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**Title: Media Framing Of the Conflict in the Amhara Regional State: AMECO
and Roha TV in Focus**

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APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

This certifies that Tigist Zerihun's research topic, Media Framing Of the Conflict in the Amhara Regional State: AMECO and Roha TV in Focus, was completed in compliance with university guidelines and submitted as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for a master's degree in journalism and communication

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the framing of the conflict in the AMHARA regional state by Amico and Roha TV, as reported during the selected period from April 28, 2023, to November 30, 2023. This timeframe was deliberately chosen as it encompasses the onset of the conflict, its escalation to a peak, and the subsequent declaration of a state of emergency. The impetus for conducting research titled 'Media Framing of the conflict in the Amhara Regional State: Amico and Roha TV in focus' stems from the escalating internal conflict in Ethiopia. Given that media can significantly impact conflicts either positively or negatively, understanding media framing is crucial. This research aims to examine their framing practices to determine whether they contribute to resolving the conflict or exacerbate it. The media outlets under scrutiny were specifically chosen for their consistent coverage of the Amharan conflict. The outlets in question include the government-funded Amico and the YouTube-based news channel Roha TV. To achieve the primary goals of the study, four research questions have been formulated, to examine how the chosen media characterizes the dispute between the Amhara regions, how to diagnose the cause, what the moral verdict is, and what solutions are recommended. The study employed qualitative methods and textual analysis to address the research questions. The findings indicated that the Amhara regional state conflict was framed differently by the selected media outlets. However, their proposed solutions for conflict resolution were identical, with both advocating for armed action as the means to resolve the regional conflict. This study could serve as a foundation for further research, and if the media seriously consider the findings, they could use them to enhance their work practices.

Key words: media framing, conflict, Amhara region, Amico, Roha TV

Acronyms

AMICO	Amhara Media Corporation
OPDO	Oromo People’s Democratic Organization
TPLF	Tigray people’s liberation Front
ENDF	Ethiopian National Defense Force
EHRC	Ethiopian Human Rights Commission

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Following the demise of the Mengistu regime, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) came to power in 1991. This incident changed the country's political ideology and the structure of the government administration. Ethnic federalism was established as a system of governance.

The Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) which had fought with the Derg regime for 17 years seized the lever of power in Addis Ababa and began to operate under the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), constituted by a few ethnically based parties (Meseret, 2013).

After two months, the EPRDF issued a transitional government charter, based on universal declarations of human rights, recognizing freedom of expression, freedom of peaceful protest, and freedom of religion. In June 1994, three years later, the government conducted an election for a constituent assembly with 547 seats. The assembly had the responsibility of ratifying a new constitution for Ethiopia. According to the author at the time many people had protested the transitional government's decision to have a newly elected assembly to ratify the constitution, rather than hold a nationwide referendum on it. But the government ignored it.

The new constitution that replaced the transitional government charter allows dividing the country into different autonomous regions, based on people's language and ethnicity. Those regions have their own national anthem (some are included words that may raise conflicts in their anthem)

During this era, the Media administrators were selected based on their political alignment. This practice started with the national media outlets, such as Ethiopian Television and Radio stations, in the early years of the EPRDF regime. People who had no related training or experience in the field were appointed to the national media house. This happened after several journalists were fired simply for being labeled "sympathizers' of Derg" (ibid).

On the other hand, the newly appointed directors were assigned simply for their ethnic identity or political loyalty. Following the ethnic-based federalism, different ethnic political parties grew in number. There were more than 50 political parties (registered by the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia). Among those parties, only a few were not ethnic-based.

Over time, political polarization has widened, leading to widespread protests against the government, particularly in the Oromia and Amhara regions. Ultimately, this resulted in a shift of power within the EPRDF itself. Former Prime Minister Hyilemariam Desalegn resigned and Abiy Ahmed replaced him in April 2018. Following the coming to power of Abiy Ahmed, the political landscape changed. Different rebel groups who were based abroad started to enter Ethiopia to struggle peacefully. This includes Ginbot 7 and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLA). Political prisoners and journalists were freed from jail, and different constraining laws (including the media law and anti-corruption proclamation) were amended.

The ruling party (EPRDF) changed its name and registered by the new name called Prosperity Party (PP). However, the TPLF refused the dissolution of the EPRDF and its replacement by the Prosperity Party (PP), causing the emergence of a serious crack between the new government and the TPLF.

After sometime, the promising political landscape and the liberalized environment conducive for freedom of speech started to faultier. Because of this, the reform endeavor faced serious internal and external challenges. This created tensions, conflicts, displacements, and suspicion towards the current political reform being able to ensure sustainable peace (Jiregna, 2020).

On the other hand, ethnic and political polarization became intense. Mass killings based on ethnicity, politically motivated detentions, unlawful mass arrest (including journalists), conflict, and displacement became rampant (EHRC Annual Report, 2023).

Such tension-filled political environment coupled with the increased psychological war waged by the two contending groups through the media outlets they controlled resulted in the breaking out of a conventional war between the Federal Government and the Tigray Regional State.

The two-year conflict came to an end with a peace agreement signed in Pretoria, South Africa, on November 2, 2022. According to Harter & Solomon, 2022, Throughout the war, the Tigray forces, the Ethiopian National Defense Force, Amhara armed groups, and the Eritrean Defense Force were engaged (International Commission of Human Rights Experts on Ethiopia, report of September 21, 2023). Authors also added that following the Pretoria peace deal, concerns were raised by some activists regarding the disputed areas of Raya and Humera—territories claimed by Amhara and controlled during the war—about the federal government's intentions to hand them over to the TPLF. Meanwhile, the regional president Yilekal Kefale (who resigned lately) requested the federal government to interfere in the Amhara region. Following his letter with the interference request, heavy clashes started between Ethiopian national defense forces, and armed groups in the region (call itself Fano).

Even though the local and international journalists were not allowed to report live unlike the two years of the Tigray war, Different media outlets gave coverage in different narratives and framings.

The conflict has received more coverage from YouTube-based media and other social media platforms locally. The mainstream media, including the national television the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation has remained silent, except for when broadcasting government press releases and speeches from officials concerning the conflict in Amhara.

This research attempts to critically examine how a government-funded media outlet and a privately owned media outlet have framed the ongoing conflict in the Amhara regional state in their news narratives.

1.2 Statement of the problem

As Ethiopia and its citizen's grapple with significant internal strife, the reporting of conflicts and the framing of news continue to be important topics of research. Particularly since 2018, the intensification of internal disputes in various regions of the country has resulted in the displacement of millions, the deaths of hundreds, and extensive property damage.

Currently, armed conflicts are also occurring in the Oromia and Amhara regions. The conflict in the Amhara region represents the second large-scale war that the federal government is engaged in with armed groups, in addition to the two-year-long war in Tigray, which has affected the Tigray, Amhara, and Afar regions. The conflict with the Tigray regional state has been resolved through a peace agreement signed between the TPLF and the Federal Government on Nov. 2, 2022 in Pretoria, South Africa. However, there were areas involved in the Tigray conflict that were not included in the peace deal. For example, the Amhara region was extensively engaged in the war between Tigray and the federal government. However, ultimately, the Amhara region was not included in the peace agreement. The dispute between the Tigray and Amhara regions, particularly concerning the Wolkayit and Raya zones, could lead to skepticism regarding the agreement due to this. Media's reports suggest that the conflict in the Amhara region might have been triggered due to the armed groups' mistrust of the federal government. In the aftermath of the Pretoria deal, while the issue of mistrust among Amhara region was not resolved, the Federal government unexpectedly announced its decision to disarm the regional Special Forces. The government's initial attempt to implement this decision in the Amhara region led to many of the Special Forces fleeing with their armaments. In this regard, a website called *The Conversation Africa* shares one article about the initial causes of the conflict, under the title '*Ethiopia's Amhara crisis: Abiy's political Failure threatens a return to War*;

"A considerable number of disgruntled former Amhara special force members are *now part of this Fano-led resistance* after rejecting an offer to integrate with the federal defense force.

This rise in the strength of the Fano forces was *cited by Ethiopia's spy chief* to be behind the federal government's decision to dissolve regional Special Forces."

The author elaborated by quoting government sources and stated that "The measure is applicable to all regions; however, the Amhara forces perceived it as a stratagem that singularly targets the

robust Special Forces of Amhara while leaving others unaffected. They also contend that such an action could leave their region vulnerable to potential incursions from the Oromia and Tigray regions. These regions have laid claims to Amhara territory, fueling long-standing discord' (Gedamu, n.d.).

No previous study has examined the media's role, coverage and framing of the war in the Amhara region. This study set out to fill this gap.

This being said, however, there were previous studies that have explored the media framing of internal conflicts in Ethiopia. Tesfagebriel (2017), Gira (2021), Mulatu- (2017), and Getnet (2019) are some of the latest studies related to internal conflict in Ethiopia and media framing. The findings include the ownership of the media, the political ideology of the media, fear, self-censorship, and pressures affecting their framing. However, these researches did not answer about the impact of the declaration of the state of emergency on media framing. Hence, the study attempts to cover the analysis of media reporting under the state of emergency, and in doing so, it will attempt to fill this gap by addressing the question noted Media have the power to foster peace or exacerbate conflict, and their framing will decide the direction of the conflict. On the other hand, they have a professional and moral obligation to report the truth and give substantiated information that the public needs.

So the study would critically analyze the news framing of Amico and Roha TV related to the Amhara region's conflict. The study would address the extent to which they covered the conflict in the region and how they framed the coverage's. The study would also attempt to examine the implications of such a framing for the resolution or fueling of the conflict. Since there are no previous studies conducted on the subject, the study would not only fill this gap but it might also contribute to generating a body of knowledge that would be of value in media studies.

1.3 Objectives of the Research

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study is to examine how selected government-funded media and private Media outlets framed the conflict in the Amhara regional state in their news narratives.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The following are the specific objectives of the study:

- Examine how the problem is defined in the news narratives of the selected media outlets.
- Look into how the cause of the problem is diagnosed in the news narratives of the selected media outlets.
- Identify what moral judgment the selected media outlets have made about the problem.
- Find out what remedy the selected media outlets have suggested in order solving the problem.

1.4 Research Questions

The study would attempt to address the following research questions:

- How did the selected Media outlets define the problem in their news reports?
- How did the selected news outlets diagnose the causes of the conflict?
- What moral judgments did the selected media outlets pass in relation to the conflict?
- What remedies did the selected media outlets suggest in order to resolve the conflict?

1.5 significance of the study

Even though different studies, about internal conflict reporting and media framing were conducted previously, none of them were related to the current Amahara region's conflict (war).

Conflict in Ethiopia (From Apr.2 – Oct. 2, 2018): the Ethiopian Herald and Ethiopian Reporter newspapers in Focus (Getnet: 2019), Why the silence? Reporting internal conflict in Ethiopia (Mulatu: 2017), and the influence of media framing on the public perception of the 2015 – 16 Ethiopian protest (Teskagebriel: 2017), are among recent studies on media framing.

This research varies in different perspectives. It conducted the media framing of the conflict that is region-wide and the armed conflict is with the federal government. One of the research areas is the Amhara Regional Television (AMECO) which is funded by the regional government. One of the principles of media is finding and reporting the truth. By giving an equal chance to different parties, media should shoulder their responsibility to inform the public. In this aspect, the

research would help identify how the government-funded Media framed the conflict news. It would also help discover who is blamed in their content as a problem maker and how the media is part of the solution by offering the way out of the situation. Hence, the finding might be of help to the media institutions as well as the regulatory body with respect to evaluating the performance of the media in time of crisis and help them make necessary improvement measures.

The people of Ethiopia are estimated to be over a hundred and thirty million, with different ethnic identities, religions, languages, cultures, etc... The people may conflict as they do not have compatible, ideas, wants, needs, and attitudes. But, if Media are responsible and give genuine information without bias, it will help the people to have the capacity to decide based on knowledge. This in turn will help to bring peace and narrow the unnecessary polarized ideas.

As this study analyzes the way the Amhara regional state conflicts are framed by the selected two Media, and journalists of the selected media houses would benefit from this research on how they should ethically report internal conflicts in a manner that would bring peace to the country. The academic staff would get a starting point for further research on Amhara conflicts media framing and related cases.

On the other hand, the study would examine Roha TV`s framing of the same issue. This YouTube-based media is not directly controlled by the Ethiopian media authority. So by discovering its news framing of the Amhara regional conflict, the research would compare it with AMECO`s news framing.

In short, the researcher believes that the present study would be important in serving as feedback on the media`s performance regarding the quality of their coverage concerning conflicts. It specifically would help to fill the gap of the press in presenting or reporting ethnic conflict issues. It also would serve as a reference material for researchers who are interested in studying the framing and coverage of wide internal conflicts that the government is involved in.

1.6 The scope of the study

The research focuses on exploring how the Amhara region's armed conflict is framed by the two different Media, from Apr 28, 2023 – NOV 30, 2023.

April 28 is the day, Mr. Girma Yeshitela who was one of the top officials of the Prosperity Party and the head of the party in the Amhara region was assassinated. This is also the starting point for a heavily armed clash between the Ethiopian national defense force and armed groups in the region(called himself Fano). So the research will be conducted focusing on seven months from the beginning of the regional armed conflict. Different large events in the region will be covered in the study, following the outbreak of the conflict. The state of emergency was declared on August 4, following the regional presidents' request to the federal government to interfere in the region. These and other events related to the conflict will be examined in this media framing study. Even though the conflict is not resolved yet, the selected time is enough to examine the media framing.

From many media outlets, this research will focus on AMICO and Roha TV news framings of the conflict.

1.7 organization of the study

This study consists of five chapters. Chapter one mainly deals with the background, statement of the problem, the research objectives, the research questions, and the scope of the study. The second chapter will incorporate reviews of related literature. The methodology of the study will be discussed in detail in the third chapter. The fourth chapter will include Presentation and analysis of the Data. Finally, the fifth chapter concludes the findings of study and suggested recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Literature review

2.1 media and conflict

Studies show that for different reasons conflict attracts media. There are several ways to characterize the close relationship between the media and conflict. On the one hand, journalists cover conflicts in order to serve the interests of their audience. Certain academics have observed that the media tends to cover conflict incidents that the public is more interested in reading, watching or hearing about. For example, van Dijk (1988, p. 123) explains why the media is more interested in covering conflict from the perspectives of readers who are cognitive, emotional, and social. He argues that journalists report conflict not only with the aim of informing readers, but also, in one way or another, with the aims of sharing the emotions, feelings and Fears of the people, and to indicate the social consequences and possible solutions. The media's financial interests may also have something to do with journalists' interest in conflict. Conflict draws readers in greater numbers than other problems, as was already mentioned. With this knowledge, a newspaper may choose cover conflict reports not only to meet the interest of its audience but also to get more (Seaton, 1999).

Conflict is one of the defining features of the modern world. After the end of Cold War conflicts within states become continual. As Puddephatt (2006) mentioned, Millions of people have died, suffered, and been displaced by conflicts since the end of the Cold War. The human cost of these conflicts is incalculable. One indicator, however, is the estimated death of over two million children in the last decade due to wars. More than one million have been orphaned and more than six million have been disabled or seriously injured. Among those conflicts some are grabbing global attention. This is because of Medias work, the author believed.

“It is obvious that the political significance of some conflicts affects the response of the most powerful governments and this in turn affects the media’s coverage of conflict. However, it is also the case that the extent to which the media assigns priority to covering one conflict rather than another in turn shapes the response of the international community.” (ibid)

Media has a professional responsibility to give accurate and balanced information to the public. When is works by ignoring this responsibility the tension between parties who are in conflict

might rise. Lack of information may push people to make wrong or destructive decisions.

“Tensions frequently escalate in situations where information is scarce. Offering a variety of information that contains a range of facts, perspectives and opinions would therefore be a de-escalating measure. The media cannot be neutral towards peace: While news journalists may react strongly against such a claim by holding their ‘professional objectivity’ above everything else, they must realize that the way in which they report on and about a certain conflict can drastically affect the audience’s perception of the situation and thus may influence further developments.” (D. Mlone, Terzis, Beleli: 2002)

Furthermore Medias believed to be involved in conflicts. Their involvement might be in different ways. Those authors mentioned on the above stated that Media can and often do contribute to the escalation of tensions and conflicts. However this does not mean that they cannot also play a positive role.

Rather than reflecting pluralism in the social and political structures and thereby helping to create an informed critical citizenry within a country, the media frequently act as a mouthpiece for ethnic power circles. As a result, a deliberate distortion of news coverage for particular interests easily exacerbates the tension between opposed factions and becomes a main trigger of violent conflict (Terzis 2000). Puddephatt (2006) also strengthen this idea, he believed Mass media often plays a key role in today’s conflict. Basically, their role can take two different and opposed forms, as he said. Either the media takes an active part in the conflict and has responsibility for increased violence, or stays independent and out of the conflict, thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence. This means the involvement of media in conflict could have positive or negative effects.

2.1.1 Negative role of Media in conflict

The media is sometimes accused of exacerbating violence and conflicts. This is reflected in the language they use and the framing of their reports. According to Puddephatt (2006), the media plays an active role in the conflict and contributes to the escalation of violence. He argued that this happens when the media works unprofessionally and neglects its independent role. If the media works independently, it has the power to reduce violence.

Reuben (2009, p. 78) argues that media coverage can have a destructive role in conflicts when it focuses more on the differences than the similarities between the parties, thereby increasing the power disparities and weakening the social bond between them.

More destructive outcomes are also more likely when coverage exacerbates power disparities between the parties and publicly severs the social bond between them, such as by emphasizing their differences rather than their similarities.

Scholars have discussed various ways in which the media can worsen conflicts and cause much destruction. As Chebii (2014) media has been accused for encouraging conflict and studies have shown that mass media might contribute to conflicts by provoking violence, weakening to manifesting emerging conflicts and suspending to cover conflicts. He and other Scholars have pointed out how the media contributed to escalating violence in events such as the war in Yugoslavia, the Arab spring, and the Rwandan genocide.

African nations have subsequently been involved in a number of military conflicts, with the media being a major player in some of them. The Rwandan media is often cited as an example of how the press can fuel conflicts and atrocities. The 1994 Rwandan genocide, which killed about 900,000 people in three months, was partly incited and exacerbated by the media, especially radio. Many scholars (Spencer, 2005; Kimani, 2007; Des-Forges 1999/2007; A. Thompson, 2007) have shown convincingly that the media had a harmful role in the Rwandan genocide. The Rwandan media outlet Radio- Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTL) has been accused of inciting war by encouraging young Hutu people to destroy the Tutsi by referring to them as "cockroaches," which must be removed in order to bring about peace in Rwanda. This event led to the displacement of many people and the brutal killing of more than 800,000 Tutsis.

Puddephatt (2006) strongly believed that a strong independent media contributes to retention or create peace and stability in conflict affected areas. He recommends that local media, in particular, should promote professional and responsible journalism by creating their own ethical standards and rules of conduct. He also advises that local media should acknowledge its role in reducing conflict by covering the actions and views of people from different perspectives accurately.

2.1.2 Positive role of media in conflict

Media plays a peace-making role. It can help people make the right decision by providing objective and balanced information. Kiplimo & Nabushawo (2015) argue that the media, as information providers and educators, can help transform conflicts by offering timely and coherent narratives. They also claim that the media can resolve disputes by addressing their root causes and facilitating a mutually agreeable settlement among the conflicting parties. However, they acknowledge that conflicts can also arise from misunderstandings and miscommunications in the media.

The scholars believed that the media could also offer alternative ways of resolving a conflict, such as enhancing confidence and negotiation among the parties involved, by promoting communication and a desire for peace. Based on this premise of communication, the media could facilitate the reconciliation of the parties in conflict by providing a space for dialogue. Kiplimo & Nabushawo, (2015). On the other hand more ethical use of the media is advocated by D. Melone, Terzis & Beleli (2002) to mitigate the negative effects or repair the harm that has already been caused.

A common view among scholars is that professional and ethical journalism requires enhancing the journalists' skills and providing them with a free working environment. This would enable them to reduce conflicts and contribute to democracy. According to McNair (1999, 21-22), the communication media in 'ideal type' democratic societies have five functions. The first function is to inform citizens about the events happening around them. The second function is to educate them about the meaning and significance of the 'facts'. The third function is to provide a platform for public political discourse, which must include space for expressing dissent. The fourth function is to give publicity to governmental and political institutions, which is the watchdog role of journalism. The last function is to serve as a channel for advocating political viewpoints. Therefore, the media can potentially create a common basis and foster conditions for conflict transformation through various activities.

To sum up by facilitating communication, creating alternatives to violence, expressing the common aspirations and necessities for peace, informing the public about the progress of negotiations, and offering a platform for continuous dialogue, the media can enhance confidence and mediate among parties in conflict. This is how the media can contribute positively to resolving conflicts.

2.2 Objectivity and Balance in Conflict Reporting

Conflict stories, are presented in large amount in the news media. By their very nature, conflicts gain a lot of media attention. According to earlier studies, sensationalizing conflict reporting can increase its circulation and viewership (Lee & Maslog, 2005). Conflict reporting can serve political and ideological goals since opposing sides constantly try to utilize the media for legitimacy and public support. However, Arno (1984) noted that the news media are themselves actors in the conflict situations they portray, meaning that the content of the media has a functional link to the amount of conflict rather than just reflecting it. Stated differently, they are third-party participants in the war. According to the author the media personality is frequently perceived as a gainer from conflict.

One of the tenets of the journalism industry is objectivity. Objectivity and professionalism have long been the two face of one coin, even mutually defined, although pure objectivity is difficult to attain according to researchers.

The purpose of journalism is to provide people with the information they need and to be free and self-governing (Kovach, Rostel, 2014). To fulfill these tasks, media should obey different professional elements of journalism, among which 'journalism's first obligation is to truth' and 'the first loyalty is to citizens' are included.

But the author confirmed that for different reasons, the media tell us half of the truth, and some voices remain unheard. By ignoring some issues, they may deliberately ignore some events or incidents.

"In the new century, one of the most profound questions for a democratic society is whether news can survive as a source of independent and trustworthy information, or whether it will give way to a system of self-interested propaganda, of citizens consuming information in narrow channels or "filter bubbles," in which all claims are unrefined and the loudest win... In the new open ecosystem of news and information, the role of professional journalists is also smaller, and the role of citizens is larger—but not all voices are equal. (Rostel; 2014) This indicates that sometimes the principle of objectivity is in question.

Similar to honesty, "objectivity" is often cited as the essential journalism concept that reporters should have in mind when reporting on a story or event. It is also one of the cornerstones of the journalism profession. According to Cohen-Almagor (2008), if a journalist covers a story objectively, they can be considered both good and ethical reporters. This could be because the story presents all relevant points of view and handles sources and problems in an unbiased manner. Additionally, the author felt that if a story is objective and free of the prejudices of the journalists and broadcasters, viewers have a chance to witness a true picture of a situation or an event.

Especially when a media report conflicts, the importance of objectivity is mandatory because it is obvious that more than one party will be involved in the conflict.

Even human journalists may not be objective and may not be free from bias. But, as a profession, journalism has a method(s) of information gathering, checking facts, and reporting the story. A journalist who aspires to be objective or to report a case objectively has to follow a consistent approach to information gathering, cross-checking facts, and seeking out multiple sources for their stories (Kovach & Rostel, 2014; American Press Institute, 2016).

As a method of information gathering and reporting, a journalist shall also be logically neutral in selecting sources and issues, and in writing stories. If so, someone's voice will not remain unheard.

Reuben (2009), in his study, links the principles of conflict theory to mass communication, according to which conflicts can lead to outcomes that are either constructive or destructive. The author believes conflicts are constructive when they resolve issues and destructive when they

lead to further detrimental consequences. The news media serves as a mediator of disputes, stirring escalation that may be more constructive or destructive, depending upon what is reported. It can be constructive when it promotes greater communication between the parties and destructive when it fuels a zero-sum mindset toward the conflict, polarizes the parties, or denigrates one of the parties.

Reality; even though obligation to tell the truth and objectivity are among the main pillars of journalism, the criteria for objective news reporting and the definition of the truth remains controversial. Researchers argue about that.

Bill Kovach & Tom Rosenstetiel (2014) argues that even though journalism has changed with technology and new social demands the first element of the profession is the idea that journalism exists to give people the knowledge they require to be independent and self-governing. To complete this assignment the authors suggest different journalism principles. And they believe to serve the public truth should be journalism's first duty. But they believed that, now days the quality of journalism is far from what the public demands.

News reports might give a half truth or present only the interest of the reporter, news editor or the source. According to Bill Kovach & Tom Rosenstetiel; 2014

One of the most important questions facing a democratic society in the twenty-first century is whether news can continue to be a reliable and independent source of information, or if it will eventually give way to a self-serving propaganda system where people only consume information through "filter bubbles," or narrow channels, where all claims are unchecked and the most persuasive ones prevail.

Facts which are chosen and incorporated in news reports are selected either by the reporter, editor or the media house. It indicates there is a selection of facts from the whole event. So the audience could only watch, read or listen the single aspect, selected by the news writer from the whole event.

Every news story is constructed from elements selected to give readers an insight into a "reality" in which they are purportedly interested, since representation is only a partial account of a place,

an event, or an issue, it inevitably involves choices draw their readers' attention to the incompleteness of their reporting. As such, it is highly unlikely that these are perfect representations (Hughes, 1942; Starkey, 2007). Schiller (1981) pointed out that representation of 19 realities under the time and resource limits that all media encounter, even if inadvertent, can generate distortions that obscure rather than clarify.

It might be necessary to mention about journalistic objectivity here. In some aspects it is related with telling the truth or reality. If there is a bias it is difficult to get objectivity. Four categories of bias were proposed by McQuail (1992): ideological, partisan, unintentional, and propaganda. The first is overt endorsement of a specific viewpoint, while the second is more covert and only noticeable to individuals who are perceptive to the reporting's value-laden comments, descriptions, and attitudes. The physical limitations of the news industry—there is only so much space in a newspaper or time in a bulletin—lead to unconscious bias. Finally, ideological bias may not even be visible to those who produce it, since it stems from the reporters' own perceptions, attitudes, values, and beliefs. In fact, if opposing viewpoints are sufficiently balanced such that none of them overpowers the other, a selective portrayal may nevertheless be commonly seen as fair.

In summary, scholars contend that while objectivity is not valued in media ethics and standards, objectivity nor impartiality is actually present in journalism practices. The argument puts forward that incomplete descriptions and visuals are frequently presented by the news media, rather than those that are complete. This is thought to be brought about by the news media's incapacity to accurately reproduce any original global experiment, even in very little detail (Starkey, 2007). The news audience still watches live events via proxy even with live broadcasting, the author believed.

2.3 News framing and its effects

Different scholars studied the effect of news framing. They argue that the selection of ideas and the way media framed the information affect the perception of their audience. According to Lecheler & H. Devrees (2019), news framing effects are the outcomes of what happens when citizens consume news. According to the authors, news framing effects are the outcome of a process of frame information processing. The actual effects depend on the type of news frame and the news story as well as the type of individual.

Framing can be defined in various ways. Most definitions focus on the selection, presentation, and meaning-making processes of the social text. Entman (1993) offered a more detailed explanation of how media provide audiences with schemas for interpreting events. For him, essential factors are selection and salience: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (p. 52).³ The framing and presentation of events and news in the mass media can thus systematically affect how recipients of the news come to understand these events (Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1995, p. 4).

Scholars also discussed how the frame can be constructed, Tuchman (1978) states that news organizations shape the knowledge and perspectives of the receivers through texts. This is because news is a window into the world (Tuchman, 1978). It indicates that the media mirror only some parts of the real world, or the event, through filtering and shaping.

When back to the news media effect, within the many definitions of framing, researchers named, and Lecheler & H. Devreese offer theoretical and empirical contributions. Conceptually, they define news frames as "a central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them. In short, a news frame can affect an individual by stressing certain aspects of reality and pushing others into the background: The news frame has a *selective function*. In this way, certain issue attributes, judgments, and decisions are suggested. In this book, we focus on news framing and, specifically, on the contribution of journalism in creating and using certain frames (Lecheler & H. Devreese: 2019).

According to these authors, Journalists are active actors who define the coverage with a considerable amount of autonomy and discretion. Frame building thus refers to *the process of competition, selection, and modification of frames from elites or strategic communicators by the media*. They believe the process is influenced by forces that are internal to the newsroom and news organizations, as well as by external forces such as political elites, social movements, and interest groups. The influence of these external forces is apparent, for example, when journalists use parts of political speeches, or sound bites, to illustrate an issue. The influence of internal forces is visible in the structure and emphasis of a news story (Lecheler & H. Devreese: 2019).

2.4 Theoretical Framework

2.4.1 Framing Theory

2.4.1.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the primary aim of this study is to examine the media framing of the conflict in the Amhara regional state. The study used framing theory as the sole theoretical framework to analyze how the texts construct meanings through framing. A theory can provide useful methods for text analysis. Therefore, the key idea of framing and the theoretical perspective would be clarified as below:

2.4.1.2 Concept of framing

The concept of framing is widely used and analyzed in communication studies. Framing helps us to make sense of issues by highlighting some aspects and downplaying others. Frames are ways of giving meaning to issues by emphasizing some aspects and ignoring or minimizing others. They affect how problems are defined and what solutions are proposed. The concept of framing has many interpretations and applications in the literature, but they all share this basic idea.

Social psychologist Goffman (1974/1986) developed the original theory of framing. Framing theory has been widely applied in academic disciplines such as sociology, political science, media studies and strategic communication since then. Framing involves choosing and

highlighting certain aspects of a perceived reality in a communication text. As Entman (1993) puts it, framing aims to "make some aspects of a perceived reality more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (p. 52). Reese (2001) defines a frame as "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (p. 11). And the author also described framing as —a process of giving meaning that can be embedded across stories, media, and time (Reese, 2007:50; cited in Boesman, 2015: 2).

Entman (1993, p. 52) defines framing as a process that involves selecting and interpreting the text. He stresses that framing is mainly based on these two aspects of the text.

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and or treatment recommendation for the time selected.

According to the above definition, causal interpretation means that a frame can influence how audiences perceive the importance of an issue compared to others. It also allows the receivers to learn more about that specific issue. Communicators intentionally choose some issues or pieces of information about the event (perhaps, omitting other parts of that event) and present them in their desired way to convey their version of reality to the receivers. These processes have happened in the text. According to this interpretation, one problem is more significant than the others. According to Entman (1993, p. 53), "salient means making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to the audiences."

Framing theory examines discourse units, but framing is also used in various ways in the literature, such as a concept, an approach, a perspective, a media effect, an analytical technique, a paradigm and a research program.

Meanings might differ due to context, and media has a great role in creating or shaping a meaning. The media is both a stage and a player in the framing contests that shape public opinion and policy. It provides a space for politicians, social groups, institutions and ideologies to compete for influence, but it also has its own agenda and perspective. Therefore, the media is not

a passive or impartial observer of the framing contests. Journalists also use frames to present and interpret the news.

2.4.1.3 Framing as a process

A common thread in framing theory is that meaning is not inherent but constructed. Communication is not just a way of conveying truth, but a way of creating it. The frame can be constructed or processed in various parts of the communication. The sender or the receiver of the information can construct the frame. According to Entman frames have several locations, including the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture (Entman, 1993: 2).

Mulatu (2017) argues that usually one of the main frame constructors are sources, who are often politicians or members of the elite. The author believes they have the power to shape and present information to the public through the media. They also have an agenda to frame the information in a certain way that suits their interests or goals.

Successful political communication requires the framing of events, issues and acts in ways that promote perceptions and interpretations that benefit one side while hindering the other (Entman, 2003, p. 417; cited in mulatu, 2017).

On the other hand receivers do not passively accept all the messages, even though the source shapes the information to suit their intended transmission. They will accept or reject by their own judgment. Entman (1993) argues that pre-existing meanings or schemata affect how people process and interpret information. This implies that readers', listeners' or viewers' prior knowledge about an issue can make them either highlight or downplay the significance of that specific case/issue. To support this idea, Scheufele (1999) suggests that frames are mental constructs that help the receivers or readers make sense of a text presented in the media. In other words, the audiences or the receivers in general are also involved in framing the given cases.

Texts or media contents also use frames to convey meaning. Journalists play a key role in creating and shaping frames in the process of meaning making. Gerth & Siegert (2012) argue

that journalists can influence how citizens perceive campaigning issues by highlighting some aspects over others. Therefore, journalists act as powerful intermediaries between political actors and citizens. According to Reese (2001), framing is a useful concept for understanding the media's role in politics. However their meaning making or framing process could be different challenges. He mentions several internal factors that influence how news organizations frame issues/events, such as editorial policies, news values, individual journalists' interests, media routines, organizational constraints, and so on.

2.4.1.4 The importance of framing theory

This study employed framing theory as the sole theoretical framework. The theory is essential for achieving the research objectives. In particular, Entman's framing model would enable the researcher to analyze the content of sample media and examine their frames. In the process of identifying the media frame of Amhara regional state conflict, Entman's (1993) category of framing, for instance, defining the problem, diagnosing the causes, making a moral judgment, and suggesting a remedy are relevant to 'digging out the frames', and understanding the techniques used in the news of sample medias.

CHAPTER THREE

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The research aims to examine how government-funded media 'AMECO' and the private media 'Roha TV' framed the current Amhara conflict in their reports. To achieve the aim, the researcher analyzed the collected news contents from those Media. In order to get their framing, the research used Entman's framing model. Entman's framing model enables us to explore the problem, the causal agent, moral evaluations embedded, and the remedies suggested for resolving the conflict. This was explored by collecting deliberately selected sample news from the two Media outlets.

To fulfill the mentioned research aim, the study used reliable research methods and design. Thus, this section of the study outlines the data collection and analysis procedures in relation to the research questions. It also details the methods employed for data collection and analysis, as well as their application within the study.

3.2 Research Approach

The study employed an interpretive approach. Since the interpretative approach of qualitative research makes objective examination impossible, it promotes subjective epistemology. So the complex meanings of the news narratives about the Amhara conflict in the sample media were investigated by using an interpretative technique.

According to Bhattacharya (2019) the interpretative approach is a research paradigm predicated on the belief that social reality is not singular or objective. Instead, it is constructed through human experiences and social contexts (ontology), making it most effectively studied within its socio-historical context by harmonizing the subjective interpretations of its diverse participants (epistemology).

Interpretive analysis adopts a holistic and contextual approach, as opposed to the reductionist and isolationist methods. It emphasizes understanding language, signs, and meanings from the viewpoint of those engaged in the social phenomenon, unlike the statistical methods prevalent in

positivist research. The rigor of interpretive research lies in the systematic and transparent methods used for data gathering and analysis, rather than in statistical measures for construct validity or significance testing.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative design utilized as this study's research design, In order to examine the sample media's narratives. As mentioned before, the researcher has selected the Amhara war coverage by Amico and Roha TV as the study event. Creating a valid study design was the next tactic after formulating the research questions. W. Creswell (2016) defines qualitative research as an investigative methodology that follows the standard operating procedures for conducting social science, behavioral science, and health science research. Thus, qualitative textual analysis was used to interpret the contents.

3.4 Research Methods

Diverse Methods are used by academics in frame analysis. Most people view framing as both a theory and a Method. It describes how textual frames are altered to provide a specific interpretation, but it also lays out the methods for studying or extracting those frames.

The study used Framing as a research method. Among the theories that offers research methodologies of its own is Framing theory, which has impacted numerous studies worldwide that sought to understand how the media portrayed various political disputes and shaped public opinions (Abera, 2018:24)

3.4.1 Media selection

The initial step in a framing study is the selection of media outlets for analysis. Therefore, the researcher has chosen AMICO and Roha TV. The rationale for selecting these outlets is as follows: Primarily, they have reported on the Amhara conflict more effectively than other outlets.

AMECO, funded by the Amhara regional government, is presumed to operate on the media principle of serving the public interest by disseminating unbiased truth. Ideally, media should act as a voice for the populace they serve. However, media outlets owned by the Ethiopian

government frequently face criticism for acting as a mouthpiece for the government. Meseret (2013) acknowledges the issue and recommends that the Ethiopian government should liberate the media. "It must be recognized that the Media are state-owned and run with government subsidies, they are to be viewed differently from other government agencies and accorded to special status. They are meant to be accountable to the public as opposed to the government. Therefore, the government should keep its distance from their day-to-day affairs"(Meseret 2013, p339).

The research examined the framing of the Amhara region's conflict by AMECO, using a sample of news to determine how the problem was identified. Additionally, the study looked into who was blamed for causing the problems, the benefits and costs associated with this, as reported in the news. It also explored whether AMECO suggested any remedies to be part of the solution.

The second media, which is selected as a sample is Roha TV, an online-based outlet. Roha TV stands out among social media news platforms for its extensive coverage of the Amhara conflict, boasting a substantial following on YouTube, Face book, and Telegram channels. Nowadays, social media-based news outlets have become a go-to source for information, which underscores the importance of including Roha TV in the research.

Online-based Media like Roha TV are not governed under the Ethiopian government and assumed that they can report freely to be a voice for the voiceless. On the other hand, the Ethiopian government accused the online Media by creating and escalating conflicts in the country.

One might question why major news outlets such as EBC and FANA were not included in the research. The reason is that the conflict in the Amhara region has been neglected by most of the state media, including the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) and Fana Broadcasting Corporation (Fana). The researcher demonstrated that the media sources mentioned lacked sufficient data on the Amhara region's conflict when conducting an initial survey for the research. Despite the war and instability in the region, these two mainstream media outlets have not focused on covering the conflict on the ground. Although they are the primary news sources in the country, the researcher could not consider them as sample media due to the lack of data on the Amhara conflict. Consequently, the researcher selected AMICO as one of the sample media

for this study. The second sample is Roha TV, a social media-based news outlet that has extensively reported on the Amhara conflicts.

3.4.2 Sample period of the study

The war between the federal government and armed groups in the Amhara region was officially started in April 2023. The study spans from April to November 2023, a period deliberately selected due to heightened tensions and the onset of hostilities between the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) and regional armed groups called Fano. This period, marked by the government's declaration of a 'rule of law to maintain peace,' extends to seven months from the start of the conflict.

Although the conflict remains unresolved, the researcher has chosen to analyze seven months of media reports to examine their framing. The belief is that news from the initial seven months will suffice to investigate the media's portrayal of the conflict. The analysis of this seven-month period is deemed adequate for conducting reliable research, as media coverage is typically more comprehensive at the onset of a conflict, detailing the problem's definition, causes, proposed solutions, and other pertinent matters, which are the focal points of this study.

Moreover, since the study uses a qualitative approach it is not based on quantity or amount of data. According to Kothari 2004, the measurement of quantity or amount is the foundation of quantitative research. It works with phenomena that have a quantitative expression. Conversely, qualitative research focuses on qualitative phenomena, such as phenomena that have to do with quality or kind.

It is important to note that the sample time includes the armed conflict of April 2023, which, although not officially recognized by the government, involved demonstrations and sporadic armed clashes throughout the region. This event was extensively reported by various media outlets.

3.4.3 Data collection and sampling

The first step of sampling would be selecting media which would be studied. The armed conflict

has been covered by local and abroad mainstream Media and social media. The research would be focused on a local TV channel (AMECO) and a YouTube-based TV channel, Roha TV. From the other media outlets Television is believed to have a dominant role in the Ethiopian political discourses. That is why the researcher selects one TV channel among the studied media. Among several TV channels Amhara Media Corporation is selected, because of its access to information and the availability of data which will be analyzed. Most of the local Media are silent about the issue of the Amhara conflict. And journalist's doesn't actively report the war on its spot. So there are no data on other local TV channels. But AMECO as based in the region is believed to have a chance to access information about the war and related incidents.

The other media which is selected for the study is Roha TV. Roha TV is one of the YouTube based channels which are actively reporting Amhara region's conflict. YouTube channels are not under the control of the Ethiopian Media Authority and believed to report those political and conflict issues freely, especially if journalists are living abroad. So the researcher selected as a sample media to be studied, based on its richness of data.

The main objective of this research is to explore how the two Media outlets frame the Amhara conflict in their news reports, which is ignored by most of the local mainstream Media.

After selecting the sample media channels, the second step is identifying the main case related to the conflict. These purposively selected events or cases are either part of the conflict or events those are effects of the conflict. The study would focus on examining the media framing through text based analyses of the contents of the selected media outlets To this end, data which are in general related to the Amhara regional conflict and specifically related to the selected cases were collected.

The chosen events are considered critical events covered by selected media outlets, pertinent for examining their framing differences.

Event selected for scrutiny

1. Protest in Amhara region

Protests that resulted in casualties were ongoing for several months in the Amhara region. After a letter claiming that the special force of the Amhara region has been ordered to disarm, and a

letter about it was circulated on social media, various protests were held. The protests began in April 2023 and lasted for months, or until the area was placed under a state of emergency. Demonstrators have flooded the streets, obstructing roads with rocks and burning tires to voice their dissent and hinder military movement. The situation in the Amhara region has intensified, with reports of gunfire in various towns as thousands protest against the federal government's proposal to integrate regional Special Forces into the national police or army. These protests underscore the deep-seated tensions and the potential repercussions on regional security and stability. Those facts were reported different news Media's like BBC, Aljazeera, and VOA. Links are here; <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-65194146>
<https://aljazeera.co.in/politics/gunfire-protests-in-ethiopias-amhara-over-plan-to-disband-regional-force/>
<https://www.voanews.com/a/ethiopia-pm-vows-to-dismantle-regional-military-forces/7042661.html>

It is important to note that the research views the months-long protest as a component of the region's conflict.

2. Assassination of Mr. Girma Yeshitela and the clash officially starts;

The assassination of one of the prominent ruling prosperity party members, Mr. Girma Yeshitela was a game changing incident in Amhara regions conflict. He was the head of Amhara region's prosperity party office.

Before his assassination there was a protest in the region, which has been remained for months. It was against government's decision to dismantle Amhara special force. Protesters forwarded their concern of insecurity through rallies accompanied by conflict with the security forces and cause to several casualties. The protest was even started months before of the government announced its decision, following the rumor disseminated on social media. Mr. Girma was the first person to give an interview to clarify about the disarmament issue. And weeks after, on Aug. 27, 2023 he was assassinated around his birthplace called guassa, in North Shewa. The federal government officially announces to take action in the region immediately after his death. This was the starting point of the official armed conflict between the Ethiopian national defiance force (ENDF) and the regional armed group (fano).

3.The interference of the federal government in the region;

On Aug. 3, 2023, the former president of Amhara region, Yilekal Kefale (Ph.D.) wrote a letter addressed to Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed to request the interference of federal government. Amhara regional president Yilkal Kefale said the unrest was causing significant human, social, and economic damage.

"It has become difficult to control the situation through regular legal means. Therefore we respectfully call upon the FDRE (federal) government to take appropriate measures based on the required legal frameworks," Yilkal said in the letter, which was published by Ethiopian state-owned media. This incident is one of the most crucial events in the region's conflict.

4. Declaration of the state of emergency

Following the letter of Yilekal a day after the council of ministers proclaimed a state of emergency in the Amhara region, to control the escalated unrest.

5. Ethiopian Human Rights Commission's (EHRC) first report about the Amhara regions conflict;

The Ethiopia Human Rights Commission (EHRC) denounced the killing of civilians (including children), the rape cases of 200 women, and other against humanity actions that have been committed in the region. After the armed conflict started in the region multiple civilians were killed by house-to-house searches and drone attacks, according to its report.

The state militia and government security personnel were involved in multiple extrajudicial executions, injuries, evictions, and property destruction incidents, according to the study released by the commission.

Moreover the report reveals government forces targeted citizens they thought might be connected to FANO.

Days after the release of this report the federal government unfolded its stand by its Office of communication service. The office says that the report of the commission is not acceptable and refers the report as, not supported by reliable evidence.

Those events are covered by different gunners through the selected media. However the research picked (Entman, 1993: 52) only news stories as data. The one reason to select only news stories as data is because news represents the interest of both reporters and owners of the media. In addition, news has more potential to influence audiences. The second reason is, that since the research applies a qualitative approach, and sampling is limited to specific incidents. Daniel (2010) noted that the typical approach to qualitative research is the 'purposive' sampling technique. And the author recommended the right amount of data for the right purpose. This author associates the quality of sample size with the level of importance of the selected data to achieve the aim of the study.

Then to investigate the framing functions within the texts of news stories reported by the selected Media, it is difficult to review all related to those cases. Through sampling techniques, the researcher collected sample data (news) from the YouTube channels of AMECO and Roha TV.

Since the study is conducted in a qualitative approach sample Medias are selected purposively. Moreover, issue-specific data will be selected in the same technique (purposively).

The news stories were traced from the selected Media, for the qualitative analyses. The units of analysis were the news and its components (words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs) to interpret meanings.

According to Entman, even a single word can enabled the researcher to interpret and analyze media framings. "The single sentence may perform more than one of those four framing functions, although many sentences in a text may perform none of them. And a frame in a text may not necessarily include all four functions" (Entman 1993). Even though this expression indicates a word, a phrase, or a sentence might enable the researcher to identify the frame functions, the whole sample news will be collected as data.

In this research, the data were collected from the YouTube channels of Amhara Media Corporation and the YouTube channel of Roha TV.

The selected Media have different gunners, including programs, interviews, news, and others. The research focused only on their news, which is only related to the Amhara region's conflict.

So the researcher collected the primary data (News) that were important to answer the research questions. As mentioned above, the research covered the seven months' news reports. However, it is difficult to analyze all the news reports. From the selected issue-specific news, the sample data were selected with the appropriate sampling technique.

3.4.4 Sampling technique

The research employed non-probability sampling methods to select stories from the media outlets examined during the chosen period, which provided suitable data regarding the situation being studied. This approach facilitated the selection of stories based on the researcher's preferences.

The researcher's focus on examining and analyzing conflict reporting within the selected media during the specified time frame allows for the selection of conflict issues from other stories.

Purposive sampling, sometimes referred to as non-probability or deliberate sampling, involves selecting particular population materials on purpose to represent a sample (Alok & Mishra, 2017). Purposive or judgmental sampling, according to Taherdoost (2016), is a sampling technique in which particular circumstances, people, or events are deliberately chosen to provide meaningful data that cannot be obtained from other options.

3.4.5 Qualitative Approach in Framing Analysis

The research analyzed sample texts in an inductive approach, to answer the research questions. In this approach, according to scholars, frames are embedded within or manifested in texts. In this regard Entman 1993, says, the concept of framing offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text, which includes speech and news reports. This approach allows the researcher to identify how the conflict-related news is framed in the given Media.

As the research employed a qualitative method, the study utilized textual analysis to examine the framing and portrayal of stories. In analyzing the Amhara conflict, selected stories were used as coding units to evaluate the theme or focus, including the analysis of words and phrases. McKee (2001) defines textual analysis as a methodology for collecting and examining data in academic research. This method recognizes the variety of ways a text can be interpreted and used by its evaluators.

In this study, issue-specific frames were selected as they assist the researcher in isolating certain segments from the chosen narratives. This facilitates a comprehensible evaluation of the words or phrases selected for frame analysis. According to Kozman (2017), issue-specific frames permit a high degree of distinctiveness and attributes.

Inductive methodological approaches are widely utilized for structuring analyses. The inductive method is employed in this study because it allows the researcher to derive frameworks through textual analyses. Utilizing the aforementioned technique, 14 sample stories were chosen for frame analysis. These stories were selected due to their varied framing observed during the pre-test. As this is a qualitative method, the quantity of stories is not critical for data analysis, as there is no generalization post-analysis. The researcher handpicked certain stories from conflict reports on the sampled media's social media pages, including YouTube.

3.3 Defining the Coding Unit

In the textual analysis of the conflict stories, the coding unit could be a word, phrase, sentence, or paragraph. Choosing a phrase or a single word as the unit of analysis may not provide a complete understanding in this context. This analysis did not focus on counting words or phrases; instead, it involved examining the intended meanings and inferences within a story, whether through the entire narrative, a word, phrase, sentence, or paragraph. Thus, each chosen story served as a primary source for extracting relevant data, from which the researcher aimed to derive meaning. Before delving into the framing analysis, here is the coding sheet that outlines the coding process. The subsequent tables include all the data gathered from the two media sources.

3.4 Framing as a method

Media framing could be analyzed in different methodologies. One of the methodological approaches that scholars use is framing itself as a method.

Framing is taken as both a theory and a method. So the research uses framing as a method to analyze the data.

Some research employed a text-based, qualitative approach to content frame analysis, while others used a numerically based method (e.g., frame mapping). One theory that offers independent research methodologies to analyze how the media frames conflict reporting is framing.

The objective of the research is to analyze sample texts qualitatively; therefore, employing Entman's Framing model is suitable for this study. Entman (1993) explains the concept of framing in the following words: “to frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text. In such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendations for the item described.” (P. 52) this means that for different reasons Medias select only some aspects or realities to focus on, from the whole reality on the ground. And the frame embedded in texts may influence the thinking of the audience, according to the author. The selected and promoted realities might differ from one media to the other while they are reporting on the same event. So the research identified the selected Media’s framing related to Amhara region's conflict. According to Entman, Frame analysis serves the following purposes within the context of media research: to define problems, to diagnose causes, to make value judgments, and to suggest remedies (Entman; 1993). Using framing as a method would allow the researcher to examine

Chapter four

4. Data presentation and analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes how the selected Media outlets frame the conflict of the Amhara regional state in their news narratives. In order to examine how two media outlets, the Amhara Media Corporation (AMECO) and Roha TV, presented the war, their narrative structures were compared in this chapter. To get their frame well, stories that were reported on the unrest in the area that eventually escalated into violent conflicts are included in the framing analysis.

Before delivering the details of data presentation and analysis part it is important to give a hint about the background of the conflict.

4.1.1 Data presentation

The purpose of this research is to analyze the media framings concerning the Amhara conflict; therefore, the data was purposively chosen based on sensitive issues and events. During the specified time frame, various narratives concerning the Amhara conflict were broadcasted by Amico and Roha TV. However, the researcher focused solely on news and analyses pertaining to specific events. These include the period of heightened tension in the region due to the government's decision regarding the Amhara special force, the assassination of Mr. Girma Yeshitela, the proclamation of a state of emergency in the Amhara region, and the EHRC report on human rights abuses since the conflict began. Totally 14 news stories were selected as a sample.

The data were collected from the YouTube, Face book, and Telegram pages of AMICO and Roha TV. During the transcription and translation of data, the researcher endeavored to translate word-for-word to capture their framings accurately without distortion.

4.1.2 Steps in textual analysis

Conducting the content analysis of the media framing required the use of a coding sheet with easily comprehensible categories and variables. Selecting and methodically analyzing the conflict reports from the Amhara region in the two media outlets that were chosen was the goal of the coding sheet.

The researcher divided a coding unit into four variables based on the theory and the research's goals (coding sheet). These four variables were primarily created to examine the problems that were discovered, the causal agent, the moral assessment, and the solutions that were recommended in the selected news stories. Textual analysis primarily concentrates on the detailed interpretation of a text, attributing meanings to it.

4.2 Framing Analysis of the conflict stories

As previously mentioned, this study employs framing theory to analyze the text. Utilizing Entman's four framing functions, the analysis concentrates on the portrayal of conflict stories in the Amhara region. This involves investigating how problems are identified in the news stories, determining the causal agents, conducting moral evaluations, and suggesting solutions. The study methodically identified the most sensitive events related to the conflict in the Amhara region, as presented on the above. The selected events are believed to be the center for framing differences among the selected media outlets. It is crucial to examine the media's framing during three distinct phases: before the official outbreak of war, upon the declaration of a state of emergency due to the crisis, and after the commencement of hostilities. Here is important to remind the analysis was in the frame of four variables mentioned before.

The analysis is twofold: it examines narratives at the beginning of the conflict and their evolution since the war's escalation. The classified analysis aims to determine how media narratives may have contributed to intensifying the conflict instead of stabilizing it by being part of the solution.

4.2.1 Problem identification

Amico selectively reported only the demonstrations occurring in the Wolkayit Tsegede Setit Humera zone. More than ten news reports have been broadcast about the public demonstrations

by Amico, focusing exclusively on rallies held in various towns within the Wolkayit zone. The central theme of these news stories is the identity issue of the residents. The station did not cover rallies in other regional towns, suggesting that Amico is framing its narrative only around the idea that the public's outrage, which has led to street protests, stems from the unresolved identity issue of Wolkayit residents. The report from Amico in June 2015 E.C. serves as an example.

“...The peaceful demonstration was also held in Humera, Dansha, Maikadra, wolkait, Tsegedie, Adebay, Beaker and in other cities.

Residents of Wolkait district also said that we have paid the price for our freedom and we have gone free to never go back.

“We have sacrificed our blood and bones to get our freedom. Genocide and human rights violations have been committed to deny our Amharan identity.” They also said that “to destroy our culture and tradition, we have been going through genocidal attack.”

“Therefore, the government should recognize and confirm the freedom and peace we have now.” They asked. . .” See coding unit 1 (Appendix)

The prevalence of news stories sharing similar messages and ignoring other issues and demonstrations in various locations suggests that Amico has pinpointed the Wolkayit residents' pursuit of recognition for their Amhara identity as the region's main concern. It is recalled that at the time the two-year Tigray war concluded with a peace deal, although the Amhara forces, which participated in the war, were not part of the agreement. The Wolkayit zone remains a disputed area between the Amhara and Tigray regions. AMICO's reports focused solely on this issue in its coverage of the people's demonstrations.

It is also important to mention that Amico remained silent when the EPRDF killed demonstrators in the streets of various towns during rallies. The demonstrations, which took place in nearly all major cities of the Amhara region for months, opposed the government's plan to demobilize the regional Special Forces. However, Amico failed to give news coverage and investigate the root of the problem and offer alternative solutions to stabilize the region's chaos.

AIMCO's silence on the aforementioned issue appears to be a deliberate choice to emphasize the Wolkait matter, portraying it as the sole concern of the region's populace in demonstrations. Silence on certain issues is often employed as a framing technique by media outlets. Eventually, On Apr. 3, 2015 E.C, as the conflict was on the verge of intensifying, the station reported on the government's plan to demobilize the regional special force, which was the

primary reason for public demonstrations. Despite this, Amico had not provided any information for months, leading to accusations of public misunderstanding of the issue.

“The reorganization of regional special forces is intended to enhance their role nationally.” Girma Yeshetla said... However, when implemented, this led to a problem due to misinterpretation of the facts. “First, as we developed a reorganization plan for the Special Forces, rumors emerged, alleging government plans to disband them. Second, we aimed to strengthen regional security by deploying the Special Forces' weaponry and snipers, but there were whispers of government plans to disarm them. Third, our main objective was to bolster regional security through reforming the force, yet rumors suggested it would be dissolved and integrated into the national defense force.” . . . See coding unit 4 (Appendix)

AIMCO, the government funded news station chooses this moment to inform the audience that the tensions in the Amhara region are solely due to the Wolkayit issue, disregarding various concerns raised throughout the region. The station seems to downplay the public's worries about the dismantlement of the region's special force, which led thousands of special forces to desert with weapons and join "Fano." The matter is brushed off as a mere misunderstanding, yet the station does not offer a clear explanation to address the people's inquiries, like what assurances exist against the security threats to the region.

Conversely, the online private news outlet, Roha TV, define the problem of Amhara region's conflict differently. This station reports that the problems in the Amhara region stem from the government's abrupt decision to disarm the Amhara Special Forces and various atrocities committed against the Amhara people. The report dated February 28, 2015 EC refers to that.

“. . . The sudden decision to demilitarize the region's special force and the process without sufficient preparation, common understanding and trust, and sustainable security guarantee is irresponsible.” See coding unit 2 (Appendix)

The sentence in the report attributes the role of a problem maker to the government's decision. The term 'irresponsible' is used to emphasize the severity of the consequences stemming from the government's decision.

In addition, Roha TV highlights issues such as the abduction of drivers and the farmers' complaints about fertilizer shortages. The station conveys to its audience that the crisis extends beyond human rights abuses like kidnappings and killings; it includes the neglect of the Amhara people by government services. The government's abrupt and clandestine resolution to disband the Amhara Special Forces has aggravated the crisis, as reported by Roha TV.

“...In Gojam zone, the road from Debre Markos to Demebecha has been closed. Residents said that the road from Debre Markos to Demebecha was closed at Amanuel in the East Gojam zone of Amhara region. The residents said that the road has been completely closed since today, June 12, 2015. The reason for the closure of the road is the recent kidnapping of drivers by the armed group of ONEG Shene in Debre Guracha area, they said. Drivers driving from Amhara region to Addis Ababa were kidnapped and their families were demanded more than five hundred thousand birr... The road will be closed until the government enabled to releases the kidnapped drivers. . .” from June 12 report of Roha TV. See, coding unit 3(Appendix)

The second sample taken from Roha TV is news analysis, which is about the initial causes and problems of the crisis. In this report also atrocities committed against the Amhara people for decades, which are continuing to worsen under the government led by the Prosperity Party, as a significant problem. The report compares the Amharan people with South African black people in the partied time and says the atrocity against Amhara is worsen that of apartheid.

‘. . .From this point of view, the Amhara forces are fighting against a genocidal system worse than apartheid, and it should not be seen as a crime or a breach of peace. Therefore, it can be understood that the prosperity-led governmental system, which is committing the massacre, is criminal, and the Fano force, which is fighting for justice and survival, is on the right track. . . .’ see coding unit 11.

Terms like 'genocidal system worse than apartheid', 'committing massacres', and 'criminal' are employed to characterize the government's actions as problematic and to label the government as a creator of problems. However, those words might not be conflict sensitive and appear to be sensationalized.

To sum up, Roha TV outperformed AMICO in providing coverage and defining the issues that occurred on the ground. The station covered the majority of demonstrations in the region, reflecting the demonstrators' concerns and the various unanswered questions of the populace. It strives to present a comprehensive view of the regional issues. Conversely, AMICO focuses solely on the Wolkite issue as the singular problem worthy of resolution, disregarding the myriad other concerns of the community. One could argue that AMICO should not be criticized for failing to report certain events if they do not align with the news selection criteria of a specific station. However, the demonstrations across the region, which resulted in casualties, persisted for months and even garnered international media attention. Moreover, the escalating demonstrations and public outrage culminated in armed conflict. Therefore, in this instance, AMICO did not fulfill its responsibility to provide sufficient information by digging out and define well the root cause of the problem. “The text contains frames, which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” Entman 1993.

However, following the assassination of Girma Yeshitela, AMICO'S began to redefine the issue. The station began to portray the conflict's problem through the lens of 'extremism,' a narrative that persists to this day, this is its dominant frame related to problem definition of the Amhara conflict. Amico's report, dated April 19, 2015 E.C., quotes Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed referring to 'Fano' as an extremist group, stating that its ideology of extremism is a problem that could lead to bloodshed.

“. . . In the era of solving differences in civilized/ advanced manner, trying to convince people who have different idea by gun is the end of extremism. In a place where he was born, the shameful and terrible act is committed by extremists. . . They believe he should not have thought differently from them, reviling that if we do not combat extremism early and avoid it, it clearly signals that it will lead us to bloodshed.” See coding unit 6(Appendix)

According to its reports, the armed group in Amhara region or ‘Fano’ is responsible for lethal actions and other problems in the region. The term "extremists" clearly refers to the armed group in the region known as Fano, which includes, in part, former members of the Amhara Special Forces who joined Fano following a restructuring dispute in the news reports, these extremists

are depicted as killers who eliminate anyone with differing views. They are portrayed as individuals who believe that others should not have different opinions. Furthermore, they are labeled as a threat to the region and the entire country. Since then, AMICO has identified in its reports that Fano is the source of all problems.

4.2.2 The Identified Causal Agent

In text analysis diagnosing the cause is identifying the forces creating the problem, according to Entman (1993)

The two media outlets assign blame to different entities for the problems in the Amhara region. AMICO accuses the TPLF and the federal government of exacerbating the Wolkayit residents' issue by failing to address the residents' identity concerns. The report dated June 14, 2015 E.C. reflects the following;

‘ . . . Residents of Wolkait district also said that we have paid the price for our freedom and we have gone free to never go back.

“We have sacrificed our blood and bones to get our freedom. Genocide and human rights violations have been committed to deny our Amharan identity.” They also said that “to destroy our culture and tradition, we have been going through genocidal attack.”

“Therefore, the government should recognize and confirm the freedom and peace we have now.” They asked.’

The sentence; *“We have sacrificed our blood and bones to get our freedom. Genocide and human rights violations have been committed to deny our Amharan identity”* accuses the TPLF of carrying out a number of crimes against the Wolkayit people for more than thirty years because of their Amhara identity. And as the news story states, they have freed themselves from the three decades of oppression by the TPLF. And AMICO’S reports charging that the current administration, headed by the Prosperity Party, has failed to acknowledge Wolkite locals' Amhara identity, leading to a precarious peace in the region. Meanwhile after several months, Amico altered its framework as observed in the problem identification section above. The dominant framework identified as a causal agent for Amico is 'Fano'. We can refer to its various reports. The report on the assassination of Girma Yeshitella implicitly blamed 'Fano' as a causal agent naming it as ‘extremist’.

“... In a place where he was born, the shameful and terrible act is committed by extremists. They believe he should not have thought differently from them, reviling that if we do not combat extremism early and avoid it, it clearly signals that it will lead us to bloodshed... .” see coding unit 6(Appendix)

During the conflict, AMICO's reports identified the armed group in the region, referred to as extremists, as the instigators of problems. The station cited the lack of sustained peace and the ineffectiveness of government offices as issues, attributing these to the actions of extremists. AMICO's adoption of the government's terminology, such as 'extremist,' may escalate hostility rather than foster unity. Utilizing such adjectives is not considered conflict-sensitive reporting, as it can spread animosity.

The Amico report narrates that Fano disrupts peace in the Amhara region by targeting those with differing opinions (which means the prosperity party officials) and forcibly seeking political power. In this context, the report from July 28, 2015, is pertinent as it pertains to the declaration of a state of emergency in the Amhara region.

“...The Council initially reviewed Emergency Decree No. 6/2015, which aims to uphold public peace and security. Due to the violence perpetrated by illegal armed groups in the Amhara Regional State, the regular law enforcement system is unable to control the situation. The activities of these groups are disrupting the economic and social life of the region's residents and threatening the constitutional order. . . “See coding unit 8 (Appendix)

The term 'illegal armed groups' is often applied to the 'Fano' militia, which is accused of threatening the constitutional order by attempting to seize political power through force.

Roha TV, on the other hand, accuses the federal government of being a problem instigator in several respects, related to the armed conflict in Amhara region. One issue pertains to the primary cause of the conflict in the Amhara region, which is the government's intention to restructure the regional Special Forces. Contrary to the government's account, Roha TV's report from February 2023 suggests that the actual plan was to forcibly demilitarize the Amhara special force. The language used by Roha TV implies that the government is a catalyst for the crisis in the Amhara region. An example can be seen in one sentence from its report.

“...the sudden decision to demilitarize the region’s special force and the process without sufficient preparation, common understanding, and trust, and sustainable security guarantee is irresponsible...” see coding unit 2(Appendix)

The term 'demilitarization' conveys a sense of pressure. The language used by Roha TV, such as 'without sufficient preparation, common understanding, trust, and security guarantees,' appears to inform the audience of the government's problematic actions.

Additionally, Roha TV's news reports have accused the government of being responsible for all incidents related to the crisis in the Amhara region. This includes neglecting the Amhara people by withholding governmental services such as the provision of fertilizer for farmers and failing to act when people are killed, kidnapped, or displaced. Roha TV has accused the government of neglecting its responsibilities and committing various human rights abuses, thereby worsening the conflict in the Amhara region. This is suggested by the subsequent report, which cites the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission's report from October 30, 2016:

“ . . . The commission, which previously announced that extrajudicial killings in various parts of the region are a concern, has announced that it has received reliable information regarding the continuation of extrajudicial killings, especially by members of the government's security forces. In the areas where the conflict took place, the government security forces arrested many civilians on the streets or from house to house, saying, "You support Fano, you give information to Fano, bring weapons, give information about the direction from which the gunshots were heard," and so on. The commission pointed out in its report.

In the report issued by the commission, in the context of the conflict, due to the attack of heavy weapons, including air/drone equipment, there have been deaths and injuries to civilians, and people have been forced to flee their residential areas. . . The commission, which previously announced that extrajudicial killings in various parts of the region are a concern, has announced that it has received reliable information regarding the continuation of extrajudicial killings, especially by members of the government's security forces.

In the areas where the conflict took place, the government security forces arrested many civilians on the streets or from house to house, saying, "You support Fano, you give information to Fano, bring weapons, give information about the direction from which the gunshots were heard," and so on. The commission pointed out in its report.” see coding unit 12 (Appendix)

Roha TV refers to the government as a 'criminal' and 'genocidal system' in its news analysis, suggesting it is the root cause of the problem. Conversely, the report describes the armed groups as 'Amhara forces' and portrays their struggle for survival as a just action to obtain justice.

“ . . . The Amhara forces are fighting against a genocidal system worse than apartheid, and it should not be seen as a crime or a breach of peace. Therefore, it can be understood that the prosperity-led governmental system, which is committing the massacre, is criminal, and the

Fano force, which is fighting for justice and survival, is on the right track. . . .”See coding unit 11(Appendix)

4.2.3 Moral Evaluation

Moral judgment in the context of text analysis with Entman's framing model involves evaluating causal agents and their effects.

As indicated above, AMICO accuses the government of failing to address the identity question of Wolkayit zone residents. The report suggests that the underlying motive is to suppress the Amharan identity of the Wolkayite residents. Moreover, the government's reluctance to respond to their inquiries implies as a disinclination to preserve the peace established by their endeavors, as inferred from the moral assessment in the report.

“. . . The residents of Adebai said, we were not allowed to have wealth by using the nature’s bounty for more than three decades during the rule of TPLF, we were not allowed to develop, and we were not allowed to produce wealth and property. Our culture and traditions have been destroyed. They said that we have been persecuted and displaced... The people of the zone have been sitting without a budget for three years. The identity question was passed in silence so as not to get an answer. . . .” see coding unit 1(Appendix)

Phrases quoted in the report such as 'we were not allowed to have wealth' and 'our culture was destroyed,' are purposefully employed to convey the suppression of their Amhara identity over decades. The Amico report suggests they are now experiencing freedom (liberated from TPLF), yet the final sentence implies that the suppression persists under the current government.

Moreover, According to AMICO's news report, the illegal armed group, referred to as Fano, has rendered the Amhara regional state's system inoperative. The group's objective is to seize power through force, undermining the constitution and the rule of law.

“. . . Due to the violence perpetrated by illegal armed groups in the Amhara Regional State, the regular law enforcement system is unable to control the situation. The activities of these groups are disrupting the economic and social life of the region's residents and threatening the constitutional order. . . .” see coding unit 8 (Appendix)

On the other hand, Roha TV has cited the alleged intent to eradicate the Amhara people as a reason for its accusation of the government committing genocide and massacres, to eliminate the Amhara people.

“ . . . Therefore, it can be understood that the prosperity-led governmental system, which is committing the massacre, is criminal, and the Fano force, which is fighting for justice and survival, is on the right track. The patriots call this struggle the golden goal of saving a people from extinction. . . ” see coding unit 11 (Appendix)

Roha TV frequently attributes the crises in the Amhara region to the federal government and the regional officials. Its reports suggest that the actions of the identified causal agent (the federal government) are intended to undermine the Amhara people and compromise their security guarantee. Furthermore, the reports implies because they wish to maintain their status, Amhara regional state officials are exploiting their people by showing loyalty to the federal government. Here is an example from Roha TV report of Apr. 4 2015 E.C, which presented a critique of Mr. Girma Yeshitela's interview with Amico concerning the dismantlement of Special Forces.

“ . . . Even though he is in favor of the special force’s disarmament, the continued Amhara society’s death, displacement and instability, he stressed. Once he was mentioned as a threat to Fano, now he has been named among the main ones who work to dismantle the region’s Special Forces. Girma Yeshitila, the PM’s right hand, in yesterday’s interview with AMICO, told that the security forces to be patient and allow the people to express themselves freely... The distribution of the letter related to the Special Forces before the officials completed the discussion and disclosed it caused public anger, he added.

The release of the letter reveals their underground work and the division between the leaders. It is known that the cause of the instability and anger of people in the region is the dismantlement of the special force. But Mr. Girma Yeshitila tried to hide the cause by saying it happened due to lack of awareness on the issue. “See coding unit5 (Appendix)

4.2.4 Suggested solutions

The two media outlets, AMICO and Roha TV, proposed different solutions to the issue they identified in their reports during the conflict.

According to AMICO's report, if the Amhara people support peace and endorse the ENDF's efforts to its action of ‘enforcing law’, the problem will be resolved.

“ . . . the main purpose of the state of emergency declaration is to bring peace and security.

He said that the declaration of the state of emergency was based on the request of the regional state government.

The declaration of the state of emergency has brought relative peace; the regional state government was saved from collapse. But more work is needed for complete peace . . . “ see coding unit 14(Appindex).

Additionally, the continuation of military operations and addressing the concerns of the Amhara people, including the Wolkayit issue, were also suggested as a solution to fulfill complete peace.

Roha TV's perspective differs in this context. Holding the 'government led by genocidal prosperity party' accountable in an international court is seen as a solution. Additionally, supporting the struggle of the Fano, 'who are fighting for survival,' is proposed as a remedy for the crisis in the Amhara region. See coding unit 12

“ . . . The Amhara forces are fighting against a genocidal system worse than apartheid, and it should not be seen as a crime or a breach of peace. Therefore, it can be understood that the prosperity-led governmental system, which is committing the massacre, is criminal, and the Fano force, which is fighting for justice and survival, is on the right track. . . “ (Appindex)

The sentence that says “the fano force, which is fighting for justice and survival, on the right track” means that Fano’s fighting itself is vital solution for the crisis.

Regarding the proposed solutions for the conflict, the stark contrast between the two media outlets' reports is evident in their portrayal of the state of emergency. While Amico presents the state of emergency as a crucial solution to the Amhara conflict, Roha TV, on the other hand, depicts it as exacerbating the issue rather than resolving it. Let us see how they report;
AMICO’S report about the necessity of the declaration dated Jul. 28 2015 E.C;

“The Council initially reviewed Emergency Decree No. 6/2015, which aims to uphold public peace and security. Due to the violence perpetrated by illegal armed groups in the Amhara Regional State, the regular law enforcement system is unable to control the situation. “see coding unit 8(Appendix)

Amico reports suggest that the ideology of 'extremism' is the issue in the Amhara region, and the proposed solution is to eradicate 'extremists' along with their ideology. The report cited Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed on April 19, 1015 E.C.

“ . . . If we do not combat extremism early and avoid it, it clearly signals that it will lead us to bloodshed . . . ”see coding unit 6(Appendix)

The phrase 'combat extremism early and avoid it' suggests that the proposed solution involves dismantling 'Fano,' which the report labels as 'extremist,' along with its concept of 'extremism.' To achieve this, the reports recommend declaring a state of emergency, deploying the Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) in the region, and forcefully dismantling the Fano group.

Contrary to Roha's reports, the declaration of a state of emergency is likely to exacerbate the conflict, representing a problem rather than a solution. Its report dated Aug. 15 2015 E.C indicates that;

*“ . . . Resolving the problem in the region requires "political dialogue".
Mr. Gedu said, "If there is a genuine desire to resolve this problem, it is not to use military force which has only brought further problems in Amhara region and other parts of Ethiopia, I believe the solution lies in political dialogue". . . ”*

Here, Roha appears to advocate for political dialogue as a solution, yet this position is not consistently held. The station frequently suggests that backing Fano's efforts is a vital resolution to the conflict in the Amhara region. This viewpoint is exemplified in its news analysis, which draws parallels between the Prosperity Party and South African apartheid, and compares the Amhara people to the black South Africans.

“ . . .Therefore, it can be understood that the prosperity-led governmental system, which is committing the massacre, is criminal, and the Fano force, which is fighting for justice and survival, is on the right track. The patriots call this struggle the golden goal of saving a people from extinction. . . . If the world says that the anti-apartheid struggle of black South Africans was just, then the anti-genocide struggle of the Amhara people is a holy struggle.”

In summary, neither of the two selected media outlets strongly proposed a peaceful resolution for the situation in the Amhara region. Both Amico and Roha TV appear to endorse war as a solution; Amico advocates for deploying the ENDF to eliminate Fano, whereas Roha TV portrays Fano's struggle as a holy struggle.

Chapter five

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

This study aimed to analyze the framing of the Amhara regional state's conflicts as portrayed by government-owned and privately-owned media outlets. The primary objective was to examine the framing of the conflict by government-funded (AMICO) and social media-based private media (Roha TV), from the end of April 2023 to November 2023 G.C. The specific objectives included analyzing how these media outlets define the conflict's problem, assess the problem's diagnosis in the text, evaluate the moral judgment made by the media about the problem, and explore the solutions they propose to resolve the conflict.

To fulfill the general objective of the study, the researcher formulated four research questions corresponding to the specific objectives. To address these questions, a qualitative method was employed to discern the media framing of the Amhara region's conflicts as covered by both The AMICO and Roha TV. The text analysis utilized Entman's four framing functions: defining problems, identifying causal agents, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies. The comprehensive analysis of 14 sample news stories yielded the following main findings:

The textual analysis of news stories reported by the two media outlets revealed absolutely different framings. They characterized the conflict's problem in distinct ways, attributed blame to different parties as the cause. However, both parties proposed identical solutions to the conflict. They advocate for armed struggle as a means to resolve the Amhara region's conflict. AMICO reported that the ENDF intends to address the issue by disbanding Fano, whereas Roha TV suggested that Fano's efforts will resolve the conflict by overthrowing the 'prosperity-led government'.

The main finding related how they define the problem of Amhara regional state of armed conflict;

The analysis of AMICO'S news stories show that the main problem for the conflict is defined as the ideology of extremism, which is some groups who believe that others should not hold ideas

differ from them. AMICO identifies extremism as the root cause of the conflict and crisis in the Amhara region, attributing the blame to an 'extremist group' referred to as Fano. AMICO's report associates various issues such as breaches of peace, dysfunction of the regional regular security and other administrative structures, inefficiency of government offices, killings, looting, and other problems with Fano.

The 'extremist group' undertook these actions with the intent of seizing power by force and eliminating those who hold different beliefs, a moral judgment maintained in AMICO's reports suggested. However, at the beginning of the conflict, amidst regional tensions, AMICO did not address extremism. Instead, the station attempted to frame the region's problem as an unresolved identity question of the Wolkayit residents, disregarding other issues and concerns voiced by people in various demonstrations across the Amhara region.

During the armed conflict, AMICO concentrated on and highlighted solely the concerns of the Wolkayit zone residents. It is important to note that during this period, the Amhara and Tigray regional states were engaged in a dispute over the Wolkayit and Raya zones. It appears that Amico consistently aligns with the political intentions of the Amhara regional state. "Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." (Entman; 1993)

The problem definitions in Amico reports are often lacking details, merely echoing government officials' statements without delving into the information necessary to clarify the root causes of the Amhara region's conflict, thus failing to fulfill their responsibility to give an information what the public needs.

On the other hand, Roha TV presents a distinct perspective in its coverage of the Amhara region's conflict. The channel suggested that the government's alleged plot to forcibly disarm the Amhara special forces is the central issue. Additionally, it highlights various atrocities committed against the Amhara people by the TPLF, which have reportedly escalated under the current Prosperity Party-led government, further exacerbating the region's troubles. Roha TV is attempted to use the atrocities and casualties suffered by the Amhara people to endorse Fano's theory of armed struggle. The station believed that Fano is fighting for survival and is on the

right path, yet it accuses the government of actions that could debilitate and ultimately destroy the Amhara people. Roha TV claims that the Ethiopian government was the root cause of the problems during both the tense and violent war periods, portraying itself as a tool to weaken the Amhara area and its people. In the domain of moral evaluation, two media outlets might present the intentions behind an event in starkly different lights. For instance, when the ENDF was deployed to the Amhara region, AMICO reported the event as a positive government response to stabilize the area, referring to the ENDF's armed action as 'law enforcement operation'. Conversely, Roha TV opposed the deployment of the federal military force to the region, labeling it massacres and asserting that its presence aimed not to benefit but to undermine the Amhara people.

The report's portrayal of Fano's intentions reflects the terminology used to describe the group. Amico labels Fano as extremists, killers, bandits, and looters, while Roha depicts them as the backbone of the Amhara people, struggling for survival and considered as the Amhara People's safe guard. Amico's reports suggest that Fano's struggle is an attempt to seize power forcibly by eliminating those with differing views. Conversely, Roha TV portrays Fano's efforts as a mission to protect the Amharan people from oppression and genocide.

Terms, both media outlets used to describe the causal agent of the problem are not conflict sensitive.

When inquiring how these two media outlets contributed to resolving the conflict in the Amhara region by proposing solutions, we observed two distinct approaches. Each outlet recommended different suggestions at the beginning of the conflict and throughout its duration. Initially, at the conflict's outset, Amico pressured the government to address the identity concerns of Wolkayit residents to resolve the crisis in the Amhara region. However, following the outbreak of war, Amico's stance shifted. Its reports suggest that eradicating 'extremists and their ideology' is the sole solution to the crisis in the Amhara region. Meanwhile, Roha TV called on the government to fulfill its duty to ensure the Amharan people can move, work, and live throughout the country without facing security threats, and to reevaluate its decision regarding the disarmament of the Amhara special force. In addition to advocating for political dialogue to address the region's political issues, Roha TV promotes this strategy as a way to reduce regional tensions. Initially, Roha TV's recommendations to bring the two conflicting parties together for dialogue seemed

good. However, similar to Amico, it shifted its approach to framing suggestions as solutions after the onset of war.

Both media outlets have reframed their narratives since the starting of conflict. Their divergent recommendations for the ongoing armed conflict in the Amhara region are evident. What Amico suggests as a solution may be portrayed as a problem by Roha TV. For instance, when the state of emergency was declared due to intense tension in the region, Amico reported the declaration as a resolution to the region's issues. In contrast, Roha TV depicted the declaration as an exacerbating factor in the Amhara region's crisis.

Summarizing the recommendations made by the two media outlets about the armed conflict, Amico's findings say that the only way to end the fighting and bring peace to the Amhara region is to use military force to destroy extremists and their ideology. Furthermore, broadcasts portraying the 'patriotic' Fano's struggle as the key to ending the region's challenges and the Amharan people's troubles suggest that the war itself may be the solution, as implied by Roha TV's coverage.

Amico and Roha TV both failed to fulfill their responsibility in contributing to a solution by providing detailed information about the root causes of the conflict and offering resolution ideas to their audience. However, they were fueling the conflict by using discriminating words, like extremist, massacre, bandit, looter, oppressor etc. Thus, neither of them fulfilled their media responsibility of promoting peace. The media has a peace-promoting effect. It can assist individuals in making informed decisions by offering impartial and well-rounded data. According to Kiplimo & Nabushawo (2015) the media, as information providers and educators, can help transform conflicts by offering timely and coherent narratives. Authors also claim that the media can resolve disputes by addressing their root causes and facilitating a mutually agreeable settlement among the conflicting parties.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings above the researcher recommends the following:

- Both Media outlets should refrain from using discriminatory and abusive language in their news reporting.

- Both Media entities should align with the public rather than any government or group. They ought to deliver comprehensive information that the public requires to make informed decisions.
- It is crucial for Amico to provide detailed reports of both sides' stories, including clear background information, to ensure the audience has a comprehensive understanding of the events unfolding on the ground.
- Amico must maintain its independence and not become a voice for any government. It should remain free, and its reports should reflect its status as public media. And the government should remove its political pressure on government funded Medias like AMICO.
- All media outlets ought to adhere to a conflict-sensitive reporting strategy when covering stories of conflict.
- Both parties should contribute to the solution by proposing suitable remedies for the conflict.
- Roha TV should avoid exaggerating the issues of one side when reporting on conflict stories.

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Appendix

Coding sheet

Coding unit 1; AMICO News June 14 2015 E.C, about peaceful rally in Wolkait towns

Meaning unit	Problem definition	The Identified of Causal agent	Moral evaluation	The Suggested solutions
<p>Wolkayit tegedie setit humera zone Residents has asked the government to approve their identity by law and to be beneficiaries of the budget in a peaceful demonstration.</p> <p>The peaceful demonstration was also held in Humera, Dansha, Mikadra,wolkait, Tegedie, Adebay, Beaker and in other cities.</p> <p>Residents of Wolkait district also said that we have paid the price for our freedom and we have gone free to never go back.</p> <p>“We have sacrificed our blood and bones to get our freedom. Genocide and human rights violations have been committed to deny our Amharan identity.” They also said that “to destroy our culture and tradition, we have been go through genocidal attack.”</p> <p>“Therefore, the government should recognize and confirm the freedom and peace we have now.” They asked.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unanswered identity questions of the Wolkayit zone. • Different human right abuses for the last three decades, against Amhara population of Wolkayit zone residents. 	<p>The current government is being criticized for creating problems because it does not provide an answer to the question of identity.</p> <p>TPLF is blamed in the news. It stands accused of various atrocities, including genocide committed against the residents of Welkait.</p>	<p>To suppress the amharan identity of Wolkayiet residents</p>	<p>The government should recognize the Amhara identity of the Wolkite people.</p>

<p>June 14 2015 E.C AMICO News, about rally in Adebay town</p> <p>"The government should give us an Answer to our identity question" residents of Adebai town.</p> <p>Adebai town is one of the towns where public peaceful demonstration was held in Wolkaite-Tsegedie-Setite-humera Zone of Amhara region.</p> <p>AS The residents of Adebai said, we were not allowed to have wealth by using the nature's bounty for more than three decades during the rule of TPLF, we were not allowed to develop, and we were not allowed to produce wealth and property. Our culture and traditions have been destroyed. They said that we have been persecuted and displaced.</p> <p>They also said that after independence, we have been cultivating our local infrastructure without government budget. The people of the zone have been sitting without a budget for three years;</p> <p>The identity question was passed in silence so as not to get an answer. They asked at the rally that the government should give us an immediate response.</p>	<p>Unanswered identity questions of the Adebay town.</p> <p>Different human right abuses for the last three decades, against Amhara population of Wolkayit zone residents.</p> <p>The culture and Amharan identity of the residents of Adebay have been obliterated.</p>	<p>The current government is being criticized for creating problems because it does not provide an answer to the question of identity.</p> <p>TPLF is blamed in the news. It stands accused of various atrocities, including genocide committed against the residents of Welkait.</p>	<p>Challenges are arising that threaten to erode Amhara culture, impoverish the residents of Amhara, and suppress their identity.</p>	<p>The government should give an immediate recognition for their Amharan identity</p>
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Coding unit 2; Roha TV Feb. 28 2015 E.C, about the escalated tension in the region

Meaning unite	Problem Identification	The Identified Causal agent	Moral evaluation	The suggested solution
<p>National Movement of Amhara (NAMA) discloses its concern about the escalated tension between the Amhara Region special force and the Federal security forces.</p> <p>The beginning of forceful demilitarization of Amhara region special force creates high level of tension between the region’s Special Forces and the federal security forces in different parts of Amhara Region, said NAMA.</p> <p>The party also said the sudden decision to demilitarize the region’s special force and the process without sufficient preparation, common understanding and trust, and sustainable security guarantee is irresponsible.</p> <p>The party reminded the Amhara Region Administration and the Federal government that the problem will not be limited to Amhara region only, but it has the potential to lead the whole country into instability. NAMA requested the governing revisit its decision and to discuss the issue with the region’s government and the society.</p> <p>It requested Special Forces in the camp and field to be cautious to handle the situation. It also advised about</p>	<p>The government's abrupt decision to disarm the Amhara special forces, taken without dialogue or mutual agreement and lacking a security assurance, is identified as a problem or the source of tension in the region.</p>	<p>Ethiopian Government</p>	<p>To weaken the regions security capacity.</p>	<p>The government should reconsider its decision.</p>

their safety and to solve the problem by discussion.				
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Coding unit 3; Roha TV News, June 12, 2015 E.C, about peoples demonstration in Gojam

Meaning unit	Problem Identification	The Identified Causal Agent	Moral Evaluation	The suggested solution
<p>In Gojam zone, the road from Debre Markos to Dembecha has been closed. Residents said that the road from Debre Markos to Dembecha was closed at Amanuel in the East Gojam zone of Amhara region. The residents said that the road has been completely closed since today, June 12, 2015. The reason for the closure of the road is the recent kidnapping of drivers by the armed group of ONEG Shene in Debre Guracha area, they said. Drivers driving from Amhara region to Addis Ababa were kidnapped and their families were demanded more than five hundred thousand birr. Addis Maleda, reports that the road will be closed until the government enabled to releases the kidnapped drivers. The act of kidnapping drivers at different times continues. In the same way, we have reported that truck drivers traveling on the Ethio-Djibouti route are also being attacked. Although the Ministry of Transport and Logistics has promised to solve their security concerns in a short time, the drivers</p>	<p>Various human rights violations, including kidnapping, murder, arrest, and exclusion from governmental services, have been recognized as a problem affecting the Amhara people.</p>	<p>The armed group called Oneg shenie and the government are identified as a causal agent.</p>	<p>The Armed group called shenie kidnapping and killing Amharan people bicayse of their identity and to get money too.</p> <p>The government is acussed by as a supporter of Shene by not pursuing legal action against it.</p>	<p>the government should ensure its responsibility to maintain peace and guarantee that citizens can travel and work in safety.</p>

<p>indicate that the attacks on them are getting worse day by day. The drivers who say that they are</p> <p>-threatened by the arrests and killings by the militants, have asked for an immediate solution.</p> <p>In relation to this, it is said that the farmers of Badma Giorgis in west Gojam, enarj Enawga district protested today, June 12, 2015 in Debre Work town due to the lack of fertilizer. Because of this there is high tension in the town.</p>				
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Coding unit 4; AMICO NEWS ANALISES, Apr. 3 2015 E.C, about the disarmament of regional special force

Meaning unite	Problem Identified	The Causal Agent	Moral Evaluation	Suggested Solution
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<p>“The reorganization of regional special forces is intended to enhance their role nationally.”</p> <p>Girma Yeshetla, the executive member of the Prosperity Party and head of its Amhara Region Branch Officesaid. He further noted that this new structure would address the fundamental questions of the Amhara people. Mr. Girma Yeshetla, representing had an interview with the program called ‘woqetawi gudai’ of Amhara Media Corporation.</p> <p>As he said the decision to implement the reorganizing of the regional special forces organization, he also highlighted that within Ethiopia's complex political landscape, there has been a situation of unfair relation among regions. Ato Girma noted the system was designed to weaken one’s military force, while other regions are enhancing their military capacity. Stating that the recent war is a consequence of this gap in power relation.</p> <p>"The recent war and the betrayal within the national defense force</p>	<p>The public's misunderstanding of the special forces' reorganization plan has been identified as a contributing factor to the tensions in the Amhara region.</p> <p>Another issue highlighted in the news is the emergence of false rumors claiming that the government plans to disarm the Amhara special forces.</p>	<p>Leaders in the Amhara region are being blamed for the crisis due to their failure to clarify the plan regarding the special force and not demonstrating solutions to the region's various issues.</p>	<p>The disseminators of the false rumor, though not clearly identified, aim to destabilize the Amhara region.</p>	<p>The regional government should provide clarification on the issue and offer guidance on numerous concerns Doubts and questions of the people.</p>
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<p>primarily stemmed from the flawed creation of regional forces that could challenge the national defense. This led to conflicts among and within regions. Additionally, the war's outbreak in the south has delayed the resolution of these issues."</p> <p>Before and after prosperity party come to power there was an intention to build one and strong national security institution. He revealed that to fulfill that a decision was made to integrate regional special forces into the national army's capabilities. However, when implemented, this led to a problem due to misinterpretation of the facts.</p> <p>"First, as we developed a reorganization plan for the Special Forces, rumors emerged, alleging government plans to disband them. Second, we aimed to strengthen regional security by deploying the Special Forces' weaponry and snipers, but there were whispers of government plans to disarm them. Third, our main objective was to bolster regional security through reforming the force, yet rumors</p>				
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<p>suggested it would be dissolved and integrated into the national defense force.” Mr. Girma stated that the Amhara Special Forces, in collaboration with the National Defense Forces and other regional security units, made significant sacrifices during the country's time of challenge. He further emphasized that addressing the concerns of the people in the Amhara region is a primary responsibility of the regional state. “There is concern among the people that the regional special force is the sole security provider for the region. This is one of the issues. Another is that the people of the Amhara region have many questions. When uniting under the Prosperity Party, they had numerous fundamental inquiries; some have been addressed, others remain unanswered. We have not clearly communicated to the people how we will resolve these issues. This lack of clarity is our problem. Additionally, there are issues arising from unresolved doubts. There have been also two or three incidents of</p>				
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war. Moreover, we haven't adequately demonstrated and explained to the public the safe conditions that have been established to prevent war. Hence, while we cannot confirm that the people's concerns are correct, we should acknowledge that their concerns are justified.”

Coding unit 5; Roha TV news, Apr. 4 2015 E. C, about the government’s decision on Amhara special force

MEANING UNIT	The Identified Problem	Causal Agents	Moral evaluation	Suggested solutions
<p>The office of Amhara prosperity party head, Girma Yeshitila has been criticized following his comments related to the region’s special forces disarmament. He believed that the Amhara special forces sacrificed a lot when the National Defense Force (ENDF) and the Nation fell into problems. And he confirmed the problem was regional governments. Even though he is in favor of the special force’s disarmament, the continued Amhara society’s death, displacement and instability, he stressed. Once he was mentioned as a threat to fano, now he has been named among the main ones who work to dismantle the region’s special forces. Girma Yeshitila, the PM’s right hand, in yesterday’s interview with AMICO, told that the security forces to be patient and allow the people to express themselves freely. He accused the Amhara’s</p>	<p>The problem is governments plan to disarm the Amharan special force as identified in this news.</p> <p>The other problem is Mr. Girma Yeshitela’s denayal about the instability cause. He attributes it to a lack of awareness, overlooking the government's controversial decision to disarm the Amhara special forces and the various unresolved issues raised by the populace.</p>	<p>Mr. Girma and other Amhara region government officials who are the right hand and loyal to PM Abiy Ahimed.</p>	<p>Mr. Girma attempted to conceal his and his colleagues' secret activities concerning the Amhara special forces.</p>	<p>Nothing is suggested as a solution in this news.</p>

<p>regional government, where he served as a high level government official, of the problem. The distribution of the letter related to the special forces before the officials completed the discussion and disclosed it caused public anger, he added. The release of the letter reveals their underground work and the division between the leaders. It is known that The cause of the instability and anger of people in the region is the dismantling of the special force. But Mr. Girma Yeshitila tried to hide the cause by saying it happened due to lack of awareness on the issue.</p>				
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Coding unit 6; AMICO TV, Apr 19 2015 E.C about the assassination of Mr. Girma Yeshitela

Meaning unit	The identified problem	Causal agent	Moral evaluation	Suggested solution
<p>“Those who could not win by idea have taken the life of our brother Girma Yeshitila. In the era of solving differences in civilized/ advanced manner, trying to convince people who have different idea by gun is the end of extremism. In a place where he was born, the shameful and terrible act committed by extremists. They believe he should not have</p>	<p>Extremists, who believe that others should not hold different opinions, pose a recognized problem.</p>	<p>In the news, the term 'extremists' is frequently applied to the Fano group, who are depicted as instigators of trouble.</p>	<p>Extremists attempt to persuade those with differing views through force, and when that fails, they often shun or avoid engaging with those who hold opposing opinions.</p>	<p>The government should annihilate extremists and their idea early. Then the Amhara region will stabilize.</p>

thought differently from them, reviling that if we do not combat extremism early and avoid it, it clearly signals that it will lead us to bloodshed. Rest your soul in peace. "P M Abiy Ahmed"				
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Coding unit 7; Roha TV News Apr. 20 2015 E.C about the assassination of Mr. Girma Yeshitela

Meaning unit	The Identified Problem	Causal Agent	Moral Evaluation	Suggested solution
<p>NAMA calls for an end to the classification regarding to the assassination of Mr. Girma Yeshitela. In a statement following the assassination of Mr. Girma Yeshita, the head of the Prosperity Party's Amhara Regional Branch Office and an executive member, the Amhara National Movement (NAMA) stated that it is meaningless to give a judgment without identifying the party, who is responsible to assassinate Mr. Girma. In a statement, NAMA condemns the murder and express its sympathies to his family.</p> <p>NAMA condemned the repeated assassination on the leaders of the Amhara regional state government leaders as the result of zero-sum political terrorism. NAMA believed that the lack of accountability for the</p>	<p>Blaming a specific group for Mr. Girma Yeshitela's assassination is premature while the appropriate authorities have not yet investigated and identified the perpetrators.</p>	<p>The government.</p>	<p>To get a political benefit.</p>	<p>An investigation should be done with the concerned authority to ensure justice is served.</p>

<p>killings of the leaders of the Amhara region in the past is the reason for the continued escalation of violence against the current leaders of the region. NAMA still insists that it condemned any public statements and categorizations that have been made in order to get political profit from the attack without being investigated by the appropriate institutions and without the identification of the attackers. NAMA also called on the concerned authorities the killings to be investigated with special attention and to identify all actors involved in the incident and to bring all the attackers to justice.</p>				
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Coding unit 8; Amico news Jul. 28 2015 E.C about the state of emergency

Meaning unit	The Identified Problem	The Causal Agent	Moral Evaluation	Suggested solution
<p>The Council of Ministers has unanimously declared a state of emergency in the Amhara region. At their 23rd regular meeting, they discussed various issues and adopted a resolution. The Council initially reviewed Emergency Decree No. 6/2015, which aims to uphold public peace and security. Due to the</p>	<p>The regular law enforcement system in the Amhara region is currently non-operational and unable to control the crisis there.</p>	<p>The illegal armed groups.</p>	<p>In order to threaten the constitutional order by force and to take a power by force.</p>	<p>By declaring a state of emergency, the federal government should take appropriate action against armed groups to reverse the situation.</p>

<p>violence perpetrated by illegal armed groups in the Amhara Regional State, the regular law enforcement system is unable to control the situation. The activities of these groups are disrupting the economic and social life of the region's residents and threatening the constitutional order. The government has repeatedly called for peace, urging all armed groups to choose a peaceful path. The regional government has also declared that the security breach is inflicting significant human, social, and economic harm, and that managing the situation with standard law enforcement efforts is challenging. Consequently, the regional government has requested the federal government to take any necessary legal actions.</p>				
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Coding unit 9; Roha TV news, August 15, 2015 E.C, about state of emergency

Meaning unit	The Identified Problem	Causal Agent	Moral Evaluation	Suggested solution
<p>Ato Gedu Andargachew called for the withdrawal of ENDF from Amhara region. The House of People's</p>	<p>The government's action to Declaring state of emergency and deploying ENDF</p>	<p>The government</p>	<p>To complicate Amhara regions problem.</p>	<p>The withdrawal of the Ethiopian National Defense Force</p>

<p>Representatives member and former Amhara region president Ato Gedu Andargachew called for an "interim administration" which is inclusive.</p> <p>Ato Gedu had entered parliament on behalf of Prosperity Party and made these remarks prior to the passing of the state of emergency declaration.</p> <p>Ato Gedu stressed at this time, resolving the problem in the region requires "political dialogue".</p> <p>Ato Gedu said, "If there is a genuine desire to resolve this problem, it is not to use military force which has only brought further problems in Amhara region and other parts of Ethiopia, I believe the solution lies in political dialogue".</p> <p>Former foreign minister and later Prime Minister Abiy's national security advisor, Ato Gedu said the following in his parliamentary speech addressing the government in power, "instead of resolving a political problem through political means, there is movement to use military force."</p> <p>He said resolving political problems through "force" has not been successful through previous state of emergency declarations</p>	<p>in Amhara region are identified as a problem.</p> <p>The problem that leads to conflict and instability in Amhara region is a political problem. And it should be addressed through political avenues. Resorting to a state of emergency and attempting a military solution are inappropriate measures and may lead to additional problems.</p>			<p>and the initiation of political dialogue are identified as an effective solutions for the issues in the Amhara region.</p>
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<p>and established command posts.</p> <p>He offered advice saying, "to ensure peace and stability return to Amhara region, first and foremost the ENDF should return to its camp without any precondition".</p> <p>Ato Gedu opposed the motion to pass the state of emergency before parliament. However the declaration was passed in a majority vote despite opposition from Ato Gedu and 16 other representatives. In the emergency meeting to pass the state of emergency declaration, 13 parliament members abstained from voting</p>				
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Coding unit 10; Roha TV News, Oct. 30 2016 about human rights situation in Amhara region after since the conflict.

Meaning unit	The Identified Problem	Causal Agent	Moral Evaluation	Suggested Solution
<p>Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC) announced human rights violations in the Amhara region.</p> <p>The Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (ESMECO) has released the information it has collected by contacting relevant government officials, people living in the conflict area,</p>	<p>The unlawful activities of the Ethiopian National Defense Force in the Amhara region, along with the government's drone strikes, have been recognized as problematic. Bicouse of this</p>	<p>Government (ENDF and Ethiopian air force)</p>	<p>To panic the Amharan people especially Fano supporters.</p>	<p>There is no a suggested solution in this news</p>

<p>Eyewitnesses, victims and victims' families regarding large-scale human rights violations related to the ongoing fighting in the Amara region.</p> <p>In the report issued by the commission, in the context of the conflict, due to the attack of heavy weapons, including air/drone equipment, there have been deaths and injuries to civilians, and people have been forced to flee their residential areas.</p> <p>For example, in North Showa Zone, Berehet District, Atteh Bla City on October 5, 2016. That several civilians, including a one-year-seven-month-old baby, were killed and injured in a drone attack; October 8, 2016 in Debre Markos City. At least 8 civilians were killed in a drone attack, also in Denbana city on October 3, 2016. Local residents and eyewitnesses who spoke to the commission explained that civilians were killed and injured due to heavy weaponry. The commission also confirmed that in some areas, residents have been completely displaced from their villages after fleeing violence or conflict. In Menjar district, the residents of the highway have been killed since</p>	<p>dozens of civilians have been killed, injured, and they are suffering from various types of human rights abuses.</p>			
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<p>September 6, 2016. Since then, at least 3,000 people who have been displaced from their villages are sheltering in a school and an open field (under a tree) in Amora Bete Kebele, and an unknown number of others have been displaced to different areas, including Metehara and Awash. Although some support has been provided to the displaced by the community and an aid organization, it is stated that they are in a worrying situation due to insufficient support. Following the displacement of the residents, their crops were destroyed, their properties were looted, the roofs and doors of their houses were taken away, and recently, their houses have been demolished by forces from the neighboring region with construction equipment. The commission, which previously announced that extrajudicial killings in various parts of the region are a concern, has announced that it has received reliable information regarding the continuation of extrajudicial killings, especially by members of the government's security forces. In the areas where the conflict took place, the</p>				
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government security forces arrested many civilians on the streets or from house to house, saying, "You support Fano, you give information to Fano, bring weapons, give information about the direction from which the gunshots were heard," and so on. The commission pointed out in its report.				
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Coding unit 11; Roha TV, News Analysis about the conflict in Amhara Region.

Meaning unit	The Identified Problem	Causal agent	Moral Evaluation	Suggested solution
<p>Today, the international community and institutions are heard declaring that South Africa's anti-apartheid struggle was appropriate. Even the British, who were oppressors at the time, acknowledged this. We have looked at it in detail, as apartheid is a type of crime that is even incorporated into the world's criminal court. From the African Union to the United Nations, they have stated in their constitution that they have an anti-apartheid position.</p> <p>From this point of view, the Amhara forces are fighting against a genocidal system worse</p>	<p>The news identifies the atrocities committed against the Amhara people for decades, which are continuing to worsen under the government led by the Prosperity Party, as a significant issue.</p> <p>on Amhara people worsen than of the south Africa's apartheid. So the</p>	Government	The atrocities committed against the Amhara people are worsening, surpassing those of South African apartheid, with the intent to eradicate them as a people.	The government of Ethiopia is committing atrocities that are considered worse than those of South Africa's apartheid. Therefore, it should be held accountable by the international criminal court. On the other hand, Fano's struggle is a holy struggle, aimed at justice and

<p>than apartheid, and it should not be seen as a crime or a breach of peace. Therefore, it can be understood that the prosperity-led governmental system, which is committing the massacre, is criminal, and the Fano force, which is fighting for justice and survival, is on the right track. The patriots call this struggle the golden goal of saving a people from extinction. Of course, when we see the current OPDO-led apartheid system classifying these Amhara forces as extremists, it reminds us that the apartheid regime of South Africa also classified the African National Congress and its leader, Nelson Mandela, as a terrorists. Even though they did that, that person was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993 and became the president of the country. The Amhara forces' struggle for survival and justice and the crime of the massacre committed by the government of prosperity can be seen from this perspective. As we have seen in detail, although there is a close resemblance between prosperity and the South African apartheid system and the Amhara forces</p>	<p>government is criminal, who must be asked by the world's criminal court.</p> <p>Amhara force's struggle is on right track, it is for survival, justice, and anti genocidal.</p> <p>The world should acknowledge the struggle of the Fano, just as it has acknowledged the anti-apartheid efforts of South Africa's black population.</p>			<p>anti-genocide, deserving of global recognition.</p> <p>In short backing the struggle of Fano and hold the government accountable are the suggested solutions in this news.</p>
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<p>and the black South Africans, the type of crime is as far apart as heaven and earth. The prosperity regime has committed atrocities against the Amhara people worse than the South African apartheid system. Therefore, the abuse that has been committed and is being committed against the Amhara people is beyond apartheid. If the world says that the anti-apartheid struggle of black South Africans was just, then the anti-genocide struggle of the Amhara people is a holy struggle.</p>				
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Coding unit 12; Roha TV News, Oct. 30 2016 about human rights situation in Amhara region after since the conflict.

Meaning unit	The Identified Problem	Causal Agent	Moral Evaluation	Suggested Solution
<p>Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC) announced human rights violations in the Amhara region. The Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (ESMECO) has released the information it has collected by contacting relevant government officials, people living in the conflict area, Eyewitnesses, victims and victims' families regarding</p>	<p>The unlawful activities of the Ethiopian National Defense Force in the Amhara region, along with the government's drone strikes, have been recognized as problematic. Bicouse of this dozens of civilians have been kille, injured, and they</p>	<p>Government (ENDF and Ethiopian air force)</p>	<p>To panic the Amharan people especially Fano supporters.</p>	<p>There is no a suggested solution in this news</p>

<p>large-scale human rights violations related to the ongoing fighting in the Amara region.</p> <p>In the report issued by the commission, in the context of the conflict, due to the attack of heavy weapons, including air/drone equipment, there have been deaths and injuries to civilians, and people have been forced to flee their residential areas.</p> <p>For example, in North Showa Zone, Berehet District, Atteh Bla City on October 5, 2016. That several civilians, including a one-year-seven-month-old baby, were killed and injured in a drone attack; October 8, 2016 in Debre Markos City. At least 8 civilians were killed in a drone attack, also in Denbana city on October 3, 2016. Local residents and eyewitnesses who spoke to the commission explained that civilians were killed and injured due to heavy weaponry. The commission also confirmed that in some areas, residents have been completely displaced from their villages after fleeing violence or conflict. In Menjar district, the residents of the highway have been killed since September 6, 2016. Since then, at least 3,000 people who have been displaced</p>	<p>are suffering from various types of human rights abuses.</p>			
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<p>from their villages are sheltering in a school and an open field (under a tree) in Amora Bete Kebele, and an unknown number of others have been displaced to different areas, including Metehara and Awash. Although some support has been provided to the displaced by the community and an aid organization, it is stated that they are in a worrying situation due to insufficient support. Following the displacement of the residents, their crops were destroyed, their properties were looted, the roofs and doors of their houses were taken away, and recently, their houses have been demolished by forces from the neighboring region with construction equipment.</p> <p>The commission, which previously announced that extrajudicial killings in various parts of the region are a concern, has announced that it has received reliable information regarding the continuation of extrajudicial killings, especially by members of the government's security forces.</p> <p>In the areas where the conflict took place, the government security forces arrested many civilians on the streets or</p>				
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from house to house, saying, "You support Fano, you give information to Fano, bring weapons, give information about the direction from which the gunshots were heard," and so on. The commission pointed out in its report.				
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Coding unit 13; Roha TV, News Analysis about the conflict in Amhara Region.

Meaning unit	The Identified Problem	Causal agent	Moral Evaluation	Suggested solution
<p>... Today, the international community and institutions are heard declaring that South Africa's anti-apartheid struggle was appropriate. Even the British, who were oppressors at the time, acknowledged this. We have looked at it in detail, as apartheid is a type of crime that is even incorporated into the world's criminal court. From the African Union to the United Nations, they have stated in their constitution that they have an anti-apartheid position.</p> <p>From this point of view, the Amhara forces are fighting against a genocidal system worse than apartheid, and it should not be seen as a crime or a breach of peace. Therefore, it can be understood that the</p>	<p>The news identifies the atrocities committed against the Amhara people for decades, which are continuing to worsen under the government led by the Prosperity Party, as a significant issue.</p> <p>on Amhara people worsen than of the south Africa's apartheid. So the government is criminal, who must be asked by the world's</p>	Government	The atrocities committed against the Amhara people are worsening, surpassing those of South African apartheid, with the intent to eradicate them as a people.	The government of Ethiopia is committing atrocities that are considered worse than those of South Africa's apartheid. Therefore, it should be held accountable by the international criminal court. On the other hand, Fano's struggle is a holy struggle, aimed at justice and anti-genocide, deserving of global

<p>prosperity-led governmental system, which is committing the massacre, is criminal, and the Fano force, which is fighting for justice and survival, is on the right track. The patriots call this struggle the golden goal of saving a people from extinction. Of course, when we see the current OPDO-led apartheid system classifying these Amhara forces as extremists, it reminds us that the apartheid regime of South Africa also classified the African National Congress and its leader, Nelson Mandela, as a terrorists. Even though they did that, that person was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993 and became the president of the country. The Amhara forces' struggle for survival and justice and the crime of the massacre committed by the government of prosperity can be seen from this perspective. As we have seen in detail, although there is a close resemblance between prosperity and the South African apartheid system and the Amhara forces and the black South Africans, the type of crime is as far apart as heaven and earth. The prosperity regime has</p>	<p>criminal court.</p> <p>Amhara force's struggle is on right track, it is for survival, justice, and anti genocidal.</p> <p>The world should acknowledge the struggle of the Fano, just as it has acknowledged the anti-apartheid efforts of South Africa's black population.</p>			<p>recognition.</p> <p>In short backing the struggle of Fano and hold the government accountable are the suggested solutions in this news.</p>
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<p>committed atrocities against the Amhara people worse than the South African apartheid system. Therefore, the abuse that has been committed and is being committed against the Amhara people is beyond apartheid. If the world says that the anti-apartheid struggle of black South Africans was just, then the anti-genocide struggle of the Amhara people is a holy struggle.</p>				
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Coding unit 14

AMICO NEWS Mar. 2024 about the crisis in the region affects governmental services

Meaning unite	The Identified Problem	Causal agent	Moral Evaluation	Suggested solution
<p>The Amhara Regional Employment and Training Bureau stated that the security problem of is creating an obstacle to creating the planned job opportunity.</p> <p>The Amhara Regional Employment and Training Office is an institution that is focused on creating knowledgeable and skilled citizens. The head of the Amhara Regional Employment and Training Bureau, Dr. Sabuh Marketu, said that the security crisis in the region over the past few months has caused damage to the institution.</p> <p>The head of the office explained that digitalization work is being done to solve the problem of information management and job creation in the region. However,</p>	<p>Governmental offices in the Amhara region have failed to operate according to their plan.</p>	<p>Extremist groups</p>	<p>Nothing mentioned in the report</p>	<p>The Amhara community should remain vigilant in safeguarding peace.</p>

<p>since the beginning of the 2016 E.C fiscal year, the activities of the office have been severely damaged due to the problems created by the extremist group in the region.</p> <p>As a result, only 39 percent of the 1.2 million citizens planned to create job opportunities in this year have been achieved. Of the 68,000 enterprises that were planned to be organized, only 20 percent were achieved. As the head of the office pointed out in his statement:- The head of the office said that the experts of the office moved to different areas of the region and faced obstacles to create job opportunities and support those who are working. He also stated that peace has an irreplaceable role in solving the problem of youth unemployment. He said that it is necessary to get the region out of the problem it is in permanently. For this reason, they called on the community to stand guard for peace.</p>				
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Coding unit 15

AMICO NEWS Nov.2024 about the result gained after the state of emergency was declared

Meaning unite	The Identified Problem	Causal agent	Moral Evaluation	Suggested solution
<p>"Even though more work is required for complete peace, the declaration of state of emergency has brought relative peace in the Amhara region" Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (Dr.)</p> <p>Bahir Dar: November 4/2016 (Amico) The parliamentarians raised questions to the Prime Minister at the 4th regular meeting of the House of Representatives.</p>	<p>Sustaining peace in the Amhara region remains a challenge.</p>	<p>Armed groups in the region</p>	<p>To collapse the regional government</p>	<p>The state of emergency declared in the region results to get peace partially. To fulfill full peace answering peoples</p>

<p>In his response, the Prime Minister responded to the implementation of the state of emergency declaration in the Amhara region. He stated that the main purpose of the state of emergency declaration is to bring peace and security. He said that the declaration of the state of emergency was based on the request of the regional state government.</p> <p>The declaration of the state of emergency has brought relative peace; the regional state government was saved from collapse. But more work is needed for complete peace, he said.</p> <p>In his response, the Prime Minister said that we will work to fulfill our promises to the people. The people want peace to prevail, development to accelerate and poverty to disappear. The people wanted democracy to be built. People means continuity, he said, it thinks of a better tomorrow for the children.</p> <p>We know the people's demand, we are close to our people, he said that we should work together to answer the people's needs and demands. He said also that the answer to one question is the question of the other, so it is necessary to verify the public's question accurately and coherently. He also stated that his government has begun to answer questions that require courage.</p> <p>He also said that his government has devised a key way to resolve the issue of controversial areas in Amhara and Tigray region.</p>				<p>question will continue.</p>
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