

Addis Ababa University
College of Social Sciences
Department of Sociology

The Role of Social Media in the Mobilization of Social Movement in Ethiopia

Betsegaw Getachew

Advisor: Taye Nigussie (PhD)

November 2019
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Addis Ababa University
College of Social Sciences
Department of Sociology

The Role of Social Media in the Mobilization of Social Movement in Ethiopia

**A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Sociology in the Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Sociology**

Betsegaw Getachew

Advisor: Taye Nigussie (PhD)

November 2019
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Betsegaw Getachew, entitled: *The Role of Social Media in the Mobilization of Social Movement in Ethiopia* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology compiles with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

Internal Examiner:

Name	Signature	Date
------	-----------	------

External Examiner:

Name	Signature	Date
------	-----------	------

Advisor:

Name	Signature	Date
------	-----------	------

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to express my heartfelt gratitude to all who contributed to the accomplishment of this research. My special appreciation goes to my advisor Taye Nigussie (PhD) for his substantial and constructive comments that genuinely addressed both the form and content of the paper. I am truly indebted as he patiently guided me throughout the course of my study. My deepest gratitude also goes to the study participants. Thank you all!

ABSTRACT

As social media has become a ubiquitous part of our daily life, questions remained to be answered by scholars who study social movements and new communication technologies. This thesis explored the role of social media in the mobilizations of social movements. To achieve this goal, the study set out to investigate the following specific objectives: explaining the factors which increase social media usage in social movement, describing the importance of social media in organizing social movement, describing how the content created on social media causes social movements, understanding techniques activists use to mobilize citizens for social movement, examining the effectiveness of social media as a tool for communication and community mobilization and to pin point the opportunities and challenges of social media as a social movement mobilization tool. A qualitative approach was employed to collect and analyze the data needed to address the aforementioned objectives. Accordingly, key informant interviews were conducted with 10 elites. Among which four were activists, two were journalists, and the rest four were government officials and political party leaders. Content analysis and semi-structured interview were also employed for triangulation. This study was premised by the assumption of Antonio Gramsci's theory which assumed that the mass can put revolutionary ideology into practice generated from social elites and intellectuals, mainly through social media. The study found that the development of social media in Ethiopia is very fast and in short period of time it showed a lot of progress. It also uncovered regarding social media the motive of the government is mainly collecting revenue by giving a telecom services and currently, there is no policy framework in line with social media usage in Ethiopia. Hence, the government better install policy framework. This study also revealed that the contents created on social media facilitate social movements since they are emotion triggering. Finally, this study uncovered, social movements are not created by a single cause but rather by a set of grounds that are interrelated. From among the several factors causing social movement, the system role failure and feeling of relative discrimination from opportunities and resources in contrast to others are supposed as the headlines. On one hand, the system wellbeing gaps are also underlying conditions that favor social movement by creating individual grievances.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgment	i
Abstract	ii
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vi
Acroynms	vii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Background of the Study	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem	6
1.3. Objective of the Study	8
1.3.1. General Objective	8
1.3.2. Specific Objectives	8
1.4. Scope of the Study	9
1.5. Significance of the Study	9
1.6. Operational Definitions of Important Terms	9
CHAPTER TWO	11
LITERATURE REVIEW	11
2.1. The Concept of Social Movement	11
2.2. An Overview of Social Media	12
2.3. Social Movement and Social Media	14
2.4. Social Movement Theory	18
2.5. Empirical Studies and Social Media	20
2.5.1. Functions of Social Media	21
2.5.2. Economic, Institutional and Social Wellbeing Gaps and Social Media	22
2.5.3. Factors Contributing to the Increasing Growth on Use of Social Media	25
2.6. Social Media and Current Discussions	26
2.7. Theoretical Framework of the Study	28
CHAPTER THREE	32
METHODS OF THE STUDY	32
3.1. Study Design	32
3.1.1. Philosophical World View for the study	32

3.2. Sources of Data	34
3.2.1. Secondary Data.....	34
3.2.2. Primary Data.....	34
3.2.3. Content/ Text Analysis	34
3.3. Participants' Selection.....	35
3.4. Methods and Procedures of Data Collection.....	35
3.4.1. Key Informant Interview	35
3.4.2. Semi-Structured Interview.....	35
3.5. Ethical Consideration of the Study.....	39
3.6. Methods of Analysis.....	36
CHAPTER FOUR.....	36
DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	37
4.1 Profile of Study Participants.....	37
4.1.1 Key Informants	37
4.1.2 Active Social media users.....	39
4.2 Social Media Usage and Trend in Ethiopia	40
4.3 Social Media and Social Movement Participation	41
4.4 Factors Increasing Social Media Usage in Social Movement	43
4.5 Social Media in Organizing Social Movements: Cases and Observations	46
4.6 Basic Causes of Social Movement.....	49
4.7 Contents Created on Social Media for Social Movements: Cases from Oromo Protest	50
4.7.1 The Success of the Oromo Protest against the Master Plan via Social Media	58
4.8 Techniques of Social Mobilization on Social Media	60
4.9 Importance and Effectiveness of Social Media in Social Movements	62
4.10 Interest and Role of Government in the Social Media.....	63
4.11 Policy and Legal Framework on Social Media	64
4.12 Strengths, Challenges and Opportunities.....	65
4.12.1 Strengths	65
4.12.2 Challenges and Opportunities	66

CHAPTER FIVE	69
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	69
5.1 Conclusion	69
5.2Recommendations	73
References.....	75
Appendix	

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1: Background Profile of Key Informants	42
Table 4.2: Background Profile of Active social Media Users	43

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Social, Institutional and Economic Gaps and in Relative Deprivation Contexts	23
Figure 2.2: Theoretical Linkage of Social Media and Social Movements	30

ACRONYMS

AAIMP	Addis Ababa Integrated Master Plan
BBS	Bulletin Board System
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IRC	Internet Relay Chat
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
WWW	World Wide Web

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

For many years the media evolution from print to radio, to TV and now online media has continued to influence mass opinions and perceptions. However, the emergence of social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube has taken this very concept a step further, with some arguing that social media now shape the opinions, perception and actions of the majority whose opinions were previously shaped by information from traditional and mainstream media houses (Kamp 2016).

In what we refer to as the “information age” or “digital age” our technological advancements in the area of ICT have helped overcome limitations of time and space in communication, information sharing and networking. This not only affects how we connect with other people and how we do business, but also how we interact in the political sphere. In that context, social media can be considered as a potential tool for facilitating the social movement (Kamp 2016).

For example, citizens’ can use social media to express and vent their anger, frustrations or acceptance of whatever actions government is undertaking. Online tools and social media can open new avenues for participation. Social media platforms can help citizens explore new ways of cooperation and collective action, they can provide opportunities for social movement around a common cause or for sensitizing the public on specific issues.

The term “social movement” was first introduced into scholarly discourse in the 1950’s by a German Sociologist, Lorenz von Stein (Tilly 2004). The widespread social movements seemed to erupt onto the social scene in the 1960s, including the civil rights movement, the student movement, the women’s movement, the farmers’ movement and the environmental movement. They were seen as “new” in terms of their orientation, organization, and style in comparison with the “old” labor movement which include workers collective complain by focusing on exploitation made in industries. The new movement were distinguished by informal organization and highly dependent on the mass media through which appeals are made, protests staged, and images made effective in capturing public imagination and feeling (Kate 2010).

Social movements have traditionally been defined as organized efforts to bring about social change (Janoski et al, 2005). In contemporary political sociology, social movements play a very important role to understand factors contributing towards social change. In the understanding of new forms of politics in the field, social movements have such a crucial place (Kate 2010), and it has been initiated in many different forms and on different levels across the globe in order to transform societies.

One of the contemporary issues in the study of social movement were an investigation of how people communicate and mobilize the mass towards a particular political, environmental, gender, and human rights issues. Social science researchers have been working to identify most likely conditions for the rise of social movements. Recently, the communication revolution brought about from the rapid rise of social media has led scholars to shift the direction of studies to the role and impacts of social media in mobilizing social movements. New studies are now looking at social media as a tool in shaping social movements' agendas and aiding collective action both online and offline at the local or global level (Lopes 2014).

The most interesting ability of social media is that it enables ordinary citizens to connect and organize themselves with, little to no costs, the world to bear witness and express their feelings. Social Media websites such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, LinkedIn and the various online blogs have arguably given a voice to individuals that otherwise would not be heard (Lopes 2014). Now a days, some main stream sociological explanations that treat the reproduction of the social order as practically inevitable are likely to be discredited, while the recurrent social movements came to bear the understanding that member of social movements are counter to the existing/reproduced social order/ status quo. The participants of social movements, therefore, operate assuming the existing culture need to be modified or changed instead of keeping the status quo which is a focus of main stream sociological concerns rather than critical sociology.

The use of social media inspired a variety of social movements that greatly influenced every aspect of peoples life were evidently experienced in different parts of the world. For instance, the social movement which has been observed since 2011 in almost all Middle East countries initially from Tunisia through to Egyptians 'occupy the street' were amongst the amplified social movements inspired through social media outlets and brought about social changes in respective countries.

In recent times, world politics have witnessed lot of events, where social media played a significant socio-political role. Social media led to major overhauling of the world politics. On one side long standing regimes of dictators got buried under the weight of revolutions, spearheaded by internet connectivity and on the other hand voters got influenced by the campaigns on social media (Kaur 2013)

The political landscape in the Arab world underwent a sea change. The revolutions sprung up and led to the throwing of long regime of dictators. Many political observers have credited social media for causing the revolutions. But the fact is that social media did not lead to the revolutions but played a catalyst role in speeding up. In 2010-2011, an intensive campaign of civil resistance, including a series of street demonstrations took place in Tunisia, which led to the ousting of long time President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. Social media played multiple and positive role in this revolution. Initially social media led to awareness and then it led to organization and finally it cleared the clouds of misinformation in Tunisia (Foley 2010).

In Egypt, 30 years long regime of Hosni Mubarak came to an end when unprecedented protest took place in Cairo. Social media helped the young Egyptian population to share their frustration, helped them to organize and made Egyptians realize that they all share deep antipathy against the misrule of Hosni Mubarak. President Hosni Mubarak was forced to resign and dissolve National Democratic Party (Kaur 2013). This is because of efficient use of the social media by the Egyptian youngsters' to organize protest against Hosni Mubarak.

In the contemporary world, social media is playing a significant catalyst role in social, economic and political change of a given country. Records from recent world history shows that social media tools are playing a significant role in bringing about regime change than fire weapons. According to Coup register Report (2019) almost more than 25 coup d'état were attempted across the globe since 2012. For instance, on 5 April 2012 an attempt Malawi coup, on 12 April 2012 a Guinea-Bissau Coup, on 13 June 2012 an attempt Ivorian coup, on 20 April 2013 an attempt coup in the Comoros, on 30 December 2014 an attempt Gambian Coup, on 17 September an attempt coup in Burkina Faso, on 15–16 July 2016 a Turkish attempt coup, on 29 March a 2017 Venezuelan coup, since 28 January a 2018 Yemeni coup d'état and many other coup attempted to bring about change by aggressive weapon force, but the only coup successfully completed was the 21 March Malian

Coup by Malian soldiers led by Captain Amadou Sanogo against President Amadou Toumani Touré. Accordingly, the visible difference between the results of attempted coup d'état and systems change in many of middle east countries which is supported by social media tools justifies to what extent social media is affecting and contributing to bring about changes than fire weapons.

The emergence of social movement is not new in Ethiopia. Since the Emperor Haile Selassie's regime (1930-1974), there had been many social movements, which exemplified by students' movements, religious movements, and civil servant movements (Pankhurst 1998). During Haile Selassie regime, there were frequent public grievances explained through opposition protests, particularly the students' and farmers' movements, in resistance to the unfair economic ownership and discriminatory system favoring feudal families at the expense of the mass. Similarly, according to Bahru Zewde (1991), during the Derg regime (1974-1991), also the mass collective resistance and confrontation was observed in opposing the then government system. In early 1974, Ethiopia entered a period of profound political, economic, and social change, frequently accompanied by violence. Confrontation between traditional and modern forces erupted and changed the political, economic, and social nature of the Ethiopian state.

Recently, in the country, issues of global justice and identity politics brought to world attention by social movements through social media outlets. As widely discussed in the academic literatures; the years since 2011 were years of protests, revolutions and political reform supported basically by social media worldwide. The protest and the movements in the country and abroad catalyzed by social media resulted in change in the political landscape. For instance, the spirit of social movement erupted in Oromia since 2012 essentially opposing the Addis Ababa Integrated Master Plan (AAIMP) at the mean time multiplied into multifaceted queries from peoples against government. This brought the then Oromia government officials to resign unwillingly to cope up with the demands of the social movement participants. This transformational forces were organized and mobilized by using social media especially Facebook.

Social media played a significant role on the current socio-political reforms in Ethiopia in that through social media outlets the contents created by activists easily reach social media users and distributed to the mass through word of mouth even if internet penetration is low in our country. Activists who have millions of followers in social media, like Jawar Mohammed could create

content on social media and easily influence the government to stop unjust act and mobilize the mass for social movement so that public grievance would be able to get government attention. For example, different mass strikes in Oromia regional state at different time were called and organized via social media outlets. Another example on the mobilizing power of social media was June 23's demonstration which is heled in support of the reform leader PM. Abiy Ahemed. As to many commentators' during that time, to organize this support demonstration the organizers and activists called the mass through social media outlets and non-users of social media was addressed through words of mouth rather than conventional media like TV and Radio, which is controlled by the then government. The result was more than 2,000,000 million people attended the demonstration and it was successfully completed. In addition to the above examples, another recent scenario on the mobilizing power of social media were peaceful demonstrations of December 05/2018 which were called in all cities and zonal towns of Amhara national regional states in pursuit of government attention to the deteriorating cultural and natural heritages like *Rock hewn church of Lalibela* and Lake Tana; to push the regional government to cope up with the reform leaders, and raised identity questions were organized by social media especially via Facebook.

Therefore, this new wave of protests is bringing focus on the role of social media, particularly Facebook, as a main force behind recent popular movements in Ethiopia. Much attention paid on the catalyst role of social media on social movement and why a group of individuals decide to mobilize the mass; since many scholars have concluded that grievances alone are not enough to create movements (Buechler 2000: 4). Recent literature has created models that combine these underlying motives for contention with social networks as the basis for movement recruitment and the path to popular mobilization.

In general, the above discussion shows the prominent role social media played in facilitation and exchange of user-created contents, which have been identified as a key role player to the rise of mass and diversified protests and supports. Therefore, social media labeled as the latest and most revolutionary tool in the formation and expansion of multiple form of social action, totally known as social movements. Hence, the objective of this study were to describe the role of social media in mobilization of social movements particularly in facilitating the unity and communication among activists /protesters and citizens towards accomplishing certain political and social goals.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

In the current media landscape, social media has taken on a very prominent role in social mobilization. It has evolved into a mainstream information channel and developed into a new online platform through which people organize their action. Social media influences almost every aspect of human interaction, and the online and offline worlds are increasingly merging. Social media has become one of the main channels through which people connect and communicate, as well as getting news, however as the technology develops, social media consumption habits and communication models are also changing unpredictably, both in terms of speed and direction. Social media has also emerged as a powerful weapon, used more and more frequently in information warfare (NATO 2016). In fact, the entire scope of communication taking place on social media has an essential global character, with inputs from people all corner of the world. Currently, social media is known as one of the latest and most revolutionary tools in the formation of social movements across all over the world. It became the most powerful tool in the effort to spread awareness easily and very fast towards the larger mass community parts and affect social change.

The potential condition for social movement and the prominent role of social media on social movement has attracted the interest of some scholars. Among the exciting analysis of scholars on social movement, Lopes (2014) identified a potential condition of social movements as opportunity structures (economic, social and institutional gaps), and the other prominent scholar- Gurr (1970), argues that even if institutions are able to catch up with societal and economic changes the feeling of relative deprivation will also lead people to social movement. According to Gurr, this feeling of relative deprivation from existing structures can be manifested through individuals' grievance character. That is, a relative deprivation from existing structures is a departure point for the individuals' grievance character, which is assumed to be a potential condition to create social movements. Due to its virtual feature, the social media communication culture has further intensified the feeling of relative deprivation and structural gaps to be transferred into social movement.

The role of social media on mass mobilization has attracted the interest of many researchers in the world in general, and on Arab world, in particular. Nevertheless, only few of the previous researchers and scholars said much about the affiliation between social media and social

movement, and made an analysis of these forms of social action with existing theories of social movements. Some of the scholars also looked at the power of social media to unite and mobilize the mass for their shared interests.

Shafi (2016), for instance, after studying the effect of social media use on dimensions of political knowledge at large Midwestern University in the US, concluded that social media consumption is negatively related with increases in political knowledge. However, Shafi failed to show the mobilizing power of social media for social change. Bekurov, et al, (2015), after studying the role of social media in sociopolitical processes, found that social media are becoming a political tool by coordinating sociopolitical movements throughout the world. Unlike Shafi, they rightly identified the major causes for social movement. Mutanana(2016), after studying social media and political mobilization, discovered that social media is effective tool of communication among citizens which have positive effects on social mobilization in bringing social, political and economic changes.

In Ethiopian case, few researches were conducted on the issue of social media. For instance, Tesfaye (2013) examined how Facebook served as an alternative political forum in Ethiopia and the strengths and shortcomings of the social media and concluded that Facebook has become an alternative platform for the public to discuss a wide range of issues. However, Tesfaye is not covered the mobilizing power of social media and his study limits itself to the Facebook post from mid-July until September of 2012. Dugo (2017) after studying the powers and limits of new media appropriation in authoritarian contexts, concluded that in authoritarian states where the traditional mass media are controlled by ruling elites, new/social media are strong alternative platforms to express the grievances of protesters seeking regime changes. Further Dugo stated that, in the case of Oromo protests, new media served as alternative platforms in a country where the independent press has been effectively crippled and the state controlled media serve as propaganda machines. He also concluded that social media are used as tools to mobilize, organize and share protest-related information and agenda. Furthermore, he found that until they were disrupted by states, new media technologies played key roles in spreading information and in coordinating protests activities over vast time zones and geographic expanses.

Dugo focused on social media as essential tool to introduce and networking participants of “distributed political protests.” In other words, he focused on social media’s role of connecting participants of a social movement with one another and also with protest-generated leaders as well as with leaders of political parties who often capitalize on the networking power of new media tools to negotiate power. But, he failed to show how the content created on social media cause social movements, how information from social media disseminated to ordinary citizen and what techniques activists use to mobilize citizens for social movement.

As the preceding discussion has shown, among researches so far conducted in Ethiopia, few researches have shown the mobilizing power of social media. As a result, the key question how the content created on social media cause the social movements, what techniques activists use to mobilize citizens for social movement and how information from social media disseminate to social media users and non-users have left disguised. Thus, this study aims at filling this gap by studying the role of social media on the mobilization of social movement in Ethiopia as an alternative mobilization tool to the common way of social movement and collective action based on sociological theories.

1.3. Objective of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The general objective of this study is to explore the role of social media on the mobilization of social movement in Ethiopia since 2012.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

Its specific objectives are:

- To explain factors increasing social media usage in social movement.
- To describe the importance of social media in organizing social movement.
- To describe how the content created on social media cause social movements.
- To understand techniques activists use to mobilize citizens for social movement.
- To examines the effectiveness of social media as a tool for communication and community mobilization.
- To pin point the opportunities and challenges of social media as a social movement mobilization tool.

1.4. Scope of the Study

This study described the role of social media, particularly Facebook, on the mobilization of the mass for social movement. The study was limited to social movements experienced in Ethiopia. On the other hand, it gave emphasis to the role of Facebook on mass mobilization. The study was also limit itself to the social movements experienced since 2012, particular emphasis were given to the Oromo protest against the Addis Ababa Master Plan from April-May and November 2015 into 2016.

1.5. Significance of the Study

The findings of the study basically would give valuable information for academicians and other researchers to take up further study in the area of the role of social media in social movements. The study would also provide suggestions on responsible usage of social media by different actors. Lastly, the study finding would help the marginalized groups to use social media outlets as mobilizing, organizing and catalyzing tool to voice their grievances against unfair treatment and systems gaps.

1.6. Operational Definitions of Important Terms

Activists: are people who get involved in the political process for the sake of promoting, impeding or raising awareness about a certain issue or set of issues.

Advocacy: is an activity by an individual or group which aims to influence decisions within political, economic, and social systems and institutions.

Blog: is a discussion or informational website published on the World Wide Web consisting of discrete, often informal diary-style text entries (posts).

Facebook active users: Active users are those which have logged in to Facebook during the last 30 days.

Grievance: a feeling of resentment over something believed to be wrong or unfair.

Grievance arrangers: is an individual's/groups who are interested and technically able enough in identifying, organizing and analyzing individual's manifested grievance against the government systems ill-being and relative deprivations on social media.

Information warfare: Information warfare is the tactical and strategic use of information to gain an advantage. It includes multiple types of operations and has been pursued in different ways on social media.

Opportunity Structure: are exogenous factors which limit or empower collective actors.

Psychological warfare: The use of propaganda, threats, and other psychological techniques on social media to mislead, intimidate, demoralize, or otherwise influence the thinking or behaviour of an opponent or the target group.

Relative deprivation: is the lack of resources to sustain the diet, lifestyle, activities and amenities that an individual or group are accustomed to or that are widely encouraged or approved in the society to which they belong.

Resistance: is an organized effort by some portion of the civil population of a country to withstand the legally established government or an occupying power and to disrupt civil order and stability.

Social Media: are a means of interaction among peoples through websites and applications that enable users to create and share self-generated content information, ideas and opinions in social networking.

Social Movement: is an organized and communal exertion/claim of the mass people, whether physically came together or not, to challenge the existing structure/status quo.

Social Networks: is a dedicated website or other application which enables users to communicate with each other by posting information, comments, messages, images, etc.

Structure/s: is a means of a number of functions like managing the state, regulating public affairs, decision-making and policy implementation, exerting leadership and the like which are considered as essential roles of government system.

System role failure: failure of different social system to play there expected roles.

Virality: the tendency of an image, video, or piece of information to be circulated rapidly and widely from one Internet user to another; the quality or fact of being viral.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The Concept of Social Movement

The term “social movement” was first introduced into scholarly discourse in the 1950’s by German Sociologist, Lorenz von Stein (Tilly 2004). It conveyed the idea of a continuous, unitary process by which the whole working class gained self-consciousness and power. Later, some defined it as collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities (Tarrow 1989/94). One of the most widely accepted definitions is that of Charles Tilly (2004), who defines social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others.

Accordingly, a social movement is defined as “conscious, concerted, and sustained efforts by ordinary people to change some aspect of their society by using extra- institutional means” (Goodwin & Jasper 2003). Such movements can be important vehicles for social and political change, and have the potential to transform the systems of institutionalized politics in which they occur (McAdam 2001). Social movements can give us an insight into human action and why people voluntarily cooperate and mobilize (Cameron 1974). They can also have implications in the spread of democracy or regime change.

While social movements are a worldwide phenomenon, there is much variation in its occurrence and orientation. Kate (2010) assumed that a social movement is the effect of the wellbeing gaps in economic, institutional, and social contexts (opportunity structures) of a country conditioned by its access to social media. The opportunity structures take into consideration the grievances that drive a social movement. These grievances can be derived from a change or deterioration of social, political, and or economic conditions. The mobilizing structure is the social networks and all resources necessary for popular mobilization, which in this case consists of social media as the fastest and cheapest way to mobilize.

2.2. An Overview of Social Media

Social media refers to the means of interactions through web based technology among people in which they create and exchange information, ideas and opinions in virtual communities and networks (Clark 2012). One of the first social media projects was called Usenet, a worldwide distributed discussion system, established in 1980, where users read and posted messages to one or more categories, known as newsgroups. In many respects Usenet and bulletin board system (BBS) were precursors of Internet forums which developed with the formation of World Wide Web (www) or Internet, as we call it today. One popular networking and media tool that developed out of BBS was Internet Relay Chat (IRC), where people communicated with each other in the form of text messages on group discussion forums (channels) and private. IRC became a popular networking and dating platform, especially among sexual minorities. Next significant invention in the field of social media was blogs, which gained popularity with the introduction of dial-up connections to the Internet. People were usually writing them in a form of online diaries, in chronological orders. Readers and visitors could leave comments or contact the authors. They were not only used to present news, opinions and experience, but also as a way of connecting remote communities, of some of the Canada's First Nation tribes used as an example of computerization movement through blogging form (Budka 2009).

The tremendous expansion of the Internet during the 21st century, as well as the development and spread of sophisticated mobile phone technology, has enabled and promoted the unprecedented growth of social media, generally considered to be any web-based or mobile communications technology that allows the creation and exchange of user-generated content. Scholars have classified social media into six categories: open-source, collaborative projects, blogs and micro-blogs, content communities, social networking sites, virtual game worlds, and virtual social worlds (Dewey et al, 2012).

From among the above classifications, as depicted by Dewey et al (2012), here under mentioned are the foremost social media outlets recently aiding as instrument to mobilize social movements:

Facebook is the largest and most ubiquitous social networking website on the Internet today. Developed in 2003, Facebook has since expanded significantly; the company opened its international headquarters in 2008 with an active user base of 100 million, and boasts a user base

of 845 million as of December 2011 (Dewey et al, 2012). But now as of the fourth quarter of 2018, Facebook had 2.32 billion monthly active users. Active users are to mean those which have logged into Facebook during the last 30 days (www.statista.com). Facebook users can create personal, group, and event pages and then post photos, videos, and text entries to other pages as well as chat in real-time, exchange private messages, and share longer notes with other users (Dewey et al, 2012).

Twitter, launched in 2006, is a popular social networking and micro-blogging service by which users can send and receive text-based posts of up to 140 characters, known informally as —tweets. While it was launched several years ago, Twitter has expanded most rapidly in recent years; as of August 2011 Twitter generated over 200 million tweets a day, up from 65 million the year before (Taylor Dewey et al, 2012). Now days more than 336 million monthly active users worldwide as of the first quarter of 2018, Twitter is one of the biggest social networks worldwide. The microblogging platform allows users to post messages containing 280 characters or less on their public or private feed.

Twitter has become an important tool for activists, politicians, marketers and celebrities to connect with their respective audiences in real time. The most followed Twitter account belongs to the singer Katy Perry, who had over 108 million Twitter followers as of February 2018. The ranking of the most followed Twitter users mainly contains singers – apart from Katy Perry, singer Justin Bieber had more than 105 million followers as well. The former President of the United States, Barack Obama, is the most-followed world leader (<http://www.statista.com>).

YouTube is currently the largest online content community, allowing its users to watch and share originally created videos. Since its launch in November 2005, YouTube had reached over 700 billion playbacks by 2010, with 70 percent of its traffic coming from outside the United States. Every day, more than 3 billion videos are viewed and 8 years’ worth of video content uploaded (ibid). But now as of 2018, YouTube had over 1.8 billion monthly active users. YouTube is even bigger than Gmail, and nearly as big as Facebook, with over 1.8 billion monthly logged-in users (<http://www.businessinsider.com>)

Blogs first emerged in 1998-1999 with the creation of Open Diary, Live Journal, and blogger.com. Briefly defined, weblogs, more commonly referred to as blogs, are “an easy-to-use content

management tool. When you ‘blog’ you are instantly adding new content to your site via a web interface. No technical or programming skills are necessary.” Blogging requires merely Internet access and typing skills, and these low-cost barriers have led to personal blogs proliferating worldwide (Wyld 2007).

As of Shaw (2016), social media has become an essential part of our lives as a vital tool of different kinds of communication which is equipped with the ability to air ideas, share views, mold opinion, connecting individuals and society as whole. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010), define social media as “a group of Internet-based applications that are built on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0”, and that allow the creation and exchange of user generated content. The significant features that demarcates the Web 2.0 generation from its predecessors are as follows; instantaneous feedback, user generated content, faster approach, self- sharing and collaborative roles with a new participatory platforms culminating alternative views shaping mass opinions and social views as a whole.

Furthermore, the availability of social media on mobile phones and web-based technologies gave an easy access to an interactive platform through which individuals and communities share, discuss, co-create and modify user-generated content. It has replaced the real world connections with its virtual world to a great extent that people not only share their personal experiences of different explorations but also freely discuss sensitive issues through social media.

2.3. Social Movement and Social Media

Manuel Castells has conceptualized how new network configurations can lead to new political movements by allowing previously disconnected, undeveloped political identities to take shape and rise to a prominent position (Castells 1997). This is particularly applicable to Arab countries where religions 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.

One of the leading social-media movement proponents in the US is New York University professor Clay Shirky. He believes that “the more promising way to think about social media is as long-

term tools that can strengthen civil society and the public sphere” and “social media can compensate for the disadvantages of undisciplined groups by reducing the costs of coordination. Larger, looser groups can now take on some kinds of coordinated action, such as protest movements and public media campaigns that were previously reserved for formal organizations. For political movements, one of the main forms of coordination is what the military calls ‘shared awareness,’ the ability of each member of a group to not only understand the situation at hand, but also understand that everyone else does too. Social media increase shared awareness by propagating messages through social networks (Suarez 2011).

“New media can have an impact by helping to transform individuals and give them new competencies that empower them in politics. This can be something as simple as taking a picture or a video with a smartphone, uploading that image or that footage to YouTube”. A second impact is “the way that new media draws external attention from citizens and governments outside the country or the region to that country or region to the place that is experiencing protest or conflict”. In this sense, the new media are a megaphone. “It is difficult to prove that communication via new media or social media is actually what brings people to the streets, especially in societies which have relatively low degrees of Internet penetration and Internet access. Perhaps the best illustration of the threat this information poses to authoritarian governments is their reaction to it. States have made a number of efforts to rein in Internet speech, including Internet” (USIP 2011).

The above discussion shows that the role of social media in creating social awareness and coordinating the mass for social movement. Below some prominent examples on the role of social media in social mobilization of some countries are discussed.

The Philippines

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, activists, with the help of forwarded text messages, were able to organize a protest at a major crossroads in Manila. Over the next few days, over a million people arrived. “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 that they reversed course and

allowed the evidence to be presented. The event marked the first time that social media had helped force out a national leader” (Shirkey 2011). On January 20, 2011, Estrada resigned.

Moldova

The first widely recognized use of social media as a tool of political revolution occurred in Moldova in 2009. Activists used Facebook, LiveJournal (an electronic diary service/social network), and Twitter to organize protests and bring attention to the political unrest in the former Soviet republic. Interestingly enough, during the protests, Russian-language Tweeters debated the role of social networking tools in organizing the demonstration (Hodge 2009). On April 6, 2009, following disputed general elections, protests broke out in the capital. On April 7, protestors were joined by opposition leaders in front of government offices in the capital. The demonstrators' numbers had grown from 10,000 the day before to nearly 30,000, in a metropolitan area of about 900,000. “Word had been spreading rapidly via Twitter and other online networking services. The official media carried no coverage, but accounts, pictures, and video of the rally were appearing in real time on Twitter and YouTube” (Mungiu-Pippidi & Munteanu 2009). Although the protestors failed to prompt a change of leadership or a new election, they got the world to focus on a small, remote country, and digital activism became recognized as a source of political power (Amin 2009).

Iran

In June 2009, Neda Agha-Soltan and some friends headed to the center of Tehran, Iran, to join an antigovernment protest following the disputed presidential election. Stuck in traffic, she got out of the car. Agha-Soltan was shot and died. Video of her death was captured on a cell phone. “With links to the video posted on YouTube, Facebook and Twitter, the amateur clip eventually harnessed the attention of the mainstream media, grabbing headlines on CNN and in the ‘New York Times.’ Agha-Soltans’ death became a symbol for the Iranian anti-government movement, and online social media amplified that symbol for the rest of the world to see” (Amin 2009).

The emergence of such a video flew in the face of Iran’s strong media censorship. It forced not only new crackdowns but also a move by the ruling government to exploit the same digital interfaces that were used against it. “It posted erroneous information about protest meeting times and

locations, and unsuspecting citizens showed up to be met by baton-wielding militia forces” (Amin 2009). The regime also planned to mobilize 15,000 members of the Basij paramilitary forces to suppress demonstrators in Tehran. Iran's civil resistance movement is unique because the government's tight control of media and the Internet has spawned a generation adept at circumventing cyber roadblocks, making the country ripe for a technology-driven protest movement (Schleifer 2009).

Social media proponents promoted the technology's role in the Iranian unrest, but a closer look reveals a more complicated picture. “Although there was a great deal of excitement about the role of Twitter in Iran after the presidential election more recent evidence indicates that twitter conversation about the Iranian protest occurred mostly among those in the West, and most likely was not used by Iranians to organize. Instead, Twitter and other social media were used to report protest events as they unfolded, replacing the foreign press and also creating international support for the movement” (Etling et al., 2009).

Tunisia

In December 2010, Mohammed Bouazizi set fire to himself “a desperate act of defiance following his denied attempts to work as a street vendor to support his family. The scenes of his self-immolation captured by passers-by and posted on YouTube as well as those of the mass protests that followed his funeral, quickly circulated in Tunisia and beyond” (Cottle 2011).

On January 11th protests reached the center of the capital city Tunis, and Tunisian president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali responded by ordering in the army and imposing a night-time curfew. The next day, tens of thousands took to the streets in Sfax, Tunisia's second city. On January 14, 2011, Ben Ali fled the country, ousted by a spontaneous populous uprising. Tunisia's population of 10 million people, known for their high levels of education and civic pride, became the first people in the Arab world to take to the streets and oust a leader. Although the Ben Ali regime blocked YouTube during the month of unrest, it did not entirely block Internet access, and seasoned cyber activists played bridging roles, reposting videos and Facebook content about protests from closed loops of private networks to Twitter and online news portals with greater reach. (Chrisafis 2011).

The protests, nicknamed the “Jasmine revolution,” led to the installation of a coalition government following elections. While new technology helped opposition leadership organize protests and easily communicate with followers, “it is simplistic to say social media caused [Tunisia’s] Jasmine revolution; the underlying economic and political causes were decades in the making. It is also unlikely that Facebook and Twitter will fill the leadership vacuum that now exists in the country” (Rash 2011).

Egypt

Google executive Wael Ghonim helped spark Egypt’s 2011 unrest. Egyptian businessman Khaled Said died after being beaten by police, who had videotaped themselves taking confiscated marijuana. Hoping to draw attention to police corruption, he copied that video and posted it to YouTube. Ghonim created a Facebook page called ‘We Are all Khaled Said.’ It featured horrific photos, shot with a cellphone in the morgue, of Said’s face. That visual evidence undermined the official explanations of his death. The Facebook page attracted some 500,000 members. Protestors flooded Cairo’s Tahrir Square under the watchful eye of a military that was loath to turn on citizens. To thwart the protestors, the government sought to block access to Facebook and Twitter and severely restrict access to the Internet. The strategy failed because the insurgents, with help from supporters around the world, were able to subvert the censorship. Also, Internet restrictions negatively affected companies’ and the government’s ability to do business. Under increasing domestic and international pressure, longtime Prime Minister Hosni Mubarak resigned February 11, 2011, following 18 days of protests (Rita 2011).

2.4. Social Movement Theory

According to Taylor et al (2012), social movement theories provide a helpful framework for understanding how individuals mobilize themselves in order to overcome collective action problems and for explaining individual variation in movement participation. Social movement theory also provides further context to the impact social media had as a means of mobilization.

Political struggle can take three different forms, as identified by Lopes (2014) as protest, collective action, and contention. Protests are generally an expression of popular consciousness that are manifested in “street politics”; collective action occurs when a population has a shared interest and coordinates action on behalf of that interest; contention involves “claim-making”, in which a party

demands certain actions that would affect multiple parties' interests. Social movement theory often posits that communities with dense network ties are more likely to experience collective action than those with sparser ties. On the individual level, those recruited to participate in social movements are likely to possess more social ties to those already in the movement. Strong social ties (close interpersonal ties such as family) or dense social ties (referring to a high number of ties) in networks often facilitate an initial request to participate in a social movement and then smooth the way to participation by lessening the uncertainty of mobilization; indeed, a strong predictor of participation in a neighborhood organization is when one resides in the same area as one's close friends or relatives, providing the strong and dense network ties that encourage and facilitate participation.

The other theoretical studies in describing social movements and their fueling power, the Neo-Marxist sociological theorists, as broaden and extended ideas of economic determinism (Marxist), assumed the possible preconditions for the existence of social movements. From among the popular Neo-Marxists, Georg Lucaks and Antonio Gramsci were the foremost theorists who assumed the mass reaction (social movement) as a result of mobilization from social elites and intellectuals. According to Lucaks, People in their interaction with nature in capitalist society produce various products, or commodities (for example, bread, automobiles, motion pictures). However, people tend to lose sight of the fact that they produce these commodities and give them their value. Value comes to be seen as being produced by a market that is independent of the actors. What Marx named as *fetishism of commodities*, the process by which commodities and the market for them are granted independent objective existence by the actors in capitalist society. Marx's concept of the fetishism of commodities was the basis for Lukács's concept of reification (Ritzer 2011). Reification is applied by Lukács to all of society—the state, the law, *and* the economic sector. This implies that, after once the people created the structures in the society the life and identity of the structure is independent from the society who created it. But, the structure created by the society has to deliver a fair service for the society based on their fair demand.

In the Lukacs work of 'Class and False Consciousness' he made it clear that class consciousness is neither the sum nor the average of individual consciousness's; rather, it is a property of a group of people who share a similar place in the productive system (Ritzer 2011). *Class consciousness* refers to the belief systems shared by those who occupy the same class position within society.

However, though Gramsci recognized that there were historical regularities, he rejected the idea of automatic or inevitable historical developments. Thus, the masses had to act in order to bring about a social revolution. But to act, the masses had to become conscious of their situation and the nature of the system in which they lived. Therefore, although Gramsci recognized the importance of structural factors, especially the economy, he did not believe that these structural factors led the masses to revolt. The masses needed to develop a revolutionary ideology, but they could not do that on their own. Gramsci operated with a rather elitist conception in which ideas were generated by intellectuals and then extended to the masses and put into practice by them (Ritzer 2011). Thus, for the purpose of this study, the investigator would like to assume the assumption of Antonio Gramsci's theory in which he assumed that the mass can put revolutionary ideology into practice (social movement) which is generated from social elites and intellectuals to describe the role of social media in supporting social movement, while social media is becoming one of the most popular channel of communication to spread awareness from social elites to ordinary people.

2.5. Empirical Studies and Social Media

Study on the usage of social media in stimulating social movements has only begun to surface in the last decade. Although social media is a relatively young phenomenon in our world, works on social movement and collective action has been around as early as the 1960s, providing scholars with important information in order to understand the impact of social media as an organizational tool (Leenders & Heydemann 2012). While most of these studies have focused on specific case studies – particularly in the Middle East following the ‘Arab Spring’ – to demonstrate how social media facilitated and promoted social movements, none show a worldwide view of its impact in the mobilization process.

Lopes (2014), in his essay “the impact of social media on social movements: the new opportunity and mobilizing structure”, argue that discovering new ways to mass organize is as essential to the emergence of social movements as the grievances that drive them. The introduction of social media such as blogs, Facebook, and Twitter as a new way to social network, has become the new catalyst tool in the formation of social movements. Lopes, proposed the opportunity structure (wellbeing gaps) as new variables, as well as the presence of social media as a mobilizing means in different countries in order to explain the occurrence of social movements.

2.5.1. Functions of Social Media

Social, institutional, and economic wellbeing gaps provide the underlying motives and conditions for social movements. However, grievances alone or even rational thought are not enough to bring people to act collectively (Buechler 2000). First and foremost, social movements need *organization* and resources. Resource mobilization theory argues that resources such as time, money, organizational skills, and certain social or political opportunities are critical to the formation and success of social movements. According to Lopes (2014), although types of resources may vary, the availability of applicable resources and actors' abilities to use them effectively are critical for collective action. Resource mobilization theory was also unlike earlier collective action theories in that it was the first to recognize the importance of influences outside the social movement by social media.

Charles Tilly (1984) argues that the primary unit of social movement is not individuals, rather the interaction between individuals. Individuals only participate in collective action when they recognize their membership in the relevant collective. The degree of group identification appears to be a strong predictor of collective action participation. Such identification can only grow out of *communication* between individuals (Lim 2012). Thus, social movements depend on social networks that will function as an initial core made up of densely know clusters of stronger ties that then mobilize weakly linked individuals spreading discontent into a mass movement.

According to Jurgen Habermas (1981), rational and critical discussion between ordinary citizens on public matters is essential to the public sphere, and today the media provides the primary spaces for such discussion (Butsch 2007). Conventional Medias' like newspapers, radio, television, and the Internet, all manipulated the abilities of citizens' engagement in the public sphere on different communicative levels (ibid). The relationship between the media and social movements are of critical importance. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) described the three major purposes of the media in social movements as: *mobilization*, *validation*, and *scope enlargement*. Mobilization is important not only for the participants themselves, but also for their message and the grievances the collective group is rising up against. Being covered by the media is important to validate the message as relevant, and it will also lead to a scope enlargement by the public sphere that might bring in new recruits to the cause (Butsch 2007). Movements depend on the media to generate public sympathy for their challenge.

Therefore drawing from resource mobilization theory, Gamson and Wofsfeld's three purposes of the media, social networks function to organization and communication seem to be the key conditions for the formation of social movements found in social networks and the media.

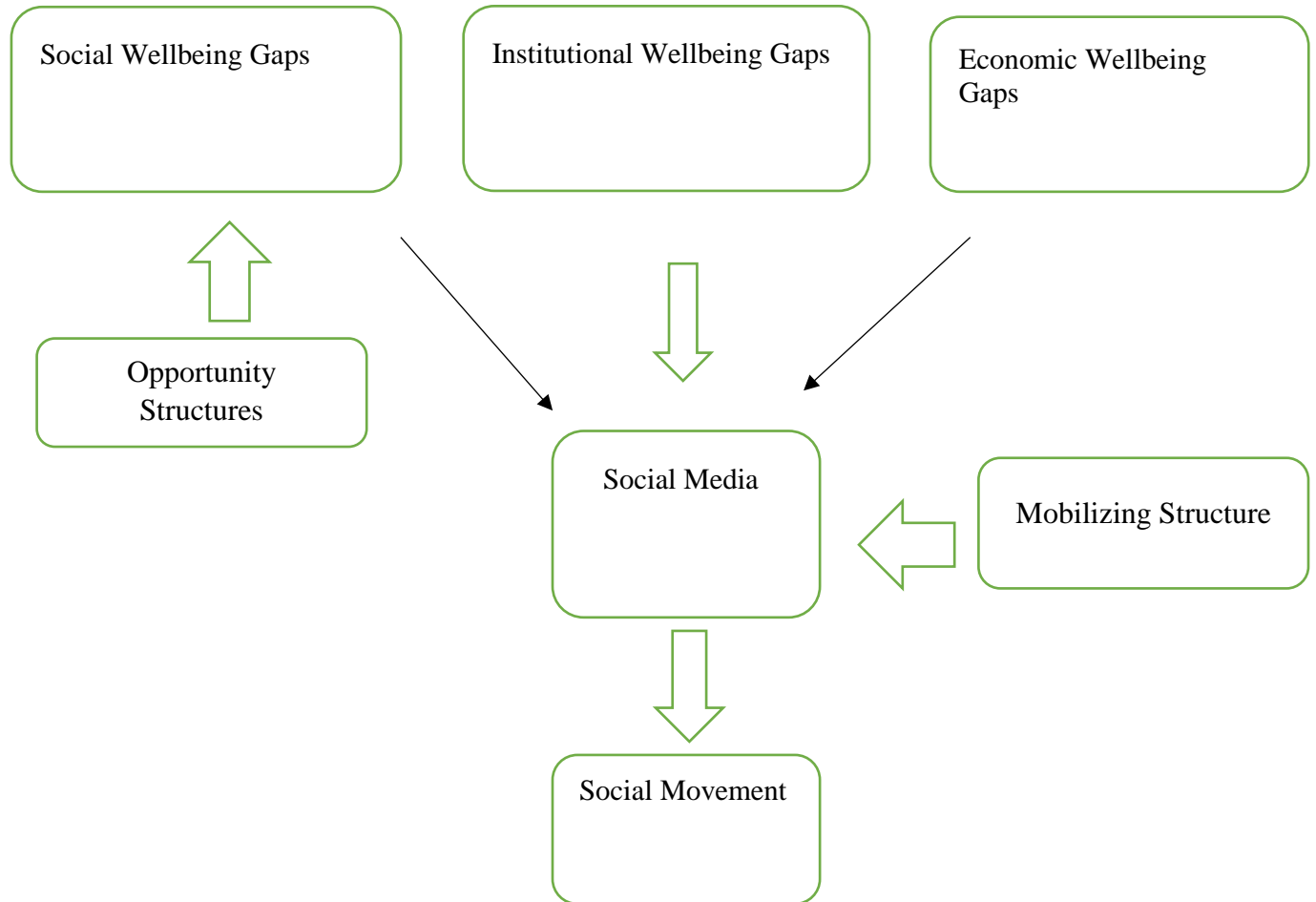
2.5.2. Economic, Institutional and Social Wellbeing Gaps and Social Media

According to Samuel Huntington (1968) arguments, instability surfaces when institutions cannot keep up with societal and economic changes. Consequently, society will strive to replace the current institutions with ones that can meet current social and political demands. However, Ted Gurr (1968, 1970) adds relative deprivation to fill in a gap in modernization theory. He argues that even if institutions are able to catch up with societal and economic changes the feeling of relative deprivation will also lead people to mass organize. Relative deprivation argues that people are motivated to organize out of a sense of deprivation or inequality brought forth by a comparison to others, or in relation to their own expectations. In this case, people will join social movements because their expectations will have outgrown their actual situation (Gurr 1968, 1970). As the gap between an individual's value expectations and value attainment grows wider, social frustration will grow. As of Gurr (1970), this gap is relative to the situation of an individual's neighbors. If everyone in an area is experiencing the same low level of value attainment, then relative deprivation will not develop.

Both relative deprivation and modernization theory explain the motives for social mobilization as a function of individuals' grievances and anger. Rational choice theory also introduces individuals as rational actors who make choices based on the costs and benefits of alternative courses of action that will most likely maximize their utility (Olson 1965).

These all above section explanations for social movements arising from opportunity structures wellbeing gaps and relative deprivation are depicted in Figure below:

Figure 2.1: Social, Institutional and Economic System Gaps and Relative Deprivation Contexts that Cause Social Movements.



Source: Lopes (2014)

The following section explain the terms indicated in the diagram briefly. Accordingly, Social wellbeing is an end state in which basic human needs are met and people are able to coexist peacefully in communities with opportunities for advancement. This end state is characterized by equal access to and delivery of basic needs services (water, food, shelter, and health services), the provision of primary and secondary education, the return or resettlement of those displaced by violent conflict, and the restoration of social fabric and community life. It is often measured by infant mortality, or literacy rate, but it is also tied to other economic and political variables. For instance, people are also likely to mobilize when a stable situation takes a turn for the worse, such

as an economic downturn (Tilly 1984). Economic well-being is defined as having present and future financial security. Present financial security includes the ability of individuals, families, and communities to consistently meet their basic needs (including food, housing, utilities, health care, transportation, education, child care, clothing, and paid taxes), and have control over their day-to-day finances. It also includes the ability to make economic choices and feel a sense of security, satisfaction, and personal fulfillment with one's personal finances and employment pursuits. Future financial security includes the ability to absorb financial shocks, meet financial goals, build financial assets, and maintain adequate income throughout the life-span. Economic wellbeing can be measure by GDP per capita or inflation. Social Movements is an organized and communal exertion/claim of the mass, whether physically came together or not, to challenge the existing structure/status quo. Social movement can also be political in nature, and in many instances the state is involved as not only the target but also the adjudicator of grievances (Tarrow 1994). When institutions cannot keep up with societal changes, people will strive to replace the current institutions with ones that can meet current social and political demands (Huntington 1968). The state may also provide some of the opportunities for individuals to mobilize such as regime instability, lessening of repression, and division among elites, which can be analyzed by measures of political effectiveness and political legitimacy. (McAdam 2001).

Grievances alone are not enough to bring people to act collectively (Buechler 2000). Social movements develop when individuals are able to collectively organize (Wright 2001). Mobilizing structures are the mechanisms that facilitate collective action, focusing mainly on the social networks and resources available in order to organize and mobilize people into a cause. Traditional methods of mobilization require knowledge, money, media, labor, solidarity, legitimacy, and internal and external support from some power elite (McAdam 2001). These traditional methods focus mainly on available resources and continuity of leadership.

The political use of social media such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, blogs, and cellphones have changed the traditional way of organizing social movements by providing more sources of knowledge (without media bias), reducing costs of coordination, and increasing the speed of information exchange (Shirky 2011).

One of the most revolutionary aspects of the use of social media in mobilizing is that it trivializes the need for elite support. Through the use of social media, individuals are able to connect with each other and organize at an incredible low cost. More than that, it is also a resource that is available to most people, which means even uncommitted individuals might have an opportunity to join the cause (Shirky). Opportunity structures are exogenous factors which limit or empower collective actors (social movements). In explaining the evolution of social movements' factors external to the movements themselves, such as the level and type of state repression, or the group's access to political institutions, shape the development of the movement. Therefore, Social, economic and institutional contexts provide the source of grievances as the motivation for action, but it also needs the presence and use of social media in order to facilitate collective action.

2.5.3. Factors Contributing to the Increasing Growth on Use of Social Media

The explosive growth of the Internet over the past decade has almost certainly changed the profile of the “computer addict” (Lopes 2014). With its convenient communication options and the World Wide Web, the Internet also opened new interactive spheres like several social networking sites with drastic technological advancements that have contributed immensely towards connecting people from different regions of society, sharing abundant information in all areas of interest.

It is pertinent to ask several questions, which are considered to be a developing one, and why the users of social media are gradually increasing all over the world. According to Shaw (2016), there are multiple factors inducing increasing usage of social media. For instance, it is easily accessible (availability of social networking sites via mobile apps), rich environment for user generated content (social media content ranged from pictures, music, video, contacts, locations information, chat transcripts and other information are user generated), inexpensive media (advent of social networking sites was a boon to the internet users where one can instantly share messages, ideas, opinions and information economically), communality of like interests (allows users to choose the individuals who have matching likes and dislikes and thus connecting with them to share ideas and common interests through virtual platform, joining common interests groups and communities), global connectivity (offers the fastest way to connect to people across the globe. In additions to the popular Facebook, Twitter, Blogs, LinkedIn, WhatsApp there are several other social networking communities that are dedicated to allow users so that they can connect over internet), and non-expert interventions (throws open a wide platform for not only knowledgeable users

sharing ideas but also inducing individuals to frame their opinions and share their views and beliefs of common interests).

2.6. Social Media and Current Discussions

Clay Shirky (2011) is one of the early scholars to write about social media as a new social networking tool for collective action. He argues that over the years, the world communication system has gotten denser, more complex, and more participatory. People have gained greater access to information, more opportunities to engage in public speech, and thus, enhanced ability to undertake collective action. Traditional organizational tools used to mobilize would make use of social hubs such as universities, coffee shops, group meetings, independent news sources, etc. to spread information. However, the rise of the Internet in the 1990's marked a changing point for world communication. The networked population has grown from the low millions to the low billions (Lopes 2014). At the same time, the creation and adoption of social media such as blogs, YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter have become a fact of life. Citizens, activists, nongovernmental organizations, telecommunications firms, software providers, governments – are all actors that engage and participate in social media sites. The work of Dorothy Kidd (2002) recognized the role of social media in democratizing communications challenging the top-down or vertical nature of mainstream media and allowing a more reciprocal communications between ordinary citizens.

According to Aakash Shaw (2016) contemporary argument, with the progression of society and a huge jump in technology, the steady rise of information and communication technology in the last decade has provided a democratic tool in the hands of the people. The arrival of social media like Facebook and Twitter has transformed the communication process and one of the distinguishing features of social media that mobilize thoughts, further to contributing towards social movement.

The social media as a mobilizing structures discussed by Aakash Shaw provided five key aspects to the formation of social movements. These were: communication, organization, mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement. All of these characteristics are still relevant and important today. In fact, Shirky argues that social media replaced the old mobilization structures and became the new coordinating tool for nearly all of the world's popular movements in the recent years, because of its ability to encompass all of these characteristics.

First, “social media introduces speed and interactivity that were lacking in the traditional mobilization techniques, which generally include the use of leaflets, posters, and faxes” (Eltantawy & Wiest 2011). Facebook and Twitter are able to reach millions of people from all over the world as events are happening. The diffusion of information between different countries through traditional media outlets generally takes longer than information going through social media. The fast spread of information – especially internationally – helps with validation, mobilization, and scope enlargement. Perhaps one of the most striking features of this new method of communication is its ability to bypass the bias of official sources and the mass media, and give a voice to ordinary citizens in transforming the political landscape of their country (Clark 2012). “This is an arguments for information abundance freed from the shackles of a mass communication system that broadcast from one to many” (Downey & Fenton 2003).

The arrival of social media as a communicative global forum, giving priority to identity-sharing and the freedom of expression, thus giving birth to new order of social and communicative realities, with the above-mentioned features which increases the technological potential of social media. Thus, social media on one hand becomes a platform for the interface between people having similar views in the virtual sphere and on the other hand, it is also a powerful tool to influence public opinion and government policymaking. However, the advancement in technology has transformed the space in the public sphere as described by Habermas. Therefore, it is essential to understand the impact of this prospective dimension of social media which gives rise to social movements (Aakash Shaw 2016:4). Thus, the causal relationship between social media and social movements is visually observed from enormous protests and staged public grievances almost all over the globe which are mobilized and organized through using a number of social Medias.

Unlike old social hubs, social media have created massive networks that not only connect the entire world, but also give people the ability to easily publicize opinions at a low cost, and to the speed and scale of group coordination. It also compensates for the disadvantages of undisciplined groups by reducing the costs of coordination. These changes might not allow uncommitted groups to take action; however, they will allow committed groups to play by a new set of rules.

The Internet and mobile technology are some of the most important ingredients changing the way news are created and disseminated today (Serafeim 2012). For instance, in social movements such

as the one seen in Egypt or the Occupy Wall Street movement, the wireless communication tools were the prevalent mobile technological devices being used in capturing video and photos at these events that ‘aimed to make a shift in the government by providing unbiased and unedited content to the public’ (Clark 2012). News are also portable due to cell phones, personalized because Internet users have customized profiles on topics that is of particular interest to them, and participatory because users have contributed to the creations of news, comments, or its dissemination via Facebook and Twitter (Serafeim 2012).

Social media has also provided new sources of information that cannot be easily controlled by authoritarian regimes. Shirky writes that a condition of “shared awareness” in a population that experiences discontent with its current situation creates what he calls the dictator’s or conservative dilemma – which can also happen in democratic regimes. The dilemma is created when access to new media, such as social media, increase public access to speech or assembly. A state accustomed to having a monopoly on public speech finds itself called to account for anomalies between its view of events and the public’s. The traditional response would be censorship and propaganda; however, neither is completely effective in silencing citizens with access to social media.

2.7. Theoretical Framework of the Study

The theoretical framework for this study will base on different theories that will offer a great opportunity for my own analytical research. The first part focuses on Jurgen Habermas modernization theory and relative deprivation as a departure point for the discussion emphasizing on the role of conscious individuals’ grievances as the base condition for social movements.

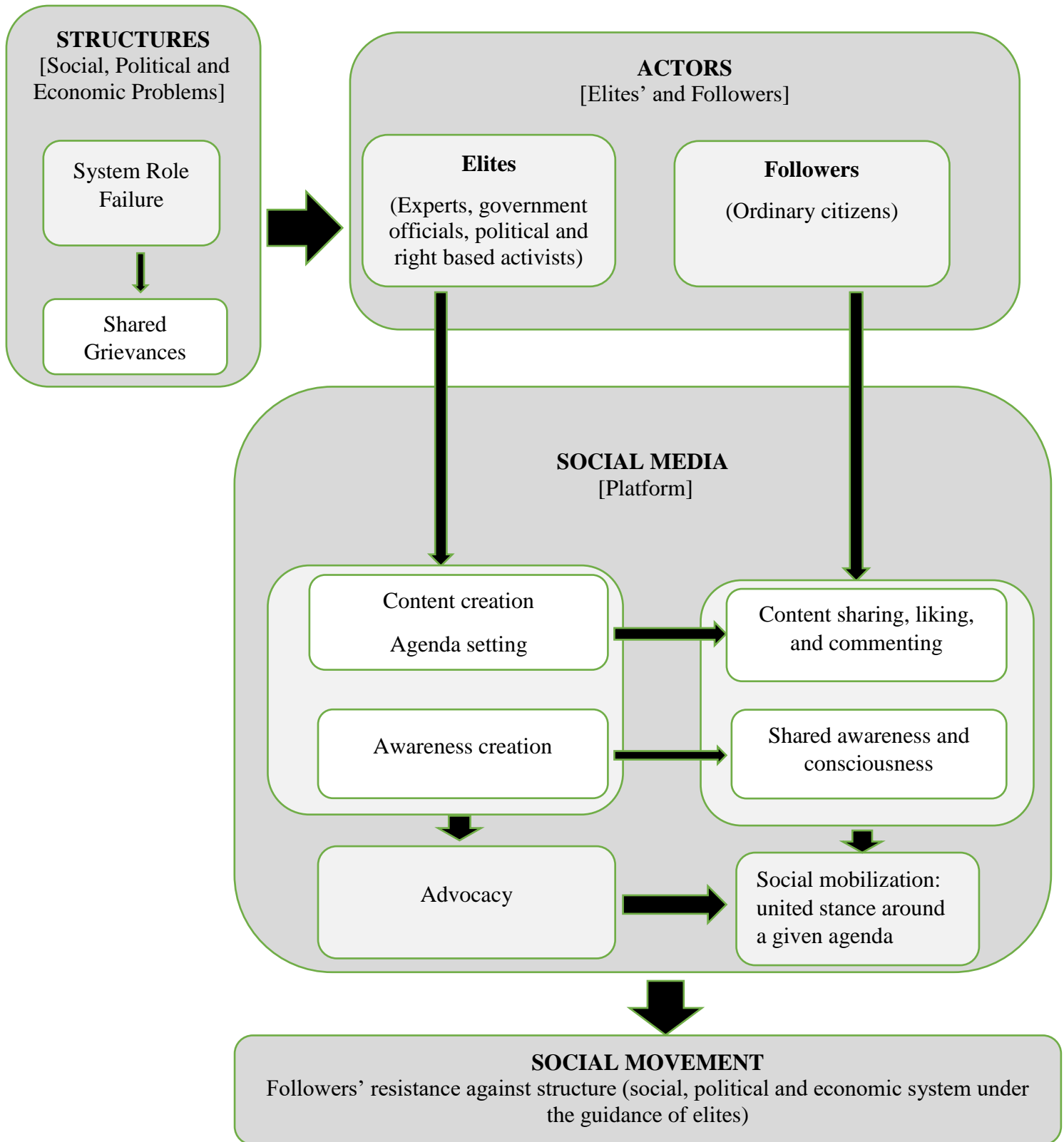
In *The Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere* (1962), Jürgen Habermas emphasizes the public sphere as ‘a realm of our social life in which something approaching a public opinion can be formed’, neither institutionally controlled nor dominated by private interests, as a necessary requirement for a well-functioning democracy. The public sphere also relies on rational and critical discussion between private individuals on public matters, to which access is guaranteed to all citizens. According to Butsch (2007), the media is providing the primary spaces for such discussion. Involvement and participation in the public sphere has been changing throughout history, with many of the changes coinciding with the growth of technology and its subsequent effects on our media. From newspapers, radio, television, and the Internet: all manipulated the

abilities of citizens' engagement in the public sphere on different communicative levels (Clark, 2012).

According to Habermas, it is not only action but also communication that has to be rationalized to bring about modernity. Rationality is grounded in the communication process whereby people become more reflective regarding their implicit and taken-for-granted common sense assumptions. While further discussing the mediated public sphere of Habermas, Roger Silverstone (2007) describes an associated term, *mediapolis*: "The mediated public sphere where contemporary political life increasingly finds its place, both at national and global levels, and where the materiality of the world is mainly constructed through electronically communicated public speech and action." Thus the significance of our life in the mediapolis is digitized – and the platform in which people are currently experiencing a majority of their public sphere is via social media and their digital devices. As to Silverstone (2007), the public is an aspect of what it means to be human, because people can only experience meaning in relation to others (Clark, 2012).

The second part uses Antonio Gramsci's Neo-Marxist theory as the mass can put revolutionary ideology into practice generated from social elites and intellectuals for the discussion emphasizing on the role of social media in mobilizing individuals for social movement. This theoretical framework uses social media, to explain the mechanisms through which ideas were transferred to create and extend social movements. The last part, discusses about social media as latest and most revolutionary tool in the formation and expansion of contemporary social movements.

Figure 2: The Theoretical Linkage of Social Media and Social Movement



Author's own construction based on review of related literature (2019)

The following section describes the terms indicated in the diagram briefly:

Activists: are people who get involved in the political process for the sake of promoting, impeding or raising awareness about a certain issue or set of issues.

Advocacy: is an activity by an individual or group which aims to influence decisions within political, economic, and social systems and institutions.

Grievance: a feeling of resentment over something believed to be wrong or unfair. It is raised when individual or a group of people (normally two or more) and/or their representative(s) against unfair practice of the government such as violation of rights, denial of benefits, injustice and etc.

Relative deprivation: is the lack of resources to sustain the diet, lifestyle, activities and amenities that an individual or group are accustomed to or that are widely encouraged or approved in the society to which they belong.

Resistance: is an organized effort by some portion of the civil population of a country to withstand the legally established government or an occupying power and to disrupt civil order and stability.

Social Media: are a means of interaction among peoples through websites and applications that enable users to create and share self-generated content information, ideas and opinions in social networking.

Social Movement: is an organized and communal exertion/claim of the mass people, whether physically came together or not, to challenge the existing structure/status quo.

Structure/s: is a means of a number of functions like managing the state, regulating public affairs, decision-making and policy implementation, exerting leadership and the like which are considered as essential roles of government system.

System role failure: failure of different social system to play there expected roles.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHOD

3.1. Study Design

The study were conducted with the objective of describing the role of social media on the mobilization of social movement. To this effect, the study employed a qualitative approach guided by constructivist philosophy to collect and analyze the data needed to address the various i

ssues central to the study. The study were used qualitative approach since it allows describing, in detail, a situation or set of circumstance from the participants view point (Dawson 2009). The study was guided by constructivist philosophy. Unlike positivism, constructionist is concerned with how human interaction helps to create social reality, and committed to the naturalistic perspective and interpretative understanding of human experience. Time wise, this study was retrospective cross-sectional because the study were conducted at one point in time while referring to the past.

3.1.1. Philosophical World View for the Study

According to Creswell (2009), Research design, refers to the plan or proposal to conduct research. It involves the intersection of philosophy, strategies of inquiry and specific methods. Here the worldview means "a basic set of beliefs that guide action" or a general orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher holds. It is also called paradigm or epistemologies and ontologies (Guba 1990; Lincoln & Guba 2000; Mertens 1998; Crotty 1998; cited in Creswell (2009)). The types of beliefs held by individual researchers will often lead to embracing a qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods approach in their research. There are four different worldviews. These are: post positivism, constructivism; advocacy /participatory and pragmatism (Creswell 2009). Below each world views are briefly discussed.

The post positivist assumptions have represented the traditional form of research, and these assumptions hold true more for quantitative research than qualitative research. Post positivists hold a deterministic philosophy in which causes probably determine effects or outcomes. Thus, the problems studied by post positivists reflect the need to identify and assess the causes that influence outcomes. It is also reductionistic in that the intent is to reduce the ideas into a small, discrete set

of ideas to test, such as the variables that comprise hypotheses and research questions: The knowledge that develops through a post positivist lens is based on careful observation and measurement of the objective reality that exists "out there" in the world. Thus, developing numeric measures of observations and studying the behavior of individuals becomes paramount for a post positivist. Finally, there are laws or theories that govern the world, and these need to be tested or verified and refined so that we can understand the world. Thus, in the scientific method the accepted approach to research by post positivists, an individual begins with a theory, collects data that either supports or refutes the theory, and then makes necessary revisions before additional tests are made (Creswell 2009).

Another group of researchers holds to the philosophical assumptions of the advocacy/participatory approach. This worldview is typically seen with qualitative research, but it can be a foundation for quantitative research as well. In the main, these inquirers felt that the constructivist stance did not go far enough in advocating for an action agenda to help marginalized peoples. An advocacy/participatory worldview holds that research inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda. Thus, the research contains an action agenda for reform that may change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live, and the researcher's life. Moreover, specific issues need to be addressed that speak to important social issues of the day, issues such as empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression, and alienation. The researcher often begins with one of these issues as the focal point of the study. This research also assumes that the inquirer will proceed collaboratively so as to not further marginalize the participants as a result of the inquiry. This philosophical worldview focuses on the needs of groups and individuals in society that may be marginalized or disenfranchised. Therefore, theoretical perspectives may be integrated with the philosophical assumptions that construct a picture of the issues being examined, the people to be studied, and the changes that are needed (Creswell 2009).

Another position about worldviews comes from the pragmatists. There are many forms of this philosophy, but for many, pragmatism as a worldview arises out of actions, situations, and consequences rather than antecedent conditions (as in post positivism). There is a concern with applications-what works and solutions to problems instead of focusing on methods, researchers emphasize the research problem and use all approaches available to understand the problem (Rossman & Wilson 1985; Cited in Creswell 2009).

This study holds a social constructivist philosophical world view/ perspective, it is typically seen as an approach to qualitative research (Creswell 2009). Social constructivists hold assumptions that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences-meanings directed toward certain objects or things. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. According to Creswell (2009), the goal of the research is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation being studied. Thus, in this study the researcher was collected and interpreted data by holding this basic assumption, and interviewees were asked to explain their own experience and view in line with the mobilizing power of social media in social movement.

3.2. Sources of Data

3.2.1. Secondary Data

Different online social network websites, official Facebook pages' groups and personal accounts were used as a source of data to describe the role of social media in supporting social movements.

3.2.2. Primary Data

The study primarily relied on qualitative data collected through in-depth interview and semi-structured interview from different activists, social media users, journalists', political party leaders and government officials.

3.2.1.1. Content/Text Analysis

In order to meet some objectives and to validate the data obtained through other research methods; content analysis was employed in this study. It included reviewing of social media personal accounts and pages of some activists. Accordingly, contents posted by five prominent activists on their Facebook personal accounts and pages were analyzed. According to Neuman (2014), in a content analysis study, researchers gather and analyze the content of text. The text is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication. It includes books, newspaper or magazine articles, advertisements, speeches, official documents, films or videotapes, musical lyrics, photographs, articles of clothing, Web sites, or works of art.

3.3. Participants' Selection

Based on conceptual saturation, ten key informants and nineteen active social media users were selected. The participants of the study were activists', political party leaders', journalists', government officials and ordinary citizens', who use social media on frequent basis and have detail knowledge on it. To select these participants of the study, non-probability sampling technique, particularly purposive sampling were used. Which is a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide, which cannot be obtained from other sources (Babbie 2007). The intention was to have a deeper understanding on the role of social media in mobilizing the mass for social movement.

3.4. Methods and Procedures of Data Collection

Details, relevant and dependable primary data were collected from the participants' point of view by employing Key Informant Interview and semi-structured interview.

3.4.1. Key Informant Interview

Key informants were those whose social positions in a research setting give them specialist knowledge about other people, processes or happenings of social movements that is more extensive, detailed or privileged than ordinary people, and who are therefore particularly valuable sources of information to a research objectives. For the purpose of this study; political party leaders, higher government officials, journalists, and activists were categorized as key informants. A key informant is simply someone who, by virtue of his particular position in the society, knows a great deal about the role of social media in social movements.

3.4.2. Semi-Structured Interview

Semi-structured interviewing method is perhaps the most common type of interview used in qualitative social research. In line with the objective of the study, purposively selected participants (ordinary citizens who use social media) was interviewed by using semi-structured interview checklist tool.

3.5. Ethical Consideration of the Study

There were important ethical concerns that the investigator took into account while carrying out the study. From among many ethical concerns, anonymity, confidentiality and informed consent of the participants were considered very carefully. These are to mean that, the names of the actual participants were replaced by secret code, the information provided by informants were kept at the investigator with discretion and it was not be disclosed for anyone. And finally, the participants' willingness to participate in the investigation process were take place by their personal verbal consent before they engaged into interview session.

3.6. Method of Analysis

The study employed thematic and content analysis and the data were presented using descriptive/ narrative method, in which the data were analyzed on the basis of theories, as a strategy of analysis (Neuman 2007). Then the researcher was organized the collected data in to themes in line with the objectives of the study and on the basis of different prior assumptions or theories on social movement. The analysis were started right after the first few interviews. Data Analysis Technique

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Profile of Study Participants

Background profile of study participants is presented under this subsection.

4.1.1. Key Informants

Ten key informants from different walks of life but who, in one way or another, are actively involved in social media and issues related to it took part in this study. These participants were selected as representatives of four categories (activist, journalist, government, and political party).

Accordingly, four of the study participants were activists¹, two were journalists (one in a state-run media and another in a private media), two were top federal government officials (a state minister, and a communication and information affairs director in a federal government ministry), and the remaining two were leaders of their respective opposition political parties (one deputy chairman and the other a general secretary).

Representing the age group of youths and adults, four of the key informants were females and the rest six were males. In terms of their educational levels, more than half of the key informants (six) held Master's degrees, while the remaining four held Bachelor's degrees. Using pseudonyms, the following table presents details of these study participants.

¹ Though all the activists had an occupation other than activism, what counted for their inclusion in this study was their master status— social media activism.

Table 4.1: Background Profile of Key Informants

Sr. No.	Sex	Age	Educational level	Occupation / engagement	Category in this Study
1.	Male	36	Master's degree (MSc)	Activist	Activist
2.	Male	32	Bachelor's degree (BA)	Journalist	Journalist
3.	Female	41	Master's degree (MBA)	State minister	Government
4.	Male	47	Master's degree (MA)	Deputy chairman of a political party	Political party
5.	Female	28	Bachelor's degree (BSc)	Activist and accountant	Activist
6.	Male	55	Master's degree (MA)	Director of communication	Government
7.	Male	43	Bachelor's degree (LLB)	Human rights activist and lawyer	Activist
8.	Female	24	Bachelor's degree (BA)	Journalist	Journalist
9.	Female	33	Master's degree (MBA)	General secretary of a political party	Political party
10.	Male	40	Master's degree (MSW)	Activist and project manager	Activist

4.1.2. Active Social Media Users

In order to triangulate the data obtained from key informants, data were also collected from 19 active social media users through semi-structured interview. Regarding composition of these interviewees, five were students, eight were self-employed, three were government employees, two were NGO employees, and one was a private firm employee. All participants represented the youth age group and eleven of them were males. In terms of their educational levels, five were undergraduate students, three were diploma graduates, eight were Bachelor's degree holders and the remaining three had Master's degrees. The following table presents details of interviewees using pseudonyms.

Table 4.2: Background Profile of Active Social Media Users

Sr. No.	Sex	Age	Educational Level	Occupation / Engagement
1.	Male	20	Undergraduate student	Student
2.	Female	19	Undergraduate student	Student
3.	Female	22	Undergraduate student	Student
4.	Male	35	Master's degree (MA)	Sponsorship specialist
5.	Male	26	Bachelor's degree (BSc)	Blogger
6.	Male	32	Master's degree (MA)	Project officer
7.	Male	28	Diploma	Merchant
8.	Female	23	Diploma	Driver
9.	Female	24	Undergraduate student	Student
10.	Male	33	Master's degree (BSc)	Blogger
11.	Male	25	Undergraduate student	Student
12.	Female	27	Bachelor's degree (BA)	Blogger
13.	Male	31	Bachelor's degree (BA)	Analyst
14.	Male	29	Bachelor's degree (BA)	Social Media Analyst
15.	Female	27	Bachelor's degree (BA)	Public Relation
16.	Male	30	Diploma	Merchant
17.	Male	29	Bachelor's degree (BA)	Blogger

18.	Female	26	Bachelor's degree (BA)	Blogger
19.	Female	34	Bachelor's degree	Artist

4.2. Social Media Usage and Trend in Ethiopia

According to Global Digital Report (2018), since January 2017 annual internet users' growth is 37%, active social media users is 15%, mobile connections is 11% and active social media users are 20%. This report also stated that, as of January 2018 there were 53.3 million mobile connection and the number of internet users are 16.4 million people. This same report stated that the number of active social media users are 3.8 million and among which active mobile social media users were 3.6 million.

From the above fact we can understand that both internet and social media usage in Ethiopia is growing very fast from time to time. It also indicated that most of the social media users use social media via their mobile phones. Similarly, all participants of this study agreed that usage of social media in Ethiopia has been increasing from time to time. According to a self-employed informant known for his social media activism, Bikila, "social media has become a natural daily routine for many Ethiopians from all walks of life and in all ages."

The informants particularly stressed that social media usage in Ethiopia considerably increased within the past five years. According to Meron, usage of "Social media recently has been growing very fast." Frewoyini, the state minister, supported this description of trend when she stated "the development of social media in Ethiopia is very fast, and in short period of time it showed lots of progress." And below is how Tantu, the political party leader, responded to the question about the development of social media usage in Ethiopia:

"Social media usage especially that of Facebook, has been growing very rapidly. The growth in the last one year has been dramatic. The number of Facebook users is increasing in every corner of the country."

The above statements also show that, social media usage is increasing very fast in Ethiopia. This development of social media is related to the development or distribution of telecommunication service in the country. Due to the expansion of telecommunication service and different technologies like mobile phone and data, people could easily get and use

electronic devices for social media. The most popular social media is Facebook, because the platform is user friendly and people can use Facebook for entertainment, to find new friends, and to get different information.

The above statement is also supported by literature. In January 2018, the number of monthly active Facebook users were 3.8 million and annual growth in Facebook users since January 2017 is 15%. Among the total number of monthly active Facebook users 95% access Facebook via mobile phone (Global Digital Report 2018).

4.3. Social Media and Social Movement Participation

The following subsection present and discuss social media and social movement participation while focusing on roles of different actors and their methods of participation.

As to the participants of the study, elites as well as the literates and those who have mobile phones among the general public are the main users of social media. One of the study participant and active social media user, Nejat stated: “both the participants of social media and movement are the youth, politicians’, journalists, elites and generally the mass.” For Frewoyni, “while religious groups, ethnic groups, gender-based groups, professionals, journalists and activists are the main actors on social media, ordinary citizens are the actual participants in social movements.” Feleke, supports Frewoyni’s view while saying: “now a days, everyone takes part in social movements, especially the youths.”

From the above statements we can understand that, both the Participants of social media and movements are different groups of people, including the youth, elites, and the mass in general. Based on, the study data we can divide the users of social media into two. These are the writers, who are few in number, and ordinary users, those who can read and write and are many in number. The writers are those who create content on social media and finish their work of writing and posting some contents on the social media and ordinary users are those who read and follow these few writers. These are real participants in the demonstration and different movements.

While the mass, youths in particular, are the key players in social movements, activists take the role of guiding and motivating the youth on social media for social movement. Utilizing a variety of online tools, with specific attention to social media applications, activists were able

to communicate, organize and plan social movements, while keeping those people who could not attend the event informed.

Therefore, social media users can be classified into content/opinion makers (agenda creators) and followers. In this regard activists create content on social media and transfer it to the mass. The reviewed literature also confirmed the finding of this study. According to Shirky (2011), citizens, activists, nongovernmental organizations, telecommunications firms, software providers, governments – are all actors that engage and participate in social media sites. Therefore, nowadays social media become everyday life reality while engaging people from every walk of life. Pertinent to the above discussion Gramsci elitist conception indicated, ideas were generated by intellectuals and then extended to the masses and put into practice by them (Ritzer 2011).

Study participants stated that, participation in social media aimed at mobilizing social movements is made possible through posts, comments, sharing and liking a given content.

Bikila responded that: “I participate on social media, as an activist, by posting different contents to reach my thousands of followers.” Similarly, Frewoyini said that:

“I am active social media user and most of the time I get important information on social media posted directly by activist, media institutions, and friends or shared, liked and commented by others.”

Other study participants also shared the same notion regarding methods of participation in social media and social movements. According to Meron, for instance, “with the aim of facilitating social movements and initiating the mass, I participate in the social media by posting different messages and pictures.” As active social media participant, Abiy stated that, “I access the posts by activists on social media through social media engagement tools of like, share, post, and comment.”

From the above data we can understand that participation in social media for social movement is possible through social media engagement tools of liking, posting, commenting and sharing. These contents created by activist reach the users by engagement tools on social media and to non-users by word of mouth to initiate social movements.

In line with the findings of the study, reviewed literatures indicated that social media, such as Facebook, have recently become virtual public spheres where individuals exchange ideas on (Trans) national and local matters (Bennett 2003; Castells 2007; Cramer et al., 2011; Habermas, 1987, 1996, 2006), by making comments, sharing information, donating money, and/or organizing online and offline actions.

4.4. Factors Increasing Social Media Usage in Social Movement

According to Shaw (2016), there are multiple factors inducing increasing usage of social media for social movement. For instance, it is easily accessible, rich environment for user generated content, inexpensive media, communality of like interests, global connectivity and non-expert interventions.

Similarly, this study found that, one of the reasons behind the increased usage of social media in social movement is its easy access. The study participants reasoned that easy access and affordability of mobile phones, smart phones in particular, and the resultant increasing number of smart phone users are the main factors responsible for the increasing number of social media usage for social movement in Ethiopia.

As to the human rights activist and lawyer, Abdurahman:

Social media usage in social movement increased from time to time, the reason behind this development is the increasing number of mobile phone users and the availability of android phones with reasonable price, which are also easy and user friendly.

Similarly, Tantu indicated that “the reason for its increased usage is the availability of smart phones, the expansion of mobile data and the ability to use social media on non-android cheap phones.” Emphasizing the fact that internet is now easily accessible through mobile data connection, Frewoyini explained that “the increased usage of social media in social movement is because of the introduction of mobile data since the majority of social media users use through their mobile phones.” Tayech, a general secretary of a certain opposition political party, summarized the aforementioned factors for increased usage when she stated: “Expansion of technology and mobile phones as well as easy access to the internet are among the main factors responsible for increased social media use.”

From the above statements, we can understand that the usage of social media is increasing from time to time and the reason behind this increment is its accessibility, the availability of mobile data and smart phones. Shaw (2016), statement on factors inducing increasing usage of social media supports the finding of the study, as he stated the multiple factors inducing increasing usage of social media. For instance, it is easily accessible (availability of social networking sites via mobile apps).

The finding of the study also indicated that untrustworthiness of main stream media increased the usage of social media as an alternative information source. Study participants stated that, the increased social media usage have direct relationship with the main stream media nature, access and trustworthiness.

On top of the above reasons, which are generally related to easy access, the public's lack of trust on mainstream media has contributed to the increased reliance on social media outlets. To this, all key informants who raised the issue of mainstream media asserted that lack of reliability and untrustworthiness of the mainstream media increased the usage of social media.

According to Hawi, a private media journalist, "I attribute the increased usage of social media in social movements for the partisan nature of the mainstream media and as it is less reliable." She added that it is "the weakness of mainstream media that encouraged the increased usage of social media." Frewoyini further noted:

In my view the mainstream media denied freedom of speech, it is partisan and mostly owned by the government. As a result, its reachability and acceptance were in question. Therefore, when the reliability and acceptance of mainstream media decreases it gives an opportunity for social media to attract many people to use it and vice versa.

From the above statements by the participants, we can say that the increase in social media usage has direct relationship with the main stream media nature, access and trustworthiness. That is when the reliability of mainstream media is very low, it will lose credibility and trust by the public. Therefore, these increase the usage of social media.

According to Shaw (2016), non-expert interventions (throws open a wide platform for not only knowledgeable users sharing ideas but also inducing individuals to frame their opinions

and share their views and beliefs of common interests), contributed to the increased usage of social media. Similarly, the finding of this study indicated that openness and absence of censorship increased the usage of social media in social movements in Ethiopia.

According to Bikila, “social media gives information that the mainstream media failed to provide, social media is open and least censored and controlled by the government and users could easily get information.” Here, indicating that “social media is participatory”, Feleke termed this condition “citizen journalism.”

High youth unemployment rate was also identified by study participants as inducing increment of social media usage. Typically, since a pool of youngsters left without job, they spent a lot of time on using social media in discoursing/chatting with others on different agendas as a normal habit. Addiction to social networking sites also contributed to its increased usage.

From this we can understand that, people who frequently visit social networking sites like Facebook will be addicted to using social media which give them an opportunity to see and share ideas. While supporting this finding, (Lopes 2014) stated that, the explosive growth of the Internet over the past decade has almost certainly changed the profile of the “computer addict”. With its convenient communication options and the World Wide Web, the Internet also opened new interactive spheres like several social networking sites with drastic technological advancements that have contributed immensely towards connecting people from different regions of society, sharing abundant information in all areas of interest.

In support of the above finding, Solomon stated that,

Following the expansion of higher education in the last 20 years, thousands of new graduates are joining the labor market each year and labor market has failed to accommodate all new graduates, as a result a number of graduates who graduated in different fields of study could not find job and stay for years looking for a job. In my opinion this high unemployment rate, increased social media usage and social movement participation of the youth.

The above statement indicates that, high unemployment among the youth left them jobless and let them to spend most of their time on social media while chatting, and attending

different information on social media from the activist and this made social movement participation very easy. In support of this discussion, the Central Statistical Authority's 2014 Employment, Unemployment Report stated that, more than twenty thousand graduates were jobless. Although the Ethiopian economy is advancing, the job market could not absorb the relatively skilled human resources, thereby leaving tens of thousands of people at the crossroads.

Another reason of increasing usage of social media is its cheapness. It is cheaper to use online social networking for both personal and business use because most of it is usually cheap. Unlike in other forms of media like electronic or print, one has to pay a certain amount of money for a news item to get published. A person can guide out his/her followers and target audiences with just a few clicks. Supporting this study finding, Shaw (2016) stated that inexpensiveness of social media (advent of social networking sites was a boon to the internet users where one can instantly share messages, ideas, opinions and information economically) increased its usage.

Supporting this finding of the study, Demekech stated that, “I frequently use social media especially Facebook, because it is cheap and I can easily access it through my mobile phone.” Supporting Demekech’s statement, Tayech pointed out that, “Social media as a mobilization tool is cheap and accessible”. From this we can understand that the inexpensiveness and accessibility of social networking sites, especially Facebook is the pull factors to use it for different purposes.

4.5. Social Media in Organizing Social Movements: Cases and Observations

As shown in Chapter Two, dealing with the literature review, it is stated that social media play a vital role in facilitating, organizing and mobilizing social movements. After reviewing the literature that examined the role of social media in organizing social movements Aakash Shaw (2016), concluded that social media as a mobilizing structure provide five key aspects in the formation of social movements. These were: communication, organization, mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement. All of these characteristics are still relevant and important today. Lopes (2014), further noted that the introduction of social media such as blogs, Facebook, and Twitter as a new way to social network, has become the new catalyst tool in the formation of social movements.

Similarly, this study found that social media as a platform for social movements plays a role of organization, facilitation and mobilization of social movements in Ethiopia. Supporting this stance, next are some series of cases and observations shared by the informants.

“Recently, I observed several social movements which happened at different time and place in Ethiopia. Among many we can take the (Oromo protest (#Oromoprotest) which is basically, in opposition of the Addis Ababa masterplan, and different protest against the incumbent government were also observed at different places and time. In Oromo protest, other activists and I could easily organize the youth for social movement at different time using social media. Even if some activists live abroad, they could receive information and give direction easily through social media for social movement. This movements, which was highly assisted by social media, even highly contributed for the current change in our country.”

Bikila, 36, Activist

“Following the Arab spring there was a lot of social movements, which was supported by social media at different place and time. In Ethiopia, there were a lot of social movements which are highly supported by social media. For example, the Oromo protest against the Addis Ababa master plan, was highly organized and activists could easily give direction via social media to organize the mass for social mobilization. We can also take support demonstration for Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, there were also different strikes against the incumbent government in different regions of the country which are highly supported and organized by social media.”

Feleke, 32, Journalist

“Among many social movements that I observed recently, the Muslims opposition movement was the one which is highly supported by social media.

In this movement Muslim activists who live both in the country and abroad used different social media channels, like Facebook to call, provide information, organize, facilitate and mobilize this movement.”

Frewoyini, 41, State minister

“In 2015/16, I remember mass demonstration throughout the country which was called by social media, especially by Facebook. These are the events which forced to bring the current change in our country. For example, in Amhara region, in all *woredas* activists could call peaceful demonstration using social media by disseminating the same message in the same time to call people through Facebook for social movement. For instance, on August 23, 2016, activists called upon the mass for peaceful demonstration in Amhara regional state via social media.”

Tantu, 47, Political party leader

“Since 2014/15, there were different movements which were assisted by social media in Ethiopia. For instance, we can take #Oromoprotests and #Amhararesistance. The #Oromoprotest in social media became mostly used hashtag in social media and it was also ranked as the most used hashtag by BBC. Recently, there were also movements, which are called by social media like absence from work, staying at home sabotage, and public transport ban. Social media succeeded in facilitating this sabotage in organized manner. In Burayu’s case, activists could call and mobilize the mass for movement via social media. Different demonstrations in Addis were also facilitated by social media. ... Even the change in our country is attributed to the revolution of social media.”

Abdurahman, 43, Activist

“On social media platform like on Facebook, I observed that when activists easily call and mobilize their followers and others on the ground for any intended actions up on the government or other bodies. In our country, there

were many social movements which we can mention and observed at different time and place. Among many movements, the following were prominent: movements and strike in different regions of southern nations, nationalities and peoples' region following the request for regional administration, the Oromo strike against Addis Ababa master plan, and National Fano movements which is basically related with identity. These movements were highly supported by social media especially Facebook.”

Jigssa, 31, Active social media user

Based on the above cases and observations, we can conclude that social media as tool of mobilization played a fundamental role of facilitating, organizing, and leading recent and different social movements which happened in various regions of the country. The findings of the study also confirmed that the major platform for social movements is social media. Among the cases and observations recounted by the study participants in support of their arguments were the #Oromoprotests and #Amhararesistance, the Arab spring, and Muslims opposition movements. Literatures, as discussed in chapter two, also suggest that social movements organized by using social media could overthrow oppressive governments or dictators in North Africa and Middle East. These examples prove that social media has gained an importance determining politics and social movements. In support of the study finding on the role of social media in organizing social movements, Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) described the three major roles of social media in social movements as: mobilization, organization, and facilitation.

4.6. Basic Causes of Social Movement

As discussed in Chapter Two, the system ill-being and feeling of relative discrimination from resources and opportunities are among the basic reasons causing a public grievance which is necessary condition for mass collective action. In support of this, Abdurahman stated that:

“The system which was led and organized by minority groups made the mass group to be marginalized and denied from legitimate benefits. This insisted the victim group to organize themselves and react against the biased system.

Recent social movement in different parts of Ethiopia is also not something far from this reality.”

This informant’s thoughtful expression implies that, the system ill-being and feeling of relative discrimination from resources and opportunities are among the basic reasons causing a public grievance which is necessary condition for mass collective action. But the public grievance which assists the creation of mass collective actions was fundamentally derived from political activists’ understanding and justification. Because, all public members are not able to reasonably see and understand systems-gap and relative deprivation; which basically demand technically equipped and professionals’ interpretation against wellbeing status standards. For example, “if intellectuals and Facebook did not exist, the suppression upon some groups might not be understood and shared by the mass. Subsequently, the problem which is not understood as problem by the mass community might not be addressed.” This view clearly indicates the paramount role of intellectuals and social elites in identifying and disseminating public issues through social media.

Hence, the role of social media in supporting the flow of information from intellectuals and social elites to the mass community is very significant. Social media is a forum where popular grievance is entertained particularly upon government structure role failure and systems deficit. Social media helps people bring together to claim for their common rights and demands.

I argue that, it might be possible to identify public issues by political activists with/without utilization of social media, but it would have been quite difficult to ascertain the recent social movements in different parts of Ethiopia. Social media was kept the utmost accessible and dependable channel of communication to convince the mass people and provide evidences about the identified issues to make them get ready for collective action.

4.7. Contents Created on Social Media for Social Movements: Cases from Oromo Protest

While the basic cause of social movements is the system ill-being and feeling of relative discrimination from resources and opportunities, I argue that the nature of the contents that activists post on social media also catalyze the speed on the formation of social movements.

On the following section, in addition to the Primary data collected from key actors like activists, I also analyzed the content of public posts, posted by well-known activists on their page or personal accounts of Facebook during the Oromo protest, while trying to mobilize the mass against the incumbent government and Addis Ababa Integrated Master Plan (AAIMP) of 2012. This plan is aimed to expand the capital, by approximately 1.1 million hectares into Oromia territories (hereafter, the Addis Ababa Master Plan). This expansion aimed to accommodate the demands for residential, commercial, and industrial properties by a growing middle class in the capital as a result of an economic boom Plan.

As indicated on Country Information and Guidance Note of (2016), following this Plan announced by the government to substantially expand Addis Ababa, which would have reportedly incorporated around 30 towns and villages in the Oromia region and displaced thousands of farmers from their land without adequate compensation, there were protests across the Oromia region in April-May 2014 and from November 2015 into 2016. On the proceeding section, I tried to put and analyze some contents posted by prominent activists on December 2015(a period when #Oromoprotest reached a peak), while trying to provide information to their followers and lead the protest in organized manner. For further information on the posts I used in my analysis, you can refer on the annex part.

On the midst of Oromo protest, one of the prominent activists wrote the following in his personal Facebook account while opposing the very nature of the master plan:

“Stop your madness with master plan and resolve the master problem...the bottom line is Finfinne (*Addis Ababa*) is at the heart of Oromia, geographically, politically, culturally and economically. Any plan developed for the city without the participation and approval of the Oromo people and Oromia state for the city is bound to adversely affect Oromo people, economically, culturally, and politically. Hence, it has been and will be rejected and resisted. Similarly, any plan contested by the Oromo’s and bound to fail harming residents of the city. Thus, before you embark on any fancy talk of master plan, sit down and resolve master problem... Oromia’s historical and constitutionally affirmed right and interest over the city of Addis Ababa.”

Similarly, another prominent activist while opposing the master plan stated as:

“Leaving behind the unresolved constitutional right over Finfinne (Addis Ababa), the TPLF government is going to grab our fertile land and clear the indigenous dwellers. ... When farmers of these areas are forced to leave their land, caused by road and industrial area construction, they usually don't receive any equivalent compensation, and many find themselves migrating to find another daily labor occupation to survive their big family. Bear in mind that, Oromo are not against interconnection and integration of cities and towns that enhance mutual development of other parties, but we are against the clearing of indigenous people, losing right of land, the political administrative issue and not least the geographical and identity issue.”

The above contents states that the master plan has not kept the interest and constitutional right of the Oromo people and it developed without the participation of this people. These activists promote the rejection of the master plan. This post could reach millions of people and liked, commented and shared by thousands. From this we can understand that, the nature of the contents posted by activists which disclose the misdeeds of the governments and the pain of the victims is viral and could easily mobilize social movements by triggering the emotion of the mass. Because, all public members are not able to reasonably see and understand systems-gap and relative deprivation from resources, political activists present this deprivation in simple language on social media, to mobilize them for social movements. Therefore, Activists are agenda setters and content creators on social media.

In support of the above discussion, Bikila's stated as:

“As an activist, I transfer both positive and negative information to mobilize the mass for social movements. I do this as I wish and based on my goal. If I wish to oppose the government or some other groups based on their wrong did, I post negative posts which are against the wrong did of the government or some other groups. For instance, I may disclose the violation of right by the government like in the case of Addis Ababa Master Plan or I may also disclose the failure of the government through exaggerating it on the way my followers understand it. Based, I could arouse the emotion of my followers

and could call them for social movement. Since many users of social media are just followers, without questioning, they easily accept a call from activists and go for demonstrations and some other movements. Even if the main stream media falsify and justify the contents on social media by activists, our followers believe us than the corrupted main stream media. Therefore, the information's on social media could be both positive and negative, but have power to arouse emotions of the mass to participate on social movements.”

From the above statement, we can understand that activists could easily manipulate the mass based on their interest through creating emotion triggering contents on social media and easily mobilize the mass for social movement.

Another notable activist posted the following on December 31, 2015 on his personal Facebook page: “#OromoProtests: “የሀገስ ጌታነት የቶላ ዘበኛነት ያበቃለታል። ወይ ቶላ ጀግንነቱን አሳይቶ ለትግል ተሰውቶ ልጁን ነጻነት ያገናጽፈዋል፤ ወይ ሀገስ እኩልነትን ተቀብሎ በሰላም አብሮ መኖርን ይቀባላል!” This is directly translated as: “The statuses of Hagos as a lord and Tola as a guard is destined to end. Either Tola will heroically sacrifice his life in struggle and bequeath freedom to his child or Hagos will agree on the notion of equality and live peacefully.”

The key to understand the above statement is the name of two individuals, “Tola and Hagos”. Hagos is Tigrigna name and Tolla is Afaan Oromo name. The literal message wanted to convey by the activist is that, superiority of the Tigrians over the Oromo's will end with patriotic sacrifice unless Tigrians' willing to live peacefully and equally with others.

This post reached and shared by millions in different social media plat forms and aggravated the Oromo protest. In this post, we observe ethnic implication in that one ethnic group is taking the advantage in different aspects over others. It is also sensitive and invites the deprived group for protest. This indicates that activists post contents which are sensitive, awakening and have ethnic implications.

Abdurahman confirmed the above expression as he responded to the question how the content created on social media cause social movements:

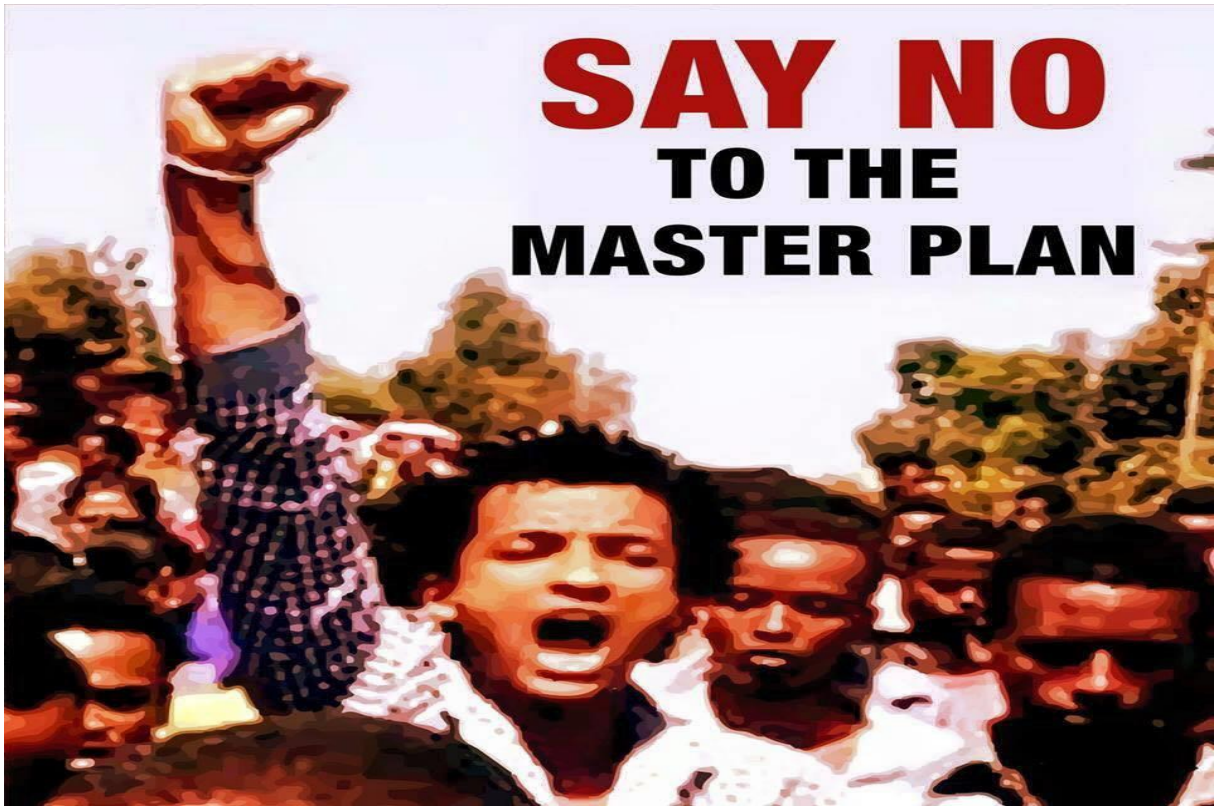
“As an activist, the agenda we create on social media facilitate social movement in different ways. For instance; in my own case, most of the

discourse which I post on Facebook have ethnic connotation and sensitive in nature. Since racism is the result of victim mentality and collective pain that is you become nationalist when you feel that you are victimized by some other groups, especially the government and different systems. That means, if I found evidence that shows violation on the rights of my ethnic group or any citizen, like denial of equal access to resources, and victimization by some other groups based on their ethnic identity, I promote this on social media to let the voice of this poor people to be heard and to let them protect their right by protesting the wrong doings on them by the government.”

Supporting this description, Feleke stated that, “The information on social media to create/support social movement are a kind of “*metabih*” and “*metalih*” type these are based on issues related with ethnicity, religion, political affiliation and so on.” Furthermore, Hawi described the posts pertaining social movements that she observed on social media on the following way:

“Most of the posts on social media pertaining social movements are emotion triggering which could easily arouse the emotion of the mass. For example, reporting the death of somebody from a certain group by using some terrible pictures, this picture may not really express the scenario. The posts on social media which arouse social movement were posted with words and sensitive pictures. In addition to this, the posts have ethnic and religious connotation since these topics are very sensitive which easily arouse people for social movements.”

The following series of posts by different activist during the Oromo protest, confirm the above statements by key informants:



This famous post was posted on December 7, 2015 on the campaign against the Master Plan on Social Media. Which could mobilize million on different social media plat forms.



This post is posted on December 2, 2015 by well-known activist while explaining the situation in Oromia in relation to the Apartheid of South Africa. It conveys the message that “The massacres of young school children by Apartheid regime.”



December 10, 2015 · 🌐

I wish we got details of this amazing picture. It should sink into z pages of history books vis-a-vis #OromoProtests <https://t.co/vT1DFvKDGJ>



This is also a post posted by the same activist, on December 10 to portray the consequence of the Master Plan to the inhabitants, while urbanizing the region.



December 23, 2015 · 🌐

#OromoProtests this is how they tortured singer Hawi Tezera last week when they detained her briefly before Oromia Police intervened and released her. Imagine what kind of torture she is undergoing now?

=====

Torban darbe yeroo qabanitti Hawwi Tazarraa yeroo qabaa keessatti miidhaa akkanaa irraan gayanii turan. Amma dhuunfannaa isaanii jalatti erga guututti kuftee waan irra gayu yaadaa. Torban darbe yeroo qabamtetti akkana jettee turte.

"Gaafa guyyaa 07.04 2008 ishiwaan lafara harkiste na tumte guyya dhihoo akkan matàa kesa gadi sin waqaruu abidi guddan qaba polisoni oromiyaa akka rasasini nu hin rukune waregaa gaafas gotan ga'ani koo guddadha"



A post on December 23, 2015 on Facebook which shows a tortured singer Hawi Tezera. The activist stated this scene as, “this is how they tortured singer Hawi Tezera last week when they detained her briefly before Oromia Police intervened and released her. Imagine what kind of torture she is undergoing now?”



A post on December 21, 2015 by another prominent activist while trying to portray the death toll on the Oromos in Oromo protest against the Master Plan and unjust system of the government.

This is also a post on December 24, 2015 by noticeable activist and opposition leader in Oromia protest:

“As tens of thousands of TPLF soldiers are currently occupying almost every town and village in Oromia, rape of women and girls is widely reported. In villages and small towns men and boys are jailed and soldiers raid house at night terrorizing women and children. Thousands of female students and civil servants in make shift prisons guarded by soldiers. Medical personnel have been sending credible information that is too graphic to share in public and we are compiling and sending it to human rights organizations. This heinous crime must be condemned by every human being. Tigrean elites within or outside the regime must act now before it’s too late to reverse course.”

From the above series of posts posted by different activists on their Facebook pages, we can understand that the contents activists deliver on social media to create/support social

movement are timely, and sensitive which have ethnic, and political implications which could easily cause social movement as people accept and follow these activists, since they think these activists speaks out their pain. The study participants stated that the contents created by activists on social media reach the mass through word of mouth and social media engagement tools, which are sharing, liking, and commenting. In addition to this, key informants stated that these contents reach the mass through boosting or increasing reachability by payment. According to Feleke, “the posts posted by activists on social media, reach the mass through share, like and comment on these contents by the users and then by word of mouth to the non-users.”

Therefore; based on the findings, we can conclude that contents created on social media by activists were based on religion, political out looks and ethnicity were very sensitive, and emotion triggering. These contents easily arouse the mass for social movement. On the other hand, the information is timely. In support of the finding of the study, the existing literatures indicated that the social media platforms facilitate the exchange of emotional and motivational contents in support of and opposition to protest activity, including messages emphasizing anger, social identification, group efficacy, and concerns about fairness, justice, and deprivation as well as explicitly ideological themes. In support of this discussion, De Choudhury et al.’s (2016) points, pointing to social media as a platform for continued involvement and reflection around issues related to race and policing and highlighting its significance for developing common understandings of ideology and a shared sense of movement identity.

4.7.1. The Success of the Oromo Protest against the Master Plan via Social Media

Social media is becoming a powerful and effective mobilization tool in the modern world. As a result, in the past few years, there has been increase of Facebook pages created by activists in an attempt to organize and plan demonstrations against corporations, the government or other power entities. According to Castells (2007; 2009), the ongoing transformation and evolution of digital technology has extended to all domains of human society, as a result of this, the way citizens challenge relations and advance social and political goals is through the use of an online network that shapes communication online and offline. Similarly, in the

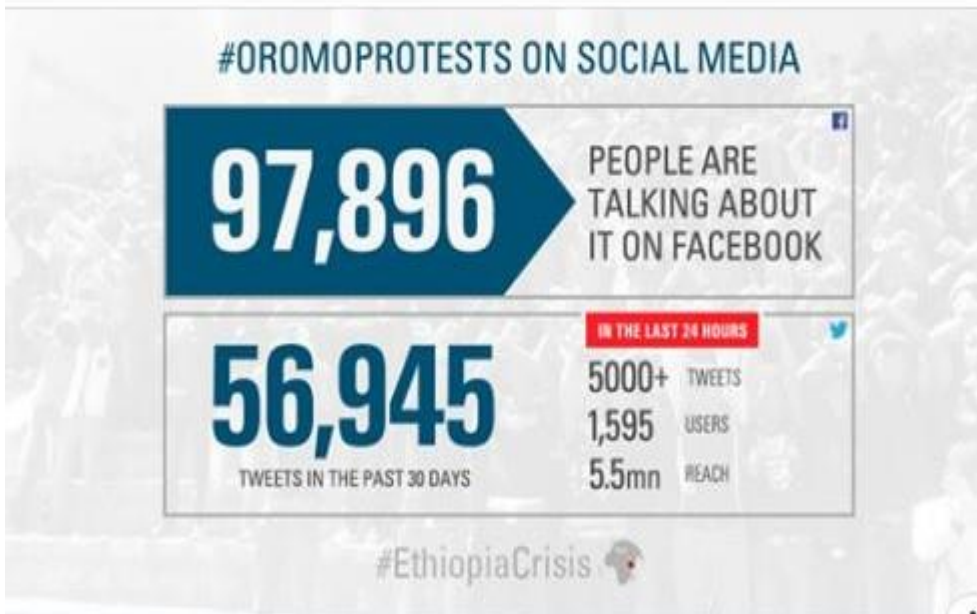
Oromo protest activists could achieve their political goal of mobilizing the mass against the infamous Master plan through the use of social media.

As mentioned earlier, following plans announced by the government, there were protests across the Oromia region which was highly assisted by social media. Whilst initially and primarily a protest (or series of protests) against the perceived injustice of – and the lack of consultation on – the Masterplan, the protests also triggered and raised long-standing grievances of the Oromo people. In response, the government deployed the army to quell the protests. The security forces reportedly often used force to do so and, on occasions, live ammunition when firing into crowds resulting in the deaths of some protestors. There are also reports of an unknown number of arbitrary arrests, some of which resulted in people being beaten and tortured, and prolonged detention. Though the harsh measures of the government including the so called “October 2016 state of emergency” to smash the protest and intimidate the protest leaders like activists and opposition party leaders through arresting them, the resistance continued on social media spontaneously and got international attention. This forced the government to cancel the so-called Addis Ababa Master Plan on January 2016, as multiple sources, including the BBC, International Business Times and Human Rights Watch reported.

While stating the mobilizing power and effectiveness of social media on the Oromo protest, one activist posted the followings in his Facebook page: “Social media are filling the gap as a main stream media fail to cover #Oromo Protest #Ethiopian Crisis.” He also stated that, “Social media is doing miracle in exposing all micro-level crimes and brutalities of tyrants on #OromoProtest while inter. Media sit watching.” Below are the posts:

retweeted @EthiopiaCrisis (@EthiopiaCrisis).

Social media are filling the gap as the mainstream media fail to cover #OromoProtests #EthiopiaCrisis <https://t.co/jFQENbw0oC>



December 9, 2015 · 🌐

Social media doing miracles in exposing all micro-level crimes and brutalities of tyrants on #OromoProtests while inter. media sit watching

👍 15

From the above discussion, we can conclude that activists succeeded in mobilizing the mass against the infamous Master Plan and the brutalities of the government using social media as a mobilizing tool even if they were denied access to main stream Medias. Therefore, social media played a vital role in facilitating the Oromo protest against the government and the infamous Master Plan.

4.8. Techniques of Social Mobilization on Social Media

According to the research by Berger and Milkman (2016), on why are certain pieces of online content more viral than others? Using a unique dataset of all the *New York Times* articles published over a three-month period, virality is driven, in part, by physiological arousal. Content that evokes high-arousal positive (awe) or negative (anger or anxiety) emotions is more viral, that is circulated rapidly and widely from one Internet user to another. Content

that evokes low arousal, or deactivating emotions (e.g., sadness) is less viral. The finding of this research indicated that virality is shaped by emotion.

Supporting the above research finding, this study also came up with the techniques that activists use to mobilize citizens for social movement are creating and posting contents which are based on victim mentality, emotion triggering and have ethnic implications. In line with this finding, one of the research participants, Feleke, stated that:

I frequently use Facebook and most of the time I observe that Social media activists post different sensitive and emotion arousing contents on Facebook like posts related with religion, ethnicity, and fake news and their followers accept and share this to their friends, so that these followers act accordingly while accepting information posted by activists without questioning to participate in social movements.

Tayeche further confirmed Feleke's statement in her response as follow:

“When I frequently read the posts on Facebook by activists, I found these posts being very sensitive which let their followers to think as if they were victimized. They use these contents to promote victim mentality among their followers. They also write contents which are emotion triggering in support of their ethnic group and against others and share these contents to their followers. Generally speaking, Activists post different contents like videos, words, interesting pictures and fake news on social media, to fight system dysfunction and organize social movements.”

Solomon, director of communication and information affairs in a given Federal Ministry, also shares the above statements, on the techniques:

“...They use different contents like videos, words, pictures on social media posts and integrating it with formal media to formalize their source. For example, Jawar has his own mainstream media, OMN, in addition to his popular Facebook page. ESAT has also its own social media page. One of the techniques is thus linking the formal with the social media. As a result, they have not only become activists, but also analysts and reporters. ...”

This study also found that the techniques activists use in social media to mobilize the mass for social movements are very effective since the society have not multiple sources of information, believe what is written on social media at their face value. While supporting this finding, Frewoyni stated that:

“I believe the techniques activists use to mobilize the mass for social movement in Facebook are very effective, since our society will not have diverse sources of information were forced to depend on unidirectional information flows on social media. Therefore, the mass believes what the activists post on social media without questioning.”

Tantu, complemented this description on the effectiveness of the techniques when he stated “the techniques activists use like posting with interesting pictures, posting sensitive and timely issues to mobilize the mass are very effective. Because they collect their followers based on religion and ethnicity, these techniques were easily accepted by their followers.”

From the research findings of Berger and milkman, and the statements of study participants, we can understand that sensitive and emotion touching contents are more viral. Therefore, activists use emotion triggering, sensitive and touching contents to make their posts viral and reach their followers easily. They also use techniques of making their posts reachable using interesting pictures and videos. Thereby they could easily mobilize their followers and the mass for social movement by using social networking sites. These techniques are also very effective in the society like ours where there are no diverse sources of information.

4.9. Importance and Effectiveness of Social Media in Social Movements

Shirky (2011), stated the importance of social media as, “People have gained greater access to information, more opportunities to engage in public speech, and thus, enhanced ability to undertake collective action. Further Kidd (2002), recognized the role of social media in democratizing communications challenging the top-down or vertical nature of mainstream media and allowing a more reciprocal communications between ordinary citizens. The reviewed literature argue that social media created great access to information and solved communication challenges through allowing free communication to take collective actions. Similarly, this study found that, social media is important in social movement since it let

people get connected from every corner of the country at a time, good source of information, cheap, and anonymous. In line with this finding, Abdurahman, for instance, stated that, “I prefer social media than mainstream media, especially Facebook to transfer information to my followers since it is easy, cheap and reachable.” In support of this description, Meron stated:

“I always disclose false information on the part of government with evidence in social media. I also easily reach my followers in different regions of the country through this digital media. For me it is not only a good source of information, but also cheap, and easy organizing and facilitation tool of social movements.”

Supporting this statement, Belay also stated its effectiveness as follow:

“As an activist, I frequently use Facebook to easily reach my followers since it is cheap, easy and accessible. Even I believe that, on the current change in our country, social media played a vital role. As a community mobilization tool for social movement we activists use social media to give direction to our followers to take a certain action in opposition to the government, like closing roads, to absent from work, to stay at home and so on.”

From the above statements, we can understand that social media is important and effective tool of social mobilization in social movements since it is cheap, easy, accessible, and reachable.

4.10. Interest and Role of Government in the Social Media

The study found that the interest/motives of government in line with social media were collecting revenue by giving telecom services. Study participants also stated that the role of the government in line with social media usage should be developing legal framework to make the users responsible for their action in social media. The finding of this study also revealed that there are no policies and strategies in line with social media usage in Ethiopia.

In support of the study finding, Solomon stated that:

“The interest of the government in line with social media is mainly collecting revenue from the users. In short, collecting revenue from the internet or social

media users. So, the government do cost-benefit analysis on the revenue it collects and its political influence. In addition to this, the interest of the government is connecting the society by social media to escalate political consciousness of the people and solving some problems.”

Bikila supported this response on government motive when he stated:

“Regarding social media the interest of the government is collecting income by giving telecom services. This means when people use social media for long hours for whatever purpose the government generates income from users of the service.”

On the other hand, Abdurahman stated the interest of government as “stopping a widely spreading fake and hate news or minimizing it and thereby to protect the mass from false information.”

Likewise, the role of the government in line with social media usage should be developing legal framework. According to Tayech:

“The role of the government regarding social media usage is developing legal frame work which is based on our culture to control the users, since the users of social media are not restricted in many aspects like knowledge.”

Furthermore, Belay stated the roles of the government as “facilitating infrastructure like internet coverage and let the public networked to get necessary information on social media in addition to mainstream media.” From the above statements, we can understand that the interest of the government in line with social media is income generation and its role is developing infrastructure and legal framework on its application.

4.11. Policy and Legal Framework on Social Media

The literatures I reviewed and evidence from key informants, showed that there are no specific policies and strategies in line with social media usage in Ethiopia. In support of this, Abdurahman asserted that:

“Currently there is no specific policy and strategy in line with social media usage in Ethiopia. But there is a proclamation on hate speeches on social

media at draft level and media laws, which it is too old. In addition to these there are also computer usage and cyber security laws and some article in anti-terrorist law pertain to social media. Generally speaking, there is no policy and strategy pertaining to social media which are comparable with the current situations in our country. However, under the proclamation number 958/2008 on Computer Crimes seems to regulate the social media as far as there is commission of crimes through it.”

Supporting the above description, Frewoyni stated:

At the level of the government there is cyber policies, which are national cyber policy, computer fraud laws- these are the only laws regarding the internet. But, at the draft level there is a proclamation on hate speeches and fake news on social media.

Solomon also reaffirmed the above descriptions while responding that “there are no policies and strategies on social media usage, but there are laws and strategies which are at the draft level.” From the above statements, we can conclude that there is no specific police and legal framework in line with social media usage in Ethiopia.

4.12. Strengths, Challenges and Opportunities

4.12.1. Strengths

Social networking sites provide information, allow users to share ideas, activities, events and interests within their individual networks. Web based social networking services make it possible to connect people who share interests and activities across political, economic and geographic borders. Social media also bridges the distance between different people. It offers platforms for online users to find others who share the same interests and build virtual communities based on those shared interests. With the availability of social media technologies and services, content sharing and user interaction has become relatively easy and efficient. It is also cheaper to use online social networking for both personal, political and business purposes.

Shaw (2016), stated the strength of social media in social movement as it is easily accessible, inexpensive media, and user friendly. Similarly, this study found that accessibility, simplicity, cheapness and participatory nature of social media as a strength.

According to Frewoyni, “using social media to mobilize social movement is an advantage since it is simple, effective and could destroy communication barriers and also it is very effective as a social mobilizing tool.”

Bikila supported the above description when he stated:

“I use social media in social movement, since I could easily find the people who are in every corner of the country with no need of gathering them in a hall. I could also easily lead and give direction from my table by using my smart phone or computers. Furthermore, I could easily call for demonstration on the ground without even my presence. Especially, in non-democratic countries, social media is very important to give direction without being noticed by the government.”

Meron also held similar view point with Frewoyni in regard to the strength of using social media for social movement while she stated it as, “accessible, simple, and participatory.” Tantu also added on the above descriptions on its strength when he stated, “you could find information easily and could easily involve in different social activity since it serves as a source of information.” The state minister, Frewoyni, further reaffirmed its strength by pointing out its effectiveness as, “It is very effective as a social mobilizing tool since it is simple, cheap and good communication channel.”

From the above statements we can conclude that, the strength of using social media in social movements are its cheapness, easiness, anonymity, and participatory nature.

4.12.2. Challenges and Opportunities

The finding of the study indicated that the challenges of using social media in social movements were it promote emotionality and mob behavior than reasoning and rationality. This is because of content creators (activists) generate sensitive topics and participants (their followers) accept these contents without questioning in social media. On the other hand, lack of infrastructure, absence of freedom of expression, blocking internet on the side of the government, the increasing number of fake accounts, and the blocking of individual accounts were also stated as a challenge by the study participants.

Solomon stated that “social media as a tool of social mobilization promotes irrationality among the participants through fake news, as a result violation of laws and order occurs.” On the other hand, Feleke mentioned the “challenges as related with its reliability as a source of information, since every one could create content without censorship.” Frewoyni further described the challenges as:

“It is creating conflict among different groups, expanding misinformation and false news, it decreased rationality of the mass and made them emotional. Its biggest challenge is you can mobilize any group of people using social media.”

Tantu’s description of the challenges were slightly different from the previous notions, when he stated the challenges as “lack of infrastructure, lack of freedom of expression, blocking internet on the side of the government, the increasing number of fake accounts, and the blocking of individual accounts.” Similar to Tantu’s view point, Hawi described the challenges as “the problem of infrastructure and the mixing of false information with truth; bulkiness of the information will decrease its credibility. It also creates illusion on users and mislead readers.”

The study also identified the development of infrastructures and increasing availability of mobile phones as an opportunity to use social media in social movements in Ethiopia. As stated earlier, in Global Digital Report (2018), as of January 2018 there were 53.3 million mobile connection and the number of internet users are 16.4 million people in Ethiopia.

According to the state minister, Frewoyni:

“The government infrastructure development plan, increasing numbers of internet users, engagement of most people on social media, because of the internet penetration and mobile phone availability will be an opportunity for social media as a tool for mobilizing social movements.”

On the other hand, Bikila stated its future opportunity in the following way:

“The opportunities in line with the utilization of social media as a tool for mobilizing social movement in Ethiopia are promoting national unity by

exerting positive energy, creating political consciousness among the public and it also serves as a source of information and it let the voice of the community to be heard. In addition to these, it also serves to conduct humanitarian actions and solve national problems together by using social media as a mobilizing tool.”

Feleke mentioned its future opportunity as a mobilizing tool since it is accessible, easy and cheap. In a similar fashion, Tantu reaffirmed “the accessibility of the network will be an opportunity to social media as a social mobilization tool.” With a slightly different notion from other participants, Belay described the opportunities on utilization of social media as a tool for mobilizing social movement as bringing about “closeness between different groups of people.”

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusion

The ultimate goal of this study was to explore the role of social media in the mobilization of social movements in Ethiopia. To achieve this goal, the study set out to investigate the following specific objectives: explaining factors increasing social media usage in social movement, describing the importance of social media in organizing social movement, describing how the content created on social media causes social movements, understanding techniques activists use to mobilize citizens for social movement, examining the effectiveness of social media as a tool for communication and community mobilization and to pin point the opportunities and challenges of social media as a social movement mobilization tool.

To this effect, the study has employed both secondary and primary data. Secondary sources were used in assessing the role of social media in social mobilization in general. Primary data were collected from 10 elites, among which four were activists, two were journalists' and the rest four were political party leaders and higher government officials through key informants' interviews. Primary data were also collected from 19 active social media users to triangulate the data from elites.

In regard to social media and its development in Ethiopian, the study finding revealed that the development of social media in Ethiopia is very fast and in short period of time it showed a lot of progress. In less than five years it could bring significant change in our country through influencing the government and other bodies. The ultimate reason behind this development is a planned government and private infrastructure development effort to encourage a mass communication. Moreover, the alternative internet connection usage like mobile data, Wi-Fi, broadband, and the like relatively with fair cost gave opportunity for the mass to engage in different social media outlets usage. The increasing number of mobile phone users; since the majority of social media users use through their mobile phones, its easiness and user-friendly nature of social media also among the contributing factors for its development. One the other hand, the social nature of human beings has also contributed for its development, which means by nature human being likes to interact with others in different form, so that the social

media created this opportunity in the modern society by changing the form and setting of human interaction.

The study also uncovered regarding social media the motive of the government is mainly collecting revenue by giving telecom services. In addition to this, the motive of the government is networking the society by social media thereby scale up their political consciousness. In the meantime, the study tried to uncover the role of government in line with social media usage. Accordingly, the role of the government should be developing legal/policy frame work which is based on our culture to control the users. Therefore, the government should introduce a legal fame work on the usage of social media; why this legal frame work is important is that the uncontrolled propaganda in social media could create mistrust, extremism, and tension among people who lived together for a long period of time and have a lot of social fabric in common. Therefore, this legal frame work makes each user accountable for their action in social media. On the other hand, the roles of the government will be facilitating infrastructure to let the public networked to get necessary information on social media in addition to mainstream media.

Although legal frame work in line with social media usage is very important, the finding of the study indicated that currently there are no policies and strategies in line with social media usage in Ethiopia. But there is a proclamation on hate speeches and fake news on social media which is at draft level.

Following the Arab spring, there were several social movements which were observed at different time and place in Ethiopia. The finding of this study indicated that in this movements social media played a vital role of organizing, mobilizing, giving direction; facilitating and providing information and news. The participants of this movement are religious groups, ethnic groups, gender-based groups, professionals, journalists, youths, activists and the main actors are ordinary citizens. These people participate on social media through content creation, and social media engagement tools. These are like, post, share, and comment which facilitates social movements on the ground in organized way. Social media facilitate unity in support of social movement since people could disseminate information from different place at a time via social media. This study also revealed that the contents created on social media facilitate social movements since they have ethnic and religious

connotation, politics and sensitive which could easily trigger the emotion of the mass. These contents created by activists reach the mass on social media by boosting or increasing reachability through payment, through social media engagement tools: like share, post, and comment by themselves and their followers.

The study also uncovered the techniques activists use on social media to mobilize citizens for social movement. Accordingly, these techniques are writing contents that let their followers to think as if they are victimized, using different videos, words, and pictures on social media posts which are emotion arousing and integrating it with formal media to formalize their source. These techniques are very effective, because our society will not have diverse sources of information. As a result, they are forced to depend on information flows on social media.

In line with increasing social media usage in social movements, the study revealed factors like the increment of social media users by itself, the nature of social media as a new technology, the success of the use of social media on the Arab spring, the expansion of android mobile phone, the increasing number of mobile phone users and accessibility of social media. In addition to the high rate of unemployment, the weakness and partisan nature of mainstream media; availability of internet connections with different devices at multiple areas especially on mobile phone apps with relatively low cost has significantly contributed to the flourishing of social media users. These increase of social media usage on social movements have direct relationship with the main stream media nature, access and trustworthiness.

The study also identified the strength of using social media on social movements. These are accessibility, anonymity, cheapness, and easiness. According to this study, the challenges on the utilization of social media as a tool of social mobilization are fake news rolled out on social media is inducing doubt upon credibility of shared information to use for decision making. Its biggest challenge is that anyone can mobilize any one at any time for social movement by using social media. Expectation of adverse sanction and unnecessary government interventions in breaking the internet connection were also identified as major social media users' challenges. However, as the finding of the study revealed, despite of these all challenges social media is still becoming the most utilized communication outlet and revolutionary tool to voice the grievance of the people and bring about public demand.

Creating political consciousness among the public, increasing accountability, serving as alternative source of information, letting the voice of the community to be heard and its accessibility, easiness and cheapness are the future opportunities of using social media as a mobilizing tool.

To sum up, this study revealed that social movements are not created by a single cause but rather by a set of grounds that are interrelated. From among the several factors causing social movement, the system role failure and feeling of relative discrimination from opportunities and resources in contrast to others are supposed as the headlines. On one hand, the system wellbeing gaps are underlying conditions that favor social movement by creating individual grievances.

On the other hand, social movements have their foundations firstly among individuals who feel deprived of some good, resource, or service. People are motivated to organize out of a sense of feeling of unnecessary inequality and systems role failure in relation to their expectations. Social wellbeing gaps are related to health facility, education provision, and are also tied to other economic and political indicators reflecting intolerable inequality and expectation-achievement mismatch induced from whether intentional bias or inability to offer all people fair chance and benefit. Similarly, Lopes (2014) illustrated, people will strive to replace the institutions with ones that can meet current social and political demands, when current institutions cannot keep up with societal changes and demands.

This shows, state institution failure to cope up with the newly emerging societal demands provides some of the opportunities for individuals and/or activists to mobilize the mass community against the state. This mobilization of the organized mass against the state assumed in turn causes regime instability, and lessening of repression which is commonly considered as social movements, and as an opportunity to replace with other institutions/systems. But grievances arising from deprivation and system role failure alone are not enough to bring people to act collectively. According to Wright (2001) analytical work, social movements develop not only by people's grievance feeling but when individuals are able to collectively organize for their shared grievances. Therefore, there has to be a mechanism in place which helps to really identify the causes of grievance and make the larger

mass community aware of the situation. But also, there has to be a mechanism that helps bring together truly conscious community members for collective actions.

Hence, social media is becoming among the top mechanism playing a pool of functions in aiding peoples know their life wellbeing status and communicate together. Through the use of social media, individuals are able to connect with each other and organize at an incredible low cost. Social media is a forum where popular grievance is entertained particularly upon government structure role failure and systems deficit. Social media helps people bring together to claim for their common rights and demands.

5.2. Recommendations

As it was identified by the works of scholars and from the study participants point of view, the basic causes of social movements generally stemmed from the systems dysfunction and feeling of relative discrimination from necessary opportunities/resources. Hence, social movement is supposed as a powerful means through which the mass community corrects the state mistakes and responsibility defects. But, to solve the problem of adverse social movement effects while using social media as a tool, the following recommendations are suggested to the government, political activists', and the mass in view of the findings.

From the findings of the research, it is stated that, though the government and the private institutions are struggling to spread the accessibility of social media as communication infrastructure development; the non-existence of policy framework and less commitment of officials are adversely affecting the usage of social media in a proper manner. Thus, the government has to prepare all binding policy and put in place to clearly aware the users of social media to be accountable for their action and the political activists should also be responsible through creating content on social media that are not prone to conflict and sensitive. Hence, the needless government interruption and the users' fear of adverse sanctions because of expressing their views will end, and it will become a forum where all can debate and discuss to reach on consensus without harming one another based on diversity.

Social media is becoming the most important mobilization tool and platform to voice the feeling of marginalized community parts and victim of ill-being systems. Thus, in order to succeed in using social media for mobilizing the people thereby to engage them in social

movements, the activists should not limit their activities to the extent of identifying the people's problem and building awareness of the marginalized members. Rather, the political coordination and organization of conscious individuals' collective action has to be focused to really bring about significant life wellbeing improvements for the marginalized and victim group.

Furthermore, the establishment and expansion of mass communication infrastructure by itself is not enough to allow the mass enjoy using these outlets to express their feelings. Instead, it is better, if the government broadens the press and freedom of expression, and lessens the adverse sanctions taken against the expressed feelings.

Lastly, despite several challenges facing social media users, social media particularly Facebook is serving as the most utilized platform to facilitate, organize, mobilize and voice the feeling of mass community grievance. Hence, the individuals and groups those who are discriminated from necessary opportunities and victimized from ill-being system have to connect to social media to curb the situation. Because, social media allows connecting with experts understanding and justification, and organizing into a point in time to coordinate and exert the mass power against the trouble maker whenever they exist.

References

- Amin, Ramtin. 2009. "The empire strikes back: social media uprisings and the future of Cyber activism." *Kennedy School Review* 64-6.
- Arriola, Leonardo. 2009. Ethnic protest in Ethiopia: the politics of mobilization and policing in Oromia Region. Retrieved 27 March 2019 from <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/ETHNIC-PROTEST-IN-ETHIOPIA%3A-THE-POLITICS-OF-AND-IN-Arriola/fcdb539b704132cecb2608e56df56911e155b1da>
- Babbie, Earl. 2007. *Research Methods in Sociology*. Australia: Cengage Learning.
- Bahru, Zewde. 1991. *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1974*. London, James Currey; Athens, Ohio University Press; Addis Ababa University Press.
- Bennett, W. L. 2003. Communicating global activism: strengths and vulnerabilities of networked politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, 6, 143-168.
- Berger, J., and Milkman, K. 2011. What makes online content viral? *Journal of Marketing Research* 1-14.
- Budka, Philipp, Brandi L. Bell, and Adam Fiser. 2009. How Northern Ontario's First Nations Communities made themselves at home on the World Wide Web. *The Journal of Community Informatics* 5(2):1-9.
- Buechler, S.M. 2000. *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism: The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Butsch, Richard. 2007. *Media and Public Spheres*. Basingstoke, UK.
- Cameron, David. 1974. *Toward a Theory of Political Mobilization*. University of Chicago Press.
- Castells, M. 2007. Communication, power and counter-power in the network society. *International Journal of Communication* 1:238-266.
- Castells, M. 2009. *Communication Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Central Statistical Agency (CSA) .2014. Urban Employment/Unemployment Survey.
- Clark, Eric. 2012. "Social media & social movements: a qualitative study of Occupy Wall Street." Dissertation, submitted to Södertörn University, Sweden.
- Cottle, Simon. 2011. "Media and the Arab uprisings of 2011: Research Notes." *Journalism* 12(5): 647-659.

- Cramer, J. M., and Greene, C. P. 2011. *Food as Communication: Communication as Food*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Creswell, John W. 2009. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches (3rd Edition)*. SAGE publication, California USA.
- Crotty, M. 1998. *The foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. London: Sage.
- David C. Wyld. 2007. "The blogging revolution: government in the age of Web 2.0" *The IBM Center for The Business of Government* 49.
- Dawson, Catherine. 2009. *Introduction to Research Methods: A Practical Guide for Anyone Undertaking a Research Project (4th edition)*. London: United Kingdom.
- Dewey, Taylor, Juliane Kaden, Miriam Marks, Shun Matsushima, and Beijing Zhu. 2012. *The Impact of Social Media on Social Unrest in the Arab Spring*, Final Report prepared for Defense Intelligence Agency. Stanford, Stanford University.
- Downey, J., & Fenton, N. 2003. "New Media, Counter Publicity and the Public Sphere". *New Media & Society* 5(2): 185-202.
- Dugo, Habtamu. 2017. *The Powers and Limits of New Media Appropriation in Authoritarian Contexts: A Comparative Case Study of Oromo Protests in Ethiopia*. University of the District of Columbia
- Eltantawy, Nahed, and Wiest, Julie. 2011. "Social media in the Egyptian revolution: reconsidering resource mobilization theory". *International Journal of Communication* 5:1207-1224
- Etling, Bruce, Robert Faris, and John Palfrey. 2010. "Political change in the digital age: the fragility and promise of online organizing" *SAIS Review* 30(2): 37-49.
- Gamson, W. and Wolfsfeld, G. 1993. "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science: Citizens, Protest, and Democracy* 528: 114-125.
- Global Digital Report. 2018. "Digital in 2018 in Eastern Africa: essential insights into internet, social media, mobile, and ecommerce use across the region" Retrieved 22 March 2019 from <https://digitalreport.wearesocial.com>
- Goodwin, Jeff, and Jasper, James. 2003. *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

- Guba, E. 1990. *The Alternative Paradigm Dialog*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Gurr, T. Robert. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Habermas, J. 1987. *The Theory of Communicative Action* (Vol. 2). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Habermas, J. 1989. *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Habermas, J. 1996. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Habermas, J. 2006. Political communication in media society: Does democracy still enjoy an epistemic dimension? The impact of normative theory on empirical research. *Communication Theory* 16:411-426.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. Yale University Press.
- Hodge, Nathan. 2009. "Inside Moldova's Twitter Revolution." Retrieved 11 July 2019 from <https://www.wired.com/2009/04/inside-moldovas/>
- Kamp, Mathias. (Editor). 2016. *Assessing the Impact of Social Media on Political Communication and Civic Engagement in Uganda*. Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung: Uganda.
- Kaplan, A. and Haenlein, M. 2010. Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of social media. *Business Horizons* 53(1): 59-68.
- Kate, Nash. 2010. *Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalization, Politics, and Power* (2nd edition). United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Kidd, Dorothy. 2003. "Indymedia.org: The development of the communications commons." Pp. 47-69 in *Cyber activism. Online activism in theory and practice*. Edited by Martha McCaughey and Michael D. Ayers. New York: Routledge.
- Leenders, Reinoud, and Heydemann, Steven. 2012. "Popular mobilization in Syria: opportunity and threat, and the social networks of the early risers." *Mediterranean Politics* 17(2): 139-59.
- Lim, Merlyna. 2012. "Clicks, Cabs, and Coffee Houses: Social Media and Oppositional Movements in Egypt, 2004–2011." *Journal of Communication*, Volume 62, Issue 2, April 2012, Pages 231–248, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01628.x>
- Lincoln, Y. & Guba, E. 2000. Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions and Emerging confluences. *Handbook of Qualitative Research* pp. 163-188. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Lopes, Amandha. 2014. "The Impact of Social Media on Social Movements: The New Opportunity and Mobilizing Structure". Retrieved 18 July 2019 from https://www.creighton.edu/fileadmin/user/CCAS/departments/PoliticalScience/Journal_of_Political_Research__JPR_/2014_JSP_papers/Lopes_JPR.pdf
- McAdam, Doug. 2001. *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Mertens, O. 1998. *Research Methods in Education and Psychology: Integrating Diversity with Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina, and Igor Munteanu. "Moldovas Twitter Revolution." *Journal of Democracy* 20(3): 136-42.
- Mutanana, Ngonidzashu. 2016. *Social Media and Political Mobilization: An Analysis of the July 2016 Zimbabwe Shut Down*. Zimbabwe Open University
- NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence (NATO StratCom COE). 2016. *New Trends in Social Media*. Riga, Kalnciema.
- Neuman, W. Lawrence. 2014. *Social Research Method: Qualitative and Quantitative Approach (7th Edition)*. England: Pearson.
- OEF Research. 2019. *Annual risk of Coup report*. Retrieved 17 June 2019 from https://oefresearch.org/sites/default/files/documents/publications/Risk_of_Coup_Report_2019.pdf
- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Rash, John. 2011. "Social Media as a Tool for Social Unrest; Facebook Helps, but Old fashioned Courage Ends Repressive Regimes."
- Pankhurst, Richard. 1998. *The Ethiopians: A history*. Wiley-Blackwell publishing.
- Rita, Safranek. 2012. *The Emerging Role of Social Media in Political and Regime Change*. ProQuest Discovery Guides
- Ritzer, Georg. 2011. *Sociological Theory (8th edition)*. USA: McGraw- Hill.
- Rossmann, G. & Wilson, B. 1985. Numbers and Words: Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in a Single Large-Scale Evaluation Study. *Evaluation Review*. 9(5), 627-643.
- Schleifer, Yigal. 2009. "Why Iran's Twitter revolution is unique." *The Christian Science Monitor*: 6.

- Serafeim, Katerina. 2012. "The Impact of Social Media on Press Freedom in Greece: Benefits, Challenges and Limitations." *Journal for Communication Studies* 5(9): 163-192.
- Shafi, Ashik. 2016. *Effect of Social Media Use on Dimensions of Political Knowledge*. Wiley College
- Shaw, Aakash. 2016. *Role of Social Media in Social Mobilization*. University of Calcutta.
- Shirky, Clay. 2011. "The political power of social media: technology, the public sphere, and political change." *Foreign Affairs* 90(1): 28-41.
- Silverstone, R. 2007. *Media and Morality: On the Rise of the Mediapolis*. Cambridge. Polity Press.
- Suárez, Sandra. 2011. Social Media and regime change in Egypt. *Campaigns & Elections*. Retrieved 16 June 2019 from <http://tranb300.ulb.ac.be/2013-2014/groupe350/archive/files/05a6719d85354b765480000767e6e497.pdf>
- Tarrow, S. G. 1989. *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965-1975*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tesfaye, A. 2013. *Social Media as an Alternative Political Forum in Ethiopia: in the Case of Facebook*. Addis Ababa University.
- Thomas Janoski et al. 2005. *The Handbook of Political Sociology: States, civil societies, and globalization*. USA: Cambridge University Press. New York.
- Tilly, Charles. 1984. *Big Structures Large Processes Huge Comparisons*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- United States Institute of Peace. 2011: Year in Review. Analysis and Commentary Press
- URL: (<http://www.businessinsider.com>). International Business Insider.
- URL: <http://www.statista.com>. The Statistics Portal for Market Data, Market Research and Market Studies.

Appendix-I

Table 3.1. Summary of Specific Objectives, Unit of Analysis, Observation Units and Methods of Data Collection

	Specific Objectives	Unit of Analysis (Information on What?)	Observation Unit (Data Source)	Method of Data Collection
1.	To explain factors increasing social media usage in social movement.	-Factors increasing social media usage	1. Activists	1. Key informant interview
			2.Higher government officials	2. Key informant interview
			3. Political party leaders	3. Key informant interview
			4. Journalist	4. Key informant interview
			5. Active social media users	5. Semi-structured interview
2.	To describe the importance of social media in organizing social movement	-social media importance in organizing social media	1. Activists	1. Key informant interview
			2.Higher government officials	2. Key informant interview
			3. Journalists	3. Key informant interview
			4. Political party leaders	4. Key informant interview
			5. Active social media users	5. Semi-structured interview
3.	To describe how the content created on social media cause the social movements.	-On the content created on social media	1. Facebook personal accounts and pages of some activists.	1. Content Analysis
		-How the contents created on social media cause social movements	1. Activists,	1.Key informants interview
			2.Higher government officials	2.Key informants interview
			3. Journalists	3. Key informants interview
			4. Political party leaders	4.Key informants interview
			5. Active social media users	5. Semi-structured interview

4.	To understand techniques activists use to mobilize citizens for social movement.	-Techniques activists use to mobilize citizens -The effectiveness of social media as a tool of communication	1. Activists	1. Key informants interview
			2. Journalists	2. Key informants' interview.
			3. Higher government officials	3. Key informants interview
			4. Political party leaders	4. Key informant interview
			5. Active social media users	5. Semi-structured interview
5.	To examines the effectiveness of social media as a tool for communication and community mobilization	-The effectiveness of social media as a tool of communication	1. Activists	1. Key informant interview
			2. Journalists	2. Key informants interview
			3. Higher government officials	3. Key informants interview
			4. Political party leaders	4. Key informant interview
			5. Active social media users	5. Semi-structured interview
6.	To pin point the opportunities and challenges of social media as a social movement mobilization tool.	- The opportunities and challenges of social media as a social movement mobilization tool.	1. Activists	1. Key informant interview
			2. Journalists	2. Key informants interview
			3. Higher government officials	3. Key informants interview
			4. Political party leaders	4. Key informants interview
			5. Active social media users	5. Semi-structured interview

**Addis Ababa University
College of Social Sciences
Department of Sociology
Sociology MA Program
In-Depth Interview Guide**

Introduction

Hello, my name is Betsegaw Getachew. I am doing my thesis for my Master's Degree in Sociology. I would like to thank you in advance for your participation and taking time to talk with me today. The purpose of our discussion is to collect information on "The Role of Social Media in the Mobilization of Social Movement in Ethiopia." In line with this you will be asked to provide information on factors increasing social media usage in social movement, the importance of social media in organizing social movement and how the content created on social media cause the social movements. In addition to these we will also discuss the techniques you /Activists use to mobilize citizens for social movement and the effectiveness of social media as a tool for communication and community mobilization. If you have other information that you think is important and that I have not asked you please feel free to share it with me. Please be aware that you have the right to refuse to participate in the study and answer any particular question. Your accurate and truthful responses are relevant for the success of the study. I promise and guarantee you the discussion between you and I will be kept confidential.

Do you consent to the recording of our interview session and the interview in general?

1. Yes

2. No

1. Background Profile

1.1. Identification

1.1. Interview No. _____

1.2. Date of Interview _____

1.3. Beginning time _____

1.4. Termination time _____

1.5. Interviewer _____

2. Demographic Variables

2.1. Fictitious name _____

2.2. Educational status _____

2.3. Age _____

2.4. Occupation _____

3. Social Media and Its Development in Ethiopia

3.1. How do you explain the development and trends of social media in Ethiopia? What are the factors for the introduction of social media in this country? How? What do you think is the role and motive of Government in line with social media? How? What policies and strategies are/were there in relation to usage of social media?

4. Social Media in Organizing Social Movement

4.1. There were several social movements which were observed at different time and place in Ethiopia during recent years; particularly since 2012 which was mainly assisted by social media. So, please take me back through the social movements since 2012 in Ethiopia in relation with functions of social media in aiding the formation of social movements.

Possible probes: - Would you please describe the utilization of social media in organizing social movements in Ethiopia? How? Who participates in the social movements? How do they participate?

How do they use social media in social movements? How does social media facilitate solidarity in supporting social movements?

5. Contents Created on Social Media for Social Movements

5.1. Would you please tell me some details on how the content created on social media cause social movements? Possible probes: - How these contents created on social media reach the mass? What kind of information social media users deliver on social media to create/support social movement?

5.2. Could you please describe some details on contents pertaining social movements that you have observed on social media? Possible probes: What are the main social movement-related issues you observed? How did this information help to create/support social movement?

6. Techniques of Social Mobilization

6.1. Could you please describe some techniques activists use on social media to mobilize citizens for social movement? Possible probes: - Would you please tell me the effectiveness of these techniques? How?

7. Factors Increasing Social Media Usage in Social Movement

7.1. Would you please tell me some details on factors that increased social media usage in social movements in Ethiopia?

Possible probes: - Why social media became significant in mobilizing social movement? In relation to social movements, what are the benefits of participating on social media? How? Why social media attracts people to use it?

7.2. Is there any relation on the increase of social media usage with the main stream media nature, access and trustworthiness? How?

8. Strengths/Effectiveness, Challenges and Opportunities

8.1. Would you please tell some details about the effectiveness of social media as a tool for community mobilization/social movement? How?

8.2. What is an area of strength for you in using social media to observe/participate in social movements? Why?

8.3. What challenges do you observe on the utilization of social media as a tool for mobilizing social movements in Ethiopia? How? Why?

8.4. What opportunities do you anticipate on the utilization of social media as a tool for mobilizing social movements in Ethiopia? How? Why?

8.5. What do you think is the future impact of social media as a tool to mobilize social movements in Ethiopia? How?

THANKS ONCE AGAIN!

**Addis Ababa University
College of Social Sciences
Department of Sociology
Sociology MA Program**

Interview Guide for Semi-structured Interview with Active Social Media Users.

Introduction

Hello, my name is Betsegaw Getachew. I am doing my thesis for my Master's Degree in Sociology. I would like to thank you in advance for your participation and taking time to talk with me today. The purpose of our discussion is to collect information on "The Role of Social Media in the Mobilization of Social Movement in Ethiopia." In line with this you will be asked to provide information on factors increasing social media usage in social movement, the importance of social media in organizing social movement and how the content created on social media cause the social movements. In addition to these we will also discuss the effectiveness of social media as a tool for communication and community mobilization. If you have other information that you think is important and that I have not asked you please feel free to share it with me. Please be aware that you have the right to refuse to participate in the study and answer any particular question. Your accurate and truthful responses are relevant for the success of the study. I promise and guarantee you the discussion between you and I will be kept confidential.

1. Identification

1.1. Interview No. _____

1.2. Date of Interview _____

1.3. Beginning time _____

1.4. Termination time _____

1.5. Interviewer _____

2. Demographic Variables

2.1. Fictitious name _____

2.2. Educational status _____

2.3. Age _____

2.4. Occupation _____

3. Social Media and Its Development in Ethiopia

3.1. How do you explain the development and trends of social media in Ethiopia? What are the factors for the introduction of social media in this country? How? What do you think is the role and motive of Government in line with social media? How? What policies and strategies are/were there in relation to usage of social media?

4. Social Media in Organizing Social Movement

4.1. Would you please describe the importance of social media in organizing social movements in Ethiopia? Possible probes: - How social media facilitate unity in supporting social movements? Why social media became significant in mobilizing social movement? How?

5. Contents Created on Social Media For Social Movements.

5.1. Would you please tell me some details on how you are influenced by the content created on social media for social movements? Possible probes: - How these contents reach you on social media? What kind of information activists' deliver on social media to create/support social movement?

5. 2. Could you please describe some details on what you have observed from social media communication? Possible probes: - On what issues you observed? Example; politics, religion, science, culture, education, business etc. How this information helps to create/support social movement?

6. Techniques of Social mobilization

6.1. Could you please describe some techniques activists use on social media to mobilize citizens for social movement? Possible probes: - Would you please tell me the effectiveness of these techniques? How?

7. Factors increasing social media usage in social movement

7.1. Would you please tell me some details on factors that increased social media usage in social movements in Ethiopia? Possible probes: - What are the benefits of using social media? How? Why social media attracts people to use it?

7.2. Is there any relation on the increase of social media usage with the main stream media nature, access and trustworthiness? How?

8. Strengths/Effectiveness, Challenges and Opportunities

8.1. Would you please tell some details about the effectiveness of social media as a tool for community mobilization/social movement? How?

8.2. What is an area of strength for you in using social media to observe/participate in social movements? Why?

8.3. What challenges do you observe on the utilization of social media as a tool for mobilizing social movements in Ethiopia? How? Why?

8.4. What opportunities do you anticipate on the utilization of social media as a tool for mobilizing social movements in Ethiopia? How? Why?

8.5. What do you think is the future impact of social media as a tool to mobilize social movements in Ethiopia? How?

THANKS AGAIN!!

አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ
ሶሻል ሳይንስ ኮሌጅ
ሶሻሎጂ ትምህርት ክፍል
ሶሻሎጂ MA ፕሮግራም

የቃለ-መጠይቅ መመሪያ

መግቢያ

ጤና ይስጥልኝ! በጸጋው ጌታቸው እባላለሁ። በአሁኑ ሰአት በሶሻሎጂ የማስትሬት ዲግሪዬን እየሰራሁ እገኛለሁ። ውድ ግዜዎትን ሰውተው በዚህ ቃለ መጠይቅ ለመሳተፍ ፍቃደኛ ስለሆኑ በቅድሚያ ከልብ እያመሰገንኩ የውይይታችን አላማ የሚሆነው ማህበራዊ ሚዲያ በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ማህበራዊ ንቅናቄን የመቀስቀስ ሚና ላይ መረጃ መሰብሰብ ነው። ከዚህ ጋር በተያያዘ ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን ለማህበራዊ ንቅናቄ መጠቀምን የሚጨምሩ ምክንያቶችን፣ የማህበራዊ ሚዲያ ማህበራዊ ንቅናቄን ከማደራጀት አንጻር ያለውን ጠቀሜታ እና በማህበራዊ ሚዲያ የሚሰራጩ የተለያዩ ይዘት ያላቸው ጽሁፎች እንዴት ማህበራዊ ንቅናቄን እንደሚያስነሱ ይጠየቃሉ። ከነዚህም በተጨማሪ አክቲቪስቶች ዜጎችን ለማህበራዊ ንቅናቄ የሚያነሳሱባቸውን ዘዴዎች እና የማህበራዊ ሚዲያ እንደመገናኛ መሳሪያ እና የማህበራዊ ንቅናቄን እንደማቀጣጠያ መሳሪያ ውጤታማነቱ ላይ እንወያያለን።

ከላይ ካነሳናቸው በተጨማሪ ለጥናቱ ይጠቅማሉ ያሏቸውን ማናቸውንም መረጃዎች ማጋራት የሚችሉ መሆኑን ላረጋግጥልዎት እወዳለሁ።

በተጨማሪም በዚህ ጥናት ላይ ላለመሳተፍ ከልፈለጉ በፈለጉት ጊዜ ቃለ መጠይቁን ማቋረጥ የሚችሉ መሆኑን እና ያልፈለጉትንም ጥያቄ ያለመመልስ መብቶ የተጠበቀ መሆኑን ላረጋግጥሎት እወዳለሁ። እርስዎ የሚሰጡኝ ትክክለኛ እና እውነተኛ መልስ ለጥናቱ ስኬት ወሳኝ ነው። በእርስዎ እና በእኔ መካከል የሚደረገው ውይይት ሚስጥራዊነቱ የተጠበቀ መሆኑን ላረጋግጥሎት እወዳለሁ።

ቃለ ምልልሳችን እንዲቀዳ ፍቃደኛ ነዎት?

1. አዎ

2. አይደለም

1. መሰረታዊ የዳራ መረጃ

1.1. መለያ _____

1.1. የቃለ መጠይቅ ቁጥር. _____

1.2. ቃለ መጠይቅ የተደረገበት ቀን _____

1.3. የጀመረበት ሰዓት _____

1.4. ያበቃበት ሰዓት _____

1.5. ቃለ መጠይቅ አድራጊ _____

2. የስነ-ህዝብ መረጃዎች

2.1. የሀሰት ስም _____

2.2. የትምህርት ደረጃ _____

2.3. ዕድሜ _____

2.4. ስራ _____

3. ማህበራዊ ሚዲያ እና የማህበራዊ ሚዲያ እድገት በኢትዮጵያ

3.1. በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የማህበራዊ ሚዲያን እድገት እንዴት ይገልጹታል? በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ለማህበራዊ ሚዲያ መተዋወቅ እና መስፋፋት ምክንያቱ ምን ይመስሎታል? እንዴት? ከማህበራዊ ሚዲያ ጋር በተያያዘ የመንግስት ፍላጎት እና ሚና ምን ይመስሎታል? እንዴት? በኢትዮጵያ ከማህበራዊ ሚዲያ አጠቃቀም ጋር በተያያዘ ምን አይነት ፖሊሲዎች እና እስትራቴጂዎች አሉ?

4. ማህበራዊ ሚዲያ ማህበራዊ ንቅናቄን ከማቀናጀት አናጻር

4.1. ከቅርብ ጊዜ ወዲህ በተለይም ከ2005 ዓ.ም ጀምሮ በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ በማህበራዊ ሚዲያ የታገዙ በተለያዩ ጊዜ እና ቦታ የተለያዩ ማህበራዊ ንቅናቄዎች ተስተውለዋል። እባክዎን ከ 2005 ዓ.ም ጀምሮ የተከሰቱ ህዝባዊ ንቃናቄዎች በማህበራዊ ሚዲያ እንዴት እንደታገዙ እና ማህበራዊ ሚዲያ እንዴት እንደጠቀማቸው ያብራሩልኝ?

ማውጣጫ: - በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ማህበራዊ ንቅናቄን ከማቀናጀት አንጻር ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን መጠቀምን በተመለከተ ያለውን ሁኔታ ቢገልጹልኝ ? እንዴት? የማህበራዊ ንቅናቄ ተሳታፊዎች እነማን ናቸው? እንዴት ነው የሚሳተፉት? እነዚህ ተሳታፊዎች ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን በህዝባዊ ተቃውሞ ላይ እንዴት ነው የሚጠቀሙት? ማህበራዊ ሚዲያ ማህበራዊ ንቅናቄን ከመደገፍ አንጻር አንድነትን እንዴት ያፋጥናል?

5. በማህበራዊ ሚዲያ የሚሰራጩ የተለያዩ ይዘት ያላቸው ጽሁፎች ማህበራዊ ንቅናቄን ከመቀስቀስ አንጻር

5.1. በማህበራዊ ሚዲያ የሚሰራጩ የተለያዩ ይዘት ያላቸው ጽሁፎች እንዴት ማህበራዊ ንቅናቄን እንደሚያስነሱ ቢያብራሩልኝ?

ማውጣጫ: - እነዚህ በማህበራዊ ሚዲያ ላይ የሚጻፉ ጽሁፎች እንዴት ነው ወደ ህዝቡ ተደራሽ የሚሆኑት? የማህበራዊ ሚዲያ ተጠቃሚዎች ህዝባዊ ንቅናቄን ለመቀስቀስ እና ለመደገፍ ምን አይነት መረጃዎችን ያስተላልፋሉ?

5.2. በማህበራዊ ሚዲያ ላይ የሚለቀቁ ህዝባዊ ንቅናቄን የሚቀሰቅስ ይዘት ያላቸውን ጽሁፎች ተመልክተው ከሆነ ስለእነዚህ ጽሁፎች ማብራሪያ ቢሰጡኝ?

ማውጣጫ: ከማህበራዊ ንቅናቄ ጋር በተገናኘ የተመለከቷቸው ዋና ዋና ጉዳዮች ምንድን ናቸው? እነዚህ መረጃዎች እንዴት ህዝባዊ ንቅናቄን ለመፍጠር እና ለመደገፍ ይረዳሉ?

6. ማህበራዊ ንቅናቄ የመቀስቀሻ ዘዴዎች

6.1. አክቲቪስቶች ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን በመጠቀም ዜጎችን ለማህበራዊ ንቅናቄ የሚያነሳሱባቸውን ዘዴዎች ቢገልጹልኝ?

ማውጣጫ: -የነዚህን ዘዴዎች ውጤታማነት ቢያብራሩልኝ? እንዴት?

7. በማህበራዊ ንቅናቄ ላይ ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን መጠቀምን የሚጨምሩ ምክኒያቶች

7.1. እባክዎን በኢትዮጵያ በማህበራዊ ንቅናቄ ላይ ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን መጠቀምን እንዲጨምር ያደረጉ ምክኒያቶችን ያብራሩኝ?

ማውጣጫ: - ማህበራዊ ሚዲያ ማህበራዊ ንቅናቄን ከመቀስቀስ አኳያ ለምን ጠቃሚ ሆነ? ከማህበራዊ እንቅስቃሴ/ንቅናቄ ጋር በተገናኘ ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን የመጠቀም ጥቅሞች ምንድን ናቸው? እንዴት? ሰዎች ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን እንዲጠቀሙ የሚጋብዟቸው ምክንያቶች ምንድን ናቸው?

7.2. ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን መጠቀም መጨመር ከሀገራችን ሜን ስትሪም ሚዲያ ነባራዊ ሁኔታ፤ ተደራሽነት እና ታላማኒነት ጋር ግኑኝነት አለው ብለው ያስባሉ? እንዴት?

8. የማህበራዊ ሚዲያ ጥንካሬ/ ውጤታማነት ፤ ተግዳሮት እና መልካም አጋጣሚዎች

8.1. ማህበራዊ ተቃውሞን እንደማቀጣጠያ መሳሪያ የማህበራዊ ሚዲያን ውጤታማነት ቢያብራሩልኝ? እንዴት?

8.2. ለእርስዎ ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን ማህበራዊ ተቃውሞን ለመከታተል እና በማህበራዊ ተቃውሞ ለመሳተፍ መጠቀም ጠንካራ ኅኖቹ ምንድን ናቸው? ለምን?

8.3. በኢትዮጵያ ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን ማህበራዊ ተቃውሞን እንደመቀስቀሻ መሳሪያ ከመጠቀም አንጻር ምን አይነት ተግዳሮቶች ይስተዋላሉ? እንዴት? ለምን?

8.4. በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ማህበራዊ ሚዲያን እንደ ማህበራዊ ተቃውሞ የመቀስቀሻ መሳሪያ ከመጠቀም ጋር በተገናኘ ምን አይነት መልካም አጋጣሚዎችን ይጠብቃሉ? እንዴት? ለምን?

8.5. በኢትዮጵያ ማህበራዊ ሚዲያ እንደ ማህበራዊ ተቃውሞን ማቀጣጠያ መሳሪያ ለወደፊት የሚኖረው ተጽኖ ምን ይመስልዎታል? እንዴት?

በድጋሚ ከልብ አመሰግናለሁ!



#OromoProtests soldiers firing on protesters in Machara town (West Hararge)
December 31, 2015

While the TPLF regime is busy murdering people, the number of victims of famine has increased to 18 million. #Oromo #Ethiopia



#OromoProtests Adugna Iresso a secondary school teacher who was shot in the head in Jardega Jarte district (Horo Guduru) yesterday has passed away. When he protested soldiers assualting his students, they dragged him out of class and shot him infront of students execution style. He survived the initially but passed away at Tikur Anbessa Hospital today. This brings the number of known and confirmed death to 123.

=====

Barsiisaa Addunyaa Irreessoo kan Daardegaa Jaartee (Horro Guduruu) keessatti rukutamee ture har'a hospitaala Shaambuu keessatti du'ee jira. Barsiisaa kana barattootuma fuulduratti mataa keessa akka rukutan warri achi ture ni himu. Yeroo san akka hiree lubbuun baatus erga Hospitaala Xuqur Anbessaa gahee booda lubbuun dabartee jirti.

  806

310 Comments 448 Shares

 Like

 Comment

 Share

#OromoProtests this is how they tortured singer Hawi Tezera last week when they detained her briefly before Oromia Police intervened and released her. Imagine what kind of torture she is undergoing now?

=====

Torban darbe yeroo qabanitti Hawwi Tazarraa yeroo qabaa keessatti miidhaa akkanaa irraan gayanii turan. Amma dhuunfannaa isaanii jalatti erga guututti kuftee waan irra gayu yaadaa. Torban darbe yeroo qabamtetti akkana jettee turte.

"Gaafa guyyaa 07.04 2008 ishiwaan lafara harkiste na tumte guyya dhihoo akkan mataa kesa gadi sin waqaruu abidi guddan qaba polisoni oromiyaa akka rasasini nu hin rukune waregaa gaafas gotan galani koo guddadha"



#OromoProtests As tens of thousands of TPLF soldiers are currently occupying almost every town and village in Oromia, rape of women and girls is widely reported. In villages and small towns men and boys are jailed and soldiers raid house at night terrorizing women and children. Thousands of female students and civil servants in make shift prisons guarded by soldiers. Medical personnel has been sending credible information that is too graphic to share in public and we are compiling and sending it to human rights organizations. This heinous crime must be condemned by every human being. Tigrean elites within or outside the regime must act now before its too late to reverse course.

France's service to dictators

The French helped draft the bloody Master Plan. They are now trying to help TPLF implement it by taking off all independent television broadcasters from satellite transmission to Ethiopia. They should know this; no matter how much support they provide to the tyrants, that Master Plan will not be implemented and their puppet regime will go down!

1.7K

336 Comments 795 Shares

Like

Comment

Share

#OromoProtests Murata Alemu who was shot by TPLF soldiers in Sululta last week has passed away in hospital bringing the reported death toll to 120. May he join our martyrs in heaven. Condolences to his loved ones.

=====

Murataa Alamuu kan torban darbe Sulultaatti loltoota Wayyaaneetin rasaasan rukutame har'a hospitaala keessatti lubbuun dabartee jirti. Kun namoota ajjeefamuun isaanii gabaafame gara 120 geessa. Murata rabbiin wareegamtoota keenya biroo waliin jannatatti nuuf haa qananiisu. Maatiif firoota isaatiif jajjabina haa kennu.

#OromoProtests this was Merete Alemu Gutema who was killed by TPLF soldiers in Sululta. He was a father of two little children. They broke into his house and killed him in front of his wife and children according his family. My he join our martyrs in heave. Condolences to his loved ones.

Message sent in Amharic from one of the siblings read

ወንድሜን ነጠቆኝ ነጠቆኝ ነጠቆኝ...

እግዚያብሔር የአቤልን ደም ያየ ፣ የተመለከተ ያንተንም ደም ይቆጠር፤ ይይ፤ ይመልከት። የሁለቱ ልጆችህ ፣ የናት አባትህ፣ የሁለት አሁቶችህ እና አራት ወንድሞችህ እምባ በእግዚያብሔር ፊት ትቅረብ። በግም በግም በግም አዝነናል። ከቤትህ ውጪ የት ትሸሸግ? ቤትህ ውስጥ ገብተው ነጠቆብን ሀዘናችን መራር ነው። በሀሙስ (07/04/2008)ደምህን ያፈሰሰህ በእለተ አርብ(15/04/2008) ላረፍህ፤ በእለተ ቅደሜ አፈር ለቀመስከው ውድ ወንድሜ እግዚያብሔር ነብስህን በገነት ያኑር።

=====

Kan agartan kun Marrataa Alamuu Guutamaa kan Sulultatti waraana Wayyaaneetin wareegameedha. Loltoonni mana isaa cabsanii seenuun ilmaan isaa xixiqqo duratti ajjeesan. Rabbiin wareegamtoota keenya biroo waliin jannataan haa qananiisu. Maatiif hiriyoota isaatiif jajjabina haa kennu.



#OromoProtests TPLF's abuse of Oromos in full display in Ilu galan district (West Shawa). An identified teenager n died on spot in this compound according to the witness who took the picture.

=====

Shoororkaan Wayyaaneen ummata keenyarratti godhaa jirtu haala kanaan itti fufee jira. Gurbaan umrii xiqqaan tokko battalumatti ajjeefamuu namni



#OromoProtests የሮሚያ ከልላዊ መንግስት ፕረዝደንት ከፍተኛ አማካሪ ወድም በሀውሀት ወታደሮች ተገደሉ። አቶ ዱጉማ አሬሶ የቶ ሙከታር ከዲር ከፍተኛ አማካሪ እና የከልሉ 'ልማት ተቋማት ቢሮ' ሃላፊ ናቸው። ወንድማቸው መ/ር አዱኛ በሆሮ ጉዳዩ ዘን ጃርዴጋ ወረዳ አሊቦ ሁለተኛ ት/ቤት ምክትል ዳይሬክተር ነበሩ። ትላንት ተማሪዎች የተቃውሞ ሰልፍ በጀመሩ ጊዜ ወታደሮች አንድ ተማሪ ተኩሰው መተው ወደ ሌሎች መተኮስ ሲጀምሩ ጣልቃ ገብተው ይማጸናሉ። የወታደሮቹ መልስ ግን መምህሩን ከቢሮዎቻቸው ጎትተው አውጥተው ተማሪዎች ፊትለፊት ግንባራቸው አሏቸው። ሁለት ሌላ መምህራንም ዳይሬክተሩን ጨምሮ ተመተው ወደቁ። መ/ር አዱኛ ላጊዜው ህይወታቸው ተርፋ ወደ ሻምቡ ሆስፒታል ተወሰዱ፤ ካዚያም ወደ ጥቁር አንበሳ ረፈረፈ ተላኩ። ጥቁር አንበሳ ግን ለረጅም ሰዓታት እንዲጠብቁ አደረገ። እየተጠባብቁ ሳለ አንዳች ህክምና ሳያገኙ ህይወታቸው እዛው መጣባባቱን ከፍል አለፈች። በ አሁኑ ወቅት ፊላቸው ውደ ሚኒሊክ ሆስፒታል ለምርመራ ተወስዷል። ትላንት ሙከታር ከዲር ነብሰ ገዳይ ወታደሮችን አማስግኖ ሰላማዊ ሰልፍ ወጥተው የተገደሉትን ሲኮንን እንደ ነበር ይታወሳል። ሞት የባለስልጣናቱንም በር ማንኳኳት ጀመረች

👍❤️ 1.3K

357 Comments 922 Shares

#OromoProtests "More than 4,000 of our party's members including Bekele Gerba, Dejene Tafa, Addisu Bulala, and Desta Dinka are currently imprisoned" Bekele Nega, OFC's General Secretary

If 4,000 party members are jailed imagine the number of the general population? My own estimate based on of tally of reports from districts is about 30,000 still being held (excluding those detained and released on same day)

 765

46 Comments 276 Shares

#OromoProtests students in Jimma continue to Say No to the Master Plan and the Mass Killing



#OromoProtest Update on Bekele Gerba: These are what I have been able to piece together from various sources

- 1) Yesterday December 30, 2015 he was taken out of Maekalawi under the pretext of taking him to hospital
- 2) Instead of Hospital he was taken to a military camp located near Tor Hayloch Hospital
- 3) There he was beaten badly during interrogation and fainted
- 4) He was then taken to Tor Hayloch Hospital
- 5) He was removed from the hospital early in the morning. Hospital staff were told not to disclose he was ever there and he was to be taken to Police Hospital
- 6) But he was not taken to Police Hospital or back to Maekelawi. His whereabouts is unknown for certain but the suspicion is they are keeping him at the military camp.

  586

165 Comments 387 Shares

#OromoRevolution Two young men who were arrested in Bidire town, Madda Walbu District in Bale and sent to Tolay military camp have died. Their body has been brought back to their birthplace. Just as in other cases, soldiers have prevented families from viewing the bodies and perform the religious ritual of cleansing. This is done to prevent identification of cause of death.

=====

Daragaggoonni lama kan Godina Baalee Aanaa Madda Walaabuu Magaalaa Bidiree keessaa qabamanii gara Xoollaay geeffamnii turan du'anii reeffi isaanii qe'etti galee jira. Loltoonni fidanis maatiin reeffa akka hin laalleefi akka amantitti dhiqanii akka hin awwaallanne dhoorganii jiran. Kana kan godhan sababni du'aatii joollee kanaa akka hin beekamneefi.

   1K

506 Comments 916 Shares

#OromoRevolution Two young men who were arrested in Bidire town, Madda Walbu District in Bale and sent to Tolay military camp have died. Their body has been brought back to their birthplace. Just as in other cases, soldiers have prevented families from viewing the bodies and perform the religious ritual of cleansing. This is done to prevent identification of cause of death.

=====

#OromoRevolution A elderly man named Kadir Haji Guye has died while being tortured in prison in Digalu & Tijo district of Arsi today December 2, 2016

=====

#OromoRevolution FYI: Its now confirmed that Dr Merera Gudina was badly beaten up sustaining broken hand. Also the fact that police requested 28 day extension means he is being 'investigated' for 'terrorism' not for violating the state of emergency as announced by the regime.

👍👎👏 716

93 Comments 447 Shares

“The TPLF has trapped itself by ethnicising political life without accepting a real autonomy for every regional state,” Wiren says. “It is an open secret that behind each regional state leader there is a kind of unofficial political supervisor...” “You have a group of Tigrayans in government deciding the fate of 100 million people who aren’t allowed to say anything.”

#OromoRevolution The regime has intensified its war on Oromo artists. Almost all singers are either in jail, forced to flee or had gone underground. Studios have been closed and their properties confiscated. Seena Solomon and Elias Kiflu, the duo known for their powerfully dramatized resistance songs are the latest victims.



#OromoRevolution Today December 21, 2016 there was a protest at Ambo highschool. Students demanded immediate release of Dr Merera Gudina, Bekele Gerba and other political prisoners. They also demanded lifting of the state of emergency and remove of the TPLF regime from power. Three state owned trucks were attacked.

=====

Guyyaa Roobii har'a guyyaa keessa sa'a 6 fi 11 irratti manni barumsaa qopha'iina Amboo fi high school feuture generation mormii cimaa godhanii jiru. 1, Dr... See More

👍👎👏 1.6K

286 Comments 1K Shares

#OromoProtests የሀገስ ገታነት የ ቶላ ዘበኛነት ያበቅለታል። ወይ ቶላ ጀግንነቱን አሳይቶ ለትግል ተሰውቶ ልጁን ነጻነት ያጎናጽፈል። ወይ ሀገስ እኩነትን ተቀብሎ በሰላም አብሮ መኖርን ይቀባላል!!

 1K

226 Comments 331 Shares

The newly established office of “Addis Ababa and surrounding Oromia Integrated Development Plan” has drafted a new master plan in an international conference held in Adama on June 2013. According to the proposed plan, which you can see down below, the new Master plan will incorporate all the oromia towns and districts lying within the range of 100 km from Finfinnee. Accordingly, about 36 towns and 17 districts which are currently in oromia and administered by oromia regional state will be merged with Finfinne , so that the land use and the administration issues will be determined by the central mayor of Finfinne.

- Some of the towns are : Adama,Sodere,Mojo,Wenji, Ejere, Alem Tena, Koka, Adulala, Bushoftu, Dukem, Gelen, Akaki Beseka, Godino,Chefe Donsa,Sebeta,Sendafa, Milkewa, Wendoda,Sirti, Duber, Gonfo,Chancho, Mulo, Debre Muger, Ulo, Adis Alem, Holota, Burayu, Debre Genet, Illu Teji, Tefki, Sebera Boneya, Melka Kunture and etc.

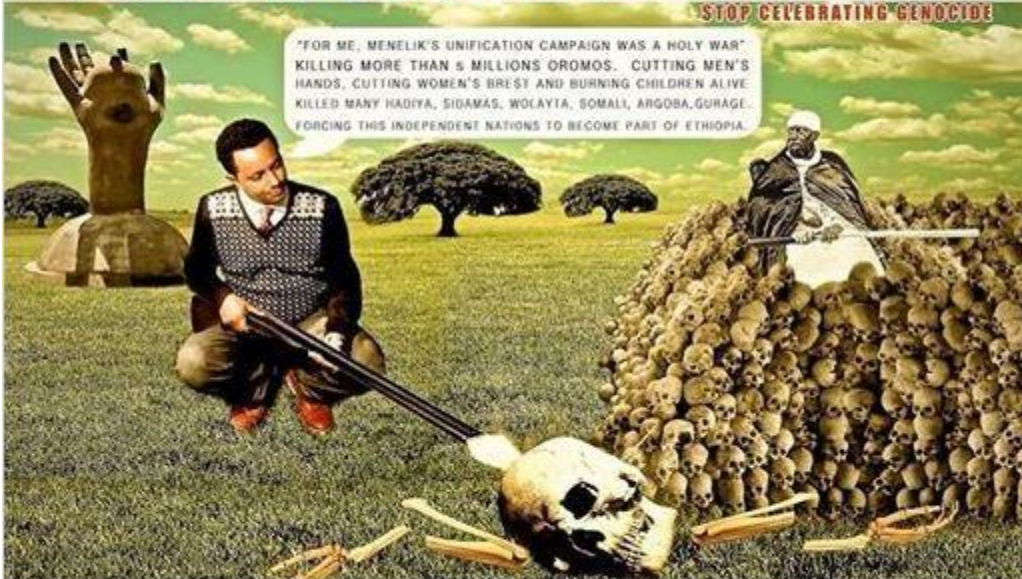
Leaving behind the unresolved constitutional right over Finfinne, the TPLF government is going to grab our fertile land and clear the indigenous dwellers. When farmers of these areas are forced to leave their land, caused by road and industrial area construction, they usually don't receive any equivalent compensation, and many find themselves migrating to find another daily labour occupation to survive their big family.

Bear in mind that , Oromo are not against interconnection and integration of cities and towns that enhance mutual development of other parties, but we are against the clearing of indigenous people, loosing right of land, the political administrative issue and not least the geographical and identity issue.

With Zelalem Woyesa Abiy Atomssa Dinaa'ol Warra Baalee Hayu Kenate Itana G Bulcha Dereje Dadi Mohammed Ademo Gizachew Ebisa Soboksa Geresu Tufa Girma B. Gutema Jawar Mohammed Melese Diribsa Tsegaye Ararssa Monica Madiba Solomon Ungashe Eshetu Homa Keno Tibebu Sime GiDira Vs EbiSa Aynalem Mengistu Hundanol Atnafu Muse Gadisa Tigist Geme Junde Ashir Getinet Dinkayehu

BOYCOTT TEDDY AFRO & TIKUR SEW

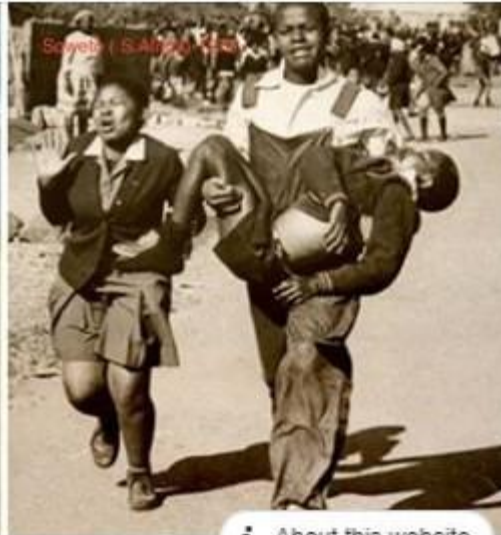
STOP CELEBRATING GENOCIDE



👍👎 246

46 Comments 832 Shares

Apartheid Regimes massacring young school children: #Sululta2015 & #Soweto1976 as historical similars #oromoprotest <https://t.co/FI2ZAMQMBV>



[About this website](#)

[PIC TWITTER COME/FI2ZAMQMBV](https://t.co/FI2ZAMQMBV)

#OromoProtests #Oromo #Ethiopia

Dear activists, friends and colleagues :

As per the discussion and consensus with OFC -ISG members and activists, conducting social media campaign on the ongoing Oromia & even Ethiopia-wide protests targeting Human Rights organizations and influential international media outlets would be crucial.

This is decided to be made on Wednesday, Dec 9, 2015 all day long. The specific time for launching the campaign intensively will be made clear so soon.

Also, stay tuned for the areas/ issues and lists of organizations.



#ማስተር_ፕላንን ሁሉም ሰው መቃወም ያለበት 7 ዋና ዋና ምክንያቶች

1. የሰበሰቡ መብትን ይጥሳል
2. በኦሮሞ ህዝብ ላይ ነበረውን ታርካዌ በደል ያስቀጥላል
3. የኦሮሞ ገበሬዎችን የኢኮኖሚ ጥቅምን በእጅጉ ይቀርጋል
4. የኦሮሞን ባህሪና ማንነትን ይደመስሳል
5. ከጥህበራዊ ፍትህን መርህን ጋር ይጣረዛል
6. የዘላቂ ልማት መርህን ይቀርጋል
7. በህዝቦች መካከል ቅራኔን ይፈጥራል

#OromoProtets #Oromo #Ethiopia #TheMasterPlan

Social media doing miracles in exposing all micro-level crimes and brutalities of tyrants on #OromoProtests while inter. media sit watching

👍 15

Dis-empowerment means when your story is told by others the way they like your image be portrayed and projected የሚሉት አባባል አለ በሳይንሳዊው እሳቤ። የአሮሞ ፖለቲካ እንደ "ገንጣይና አጭራሽ" ፖለቲካ ብቻ እንዲታይ ያሳሰለሰ ፕሮፓጋንዳ ስራ በነባራዊውም ሆነ ባለፉት የኢትዮጵያ አገዛዞች ተሰራ። ይህ ፕሮፓጋንዳ አብዛኛው ተራ ዜጋ (ordinary folk) የአሮሞን ፖለቲካ እንደሻገገው ሆረረ ሙሽ ኢማጂን እንዲያደርገው አደረገ።

ይህን በመንግስታዊ የሚዲያና ህዝብ ግንኙነት ስራዎች ለመቶ ምናምን ዓመታት ታግዞ በፕሮፓጋንዳ የሰረጸ ጭራቻ ወይም ቴረር ለማስወገድ ከአሮሞው የፖለቲካ ሊህቅ የሚጠበቀው ምንድነው?? ከሌሎች የኢትዮጵያ ሊህቃንስ?? የአሮሞው ጥያቄ ለሌሎች የኢትዮጵያ ህዝቦች የሚያስበረግግ እንዳይሆን ምንድነው መደረግ ያለበት?

👍 85

28 Comments 6 Shares

👍 Like

💬 Comment

➦ Share

#OromoProtests: Civility in z face of cruelty; discipline in front of dictatorship. Proud of u my heroes & heroines. <https://t.co/W5OFgMyLjo>



I wish we got details of this amazing picture. It should sink into 2 pages of history books vis-a-vis #OromoProtests <https://t.co/vT1DFvKDGJ>



PIC.TWITTER.COM/VT1DFVKDGJ

Girmabbaacabsaa (@girmabbaacabsaa) posted a photo on Twitter

84 4 Comments 16 Shares

Do u believe the Ethiopian gov't is deliberately developing Addis Master Plan to eradicate #Oromo from their land?

This poll is floated as per the proposal of my friend Henok G. Gabisa. Please go and vote on my twitter page. Thanks

17 1 Share

Like

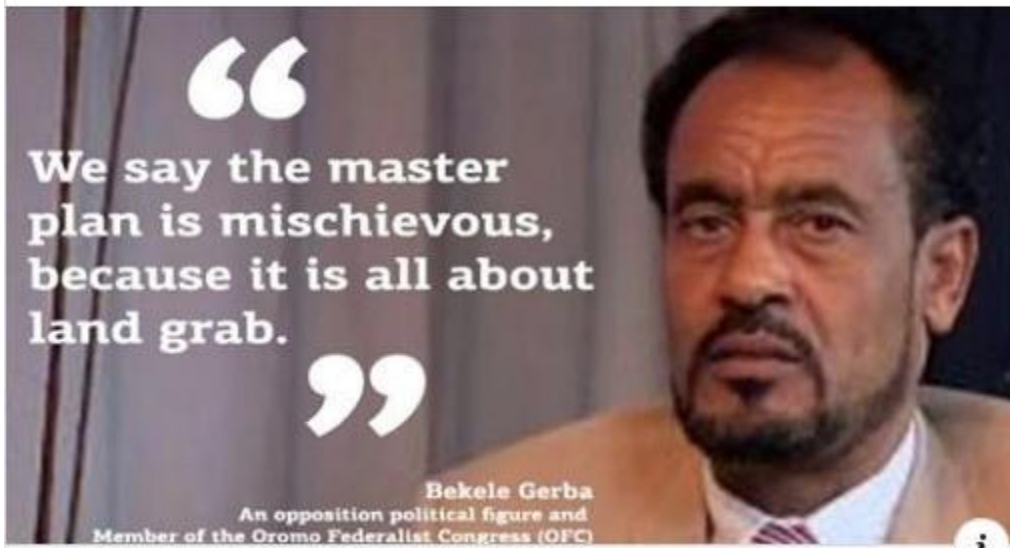
Comment

Share

Ethiopian gov't is starting to dogfight two peaceful societies: Oromo and Amharal We need to make a higher choice!

18 3 Shares

Bekele Gerba on the Addis Abeba-Oromia Special Zone Integrated Master Plan... <https://t.co/Yh9gos4wO> <https://t.co/3mKICF5iJJ>



#OromoProtests | Healthcare professionals at Bishoftu hospital saying No! to the Master Plan. <https://t.co/eWzGfwFoDr>



United Nations Human Rights Committee, Human Rights Campaign: Stop massacre of Oromo people and suppr... <https://t.co/dKlWu6g9d8> via @Change



CHANGE.ORG/P/UNITED-NATIO...

United Nations Human Rights Committee, Human Rights Campaign: Stop massacre of Oromo people and...



ወያኔ ባለፉት 24 ዓመታት የአርሞን ህዝብ የናቀበት ዋነኛው ምክኒያት ሁሉንም የአርሞ ሊሂቅ የ #OPDO ዓይነት ሆድ-አደር አሳማና ድክሞ አድርጎ በመሳሉ ነው።#OromoProtests ይህንን እምነቴን ፉርሽ እደረገበት። Me

👍 83

2 Comments 8 Shares

#OromoProtests | Look how soldiers pointing their guns towards peaceful demonstrators



#OromoProtests | In Focus: Addis Ababa master plan threatens Oromos self-determination <https://t.co/G9FjMzsex7> via @IBTimesUK #Oromoprotests



IBT.UK/A6R4M

In Focus: Addis Ababa master plan threatens Oromos self-determination

#OromoProtests: Fortune caught GoE red-handed while lying on the Master plan office "Arguments Amongst Death, Destruction"



DISQ.US/8V3NY2

Arguments Amongst Death, Destruction

» Arguments Amongst Death, Destruction

When the only thing a government knows about governing is controlling people by shooting them, outright lying, utter confusion, blatant self-contradiction, and unscrupulous bravado becomes the hallmark of those who do public relations. Such is what happened to Getachew Redda, a guy the regimes touts as arguably the brightest and the most articulate of all the members of the government. In an attempt to defend the Master Plan, he says that it is an attempt at 'harmonizing' inter-regional infrastructural development in accord with the federal structure of the state. Who is he trying to fool, or has he himself fallen for this idiocy?

1. Well, one needs to remind him that the way to harmonize inter-regional (and inter-city) development is through the proper channels of Intergovernmental Relations (whose normative, institutional, and procedural frames have long been undermined and made superfluous because of the party's control and ruling of the regions in a centralized and hierarchical manner through a hierarchy privileging the federal government over the State Governments).

2. One also needs to remind him that there were no two or more projects that were being integrated. There is no integration. There is nothing to be integrated. It is one Master Plan that sought to incorporate the territory of the Special Zone into the jurisdiction of the Addis Ababa City Administration. It is the Master Plan of Addis Ababa that was imposed on the special zone as if they are already the suburbs of the city. That is precisely why the Mayors of the cities and leaders of the Districts--members of his own party, EPRDF, albeit, the more invisible and the more servile wing--that opposed the Master Plan and paid dearly for it. If it was integration we were talking about, how come we haven't heard of any plan from the towns from Oromia side, from

6. I am glad that you smile as you talk about the fact that the project office was "suspended". Even you, the arch-demon, is agnostic at this point. Or perhaps the irony made you chuckle. Yes, we know it is not suspended. We know what is going on, on the ground.

7. If the Master Plan is suspended (because it is a result of a failure of both governments, Federal and Oromia's), then why do you go door to door to hunt down protesters and put them in concentration camps? If the problem is the Master Plan, then why arrest the people? Or is this the meaning of "suspension" of the Master Plan (which will be 'released' once all the Oromos go to jail and are taken out of the way)? Wey Qineel?!

8. It is interesting that Getachew says the only thing that the Master Plan is lacking is consultation. And the reason is preoccupation with other priorities such as (rigging) the last election. The election was supposed to be the time when you hear people and realign your priorities with that of the people? Min bewtachihu? Enante yemitagelegilut Ye Mimi ena Meselochuwan suq! Hizbumma irritant new.

Now that we know what you think,...

We will keep protesting. We will keep irritating you. We will make you remain the armed gangsters that you have always been. We will keep reminding you of the blood in your hands. We will keep reminding you that your double digit development means the exposure of 15,000,000 to famine. Your 100% win in elections means a 100% popular rejection only three months after the establishment of your new government (I mean the gang with few new faces such as your own). We will hold you to your political agenda. And we will hold you accountable on that very count. No, we won't exorcise the demon. Because YOU ARE THE DEMON. We will treat you as such. Wait and see!
Tsegaye Ararssa

5. The 'government' (better called the gang really) talks about 'elements' that have their own political agenda were making the protest violent. First, they say the protesters are peaceful and legitimate. Then, they say there is a political agenda behind the protest. What is this 'political agenda' that they are talking about? (The very reason we have public political meeting and political demonstration is to express political views, Duh!!!) Do these "armed gangs" have a political agenda that is different from theirs?

By the way, the only armed gang we saw was the government (both in its military and civilian iterations). And it is their agenda that is not only political but also impure. It hides behind 'development' (as a regulatory technique) but retrenches the political ethnocracy as economic hegemony. It pursues the goal of dispossessing Oromos, displacing them from their land, eliminating the Special Zone, erasing the Oromo identity of the city of AA and the wider zone. It is their impure agenda of breaking Oromia into East and West, it is their impure agenda of systematic marginalization of the Oromo and fabrication of cross-generational Oromo poverty (alias Oromization of poverty) that people are questioning. If anyone's agenda is to be questioned, it is the government's. If anyone owes us an obligation to explain motives, it is the government. And they haven't. He hasn't. Abay Tsehaye hasn't. Haile Mariam hasn't. Ato Mathewos hasn't. Muktar Kedir hasn't. Abba Duulaa hasn't. These are the true gangsters who have impure political motives. These are the only armed gangsters that terrorized the people. These are the demons with impure motives. These are the witches and the seers that have their own political agenda. These are the ones that the protest sought to exorcise. So, Ato Getachew, I know you are reading this: you are the one who had all the credentials of a demon (ganen); ye Mekelle University chifrochih yimesekiralu, yasmesekirallu.

the towns that have an interface with AA? Where is their Master Plans? How come none of the 36 towns in the 17 Woredas do not have their own Master Plan that is sought to be integrated with that of AA? How come, Abay Tsehaye went to present this to the Oromia officials if it was also their plan? How come they needed training, indoctrination, and so much disciplining? Ato Getachew, don't deceive yourself. There was nothing to be integrated except the Oromo land from which the people were pushed out as 'surpluses'.

3. You talk about the issue as a "Take it or Leave it Matter". Wow!!! Is that how you govern a country? Who the hell is the project office or bloody Abay Tsehaye, for that matter, to invite me "to take or leave" a plan that evicts me from my land? Who do these people think they are? Did they think they are the exact same thing as the Klashnikov they carry, the machine that doesn't think but kills? Plus, why kill the people when they persistently said "leave it" for the last three years?

4. You say people have the legal right to protest but then you claim that the protests were violent because of the armed gangs who have political agenda? Where did these armed gangs come from? According to Getachew, they were just found in the midst of the protesters? It looks like these armed gangs popped up just like the 'demons' that he talked about a week ago. This guy seems to see spirits that hail from sources unknown! And he thinks his government's job is exorcism. He must be the most vulgar spiritual exorcist humanity has ever known.

On a more serious note, why is it that their army kills kids, mothers, and young people when they could have shot these armed gangs. Cowards!!! You shoot at 'spirits' and kill a generation of future leaders? If the armed gangs are your worry, why do you put all these unarmed people (whom you see as legitimate protesters) in concentration camps in their tens of thousands?

#OromoProtests State-sponsored-terrorism underway right now in Ambo under z shadow of darkness. Helicopters dropped Agazis as residents watch

 56

2 Comments 22 Shares

The fight over poor man's land: «ባለሥልጣናት መሬቱን ከነኩ በዓለም አቀፍ ፍርድ ቤቱ ውጤቱን ያገኙታል» | Ethiopian Reporter Amharic Version



ETHIOPIANREPORTER.COM/CONTENT/%E2%80...

«ባለሥልጣናት መሬቱን ከነኩ በዓለም አቀፍ ፍርድ ቤቱ ውጤቱን ያገኙታል» | Ethiopian Reporter Amharic Version

36

18 Shares

The gov't never know the number of people it killed in this season of the #OromoProtests. It has to yet get clear picture of it. The opposition put the number to 86, enclosing all the lists. This OPDO spokesman says, they will be back to public consultation to implement the master plan after making sure that peace prevails in Oromia. He also adds, the master plan office is closed; and after 20 years of lies and pretensions, OPDO is commissioning a study to determine what has been stated as the "special interest of Oromia over Finfinnee". What a poor, confused cadre trying to confuse others?



ETHIOPIANREPORTER.COM

«የማስተር ፕላንን ዕጣ ፈንታ የሚወስነው የአሮሞ ሕዝብ ነው» | Ethiopian Reporter Amharic Version

ከሃያ በላይ የሚሆኑ የነገ ተስፋዎች ግንባታው ባልተጠናቀቀው ዘመናዊ ስታዲየም ውስጥ የተለያዩ እንቅስቃሴዎችን ያደርጋሉ። አብዛኛዎቹ ወንዶች ቢሆኑም በየት

#OromoProtests Even brides stealing time from their happy moments to say NO! Saying No to the killings, the repression, the state-sponsored-terrorism and the plundering.....



 Gashaw Gelana Ulfata and 1.1K others

47 Comments 402 Shares

አሁን ጥያቄው ተገልብጧል። መደረግ ያለበት ጥናት አሮሚያ ኣ/አ ላይ ያላት special interest ላይሆን ኣ/አ አሮሚያ ላይ ያላት special interest የሚል መሆን አለበት። ኣ/አን ወደ ቦታዋ/አሮሚያ መልሱና ተያይዞ ስለሚመጣው ጉዳይ አጥኑ። አለቀ!

 164

20 Comments 16 Shares

#OromoProtests Last evening, Agazi forces broke doors into students dormitories at Ambo University Engineering campus of Awaro. There are reports of rape in female students dormitories and students are leaving the campus en mass since this morning.



#OromoProtests : Raids, beatings by Agazi and Federal forces on Ambo University Awaro Engineering campus continued unabated till now since it started last evening under darkness. Dr. Mitiku, the President of the University was standing in appreciation with what the Agazi were doing to the students uttering that "they are flattered, hence beat them". Many students are wounded and admitted to hospital. Many more went onto the mountains running for their lives and those who make it taking refuge to the neighborhoods and relatives went for it. The campus is completely deserted by now (my own translation).

ፍትህ እንዲሰፍን ካስፈለገ እነዚ መሰረታዊ ጥያቄዎች እንደቅድመ ሁኔታ መመለስ አለባቸው፡

ከአዲስ አበባ 29 የገጠር ቀበሌዎች ባሉፋት ሃያ አምስት ዓመታት በልማት ስም የተፈናቀሉት የኦሮሞ ገበሬዎችና ቤተሰቦቻቸው የት ነው ያሉት አሁን?? እውነት እነርሱ ለምተዋል ወይ?? ልጆቻቸው የት ነው ያሉት?? በተጨማሪም እነዚ ደሃ ዜጎች በተፈናቀሉበት መሬት እነማን ተተኩ?? የሚለው በገለልተኛ አጥኚዎች ተጠንቶ መቅረብ አለበት። አቶ ኤርሚያስ ለገሰ "የመለስ ትፋፋት" መጽሃፍ ደራሲና ቀድሞ የኢህአዴግ መንግስት ሚኒስትር የነበሩ ከተናገሩት የተቀነጩበት! Take a listen plz dhiiroo:

ከዚህ ለክብር ከሚገባው (must read) ጽሁፍ ጋር አያይዡ እነዚህን ነጥቦች ላንላ።

ማስተር ፕላን ይሸፍነዋል ተብሎ በቀረበው አንድ ነጥብ አንድ ሚሊዮን ሔክታር ቦታ-planning region- (አዲስ አበባን ጨምሮ 37 የሚሆኑ ወረዳዎችን የያዘ እንደሆነ ተገልጿል)፤ የህዝቡ ብዛት በሚቀጥሉት ሃያ ዓመታት በሶስት እጥፍ እንደሚጨምር በተባለው የማስተር ፕላን ሰነድ ላይ በመጀመሪያው ገጽ ተገልጿል። አሁን ባለው የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ እድገት ምጣኔ መሰረት (ባማካይ ወደ 2.53 በመቶ እንደሆነ ይታወቃል...ግን ደግሞ እየቀነሰ የሚሄድ ነው) የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ብዛት አሁን ካለው መጠን በእጥፍ እንኳን የሚያድገው በ2050 ማለትም ከ35 ዓመታት በኋላ መሆኑ ሳይንሳዊ ሃቅ ነው። ይህ የሚያሳየው ነጥብ ምንድነው ታዲያ?? ግልጽ ነው። ማስተር ፕላን በሚያካትታቸው አካባቢዎች፣ ከሌላ አካባቢ ከፍተኛ ቁጥር ያላቸውን ሰዎች አምጥቶ ለማስፈር ታቅዷል። ካልሆነ አሁን በተጠቀሰው አካባቢ በሚኖሩ ሰዎች አማካይ የውልደት መጠን (birth rate) እና በተናጠል ለእለት ጉርስ ፍለጋ በሚመጡ ሰዎች (immigrant laborers) ላይ ተመስርተን ብናሰላ፣ የአዲስ አበባና ማስተር ፕላን የሚሸፍናቸው የአሮሚያ ፊንፊኔ ዙሪያ ነዋሪዎች ቁጥር በሚቀጥሉት ሃያ ዓመታት በአንድ እጥፍ እንኳን መጨመር አይችልም። የተቀሩት ሁለቱ እጥሬ ታዲያ ከዩት ነው የሚመጡት? ከላይ እንደገለጽኩት ፕላን በመግቢያው ላይ የplanning regioኑ ህዝብ "በሶስት እጥፍ" እንደሚጨምር ነው የሚገልጸው። Here, I found my self confused between the Arctic and the Antarctic 😊

#OromoProtests | After killing so many innocent Oromo children who came out to protest peacefully, they now organizing a fifteen-million birr luxurious conference, said to be chaired by HMD himself, to 'discuss land management and the master plan'.

Retweeted Jeffrey Smith (@Smith_RFKennedy):

In #Ethiopia roughly 1 out of every 1400 #Oromo nationals are in jail due to their suspected opposition to the gov't



Bit...



የትዊተር መልእክት ለመላው አለም

#OromoProtests

በኢህአዴግ መንግስት በኦሮሞ ህዝብ ላይ እያደረሰ ያለውን የግድያና የጭቆና ዘመቻ በመቃወም የትዊተር መልእክት ለመላው አለም እናስተላልፋለን።

መልእክቱ እንዲደርሳቸው የምናደርጋቸው ዋና ዋና ክፍሎች

♦ የኢትዮጵያን መንግስት የሚያደርገውን ኢሰብአዊ ስራ "ያሳስበናል" ከማለት ውጭ ለአገዛዙ ድጋፍ እየሰጡ ያሉትን መንግስታት (ፕሬዝዳንቶች፣ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሮች፣ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትሮች ኤምባሲዎች፣ አምባሳደሮች ወዘተ...)

♦ ስለጉዳዩ በአግባቡ ያልዘገቡ የሚደገቡ ተቋማትና ጋዜጠኞች

ጊዜ ፡ እሁድ ታህሳስ 10/2008 ወይም ዲሴምበር 20/2015

በኢትዮጵያ ሰዓት አቆጣጠር ከምሽቱ 1-5 ሰዓት

የምንጠቀምበት ህሽታግ #OromoProtests

ሁላችንም እንሳተፍ!

Social media are filling the gap as the mainstream media fail to cover #OromoProtests #EthiopiaCrisis <https://t.co/jfQENbw0oC>

The infographic displays social media statistics for #EthiopiaCrisis. It features two main sections: one for Facebook with 97,896 people talking about it, and another for Twitter with 56,945 tweets in the past 30 days. The Twitter section also includes a breakdown for the last 24 hours: 5000+ tweets, 1,595 users, and 5.5 million reach. The background shows a crowd of people.

Platform	Engagement	Time Period
Facebook	97,896	People are talking about it
Twitter	56,945	Tweets in the past 30 days
Twitter	5000+	Tweets (Last 24 hours)
Twitter	1,595	Users (Last 24 hours)
Twitter	5.5mn	Reach (Last 24 hours)

[PIC.TWITTER.COM/JFQENBW0OC](https://t.co/jfQENbw0oC)
#EthiopiaCrisis (@EthiopianCrisis) posted a photo on Twitter
Get the whole picture - and other photos from #EthiopiaCrisis

16

7 Shares

#OromoRevolution Last night Harari regional police shot and killed a young man named Abdi Beker Yusuf. The Harari police killed the young man outside their jurisdiction.

=====

Halkan Eedaa jachuuniis Muddee 22/12/2016 tti gocha baayy'ee garaa nama booreesuutu naannoo Harar dirree xayyaaraa iddoo bakka biyyee ja'amtutti poolisiin naannoo harari gurbaa Oromoo maqaan isaa Abdii Bakar Yuusuf jedhamu badii takkan malee qawwee itti dhukasuudhan ajjeesanii reefka isallee fuudhanii hoospitaala joglaa keessatti darbanii jiran. Yeroo amma kana hoospitaala joglaa jira.

753

149 Comments 539 Shares