opportunities to engage in public speech, and an enhanced ability to undertake collective action.

Egyptian born columnist, Mona Eltahawy, (as cited in Barrie, 2011), writes about Middle East political affairs for international newspapers. She says social media platforms are giving a voice to the most marginalized groups in the region. On the other hand, Khoury (2011) argues that the Arab blogosphere arose because young people were frustrated with the restrictions imposed by the state-regulated boundaries of the Arab public sphere, which is closed off to most modes of free expression and joint citizen action (Khoury, 2011).

Similarly, Rensburg (2012) explained how the Internet and ICT have offered the opportunity for minorities in Africa and its potential to enhance democracy in sub-Saharan Africa. In many cases, ethnic minorities have as a result been largely excluded from political process due to lack of adequate communication channels. In many ways, ICT have redefined what we understand to be effective citizen and effective citizen participation, which are fundamental to a functioning democracy. Almost two billion Internet users worldwide with unlimited information at push of button now have alternative access points to the political realm through their computers and mobile phones. Many continue to believe that the solution for African problem lies in the

utilization of the Internet to stimulate and improve democracy. The Internet now provides a platform for communication and networking where traditional media have until now been limited (Rensburg, 2012, p232). Furthermore, Safranek (2012, p 9) stresses that the emergence of social media has offered the opportunity for marginalized group of people. This is particularly applicable to Arab countries where religion and ethnic divides previously prevented networking.

Many Arab regimes banned the creation of political parties and limited the right to associate or create civil rights groups. This meant that there was little space where religious, ethnic, and cultural groups could meet and interact. But social media has helped such groups discover one another and break the psychological barrier of fear between them (Safranek, 2012, p.9).

According to Rosenberg (cited in Safranek, 2012),

Facebook and Twitter have their place in social change, but real revolutions take place in the street. One of the biggest obstacles in using social media for political change is that people need close personal connections in order to get them to take action – especially if that action is risky and difficult. Social media always comes with a catch: It is designed to do the very thing that isn't particularly helpful in a high risk situation.

The revolution has taken place on the street while the Facebook and Twitter provide the platform to organize the demonstrations. The demonstration has become successful because in Egypt, the role of the unofficial trade unions in the protests has been downplayed - workers who participated in strikes, those bus drivers, factory workers, and Suez canal laborers, nurses and doctors, that finally broke President Hosni Mubarak (Safranek, 2012).

This is best elucidated by a protest paradigm; according to a protest paradigm, protests have two options: be ignored by the media, or resort to drama and risk that events might be used to delegitimize the group (McLeod, 2007). McLeod and Hertog (cited in McLeod 2007) identify that protest paradigm is characterized by news frames, reliance on official sources and official definitions, and the invocation of public opinion, delegitimization and demonization. Selective and over reporting of negative, although not false, news can affect the way we perceive a situation and, sometimes, an entire group of people. “By selectively reporting on the small percentage (in relation to the total number of demonstrators throughout the country) of those who are rioting and inciting violence and showing the same incidents repeatedly, the media portray a false narrative” Rahimi (2011) argues. Without a cognizant of this, we might come to think of what we see as an accurate depiction of the movement. This let people to have a distorted reality about the issue which will eventually affect the outcome of the movement.

2.4 Social Media as practiced by countries

We can see the relationship of governments with Social Media Networks in two folds; one with democratic and the second is with authoritarian or semi-authoritarian states. Recently, ISIS has proved itself adept at the use of SMNs which in turn ignite the states to work with online companies once they failed to counter it with the same propaganda. On the other hand, SMN companies have negotiated with states so as to curb the hyperactive use of SMNs by terrorist groups after a long debate with free speech advocates and nations (Berger, 2015).

Thereby, Social Media Networks companies are enacting new or reshuffling user’s terms of service and counterterrorism operations of nations are working intimately with these companies in suspending those users from online activities. Although there has been an effort to innovate SMNs of their own since the Arab spring, the terrorist groups failed to own rather they are running to other less popular SMNs. These clearly show that SMNs are becoming another battle fields.

Beside security issues, governments, politicians and government offices are highly joining on the use of SMNs to engage with their citizens, which makes it the new public way for deliberation and campaign. For example, Barack Obama excellently used SMNs during the 2008 election campaign. States use of SMNs for diplomacy, public relations and minimizing disaster is developing as well. (Mickoleit, 2014, p.7)

Many see the rise of SMNs as a merely a threat to authoritarian states. Mainly, efforts seen in Iran, Moldova, Georgia and the Arab uprising had to play more to come up with this conclusion. However, in Arab spring too SMNs didn't play a paramount role by themselves had there not been other factors like the presence of civil societies and vibrant media (Khondker, 2011). There must be, probably the prior one is, the motive of the people. In Egypt, the SMNs users showed trust and the change in attitude had brought political change in 18 days of revolution (Attia et al, 2011). Oppositely, others argue that SMNs had played a role of a catalyst (Danju et al, 2013) or central (Howard et al, 2011) role in the Arab spring. Whatever is the case, there is a role SMNs have to play.

On the other hand, the diffusion of digital media doesn't always proof increasing political deliberation among citizens as the government would use it for self-empowerment (Pearcel & Kendzior, 2012). Technologically savvy authoritarians would respond to political use of SMNs in several ways including blocking sites and censoring dissident voices. Additionally, there is no intricate relationship between SMNs and revolutions against authoritarians as they had been happening without them as well. However, Howard (2010) contends that there would no longer be a transition to democracy without digital technologies. Therefore, there is a role SMNs would enable to happen, but the mere existence of them would not be safe to take it for granted. The end product of ICT, mainly the phone, has a strong impact on political development in Sub-Saharan Africa, but this can _neither be certified as revolutionary, nor can they be codified as panacea (Alozie et al, 2011). As a result, SMNs can be seen as a device for freedom and an instrument for oppression as well.

2.5 Facebook Generation

Facebook was created in 2004 (Facebook , 2017) by a group of students at Harvard University and it has grown to be one of the most successful social media networks, as it is the most used social network almost all around the globe (Rubio, 2011, p. 49). Facebook is a simple, free of charge platform that allows users to “stay connected with friends and family, to discover what’s going on in the world, and to share and express what matters to them” (Facebook, 2017). It allows users to upload pictures, videos, send messages or like the publications of other users –amongst many other things.

As of January 2018, Facebook has registered 2.2 billion active users, (Statista.com, 2018).

These data evidence that the potential target audience amongst Facebook users can be massive. According to internetworldstats.com as of Dec, 2017 there are 4.5 million Facebook users in Ethiopia constituting 4.2% penetration rate (Internetworldstat report, 2018).

2.6 Internet and Social Media in Ethiopia

The use of the Internet in Ethiopia began in 1993 at UN Economic Commission for Africa. It is in the following year that medical School of Addis Ababa University had accessed the Internet with the help of US based NGO (Jensen and Sarrocco, 2002). This shows, from the onset, Internet was a luxurious service for the mass in Ethiopia as it used to improve communications among organizations. Even though the service was very limited it was not open for the wide use until 1997, a year Internet service began to be delivered by the then organization called Ethiopian Telecommunication Corporation (ETC). However, after two decades of service, the state of the Internet in Ethiopia still is one of the most undersized in the world despite the diplomatic hub of the nation. The use of the Internet is limited to cities and towns compared to the wide number of the country’s citizens live in the country side. Citizens are accessing the Internet via computers at

Internet cafes mainly based at Addis Ababa. Nevertheless, the year 2009 marked the use of the Internet via phones which increases users outside the capital. Mobile penetration is far greater in Ethiopia than Internet penetration which would have impact on the wide use of internet, probably, in the long run.

Reports show that, growing number of Sub-Saharan Africans have access to the Internet and SM; particularly through Smartphone and feature phones, however, increasingly used by youths and youngsters to get news and information (Balanced Act, 2014). Access to the Internet through mobile phones and the availability of Smartphone handsets fit for Internet access has increased usage of mobile Internet over the last five years in Ethiopia moving from none who used mobile phones for Internet access in 2007 to 10% in 2018 (Ethiotelecom, 2018).

Social media in Ethiopia is a recent phenomenon used by many people with the Internet access alike many areas of the world. In his M.A thesis titled Role of social media as an alternative political forum in Ethiopia, Tesfaye Alemayehu (2013) concludes that SM was providing an alternative platform for those who have access to freely discuss political issues that are not permitted to talk about in public media in Ethiopian context. Consequently, based on the above finding, one can claim that SM is used to discuss issues that are not covered in the government media could it be in Ethiopia or elsewhere.

Due to the long problems of the press, diffusion of technology and other factors, the people are looking for an alternative media. It is at this moment SMNs have come to serve as an alternative arena mainly for issues ignored mostly at conventional media. Sileshie (2014) argues, Facebook is serving as an alternative media platform to radio, newspaper and television as much contents of the platform are that overlooked on mainstream media. That is why in short period of time Ethiopian Facebook users reached more than Four million (Internetworldstat report, 2018).

As widely seen, issues critical to Ethiopian government are forwarded from abroad. Given access to the Internet is wide, the Ethiopian Diaspora are using social media as a source of information

on issues of their country (Feven, 2013). In addition, they are adept at using SMNs for the fact that freer political communication shackles back at home (Wax, 2012). In spite of that, for it is a new arena, Ethiopians are greatly joining the new sphere in order to have their say. They share information from one another, which makes the platform play the role of mainstream media in a converged manner, but not in real sense.

SMNs have come to be a communication space for critical masses of Ethiopia. It is there; from housemaids of Arab states to critical Diaspora of Ethiopia engage on a discussion with the emerging youth of the nation. Auspiciously, SMNs are serving both for who seek to discuss critical issues that matter to them most. As a result, the chance of politicizing citizens is wide.

Thus, SMNs empower the people in such a way it is bridging the digital divide too (Ali, 2011).

As a result of this, it is warranted to say SMNs are enhancing the political discourse culture of the society.

Facebook is serving as an alternative platform that enables civil discourse among citizens (Tesfaye, 2013), mainly, as the mainstream ones fail to do so owing to restrictive laws. As much of Ethiopian youth are at schools and are adept at using social media, they are highly joining the discourse, which in turn would have an impact on the political communication culture of the generation. Although, it seems far from happening, Gagliardone and Stremlau argue (2012) that the new generation is playing on the middle ground than exacerbating the polarized political ideology.

SMNs are the unused tools amongst communication strategist of public officials and institutions in Ethiopia. Except for few officials, probably finger counted who are active, the interactive communication spaces are not utilized to improve the public-government relationships (Abera, 2011). This would be cautious when seeing the unprecedented role SMNs are playing on wider social issues of the country in which they illuminate overlooked issues, thus pushes for a change.

2.7 Social Media theory

Even if most of us use SM every day it is not so evident what the concept really means. Kaplan and Haenlein define it as a “group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and allow the creation and exchange of user generated content” (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010, p. 61).

Therefore, we can argue that Social Media networks are a defining feature of Web 2.0 that enables user interaction at their platforms. There is no doubt that the advent and proliferation of social media has shaken up the world of communications and has allowed users to use them as means for social protest, create conflict or become ‘journalists’—through what is known as citizen journalism. The increasing relevance of social media poses a challenge for practitioners of public diplomacy (Boira, García, & Gómez, 2013, p. 78-79) because they give power to individual citizens and act as a platform where they can directly interact with government officials or other state actors.

Another important characteristic of social media is that the applications are generally free, which increases the opportunities for regular citizens to access them. Arguably, the fact that creating a social media account is free can be potentially problematic for governments and state agencies: they could ‘fall into the trap’ of having an account for the sake of having it. As many authors argue, if there is not a clearly defined objective and strategy for social media, then it might be better just not to have presence on the network (Boira, García, & Gómez, 2013; Rubio, 2011).

2.7.1 Social Media/Facebook and Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda setting theory was proposed in the early 1970s by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw to correct the popular perception that media effects are immediate reflections of media consumption. More exposure was thought to lead to greater effects. Agenda setting theory proposes the premise that exposure is not enough; media content needs to be made salient (significant) to the user before being processed and accepted.

Mass media agenda setting and the public agenda have important consequences for policy making and representational accountability. The policy agenda, or the “list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials . . . are paying some serious attention at any given time” (Kingdon 1984, P.3) is significantly influenced by the issues that the public perceives to be important. What the public believes is important is heavily influenced by media, which impart issue salience to the general public by choosing to cover certain stories over others (Iyengar and Kinder 1987).

Research also demonstrates that the more attention the mass media pay to an issue, the more the public will use that issue in their evaluation of political representatives (Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Krosnick and Kinder 1990). At a basic level, the mass media cover important issues that a responsible public should be aware of and use to evaluate representatives. As the mass media lose their grasp on the public agenda through increased selectivity and audience fragmentation, concerns continue to be raised about the distribution of political information among society, the issues the public perceives to be important, and the criteria to which the public holds their elected officials accountable.

A 2016 survey by the Pew Research Center found that 66 percent of Facebook users get news from the site and that 62 percent of these users are exposed to news incidentally while doing other things online (Gottfried and Shearer 2016). The majority of social media users log on to connect with their network, socialize, and share personal information; these users are not exhibiting what would commonly be viewed as “news seeking” or “politically interested” behaviors. However, when users open their Facebook or Twitter feeds, they are often exposed to news-quality information just the same.

While many would contend that social media are increasingly considered to be a primary source for news, the architecture of the Facebook platform, in particular, remains dedicated to social networking—though this may be changing. Recently, and critical to the study of mass media agenda setting through social media, Trilling, Tolochko, and Burscher (2017) demonstrated that there is considerable focus among the stories shared on Facebook when compared with other social media sites.

While some might expect Facebook to facilitate informational echo chambers as a function of the personal networks users assemble, the information shared on Facebook is actually quite diverse (Bakshy et al. 2012). Consequently, if people are exposed to incidental news through social media, and it appears that they are, then social media may convey political information to users and perhaps, therefore, have an agenda-setting effect that reflects the content of mass media.

Social media may not only enable incidental exposure to political information, but additionally provide a forum through which politically interested people can easily share information among a perhaps less-interested public. The digital sharing of political information, therefore, is similar to the two-step flow of communication that Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) described in the broadcast era: mass media produce information, opinion leaders share it by posting links on social media, and less attentive citizens enjoy low-cost information shared by the opinion leaders in their social networks. In this way, social media platforms may help to disseminate the mass media agenda to a broader audience through online opinion leaders and incidental exposure, just as in-person opinion leaders did before the Internet.

The role of opinion leaders in the dissemination of information through social media may facilitate agenda setting effects in particular. The psychological explanation for the transfer of issue salience from the media to the public agenda is determined by one's "need for orientation" (Matthes 2006), in this case, toward politics in general.

Incidental political information encountered through social media holds the potential to inform the uninterested and convey the mass media agenda in a novel way that supports the survival of the public agenda despite fragmented audiences. Bulkow, Urban, and Schweiger (2013, P.59) write that

. . . agenda-setting, as it originally was devised, homogenizes the public opinion by bringing in line the judgments of involved and uninvolved persons for issues, which are regarded as important by the media at a certain point in time. Thus, it widens the view of audience members beyond their personal life for problems in the society as a whole.

If social media are able to facilitate an agenda-setting effect, then users who encounter incidental political information will have different perceived issue salience compared with users who do not encounter political information. If social media do not have an agenda-setting effect, then there should be no difference in perceived issue salience between individuals who were exposed to information and those who were not. In addition, the agenda-setting effect should be most prominent among those who report having lower levels of political interest and, therefore, a higher need for orientation.

Using the ideas of Agenda Setting theory in this research is found to be very important as it tries to find out the online users' debate regarding the violence occurred from 2015-18 in Ethiopia. The majority of the political activists have made the agenda of opposing the government and setting the agenda of violence in the past four years. The specific debating issues highlighted in the research goes hand in hand with the agenda setting theory.

2.7.2 Use and Gratification theory in Social Media

Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch pioneered the Uses and Gratification Theory in 1974. But according to McQuail (2010), the theory could be traced from the early 1940's when researchers started investigating why people listen to popular radio programmes and why they read newspapers daily.

Therefore, the theory emerged in response to the needs of explanation to why people use certain media and the benefit they get from them. Mass communication researchers are using the Uses and Gratification Theory to examine, explain, and provide answers to why people use certain media and what benefits or gratifications they get after that. The basic assumption of this theory is that people use mass media for different reasons and seek to derive various gratifications (Gallion, 2010; Wimmer and Dominick, cited in Asemah, 2011).

However, the emergence of social media technologies changes the way people use mass media as they differ in forms and context. Therefore, people who use social networks and other computermediated communications are quite different from the mainstream media audiences who relied on specific media contents (Li, 2005).

Social media audiences have the advantage and freedom to actively seek for information and many messages that are of interest and benefit to them. New media technologies did not only

alter the way information is gathered and distributed but also changes the existing relationship between mass media and their audiences. Li (2005) stated that people use social media to satisfy their needs which include cognitive needs, affective needs, personal integrative needs, social integrative needs, tension release needs, and medium appeal needs. For this, social media become a fertile research field demonstrating the direct relevance of the Uses and Gratification Theory and its participants (Matei, 2010).

In this research also the participants have made to point out why they go online and how they expose themselves to the Internet with the best possible interpretation to facilitate a clearer understanding of the relation between Facebook users and violence.

2.7.3 Theory of the Network Society

A network society is a society of networked individuals. A society, whose social structure is made around networks activated by microelectronics-based, digitally processed information and communication technologies (Castells, 2009, p.24). This society is a new social form or social structure of a society which constituted itself on a new communication environment built around the communication networks called the Internet Galaxy (Castells, 2010), but this does not mean that the network is a new phenomenon. Castells argues that networks are not confined only to humans nor could they signify the twenty first century, rather there are networks where there is life. Therefore, a network is common to all living things.

The network society is a global society. It is not a new form of social interconnectedness but new forms of old process. It is technology, economy, social, cultural and political transformation that gave rise to new forms of society, the network society (Castells, 2010, p.176).

Therefore, technology is not the only driving force, but would not be possible without. This is due to the fact that there was also a network before the advent of the Internet but its emergence make things simple than it was. In his trilogy Castells contends that from the late 1960s to middle 1970s the cultural movements that came in response to democratic crisis, the revolution in the information and

technologies, and the economic catastrophe of capitalism and communism gave rise to the network society. All these independent processes combined caused not merely a new social structure called network society, but a new economy called global information economy and a new culture called real virtuality. In this information age, functions and processes are prepared on networks as they comprise the new social morphology of the modern society.

The network society is a society that goes further than information society and its value is an expression of power. The technological advancements reduced the time and space for social relations. And in turn brought a horizontal communication with networks than vertical social structure in traditional societies, which has long benefited those who are at the top, Castells argued. The network society is not a society of isolation rather a society of networked individualism. The network society better explains globalization and exclusion out of this network will result in marginality. The network is an interconnected nodes' on which power and counter power are taking place. This means networks take over other networks. And it is in this age that the new technological paradigm, informationalism, that replaced industrialism as a material basis of the modern society, mainly after 1970s. This came in to effect due to the advent of information technologies mainly created for communication and biological purposes. In this network knowledge, access to networks and information are vital for competition.

The culture of the network society is by and large influenced and shaped by the messages made by technologically linked networks which are the unit of modern society. Thus, Castells argues that this brought the end of mass audience and give rise to interactive communities. In such a way technologies are shaped by the users or by the society based on their interest. Networks become the most efficient organizational form as a result of three major features of networks that benefited from the new technological environment: flexibility, scalability, and survivability (Castells, 2004, p190).

Castells states that there are challenges to network society: freedom, exclusion from the networks, the literacy to surf the contents of the internet, the emergence of network enterprise, environmental degradation, and fear of technological consequences human creates. Therefore, humans have to fix all this challenges and regulate this technology until strong institutions are built than favoring the government or NGO, Castells argues. This is because even if humans don't care about networks the networks will care about humans because humans are living in the Internet galaxy.

2.7.4 Technological Determinism Theory

This theory contends that media technology, which is in a continuous modification, whenever there is new innovation, shapes how users in any society _think, feel, act and how they organize when they move from one technological era to another for instance, Tribal-Literate-Print-Electronic (Mcluhan, 1964, p.221).

In a determinist view, technology plays active and crucial role of its own and is seen as a leading mover of social phenomena. Innis believed that the _social, cultural, political and economic 'transformation of each historical era depends on the technology used for mass communication in that particular era.

This change could be achieved by the means of the information people get via technology based devices and in the basis of this, the medium is important to determine the message more than the content. This notion emerged from the central thought suggested by Mcluhan, as he claimed, the medium is the message. (Mcluhan, 1962, p.228)

When explained in detail, we learn, feel and think the way we do because of the messages we receive through the existing technology. The radio requires us to only listen and develop our sense of hearing, television involves both our hearing and visual senses and we then transfer

those developed senses into our everyday lives, thus we requisite to apply them again, that is why McLuhan explains this occurrences as technology is the extension of human sense.

McLuhan once asserts that the structure of media technology that led each era earlier and at present plays crucial role in the shaping of human experience since it functions as a 'driving force' in establishing human interaction and how to experience the realm.

According to McLuhan (1964), the medium changes on the basis of how we do things. It changes how we interact with information and thus, information must be modified to our new needs. The reasons to why McLuhan focuses on the 'medium' than its specific content is attributable to the fact that, the medium has distinct influences or powers to organize human relations and actions, therefore as new forms of medium arrives it brings about new form of interpersonal interaction, due to this, McLuhan has advised to focus on the medium than its specific contents since 60th of last century (McLuhan, 1964,p.312).

Furthermore, this theory suggests that society is shaped by its most dominant media. If we take and compare this notion with the current experience of media and users, we realize that people are shaped by the newly arrived media, say it cell phones, computers, social networking sites etc. So, this theory simply puts the notion that technology has important impacts on our lives (Adler, 2006, p.421).

Adler (2006), has noted that determinism is divide in to 'hard and soft', where hard determinists indicate that technology is the only essential driver of social change, McLuhan can be placed here. However soft determinists assert that technology is one of the important forces, but not the sole driver of social change. Besides, there are other views by anti-technology determinism, they also assume that technology is neutral, but its impacts basically stems from the way societies use it.

Mcluhan says that, all technology is communicational and that every single innovation is supplementary prospect for human being to go further through time. He assumed that irrespective of the degree difference, all mediums are —hot□ or —cold□ representing the level of user interactivity and participation in a given media.

In his explanation of hot media, Adler (2006,p.480) illustrate that it is very hot to the extent it forces people not to touch them, assisting that following hot media makes individuals passive audience. He argues that hot media engages one sense, it is linear and spoon feed, likewise under this category TV is ranked as to him.

Moreover, cooler medium consumers are able to influence the media through feedback and possibly participation unlike hot media users. Concisely, in hot media, audiences are not able to influence the media and its contents rather than simply receiving what is sent, whereas in the case of cold media, audiences are able to influence the media and its contents through feedback and perhaps requires participation and more sense (Adler, 2006). In a broader interpretation, hot media discloses features of traditional or mainstream media; whereas cold media echoes characteristics of new media (SM).

2.8 Over View of the Recent (2015-2018) Violence in Ethiopia

According to the columnist of Africacenter.org, Mohammed Ademo, under pressure, authorities shelved the urban master plan and made other cosmetic changes, including a cabinet reshuffle, which saw Tigrayans ceding control of the Foreign Ministry. But EPRDF leaders left popular demands for greater democratic rights, equal economic opportunities, and state autonomy virtually untouched.

Protests briefly subsided ahead of the May 2015 national elections, in which the EPRDF and its partners claimed 100 percent of the seats in Parliament. However, Oromo protests returned when authorities

attempted to forge ahead with the Addis Ababa expansion plan. A massive security dragnet ensued, leading to the deaths of even more people and the arrest of tens of thousands. By then, the initial opposition to the “land grab” and concerns over the dispossession of Oromo farmers from Addis Ababa had grown to include protesting historic Oromo marginalization, the lack of freedom and economic opportunities, and demanding the release of political prisoners (Mohammed, 2018, p.65).

Protests first broke out in opposition to the Addis Ababa Master Plan that saw the fast expanding federal capital encroach on lands administered by the Oromia regional state. That plan was dropped, but the demonstrations exposed some underlying issues and protests continued. According to a report by the Rift Valley Institute, “since at least 2014 there had been growing frustration at the federal government’s top-down developmentalism that bypassed Oromia self government, and at local Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization (OPDO) party officials benefitting from land deals”. The Amhara protests came later, the same report by RVI describes, originally in reaction to the alleged transfer of territories from Amhara federal state to Tigray.

Abbink, (2016) says Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM) politicians reportedly had sympathy with the initial protests, which they may also have seen as means of leveraging greater influence at the center, the report claims. Protests erupted again in Ethiopia on 5 August 2016 following calls by opposition groups.

Protesters demanded social and political reforms including an end to human rights abuses (including government killings of civilians, mass arrests, government land seizures, and political marginalization of opposition groups). The government shut down the Internet across the country for two days, fearing that was how the demonstrations were being organized. There is only one, state-controlled Internet service provider so this was fairly straightforward, Abbink describes.

He also said, the government responded by attacking as well as arresting protesters. In the three days leading up to 8 August, Reuters reported that at least 90 protesters had been shot and killed by Ethiopian security forces, marking the most violent crackdown against protesters in sub-Saharan Africa since at least 75 people were killed during protests in Ethiopia's Oromia Region in November and December 2015.

As Abbink explains it, “the mass protests of students, youth, the poor, and others started peacefully. There was no agenda of armed insurrection ‘fed by diaspora Ethiopians and foreigners,’ as the government likes to assert”. But early in September they turned into a full-blown revolt, notably in the northern Amhara region populated largely by Amharic-speaking people. “There were instances of communal violence against Tigrayan communities, as well as reports of armed banditry” (Abbink, 2016).

On October 2, the annual Oromo (Irreecha) cultural celebration in Bishoftu, 40 km south of Addis Ababa, descended into chaos, after protest groups took over the customary leaders’ stage chanting political slogans. “Security responded by firing tear gases creating a mass stampede in which there were 50 fatalities according to official statements; opposition groups claimed hundreds died” (Mohammed, 2018).

Following Bishoftu, Abbink says “locals attacked administrative offices, police stations, and army units (some members of which defected to their cause)”. It is reported that in some districts authorities have been chased out and local committees have taken over. According to RVI’s report, “both Oromia and Amhara regions saw well organized gangs attack and destroy foreign-owned or partylinked farms and factories. Special Forces sent to quell protests were also attacked”.

2.9 Group of people attached to the violence

The protestors were youthful. According to the RVI's report, the protesters were better educated and better connected to the outside world than previous generations. Smart phones are ubiquitous, and the government's shutting down of the Internet is seen to be deliberately targeting a means of internal mobilization. "Despite the accusation that hostile external forces are fuelling opposition from afar, including Ethiopian-diaspora based groups using satellite channels, which is at least partly true, the primary drivers remain internal" (RIV, 2016).

The US embassy released a statement regarding the protest, and it believes that though the vast majority of participants were exercising their right under Ethiopia's constitution to express their views, few of the protests may have been used as a vehicle for violence. The statement also recognized that Ethiopia faces real external threats such as Al-Shabaab, "a ruthless terrorist group based on the border. Individuals and groups outside Ethiopia, often backed by countries that have no respect for human rights themselves, sometimes recklessly call for violent change". However; the embassy argues that it is from within that Ethiopia faces the greatest challenges to its stability and unity. "When thousands of people, in dozens of locations, in multiple regions come out on the streets to ask for a bigger say in the decisions that affect their lives, this cannot be dismissed as the handiwork of external enemies" the statement claims.

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

2.10 The Present Situation

After 3 years of relentless protests, Ethiopia started 2018 with rare good news. On January 3, Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn and his party pledged to release political prisoners and shut down the notorious Maekelawi detention center in Addis Ababa (FBC News, Jan 2018). In a 3-hour-long press conference, leaders of the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) also took responsibility for the myriad of political challenges facing the country. The aim, EPRDF leaders said, was to foster national reconciliation and to widen democratic space. The announcement was roundly welcomed, including by a leery opposition, as a crucial step in the right direction (Mohammed, 2018, March10).

A series of mixed signals followed. More than 6,000 political prisoners, including key opposition figures, journalists, and leaders of the country's Muslim community, were released from prison. Not long after, on February 15, Hailemariam resigned saying he wanted to pave the way for reforms (EBC News, 2018, Feb 15). It appeared that Africa's second most populous nation was truly poised to turn a page on its repressive past. Not a day later, however, on February 16, authorities imposed a sweeping 6-month-long state of emergency. The decree was ratified by the EPRDF-controlled Parliament in a disputed vote on March 2.

Finally, after a thorough discussion, Ethiopia's ruling coalition appointed a top official from the protest-hit Oromia region as leader, as the government tries to quell unrest that's posed the biggest challenge to its rule in a quarter-century. On the 2nd of April, 2018 the House of People's Representative (HPR) appointed the newly elected Chairperson of EPRDF, Dr Abiy Ahmed, as Prime Minister of Ethiopia.

Abiy Ahmed (PhD), the newly elected chair of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) was sworn in as the country's Prime Minister today. The swearing in took place on April 2, 2018 at the House of People's Representatives in the presence of the outgoing prime minister, Hailemariam Dessalegn, who resigned from his post on February 15. In his address to the House, the Prime Minister Abiy asserted his

government's commitment for the full participation of the opposition in the country's democratization. He also called for all citizens to play their part in the country's development. The outgoing PM handed the incoming Prime Minister the country's flag and constitution. (Yonas, 2018, April 2)

The Ethiopian Facebook population accepted the news very positively. And many of them considered the change to be the three years violent protest all over the nation. While EBC was broadcasting the live transmission on its official Facebook address, more than 13 thousand people were following it live (<https://www.Facebook.com/ebc1news/>). Many of the comments under the live transmission were best wishes. In the side line, a significant number of people have given the credit to the violent movement under the name of "Qero" and famous Oromo Social Media activist Jawar mohammed.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

3.1 Research Method

A triangulation of qualitative and quantitative research methods were used to carry out this study. In the case of sequencing, the qualitative and quantitative methods are employed in different phases of the research process. According to Fielding and Fielding (1986:45), the most common example would be a quantitative phase of data collection which is followed by a phase of a qualitative data analysis.

The quantitative research has allowed an examination of how Facebook users conceptualize the recent violence on Ethiopia. Data from the quantitative data was used to examine the debating issues among Facebook users over the violence and how the political debate among Facebook users does impacted the violence.

In addition, the qualitative data was used for complementing what the questionnaire could not extract and as a mechanism of discussing the issue more thoroughly.

In this chapter brief clarification of research methodology, techniques, sampling, sample size, population and participants as well as data collection tools are established. Moreover, further description and illustration was given on how each data gathering tool was applied.

3.2 Research Design

A research design is a basic plan that guides the data collection and analysis phases of the research project. It provides the framework that specifies the type of information to be collected, its sources and collection procedure (Churchill & Iacobucci, 2005, p.360?) define research design: “it is the blueprint that is followed to complete the study” and it “ensures that the study is relevant to the problem and will use economical procedure”.

The objective of this research is to assess the perception of online media users on the debate of the recent violence in Ethiopia (2015-2018); with the case study of Facebook and its relation

with violence. With a central objective of the research in mind, the researcher applied a triangulation method of research on the basis of its relevance to the study.

The use of both qualitative and quantitative methods is referred to as triangulation. According to McNeill & Steve (2005, p.23) “triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods to cross-check and verify the reliability of a particular research and the validity of the data collected”. For many, the gulf between qualitative and quantitative research methods might be wide and very deep and there are also scholars who say their similarities are broader than their difference. However, using both of them is very important to check the accuracy of the data gathered by each method.

Based on the triangulation logic both qualitative and quantitative approaches can be used together. The findings from one type of study can be checked against the findings deriving from the other type. For example the results of a qualitative investigation might be checked against a quantitative study.

Quantitative research consists of those studies in which the data concerned can be analyzed in terms of numbers ... Research can also be qualitative, that is, it can describe events, persons and so forth scientifically without the use of numerical data ... Quantitative research is based more directly on its original plans and its results are more readily analyzed and interpreted. Qualitative research is more open and responsive to its subject. Both types of research are valid and useful. They are not mutually exclusive. It is possible for a single investigation to use both methods. (Best and Khan, 1989, p.89-90)

In our research also a triangulation of both qualitative and quantitative approaches used to attain the objective of the study. Quantitative research is important to assess the perception of large number of Facebook users regarding the recent violence. Qualitative approach is used here to get in depth insight about the issue from prominent people i.e Facebook activists. The triangulation was used in the form of a descriptive design involving content analysis, FGD, and Questionnaire. The approaches helped the study of finding the perception of online media user's debate on the

recent violence in Ethiopia (2015-2018). By concentrating on Facebook users detail information was obtained from active Facebook users about the relation between social media and violence.

3.3 Quantitative Research

The quantitative research refers to approaches to empirical inquiry that collect, analyze, and display data in numerical rather than narrative form (Given, 2008, p.201). It involves survey, content analysis, experimental studies and non-experimental studies. The main data for the present study however, was gathered using the survey questionnaire method. Survey is a research design in quantitative research. It is a method used by social scientists to empirically and scientifically study and provide information about people and social phenomena (Lavrakas, 2008, p.23).

For that reason, questionnaire, the main instrument to collect data in survey research, was used by the researcher in this study to collect the Perception of Facebook users regarding the debates of the recent violence from 2015 – 2018 in Ethiopia. A self-administered questionnaire has been selected as the primary research design of this study. It is conducted among purposively selected Ethiopian Facebook users who are connected to the researchers Facebook address circle. The questionnaire with mostly close ended questions is designed and distributed electronically through Facebook in April 2018.

Among the 200+ survey questionnaires distributed to Facebook users using the researcher's Facebook address, 166 of them were completed and returned. The respondents who receive the questioner through Facebook were also asked to give the questioner to their Facebook friends. Therefore, the response rate is less than 66.4% which is low but expected. Studies indicate that the electronical distribution of questioner is not an effective way. There is no way that the researcher knows in what condition the respondents are. Not only that they might not even see the questioner because of different reasons.

3.4 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is an interpretive research in which the researcher has a direct contact with the participants. Constructivism or interpretivism is a perspective always seen towards

qualitative research approach. Qualitative is an approach for understanding the meaning and views individuals or groups ascribe to human or social problems, whereas quantitative research is an approach for testing theories by examining the relationship among variables (Creswell, 2014, p.58).

In contrast to other designs, he argues that the qualitative approach includes comments by the researcher about their role, and the specific type of qualitative strategy being used. In this type of research the researcher is the key instrument. The qualitative method includes observation, interview, focus groups, ethnographic study and others.

As a result, this study employed Focused Group Discussion in collaboration with posts of Facebook texts and pictures for the clarity of the discussion. The posts are categorized in the form of questions raised in the discussion. A specific tools of data collection employed under qualitative approach of this research is explained in detail under the subtitle application of data collection instruments.

3.5 Population and Sampling

Samples are very important in research because it is not feasible for a researcher to study the whole population. In other words, samples are preferable because they are cheap and quicker. Generally, there are two types of sampling strategies. One is random or probability sampling where each unit or subject has equal chance of being selected as a sample for the study. The second type is called non random or non probability sampling which means the researcher does not follow mathematical guidelines like the first but other methods.

While Probabilistic sampling includes simple random sampling, stratified random sampling and, cluster sampling but the most widely used method of non-probabilistic sampling is quota sampling and purposive sampling (Berg, 2011, p.133). Mass media researchers prefer to use probability sampling in the form of purposive sampling (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p.231). This study also applied purposive or judgmental sampling because it gives a chance for the researcher to apply his/her expertise knowledge to select samples which he/she thinks represent the population (Berg, 2011, p.71).

In other words, under a non-probability sampling the organizers of the inquiry purposively choose a few out of the many but ensure that they are typically representative of the whole (Kothari, 2004). In non-probability sampling, also known as non-random sampling, participants are selected based on characteristics they possess or their availability to participate. Therefore, each population member is not equally likely to be selected to participate (Vanderstoep and Johnston, 2009). According to Given (2008), to say one will engage in purposive sampling signifies that one sees sampling as a series of strategic choices about with whom, where, and how one does one's research. This statement implies that the way that researchers sample must be tied to their objectives.

In this study, therefore, participants were selected based on their characteristics and their engagement on online activism; and it was based on the political debates and discussions they made on Facebook.

The subjects of this study are Ethiopian Facebook users and contents they share amongst their chain. Ethiopian Facebook users include all users who are registered under the Ethiopian nationality on Facebook. The people could be living in Ethiopia or outside. The Facebook users under the study are those who are connected to the researchers Facebook friends. The number of the researcher's Facebook users is currently 1650. From them 200 people are selected purposely for the sake of questioner and 166 of them were able to respond effectively. These people have required having a minimum of 500 friends. This is to be sure of their wide connectedness and level of activity. As per the trend of Facebook, the number of friends and followers increased depending on level of participation. And a person who has 50 Facebook friends has a probability to know what is happening at least in his nation (Backstrom, 2011, p.10). In this manner, participants of this research have an average of 1000 friends which is more than enough to reflect on the major happenings in the country. So representativeness of the sample cannot be compromised.

To further elaborate this issue, according to Facebook's anatomy even one person's post could reach millions of people because of the nature of social media interconnectedness (Backstrom, 2011, p.11). The justification for this is there are two main ways for information to diffuse/spread on Facebook. First, someone can "like" or comment on a post. Then the post is (at

least most of the time) visible for everybody who is “friends” with that individual. The second main way is how several individuals can share a post. Consequently, although Facebook is a semipublic Social Media in the sense that users can choose to let only their “friends” see what they do or post, through “likes,” “commenting,” and “sharing posts” makes the potential audience of any message much faster than the size of the initial network.

When it comes to Facebook activists, the number of people they address even gets larger. That means, if politician or activist posts something on Facebook, the number of individuals exposed to this post depends on the activity of his or her followers. Moreover, these activists are likely to be connected to other activists. If these activists comment, like, or share the post, the potential audience for the message is enormous, and can lead to network effects like information cascades (Easley & Kleinberg, 2010; Velasques 2012). This means if somebody posts something, and his friends share it, and all of their friends share it, and all of the friends of their friends share it, then his post could statistically reach at least everybody on Facebook in his country (Easley & Kleinberg, 2010).

So, the number of Facebook users incorporated in the study could be said that they can reflect the major debates on Facebook regarding the recent violence and the subsequent political change followed in the country.

In the same manner, one FGD was conducted with seven Facebook activists. The participants were demanded to have at least three thousand friends. These people are assumed to share their experience of sharing messages on Facebook and the possible impact their posts created in the country.

3.6 Data Gathering Tool

From the onset the use of research tools depends much on the basic research questions and the paradigm the study falls into. This is due to the fact that the tools for gathering data are important if to answer the questions raised in the study. Hence, data was collected by using research instruments. These tools use to feed the research with data's in such a way enhances the data presentation and analysis.

There are two types of data: primary and secondary. The primary data is a data that is original and produced by/for the researcher and the secondary data is the data other researchers have found ahead of the researcher. In research there are several methods of data collection and the method for primary and secondary data are different. Kothari (2004, p.39) contends that especially in surveys and descriptive researches the important methods of data collection for primary data includes: observation, interview, questionnaires, Focused Group Discussion and others.

Therefore, in this study, research instruments are questionnaire, Focused Group Discussion and Facebook Text Analysis. Independently, these instruments of the research will be discussed next in detail.

3.6.1 The Questionnaire

It is the most commonly used research instrument in quantitative research. Also, it is one of the shortest or quickest ways of gathering a lot of data from many people. For this to happen, simplicity always matters in designing the questionnaire. Davies and Mosdell (2006, p. 80) argue that the quality of those data depends a great deal on: the clarity with which the researcher have formulated the research question

- the extent to which the questions in the questionnaire are related to the research question
- the wording of the questions and their comprehensibility to the people answering
- the extent to which the researcher prompt desired answers in the respondents by asking leading questions

In this study, the researcher used questionnaire that has an element of both close and open-ended questions. As explained earlier, it was necessary to administer questionnaires due to the fact that the nature of this study by itself requests the assessments of multiple Facebook users. The researcher has used descriptive approach for the explanations of the result. Descriptive research can be either quantitative or qualitative. It can involve collections of quantitative information that can be tabulated along a continuum in numerical form, such as scores on a test or the number of times a person chooses to use a-certain feature of a multimedia program, or it can describe categories of information such as gender or patterns of interaction when using technology in a group situation.

Descriptive research involves gathering data that describe events and then organizes, tabulates, depicts, and describes the data collection (Glass & Hopkins, 1984, p.179). It often uses visual aids such as graphs and charts to aid the reader in understanding the data distribution. Because the human mind cannot extract the full import of a large mass of raw data, descriptive statistics are very important in reducing the data to manageable form. When in-depth, narrative descriptions of small numbers of cases are involved, the research uses description as a tool to organize data into patterns that emerge during analysis. Those patterns aid the mind in comprehending a qualitative study and its implications (Borg & Gall, 1989, p.287)

The survey questionnaire is distributed in an electronically method through Facebook so as to get better understanding about the perception of Facebook users' on the debate over the recent violence.

The researcher looked-for a numerical percentage in order to indicate the understanding of the respondents. The researcher distributed 200 purposely selected Facebook users and 166 of them were returned.

A descriptive survey attempts to describe or document current conditions or attitudes that is, to explain what exists at the moment“(Wimmer & Dominick, 2011, p.185). What is more, the questionnaire is effective when used with other methods, especially FGD.

3.6.2 Focused Group Discussion with Facebook activists

By activists, the researcher implies those who are well known by Social Media users for disseminating social and political issues in the country. They were selected on account of being more active users on Facebook in providing information of different types.

It is noted that, the more people are active in doing certain thing (like providing fans and other users with educational, informational and entertainment items online), the more they are appreciated and many users would be eager to add them as a friend to follow on the daily basis. This is due to the fact that they won the heart of their followers by providing them with interesting information, immaterial of its nature.

In this research, activists are those who carry out political agendas for users of SM Cambridge Dictionary define Activist as “a person who believes strongly in political or social change and takes part in activities such as public protests to try to make this happen using various method including social media”. They were seen using online forums with a purpose of informing others about happenings in the local and national affairs regarding politics. These kinds of people become more popular to the point ordinary people would consider them as opinion leaders’ (Backstrom, 2011, p.19).

The case with participants selected for this study was also the same. One of the signs that determine the popularity of particular users than others is that enormous folks follow them, like and comment to their status whenever it appears. Likewise, these categories of people are permanently posting and sharing as many times as possible.

To this point seven activists have seated for Focused Group Discussion to expose the information they have regarding the role of Facebook in violence in Ethiopia.

The Focus Group Discussion involved seven selected active Facebook users who have more than three thousand friends. They were selected based on their active participation on Facebook. In addition efforts have been made to assess the content of their posts for the selection. The participants could be categorized in to two parts; 1 Facebook activists who write Ethnic based content and 2 Facebook activists who write nation based content. In these categories four of the participants were Ethnic based writers; from Amhara, Oromo, Tigray and SNNPS. And the three

of them were writers based on national feeling. The researcher believed that accommodating such participants would give wide perspective about the role of Facebook on the Violence. In fact More than 20 active Facebook activists were asked to join the FGD through Facebook message inbox system. Most of them were not able to attend because of either willingness or for the fact that they were not in Addis Ababa at the time. Few were also rejected by the researcher to keep the balance of the FGD (not to have many activist from one ethnic group).

The FGD was conducted on the 24th of April 2018 at 6killo Dibab Café and Restaurant from 12:30 pm till 2:30 pm. It was used to get the views of respondents on questions designed based on the objectives of the study emphasizing on the areas that the questionnaire didn't address well. The special population analyzed in this Focus Group Discussion allows testing about the experience of the Facebook activists regarding creating riots through Facebook . The researcher acted as a moderator during the discussions but refrained from giving out comments. The seven participants name is not used directly for the purpose of confidentiality. Code has been given in the Form of Discussant 1, Discussant 2... and Discussant 7. The order of the discussants is made based on the time of their appearance to the discussion place. Responses which were found to be consistent and relevant were presented and analyzed. In line with the participants posts from Facebook have been added to emphasize the issue and give the researcher's observation. Though it was intended to finish within one and half hours, the discussion lasted for nearly two half hours.

3.6.3 Textual Data

Textual analysis is a qualitative method that involves a careful reading of documents of various kinds including media texts. For Frey, Botan, Friedman & kreps (1991 as cited in Morris, p.163), textual analysis is a method used in communication studies “to describe, interpret, and evaluate the characteristics of a recorded message”. It is again a useful method to examine and interpret interviews, observation protocols, and other empirical data. In connection with this (Larsen, 1991 p.133) wrote “The insights of textual studies may help to remind other qualitative researchers that while data sets hold information, they are, first and foremost, texts which must be analyzed

and interpreted to yield that information Using a blend of content analysis and textual analysis is very important for this research. While content analysis helps the researchers to show the frequencies of relevant categories, the references to qualitative part shows how the researcher examines ideological mind-sets, themes, topics, symbols and similar phenomena while grounding such examination to the data (Berg, 2011).

To do this, first major political events that have been occurred in Ethiopia from 2015 – 2018 were selected. The events are mainly violence based. Facebook posts related to those events are taken from prominent Facebook users. The posts are systematically chosen by the content they hold and the number of people who have visited them and also share. To make it more specific, the Textual messages needs to be instructions for violence and news concerning the protest. In addition hate speeches that leads to violence are also selected for the study. Then the messages are analyzed and interpreted in a descriptive method in combination with the Focused Group Discussion.

According to Berg (2011), a safe rule here is to include at least three independent examples for each interpretation. He wrote

By reporting the frequency with which a given concept appears in text, researchers suggest the magnitude of this observation. It is more convincing for their arguments when researchers demonstrate the appearance of a claimed observation in some large proportion of the material under study (e.g., 20 percent, 30 percent, 40 percent and so on) (Berg, 2011, p.243).

The important reason for including this method in this study is its relevance in providing quotes that document or support the posts.

3.7 Validity

In many important respects, judgments about the credibility of sample findings are critical. According to Deacon et al (1999:103), credence to particular statistical findings has to be rooted initially in an evaluation of the research procedures to estimate the likelihood that apparent relationships revealed between variables in a sample are likely to exist in the population as a whole (hypothesis testing).

The classical approach presented by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:190) is one seeking convergence or confirmation of results across different methods by triangulation.

What is involved in triangulation is not the combination of different kinds of data per se, but rather an attempt to relate different sorts of data in such a way as to counteract various possible threats to the validity of (their) analysis (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 199).

To check the validity of the questionnaire pilot survey has been done by distributing 20 questionnaires for active Facebook users. Depend on the result one question was totally eliminated and three sentences were corrected for more clarity.

In effect, the researcher has conducted three approaches of questionnaire, FGD and Facebook Text analysis with the hope of arriving at the same conclusions. Triangulation has therefore been seen as a way of ensuring comprehensiveness and encouraging a more reflexive analysis of the data than as a pure test of validity.

3.8 Methods of Data Presentation and Analysis

It is mentioned that the study employed the triangulation of both research methods (qualitative and quantitative). Since the methods of data collection are different, the data obtained within these methods are analyzed accordingly. The ideas of the FGD with activists were transcribed and quoted with great care. So the analysis is presented both in a form of numerical and interpretation. The data that was collected through questionnaire has been analyzed by using

descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics is a way to condense and organize data in a meaningful way in such a way it would be easier for interpretation (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011). As a result, percentage, numbers and statistics are used. Additionally, the research questions are answered while analyzing and presenting the collected data with the help of words, tables, studies with the support of theories as well.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

At this time humanity and ethical considerations are placed at the higher stage and researchers' also must deal with ethical issues when their intended research involves human beings. For this research concerned first of the content of the questions on the questionnaire, FGD and Interviews will be checked and get authentication by the concerned body of Graduate School of Journalism and Communication of Addis Ababa University. As the respondents of the questionnaire are not belongs to any institution, there will not be any written letter for specific organization. But official letter from the department will be shown to the participants directly.

In addition, before consent is sought the researcher will give details of the nature and purpose of the research, the potential subjects, who will have access to the data and the proposed outcome of the research. Completion of the questionnaire by participants will be taken as their giving consent to participate in the study.

The self-administered questionnaires can potentially protect the anonymity and privacy of the respondents contributing to the confidentiality of the responses. To ensure that confidentiality is truly protected the questionnaires are not designed to state names.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1. Introduction

The key objectives of this study have been to investigate the perception the Facebook users' debate on the recent violence in Ethiopia (2015-2018). It also assesses Facebook and its relation between violence. Thus, the study tries to explore in detail the trend of Ethiopians Facebook users regarding initiating violence. In other word, to examine the perception of Ethiopian Facebook users on the debating issues of the violence.

To find out the impact of Facebook on the occurrence of the violence, link between Facebook messages and the type of violence on the ground, the impact it is plying to change the political sphere of the country and study people's overall interaction with social Media has been made. The interpretation, analysis and discussion of the relevant data are rooted in the objectives of the study, and informed by the theoretical considerations and literature review in the preceding Chapter.

The chapter presents the findings from the interviews and focus group discussions in a form of narration with direct quotations taken from respondents along with the researcher's observation and other supporting literature as follows.

4.2 Themes for Analysis of Data

Due to the qualitative nature of the methodology employed in the study, the focused group discussion findings are going to be presented and discussed concurrently. The thematic

categorization of data employed for the presentation is focused on three major concerns of the research questions which are

- What were the debating issues among Facebook users over the violence?
- How the political debate among Facebook users does impacted the violence?
- What is the perception of Facebook users over the relation between Facebook and the violence on the ground as well as the subsequent political change in the country?

4.3 Qualitative data/ Focused Group Discussion (FGD)

The Focus Group Discussion involved seven selected active Facebook users who have more than three thousand friends. They were selected based on their active participation on Facebook. In addition efforts have been made to assess the content of their posts for the selection. The participants could be categorized in to two parts; 1 Facebook activists who write Ethnic based content and 2 Facebook activists who write nation based content. In these categories four of the participants were Ethnic based writers; from Amhara, Oromo, Tigray and SNNPS. And the three of them were writers based on national feeling. The researcher believed that accommodating such participants would give wide perspective about the role of Facebook on the Violence. In fact More than 20 active Facebook activists were asked to join the FGD through Facebook message inbox system. Most of them were not able to attend because of either willingness or for the fact that they were not in Addis Ababa at the time. Few were also rejected by the researcher to keep the balance of the FGD (not to have many activist from one ethnic group).

The FGD was conducted on the 24th of April 2018 at 6killo Dibab Café and Restaurant from 12:30 pm till 2:30 pm. It was used to get the views of respondents on questions designed based on the objectives of the study emphasizing on the areas that the questionnaire didn't address well. The special population analyzed in this Focus Group Discussion allows testing about the experience of the Facebook activists regarding creating riots through Facebook . The researcher acted as a moderator during the discussions but refrained from giving out comments.

The seven participants name is not used directly for the purpose of confidentiality. Code has been given in the Form of Discussant 1, Discussant 2... and Discussant 7. The order of the discussants is made based on the time of their appearance to the discussion place. Responses which were found to be consistent and relevant were presented and analyzed. In line with the participants posts from Facebook have been added to emphasize the issue and give the researcher's observation. Though it was intended to finish within one and half hours, the discussion lasted for nearly two half hours.

The questions presented for the FGD were:-

1. Why Facebook become more dominant social media tool among Ethiopians?
2. How do you access the trend of Ethiopian Facebook users?
3. Do you believe that Facebook had role on the recent nationwide violence? How? Put your experience...
4. Was the violence based on fact or wrong and exaggerated information?
5. How would look like the violence without Facebook?
6. What should be the way forward in using Facebook?

Although these themes are in practice intertwined, they are treated separately for the purpose of clarity of analysis.

4.3.1 Why Facebook is dominant social media in Ethiopia?

The FGD sample contained Facebook users who have been using the Internet more than seven years mainly for the purpose of sharing social and political issues. Most of the respondents use the Internet on a daily basis.

All of the participants use Facebook more than any other social media tools. According to the result gained from the questionnaire this was also true for most Ethiopians. The reason behind this fact as per the FGD participant is the time that Facebook introduced to Ethiopians was earlier than all other social media tools.

As stated by Discussant 4, who is a business man, MC and social activist, Ethiopians tend to follow what others do first.

“I think it is the replica of what Ethiopians do in many circumstances. For example if one or two people open up a boutique in a village, many people would follow them and make it the area a boutique hub. To add one other example, after five or six years it is being hard to see other kind of cars other than vitz and yaris on the streets of Addis Ababa. In same manner Facebook come to Ethiopia first then Ethiopians stacked on it and left other social media tools.”

As a tradition most Ethiopians are not courageous enough to speak out loud in public. The other point that has been given due emphasis by the FGD participants was the nature of Facebook in giving opportunity to express ideas without being exposed.

Discussant 2 is a journalist and Facebook activist who has five thousand friends and more than 10 thousand followers. He writes both in Amharic and Tigrean language. He said the political freedom is very tight in Ethiopia which makes the people to be dominant medium to express ideas freely. Discussant 6, also support Discussant 2's idea.

“The press freedom in Ethiopia could be considered as the worst one. People could be thrown to prison for expressing their thoughts. Facebook has given this freedom to express ideas with fake name. So, I can say that the press freedom condition in the country made Facebook to be dominant social media tool in Ethiopia.”

In fact other kind of social media like tweeter, Instagram, LinkedIn and YouTube would also give you this freedom of being hid. The difference is, as per Discussant 7, who is a blogger and

Amhara activist, Facebook has no constraints in terms of writing texts, posting photo and video. Which means you can write and post as much as you want, there is no limit also in the amount of video you upload. So the people have no reason to choose or go to another social media tool against Facebook that they know it before anyone of the others.

4.3.2 How Ethiopians are using Facebook?

Asking this question found to be important to know whether Facebook is unique to political issues or not. Hate speeches and instruction for violence were identified as area of study in this thesis. But the point that these things are practiced on political dialogues or in all societal issues is not known.

The respondents have made serious debate on the issue. Half of them support the idea that Ethiopians are using Facebook in a positive way. Facebook creates social interconnectedness. Ethiopians are now more connected than ever through Facebook. The connection serves for range of topics like business, social ties, art and politics. Discussant 1 who is from SNNPS is also a poet and Facebook activist articulated the positive aspect of Facebook by raising the poem Facebook group. She said,

“Through the poem group we share our ideas through poem. The poet that have never known each other now have get to know and scale up their talent. Some of us have been able to publish poem book with the support of the group. For us Facebook is a platform to do what we love.”

Discussant 4 also has his own Facebook address where he promotes himself as Master of Ceremony. He gets job offers from people he has never expected because of Facebook. Discussant 6 who is an author and Facebook activist on his regard appreciate what Facebook played for the popularization of his three books. He opened up Facebook address for all of his books and get feedback from many people. Discussant 7 who is the blogger gave much credit for Facebook in disseminating his articles for tens of thousands of people.

In other side some of the FGD participants disgraced Facebook for challenging Ethiopian culture. People are also using it to post sexual related photos and videos. In addition, with the disguise of fashion, awkward dressing styles posted to allure teenagers. More than anything the participants highlighted the use of Facebook to disseminate hate and insult contents. Even if people are using Facebook to grow up their business and societal relation, many others are making the Facebook wall to be dominated by hate speeches. Discussant 5 who is a lecturer at Addis Ababa University and Facebook activist stated that

“Significant number of Ethiopian Facebook user seems to be weak in expressing ideas with reasons. The insults and hate speeches are not mostly constructed by explanations. They insult just to insult and they hate just to hate”

Discussant 7, explains the reason why hate speech and insult has dominated Facebook in the past three or four years.

“The people couldn’t get the hope placed on EPRDF for last two and half decades. Corruption, discrimination, imprisonment, mass suffer, lack of freedom and many other bad happenings left the people to be hopeless. These all bitterness made the people to be filled with hate and insult. Some triggering events like the Master Plan of Addis Ababa created a chance for the people to come together for the cause of their freedom. Then Facebook become a best platform to express their bitter hatred on the government and TPLF/EPRDF.”

Generally the participants couldn’t be sided with the idea of “Facebook is being abused in Ethiopia” or the vice versa.

4.3.3 What was the role of Facebook on the violence?

The respondents have no doubt that Facebook played indispensable role in the violence. In describing the role the participants have presented various practical examples. Discussant 6 refers the government's action as tangible show case.

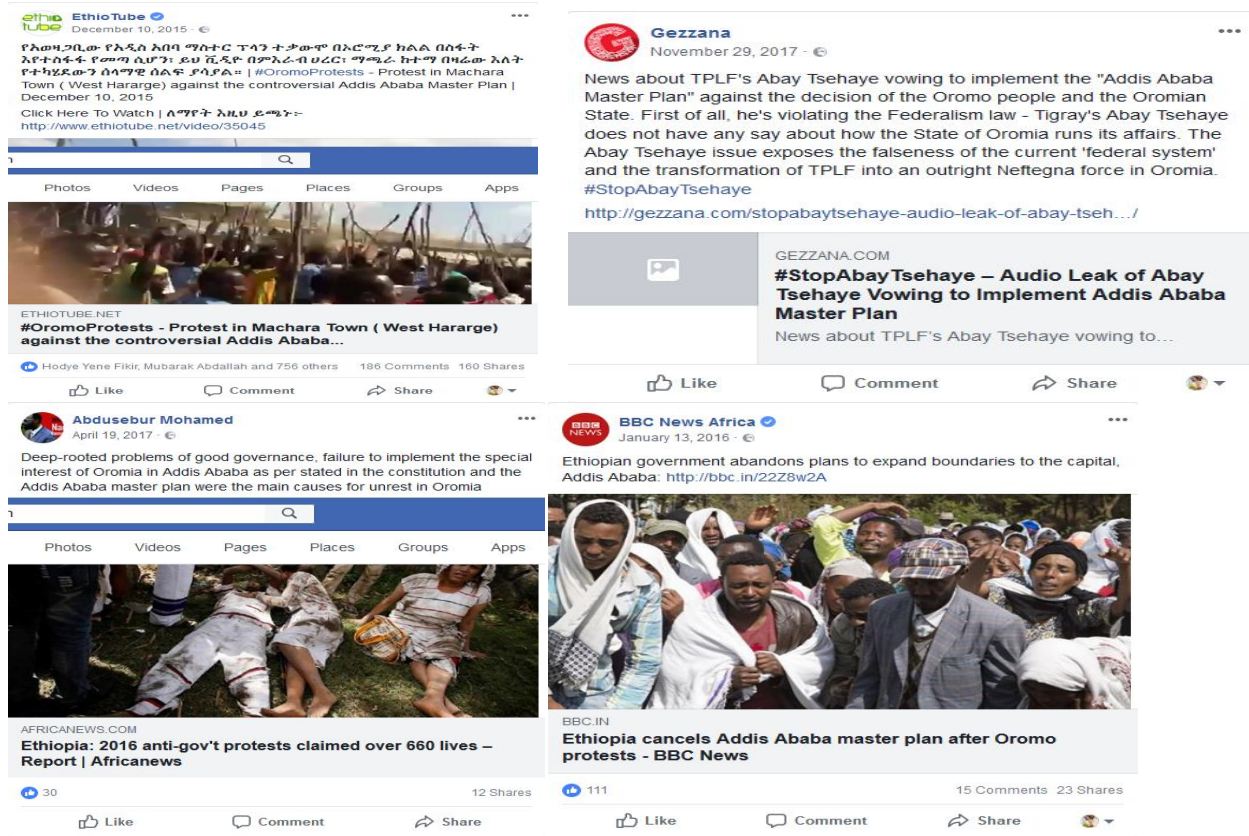
“The government knows how much money could lose by shutting down the Internet service. Not only that, the strong influence from the international community is another factor for the government to think again and again before closing the service. Despite all those reasons the government choice to quit the service, shows it has already found convincing reasons from the country's security institutions about Facebook being the main initiator of violence”.

Discussant 1 takes the role of Facebook to the other end. In her perspective Facebook was not only the catalyst for the violence but it has been also the battle ground and command center for the violence.

“We heard about the consequence of the Addis Ababa master plan from Facebook . Then they start to exchange on how to curb the plan through violence. Within few weeks instructions to close all roads surrounding Addis Ababa come to effect. The final result of the riots was cancelling the master plan by the government right away. These happened because of Facebook .”

Of course, many activists consider the protest against the Addis Ababa Master Plan that aims to develop the city along side with the surrounding Oromia towns as the beginning of the last. Tens of thousands of people were on the streets of those towns for protest and hundreds of people have died for the cause.

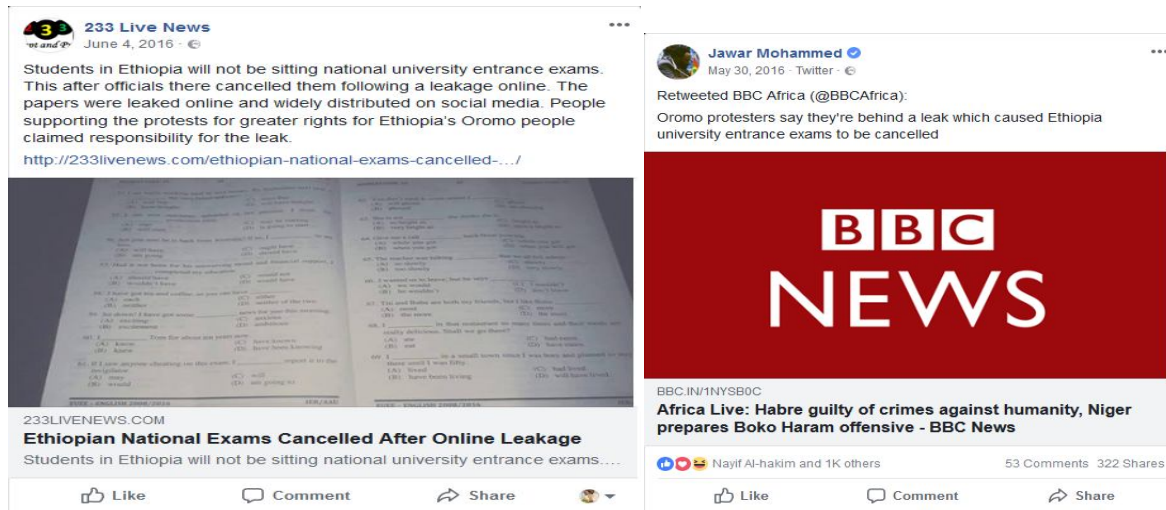
Picture 4.1: Protests against Addis Ababa Master plan



Discussant 2 strengthens the idea by highlighting the role of Facebook on the unforgettable phenomenon of entrance exam,

“The role of Facebook in cancelling the Entrance exam in all over the country was immense. Because of Jawar Mohammed and his collaborators the 2016/17 entrance exam was stolen and answers to the exam were released. Eventually, this made the government to cancel the exam entirely. What you read or see on face book, you will see it on ground immediately.”

Picture 4.2: The stolen entrance exam distributed on Facebook



Discussant 4 on his regard pointed out the role of Facebook in giving a “symbol” for the violence. Crossing hands as a sign of the violence especially in Oromia region was very popular. The sign was taken when Lelisa Densisa show his hands after finishing the marathon at Then the symbol has been made to be very popular by getting tens of thousands of posts, like and comments.

Picture 4.3: Crossing Hand as a symbol of protest



The violence has also been intensified because of the imprisonment of popular political party leaders, activists and journalists. Discussant 7 says Facebook has played imperative role in campaigning for the release of the people. For that reason most of the political elites has been released with more than 50 thousand other political prisoners.

Picture 4.5; Campaign on Facebook for the release of political prisoners



Discussant 3 on his regard pointed out the influence of Oromia Regional Stat's President Lema Megersa and the current Ethiopian Prime Minister Dr Abiy Ahmed on the country. He believes it was through Facebook 's huge promotion that the two fighters become popular throughout the country. What they said or did brought to Facebook for discussions by the activists. Especially, if their speech contains ideas that oppose the federal government or EPRDF/TPLF, without no doubt would got due emphasis. Such kind of trend made them to be extremely popular and become the leader of the country.

In fact, there were many Facebook posts that make the discussants claim factual. Picture 4.1 is the famous social media activist Mr Jawar Mohammed post regarding Mr Lema Megersa, President of the state of Oromia. Jawar here wrote main good activities of Mr Lema in his political power and try to convince his followers to give recognition as a person of the year 2017. The post has been shared more than 1800 times and liked by more than 5000 people.

Picture 4.6: Effort of an activist to keep the popularity of Mr Lema Megersa



Discussant 3 has also mentioned one Facebook address called “Aba Torbe”.

“The unanimous people who administer the address claim the “bad did” of some people from the government structure. If those people do not stop what they are doing, they will be killed by the network of “Aba Torbe”. These made the people in the government’s structure to be submitted to the questions of the people and join the protest.”

Discussant 7 has been following and writing on the issue of Amhara almost in a daily bases for the past four and five years. He has also pointed out the idea of opposing the government from the government's structure itself. Because of the strong influence from the Facebook activists and the consequent mass protests the officials of the region have refrain from opposing the people. Not only that, he also said

“They were very supportive in giving hidden information for the Facebook activists. What happened and said in every government's meetings leaked out without any delay. These all happened because of the influence from the social media.”

One of the participants of the FGD, Discussant 5, put another dimension for what Facebook impacted Ethiopian politics. For long period of time Ethiopian politics was dominated by rightist or those who say law and order should be kept by the Government.

“Facebook has created group of people who are flexible and can be called leftist by their attitudes. High officials like Lema Megeresa, Preseident of the State of Oromia, and Dr Abiy Ahmed, the current Ethiopian Prime Minister, started to immerge with the idea of that the government has been doing many mischief against the people and needs to be changed right away. These Ideas were primary raised by the Facebook community. When this “Team Lema” accepted the peoples' idea and act accordingly huge amount of Facebook activists start to promote the officials.”

Discussant 6 here presented a caution on what we need to take when we describe the role of Facebook in the violence.

“Putting Facebook as the cause of the violence would be fatal mistake. Facebook should only be taken as a tool for exchanging information so as to let know the people

why they should protest. The cause of the violence is all the bad things that EPRDF has been doing for the last 27 years. Facebook communicated those savage activities to the public in an organized manner. Facebook activists like Jawar Mohamed did all what they could to trigger the people to take action”

He mentioned “Shutting down businesses and stay at home” protests. Frequently for the last three and four years several businesses in cities and towns of Oromia and some places of Amhara region have been closing their shops in protest. Transports services both from and to these regions and Addis Ababa as well as within were also experiencing disruptions, leaving commuters with no choice but dare long journeys within the cities on foot. The instructions over how to make the riots were disseminated mainly by Facebook . And for discussant 6 the result was very successful.

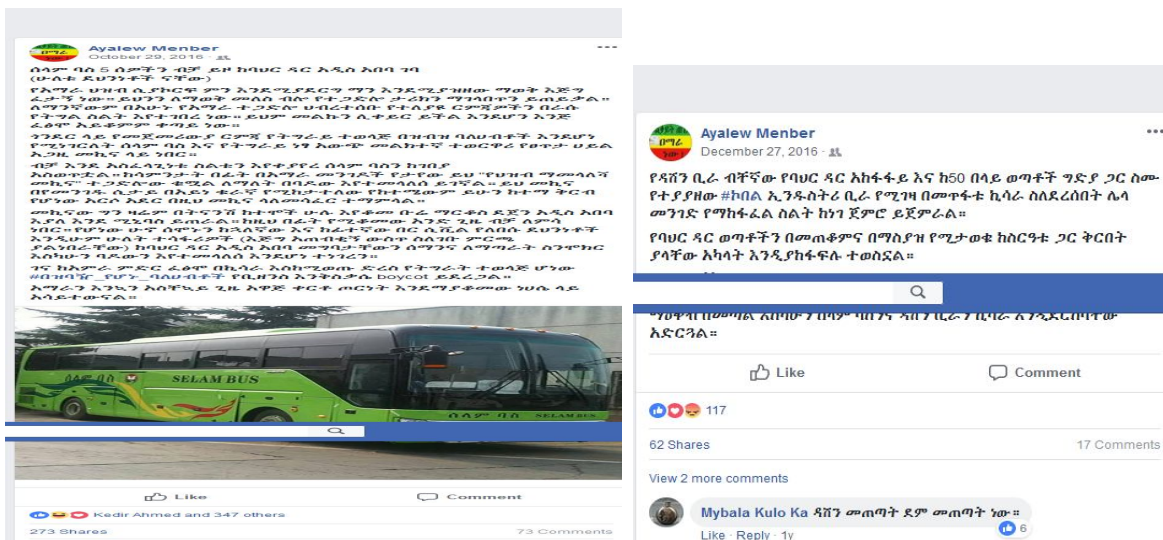
Picture 4.7 “Stay at home” protests





Another crucial type of protest was by boycotting some business organization from the sphere of Ethiopian Market. Discussant 6 has mentioned the boycott of Selam Bus and Dashin Beer especially in Amhara and Oromia regions. The campaign has resulted Selam Bus to be damaged in different places.

Picture 4.8: Boycotting Dashin Beer and Selam Bus



Ethic based violence was another feature of the violence. Discussant 5 has strong belief that the ethnic based hate speeches and campaigning have made some vulnerable youth to be prone to attack people based on their ethnicity. According to witnesses from Facebook and media including the state owned media have reported that thousands of people Oromo people have

persecuted from Ethiopian Somali, Tigre People from Amhara and Oromia and so on. For these all happenings Facebook takes its own share by spreading hate speeches.

Picture 4.9: Ethnic based hate speeches



Facebook users in Ethiopia are not more than 4%, how could we say it has created such a big impact?

For this follow up question the discussants have suggested their opinion. According to discussant 7, in the Ethiopian style of communal life disseminating information is not a big task. The major task has already been done. Before the closing of the Internet in some places, the majority of the people have already reached at consensus that the government systems were wrong and needs to be changed. For that several hidden information were already released using social media. The remaining was to plan how to make the protest. People are attached one another in many social forums. If a person knows about something then based on the established social interaction platforms, it would be alarmingly disbursed. So Facebook might be the source of the idea of protest but for the dissemination traditional information exchange systems have also been used.

Discussant 4 on his regard believed that the Internet service interruption was minimized by using hacking application like VPN (A virtual private network (VPN) is technology that connects a private network across a public network to enables users on the private network to send and receive data across shared or public networks as if their computing devices were directly connected to the private network (Andrew G, 2002)). Though some people were made far from internet, many people who have the information that Internet could be hacked by applications

have been using Facebook . So according to him the shutting down of Facebook didn't make the people to be totally absent from Facebook messages.

Another method used by the protesters after the shutting down of Internet was Short Message Service (SMS). Discussant 1 says after instructions over how to make protests were posted on Facebook some people in Addis Ababa and some other places where Internet access was available send the basic instructions to the networks on the ground through SMS. That system has also helped the protest not to be staked by lack of Internet access.

4.3.4 How would you characterize the violence without Facebook?

This question has made the participants to rethink the impact of Facebook on the violence.

Discussant 5 believes that without Facebook the violence would still be in place but the magnitude might not be like this one.

Discussant 1 strengthens Discussant 1's idea. For Discussant 1 the source of the protest was the people's long standing grievance over the government's male administration and discrimination.

“The Facebook was a best tool to express that grievance. Whatever happened in a remote place, you will find it on Facebook shared by thousands of people. People didn't care who or when it happened. Without crosschecking the truthfulness of the post people accept it and express their anger they felt. So what matters was not the source, if the content of the post has something against the government or EPRDF/TPLF it will be on Facebook . So what the Facebook did can only be expressed from the point of giving high speed for the violence.”

Discussant 6 prefers to see the question from the historical background of the country regarding riots. He mentioned three major riots in Ethiopian since EPRDF took the power. The year 2000, 2007 and 2015-18 in Ethiopia could be called years of political riots in Ethiopia.

“The first one could be called elites based violence that emerged from Universities. The second one was political parties and newspaper and Television based violence. The current violence mostly made its base on social media. The social media in fact has made the information exchange activity so simple and controlled most of the country’s youth regardless of educational status. For me the violence was inevitable but it might not happen in 2018. It could have taken at least five years to make such large impact of changing the government’s political power trend; i.e from rightist to leftist.”

4.4 Quantitative Data Presentation and Discussion

Among the 200+ survey questionnaires distributed to Facebook users using the researcher’s Facebook address, 166 of them were completed and returned. The respondents who receive the questioner through Facebook were also asked to give the questioner to their Facebook friends. Therefore, the response rate is less than 66.4% which is low but expected. Studies indicate that the electronical distribution of questioner is not an effective way. There is no way that the researcher knows in what condition the respondents are. Not only that they might not even see the questioner because of different reasons.

The questionnaire consisted of a total of 23 questions, one open-ended and the rest were close-ended. The questionnaire was aimed at revealing the trend of Ethiopian social media usage specifically Facebook in relation to creating violence. The questionnaire was designed into two categories in a way it could address the social media trend and the impact of Facebook in the recent violence in Ethiopia.

4.4.1 Demographic Background

The demographic questions were designed to test status of respondents by age, gender, educational qualifications and marital status.

4.4.1.1 Respondents by Gender

The majority of the respondents, as Table 1 summarizes, were males making up 75.4 percent of the total respondents. Only 44.6 percent of the 40 respondents were females.

Table 1: Number of Respondents in Gender

	Frequenc y	Percent
Male	92	55.4
Valid Female	74	44.6
Total	166	100.0

4.4.1.2 Respondents by Age group

Table 2: Number of Participants in Age group

	Frequenc y	Percent
Valid 18-24	34	20.5
25-34	106	63.9
35-44	14	8.4
45-54	10	6.0
55-64	2	1.2
Total	166	100.0

Table 2 depicts that 63.9 percent of the respondents were found in the age groups between 25 and 34 years. 20.5 percent of the respondents were in the age group between 18 and 24 years. 8.4 percent were between 35-44 years. Ten respondents were under the age groups between 45-54 and another two above 50 years. There was no one informant constituting above 65+ years of age. It could be understood from this that 140 respondents constituting 84.4 percent of the respondents are youth.

This is actually expected fact that the majority of social media users are teenage and young adults almost throughout the world. Because of the low literacy rate and the late emergence of the social media in underdeveloped countries like Ethiopia older adults and aged people are made to be far from social media usage. Another cause for the dominance of respondents by youth might be related to the age of the researcher. Though friendship could be created among any age group in Facebook, the common interest might be different and the older people have denied giving response to this questioner. For the purpose of this research the composition of the age group doesn't make significant difference as the respondents could incorporate what has been done on ground.

4.4.1.3 Respondents by Marital status

Table 3: Marital Status of the respondents

	Frequency	Percent
Single	92	55.4
Married	72	43.4
Divorced	2	1.2
Total	166	100.0

The majority of respondents are single individuals (55.4%) followed by single individuals (32%). In addition to this, very few (1.2%) of participants replied that they are divorced, whereas there is no widow. This in fact goes with the age of the participants that was discussed above.

4.4.1.4 Respondents by Level of Education

Table 4: Educational Status of respondents

	Frequency	Percent
High School	24	15.0
Tertiary Level	136	85.0
Total	160	100.0
Total	166	

Table 4 illustrates that majority of the respondents were at their tertiary level, making up 85.0 percent of the total respondents. There are 24 respondents from 166 who participated in the study being high school students. There was no one from elementary as a chance. This was also expected one when we see it from the perspective of being alert for political issue on Facebook .

4.4.2 Trend of Social media usage in Ethiopia

The Second part of the questioner focused what kind of trend Ethiopians have in relation to Social Media usage.

4.4.2.1 Social Media type respondents use at most

Table 5: Social Media type respondents use at most

Social media type

	Frequency	Percent
Facebook	158	95.2
Valid YouTube	8	4.8
Total	166	100.0

Table 5 clearly shows that Facebook is the most preferable social media tool in Ethiopia (95.2%). As it was discussed on the focused group discussion, Ethiopians are more adopted to Facebook than any other type of Social media mostly because of two reasons. Facebook was introduced to Ethiopians prior to any other Social Media type and that made the people pull one another to get more friends. In addition, the platform that Facebook provide touches all services that other social media type could ever entertain. These two reasons have made the people to do not shift their interest from Facebook entirely.

Among the 166 respondents only the 8 respondents were chosen YouTube prior to Facebook .

4.4.2.2 Time spent on Facebook

Table 6: Time on Facebook

	Frequency	Percent
>5hr	30	18.1
3hr	36	21.7
2hr	46	27.7
Valid <1hr	44	26.5
Occasionall y	10	6.0
Total	166	100.0

As it is clearly seen in the table above (table 5), nearly half of participants stated that they spend 2-3 (21.7% + 27.7= 49.4%) hours per day on SM, whereas other significant number of users lies on less than one hour (26.5%). The strong viewers (>5hr) constitute 18 % of the total

respondents. There were only ten people who visit Facebook occasionally. From this, one can certainly understand that almost all (96%) participants of the current study use Facebook on a daily basis.

The Internet usage habits and desires of individuals may differ from one place to another, from one age category to another, from one society to another, but the common phenomenon associated to the people’s usage of Social Media like Facebook is the fact that there are group of ages (18—35 year olds) who are quick in adopting technology changes and hence their mobiles are with them from early morning they are awoken to the moment they go to bed at night (Balancing Act, 2014).

Spending more time surfing any types of online social network sites like Facebook , may advance the opportunity of learning new things, getting new people and accessing any firsthand information available online. This also shows how the participant of this research is very close to attentively follow what was new in the area of the research.

4.4.2.3 Number of Facebook friends

Table 6; Number of Facebook Friends of the participants

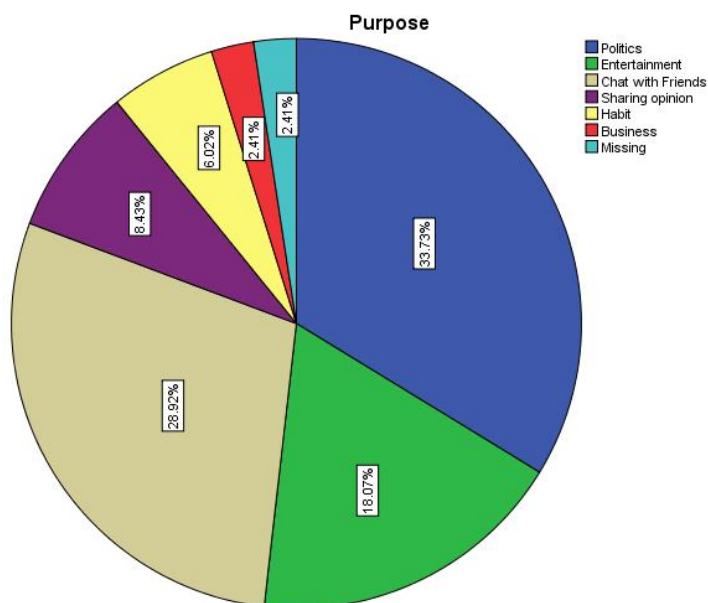
	Frequency	Valid Percent
50-499	34	20.7
500-999	30	18.3
1000-1999	42	25.6
2000-3499	44	26.8
>3500	14	8.5
Total	164	100.0

The majority of the respondents have more than 1000 friends (60.7%). only 20.7 % of the people have less than 500 friends. There are also fourteen people who have friends more than 3500.

As it was stated in the literature part Facebook works in the bases of friend chain. What has been said by a person could be addressed to his friends and followers immediately. Then if one or two people share the idea on their timeline that would also create many new audience to the post. Especially issues related to politics and violence have the power to grape attention easily. In addition people who wrote and post in the area of politics have this name “activist” by the common people and have tens of thousands of people who follow and share their idea. So anyone who has a friend chain starting from 50 members would most likely get latest information on what is happening at least in the country he is living.

4.4.2.4 For what purpose Participants use Facebook

Figure 1: Purpose of using Facebook



Here the respondents were asked to prioritize their purpose when they use Facebook . As it is indicated in the figure, the two main purposes why they open up their Facebook page are to get political news (33.7 %) and to get in touch with friends (28.9%). The other significant number is goes to entertainment (18%). These three reasons explains why the majority of people may be throughout the world are stick to Facebook . In every society opinion leaders are very few. That is why here also we have only 14 people (8.4 %) who visit Facebook to write and share their opinion.

Despite the fact that it is significant to understand people's continual usage of certain media, however people prefer one medium over the other for the criteria they set including the mediums fulfilling capacity of individual consumers either informational, educational or entertainment need. Perhaps, in addition to its informational and entertaining role, Facebook has great significance in the networking and communication of people around the globe.

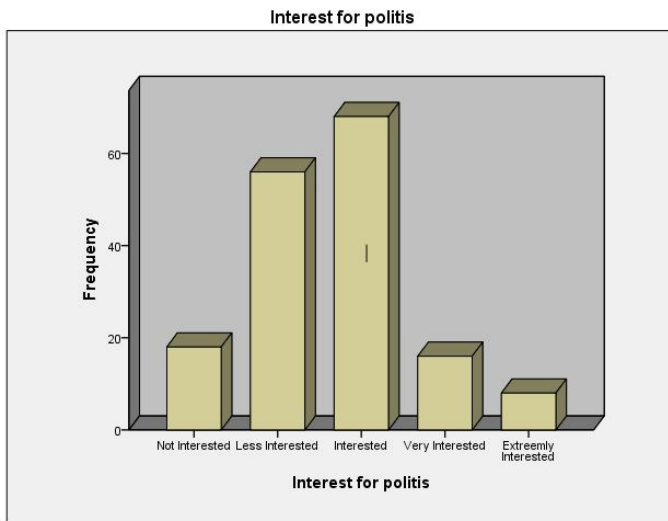
Balancing Act (2014) report indicates that Facebook is along with other mediums of social network enables people to keep in touch with each other, with family and colleagues. The same report shows that inclusively:

all social media sites serve as a source of news and information alongside with more TM and people like any news media they prefer, could it be newspapers, radio, TV stations on Facebook to get information and receive similar —news□ or — research□ alerts from friends and colleagues (Balancing Act, 2014).

4.4.2.5 Level of interest for politics

Participants were asked to put their level of interest for political issues. This believed to know how the information about the violence could be tangible. Without the interest to political issues one might not evaluate the power of information to make violence or not.

Figure 2: Level of interest for political issues



Here the data show us that the participants who are interested for political news or issue is higher (55.4%). In fact 56 participants (33%) are less interested for politics. Only 16 people (9.8%) are very interested on political issue and 8 people (4.8%) are extremely interested for political related matters. This fact was discussed on the Focused Group Discussion that the majority of people, especially in Ethiopia, have been using Facebook for entertainment and create friendship. These trend started be changed after the violence was erupted I 2014/15. Even people who “hate” politics have also become more interested and started to oppose the government or the violence. The discussants said if that was not for the violence, the majority of the people might have been stopped at loving only entertainment or just chatting. However, still what we can see here is that the opinion leader concept could come and cross minds when you see only 8 (from 166) people who are extremely interested on Politics.

4.4.2.6 Type of media participants use to get information about violence

The researcher here tried to answer that which media was the dominant one in entertaining violence related issues. The questioner has been disseminated electronically through Facebook and the same path has been followed to collect it. Because of this it is clear that participants ae interested for Facebook . But having this question doesn't make the information invalid. The

reason is people have a diverse media preference. While you are using Facebook , you can use television or radio all for different causes.

Table 7: Media preferred for violence related issues

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Television	26	16.3
Radio	8	5.0
Newspaper	10	6.3
Valid Facebook	112	70.0
From people	4	2.5
		100.0
Total	166	

The Table indicates that 70 % of the respondents go to Facebook to hear or read about the violence. In another word Facebook has been serving the people as a media to get news. Why Facebook is suitable for protest related issues was discussed among FGD participants. They have said that the press freedom made the people to write and post behind the seen. In addition, there are ample ways to express feeling.

Television still takes 16% of the people attention for violence based information which is next to Facebook . Newspaper (6.3%) and Radio (5 %) were also used to get information regarding protests.

4.4.3 The Relation between Violence and Facebook

Part three of the questioner incorporates questions which directly related to the role of Facebook in the recent violence occurred in Ethiopia. The respondents' positions toward detailed features

of the 2015 - 2018 Ethiopian violence were measured through the use of seven Likert-scale items. Respondents were also asked to give answer to various questions regarding the protest to specifically know their stance about the issue.

Respondents have shown the degree to which the survey respondents agree and disagree with different statements about the protest. The statements are measured on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means 'strongly agree', 2 (agree), 3 (neutral), 4 (disagree) and 5 means 'strongly disagree'. The answers are listed in the form of level of agreement. Strongly agree have 1 point, agree 2, neutral 3, disagree 4 and strongly disagree 5 points. In this order the analysis is done by frequency, percent and most importantly MEAN. If the mean of a given statement is less than 3 then it means the respondents inclined to agree on the idea and if it is greater than 3 it shows that the respondents are against the statement.

4.4.3.1 The violence was occurred because of Facebook

Table 8: Number of people that believe the violence was occurred because of Facebook

As a Cause

	Frequenc y	Percent
Strongly Agree	20	12.0
Agree	44	26.5
Neutral	42	25.3
Valid Disagree	54	32.5
Strongly Disagree	6	3.6
Total	166	100.0

On the statement that “FACEBOOK is the cause of the recent violence” 54 people or 32% of the respondents do not agree. That means people do not consider Facebook as a cause. In fact 44 people or 26 percent of the population agreed with statement. These could tell us that people are in doubt about the idea. When we see the mean of the statement, it falls on 2.89. this is very close to neutral.

4.4.3.2 Facebook as a catalyst for the violence

“FACEBOOK has been the main catalyst for the violence”. This statement was included to balance the former statement “FACEBOOK is the cause of the recent violence”. This would give us the chance to clearly identify what kind of role the Facebook has played in the violence.

Table 9: Number of people who believe Facebook was the main catalyst for violence

As a Catalyst

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly Agree	38	22.9
Agree	80	48.2
Neutral	30	18.1
Valid Disagree	12	7.2
Strongly Disagree	6	3.6
Total	166	100.0

Table 5 depicts that that majority of the participants believed that Facebook has played as a catalyst for the violence occurred in the country in the 2015-2018. The statement was highly

supported by 38 people (Strongly agree; 22.9%) and 80 people (Agree; 48.2%). 18% of the respondents are doubted the statement. Only 10.8 % of the respondents are against the statement.

Overall results obtained here shows that Facebook has facilitated the violence in different ways.

The mean score of this factor is (mean 2.2) and this mean score is higher than the role of Social Media as a cause (refer to table 9 above). Likewise, in the case of this finding the data collected shows that the average mean score of the role Social Media plays in information accessibility and impact is similar.

4.4.3.3 Respondents witnessing messages that calls for violence on Facebook

Table 10: Number of people who saw messages calling for violence

Call for Violence

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly Agree	44	26.5
Agree	72	43.4
Neutral	38	22.9
Disagree	2	1.2
Strongly Disagree	10	6.0
Total	166	100.0

Activists have used Facebook for different purposes during those three years of political turmoil in Ethiopia. As millions of Ethiopians are connected on Facebook, what happened or what will happen has been communicated so easily. The collected data has proved this fact very clearly. Among the 166 respondents 116 of them (69.9%) have said that there were messages on

Facebook calling the people for violence. Only 7.2% or 12 people who have not seen such kind message on Facebook . Generally the respondents have agreed that there were posts on Facebook instructing people for violence (MEAN: 2.1).

4.4.3.4 The link between posts and the real effect they have

The above statement was supported by another imperative statement which says “I have seen posts on FACEBOOK happened on the ground”. If the posts were only for the sake of posting couldn’t come down to the ground, then Facebook could be called as only a news distributor. The other side that this statement would answer is that Facebook was a platform for the people to distribute how to create effective violence and disturb the government’s system.

Table 11: In what extent people have seen the posts on Facebook practically.

Happened On Ground

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	26	15.7
Agree	72	43.4
Neutral	44	26.5
Disagree	20	12.0
Strongly Disagree	4	2.4
Total	166	100.0

For this very important statement the participants answer inclined to the level of “Agree” zone with the mean of 2.42. 59.1% of the participants are sure that they have seen messages on Facebook gone practical. 26 people are said “strongly agree” and 72 people “Agree”. Other 44 people (26.5%) remained to be neutral. Only 14% (24 people) of the participants opposed the statement.

4.4.3.6 Belief on the power of messages on Facebook to make damage on people and material

Violence could be expressed in various ways. Violence is defined by the World Health Organization as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation,”

A riot is actually a form of civil disorder commonly characterized by a group lashing out in a violent public disturbance against authority, property or people. Riots typically involve theft, vandalism, and destruction of property, public or private (Braha, D. (2012).

Over the past three years Ethiopia has seen various kinds of riot from stoning vehicles to burning factories and from beating individuals to killing group of people, from burning tires on the streets, to shutting down movements in the country.

Here the statement “The posts on FACEBOOK have the power to influence people to make damages on people’s life and material” tries to find out the respondents level of agreement.

Table 12: Number of people who believe messages on Facebook could influence people to make physical Damages

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	38	22.9
Agree	76	45.8
Neutral	20	12.0
Disagree	26	15.7
Strongly Disagree	6	3.6
Total	166	100.0

The participants believed that the messages on Facebook could impact the people to make damages on peoples life and materials. 22.9 % strongly agree with the statement and 45.8 % agree with the power for destruction. The positive answer for the statement constitutes 112

people out of the total 166 participants (68.7%). 19.3% of the respondents downgraded the message on Facebook to make damage. The mean for the statement is 2.31 which showed the respondents inclination of support.

4.4.3.7 True Vs False information for violence

The information on Facebook created and released mostly by individuals. Level of clarifying the facts is low. Emotions seem the driving factors than evidences. In fact there are a number of pages that disseminate news by taking from trusted media outlets. So it is important to check the false versus the truth information as a dominant factor for the violence. On the questioner the people asked to put their belief on “The reasons behind the violence were based on true information.”

Table 13: Number of people who believe the violence was occurred because of true information

Based True info

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	2	1.2
Agree	48	28.9
Neutral	66	39.8
Disagree	44	26.5
Strongly Disagree	6	3.6
Total	166	100.0

As the numbers indicated the participants are highly tempted to decide on the issue. 66 people or 39.8 % are remaining to be silent. Another 30.1% or 50 people are against the statement. 50 people expressed their support for the statement. These show half the participants are against the idea that the violence was driven by false Facebook messages. And equal number of people

says it was true that people were deceived by the false information on Facebook to make damages. The mean of the statement falls on 3.02 which means people couldn't be sure whether the people were acting based on true information or not.

4.4.3.8 Violence with and without Facebook

The respondents of the question were also asked to imagine the violence without Facebook . Two decisive questions were forwarded to show the role of Facebook for the violence. The First question was “Without FACEBOOK , the violence may not be occurred.” And the second was “Without FACEBOOK , the violence may not be occurred at this extent.”

Table 14: Number of People who believe the violence may not be occurred or may not be at this extent without Facebook

Statistics

		May not be occurred	Not at this extent
N	Valid	164	162
	Missing	2	4
Mean		3.00	2.56

		May not be occurred		May not be at this extent	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	16	9.8	26	16
	Agree	44	26.8	60	37.0
	Neutral	42	25.6	44	27.2
	Disagree	48	29.3	24	14.8
	Strongly Disagree	14	8.5	8	4.9
Total		166		166	

The participants are not sure whether the violence could have been seen without Facebook (Mean 3.0). But they are convinced that the extent of the violence might not be like what happened in the past three years without the presence of Facebook (Mean 2.56).

4.4.3.9 Level of Hate Speech

Violence or riots could happen based on both false and true information. But the content of the information might be a determinant factor. Because, it is possible to use both false and true information for destruction or/and development. So, the question “Hate speeches dominate the posts and comments on FACEBOOK ” intended to evaluate the content of the information.

Table 16: Number of people who says hate speech dominated Facebook posts

Hate Speech		
	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	24	14.8
Agree	88	54.3
Valid Neutral	28	17.3
Disagree	14	8.6
Strongly Disagree	8	4.9
Total	166	

Table 16 shows that 69.1 % of the respondents (112 people) have observed that Facebook has been dominated by hateful messages. 17 % of the participants were neutral and only 13.5% of them were not appreciated the statement. Generally, the result depicts that Facebook posts were more of with the content hate (MEAN: 2.34).

4.4.3.10 Used versus abused

Though it might not be directly related to the violence, the researcher wanted to show how Ethiopians are using Facebook . Facebook has its own purpose when it was created. The statement “FACEBOOK is being abused in Ethiopia” will expose the way Ethiopians use of Facebook is right or wrong.

Table 17: Number of people who says Facebook is being abused in Ethiopia

Being abused		
	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	12	7.4
Agree	72	44.4
Valid Neutral	64	39.5
Disagree	12	7.4
Strongly Disagree	2	1.2
Total	166	

As it is indicated on the table 17, 72 participants (44.4%) have agreed that Facebook is being abused in Ethiopia and 12 people (7.4%) are even strongly with the idea. Another significant number of respondents (64 or 39.5%) are unable to determine whether it is being abused or not. 14 people (8.6%) seem to believe that Facebook is being properly used in Ethiopia. Mean 2.51 shows the overall participants inclined to the correctness of the statement giving the opinion that Facebook is being abused in the country.

4.4.3.11 Facebook's contribution for the political change in Ethiopia

After four years of consecutive struggle throughout the country Ethiopian government have been pushed to cancel the Addis Ababa first and second plan of the Master plan, released tens of thousands of people from prison and more importantly the Prime Minister of the country Hailemariam Dessalegn resigned from power and EPRDF reallocated Dr Abiy Ahmed who is from the Oromo ethnic group (the player of the violence).

Here the statement “FACEBOOK has great role for the political changes that recently occurred in Ethiopia” tries to show the role of Facebook beyond the violence creator.

Table 17: Number of people who says Facebook has big role for the political power change in Ethiopia

For Political Change		
	Frequency	Percent
Valid		
Strongly Agree	46	27.7
Agree	62	37.3
Neutral	42	25.3
Disagree	10	6.0
Strongly Disagree	6	3.6
Total	166	100.0

From the all statements of the questioner this was the one that large number of people select the “Strongly agree” choice (46 respondents or 27.7 %). Another large number of people (62 respondents or 37.3%) are with the choice “Agree” showing 65% of support all together. 25 % of the participants on the questioner remained to be neutral. Only 9.6% of the respondents are against the statement. The Mean 2.2 shows there is strong level of consensus that people believe the role of Facebook for the political Change is immense.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

The violence occurred in Ethiopia that seems to last in May 2018 after the assignment of a new Prime Minister from OPDO was a series of protests that started in 2015 in Oromia region and then spread in to different parts of the country mainly, Amhara region, SNNPS, and Ethiopian Somali.

During these yearlong protests more than hundreds of deaths and property damages had been observed. This study examines the role of Facebook in the violence by assessing the perception of Facebook users on the debates of the violence. Thus, the study employed quantitative research methods, 200 questionnaires were purposefully distributed through Facebook the analysis of 166 fully filled questionnaires was done. In addition FGD and Text analysis helped to see how Facebook has been used in the violence.

The main findings and conclusions of the study are presented below:

- The study reveals that, Facebook was the main social media tool in the violence for communication. The purpose of Facebook usage among the participants of the questioner in Ethiopia is mainly for political news, entertainment and to stay connected with friends. For this matter, Facebook was found to be their most preferable site for communication because it is easy to use, public in nature, open space to express feelings and network with many new people as well as it is necessary to keep in touch with old friends.
- The participants are active users of Facebook who would access more than an hour in a day. In some cases, Facebook has also become the only place where people discuss political issues as well as subjects formerly considered as a taboo. It has offered citizens the opportunity to exercise freedom of expression they could not do otherwise.

- When it comes to the recent violence Facebook has become a stage to inform their friends and/or followers about the maladministration and lack of freedom and sufferings.
- After the researcher has analyzed the role of Facebook in the context of the violence Ethiopian we can conclude that it is indeed used as a communication tool to facilitate the violence.
- This study found that the role of Facebook in the Ethiopian politics is mainly a supporting one to provide information. This being the cause, however, political discussions on Facebook have become the reflection of the violence on the ground. Practices such as hate speeches, labeling, promoting individuals and ethnic nationalism were the dominant ones in Facebook posts.
- The result depicts that Ethiopian's Facebook posts were more of hateful contents.
- According to the study the content of the posts on Facebook has the power to convince the people to create physical damage on human and materials too.
- The other result that this study would answer is that Facebook was a platform for the people to distribute how to create effective violence and disturb the government's system.
- The result also shows Facebook played massive role in distributing instructions or guidelines on how to protest in an organized manner.
- The research shows there is strong level of consensus that people believe the role of Facebook for the political Change is immense.

- It also depicts that Facebook has played as a major catalyst for the violence occurred in the country in the 2015-2018.
- According to the research, the violence will be created even without Facebook but might not be this fast. What Facebook did here is that it makes the violence to cover most part of the country in short period of time and made the “change” more effective.
- The findings of this study have shown that Facebook does not create the violence; rather it provides a platform to create common understanding on the bad activities of the government and used as a major tool to make the demonstration effective.

Reference

- Abbink, J. (2016, September 13). Ethiopia's Unrest Sparked by Unequal Development Record. Retrieved from <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2016/09/ethiopia-protests-amhara-oromiya/>
- Abera Wendoson (2011). Social Media: Powerful yet Missing in Communicators' List. Editorial View Point on Ethiopian Herald part I & II. Accessed on March 03, 2015 from: www.ethpress.gov.et
- Adler, P. S. (2006). Technological Determinism. Retrieved from <https://msbfile03.usc.edu/.../padler/.../revisingTechnological%20Determinism>
- Ali, A. H. (2011). The Power of Social Media in Developing Nations: New Tools for Closing the Global Digital Divide and Beyond. *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, Vol. 24.
- Alozie, N., Akpan-Obong, P. & Foster, W.(2011). Sizing Up Information and Communication Technologies as Agents of Political Development in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Telecommunications Policy*, 35, 752–763.
- Asemah, E. S. (2011). *Selected mass media themes*. Jos: University Press.
- Attia, A., Aziz, N., Friedman, B. & Elhusseiny, M. (2011). Commentary: The Impact of Social Networking Tools on Political Change in Egypt's "Revolution 2.0." *Electronic Commerce Research and Applications*, 10, 369–374.
- Axelford, Barrie. (2011). *Talk about a Revolution: Social Media and the MENA Uprisings Globalizations* (published by Global Studies Association of North America), Volume 8, Issue 5, 2011 Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14747731.2011.621281#preview>
- Babak, Rahimi. (2011). The Agonistic Social Media: Cyberspace in the Formation of Dissent and Consolidation of State Power in Postelection Iran. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10714421.2011.597240>

Bakshy, Eytan, Itamar, R, Cameron, M, & Lada. A (2012). The Role of Social Networks in Information Diffusion. Paper read at Proceedings of the 21st International Conference on World Wide Web, Lyon France, April.

Bala, K. (2014). Social Media & Changing Communication Pattern. *Global Media Journal-Indian Edition*, 5(1), 1–6.

Balancing Act (2014, August). The Sub-Saharan African Media Landscape--Then, Now and in the Future. A report by Balancing Act (Telecoms, Internet and Broadcast in Africa).

BBC. (2016, March 10). Hailemariam Desalegn apologizes. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35773888>

Berger, G. M. (2015). The Evolution of Terrorist Propaganda: The Paris Attack and Social Media. Accessed on March 20, 2015 from: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/testimony/2015/01/27-terrorist-propaganda-social-media-berger>

Borau Boira, E., García García, F., & Rodríguez Gómez, A. (2013). La diplomacia del presente: universo 2.0 al alcance de la mano. *Comunicación y Hombre* (9), 75- 88

Brussie, R., & Hekman, E. (2009). Social Media is Highly Accessible Media. Retrieved November 20, 2015, from http://crossmedialab.nl/files/Social_Media_are_highly_accessible_media.pdf

Bulkow, K, Juliane, U, & Wolfgang, S (2013). The Duality of Agenda-Setting: The Role of Information Processing. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 25 (1): 43–63.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Danju, I., Maasoglu, Y., & Maasoglu, N. (2013). From Autocracy to Democracy: The Impact of Social Media on the Transformation Process in North Africa and Middle East. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 81, 678 – 681.

- Davies, M., & Mosdell, N. (2006). *Practical Research Methods for Media and Cultural Studies: Making People Count*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctt1g0b6cn>
- Glass, G. V., & Hopkins, K. D. (1984). *Statistical methods in education and psychology*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Gabriel, D. (2011). *Methods and methodology*. Retrieved 11 February 2015 from <http://deborahgabriel.com/2011/05/13/methods-and-methodology/>
- Darrell M. West. (2016). *Internet shutdowns cost countries \$2.4 billion*. Retrieved from <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/intenet-shutdowns-v-3.pdf>
- Dawn Iacobucci & Gilbert A. Churchill. (2015). *Marketing Research: Methodological Foundations* CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform,
- Deibert, R., Palfrey, J., Rohozinski, R. & Zittrain, J. (2008). *Access Denied: The Practice and Policy of Global Internet Filtering*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA: The MIT Press.
- EBC News. (2018, Feb 15). *REAKING NEWS Hialemaia Desalegn Resigned*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2j4ScdvtHug>
- Endalk. (2015, Dec 9). *Why Are Students in Ethiopia Protesting Against a Capital City Expansion Plan? African voices*. Retrieved from <https://globalvoices.org/2015/12/09/why-are-students-in-ethiopia-protesting-against-a-capital-city-expansion-plan/#comment-2052948>
- Ethiotelecom, (2017, Nov 10). *Press release; Ethiotelecom ranked first in Africa*. Retrieved from <http://www.ethiotelecom.et/q=node/968948>
- Facebook. (2017). *Company Info*. Retrieved from <http://newsroom.fb.com/company-info/>: <http://newsroom.fb.com/company-info/>
- Ferrier, L., Western, M. and McKay, S. (2005). *Online news in Australia: patterns of uses and gratifications*. *Australian Studies in Journalism*, (15), 5-34.
- Feseha Desta. (2014). *አቢዮቱና ትዝታዬ* (The Revolution and my Reminiscences). Addis Ababa: Tsehai Publishing.

Feven Chane (2013). The Media Use of Ethiopians in Finland. Unpublished MA thesis, Faculty of Social Science, University of Helsinki.

Fuchs, Ch. (2014b). Social Media and the Public Sphere. *tripleC*, 12(1): 57-101.

Gagliardone, I. & Stremlau, N. (2012). Mapping Digital Media: Digital Media, Conflict and Diasporas in the Horn of Africa. Reference Series No. 16. London, United Kingdom: Open Society Foundations.

Gottfried, J. & Shearer, E (2016). "News Use across Social Media Platforms 2016." Pew Research Center, Washington, DC.

Hale, S. A. (2012). Net Increase? Cross-Lingual Linking in the Blogosphere. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 17(2), 135–151.

Hermida, A. (2010). Twittering the News: The emergence of ambient journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 4(3), 297–308.

Howard, Ph. N. & Parks, M. R. (2012). Social Media and Political Change: Capacity, Constraint, and Consequence. *Journal of Communication* 62, 359–362.

Howard, Ph., Duffy, A., Freelon, D., Hussain, M, Mari, W. & Mazaid, M. (2011). Opening Closed Regimes: What Was the Role of Social Media During the Arab Spring? Working Paper 2011.1. Washington, USA: Project on Information Technology and Political Islam.

Ihlström, C.(1999). Navigation in large Web Sites - three cases of Internet news.[Internet] <http://www.handels.gu.se/epc/archive/00002312/01/ihlstrom.ia7400.pdf> (5March 2006)

International Telecommunication Union, (2005). Annual Report. United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948. Retrieved from

Javier Argomaniz & Alberto Vidal-Diez (2014) Examining Deterrence and Backlash Effects in Counter-Terrorism: The Case of ETA, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 27:1, 160-181, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2014.975648

Internet world stat report. (2018, May 15). Ethiopia Internet Marketing, Search Engines and Telecommunications, the Internet Coaching Library. Retrieved from <https://www.internetworldstats.com/africa.htm#et>

Iyengar, S and Kinder, D.R. (1987). *News that Matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jensen, M. & Sarrocco, C. (2002). *Internet from the Horn of Africa: Ethiopia Case Study*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Telecommunication Union.

Jessica T. Feezell (December 26, 2017) *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 71, 2: pp. 482-494. , First Published December 26, 2017.

John W. Best & James V. Kahn. (1989). *Research in Education*, 6, illustrated. Prentice Hall, the University of Michigan. ISBN 0137742908, 9780137742905

Kanwar, V. T. (2012). *Understanding Social Media*. Varinder Taprial & Priya Kanwar & Ventus Publishing ApS.

Kaplan, A. M. & Haenlein, M. (2010). *Users of the World, Unite! The Challenges and Opportunities of Social Media*. *Business Horizons*, 53, 59 – 68.

Katz, E. & Lazarsfeld, P.F. (1955). *Personal Influence, the Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Kingdon, John W. (1984). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Khondker, H. H. (2011). *Role of the New Media in the Arab Spring*. *Globalizations*, Vol. 8, No. 5, pp. 675- 679.

Khoury, D. (2011). *Social Media and the Revolutions How the Internet Revived the Arab Public Sphere and Digitalized Activism*. Retrieved from

Kothari, C. R. (2004), *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*, (Second Edition), New Age International Publishers.

Liamputtong, Pranee. (2009). *Qualitative Research Methods*. 3rd Edition. United States: Oxford University Press; 2009.

Lisa M. Given. (2008). *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods: A-L ; Vol. 2, M-Z Index*

Lon Safko, D. K. (2010). *The Social Media Bible: Tactics, Tools, and Strategies for Business Success*. Hoboken, New Jersey : John Wileyand Sons, Inc.

Mandiberg, M. (2012). *The social media reader*. New York : New York University Press .

Matthes, J (2006). The Need for Orientation towards News Media: Revising and Validating a Classic Concept. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 18 (4): 422–44.

Matei, S. A. (2010). What can U & G theory tell us about social media?

<http://matei.org/think/2010/07/29/what-can-uses-and-gratifications-theory-tellus- about-social-media/>.

McLeod, M. D. (2007). News Coverage and Social Protest: How the Media’s Protect Paradigm Exacerbates Social Conflict. *Journal of Dispute Resolution*. 1(12).

McLuhan, M. (1964). *Understanding media: The extensions of man*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

McQuail, D. 2010. *Mass communication theory*. 6th ed. Sage Publications Ltd.

Mickoleit, A. (2014). *Social Media Use by Governments: A Policy Primer to Discuss Trends, Identify Policy Opportunities and Guide Decision Makers*. OECD Working Papers On Public Governance, No. 26.

Michael L. Kenta, M. T. (2002). Toward a dialogic theory of public relations. *Public Relations Review* , 21-37.

Morozov, E. (2011). *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*. New York, USA: Public Affairs.

Mohammed Ademo, (2018). Many layers of Ethiopian Crisis. Columnist on Africa center. Retrived from <http://www.africacenter.org/spotlight/manylayersethiopicrisis/#author>

Norris, P. (2001). *Digital Divide: Civic Engagement, Information Poverty, and the Internet Worldwide*. USA: Cambridge University Press Internet Coverage in Ethiopia. Retried from <http://www.ethiotelecom.et/?q=node/968948>

Patrick McNeill & Steve Chapman. (2015). *Research Methods*. published in the USA and Canadaby Routledge270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016.

Lars Backstrom. (2011, Nov 22). Anatomy of Facebook. Retrived from <https://www.facebook.com/notes/facebook-data-science/anatomy-of-facebook/10150388519243859/>

Lavrakas, P. J. (2008). Encyclopedia of survey research methods Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd doi: 10.4135/9781412963947

Li, D. (2005). Why do you blog: A uses-and-gratifications inquiry into bloggers' motivations [http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.91.6790 &rep=rep1&type=pdf](http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.91.6790&rep=rep1&type=pdf).

Pearcel, K. & Kendzior, S. (2012). Networked Authoritarianism and Social Media in Azerbaijan. *Journal of Communication*, 62, 283–298.

Philip N. Howard, Sheetal D. Agarwal, and Muzammil M. Hussain, (2011). “The Dictators’ Digital Dilemma.” *Issues in Technology Innovation*, October, 2011. DC, Brookings Institution. Philip N. Howard, “[Digital Media and the Arab Spring.](#)” Reuters. February 16, 2011 Nguyen, A.,

Rensburg, A. H. J. v. (2012). “Using the Internet for Democracy: A Study of South Africa, Kenya and Zambia”. *Global Media Journal African Edition*, Vol. 6 (No 1).

Rybalko, S. &. (2012). Dialogic communication in 140 characters or less: How Fortune 500 companies engage stakeholders using Twitter. (J. Moyer, Producer) Retrieved March 14, 2017, from <http://www.instituteforpr.org>: <http://www.instituteforpr.org>

Rubio, R. (2011) Diplomacia digital. Una introducción. *Cuadernos de la Escuela Diplomática* 44: 29–56.

Safranek, R. (2012). The Emerging Role of Social Media in Political and Regime Change.

Retrieved from: R Safranek - ProQuest Discovery Guides, 2012 - databank.com.lb

Sileshe Semahagne (2014). Challenges and Opportunities of Facebook as a Media platform in Ethiopia. *Journal of media and communication studies*, Vol. 6(7), pp. 99-110.

Shirky, C. (2011). The Political Power of Social Media Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change.

Smith, B. G. (2010). Socially distributing public relations: Twitter, Haiti, and interactivity in social media. *Public Relations Review*, 36, 329–335.

Staff Reporter. (2018, April 2). Abiy Ahmed sworn in as Prime Minister. Retrieved from <https://www.thereporterethiopia.com/article/abiy-ahmed-sworn-prime-minister>

Tesfaye Alemayehu (2013). Social media as an alternative political forum in Ethiopia: The case of Facebook. (Master's thesis, University of Addis Ababa). Retrieved from <http://etd.aau.edu.et/bitstream/123456789/8932/1/Tesfaye%20Alemayehu.pdf>.

Trilling, Damian, Petro Tolochko, and Björn Burscher. (2017). From Newsworthiness to Shareworthiness How to Predict News Sharing Based on Article Characteristics. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*. 94 (1): 38–60. doi:10.1177/1077699016654682.

Trottier, D. & Fuchs, Ch. (2015). *Social Media, Politics and the State: Protests, Revolutions, Riots, Crime and Policing in the Age of Facebook, Twitter and YouTube*. New York, USA: Routledge

UDHR, (1948, Nov 10). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights>

UNESCO. (2017). *Youth and Violent Extremism On Social Media: Mapping The Research*. Published in 2017 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 7, place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France.

Van Dijk, J. (2001). The One-Dimensional Network Society of Manuel Castells. A review Essay. Available at: <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.232.9930&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

Van Dijk, J. (2006). *The Network Society: Social Aspects of New Media*. Second edition. London, UK: SAGE publications Ltd.

Vliegthart, Rens & Walgrave, Stefaan. (2012). The Interdependency of Mass Media and Social Movements. 10.4135/9781446201015.n31.

Vos, V. L.-a. (2010). Towards a more dynamic stakeholder model: acknowledging multiple issue arenas. *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*15(3), 15(3), 315–331.

Wax, E. (2012). Ethiopia's Oromo Diaspora Uses Web to Dissent, Debate in Absence of Press Freedom. Accessed on March 11, 2015 from: <http://www.washingtonpost.com>

Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2006). *Mass Media Research: An Introduction* (8th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth Publishing.

Yonas Abiy, (2017, April 22). The Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC) 2017 Report for Ethiopian Parliament. Retrieved from <http://www.thereporterethiopia.com/content/commission-names-responsible-parties-deadly-violence>

Zaidieh, A. (2012). The Use of Social Networking in Education: Challenges & Opportunities. *World of Computer Science & Information Technology Journal*, 2(1), 18–21.

FGD conducted and recorded on the 24th of April 2018 at 6killo Dibab Café and Restaurant from 12:30 pm till 2:30 pm.

Appendix 1: Questioner

Questioner

Dear Respondents,

I am a graduate student at Addis Ababa University, school of journalism and Communication doing a research on “the role of Facebook on the recent violence in Ethiopia.”

The purpose of this questionnaire is to assess the possible role of FACEBOOK on the recent violence in Ethiopia. Your genuine and accurate responses will have great contribution to the findings of the research. Therefore, you are kindly requested to give genuine answers to the questions below. The researcher would like to remind you that the answers that you give will solely be used for this research purpose.

I seek your voluntary participation in this study. You are not expected to provide your name or any contact address. Your responses will be kept confidential.

If you have any question, please don't hesitate to contact me on my e-mail hen2hope@gmail.com or Inbox me through my Facebook account [www.Facebook.com/henok.tesfaye11](https://www.facebook.com/henok.tesfaye11)

Please put tick on your choice

Part One: Background

1. Gender

A) Male

B) Female

2. Age

A) 18-24 B) 25-34 C) 35-44 D) 45-54 E) 55-64 F) 65+

3. Educational Status:

- A. Elementary (1-8) B. High School (9-12)
C. Tertiary Level D. Do not have attended formal education

4. Marital Status

- A) Single B) Married C) Divorced D) Widowed

Part Two: - The following questions are related to your trend on the use of social media.

5. From the social networks which one do you use utmost?

- A) Facebook B) Twitter C) YouTube D) Window live E) LinkedIn F) Instagram G) Flickr
H) If other, please state here _____

6. How long do you spend your time on FACEBOOK ?

- A. More than Five hours per day
B. Three hours per day
C. Two hours per day
D. Less than one our per day
E. Just occasionally

7. How many friends do you have on Facebook ?

- A) 50- 499 B) 500 – 999 C) 1000 – 1999 D) 2000 – 3499 E) 3500 –

8. For what purpose do you usually use FACEBOOK (put it in order)?

- A. For political news _____
B. For entertainment news _____

- C. To get in touch with my friends _____
- D. To share my opinion _____
- E. Just for habit _____
- F. For business _____

For other purpose (please specify it)

9. How much are you interested to follow political related posts on FACEBOOK ?
- A) Not at all B) Less interested C) Interested D) Very Interested E) Extremely Interested
10. How do you rate your participation in discussions on social media, especially Facebook ?
- A. I always participate
 - B. I frequently participate
 - C. I sometimes participate
 - D. I rarely participate
 - E. I never participate
11. From which media have you been getting the information regarding the recent protest in Ethiopia?
- A) Television B) Radio C) Newspaper D) FACEBOOK E) YouTube
 - F) Other (Please specify) _____

Part three: - The following are statements about the relation between violence and FACEBOOK in Ethiopia. To what extent do you agree with these statements?

12. FACEBOOK is the cause of the recent violence.

- A) Strongly agree B) Agree C) Neutral D) Disagree E) Strongly disagree

13. FACEBOOK has been the main catalyst for the violence.

A) Strongly agree B) Agree C) Neutral D) Disagree E) Strongly disagree

14. There were messages on FACEBOOK that call people for violence.

A) Strongly agree B) Agree C) Neutral D) Disagree E) Strongly disagree

15. I have seen posts on FACEBOOK happened on the ground.

A) Strongly agree B) Agree C) Neutral D) Disagree E) Strongly disagree

16. The posts on FACEBOOK have the power to influence people to make damages on people's life and material.

A) Strongly agree B) Agree C) Neutral D) Disagree E) Strongly disagree

17. The reasons behind the violence were based on true information.

A) Strongly agree B) Agree C) Neutral D) Disagree E) Strongly disagree

18. Without FACEBOOK , the violence may not be occurred.

A) Strongly agree B) Agree C) Neutral D) Disagree E) Strongly disagree

19. Without FACEBOOK , the violence may not be occurred at this extent.

A) Strongly agree B) Agree C) Neutral D) Disagree E) Strongly disagree

20. Hate speeches dominate the posts and comments on FACEBOOK .

A) Strongly agree B) Agree C) Neutral D) Disagree E) Strongly disagree

21. FACEBOOK is being abused in Ethiopia.

A) Strongly agree B) Agree C) Neutral D) Disagree E) Strongly disagree

22. FACEBOOK has great role for the political changes that recently occurred in Ethiopia.

A) Strongly agree B) Agree C) Neutral D) Disagree E) Strongly disagree

Part Four: - please write your opinion

23. What do know or think about the relation between FACEBOOK and the recent violence in Ethiopia and the consequent political change? Please share us your experience.

Thank you so much for your kind cooperation!!!

Appendix 2 Questions for FGD; English

1. What makes FACEBOOK to be the dominant social media in Ethiopia regarding political discussion?
2. What was the role of Facebook on the violence occurred in Ethiopia recently? Please tell us your own experience.
3. Without FACEBOOK how would you characterize the violence?
4. How do you evaluate the people's reactions for the hate speeches on FACEBOOK ?
5. How do you see the network among opinion leaders to create violence?
6. How do you put the role of FACEBOOK on the political change observed

Appendix 3: FGD Amharic

የቡድን ውይይት

እንኳን ደህና መጣችሁ የፌስቡክ ጓደኞቼ። ጥሪዬን አክብራችሁ ጊዜያችሁን በመሰዋት ስለተገኛችሁልኝ በጣም አመሰግናለሁ። በስልክ ገለፃ እንዳደረኩላችሁ በጋዜጠኝነት እና ኮሙኒኬሽን የሁለተኛ ዲግሪ ማሟያ ጥናቴን በማድረግ ላይ እገኛለሁ። የጥናቴ ርዕስም ባለፉት ሶስት አመታት በኢትዮጵያ ተቀስቅሶ በነበረው ሁከት እና በኋላም በመጣው ፖለቲካዊ ለውጥ ላይ የፌስቡክ ድርሻ ምን ነበር? የሚል ነው። እናንተ በፌስቡክ ላይ በተለያዩ ጉዳዮች ላይ በንቃት ተሳታፊ በመሆናችሁ ለጥናቴ አጋር እንድትሆኑ መርጫችኋለሁ።

ውይይቱን የምንጀምረው በመተዋወቅ ይሆናል

1. ስማችሁን፣ ሞያ፣ እድሜ፣ እንዲሁም ፌስቡክ መጠቀም ከጀመራችሁ ምን ያህል ጊዜ እንደሆናችሁ ትነግሩናላችሁ
2. በመጀመሪያ ፌስቡክ በኢትዮጵያዊያን ዘንድ የበለጠ ተመራጭ የሆነበት ምክንያት ምንድነው ትላላችሁ?
3. ፌስቡክን እየተጠቀምንበት ያለበትን መንገድ እንዴት ትመዘኑታላችሁ?
4. ፌስቡክ ባለፉት ሶስት አመታት በሃገራችን ተቀስቅሶ ለነበረው አመፅ ሚና ነበረው ብላችሁ ታምናላችሁ? እንዴት? የራሳችሁ ገጠመኞች ወይም ምሳሌዎች ካሏችሁ ብትነግሩን
5. ሚናው የውሸት ወሬዎችን በመንዛት ነበር ወይስ የተደበቁ ሚስጥሮችን በማውጣት እና ለውይይት በማቅረብ ነው?
6. ያለ ማህበራዊ ሚዲያ በተለይም ያለፌስቡክ አመፁ ሊኖረው የሚችለው ገፅታ ምን ይሆን ነበር?
7. በአጠቃላይ በሃገሪቷ ለመጣው የፖለቲካ ለውጥ የፌስቡክን ድርሻ አንዴት ታስቀምጡታላችሁ?
8. ፌስቡክን ማህበረሰቡ በፖለቲካ ውስጥ እንዴት ሊጠቀምበት ይገባል?