

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION**

**THE POLARIZATION OF STATE OWNED AND PRIVATE
MEDIA IN ETHIOPIA: THE CASE OF EBC AND OMN'S
REPORTING ON CURRENT POLITICAL CRISIS IN OROMIA
REGION.**

BY

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ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

JUNE, 2018

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This is to certify that the Thesis prepared by **Endalkachew Aklilu**, entitled “**The Polarization of State Owned and Private Media in Ethiopia: the case of EBC and OMN’S reporting on the Current Political Crisis in Oromia Region**” and submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the university and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

The media scenery of Ethiopia has been serving the groups controlling power over a long period of time. However, following the control of power of the incumbent government/EPRDF, and the declaration of free press, an encouraging sign of the growth of private media have been evident. This study aims at examining the polarization of state owned and private media focusing on EBC and OMN'S reporting the political turmoil in Oromia region. The study was guided by two questions: What were the dominant themes used by EBC and OMN in reporting the political turmoil in Oromia region? Are both EBC and OMN polarized in reporting the political turmoil in Ethiopia? The data collection method of the research delivered in both qualitative and quantitative approaches. To analyze the contents of the news, coding sheet was developed by the researcher from the review of literature. This helped the frequency of coverage, tone, themes, sources of information, and frames of news used. The researcher used purposive sampling for news content analysis. The Reports of the two media houses on the current political turmoil from September 2016 to October 2017 were chosen as this period was the time when the turmoil was too acute. The study found that the reports that stability report were dominantly used by EBC while reports focusing on Provocation for mass rally were the dominant themes for OMN. Further, the study found that the two media houses were polarized in reporting the turmoil due to the fact that the EBC supported the incumbent government actions and opposed anything against it while the OMN strongly supported the oppositions and blamed the government for all the ills. The study further found that the two media houses produced the majority of their news stories using with own journalists except that EBC using few news stories from ENA. The two media houses have never used each other's news story as sources too. At last, EBC tried to either avoid numerical reports or reduce the numbers of casualties in a meaningful way while OMN exaggerate the number of victims in casualties.

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List of Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BSPE	Birhane and Selam Printing Enterprise
EBA	Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority
EBC	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
ETV	Ethiopian Tele Vision
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EU- EOM	European Union Election Observation Missions
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GCAO	Government Communication Affairs Office
OAU	Organization of Africa Union
OFC	Oromo Federalist Congress
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
OMN	Oromia Media Network
PSM	Public Service Media
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
TV	Tele Vision
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
WWW	World Wide Web

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Journalism was started when human beings began sharing information about themselves with others (Zelizer, 2004). It is true that journalism is deep in the nature of human beings. Because human is a social or communal lifestyle. The political narration of the nation throughout all periods has dictated the progress of Ethiopian media. The political history of Ethiopia demonstrates that the country has undergone a lot of social, cultural, religious, and economic changes that have witnessed its present level of development. Media and the press have a long history in Ethiopia. According to the foregoing argument, the history of early media in Ethiopia began before Menelik II came to power. However, as far as the history of modern media is concerned, it is associated with the era of Minelik II (Nigussie, 2014). Skjerdal (2012) argues that ever since its inception, the Ethiopian media has experienced different features.

Social change and media functions are interdependent. Both are inseparable and always goes together. While media tasks are predicated on the existence of favourable social conditions, social change can give rise to media actions to influence society. Herman and Chomsky (1988) put their version of the function of the media this way:

The mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfil this role requires systematic propaganda (p.1).

They can play an instrumental role in effecting democratisation or de-democratisation as the case may be. Media and democratisation are mutually reinforcing, one being constituted by the other.

Chan(2001) on media and democratization states the following:

Democratization and media constitute a chicken and egg relationship. On the one hand, the extent to which a society is democratised defines the mode of media control and the roles they perform. On the other hand, the media are neither totally autonomous from, nor totally subservient to, the established power (p.50).

The media in Ethiopia have gone through a lot of challenges under the authoritarian governments of the past who used the media for fulfilling their wishes and whims (Nigussie 2014:76). In spite of its long history of existence, the Ethiopian media can be said is still in its infancy. Television broadcasting in Ethiopia has begun in the early 1960's. An educational TV broadcasting project was initiated in 1965, and by 1971 there were five programs covering a range of topics for students up to grade eight. It gradually expanded into adult education and to cover the whole of the country in 1981. However, regular TV program broadcasting had begun in 1963 to broadcast the meeting of OAU that year in Addis Ababa. Recently, some private satellite TV stations started broadcasting in Amharic and other languages of ethnic majorities. Of these, TV stations, most of them focused on entertainment while very few are broadcasting political contents (www. Media in Ethiopia).

Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) is an Ethiopian government-owned television channel. EBC is the national public broadcaster owned by the government of Ethiopia. Its programming includes news, sport, music and other entertainment. It airs in different local and international languages such as Amharic, Affan Oromo, Somali, Tigrinya, Afar, Harari, as well as English, French and Arabic. In 2015 EBC and other regional channels, upgraded their news studios with more modern equipment (EBC.com/about-us/April, 2018).

Oromia Media Network (OMN) was Founded on March 1, 2014 with assistance from the voluntary donations, targeted advertising, and external grants. It is a U.S. based nonprofit organization, licensed under the Federal Communications Commission. According to the channel's website, OMN is an independent, nonpartisan and nonprofit news enterprise whose mission is to produce original and citizen-driven reporting on Oromia, the largest and most populous state in Ethiopia. OMN claims that it seeks to offer thought-provoking, contextual, and

nuanced coverage of critical public interest issues, thereby bringing much needed attention to under-reported stories in the region (OMN.com/about-us/April, 2018).

Murphy (2007) described that the ideology of the media has an impact on the social political atmosphere of the media. Along with the history, structure and ideology (e.g free market fundamentalism versus democratic idealism) remain important areas for inquiry. When we talk about media transformation and political practice in the age of globalization, even if the focus is on “ public ignorance” and the unruly nature of the public sphere, or on deliberate engagement such as radical or counter Hegemonic media activities (Habermas, 2006).

Due to the reporting of the channels, the audiences got divided on which channel to trust as what is being reported contradict each other. Further, Skjerdal (2012) in his research found that people are grouped as pro oppositions and pro governments based on their priority of media outlets. It is assumed that the advent of this polarization would be observed in current political crises in Oromia region. This fact induced the researcher to dwell on the issue and pave the way for further study in the area.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The roles of the media in a society are very much defined by their mode of media control, which varies mainly with their power structure. In general, when power is centralized, the media tend to serve as an extension of the state and support the status quo. In an attempt which seems to demystify the cause of the blurred relationship between the media and the government, Skjerdal and Hallelujah (2009) proposes the following justification:

One could argue that the unhealthy tension between the government and the media is a result of unclear roles. On the one hand, the government would not grant the media a free reign because it does not trust that they will use their freedom responsibly. On the other hand, the media cannot be considered an independent fourth estate because they identify themselves too much with the political opposition. Neither the government nor the media are therefore prepared to grant and assume the independent fourth estate role of the media (P.27).

EBC and OMN are selected because the two broadcasters are relatively the strongest and voiced from state owned and private broadcasters in the current Oromia crisis respectively. Choosing

the two media houses is appropriate given the fact that the two media houses are dominant sources of hard news and information in the absence of a strong independent media outlet in the country currently. EBC broadcast programs with the motto of ‘voice of diversity and Renaissance’ and considered itself as an independent media institution. OMN next to E-SAT is the strongest private media that focus on political affairs and hard news presentation while other private broadcasters rely on entertainment and shows. The channels, claims that People, especially in the cities prefer it as their source of information. Although OMN foundation is led by most Diaspora community members and exiled journalists, it declared itself as ‘non partisan, free and independent media institution’.

Therefore, a vibrant and independent media entertain different views, interests and other diversities in the public. This study rooted on the examination of the level of polarization of state owned and private media relying on EBC and OMN in reporting the Current Political crises in Oromia region. With the guidance of Framing Theory, Polarized Pluralist Model and the use of content analysis of the news stories of EBC and OMN on the political crisis of Oromia region, the study gives emphasis for the two media houses in what frame reporting the crisis.

1.3 Objective of the study

This study have general objective and specific objectives.

1.3.1 General Objective

The study will investigate the existence of polarization in coverage of the current Political crises in Oromia region by OMN and EBC TV stations.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the research are to:

1. Identify the dominant themes addressed by both the media stations.
2. Examine the media's main sources for News and Information.
3. Examine the presence of polarization of both TV broadcast media in reporting the current Political crises in Oromia region.

1.4. Research questions

The study will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What are the dominant themes in the two media stations used?
2. What are the media stations main sources for News and Information?
3. How do you analysis the level of polarization in coverage of the current political crisis in Oromia region by the two broadcasters?

1.5. The significance of the Study

The aim of this research is to analyse the existence of polarization focusing on the reports of the aforementioned media houses on the current political crises in Oromia region in Ethiopia. It is hoped that this study will provide the general public, researchers and policy makers with an insight into media polarization. This study may be used as reference by policy makers in order to formulate and design media policy. Besides, the research is expected to provide valuable information to the broadcasting media. Furthermore, this study would contribute some level of insight to the media house to know the nature of their own media practices. Finally, the researcher hopes that the study would serve as a stepping stone for further investigation in the area.

1.6. Scope of the Study

As it has been repeatedly mentioned in the background and statement of the problem, this study focuses on coverage of two stations, state owned and private media. They are selected based on the assumptions that they are relatively strong from government and private media. This study analyses the contents of reporting EBC and OMN by specifically focusing on the current turmoil in Oromia region. Nowadays, some private satellite TV stations started broadcasting in Amharic and other languages of ethnic majorities. Of these, TV stations, most of them focused on entertainment while very few are broadcasting political contents.

EBC programming includes news, sport, music, films and other entertainment. It is transmitted in Amharic, Affan Oromo, Somali, Tigrinya, Afar, Harari, as well as English, French and Arabic. The air time EBC was covered 24 hours. Where as, OMN is programming political news and cover everyday human stories in their multidimensional diversity, including business, education, politics, travel, science, technology, environment, sports, and arts and culture. The air time

OMN was covered 1:00 hour daily. The study focused on both EBC and OMN broadcast media Amharic and Oromiffa news program respectively.

This study concentrates on analysing the news reports of the two media houses on the turmoil from September 2016 to October 2017. This time was selected because it was the time that the turmoil reached its peak. The political turmoil was relatively a severe one which forced the country to its first state of emergency following the incumbent government power control. Both state owned and government media, gave due attention to covering this urgent issue. As a result, such issue which can get equal attention and treatment by both sides, is an ideal circumstance to study such research.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

Even though many research works have been conducted on the problems facing the private broadcast media in Ethiopia, it is quite rare to see a study done on media polarization. This, in itself, raises two problems. The first one is lack of previous works in this particular area and the second one is the reports will be retrieved from online and hence some of the reports on the political turmoil may not be in the website's archives. In addition to this, there are various broadcast media found in Ethiopia but the researcher focus only on the two media i.e EBC and OMN as a result of time limitation. Above all, the possible reluctance of key informants to provide information related to sensitive issues will be a huge challenge. The cumulative effect of these factors may affect the result of the study.

1.8. Organization of the study

Chapter one has presented the background, statement of the problem, objective of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, and limitations of the study. Chapter two contains the review of related literature and research related to the problem being investigated. The research design and methods and procedures used to gather data for the study are presented in Chapter three. The results of analyses and findings to emerge from the study are

contained in Chapter four. Chapter five contains a summary of the study findings, conclusions drawn from the findings, and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Media and Politics

Media and politics are two sides of the same coin. Cook (1998) defined media as a political institution that plays an important role in politics along with many other institutions. Media favours more sources concerning politicians and political parties involved in policy making and governance of the country which directly involve public interest. It could not be possible to detach media and politics because they cannot exist without each other. In this 21st century, no single political party or government can pursue its purposes without securing the assistance of the media. Politicians need the media for publicity and to inform the people about their activities (Ibid). According to Curran & Seaton (2003), “to inform, to discuss, to mirror, to bind, to campaign, to challenge, to entertain and to judge”. Most of the information the media use come from officials, and the officials utilize the media to distribute their messages to the constituency. Media have a persuasive power on their audience (Curran, 1991). They manipulate what people buy, how they vote, what they wish and strive for and how they conduct their daily life, mainly the news is in a state of continual change of economy, technology, politics and publics.

Media have power in creating and shaping reality. Through its representation of issues and people, their culture, religion and thought; it can influence people. Today news system evolves under pressures of commercial profit and political spin; the most glaring result may be the dwindling space for serious political news itself (Bennet, 2004). These are the main reasons why world powers and businessmen compute for the control of the media.. In its journey for the past four centuries, the media have passed several socio-political and economic ups and downs (Ibid).

There are many institutions that function together in a society. Government and media are two of these social institutions that seem to influence by their relationship. The media is a social institution that is influenced by its relationship to another institution. Governments are the most essential of other institutions. In an undemocratic political system, the media supply as a means of mass manipulation in favour of those in power. They are determined to fulfil the interest of the ruling class. Assessing the link between Ethiopian media and the Ethiopian political system in the country's history, it wouldn't be difficult to notice that "media and politics in Ethiopia are highly intertwined... and the media has been highly shaped by the governments which ruled over different periods" (Nigussie, 2014). Nigussie also argues that "independent media are inexistent in Ethiopia throughout all time". In the past regimes the governance system was authoritarian and the media were given no space to become the voice for the voiceless, but to serve the interest of those in power.

2.2 Role of media in democratization process

Indeed, it is through the media that the public discourse about the scope and nature of democracy is circulated especially in fledgling democracies. Peruvian communication theorist Alfaro (2006) asserts that:

Today the media constitute a crucial source of civic education and legitimization of democratic power. Political elites legitimize themselves or join protester discourses through their interactions with Newspaper, magazines, radio and Television. The Notion of political authority, political values and general understanding of nation's political institutions are consolidated through the daily programmers of mass media and particularly via News. The national and international agenda emerges from a daily mass media process of production and consumption (p. 303).

Mass media have served remarkably well as a means to globalize the democratic exchange of ideas and issues capable of challenging authority and fostering an atmosphere of optimism. The promise of democracy rest on the rights and responsibilities of each nation's citizens. How these citizens respond to such an opportunity is not only the question of political organization, but also has much to do with how they have been encouraged to think about and participate in democracy through the news and entertainment media citizens (Ibid).

The media in Africa also underwent great changes, both in terms of its structure and content during during the 1990 and in some countries, it was credited for being instrumental in ushering in the second liberation. The media is regarded as a nation-building force and in any country the mass media acts as a potent political force complementary to a body of activities entrusted to the government (Mukhongo, 2009). In the early 1990s, there was a move towards political liberalization across Africa. As a result, those in the media began to assert themselves. In the run up to the 2005 elections, there were claims that opposition leaders had been jailed, voters were being intimidated and journalists were exercising fear-induced censorship for fear of reprisal from the Ethiopian government. In Ethiopia, press freedom was an obvious right to be granted by the Ethiopian transitional government when it came to power in 1991. The government adopted a middle of- the-road approach where private print media outlets were allowed while the few government newspapers continued to exist (Skjerdal, 2012).

The press is an important mechanism for circulating and exchanging information, which is vital for the functioning of a democracy. Several examples from the African continent show that democratization and liberalization have not always guaranteed wider margins of freedom for the media. The media is one of the most criticized institutions in modern life (Norris, 2000). Yet, it is still of importance to note that freedom of speech and free access to the media for information are particularly pertinent for political organization. Three key roles of the media in contributing to democratization and good governance include: being a watchdog over the powerful, providing a civic forum for political debate and serving as an agenda-setter for policy-makers. Therefore, the hopes of African and economic renaissance depend to a very large extent on what key tasks the media play in African states (Ibid).

The argument that the media play a significant role in democratization has been advanced not only by government officials, but also by many in political science and in communication science. Curran (1991), for example, argue that the free access and exchange of information is indispensable to the notion of democracy. The very character of democracy suggests that free and open communication, through a variety of channels, is necessary to foster critical practices found in democratic societies. According to this argument, the mass media in a stable democracy are the principal institutions from which members of the public can better understand their

society. Ideally, the media contribute to the public sphere by providing citizens with information about their world, by fostering debate about various issues and by encouraging informed decisions to be made about available courses of action. The media are also a position of competition in which diverse positions are advanced, significant opinions are heard, interests and inner-workings are exposed, and input is received. These all contribute to public debate (Ibid).

Perhaps, the media play different roles at different stages of democratic development. Or the media may play no role at all, with democracy emerging quite independent of the press and other communication freedoms (Curran, 1991). Many of the studies on media and the democratic process take either the macro-level approach and look at media systems and how they affect politics, or take the micro-level approach to examine how political communication affects the individual, such as during elections. As might be expected from such varied approaches, there is disagreement on what role the mass media play in the democratization process.

The media are also expected to provide a monitoring function, commonly referred to as being “watchdogs,” on government, industry, and society. Garnham (1992) states that it is “axiomatic that some version of communicative action lies at the heart of both the theory and practice of democracy.” He call mass media the “connective tissue of democracy.” O’Neil (1998) writes that without the freedom of communication mass media provide, the foundation of democratic rule is undermined.

2.3 Media ownership and its influence

The primary purpose of the media is to provide citizens with the information they need to be free and self governing (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2006). The duty of journalists is working towards the attainment of this purpose of the media. They should provide fair, balanced and accurate information that helps the people to make choices in their daily life. To do so, there are ethical considerations and principles that should be practiced by journalists. Journalists in Ethiopia, both in private and in state owned, media are observed violating the ethics and principles of journalism. The practice of the profession in Ethiopia indicates that that there are irresponsible journalists who do not contribute to the welfare of the society (Gudeta, 2008). Journalists of the state owned media magnify the speeches of government officials neglecting their responsibility of providing balanced information to the public.

The main categories of ethical breaches by the private media are thought to be related to inaccuracy, imbalance, partiality and misrepresentation. There are private media that serve as a mouthpiece for certain political parties; however, the public usually question the independence of state-owned presses (Gudeta, 2008). Many factors directly or indirectly influence media freedom in a democratic society. There are also different types of factors influencing freedom of the media: external, internal and media related laws, policies and ethics. The term 'external factors' refers to influences which come from exterior to media companies. These include government, politicians, market (advertisers), interest groups (such as media-related associations), civil organization, religious groups, readers or viewers, the general public and others (Ibid). Studies on media company shows that, the market was seen as the largest factor influencing freedom of the press because of the advertising revenue the media companies earn. However, the media should not only pursue their own benefit, but should also play a role of public service.

According to *Zelizer (2004)*, producers are more likely to organize to get what they want out of government than consumers; reporters to reflect the political biases of their publishers but do not otherwise affect the political process. It was alleged that Berlusconi, who became Italy's prime minister in 2001, has benefited in that he was the country's largest media magnate. The concern raised involved how he might utilize his vast media holdings to slant the news in ways favourable to his administration. As stated in *Sterling (2009)*, some critics argued that this was the kind of integration of political power with media ownership that is a fundamental conflict of interest. Rupert Murdoch, media magnate whose business holdings includes newspapers, magazines, television stations and news services, also has been frequently criticized for utilizing his control of a wide range of media outlets both in the United States and abroad to advance his conservative political agenda. Murdoch's Fox News cable channel has, in recent years, received much criticism for advancing his conservative agenda, and thus, providing a distorted picture of the war in Iraq to foster support for the war effort (<https://www.acma.gov.au>).

Influence of Media Ownership in Ethiopia

The private media is of a recent phenomenon in Ethiopia. According to Birhanu (2008), after many decades of total government control over the mass media, the EPRDF government appeared to promise a new era of freedom of expression by abolishing formal censorship bodies that existed for many decades during the previous regimes. It seemed that the EPRDF government has chosen stability and freedom of expression. Ethiopia's first independent tabloid newspaper began to appear and foreign magazines and newspapers were available. The 1992 press law has allowed an independent and privately-financed press alongside the governmentally-funded official media, which included the semi-autonomous channels on Ethiopian television service, radio, the Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) and a number of private newspapers (Ibid).

However, there are serious questions raised by the public concerning the ownership of media companies. Many private newspapers are allegedly supported, if not created, by opposition political parties operating locally and abroad (Zewge,2010). Most readers do know for certain who owns the papers they read. The media should maintain independence and the power offer voice to voiceless. Beside to this, the media should be diversified and also give priority to social, political and also entertainment issue. If the media are market oriented, the market leads the content and changes of the policy of the media. For example, in Ethiopia, FM radios are market oriented electronic Media and gives priority to entertainments issue rather than social and political issue (Ibid).

2.4 Media and social Movement

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

As such, protest groups often engage in activities that provide the kind of drama that garners media attention”. Smith (2001) claim that “not all public demonstrations receive media attention”. This is because the media often select and give emphasis for issues they think should be reported. Even, when protests succeed in obtaining the attention of mass media outlets, media reports portray protests in ways that may undermine the movement’s agendas. As Vliegthart and Walgrave (2012), asserts “media are more interested in covering the violent characteristics of contentious confrontations, the internal conflicts in the movement, or personal details about movement leaders”. Moehler, D. & Singh, N. (2011) identify that protest paradigm is characterized by news frames, reliance on official sources and official definitions, and the invocation of public opinion, delegitimization and demonization. Selective and over reporting of negative, although not false, news can affect the way we perceive a situation and, sometimes, an entire group of people (Ibid).

2.4.1 Background of Current Oromia Crisis

Before talking about the background of the Oromia crisis, the researcher gives some information about the people of Oromia. Historical documents show that the Oromo people lived in the Horn of Africa and in the central and Southern parts of today’s Ethiopia in the ninth century before Muslims entered eastern Ethiopia through the port of Zeila on the Somali border; and in the fourteenth century before Christian kings started their Southward expansion toward the Shawan highlands Tabor. The Oromo were the single largest ethnic group in the Horn of Africa, Mohammed (1990). The Oromos were independently ruling their own nation in all aspects through their indigenous social, political and economic system called ‘Sirna Gadaa’ (Gadaa system). The Oromos had the social-political institution called Gada system Asmarom (1973). Gadaa is an indigenous socio-political democratic system of the Oromo people that regulated political stability, economic development, social activities, cultural obligations, moral responsibility, and the philosophy of the religious order of the society. In general, Gadaa system was the constitution of the Oromo society through which the society administered, defended their territory, maintained and developed their economy.

In various media, the issue of the Oromo has been represented differently in different historical and political passages. There were not enough media that gave due emphasis to the issue of Oromo both in print and broadcast. Most of historian writers have the view that the Oromo were excluded from the Ethiopian history for more than one and half century. Historically, there have long been various contradicting ideas regarding the Oromo people and its position in today's Ethiopian history. Thus, the debate still remains among the scholars. For the purpose of this study, the researcher focused on reporting the current crisis in the Oromia region.

Ethiopia has been governed by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) since it captured the capital and ended the Ethiopian Civil War in 1991. Members of the Tigrayan ethnic group constitute a minority of Ethiopia's population. The Ethiopian government has pursued a partly successful development agenda in recent years and the country has been experiencing rapid economic growth since the 2000s that makes it one of the world's fastest-growing economies. This is reflected in remarkable growth figures, prominent new infrastructure, and strong rates of poverty reduction, good grades from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and praise from donor countries. Yet, John Abbink (2016) argues that, “this has not been enough to satisfy the public. It proves that development consists not only of economic factors but an overall social, cultural, and political context of inclusiveness and opportunity”.

Ethiopia's stability compared to neighbouring Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and even Kenya, has also been highly valued. Abbink emphasized that, “the stability is, however, only relative and temporary, owing to unresolved issues of political freedom and social justice”. He also stated, long-standing grievances erupted in November 2015, only six months after the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) won a total electoral victory earlier in May the same year. After two decades of relative social and political order, the two largest of Ethiopia's internal ethnic national groups, first the Oromo, and then the Amhara have been in the protest's vanguard more than a year. “Their respective grievances have converged into heated rhetoric and violent action, not only against their regional governments, but also against the Tigrayan ethno-national group who have dominated the most powerful state offices since 1991”, the report of RVI (2016) explained.

Protests first broke out in opposition to the Addis Ababa Master Plan that saw the fast expanding federal capital invade on lands administered by the Oromia regional state. That plan was dropped, but the demonstrations exposed some underlying issues and protests continued. According to a report by Rift Valley Institute (2016), “since at least 2014 there had been growing frustration at the federal government’s top-down developmentalism that bypassed Oromia self-government, and at local Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization (OPDO) party officials benefitting from land deals”. The protestors were youthful. According to the RVI’s report, the protesters were better educated and connected to the outside world than previous generations. Smart phones are everywhere, and the government’s shutting down of the internet is seen to be deliberately targeting a means of internal mobilization. “Despite the accusation that hostile external forces are fuelling opposition from afar, including Ethiopian-diaspora based groups using satellite channels, which is at least partly true, the primary drivers remain internal” (Ibid).

Escalation

As Abbink (2017) explains it, “the mass protests of students, youth, the poor, and others started peacefully. There was no agenda of armed insurrection ‘fed by diaspora Ethiopians and foreigners,’ as the government likes to assert”. On October 2, the annual Oromo (Irreecha) cultural celebration in Bishoftu, 40 km south of Addis Ababa, descended into chaos, after protest groups took over the customary leaders’ stage chanting political slogans. “Security responded by firing tear gases, creating a mass stampede in which there were 50 fatalities, according to official statements; opposition groups claimed hundreds died”(Ibid). Following Bishoftu, “locals attacked administrative offices, police stations, and army units (some members of which defected to their cause)”. It is reported that in some districts, authorities have been chased out and local committees have taken over. According to RVI’s report, “both Oromia and Amhara regions saw well organized gangs attack and destroy foreign-owned or party linked farms and factories. Special Forces sent to quell protests were also attacked”.

2.4.2 Causes of the Protests

There were different reasons for protests in Oromia. Oromos have been staging protest rallies across the country since April of 2014 against systematic marginalisation and persecution of

ethnic Oromos. The immediate trigger of the protest was a development plan that sought to expand the territorial limits of Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa, into neighbouring Oromo villages and towns. To worsen the problem, hundreds of people died during unrest followed by a stampede while millions of Oromos were celebrating their annual Irrecha traditional festival. The wider background factors of the protests as RVI's (2016) report are "mounting dissatisfaction with authoritarian politics, interference of party cadres in local life, a lack of government accountability and proper compensation for those removed from the land, the dismantling of civil society organizations over the last decade, a lack of political and civic freedoms, and a dysfunctional justice system".

Though the government acknowledged that there was a dissatisfaction towards the governance system, Abbink argues the protests were "result of decades of deep seeded corruption, high youth unemployment rate, land seizures with no proper compensation and above all a need for free political sphere". According to a statement from the US Embassy, "the protests are a manifestation of Ethiopian citizens' expectation of more responsive governance and political pluralism, as laid out in the country's constitution". The statement openly insisted the government of Ethiopia to listen to its citizens, to admit mistakes, and to offer redress to those it has unjustly harmed.

2.5 The Media Landscape in Ethiopia

Media is a very important and powerful tool that governs the direction of a society today. As David and Berman (1981) put it, media inform people and develop public understanding of events. Media are used to persuade people to achieve, maintain, and strengthen development goals. Recent literature highlights the fact that independent media is important for the quality of governance. Free and competitive media promote accountability of elected politicians while uninformative media prevent accountability mechanisms from working. In spite of the above argument, the media are being misused in Africa. According to Kasoma (1997), the rate of truth telling in Africa's media, particularly those behaving as political oppositions, is extremely low. The media are full of exaggeration; basing their reports on flimsy hearsay; making headlines cry 'wolf'; quoting sources out of context; not giving people against whom allegations are made a fair hearing (Ibid).

Despite its importance, the media have been monopolized by the government from its beginning in Ethiopia, and there was a belief that only the government media can bring change in the society. It was in 1991 that the establishment of private media became evident. In Ethiopia the private media began to appear after the downfall of the Derg Military regime. Prior to this period, the imperial and military regimes did not allow the operation of the private media in the country. The government was the sole owner of the means of public information and used the media to extend its power and legitimacy, to control the population, and to stifle public awareness (Nigussie, 2014).

According to Media Sustainability Index (2008), there is no foreign investment in the media in Ethiopia, as the law only allows Ethiopian citizens to invest in media. The current Broadcast Proclamation Arti. 23 sub-article 2's sub-articles (a) and (b) prove this survey. But, according to Media Sustainability Index (2008), the ban on foreign investment deprives the Ethiopian media of finance, modern management, and experience they badly need, but allowing considerable foreign ownership could mean putting vital national security interests in foreign hands. According to Nigussie (2014), the Ethiopian mass media infrastructure is less developed and the media are independent and non-government only in name. The authorities have sustained not to tolerate press freedom and are used to circumscribe their critics. A number of journalists continue to suffer imprisonment and tremendous hardships in their attempts to maintain freedom of the press under the country's strict press law.

During the imperial regime, when the Emperor and the country were regarded as one, the press was targeted to satisfy the interest of the imperial Crown and Royalty (Getachew, 2003). High media censorship and journalists' fear were the key characteristics of the regime. Following the 1974 overthrow of the monarchy by a military junta, mass media institutions were reorganized as instruments of propaganda under the centralized control of the party. The media, operating under the then new Marxist-Leninist ideology, primarily served as a mouthpiece of the government and implemented a harsh censorship rule. The Derg regime established a socialist political system in which "the government knows and represents the best interest of the people" and media were a propaganda tool that the government used to preach the socialist ideology. The primary purpose

of the media in the Derg regime was serving as a means to spread propaganda or political indoctrination (Yosef, 2005). Freedom of expression, media independence and other related concepts that are part and parcel of any democratic system were absent in Ethiopia during this regime. Since the press was property of the government, it values what the party values and it condemns in the same manner. “It had no room for private rights and freedom” (Nigussie, 2014).

The military government was overthrown by a popular revolution in May 1991. With the coming into power of the new government, it appeared that promoting respect for freedom of expression would be prioritized. This was manifested by the Transitional Period Charter, which provided respect for individual human rights at large and for freedom of expression in particular. First Article of the Charter states:

Based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations; adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly by resolution 217 A (III) of Dec. 1948, individual human rights shall be respected fully, and without any limitation whatsoever.

Particularly, every individual shall have: The freedom of conscience, expression, association and peaceful assembly and The right to engage in unrestricted political activity and to organize political parties, provided the exercise of such right does not infringe upon the rights of others. The new regime proclaimed ‘Press Proclamation No. 34/1992’, which gives room for freedom of the press. Article 29 of the new constitution that commenced working in 1994, also grants freedom of the press where every person has the right to seek, obtain and impart information. There have recently been improvements both in number and practice of media use with the introduction of the dual ownership system by the incumbent government and the private press for the first time in the nation’s history. Certainly, the current government has introduced the private media. This is because the landmark event in the history of the press in Ethiopia began after the coming of EPRDF (EPRDF, 2001).

Nigussie (2014) argues that the government has not granted complete freedom of the press, as a result the media cannot get its full independence in the democracy. This is because of constant government intervention in the media sphere through various methods. “There is a growing polarization of the Ethiopian state media” Skjerdal (2011). Skjerdal criticizes the democratic character of the Ethiopian media environment. Skjerdal in his research found that people are

grouped as pro oppositions and pro governments based on their priority of media outlets. Ross (2010) also says: “while Ethiopia gains respect in the political scene, the government struggles to justify its draconian control over the media”. Comparing it with the previous authoritarian regimes, describe the difference as follows, “Only the recognitions of press freedom in principle makes the current government of Ethiopia differ from its predecessors, whereas in practice all resembled”.

The Ethiopian government is highly criticized for its controlled licensing system of media outlets, the restrictions on access to information held by public authorities, broadcasting and publication content restrictions, and the establishment of a government-controlled Press Council (Buckley et al, 2008; Nigussie, 2014). Marred by economic and political problems, the media environment seems difficult for the private press to operate in the market. In addition to the low readership habit, low infrastructure, and high price of production equipment, the unfavourable political system makes their survival unbearable. Nigussie (2014), maintains that “there is great hostility and acute polarization between government and private media” .

He also asserts that “lack of professionalism from both media types has affected the development of the media to a greater extent” (Ibid). Particularly, the government media are criticized for they are less critical about government policy and agenda. These days the government is granting licenses for private television and radio agencies (Example: Fana Broadcasting Corporate, Walta Information Center, Arki Broadcasting Service and etc.). History of Ethiopian media shows that the media were under strict political influence. Nevertheless; there are some scholars who believe that the incumbent government is showing encouraging improvements. Nigussie (2014) recognizes the encouraging changes in the economic and political sphere of the Ethiopian government, but point out that there is more to do to secure a media environment where independence and freedom are respected.

Till the incumbent government, for the most part, print media as well as broadcast media were controlled by the country's government, subject to official censorship and string-pulling. All the governments under each period were aware of the power of media and put it under their control. The media in Ethiopia has gone through a lot of challenges under the authoritarian governments

of the past. That means, the past governments have been said to muzzle the press for their parochial interests, and consequently, the freedom of the press on the one hand and the people's right to free expression on the other were curtailed (Nigussie 2014). Here we can figure out how the media come in a habit to serve the government. However, following the incumbent governments' power control, different measures have been taken on different aspects. One of these measures is the declaration of freedom of the press. The FDRE Constitution declares freedom of the press and other mass media as:

Article 29 Right of Thought, Opinion and Expression

1. Everyone has the right to hold opinions without interference.

2. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression without any interference.

This right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any media of his choice.

3. Freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of artistic creativity is guaranteed. Freedom of the press shall specifically include the following elements:

a. Prohibition of any form of censorship.

b. Access to information of public interest.

Besides, the government further declared a proclamation on the broadcasting service in 2007. The proclamation also further strengthens the constitution by declaring as there will be public, private and community broadcasting stating: "Categories of broadcasting services shall be public, commercial and community broadcasting services" ("Broadcasting Service Proclamation No. 533/2007": 2007). However, journalists in the state-owned print medium were then let loose to pursue their traditional function, which they did with great vigour and dedication: praising and glorifying the government, at times beyond reasonable proportions, and condemning and castigating actions of previous governments as well as those of current political opponents of the regime in power.

Besides to this, the private media also started denouncing the government and glorifying the alternatives suggested by oppositions. Skejerdal (2012) attributes polarization in the press to EPRDF's revolutionary democratic ideology, which leaves little room for a dynamic opposition. Skejerdal clearly stated that "there are publications with an aggressive, oppositional political agenda in the private side." Post election 2005 became a turning point in the media of Ethiopia

once again. As reported by EU-EOM, the reports from the private media were largely in favour of the opposition. The Government media, however, allowed for the coverage of election campaign events for both Government and opposition campaigners with a negative tone towards the latter (Zewge, 2010).

2.6 Feature of State Owned and Private Media in Ethiopia

Assessing the relationship between media and politics in Ethiopia, many research evidences witnessed that, throughout the history, media in Ethiopia have not been free and fair specifically. In the three successive governments of Ethiopia, the media function has remained the same. For example, many complain the inclusion of a prohibition of journalists from disseminating the meager information they obtain in a manner beneficial to the public and other restrictions in the current Ethiopian Press Law. Most of people believe that it is a political instrument prepared by the government to guard its own benefit (Nigussie, 2014).

The post election 2004 saga lead to suspicion of private and state owned media. Things get worse and worse because the government officials see the private media as affiliates of opposition parties and closed their doors for information. According to Birhanu (2008),, “Government-owned or affiliated media get better access to information than the privately-owned media.” Private media journalists endeavour to access information by establishing linkage with insiders and Government officials to initiate critical reporting. However, given the daunting task to establish sources of this nature, their news reporting is often event-based whereby they go to events to which they are invited to cover. Some, however, boast of using these invitations only as a starter which they investigate more to come up with critical reporting (Zewge, 2010). This further investigation of the journalists is also considered as defamation by the government. Another reason that leads to polarization of state owned and private media is the suspicion of each other of journalists themselves. Zewge (2010) clearly stated the condition as;

The two journalists, one by a private media journalist and another by a Government journalist, generally represent the polarized views that journalists in the two categories (Government vs. private) entertain to cancel out each other. The private press journalists in Ethiopia are generally of the opinion that the Government press is a mere propaganda tool preoccupied with uncritically lobbying for the Government agendas by always adopting a positive frame for stories devoid of critical assertions. The Government media journalists, on their part, seem to perceive the private

media journalism as none other than one that is deliberately framed into destructive and negative reporting on even positive political developments in the country (p.81).

The focus of the private and the state owned media is different. State owned media reporters would usually serve their owner through positive reporting with little critical reflections on socio-political challenges. In the process, the journalist in the Government media tends to work within the limited space for creativity and ease to do news reporting and analysis. The private media generally work towards covering issues that could be appealing for the general readership due to the relative ease and freedom they are allowed by their employers and editors to sniff for newsworthy events and situations as well as to criticize political groupings, particularly the Government(Zewge, 2010). State owned media house editors mainly through their decisions towards addressing agendas set by the Government. Most of the centre of attention areas is directed to them from governmental officials. The role of the Government journalists in deciding media content and their freedom to choose news events for coverage are, therefore, very limited. To the contrary, the private media seem to emphasize a broad agenda of criticizing Government policies and initiatives (not necessarily through critical reporting). In relative terms, the private press journalists enjoyed a better say in choosing content through discussions during editorial meetings (Ibid).

Another feature of media in Ethiopia is lack of strong and all inclusive journalists' union. There is no strong journalists' union in the country. Ethiopian professional associations are very weak, and journalists tend to avoid the national umbrella associations such as the ENJU, in favour of the smaller, club-like special interest or "thematic" associations (Birhanu, 2014). Even those who joined the association witnessed as the current state of Ethiopian journalists' professional associations as a "North-South" battlefield, in which ideological opponents are at war with each other. The most damaging rift is the intense hostility and antagonism between journalists working for the government and the private mass media. This sentiment also aggregates the polarization of media too (Ibid, 2014). State owned media and private media are not interested in one another's institution as a source. Their interest areas of programs and reports are unlike too. The state owned media house reporters call private media journalists as "pathetic and obsessed with negative reporting" while the private media call the report of the state owned media as "mere propaganda with little back up with facts on the ground" (Zewge, 2010).

2.7 Theoretical Framework

2.7.1 Framing Theory

The media study is primarily concerned on the information content and flows. The way information transferred to their readers comes through various forms of communication, all of which are framed to meet the goals of the providing sources. The role of framing comes here in. It describes the way media portray the stories, issues, events or how to tell the stories for audiences'/readers' consumption. A number of influential scholars in the evolution of framing theory, including Entman (1993) define the concept; framing, as a process of selecting some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in order to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, and moral evaluation. Robert Entman, one of the founders and father of framing, defined the term as, the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation.

In his view, framing is a process which implies, first and foremost, selection and salience. The verb 'to frame' is thus defined as: to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicative text. Media framing accordingly points to the way in which issues are selected and accentuated in and by the media. Entman further elaborated the term as: Fully developed frames typically perform four functions: problem definition, causal analysis, moral judgment, and remedy promotion (Entman, 2004). Framing works to shape and alter audience members' interpretations and preferences through priming. That is, frames introduce or raise the salience or apparent importance of certain ideas, activating schemas that encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way (Entman, 2007).

Framing theory aims to identify schemes in which individuals perceive the world. Frames help us to interpret and reconstruct reality. To this end, the researcher selected this theory as a useful instrument to analyse the contents of the media and the type of framing they used in reporting the crisis in Oromia region. The use of framing theory also allows us to detect journalistic bias. A group of studies has identified various types of framing, the study adopted those six framing by (conflict, human interest, economic consequences, attribution of responsibility, diagnostic and

prognostic) that fits to the content dealing with the crisis in Oromia region in the two media. Hence, framing provides a better understanding of how the media influence public opinion through the way they present the story to their readers.

A. Conflict Framing

Conflict framing is used to reflect conflict and disagreement among individuals, groups or organizations as a means of capturing audience interest. In particular, it commonly focuses on the media's role in defining the dispute and altering the naming and blaming among constituents. In conflict situations, framing is evident in two processes: discourse use and development of the issues (Entman, 2007). In discourse use, framing is performed through the naming or labelling of events, the use of words that imply blame, and explanations about the nature of a situation. Parties construct them through a continual process of assessing and reassessing issues in light of attacking arguments, information exchange, and interpretations of events. In effect, stakeholders, and particularly the media, frame issues through naming what the conflict is about, exploring the causes for it, and providing explanations for ongoing events (Ibid). For example, the uprising, turmoil, unrest, demonstration, and so on caused by social anger, lack of good governance and other factors driving people to protest. The development of issues refers to the turning points within the conflict that shows dramatic movement in which the conflict shifts in a new direction. The reason behind the use of conflict frame might be because journalists think that conflict is one way to catch the attention of more readers. For example, political debate, election campaign news is framed mostly in terms of conflict. These shifts represent the actual as well as reporting changes due to the escalating situation (Ibid).

B. Human Interest Framing

This framing is known by bringing a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem (Entman, 2007). It refers to an effort to personalize the news, dramatize or emotionalize the news in order to capture and retain audience interest; employs adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy caring, sympathy, or compassion. Journalist and media practitioner eager to produce that captures audience interest. Framing a story in human interest terms is one way to achieve this. In such frame, news can be personalized, 'dramatize & emotionalize' in order to attract readers' attention. The frame is also

referred as “human impact” frame and is considered the second common frame in the news next to conflict frame (Ibid). Emphasizes how individuals and groups are affected by the event, issue, or problem; news items go into the private or personal lives of the actors. Moreover, they found most stories can easily capture the audience attention. The subject also seems to have captured the imagination of Hollywood screenwriters and television producers. In a crisis situation; the frame stimulates the psychological pulse of people, which ultimately leads them to a more negative attitude toward the crisis.

C. Economic Consequence Framing

This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, groups, organizations, or countries. News is often framed in terms of the actual or potential economic impact or consequences on the audience (Neuman, 1992). The economic impact of an event has an important news value, and it has been suggested that news producers often use the consequence frame to make an issue relevant to their audience. A problem or an issue that will have economic consequences of individual or group or institutions. When an issue or event has a wide impact on finance, it adds value to the news, and its economic consequences are often vital.

D. Attribution of Responsibility Framing

The study of attribute framing (sometimes called “second-level agenda setting”) demonstrates how news media emphasis on particular characteristics of an issue or a person can affect attitudes (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). When a desirable attribute of an object is stressed, it will lead people to think about it more positively than when an undesirable feature is emphasized. Either it presents an event or issue in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to the government or to an individual, group, party or institution; news items suggest the issue or problem requires urgent action. Since frames reflect a specific viewpoint or mindset, therefore, the purpose of conducting framing analysis is to determine how stories are framed involves looking at a story’s content and seeing how reporters connect its topic to the typical stories that already exist within people’s minds. This is in line with the argument of de Vreese which expresses frame setting is the interaction between media frames and individual’s prior knowledge and predispositions (de Vreese, 2005). Present an issue in a way as to attribute

responsibility to its cause or solution (i.e., who should be credited or blamed for events). It gives more emphasis on why events happen. Hallahan (1999) note that “attribution of an event to either personal or environmental factors determine the extent to which an individual is held responsible”. However, the attribution of responsibility does not always reflect the objective facts of a situation accurately and can be distorted based on how events are described (Ibid).

E. Diagnostic Framing

This frame serves the function of identifying a social problem and then linking that negative aspect of social life to a certain cause. When a story focuses too heavily upon diagnostic frames without at least dealing with a potential solution to this problem, will be most likely ineffective, as the problem will seem unsolved (Corrigall-brown & Snow, 2005). This frame emphasizes identifying a problem and attributing blame and causality. It engages identifying a problem and its causes. A major task of social movement is to draw attention to and stress the seriousness of some perceived problem. In such case, activists must make attributions as to the cause of the problem concerting efforts to persuade people that expected to be the victim of unjust administration. Sometimes different branches of the same movement agree on the problem, but not on its causes.

F. Prognostic Framing

It provides a solution to the problem by specifying what needs to be done. Overemphasizing on this frame would most likely fail to motivate individuals that are not directly related to the victimization that is being dealt with (Corrigall-brown & Snow, 2005). This frame can also be described as a solution frame, which specifies what needs to be done This type of framing highlights a proposed solution to the problem that has been diagnosed, including a strategy for solving the problem. Different branches of the same crisis may propose different solutions. Therefore, by identifying the above frames, the study intends to understand some of the underlying messages that the two media inadvertently sent to their readers (Ibid, 2005).

2.7.1.1 Functions of Frames

There are various scholars who have discussed the functions of frames. One of a frame's functions is for audiences; to make individuals act without putting much cognitive energy to the task. Particularly, a frame functions to affect the audience's perceptions of topics or issues by addressing certain values, considerations or facts with more obvious relevance to the topic than they might have under another frame. He also suggests that framing is based on "the assumption that subtle changes in the wording of the description of a situation might affect how audiences think about issues". Entman (1993) plainly point out that frames perform four functions for the media organization when reporting a certain issue or event. Entman (1993) defines these functions of frames as the following;

Frames define problems, determine what a causal agent is doing and the costs and benefits usually measured in terms of cultural values; diagnose causes identified the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments-evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies-offer and justify treatments for the problem and predict their likely effects (p. 55).

According to a framing theory as explained by Billings (2004), "the three functions of media frames are: selected (who/what to show), emphasis (how much to show), and exclusion (what not to show)". He states that the media by selecting issues, angles, words and expressions; by emphasizing on certain aspect of the issue and omitting information, they control the information the audience receives.

2.7.1.2 Framing Process

The other very important part of framing is framing process. These processes of framing consists frame building, frame setting, and individual and societal level consequences of framing. Frame building refers to the factors that influence media institutions or journalists in the process of creating news frames. These factors can be internal or external to journalism. Factors internal to journalism can be journalists' ideology and organizational culture (Vreese, 2005). Factors external to journalism, for example, the continuous interaction that journalists form with elites may influence journalists' judgment in constructing frames (Ibid). "Frame setting refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions". In short, it deals with the effects of media frames on the audience. The consequence of framing refers to the impact of media frames on the individual's attitudes towards a certain issue. Framing practices are observed by studying the social organization of the news and by analysing

the linguistic and rhetorical organization of journalistic texts. The underlying implication of the frame concept is that a story has more than one way of being told and that editorial decisions affect the way reality is transferred from its actual occurrence to its symbolic representation in the news.

Journalists collect a body of facts relating to an event or series of events, and they are then required to digest considerable factual information and incorporate it into fairly short news stories by choosing which elements to tell and deciding how to tell them. Reducing news occurrences into narrow frames allows journalists to deliver the news efficiently to their audience. The efficiency of framing has to do with not only brevity, but also with the use of words and concepts that are already familiar to the audience and established in use. Otherwise, journalists would have to introduce and explain each occurrence they report without assuming prior knowledge of their audience. As a result, Sterling (2009) notes, journalists are less likely to frame the news in a manner that challenges their audience's pre-existing beliefs. The news media frame news by stressing certain aspects of issues or people on which they report while de-emphasizing others.

2.7.1.3 Identifying frames

The same as the definitions of framing, various scholars propose and use distinctive approaches in conducting research on framing. There is no universal standard and steps to follow to identify frames in the news; however "there are two approaches: inductive and deductive in nature, widely pursued by scholars" (Vreese, 2005). An inductive approach of analyzing news texts helps create frames in due course of analyzing news texts. This analyzing process allows researchers to come up with their own inclusive frames of the data available at hand. But, the drawback of relying on inductive method is it requires a small amount of data and the frames created by this method are difficult to replicate (Ibid).

The other alternative is the deductive approach, which works with a priori defined frame that are formed and operationalized prior to the investigation (Vreese, 2005). Most scholars are in favour of applying the deductive approach than inductive because it can be replicated. Establishing a frame prior to an investigation may be ideal to reproduce the research under different variables.

Vreese (2005) argue that “there needs to be a set of criteria in establishing the frames because otherwise they may be based on mere hunches and imaginations which might turn up too broad and even overlap”. They came up with the following four criteria;

1. “A news frame must have identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics.
2. It should be commonly observed in journalistic practice.
3. It must be possible to distinguish the frame reliably from other frames.
4. A frame must have representational validity (i.e. be recognized by others)” (p.54)

Furthermore; Tankard (2001) cited in Vreese (2005) listed eleven places of frames. These are; Headlines, Subheads, Photos, Photo captions, Leads, Source selection, Quoteselection, Pull quotes, Logos, Statistics and charts, and Concluding statements and paragraphs.

2.7.1.4 Framing as Effect

The expectation for framing effects is premised on the notion that frames are likely to shape the way people think about issues, persons, and events. This effect can be driven at times by choices of particular words, which activate distinct and predictable ways of thinking. The workings of this process are best understood through psychological studies, dating to the 1970s, which are the foundation for the study of framing effects. Vreese (2005) notes, observed how seemingly minor changes in wording can bring impact on people’s support for policy choices. The receiving end of the framing effect is the individual exposed to the news media message. Media frames make certain schemas more accessible to the receiver, which means the way the story is told becomes the way in which the individual thinks about the issue discussed. The evidence for framing indicates that editorial decisions about which terms to use in a news story, which attributes of a person or an issue to highlight, and what social values to invoke can impact the audience’s opinions. These decisions are not necessarily deliberate, but they can be of great consequence.

2.7.2 Polarization

Polarization is defined accordingly by different scholars. Most of these definitions put the definition relating the term with political polarization while others define it in its media existence. Polarization encompasses both a process and an attitudinal state; it is “the strengthening of one’s original position or attitude” or rather “the circumstance in which members of a group hold strong, or even more extreme, and contrary attitudes about an issue”

(Beak, 2011). Polarization is conceptualized across a duality of individual and group opinion formation, where “an initial tendency of individual group members toward a given direction is enhanced following group discussion” (Ibid). In such a state, what counts is not the credential of an opinion rather the perception of individuals or groups to a given source. Along with group identification, perception of group opinion also plays an important role, where individual opinions may become polarized to match perceived group opinions.

Matthew (2013) states Partisan or polarized media are opinionated media: media that not only report the news, but offer a distinct point of view on it as well. These shows also engage in a biased story selection, reporting more heavily on topics that favour their sides and downplaying stories that harm their points of view. There is no room for argumentation in polarized media. Partisan news programs are not primarily about conveying facts; they are about helping people make sense of the world given particular predispositions (Ibid). In polarized media, ideas are not presented for argument, the argument is already done, they simply present the result at least where is found in the host. Polarization, in the world of politics, occurs when public opinion goes to two extremes, and there is no real middle ground or moderates. Polarization in the world of media occurs when contents of state owned and privately owned media house ideas go to two extremes. Media polarization means a more fragmented media with media outlets holding fewer beliefs in common. As the media views become more polarized as it becomes more difficult for people to get the accurate information.

2.7.3 Polarized Pluralist Model

As Hallin and Mancini’s work was focused on the media experiences of Europe and America, which one would possibly argue it to be quite minimalist to talk about the trend of media worldwide, Herman and Chomsky’s work too focuses specifically on one country, the U.S., to tell us how the media are manipulated by powerful agents of the society. As a result, in their book *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (1988), Herman and Chomsky presents that the U.S. media provide and propagandize on behalf of the powerful societal interests that control and finance them. This idea of theirs has been ignored a lot in the America and Europe both in media coverage and academic discussions due to its critical nature and premises (Ibid).

Based on their media experience in Europe and America, Hallin and Mancini have divided media systems into three: a) The Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model; b) The North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist Model; and c) The North Atlantic or Liberal Model. From the very fact that these models are made based on Western experiences, one can expect that there could be a difficulty of replicating them in our context. Hallin and Mancini, (2004) too, have acknowledged the problem beforehand:

...The models developed here will not apply without considerable adaptation to most other areas of the world, though we hope they will be useful to scholars working in other regions as points of reference against which other models can be constructed.

Therefore, considering the room left by the scholars to adapt it and since the construction of another model is not the intention of this research, among the three models proposed by Hallin and Mancini, the one that can be adapted to our context is the Polarized Pluralist Model (PPM). Hence, PPM explains this research in particular. Even though there are overlapping characteristics between the models, unlike the other models, PPM is selected as it reflects many facets of the current media situation in Ethiopia (Gudeta, 2008; Skjerdal and Halelujah, 2009). Therefore, Hallin and Mancini (2004) characterize the situation in PPM as low development of mass press, high political parallelism, low professionalization and high state intervention which in many instances resemble the situation in Ethiopia. When they elaborate their concept, they describe PPM as follows:

The Polarized Pluralist Model is characterized by a high level of politicization, with the state and political parties intervening strongly in many areas of social life, and with much of the population holding strong loyalties to widely varying political ideologies. Loyalty to these ideologies goes along with widespread scepticism about any conception of a “common good” that would transcend them, and a relative absence of commonly agreed rules and norms (P: 298).

Generally speaking, systems in PPM are characterized by unequal consumption of public information, high degree of external pluralism, close ties between journalists and political powers and active intervention of the state in the media sector.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the methods of data gathering, sampling techniques and procedures that were employed to achieve the purpose of the study were discussed. The research methodology is the general term that stands for how and by what means certain study should be informed. It is where the researcher decides research design, methods, tools and the process of data gathering, organizing and analysis, data sources and ethical consideration are the core points discussed in this section.

3.1. Research Design

According to Grix (2004), Research design refers to the overall strategy chosen to integrate the different components of a study in a coherent and logical way, thereby ensuring that the work effectively addresses the research problem. It constitutes the blue print for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. In this study, mixed research method was employed as the main research method. The study followed mixed method (quantitative and qualitative approach) and it is about taking a close, often critical, look at the news with different aspects. Mixed research method helps to reduce the inherent weaknesses of individual methods, qualitative and quantitative, by compensating them with the strength of the other. The quantitative approach was used to quantify the frequency of coverage, tone, themes, the type of frames and sources of information used by the media, whereas the qualitative approach was used to interpret themes, words and expressions of the texts written on the issues related to the current crisis of Oromia region.

Content analysis describes a family of analytic approaches ranging from impressionistic, intuitive, interpretive analyses to systematic, strict textual analyses. The specific type of content analysis approach chosen by a researcher varies with the theoretical and substantive interests of the researcher and the problem being studied. It goes beyond merely counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns that may be manifested or latent in a particular text. The researcher get freedom to understand what is on the ground in a subjective but scientific manner.

As studying media polarization needs critical content in-depth understanding and analysis, the researcher focused on the wordings, the tone, the figures and the historical background of the news stories of the two media houses. Qualitative content analysis is vital because the degree of polarization was measured based on researcher's readings and interpretation of the contents. Besides, the interpretation is going to be used to measure the degree of framing of each media house. Meanwhile, quantitative content analysis was also used to see the repetition of news stories under categories and to identify the dominant themes numerically.

3.1.1 Time Frame

This study concentrates on analyzing the news reports of the two media houses on the turmoil from September 2016 to October 2017. This time is selected because it was the time that the turmoil reached its peak.

3.2 Method of Data Collection

As a research on polarization, the primary input for the research is the news stories broadcasted by the two media houses. Therefore, the news stories that focus on the turmoil were collected from the news archives of the two media houses. To be specific, a total of 66 and 101 news stories were collected from EBC and OMN respectively. The news stories on the political turmoil were selected in the given time frame.

Apart from that, it was found crucial to add the outlook of media practitioners, mandated broadcasting supervisory bodies and experts in the area of media and communication. Thus, an extensive in depth interview was carried out to journalists of the two media houses, authorized

body from the Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority, media research experts, and far beyond that, department directors from Government Communication Affairs Office(GCAO).

3.3 Samples and Sampling Techniques

Purposive sampling (also known as judgment, selective or subjective sampling) is a sampling technique in which researcher relies on his or her own judgment and decision to participate in the study. Therefore, purposive sampling was used News, picture, sources and headline from the two media houses. The two media houses have their own web news archives which also make them preferable so as to access their reports. The Reports of the two media houses on the current Ethiopian turmoil from September 2016 to October 2017 are chosen as this period was the time when the turmoil was too acute. The contents divided into three portions. The first focused on the reports from July when the turmoil was at its beginning. The second portion focused on the reports August and September when the turmoil was at its peak. The last portion focused on the reports in October which takes place after the declaration of state of emergency.

The study used non-probability or non-random sampling in which the subject are selected based on appearance or convenience, or because they seem to meet certain requirements. As a result, the interviews were conducted with eight media managers and editors, scholars and government representative. The selection was delivered purposively with those selected interviewees. It is important to note that the media produces massive volumes of text, sounds and images. However, for conceptual and more specifically for practical reasons, therefore, content analysis must start with selecting and narrowing down to the type of coverage to be analyzed.

3.3 Method of Data analysis

3.3.1 Content Analysis

In this research, as stated in the design section, the contents of news stories from the two media houses were analyzed. The content analysis aspect focuses on the news text concept, written script, discussed the theme and structure. In the study, the researcher used headlines, source picture and figures as framing units and polarization indicators to be analyzed. According to Zhang & Wildemuth (2016), headlines are the most important part of the news. Headlines carry the most significant message about the news and they enjoy a privileged position which is explicitly reflected by distinct layout and typography. Headlines also present what news agencies

regard as the most crucial information readers ought to know. Source selection is another way of News houses to convey their polarized views to audiences too. Besides, the details of the news will also be thoroughly be used in the analysis. The headlines, what the stories were about, then the numerical expressions and other similar entities were analyzed.

The study attempts to examine how differently the broadcast media framed issues by comparing different headlines of the news on the same issue. Once the data were gathered and classified into different categories based on their themes, types and other important concepts of framing, the researcher translated from Amharic and Afan Oromo into English. Finally, the findings were discussed with respective to the categories to respond the research questions easily. To identify news frame using content analysis of qualitative research, Saldana (1988) suggests the following:

Phase 1: General multiple reading of the news while taking descriptive notes about the content

Phase 2: A second reading to identify certain recurring themes, frames, values and topic categories and

Phase 3: In depth interpretation of the news.

Codes

Coding is using a word or short phrase that symbolizes assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing and or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data (Saldana, 1988). To analyze the contents of the news, coding sheet was developed by the researcher from the review of literature. This helped to look into the frequency of coverage, tone, themes, sources of information, and frames of news used. This study came up with a researcher generated construct that symbolizes or translates data and attributes meaning to individuals for the purpose of pattern detection, categorization, among other analytical processes. The coding units to be used are theme, origin of news, numerical expressions and dominant themes. As for the theme, the researcher systematically categorized the news stories under the following sub themes.

Blaming Oppositions: These are the news stories that were blaming the opposition for the turmoil, loss of life and property and overall negative consequences of the occasion. The news stories under this category are selected based on the contents of the headlines, the details and even some important identified words used in them.

Blaming the Government: To the contrary, to the above category, these are the news stories that were blaming the government for the turmoil, loss of life and property and overall negative consequences of the occasion. The news stories under this category are selected based on the contents of the headlines, the details and even some important identified words used in them.

Backing Oppositions: These were the news stories that supported the oppositions in their actions during the turmoil. The headlines, sub headlines, detail stories and some important vocabulary words used in news stories are used to categorize news stories under this group.

Backing the Government: these were the news stories that supported the government in its actions, including the declaration of the state of emergency during the turmoil. The headlines, sub headlines, detail stories and some important vocabulary words used in news stories are used to categorize news stories under this group.

The Provocation for Mass Rally: these were the news stories that provoke the demonstrators and oppositions for further and united mass rally and demonstration during the turmoil. The headlines, sub headlines, detail stories and some important vocabulary words used in news stories are used to categorize news stories under this group.

Stability Reports: these were the reports that tell the inhabitants that things were under control and the cities and the country is stable so that people can perform their usual chores. The headlines, sub headlines, detail stories and some important vocabulary words used in news stories are used to categorize news stories under this group.

Blaming the Party: these are reports that refused to accept the government as a government and called it TPLF, one of the four coalition parties formed the ruling party EPRDF. The headlines, sub headlines, detail stories and some important vocabulary words used in news stories are used to categorize news stories under this group.

Ethnic Conflict News: these were the news stories that provoke the demonstrators and oppositions for creating ethnic conflict during the turmoil. The headlines, sub headlines, detail stories and some important vocabulary words used in news stories are used to undermine ones ethnic from other like as the minority or the majority ethnic.

Rumours/ unconfirmed news: these are the news stories that didn't show specified authorized source in the reports. The sources of the news stories mentioned are used to group the news stories under this category.

The News Source: these were the news stories under this category are selected based on the sources of the news. Those news produced by the their own media organization or from others.

3.4.2. In depth interview analysis

In-depth interview is a qualitative research tool used in providing ample opportunities to grasp the research elements' internal feelings, perspectives, interpretations, knowledge, opinions and life experiences. Patton, (2002) puts how useful the tool could be both to the researcher and the researcher alike:

In-depth interviews are one of the most common qualitative methods. One reason for their popularity is that they are very effective in giving a human face to research problems. In addition, conducting and participating in interviews can be a rewarding experience for participants and interviewers alike. For participants in-depth interviews offer the opportunity to express themselves in a way ordinary life rarely affords them. Interviewers engaged in in-depth interviews are offered the privilege of having people who are virtually strangers entrust them with a glimpse into their personal lives (p.29).

For this research, in depth interview was also used to support the finding of content analysis. It has helped the researcher to get, the deeper understanding of the informant's. Moreover, it is a preferable method to strengthen the finding obtained through textual analysis. In depth interview can provide detailed background about the reasons respondents give specific answers. It also assists to get more accurate responses on sensitive issues. In general, an intensive or in-depth interview has unique characteristics because of the following reasons:

1. It generally uses smaller samples.
2. It elaborates data concerning respondents' opinions, values, motivations, recollections of experiences, and feelings are obtained.
3. The indepth interview allows the researcher for lengthy observation of respondents through in-depth discussion.
4. They can be customized to individual respondents. It also allows interviewers (the researcher) to form follow up questions based on each respondent's answer (Ibid).

In depth interview can provide detailed background about the reasons respondents give the specific answer. It also assists to get more accurate responses on sensitive issues. Though in depth interview is time-consuming it is resource intensive, flexible, dynamic, non directive, unstructured, non-standardized and open-ended. So it's because of these and other unique features of in-depth interview, the researcher applied this tool of data collection method. The Interviews were conducted purposively with eight media managers and editors, scholars who

have studied the sector and government representative. Furthermore, they have important positions that made them able to provide the necessary information about the issue.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter the presentation and analysis of the data obtained from the two media outlets and response obtained through in-depth interview have been presented. The data analysis is made on the basis of different sub categories that were drawn from the data. Considering the research questions of the study, the following subcategories were driven and the ground on which data presentation, analysis and discussion are made. The aim of this study is to examine the existence of polarization focusing on the reports of the aforementioned media houses on the Current Political crises in Oromia region in Ethiopia.

4.1. Data presentation

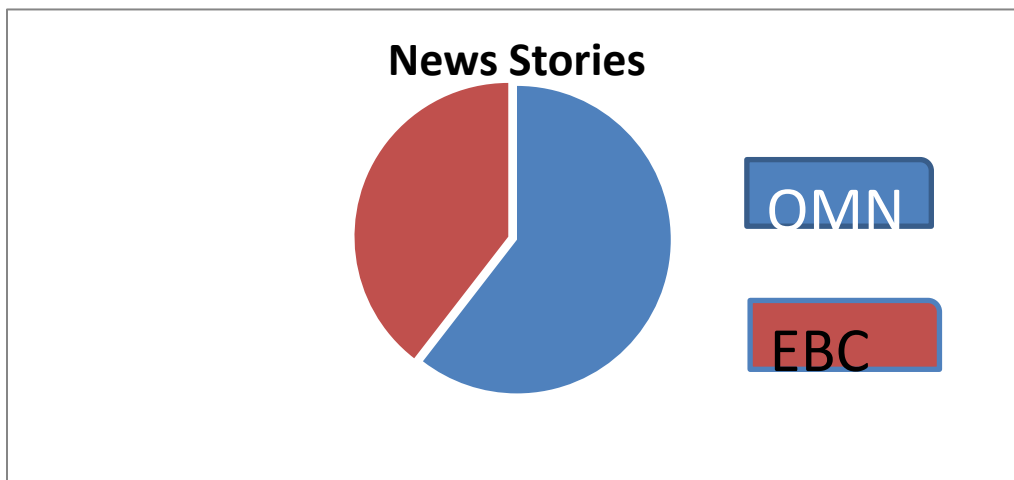
Taking the nature of the research, the reviewed literatures and collected data, this research used content analysis method. The coding of the categories was based on the contents of the raw data. As stated in the coding section, the news stories were categorized and coded based on the content they carried after collected. Therefore, in this section, the data collected have been presented.

Table 1: News stories broadcasted by OMN and EBC on the political crisis in Oromia region

No.	TV broadcasters	Number of news stories	Percentage
1	EBC	66	39.52
2	OMN	101	60.48
	Total	167	100

As mentioned, a total of 167 news stories were collected from the two media houses, of which 101 were from OMN and 66 from EBC. These stories are all about the current political crisis of Oromia region. Although the issue is specified, reports on the current political turmoil, the nature of the stories can be categorized in different groups. Thus, the researcher tried to present the stories in categories under each media house.

Figure 1. News Stories broadcasted by EBC and OMN on the current political crisis in Oromia region



4.1.1 Theme based analysis of EBC news stories

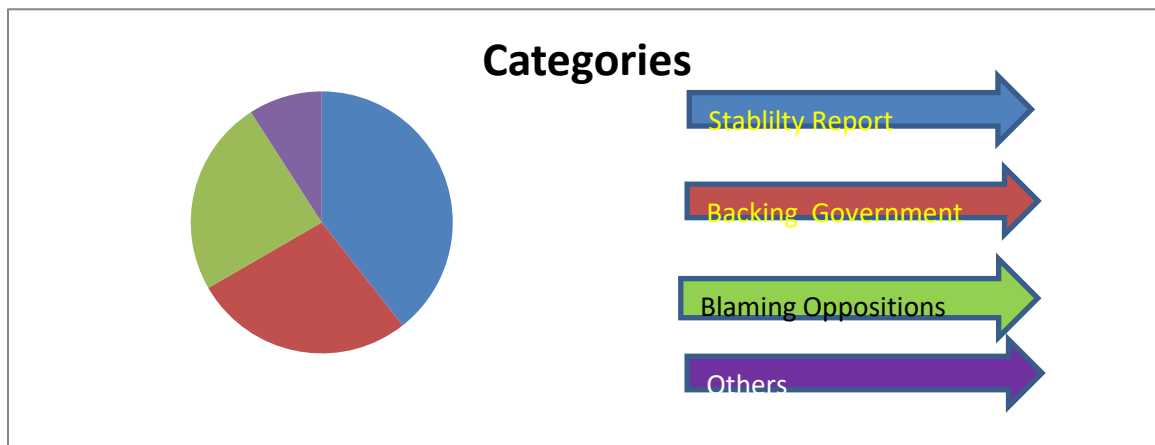
A total of 66 news stories about the current turmoil was found from EBC news archive. As a state owned media supporting the government, it seems that the station skipped some of the serious events during the turmoil. The news stories of EBC are categorized as follows:

Table 2: EBC news in categories

No.	Themes	Frequency	Percent
1	Backing the government	18	27.27
2	Stability report	26	39.39
3	Blaming oppositions	16	24.24
4	Others	6	9.09
	Total	66	100

As stated in the coding, the systematic categorization of the news stories into different groups was done based on the content or the message of the news stories. The headlines, sub headlines, the total message of the news story and the repetition of some deliberately used news stories were used to group the news stories in different groups.

Figure 2. Categories of news stories by EBC



4.1.1.1 Reports that back the government

Accordingly, EBC produced and disseminated numerous reports that backed the actions taken by the government. A total of 18 reports directly backed the government while none of their reports

criticized the actions of the government. The way they show support varies, but all their reports were in support of the government.

4.1.1.2 Reports blaming oppositions

The other news stories focused on blaming opposition parties. The government grouped opposition parties as certified opposition parties and terrorists. The reports under this category blamed both certified and terrorist labelled parties for the turmoil, loss of life and properties. A total of 16 news reports were found blaming the opposition parties while there was no report that blamed the government.

4.1.1.3 Reports that focus on stability

The other category of the reports of EBC during the turmoil focused on reporting on maintenance of stability. These reports ranged from trying to show the stabilized day to day life of residents in some instability prone town and areas to hailing the commitment of the security forces to maintain the instability. 26 reports focused on stability while no report is made on aggravation of instability during such cases.

4.1.1.4 Skipping occasions

The other way EBC played its polarization role is by skipping some of the chronic occasions during the turmoil. EBC didn't report a single bite of a public rally in the four month period. The other issue that it reported the restoration of peace in a particular city when they hadn't reported the instability in that city. The numerical difference is also tangible evidence. While 101 reports on the political turmoil of Oromia region could be found from OMN, only 66 reports could be found from EBC archive. Besides, a total of 26 reports was produced on the restoration of peace and stability while no report was found on different city's public rally and demonstration.

4.1.2 Theme based analysis of OMN news stories

OMN is a privately owned media, which focuses on hard issues like politics, economy, infrastructure and social issues. Unlike other private TV station that focus on entertainment and reality shows, OMN focuses on serious political and social issues. The channel covered the entire political crisis of Oromia region. These news stories are categorized as follows.

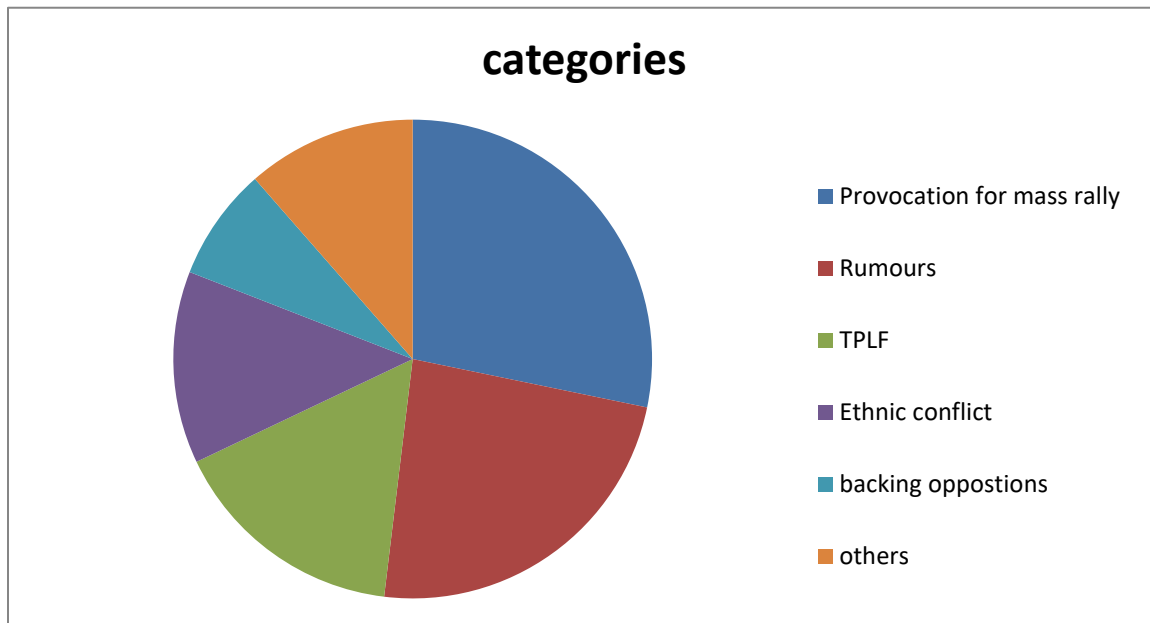
Table 3: News reports by OMN on the current turmoil of Oromia region

No.	Themes	Frequency	Percentage
1	Rumors*	31	23.66
2	Provocation for mass rally	37	28.24
3	Refusing to accept the government as a government	21	16.03
4	Backing oppositions	10	7.63
5	Ethnic conflict	17	12.98
6	Others	15	11.45
	Total	131	100%

Note The number rose to 131 because some of the news have two or more themes and categorized into two or more groups.

*‘Rumours’ are put under the theme category because the aim of the reports under this category is creating anxiety by spreading rumours as already confirmed actions though there was no such action on the ground.

Figure 3: Categories of news stories by OMN



As stated on the figure, a total of 101 news

stories that focus on the turmoil have been found from OMN archive. Here also, as stated in the coding, the systematic categorization of the news stories into different groups was done based on the content or the message of the news stories.

4.1.2.1 Rumours/ unconfirmed news

OMN, as stated in the previous section, is a private TV broadcaster that broadcast programs from studios in Amsterdam, London and New York. Although the focus of their program is from and to Ethiopia, they have no regular reporters from Ethiopia. As a result, their report is sourced from Facebook pages, individuals witnessing what happened from the moment, private newspapers in Ethiopia or what they always call “their sources”. In most of their reports, they mention their sources, “our sources” said. But, there is no exact name for these “sources”. Thus, these kinds of news stories are simply unconfirmed news.

This portion is put under the theme category because the news stories in this category focus on spreading rumour and anxiety in the population as well as the government without the existence of those broadcasted stories. Of the 101 news stories, only 26 had proper sources. These 26 stories were taken from trusted newspapers in Ethiopia while the rest were taken directly from the Diaspora community. The rest of the news stories were not taken from a trusted source. They were simply reported, according to sources.

4.1.2.2 Provocation for mass rally

A total of 37 news stories that provokes the mass to join those demonstrators were reported. These news stories range from directly motivating citizens to take part in demonstrations and reporting schedule demonstrations in different cities. Although holding demonstrations were banned by the government by the time, OMN reported four news stories on programming demonstrations. The rest 33 news stories provoke people for more mass rally and demonstration.

4.1.2.3 Backing Oppositions

A total of 10 news stories were reported on OMN that backs oppositions. These news stories back no specific opposition party, but any opposition officially accredited as an opposition party including those grouped as a terrorist group by the government. While backing the oppositions with 10 news, OMN did not produce a single report that backs the action of the government. The news stories under these categories ranged from those heralding the formation of the coalition for the protest to those intensifying the messages of oppositions for a united strike and rally.

4.1.2.4 Refusing to accept the incumbent government as a government/ Calling the government /TPLF/

The other news stories during the political turmoil were characterized by refusing to accept the legitimacy of the government. These news stories vary in forms. The first group of news stories named government as TPLF, one of the four parties that form the ruling party EPRDF. EPRDF is the ruling party and is a combination of four political parties. Of these, member parties, TPLF, according to OMN, dominate the power, although it represents minority ethnic group compared to the rest three member parties. So, OMN didn't want to consider all the actions as the actions of the government, instead actions of the 'power dominant' party TPLF. 21 news stories used the word TPLF although the fact was about the government of Ethiopia as a whole. The other forms of news stories under this category call the government regime. The stories report the actions taken by the government military forces as "regime forces". In general, all the news stories produced by OMN didn't mention the name "the government of Ethiopia".

4.1.2.5 Ethnic conflict report

A total of 17 news stories were reported on OMN that fit into an ethnic conflict report. Those news stories produced by OMN could create illusion problems between the different ethnic groups, which is sensational for our society. While creating 17 ethnic conflict report news, OMN has not produced a single report that tolerance and peace action of the government. The news stories under these categories intensifying the messages of oppositions for a strike and conflict between different ethnic.

4.1.2.6 Blaming the government

The news stories produce by OMN all share one characteristic in common, they all conclude by blaming the government for the whole turmoil. All the reports point their finger on the government for the whole loss and mess up.

4.1.3 Comparative presentation of the News stories

Table 4: Comparative presentation of the News stories

News stories categories	OMN		EBC	
	Features	Number of news stories	Features	Number of news stories
Numerical expression	Figure exaggeration	-	Figure reduction	-
Backing	Backing oppositions	10	Backing the government	18
Credits and Blaming	Refusal to accept the government	28	Blaming oppositions	16
Persuasion	Provocation for mass rally	32	Focusing on reversal of stability	18
Sources	Rumours and own	101	Own reporter and ENA	66
Focus	Provoking		Skipping instability	-

		-	reports	
--	--	---	---------	--

The previous section presents the collected data of the two media houses separately. Here, as the research tries to show the polarization of the media houses in a comparative way, the reports of the media houses displayed side by side for ease of understanding. As shown in the table, the two media houses took extreme over similar matters. While EBC attempted to reduce figures of protesters, the victims, OMN exaggerated it. While EBC attempted to back the government, OMN backed the opposition. EBC blamed the opposition where as OMN blamed the government for all the problems. These indicate the existence of some level of polarization.

4.1.4. The Sources used by the two stations for News

Both the media houses stuck to own reporters

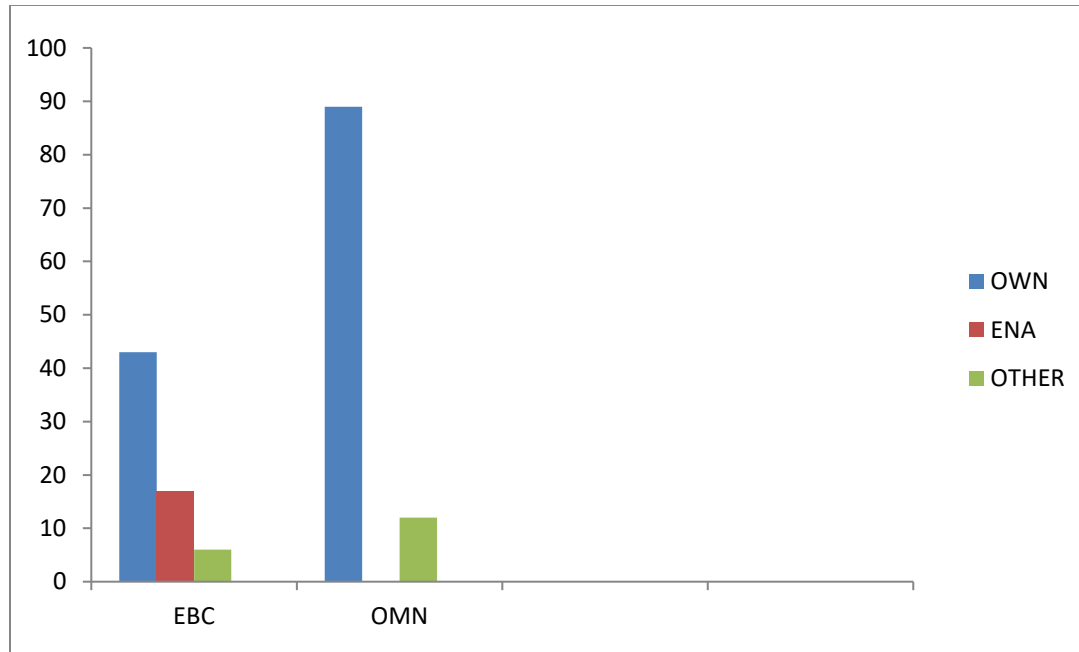
As shown below the table, Most of the news stories 132(79.04%) of both TV stations were produced by own reporters. 43 of the news stories (65.15%) among the total 66 of EBC were produced by own reporters. 17 news stories (10.18%) of the 66 news stories of EBC were taken from the Ethiopian News Agency (ENA). Although ENA news stories are available for any media house, almost all the media houses which use news stories from ENA. As we can see from the findings, the privately owned media house OMN hasn't used any news story from ENA about the turmoil. Only 6 (9.09%) of the news stories of EBC were taken from different news agencies.

Table 5: sources of news stories about the turmoil of Oromia region

Origin of News story	Frequency and percentage	EBC	OMN
News Story by own reporter	Frequency	43	89
	Percentage	65.15%	88.12%
News Story from ENA*	Frequency	17	0
	Percentage	25.75%	-
News Story from other news agencies	Frequency	6	12
	Percentage	9.09%	11.88%
Total	Frequency	66	101
	Percentage	100%	100%

* ENA is a local state owned news agency which supply news and documentaries for media houses. Although ENA news stories are available for any media house, almost all the media houses which use news stories from ENA are state owned media houses.

Figure 4: Sources used by two stations for news



As we can see from the graph, unsurprisingly, both the media houses of the focuses of this research have never taken news stories of each other as a source. It is one fact which shows how the two media houses build boundary on each other. 89 (88.12%) news stories of OMN were produced by their own reporters. Only 12 (11.88%) of the news stories of OMN were taken from different news agencies. From this, we can see how the two media houses are obsessed with producing their own news stories incorporating their polarized views.

4.1.5 Numerical Expressions of the Two Media House

EBC and OMN showed a different approach in reporting casualties in number. EBC tried to either reduce or skip numerical expressions while the OMN exaggerated the numbers of such casualties. As stated, the aim of this research is not to find out the exact number of casualties, it is simply to show how far these media houses go to persuade and polarize audiences' whatever the fact is. We can see how much the two media houses showed distance in reporting the number of casualties. Apart from the huge numerical gap, the way they frame how such casualties

happen shows their polarized view. In the first causality about Irrecha stampede, EBC reported the situation with the headline **“Hospital confirms stampede caused Irreecha deaths”**. The main focus of the report was persuading audiences that the death is caused by stampede not by gunshot out of security forces. OMN by its turn tried to show the government is responsible for the death. They reported the incident with the headline **“Groups say only TPLF responsible for Ireecha massacre, OFC puts death toll at over 600”**

Besides, EBC tried to either avoid numerical reports or reduce the numbers of casualties in a meaningful way while OMN exaggerate the number of victims in causalities. Such reduction exaggeration game was also observed in unanimous numerical expressions in such actions like number of demonstrators. EBC was reporting demonstrators with expressions such as ‘few violent forces’, ‘hundreds of dwellers’ while OMN was using expressions like ‘thousands of peaceful demonstrators’, ‘mass massacre, and so on.

Table 6: Death casualty reports of the two media houses

No.	Casualty	The date it was reported	No. reported by EBC	No. as reported by OMN
1	Irrecha stampede death	Oct.3, 2016	55	Over 600
2	Ambo demonstrators death	July 13, 2016	No number	10
3	Oromia cities demonstrators death	August 10, 2016	Not reported	130 in five days

As we can see from the table, another way that EBC was showing support for the government was through either avoiding exact numerical report or minimizing the numerical expressions of casualties during the turmoil. However, it was also difficult to find the exact number of

casualties. The casualties and figures were highly minimized when EBC reported compared to OMN.compared to the actual numbers. The other way used here was missing numerical figures in reports. Only 3 reports of EBC contain numerical figures related to death in Ambo demonstrators, death of Irrecha celebration caused by the stampede and Oromia cities demonstrations. The exact number reported by the two media houses on causalities is given in table 6.

To the contrary, OMN focuses on casualties and presented the figures exaggerating them. Such occasions were observed in reporting the number of demonstrators, death tolls, and material distractions. 12 news stories have been identified with exaggerated numbers while many other reports contain unspecified but exaggerated amounts like, hundreds of thousands, hundreds, thousands and so on. In general, the casualties reported by both media were highly to different sides, while the former tried to minimize the casualties, the letter exaggerated it. Whatever the exact number was, the numerical difference showed the degree of polarization.

4.1.6 Dominant Themes used

EBC and OMN covered the turmoil in Oromia region in a different perspective. Similar to the way they framed the issue was different, the frequency of the category of reports was also different.

EBC pay attention to stability reports.

A report which is stability report took the lion's share by counting for 26 news stories (39.39%). EBC was producing news stories how turmoil driven areas came to stability and peace during the turmoil. The second dominant theme was back the government counting for 18 news (27.27%) of the total. EBC was busy supporting the actions of the government during the turmoil producing 18 news stories. Furthermore, 'blaming oppositions' accounts for 16 (24.24), while others accounted for 6 (9.09%) of the reports. The news categories grouped under 'others' are news stories about the turmoil, but couldn't be clearly kept under the above categories for lacking clear unique characteristics.

OMN focused on provocation for a mass rally.

The OMN dominant theme was the provocation news stories for mass rallies and strike counting 37 (28.24%). So, OMN was showing its partnership to oppositions by spreading mass rally and strike campaign through its news stories. OMN was reporting about the turmoil regardless of the

trustworthiness of the source of information. What makes the problem worse is the fact that OMN has no legal license to broadcast from Ethiopia. As a result, it was reported based on rumours. A total of 31 (23.66%) of the news stories were rumours which have no accurate sources. The sources of these news stories were mentioned as ‘Witnesses told OMN, sources who spoke OMN, a source told OMN on the phone, representatives of the ...told OMN that, according to reliable intelligence sources and soon’. Refusing to accept the government as a government shares 16.03% with 21 news while backing oppositions, ethnic conflict and ‘others’ come to count the least with 10 (7.63%), 17 (12.98) and 15(11.45%) news stories respectively.

4.2. Data Analysis/ Discussion

This sub chapter shows the analytical results found in the research. As mentioned, the researcher employed qualitative and quantitative content analysis method to gather the information. The presentation is delivered by the media houses separately and in a comparative way at the end for ease of understanding. In making the analysis, the researcher used headlines, sub headlines, news origins, figures or any information from the news stories.

4.2.1 Themes used by EBC

EBC, the state owned TV broadcaster, produced a total of 66 news stories about the turmoil. Taking its strength, coverage, and accessibility, into consideration, one may expect EBC to produce more news stories than OMN. However, it seems that stories were ignored during the turmoil. In this study, the news reports were categorized into five groups based on the information they carry.

4.2.1.1 Reports that back the government

EBC produced and disseminated numerous reports that backed the actions taken by the government. The way they show support varies, but all their reports were in support of the government.

EBC broadcasted the news: **The Government Vow to Exercise the Responsibility of Maintaining Peace (EBC News August 8, 2016)**. The detail of the news which read: **... the problem is aggravated by diaspora who live abroad safe and those who handover fires to the youth in Ethiopia. The government will play its role in maintaining the rule of law of any action.**

It is obvious that the government need to take action to maintain peace and responsibility. However, the news was polarized in two ways. The first thing, while demonstrators were accusing the government for using heavy arms on peace and non armed demonstrators which EBC didn't say nothing about it. Secondly, the news accused the Diaspora community for the ongoing turmoil.

Another news story of stated: **The government urged nations and nationalities should protect the federal system and its fruits (EBC News August 14/2016)**

This news story attempted to state the positive gains in the country and the hardship experienced before the exercise of federalism (before EPRDF). The hidden aim of the demonstrators was stated as: **the party is building a country with a strong federal democratic system and the clear and hidden agenda of the current forces is to create a mess so that people will question the system and demand change.** The story portrayed the demonstrators as the old system activists and urged the public to stand by the government's side,....**thus knowing their hidden agenda peoples, nations and nationalities of Ethiopia should stand by the side of the government fighting these violent forces.**

Irreecha is a yearly Oromo ethnic group cultural festival that millions of Oromos come together to celebrate. It has no connection with politics; it is simply traditional and cultural festival. A tense situation happened between the crowd and security forces which finally caused for the stampede and the death of hundreds of crowds. One of the news of EBC was read as: **Hospital confirms stampede caused Irreecha deaths (EBC News October 3, 2016).** EBC attributed the death of those civilian to stampede. The stories stated that the government forces were not those who committed the killing but the stampede. The detail sentence was read: **...There were no bullet wounds or gun related deaths....**And of course international media broadcasters like BBC reported that the stampede occurred when the security forces started firing and a helicopter approached to the crowd, although officials say later that the helicopter was distributing a congratulation card for the crowd.The BBC reported the situation saying: **Dozens of people have been killed at a religious festival in Ethiopia's Oromia region after security forces confronted anti-government protesters. Witnesses said some people were killed in a stampede after tear gas and shots were fired. (BBC news, 2 October 2016)**

Following the aggravation of instability, the government declared a state of emergency. Many were warning about its effect on tourism and consequences such as unlawfulness, mass arrest and the trustworthiness of the government in the eyes of the international arena. EBC continued presenting news stories like: **The declaration aims at securing peace and security of the public, the government (EBC News October 11 2016)**

Another response for those who question the role of Ethiopia in the region was broadcasted by EBC as: **Ethiopia won't shrink from regional responsibility because of State of Emergency: GCAO (EBC News October 13,2016)**

The detail of this news reads; ...**We will never shrink from our regional responsibility simply because we have declared a state of emergency. What we are doing right now is coordinating our security.**

Unlike the news stories by OMN, EBC focused on supporting the actions that were taken by the government. Their reports showed strong support for the government and harsh criticism on oppositions and demonstrators. As we can see from the above example headlines of news stories, the contents support government actions. They were presenting government information without balancing with what the public had to say. Although UN and other organizations were accusing the government for using excessive forces on demonstrators, EBC mentioned nothing about that. No report was broadcasted that criticize the use of excessive force by the government and for the maladministration and violent treatment of demonstrators.

Support for the government was also visible in the selection of interviewees for news. EBC included comments only for those who support the actions of the government. Following the declaration of state of emergency, EBC produced news stories that attempted to persuade the public to support the declaration. However, thousands of people were put under custody, which EBC didn't say anything about this.

4.2.1.2 Reports blaming oppositions

One way a polarized media function is through reports that blame the opposite for all ills. Instead of presenting balanced stories and facts, such media practice pays attention to digging out the faults of the party that it oppose. The truth is not a different story for EBC too. The government

grouped opposition parties as certified opposition parties and terrorists. Now let's see the fact with some news stories EBC produced about the turmoil.

EBC broadcasted this news on July 17, 2016: **The region, warn forces to stop their action to aggravate the instability in Oromia region (EBC News July 17, 2016)**. In the report, EBC called for an immediate measure of those 'forces'. However, the news failed to balance the story by incorporating the accused 'forces'. Oromia federalist congress was one of the officially registered opposition party. It was also blamed for the loss of life and property in Oromia region. **OFC Party should take the responsibility for loss of life and property in Oromia region. (EBC News August 10/ 2016)**

The detail of the story reads: **OFC party got permission for the demonstration and should have led it peacefully to the final. However, they encountered a conflict between security forces and demonstrators which caused loss of life and property which OFC party will take the responsibility.** However, the news failed to report on the reaction of the party. The other news of the same category was about Irreecha festival which was headlined as:

Irrecha celebration disrupted due to disturbance by the forces of violence (EBC News October 2, 2016)

The festival was disrupted, international news broadcasters like BBC, broadcasted, when the crowd started expressions of opposition with chants such as 'down, down woyane', 'we need freedom' 'free political prisoners and so on. As the festival was a public festival there was no reason to blame any 'opposition force'. The detail of the news reads; **the celebration did not end as planned due to a pre planned act of violence by those forces, while the Abba Gadaas were leading the grand ceremony peacefully.**

A similar news story was also presented under the headline: **State of Oromiya vows to take legal measure on violent forces damaging public property (EBC News October 5, 2016)**

As we could see from the above news stories, EBC was blaming the oppositions as violent forces causing the turmoil. It produces 16 news stories while no news story was produced that blamed the government.

4.2.1.3 Reports that focus on stability

The other category of the reports of EBC during the turmoil focused on reporting on reverse of stability. These reports ranged from trying to show the stabilized day to day life of dwellers in some instability prone cities and areas to hailing the commitment of the security forces to reverse the instability. 26 reports focused on maintenance of stability while no report was on escalation of the problems. Some of the news stories under this category were:

One of the News head reads: **Government controls Oromia unrest (EBC News July 15, 2016)**. However, the instability in reality escalated in the mentioned place. EBC reported how the instability was controlled, but did not report on the instability prior to this news.

The other news story of a similar fashion was: **The government promised to solve the instability in few areas in a collaborative way (EBC News August21/ 2016)**

This news focused on the effort of the government to solve administrative problems that caused public anger. However, no single line story presented the public encounter with security forces on the street.

EBC broadcasted: **EPRDF passes resolutions to uphold rights,the benefits of the people (EBC News August 23, 2016)**. The news story was full of appreciation of the commitment of the party to uphold the rights and benefits of the people. It did not include points on the party's negligence of maladministration and corrupted officials, which were highly opposed by the demonstrators.

EBC broadcasted: Ethiopia appoints new cabinet members, ministers (EBC News, October 30,2016). This news gives emphasis the government took measures to even changing and reshuffling the cabinet which resulted in the removal of 75% of the ministries to reverse peace and stability in order to answer questions of demonstrators.

News head reads: **The instability in Oromia is reversed to peace. (EBC News September 30, 2016)**.

This news was also broadcasted by the time when major cities urged demonstrators to stay at home and when there were no public service were available. EBC focused on reporting how the government was effective in reversing the peace and stability of cities. However, at that time,

there was no stable condition in those mentioned cities. Similarly, the stories tried to laud the effectiveness of the measures taken by the government. To the contrary, there were no news stories produced on the damages the government forces created in an attempt to reverse the stability.

4.2.1.4 Skipping occasions

The other way EBC played its polarization role was by skipping some of the chronic occasions during the turmoil. EBC didn't report on a single public rally in the four month period. Instead, it reported the restoration of peace in a particular city when they hadn't reported the instability in that city. EBC tried to either avoid numerical reports or reduce the numbers of casualties. The numerical difference is also tangible evidence. While 101 reports on the political turmoil could be found from OMN, only 66 reports could be found from EBC archive.

4.2.2. Themes used by OMN

OMN, the private media broadcaster produced and disseminated 101 news stories about the turmoil in Oromia region. The news stories were categorized into six groups based on their nature of information.

4.2.2.1 Rumours/ Unconfirmed news

According to Beak(2011), there is also evidence to suggest that specific news sources are related to polarization, one way of showing support or opposition to the other side in polarized media landscape is producing news stories that back ones side and opposing the other side with rumours. The news stories will be produced based on rumours without credible sources. Witnesses told media X, sources that spoke to media X, a source told media X on the phone, representatives of the ...told media X that, according to reliable intelligence sources and so on are some of the phrases used with media houses. This portion focused on these sourceless news stories as they may rumour and anxiety in the population as well as the government without the existence of those broadcasted stories.

In the news story which says **Ten dead in the town of Ambo as residents clash with TPLF forces**, the source is mentioned as.....**Witnesses told OMN on the phone.** (OMN News July 13, 2016). They reported the story because someone called them and told them that ten were killed.

Similarly, in the news: **Ethiopian regime moving army, heavy artillery to Oromia region**, their source is mentioned**according to eyewitness accounts.** (OMN News July 1, 2016). Who are those eye witnesses? Did they counter check for the trustworthiness of the information? These are the questions listeners always ask and can't get answers.

In a similar news by OMN, **Armed assailants kill two soldiers in West Harrerga, Oromia region.** The detail goes saying **Sources who spoke to OMN on the phone said** (OMN News October 21, 2016).The same thing is observed in the news: **Armed group kills dozen soldiers. A source told OMN on the phone that...** (OMN News October 13, 2016)

OMN used such kind of source in any kind of news. Following breaking news was also sourced from 'reliable' intelligence source. **BREAKING: Ethiopian regime puts its Air Force on high alert. Reliable intelligence sources told OMN that ...** (OMN News August 21, 2016)

OMN produced 31 news stories with similar "sources" about the turmoil. Witnesses told OMN, sources who spoke OMN, a source told OMN on the phone, representatives of the ...told OMN that, according to reliable intelligence sources and so on were used in those news stories as sources. However, despite calling collectively sources, reliable intelligence source, witnesses... no proper name of a person, an intelligence organization, name of group or representative or the name of the source was mentioned. Reports with such group "sources" cannot be taken as credible and reliable sources. Any interested person or anyone with a personal hidden interest may call to OMN and claim that something is happening. As we can see, it also reported very sensitive issues like death of demonstrators clashing with police forces because simply someone called them on the phone and told the story, no police evidence, no hospital evidence.Such action of OMN, can show how much they were polarized.

4.2.2.2 Provocation for mass rally

OMN showed its stand with different opposition forces that it assumed would come to power. Its reports found to be striving to push the public to go beyond demonstration until the incumbent government steps down. These news stories range from directly motivating citizens to take part in demonstrations to reporting scheduled demonstrations in different cities. Although holding demonstrations were banned by the government by that time, OMN reported four news stories on demonstrations. OMN did not report on the importance of stability.

The news: **Prof. Berhanu calls on all Ethiopians to join the people of Oromia and Amahara in the fight against TPLF (OMN news July 14, 2016)** is a provocative news broadcasted by OMN. Professor Berhanu is the chairman of Patriots Ginbot 7 armed groups that struggle to overthrow the government by force. The detail of the news reads: **members of P G7 were everywhere in the country and were part of the struggle against the tyrannical regime.**

In the detail it reads: **Amhara and Oromia region prepare for massive demonstrations. Oromia has been the scene of show of defense against the tyrannical regime for the past few weeks, many armed, daring to engage regime forces.**

Another good example news of this category is a news story broadcasted on 2 August, which was read as: **More protest demonstrations to be held in Ethiopia against the regime, six killed in East Hararge. (OMN news August 2, 2016)**

In a similar fashion the next news broadcast on August 19, 2016 called people of the capital city to join the demonstration. **Addis Prepares for a protest rally joining the nationwide uprising that calls for an end to tyranny(OMN news August 19, 2016)**

OMN played the role in different ways. One way was showing or persuading demonstrators on the future fruit of the demonstration. News like: **The Oromo and Amhara protest movements could change the course of Ethiopia's future, a geopolitical think-tank says (OMN news August 20, 2016).**This seems to be an effort to put hope in demonstrators so that they keep conducting violence and demonstration.

News reports with such tone aims at provoking the public for further mass rally and demonstration. OMN played the role of provocation in two ways. The first way was producing news stories that tell dwellers of cities for a programmed demonstration so that the mass rally and demonstration take place nationwide. Although, the constitution of the country (FDRE Constitution article 30) demands prior information and permission about legal demonstrations

from concerned bodies, OMN reported presence of planned demonstrations in different cities. The news stories only say there were demonstration scheduled without expressing about who organized them, whether they were legal or not, or any detail information.

The second way was producing news stories that persuade the audiences about the importance of the demonstrations and mass rally. Although demonstrations and mass rallies were causing for the loss of stability life and properties, the focus of the news stories was pushing for further rally and blaming the government for the losses. Despite producing 37 news stories that provoke mass rally, OMN didn't produce a single news story that advises the importance of stability, and consequences citizens face as a result of illegal demonstration and mass rallies. These news stories clearly show how the medium was polarized to support the oppositions.

4.2.2.3 Refusing to accept the incumbent government as a government

The other news stories during the political turmoil were characterized by denying to accept the incumbent government as a government. The existing four parties, TPLF, OMN present TPLF as the dominant power. So, OMN didn't want to consider all the actions as the action of the government, instead actions of the 'power dominant' party TPLF. 21 news stories used the word TPLF although the fact is about the government of Ethiopia as a whole.

Some of the news stories with such characteristics are presented as follows.

Ten dead in the town of Ambo as residents clash with TPLF forces. (OMN News, July 13, 2016). There is no any force called by the name TPLF, however, OMN regularly use it so as to convey a message 'no true' legitimate government but only a force from the minority is leading the country.

Prof. Berhanu calls on all Ethiopians to join the people of Oromia and Amhara in the fight against TPLF (OMN News, July 14, 2016)

UN to probe killings of Ethiopians by TPLF (OMN News August 11, 2016)

OMN, as we can see it clearly, denied the legitimacy of the incumbent government as well as EPRDF. At one point, although EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) is the combination of four parties, namely, OPDO (Oromo People Democratic Organization),

ANDM (Amhara National Democratic Movement), SEPDM(Southern Ethiopia Peoples Democratic Movement) and TPLF(Tigrrian People Liberation Front), OMN totally ignored the collision and call it TPLF repeatedly to indicate parties were dominated by TPLF. At another point, to the contrary, to the previous kinds of news stories, OMN did not mention a single word to tell audiences that the demonstration was backed by some opposition group or terrorists the way government media EBC reported. In the above mentioned news stories, Prof. Birhanu Nega, the chairman of PG7, labeled as a terrorist group by the government. However, OMN never called him so in any of their news stories during the turmoil. These news stories could be clear evidences that OMN was oppositions and was refusing to accept the government.

4.2.2.4 Backing Oppositions parties

According to Beak (2011), Media polarization is characterized with different ways. The simple and direct way of polarization is backing a certain party/ parties while opposing other parties. A total of 10 news stories were reported on OMN that backs oppositions. These news stories did not back a specific opposition party, but any opposition officially accredited as opposition party or grouped as a terrorist group by the government..

Following the instability, different parties and groups were formed in the US and Europe. OMN was attending their coalition and conference and covering the situation. One of their reports on such situational formed group was: **Groups say forming a democratic government is the ultimate goal of struggle (OMN News, September 8, 2016)**. The detail further is read as: **there was no other option for the Ethiopian people than strengthening the struggle against the iron fist regime and replace it with an all-inclusive government.**

Another news story had the following headline: **Armed group kills dozen soldiers (OMN News, October 13, 2016)**. The detail, however, had no information which armed force actually killed soldiers at what battle field and the reason or goal of the fight.

The news, which is read as; **Opposition leader says West should look into Ethiopian crises (OMN News, October 27,2016)** was another news story under this category.

The head of news, which broadcast on 28 October 2016 reads: **Ethiopia: Four political parties form an umbrella movement (OMN News, October 28, 2016)**. The detail reads **opposition political parties need to have cohesion and unity in a bid to do away with a**

tyrannical regime that is facing an uprising in all corners of the country. OMN was openly supporting the oppositions during the turmoil with such news stories.

The next news story was not a different one either. It reads: **‘Newly formed movement hopes for regime change in Ethiopia (OMN News October 31, 2016)’**

OMN produced these and other similar news stories during the turmoil. The details of the stories focused on how the public should support the groups that were taking part in mass rallies and demonstration. The government took measures to even changing and reshuffling the cabinet which resulted in the removal of 75% of the ministries to reverse peace and stability in order to answer questions of demonstrators. However, OMN reported the action as a meaningless reshuffle and backed oppositions to keep fighting. OMN was reporting the victory that the armed forces were gaining during the turmoil. News stories such as:

Four soldiers killed in the Oromia region, Armed groups kill dozens soldiers

BREAKING: Eight regime soldiers killed in Ambo,

Armed assailants kill two soldiers in Oromia region.

A Gun battle rages in eastern Harerga

This shows that it was covered both the armed oppositions and the legally registered parties. Although the produced plenty of news stories on the victory of the armed forces, no news story was produced about the victory gained by the government forces. Generally, producing no news story in support of the government while producing 10 news stories about oppositions.

4.2.2.5 Ethnic conflict report

OMN was producing news stories how turmoil driven areas came to conflict during the turmoil in Oromia region. This news is aggravate the situation and the displacement of Oromia and Somali ethnic people reached climax in the history of Ethiopia. While creating ethnic conflict news report 17 news, OMN has not produced a single report that tolerance and peace action of the government. News stories such as: **Somali ‘Liyu’ Police launches cross-border attacks against the Oromo.(OMN news, October 28,2017)**

78 dead in recent Oromo-Somali conflict by TPLF Somalia ‘Liyu’ force.(OMN news, October 26,2017)

Elders from the east Hararghe call for an end to “Liyu police anarchy” in Oromia; stay-at-home strike spreads through the region. (OMN news, October 28,2017)

In this news category, the media house report on different number of death and injury news from an unknown source which at a time provoke ethnic groups of Ethio Somali and Oromo. OMN didn't mention a single word of blame on opposition groups labelled as terrorist. But, more than 17 OMN news labelled Somalia Liyu force as an ally of TPLF and blamed it for the killing of many Oromo ethnic people.

4.3. In depth Interview Analysis

The purpose of this research was find out the existence of polarization between OMN and EBC on the current political crises in Oromia region in Ethiopia. To arrive at the possible conclusion, data from primary and secondary sources were gathered via qualitative method employing two data gathering tools: in-depth interviews and content analysis. So, the core issues in the in depth interview analysis are: Response on Role of broadcast media, Response on Major Challenges of media broadcast, Response on discharging role and responsibility, Response on the state of professional Journalism in Ethiopia and media polarization.

4.3.1 Response on Role of Broadcast Media

Theoretically, speaking roles of the media in society are crystal clear. The question is how much of the theory has been put into practice. In his article ‘The role of the independent media in Africa's change to democracy’, Kasoma (1995) states, these roles include providing alternative information, promoting accountability, transparency and good governance. Kasoma argues that the independent media in Africa sometimes deliberately fail to do so:

... There are sometimes the possibility that the independent media, instead of genuinely exposing acts of bad governance by the rulers, conduct unethical journalism to put those in power on the spot based on hatred of those in power than an honest desire to make them answerable to the electorate for their action or lack of them. Some of the so-called independent media in Africa today are guilty of this unprofessional conduct (p.547).

According to most of the key informants approached in this research, Kasoma's argument about the unethical nature of the broadcast media holds true in Ethiopia, too. Instead of becoming a watchdog and serving as a public sphere where the citizenry reflect their views, the private media

in abroad has been working against the government due to either its hatred to the establishment. Andusew Shiferaw, Media and Communication Senior Researcher, on his part tells why hatred engulfed the private media in its early stages and endured until recently. According to him:

The role of broadcast media is serving as a public sphere and serving the public interest being a voice for voiceless. But, in our country, most of the private media have never served as a 'fourth state' rather as 'opposition media' with the exception of some mature media. Whereas like EBC/public owned media have problems of professionalism, maturity and capacity (Personal interview, April, 2018).

Mohammed Seid, Director General of public and Media relation of Government Communication Affairs Office, consolidate Andusew's ideas, "the broadcast media should entertain public view and voice for voiceless. But, nowadays, they give priority for market rather than pressing public problems." (Personal interview, April 2018).

Generally speaking, the interviewees indicated the role of the media as a watchdog and a forum for the public sphere. However, they believed that the roles were not exploited as such. Likewise, EBC senior reporter, who didn't want to mention his name, expressed his own concern on the treatment of the private media by the government. He was sceptical of the view that the government sees the private media equally. He stated that private media were considered as an enemy, defamer and destructor; and government's legal actions seemed revenge because they are taken collectively and lately long after damages have already been made and even the perpetrators have forgotten them" (Personal interview, April 2018).

4.3.2 Response on Challenges of the Broadcast Media

As it has been discussed in chapter two, the challenges of the broadcast media emanate from internal and external sources. Dichotomizing the challenges was also common among the key informants. As indicated in the literature section, whereas the internal challenges come from the media themselves, the external ones mainly come from the government. All the key informants have dealt at length the challenges of the broadcast media in this country than any issue raised during the in-depth interview. Almost all of them agreed that partisanship, lack of professionalism, lack of interest to serve the public, and lack of vision were typical features ever since the sector started. On the government side too, lack of patience, lack of media professional, discrimination and labeling and also developing an antagonistic relationship with the private

media were mentioned as challenges. The amalgamation of these factors has resulted in poorly developed, polarized and high concentration of anti-government issues. Asked about the challenges of the broadcast media, Leul Gebru, deputy general director of Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (EBA) says:

From the onset the private media had attitudinal problem. They consider themselves as liberators. Up to now this has been the nature of almost all the private media with the exception of a few ones which try to stay neutral. Attitudinal problem is the mother of all the problems seen in the sector. As a result, you do not see journalistic ethic, balancing and social responsibility in their reporting. Their contents are full of opinions than facts. What you often see is that the private media works only for its political objective like a propaganda, whereas the public or state media tries to produce public sphere media, though it has its own problems like lack of charisma and creating accountability and transparency on the public's mind (Personal interview, April 2017).

Tettey (2006) described a similar situation observed in emerging African democracies in the 1990s as follows:

In fact, some observers have been very virulent in their criticism of the media, highlighting attitudes that portray them as irresponsible, self-serving, unaccountable and a threat to the credibility and sustenance of the democratic process. Journalism has been equated with uncivilized political propaganda and criticized for its bias, irresponsible and unethical behaviour (p. 230).

However, Dejene Gutema, Senior Journalist in OMN, sees the challenges in perspectives-those coming from internal deficiencies of the media itself and externally from the government:

As some would like to call it, the private media in Ethiopia is not an industry. It is in a small and micro enterprise or paddler stage, better to say it is a 'candle in the wind'. Go to places where the media works and you would prove it yourself. Its capacity is limited in all aspects: professionally, materially and financially. It is a sector that anyone can join. The government on its part, is not supportive of the media. Government information is difficult to get; the media law focuses on penalties and restrictions than supporting the media (Online interview, April 2018).

Shimeles Kemal, Former State Minister of Government Communication Affairs Office (GCAO), in an interview he gave to 'Mass Media' (2004 E.C: 35-36) EBA's special edition magazine, argues that the MoU prepared by Birhane ena Selam Printing Enterprise (BSPE) does not breach any law and by any means cannot be equated with censorship. He adds, "As any business entity, BSPE can have an MoU that administers its business relationship with its customers. Like a business entity, it can refuse to publish content that goes against its policies. This is a

standardized international practice followed by US and British countries.” Adam Tadesse, program director in Fana Broadcast Television, says on the challenge of the profession:

If the government wants to save the media, among other things, it has to do something to tame the media to act like a watchdog rather than a voice for the government or the opposition. In this profession, the big challenge is lack of knowledge and skill in day to day activity of media tasks. The knowledge and skill gap is evident not only by journalists, but also the media managers have faced the same kinds of problem (Personal interview, April 2018).

Eyob Zewede, Editor in GCAO, in his part on the challenges of broadcast media says:

The media in Ethiopia, the broadcast media, particularly, face a number of challenges. Starting from the stifling laws to lack of professionalism, the media sector is faced with major challenges at a much greater level. The media faces greater political influence. The laws enacted to govern the media sector have, as has been repeatedly said, posed a great danger to journalists and put journalistic works in a state of uncertainty. The press laws and the anti terrorism law and many other laws are criticized for being a tool to silence the media. Censorship, though had constitutional guarantee, still appears in many different ways. The fact that the stifling laws are out there and many journalists have been thrown into jail or exile, journalists are now into self censorship. Most journalists are not free or don't feel free to get their message across or keep the people informed. The professional competency problem is another major challenge (Personal interview, April 2018)

The other challenge is related to government's exclusion policy towards the broadcast media. Some key informants argued that the government was not interested in encouraging the private media. According to Hailemelak Kassay, NGO worker and Former EBC journalist, this lack of goodwill on the part of the government to encourage the media is challenging the very existence of the media. He argues that with the exception of very few broadcast media that have monopolized the advertisement, most media are struggling to survive. He says:

Even though the government fights monopoly elsewhere in the economy, it has not shown any interest to share government advertisement to other private media. All these things affect the broadcast media. Since the government does not care about the existence of private media, it has given a deaf ear to all the problems engulfing it. (Personal interview, April 2018).

Mohammed Seid, does not agree with Hailemelak, “The main problem of broadcast associated with journalist rather government/ are, lack of professionalism, not being ethical and responsible, lack of knowledge and skill, lack of knowledge in policies and strategies of the country and lack of knowing political-economic situation of the state not the government” (Personal interview, March 2018).

4.3.3 Response on State of Professional Journalism in Ethiopia

4.3.3.1 Professionalism

Waisbord(2013) in his book-Reinventing Professionalism which interrogates conventional arguments in professionalism, argues defining professionalism in journalism has never been an easy job owing to the different journalism cultures practiced worldwide and occupational ethics attached to it by powerful sources. However, citing Barbie Zelizer (2005), he defines professionalism as follows:

...An analytical device to think about journalism. It is an analytical prism to examine the constant and the unpredictable interplay between the press and other actors that affect the conditions of journalistic practice. Professionalism is a conceptual category, a normative ideal, a narrative that reveals how journalism intersects with economic, political, social, and cultural forces that shape media systems (Ibid: 4).

He believes that there is not a considerable difference in defining newsworthiness and setting standards of acceptable quality news practices in newsrooms around the world. Unlike their agreement on the failure of the majority of the private and government media to discharge their roles, key informants of this research are divided over the state of professional journalism in the country. While some argue that it is there with all its limitations, others claim that it is difficult to talk about professional journalism. Those in the first group raises two things that limited the application of professional journalism in the country. The first one is the presence of volatile and divided society where one cannot make a demarcation between the educated and the layman. The second one is the presence of a polarized political environment which tries to make the media serve its interest.

Supporting the first group of the key informants, Andusew argues: “Since the society is divided, as a starter a professional has to be ready to pay heavy prices until it can buy the heart and mind of some sectors of the society to be its audience base. He adds, “If you are noisy, the polarized

political environment makes you a hero from zero.’ As for him, this is discouraging to the professionals who would like to stick to the principles of professional journalism. Hailemelak Kassay, who somehow supports Andusew argues, “If the private media comes well prepared to defend the challenges commonly happening in the sector, the chance of being a professional journalist is a matter of choice.” (Personal interviews, March, 2018). Adam Tadesse also argues on the professionalism of journalism:

There is certainly professional journalism in Ethiopia, but there is still room for improvement, particularly in terms of critical coverage. In our country, professionalism of journalism started university level in 1990’s E.C.So, In my view the professionalism of journalism is divided into Two. That is before and after the university delivered the course of journalism in BA, Master, PHD level. Before the university, the profession was practiced by experience, whereas after the university, the profession has been upgraded through ethics and responsibility with the professionalism personalty (Personal Interview, April 2018).

He adds, “I think the media channels which will survive in the long run will be those who are professionals those who provide balanced and investigative stories properly.” However, Eyob Zewede, Editor in GCAO, is against the previous key informants. As for him, “it is difficult to say there is professional journalism.” He argues that the profession looks like the politics and the country; it is not rewarding to the practitioners; and anybody can join it. Even trained journalists opt for PR as a result of the low pay and the challenges facing the profession. He adds:

Professional journalism is hardly practiced in Ethiopia for many reasons. First of all, as the media are faced with legal and professional challenges, it is difficult to practice professional journalism. Second, the trainings that journalists have had to get is insignificant. We are yet to have a school of journalisms that can produce real professionals. The schools don’t have the necessary manpower and resources to produce professional journalists. Therefore, the practice of professional journalism is at a minimal stage. The society wants the journalist to write something which it wants to read, not what has happened, which is in direct contradiction with professionalism. If you report what is happening as a professional, the society either labels or boycotts you. As you might recall, we have seen many media that followed and served the temper of the society, but not the facts on the ground. That is the reason why we often see many media of this nature coming and going out of the market. If you really want to be professional, you cannot survive (Personal interview, April 2018).

In an interview he gave to Zemen (2006 E.C) Dr. Abdisa Zeray consolidates level of professional journalism as a challenge to the sector in this country. He argues:

Journalism in this country is in its infancy. We do not have an organized, knowledge based and well-developed journalism. Earlier anyone who tried to write not only considered himself as a journalist, but also had organized himself as such. This should have been improved and developed into professionalism, but that is not the case. Our journalism is in a poor condition. Even in African standards, our journalism is among the poorest in the continent (P.48).

All the information gathered with regards to professional journalism indicate that the state of professionalism in the sector is in a precarious condition which requires the intervention and the active role of all the parties involved in it. In spite of the fact that the key informants had major differences on the state of professional journalism in Ethiopia, they deviated from their assertions when they were asked the same question about the two media. Since the comparison was subjective and no key informant had said that these media were perfect in their professionalism, a lot remains to be done as well.

4.3.3.2 Response on Media Freedom

There is no doubt that the issue of freedom is a crucial matter for the media. But this does not mean that the media have to be an island. As they are necessary evils, the media cannot escape working with political and economic elites, even if cautiously. Against this fact, the majorities of media in Ethiopia either avoid these elite forces or are avoided by them. Waisbord (2000) indicates how important working with the government is: “The state was too important, politically and economically, to be put at a distance. Cutting ties with the state undermined the interests of media in being close to power. It would have been a suicidal move, pulling the plug that supplied indispensable resources.” The same can be said about big businesses. Regarding the practices of media freedom in EBC, a senior journalist in EBC, asserted the following:

There is a sense of abstaining ourselves in the political issues because it is directly associated with public questions, problems and criticisms towards government. Fearing the consequences of speaking reality, we ignore it. Therefore, it has resulted in underestimation of the voices of our people. Consequently, EBC inadequately represents the view and the interest of the people. Comparatively EBC focused on economic development matter is better with all its propaganda and fabrications of the reality on the ground (personal interview, March 2018).

Asked about how independent they were working with these powerful sources of influence, the key informants respond differently. A senior journalist in EBC said, the influences were many: “Some (both in the government and the private sector) would get angry when they see uncomfortable report affecting their vested interests. As a result, they react in many ways to

pressurize our reporting; and others try to bribe us so that we do not disclose their misdeeds.” He adds, “Even if you are independent in your reporting, influences are always there to derail you.”. Hailemelak agrees with senior journalist in EBC claims. However, he was more concerned about influences coming from the government and the public. “While the public wants us to focus on hot political issues, which is not the focus of our Media, the government is not happy even with some of our programs in politics” (Personal interview, March 2018).

Consolidating Hailemelak and senior journalist in EBC argument, Andusew says “No matter how independent it is, no media could be free from possible influence coming from different sources.” Waisbord (2000) puts it succinctly how complicated the relationship between media and powers of interest could be: “There is no absolute independence or dependence between media and powerful interests, but rather multilayered and contradictory relations that produced openings and closures for adversarial reporting.” In the complicated world of journalism, newspapers have no chance of independence unless they observe one of the golden principles of the trade-maintaining their editorial independence from those they cover. Freedom of speech and the media are essential rights in a democratic society. Consequently, it is explained that “The ability to practice journalism free from undue interference, to peacefully criticize government representatives, and to express critical views are crucial to the exercise of many other rights and freedoms” (Human Rights Watch, 2015).

Per the OMN content analysis, in various situations, Ethiopian officials have been labeling Oromo protesters and any media that cooperate and make their voice heard, as anti-peace and terrorist, who desire to take power through war. Currently, OMN has been blamed for this. Furthermore, the government is claiming that these actors and their media have been diverted legitimate public questions to war and aggravated it. Thus, the government accused OMN for the property destruction and loss of life in the highly developing and democratic country. OMN journalists like Degjene, perceived this that the government used it to escape taking responsibility. “There is no free media in Ethiopia, even EBC, but in all Ethiopian media. Media has its own structure, but without telling them their bad doings, firing them by a guard was disrespectful and also showed the world that how justice is practiced in our country” Degene added.

4.3.4 Response on Discharging Roles and Responsibilities

Another departure point that shows the swing of key informants from their general assertion is their assessment of the two media in terms of discharging their roles and responsibilities. Most of the key informants consider EBC and OMN as broadcast media that are trying their best to discharging their democratic responsibilities by serving as a public forum and a fourth estate by their own perspectives. Mohammed Seid, Director General of Public and Media Relation in Government Communication Affairs Office, states:

The two broadcast media have their own media policies which are serving the public as a fourth estate. But the main aim of establishment of OMN media is like to act as a propagandist, criticize the government and support opposition parties like OFC and ONLF on its political and economic endeavours. The right to private media has to criticize the government appropriately based on evidence whether that pleases the government or not. But EBC also reflects only the good things rather than creating public sphere and practising investigative journalism (Personal interview, April 2018).

Haileamlak Kassay, explains “most of media managers and officials are not educated and exercise the media tasks or they have no media background. For instance, EBC broadcast media managers appointed by his/her political affiliated perception where as OMN produces different News and program by the interest of Jawa Mohammed anti government outlook” (Personal interview, April 2018). Eyob Zewede, Editor in GCAO, in his part says:

The media could discharge their role of presenting news in a fair and balanced manner. But it is important to see them case by case. What news is reported in a fair and balanced manner is an important question. There could be news that could be reported in a balance and fair manner and there could be other news that may not be reported in a fair and balanced manner. Thus, it depends very much of the kind of news. Regarding the role of the media as being a watchdog or a public sphere, I think we are far from it. It is when journalists get guarantees that they may not go through hardships due to their work, then we might see the media discharge its role as being a watchdog (Personal interview, April 2018).

As discussed in the review of literature section, Kasoma (1995) argues that African media have served as a prerequisite and co-requisite for democracy in the 1990s. Considering the limitations of most of the private media in Ethiopia in terms of discharging their roles and the timing they joined the sector, one would find it difficult to talk confidently that they have been carrying out these roles to the fullest.

4.3.5 Response on Media Polarization

Figuring out the existence of polarization focusing on the reports of the aforementioned media houses on the Current Political crises in Oromia region in Ethiopia. Dejene Gutema, does not see why one could be wrong in wanting to overthrow the government if it thinks its policies are damaging the country. He further goes on to say:

A journalist is not a medium where ideas flow through him without his touch. This is what the government wants us to do. In spite of government officials' unawareness, article 29 of the constitution gives us every right to hold our own thought. As a result, as a journalist and an individual, I have the right to say this government must be changed so long as I have my reasons presented in a balanced approach. I can also tell which party is appropriate for the country. This is my right as an individual and as a journalist. I can reveal this idea of mine both in the media I work or elsewhere (online interview, April 2018).

Though a lone voice, in addition to showcasing the polarized and advocacy based nature of the private media in Ethiopia, Degene stand with regards to the role of journalism seems against one of the pillars of professional journalism-objectivity. As to Maras (2013), 'objectivity is so commonly associated with impartiality, detachment and value-free judgment, that any sign of bias, favouritism or involvement is taken as an indicator of failure. In other words, objectivity cannot coexist with political and ethical commitments. As to Maras, Mohammed Seid too does not agree with Dejene. According to him,

The main purpose of the media is not to stand against government or blindly support it. Whether it is a government or private media, the role of the media is serving the public. The polarization comes from the position this two media institution have. Both are influenced by political groups and ideology. While OMN engages in fanning the situation in Oromia, EBC engages in cooling it off. The report of both media houses is informed by political ideology. If the private media sees itself like a fighter, this stand is not only wrong, but also it is counterproductive for its survival. When we see OMN always advocate and disseminate hate and crisis news in order to evoke the youth. If this is the real and professional media, the crisis report news should be stability news. (Personal interview, April 2018).

Potter (2011) supports Mohammed' argument, saying 'journalists have a responsibility to provide information that is accurate and reported fairly and independently from outside influences.' she even goes further in underlining the importance of the objectivity of the journalist to separate himself from his reporting: 'By using an objective, scientific method for verifying information, journalists can report stories that do not reflect their own personal views. The story itself, in other words, should be impartial and fair' (p. 84). Andusew Shiferaw, explained the effects of polarization in politics of the country. He says:

Such polarization affects the country in many different ways. It does not create informed citizen. Both cannot present news from every perspective. They present news from their own perspective. They take their viewers at an extreme position. This affects the country's politics. OMN way of reporting the news was almost a call for an uprising. It shows or reports news that would infuriate people. On the other hand, EBC present news from its own ideology that is developmental. It engages in presenting news that it deemed is beneficial to the country's development. Therefore, EBC was giving a blind eye to the crisis in Oromia as it only wanted to present developmental news. Therefore, the reporting of both media houses had an effect in shaping their audience (Personal interview, April 2018) .

In general, the above discussions show that there is some kind of polarization in the media system of this country which in turn implies the presence of partiality and the absence of objectivity. The government accuses the media in its lack of objectivity; the media accuses the government of being discriminatory. This shows there is mistrust between them. As discussed in chapter two, in connection with the Polarized Pluralist Model, which has partly informed in this research, there are many features that go along with our media system. According to PPM, the media in southern Europe share some major characteristics: low levels of newspaper circulation, a tradition of advocacy reporting, instrumentalization of privately owned media, politicization of public broadcasting and broadcast regulation and limited development of journalism as an autonomous profession (Papathanassopoulos, 2007).

These features of PPM are succinctly put forward in the following quotation showing the similarity of the media system with its Ethiopian counterpart which would be discussed in detail in the coming sections:

.....The media in the Southern European countries are relatively strongly politicized, and political parallelism is relatively high. The style of journalism tends to give substantial emphasis to commentary. Newspapers tend to represent distinct political tendencies, and this is reflected in the differing political attitudes of their readerships; at times they play an activist role, mobilizing those readers to support political causes (p. 193).

By the same token, Andusew Shiferaw consolidates the similarity of Ethiopian private media and Government media with that of PPM. As for him, "the Ethiopian private broadcast media ever since its inception has grown wildly considering itself as a liberator or advocate of change whose job is toppling the government by supporting the opposition in spite of their programmes or policies." This has resulted, he believes, "in setting militant or advocacy journalism as a standard

journalism in the minds of the public. He also criticizes the government in its lack of tolerance and creating a platform for the media practice” (Personal interview, April 2018).

Mohammed Seid says, “At the moment, the government is extremely patient with the private media and preparing different kinds of policy and strategy in order to reform the media sector by GCAO”. However, he adds, “The government cannot be patient forever as it has a responsibility to safeguard law and order in the country.” As to him, “Many members of the private media broadcast from abroad like OMN And ESAT consider themselves as freedom fighters; if they do so, they are in the battle field where counter-attack is the norm. Their option is, therefore,” he notes, “either to face counter-attack for being a freedom fighter or serve as a forum for free ideas and discussions.” (Personal interview, March 2018).

In an interview he gave to Zemen (2006 E.C) Abdisa Zeray, Former Dean, SJC, AAU, also states the political environment or ideological polarization responsible for the polarization of the media. Abdisa argues that the private media were forced to assume the role of the opposition as there is no strong opposition that challenges what the government presents on its media in an exaggerated manner. The solution to the problems discussed above can be sought from the problems themselves. Dr. Abdisa has pointed it out, something must be done with the political culture. Before we see a vibrant media which reports objectively, the fabric of our social and political culture needs a makeover in this country.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Summary

This study was conducted to examine the polarization of media between state owned and private media focusing on EBC and OMN TV Broadcasters news stories on the current political turmoil of Oromia. In order to understand the polarization of the two media houses, an appropriate method that can help answer the research questions has been selected. Using the method and data collection tools, findings that commensurate with the research questions have been discovered. The study mainly focused on content analysis and indepth interview of the news stories of the two media houses. The study was guided by three questions: Identify the dominant themes addressed by both the media stations, examine the media's main sources for News and Information, Examine the presence of polarization of both TV broadcast media in reporting the current Political crises in Oromia region.

The data collection method of the research delivered in both qualitative and quantitative approaches to address the research questions. To analyse the contents of the news, coding sheet was developed by the researcher from the review of literature. This helped the frequency of coverage, tone, themes, sources of information, and frames of news used. The researcher used purposive sampling for news content analysis. Therefore, purposive sampling was used for selection of News, sources and headline from the two media houses. The Reports of the two media houses on the current political turmoil from September 2016 to October 2017 were chosen as this period was the time when the turmoil was too acute.

The contents were divided into three portions. The first focused on the reports from July when the turmoil was at its beginning. The second portion focused on the reports from August and September when the turmoil was at its peak. The last portion was based on the reports in October which takes place after the declaration of state of emergency. To arrive at the possible conclusion, the study applied both quantitative and qualitative or mixed research methods. A qualitative research method employing in-depth interview with eight key informants. So, the in depth interview analysis core issues were: on the responses on role and Challenges of broadcast media, State of Professionalism and level of media polarization.

5.2. Conclusions

This research was conducted to examine the polarization of media contents between state owned and private media focusing on EBC and OMN'S news stories on the current political crisis of Oromia. With the guidance of Framing Theory and the use of content analysis of the news stories of EBC and OMN on the political turmoil of Oromia region, the study found that the two media houses were polarized in reporting the turmoil due to the fact that EBC to support the incumbent government while OMN strongly supported the oppositions.

This study further found that the two media houses produced the majority of the news stories with their own journalists except EBC using a few news stories from ENA. The two media houses have never used each other's news story as their sources. The study unveil that the two broadcasters played differently in reporting numerical figures for casualties. EBC tried to either avoid numerical reports or reduce the numbers of casualties in a meaningful way while OMN exaggerate the number of victims in casualties. Such reduction or exaggeration game was also observed in unanimous numerical expressions in such actions like number of demonstrators. EBC was reporting about demonstrators with expressions such as 'few violent forces', 'hundreds of dwellers' while OMN was using expressions like 'thousands of peaceful demonstrators', 'mass massacre, and so on.

The study found that EBC framed oppositions and 'other violation forces' as the major driving forces of the aggravation of the turmoil while OMN framed the government as the main and only

responsible body for the loss of property and life as well as aggravation of the current crisis of Oromia region. The research also showed that the reports that stability report were dominantly used by EBC while reports focusing on provocation for mass rally were the dominant ones for OMN. 'Backing the government report' on EBC side and 'Rumours/unconfirmed News report' on OMN side came as the second dominantly used themes in their reports.

5.3. Recommendations

- This research used content analysis of the News reports of two broadcasts and in depth interview analysis to examine levels of polarization during reports of the political turmoil in Oromia. Though it could be small, this paper surface some level of lesson to the media practitioners. In no way to capitalize it, no matter how small they are, the existence of these papers has its own lesson particularly to the practitioners of the craft or would be new entrants. Until our political sphere changes, polarization continues to be a trend. This is a fact, one has to face while joining the sector. This requires the practitioner to come well prepared professionally and psychologically. Since changing the political sphere is a difficult job, as it would consume all the potentials of the practitioner; however it would be paid handsomely at the end. Therefore, practitioners need to be patient to win the heart and mind of their audience and allow the public served with facts.
- However, it is important that further studies be conducted to assess the audience reaction to the media houses so as to find a complete image. The study concentrated only on two TV broadcasters, EBC and OMN which were used to see the polarization media among the state owned and private media. However, it would be of huge impact and more comprehensive if a study is conducted, adding two newspapers one from the government and another private one. The focus of this study was on reports about political crisis in Oromia region. This is an advantage as all media houses give equal due attention for such occasions. However, in most cases, polarization is highly observed in election campaigns and news on elections. As a result, it would be a great advantage to find a comprehensive result by conducting similar research focusing on election incidents.
- The academia on its part has to seek research based, fast and possible ways out of this deadlock as the country does not deserve the status quo. This can be best done by replicating best local and international experiences in which countries have achieved a vibrant public and private broadcast media by coming out of a polarized one. The government too has to extend its support to the

flimsy broadcast media at its mercy. The study also recommends government and private media should balance and fair their report and give priority for the ethics and morality of journalism in general. In addition to this, reporters in the two stations should focus on facts and accuracy instead of giving false images. Further, the public should attempt to clarify facts from different sources before running into actions.

- As a democratic developmental state, the Ethiopian government has a huge power to make or break things in this country. Considering the function of a vibrant broadcast media for the well functioning of the system and sustainability of the state, a lot is expected from the government. These include arranging training opportunities for practitioners; encouraging investment by reducing taxes on media equipment and providing grace periods as it is common in other sectors; above all changing the negative mind set towards the broadcast media; and creating a playing field where government's advertising can be distributed fairly. If the three bodies, i.e. the media and its practitioners, the academia and the government work hand and glove for the vibrancy of the sector, the vibrant media in turn would shape the opinion of the public thereby marginalizing polarization once and for all.

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1. List of Key Informants

No	Name of Respondent	Gender	Postion	Date of Interview
1	Adam Tadesse	Male	Program Director, Fana Broadcast Television	Personal Interview, April 2018.
2	Andusew shiferaw	Male	Media and Communication Senior Researcher, GCAO	Personal Interview, April 2018.
3	Eyob Zewede	Male	Eyob Zewede, Media Mointoring Editor, GCAO	Personal Interview, April 2018.
4	Dejene Gutema	Male	Senior Journalist in OMN Media House	Online interview, April 2018.
5	Haileamelak Kassay	Male	NGO worker and Former EBC Journalist	Personal Interview, April 2018.
6	Leul Gebru	Male	Deputy General Director, EBA	Personal Interview, April 2018.
7	Mohammed Seid	Male	Director General of Public and Media relation of Government Communication Affairs Office	Personal Interview, March 2018.
8	Mr x	Male	EBC senior reporter (who didn't want to mention his name)	Personal Interview, April 2018.

Appendices

2. Interview Guide for Key Informants

The Polarization of State Owned and Private Media in Ethiopia: the case of EBC and OMN Televisions Reporting on Current Political crises in Oromia region.

Questions

A. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR MEDIA MANAGERS AND EDITORS

ለሚዲያ ማኔጀሮች እና ኤዲተሮች የተዘጋጀ ቃለ መጠይቅ

1. Based on your lived-experience and knowledge of the broadcast media sector in this country, what do you think are its major challenges? And how do you evaluate the practice of professional journalism in this country?

በኢትዮጵያ ሚዲያ ላይ ካሉት ልምድ እና እውቀት አንጻር የዘርፉ ዋና ተግዳሮቶች ምንድን ናቸው ብለው ያስባሉ? በሀገራችን የሚገኙ ጋዜጠኞች አተገባበርን እንዴት ይገመግሙታል?

2. Scholars who studied the Ethiopian broadcast media consider it as a volatile sector. What is your response to their assessment? If you response yes, states the existence of volatility?

ዘርፉን ያጠኑ ምሁራን የኢትዮጵያን የግል ሚዲያ 'ያልተረጋጋ' በማለት ይገልጹታል። በዚህ ላይ የእርስዎ አስተያየት ምንድን ነው?

3. Do you think your media house is discharging its roles in terms of balance and fair News?

✓ Do you think your media is playing as a public sphere, and a watchdog role?

ሚዲያዎቹ ለህዝቡ የውይይት መድረክ በመሆን፣ የመንግስትን አሰራሮች በመከታተል ወይም እንደ አራተኛ የመንግስት አካል በመሆን እየሰሩ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ? እንዴት?

4. Do you observe some level of polarization in coverage of the current political crisis in Oromia region between EBC and OMN broadcasters? How do you describe it?

አሁን ላይ በተፈጠረው የኦሮሚያ ቀውስ ላይ የኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስት ኮርፖሬሽን እና የኦሮሚያ ሚዲያ ኔትወርክ ሚዲያዎች ዘገባዎች እንዴት ያዩታል?

5. If there is a polarization between EBC and OMN? What do you think are the reasons?

በኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስቲንግ ኮርፖሬሽን እና በኦሮሚያ ሚዲያ ኔትወርክ በኩል ዘገባቸው ላይ ተቃራኒ ወይም ጭፋዊነት ካለ ምክንያቱን ቢያብራሩልን?

B. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR SCHOLARS WHO HAVE STUDIED THE SECTOR

1. Based on your experience and knowledge of the broadcast media sector in this country, what do you think are its major challenges?

በኢትዮጵያ ሚዲያ ላይ ካሎት ልምድ እና እውቀት አንጻር የዘርፉ ዋና ተግዳሮቶች ምንድን ናቸው ብለው ያስባሉ?

2. Based on the principles of professional journalism (objectivity, serving the public interest, etc.), how do you evaluate the level in which the two broadcast media(EBC and OMN) are discharging their roles and responsibilities?

ከሙያዊ ጋዜጠኝነት መርህ አንጻር የኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስት ኮርፖሬሽን እና የኦሮሚያ ሚዲያ ኔትወርክ ሚዲያዎች ምን ያህል ሚናቸውን እና ሓላፊነታቸውን እየተወጡ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ?

- ✓ Do you think these broadcast media are serving as a public sphere, watchdog/ fourth estate?

ሚዲያዎቹ ለህዝቡ የውይይት መድረክ በመሆን፣ የመንግስትን አሰራሮች በመከታተል ወይም እንደ አራተኛ የመንግስት አካል በመሆን እየሰሩ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ? እንዴት?

- ✓ How do you describe the broadcast media in terms of their portrayal/handling of events happening in the country, as professional or moderate? Why?

ሚዲያዎቹ ከሚያቀርቧቸው ዘገባዎች አንጻር ምን ያህል ከወገንተኝነትና ከተጽዕኖ ነጻ ናቸው ይላሉ?

3. How do you evaluate the practice of professional journalism in this country?

በሀገራችን የሙያዊ ጋዜጠኝነት አተገባበርን እንዴት ይገመግሙታል?

4. Do you observe some level of polarization in coverage of the current political crisis in Oromia region between EBC and OMN broadcasters? How do you describe it?

አሁን ላይ በተፈጠረው የኦሮሚያ ቀውስ ላይ የኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስት ኮርፖሬሽን እና የኦሮሚያ ሚዲያ ኔትወርክ ሚዲያዎች ዘገባዎች ተቃራኒ ወይም ጫፋዊነት ይታያል ወይ? ይህ ሁኔታ እንዴት ይገለጻል?

5. What are the effects of such polarization in the country's politics?

የሚዲያዎቹ ተቃራኒ ወይም ጫፋዊነት በሀገሪቱ ፖለቲካ ላይ የሚያመጣው ተጽእኖ እንዴት ይገለጻል?

C. IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES

1. As a government, what do you think are the major challenges of the broadcast media in this country?

እንደ መንግስት አካል በኢትዮጵያ ሚዲያ ላይ ካሎት ልምድ እና እውቀት አንጻር የዘርፉ ዋና ተግዳሮቶች ምንድን ናቸው ብለው ያስባሉ?

2. Based on the principles of professional journalism (objectivity, serving the public interest, etc.), how do you evaluate the level in which these newspapers are discharging their roles and responsibilities?

ከሙያዊ ጋዜጠኝነት መርህ አንጻር የኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስት ኮርፖሬሽን እና የኦሮሚያ ሚዲያ ኔትወርክ ሚዲያዎች ምን ያህል ሚናቸውን እና ሓላፊነታቸውን እየተወጡ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ?

- ✓ Do you think these broadcast media are serving as a public sphere, watchdog/ fourth estate?

ሚዲያዎቹ ለህዝቡ የውይይት መድረክ በመሆን፣ የመንግስትን አሰራሮች በመከታተል ወይም እንደ አራተኛ የመንግስት አካል በመሆን እየሰሩ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ? እንዴት?

- ✓ How do you describe the broadcast media in terms of their portrayal/handling of events happening in the country, as professional or moderate? Why?

ሚዲያዎቹ (የኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስት ኮርፖሬሽን እና የኦሮሚያ ሚዲያ ኔትወርክ ሚዲያዎች) ከሚያቀርቧቸው ዘገባዎች አንጻር ምን ያህል ከወገንተኝነትና ከተጽዕኖ ነጻ ናቸው ይላሉ?

3. How do you evaluate the practice of professional journalism in this country?

በሀገራችን የሙያዊ ጋዜጠኝነት አተገባበርን እንዴት ይገመግሙታል?

- ✓ Do you think professional journalism has a place in this country? Why?

በኢትዮጵያ ሙያዊ ጋዜጠኝነትን ማካሄድ ይቻላል ብለው ያስባሉ? ለምን?

4. What do you expect the government or other regulators (like press council) do to create vibrant and independent media in Ethiopia?

ጠንካራ እና ነጻ ሚዲያ እንዲፈጠር ከመንግስት እና እንደ ፕሬስ ካውንስል ከመሳሰሉ ሌሎች ተቆጣጣሪ አካላት ምን ይጠበቃል ይላሉ?

5. Do you observe some level of polarization in coverage of the current political crisis in Oromia region between EBC and OMN broadcasters? How do you describe it?

አሁን ላይ በተፈጠረው የኦሮሚያ ቀውስ ላይ የኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስት ኮርፖሬሽን እና የኦሮሚያ ሚዲያ ኔትወርክ ሚዲያዎች ዘገባዎች እንዴት ያዩታል?

6. What do you think are the roles of the government and other regulators (like press council) to create vibrant and independent media in Ethiopia?

ጠንካራ እና ነጻ ሚዲያ እንዲፈጠር ከመንግስትና እንደ ፕሬስ ካውንስል ከመሳሰሉ ሌሎች ተቆጣጣሪ አካላት ምን ይጠበቃል ይላሉ?

7. What advice would you provide to new entrants to this sector and Any final thought?

አዲስ ወደ ዘርፉ ለሚቀላቀሉት የሚዲያ አካላት የሚመክሩት መልእክት ወይም ቀረ የሚሉት ነገር ካለ?

3. NEWS REPORTS OF THE TWO MEDIA HOUSES

1. OMN NEWS

No.	Headline	Date	News categories						Sources	
			Unconfirmed/Rumours	Provocation for mass rally	Backing opposition	“TPLF”	Ethnic conflict	Others	Own	Others
1	Security tightens ahead of Ireecha celebrations on Sunday	October 3, 2016		√					√	
2	Groups say only TPLF responsible for Ireecha massacre death	October 3, 2016	√			√			√	
3	Deadliest TPLF/EPRDF Mass Murder In Oromia	October 3, 2016				√	√		√	

4	Irreecha Festival Turns into Anti-government Protest	October 4, 2016		√						
5	Nearly 100 killed by Security Forces During Peaceful Protests	October 6, 2016	√						√	
6	Torture and Abuse in Ethiopian Prisons	October 6, 2016						√		
7	Oromo students protest in Mattu, Ethiopia	October 8, 2016		√						√
8	Massive anti-govt protest in Ethiopia's Oromia state	October 8, 2016		√						
9	Destabilized regime declares state of emergency in Ethiopia Protests flare up in Oromo region following the Ireecha massacre	October 9, 2016		√					√	
10	State of Emergency Declared in Response to Protests	October 9, 2016		√						√
11	Egypt denies accusations that it backs Ethiopian uprising	October 10, 2016	√						√	
12	Security forces kill three in central Ethiopia	October 11, 2016				√			√	
13	Chancellor Merkel says Ethiopian regime should allow protests	October 11, 2016						√	√	

14	Ethiopia: Military crackdown intensified after state of emergency	October 11, 2012				√			√	
15	UN outraged at mass killings, abuses in Ethiopia	October 12, 2016						√	√	
16	European Parliament denounces worsening human rights violations in Ethiopia	October 12, 2016						√	√	
17	Ethiopia: Two security forces killed in a grenade attack	October 12, 2016	√		√				√	
18	Armed group kills dozens soldiers	October 13, 2016	√		√				√	
19	Rights group presses EU to push for probe into killings in Ethiopia	October 17, 2016						√	√	
20	State of emergency is militarized response: rights researcher	October 18, 2016				√			√	
21	Oromia continues strike despite tight security	October 18, 2016		√					√	
22	Amnesty says draconian law will escalate crisis in Ethiopia	October 18, 2016				√			√	
23	Mass incarceration ensues emergency law in Ethiopia	October 19, 2016		√					√	
24	Amhara, Oromo MPs disapprove emergency law	October 20, 2016			√		√		√	
25	Ethiopia ranked the 4th unstable country in the	October 21, 2016						√		√

	world									
26	Armed assailants kill two soldiers in west harrerga, Oromia region	October 21,2016	√						√	
27	United States issues travel warning to oromia region	October 24,2016						√	√	
28	Protest in Oromo takes toll on economy	October 24,2016		√					√	
29	Jimma Bomb Explosion Injures 13 People, Further Raising Tensions in the Region	October 24,2016	√							√
30	16 OLF Dissidents Arrested and Sentenced to Lengthy Prison Terms	October 25,2016						√		√
31	State of Emergency Declared in Response to Protests			√						√
32	Ethiopia: Tourism in decline after state of emergency	October 25,2016						√	√	
33	Ethiopia: Ruling party to reshuffle cabinet within days	October 26,2016				√			√	
34	Opposition leader says West should look into Ethiopian crises	October 27,2016			√				√	
35	MP urges Canada to call on Ethiopian regime respect human rights	October 28,2016							√	
36	Ethiopia: Four political	October			√				√	

	parties form an umbrella movement	28,2016								
37	Ethiopia: unrest causing tourism crisis	October 31, 2016						√		√
38	Newly formed movement hopes for regime change in Ethiopia	October 31, 2016			√				√	
39	Ethiopia: Over 1000 killed in three weeks, groups says	October 31, 2016	√						√	
40	Ethiopian regime moving army, heavy artillery to Oromia region	July 1, 2016	√						√	
41	Security forces detain hundreds protesting home demolition	July 5, 2016	√						√	
42	Ethiopian regime blocks social media	July 12, 2016						√	√	
43	Over forty opposition party members detained in Arba Minch	July 12, 2016			√				√	
44	Ten dead in the town of Ambo as residents clash with TPLF forces	July 13, 2016					√		√	
45	Prof. Berhanu calls on all Ethiopians to join the people of Oromia and Amhara in the fight against TPLF	July 14, 2016			√	√			√	
46	Two federal police, one soldier killed in Nekemet as unrest spreads	July 15, 2016	√						√	

47	Businesses shut down in protest against high tax	July 17, 2016		√						
48	Tax protest in most of Oromia region	July 17, 2016		√					√	
49	New tax law triggers protests in Ethiopia's Oromia	July 20, 2016		√						√
50	Ambo people are protesting new taxes in the Oromia region	July 22, 2016		√					√	
51	More than a dozen killed by security forces in Ethiopia's Oromia; region hit by yet another boycott	July 22, 2016		√	√				√	
52	Roads blocked, shops closed in oromia regional protest	Jul 23, 2017		√						√
53	Regime forces arresting protesters in West Arsi, Oromo region of Ethiopia	July 26, 2016		√		√			√	
54	Protest continues in Oromo region	July 26, 2016		√					√	
55	Nine members of the army killed in burayu following unrest of oromia	July 27, 2016	√		√				√	
56	Security forces open fire at protesters in Borena, three sustain injuries	July 28, 2016	√						√	

57	Hundreds of thousands hold protest rally in different oromia region.	July 31, 2016		√					√	
58	More protest demonstrations to be held in Ethiopia against the regime , six killed in East Hararge	August 2, 2016		√					√	
59	BREAKING : Protest rally underway in Haramaya	August 5, 2016		√					√	
60	Ethiopians stage nationwide rally against tyranny, met with brute forces of the regime	August 6, 2016	√			√			√	
61	Several feared dead in Shashemene hospitals flooded with the injured	August 7, 2016						√	√	
62	Death toll on the rise as regime forces continue to kill peaceful protesters, four soldiers killed in infighting at a military camp	August 10, 2016	√						√	
63	UN to probe killings of Ethiopians by TPLF	August 11, 2016				√			√	
64	Ethiopian regime rejects UN call for investigation into killings of protesters	August 12, 2016							√	
65	Exiled Tigrayan activists, political leaders call for the removal of TPLF and	August 16, 2016		√		√			√	

	formation of a transitional government									
66	Metu goes on strike, woliso shuts down for the third day	August 16, 2016	√						√	
67	Stay-away protest in Ambo enters second day, protesters free political prisoners	August 16, 2016		√					√	
68	TPLF may stage-manage “terrorist” attack, intelligence sources warn	August 18, 2016	√			√			√	
69	Addis Prepares for a protest rally joining nationwide uprising that calls for an end to tyranny	August 19, 2016		√					√	
70	Ethiopian regime officially rejects UN call for investigation into killings of protesters in roromia region	August 19, 2016						√	√	
71	The Oromo and Amhara protest movements could change the course of Ethiopia’s future, a geopolitical think-tank says	August 20, 2016		√			√		√	
72	BREAKING: Ethiopian regime puts its Air Force on high alert	August 21, 2016	√						√	
73	Stay at home protest enters	August	√						√	

	third day in Ambo and Almegena as other towns follow suit	24, 2016								
74	TPLF forces shot, kill a college student in jimma as protests spread	August 25, 2016				√	√		√	
75	Deadly clashes in Gimbi, west welega as more Oromia towns join protest against TPLF rule	August 27, 2016		√					√	
76	Oromia region intensifies uprising against TPLF, several killed by regime forces	August 30, 2016				√			√	
77	Ethiopian regime deploying massive military to the Oromia region as uprising continue unabated	August 31, 2016	√						√	
78	Over two hundred regime soldiers desert the army, Metema goes up in flames as several people shot dead by TPLF forces	September 1, 2016	√			√			√	
79	Groups say forming democratic government is ultimate goal of struggle	September 8, 2016	√		√				√	
80	Ethiopians in Europe hold up embassies in protest	September 8, 2016		√					√	
81	Civic groups call on UN to address worsening human	September 8,		√					√	

	rights violations in Ethiopia	2016								
82	Mass arrest in the Oromia region as clashes escalate	September 8, 2016	√	√					√	
83	European Commission says no Emergency Trust Fund (ETF) goes to Ethiopia	September 8, 2016		√						√
84	Regime operatives accused of arson attack	September 9, 2016	√						√	
85	“I would have regretted for the rest of my life if I didn’t make the protest gesture in Rio,” Feyisa Lilesa	September 14, 2016						√	√	
86	TPLF Security forces kill dozens in Oromia, Ethiopia	September 14, 2016				√	√		√	
87	TPLF with Ethio Somalia ‘Liyu’ Security forces accused of displacing Oromos in somaila	September 15, 2016	√			√	√		√	
88	Gun battle rages in eastern Harerga	September 15, 2016	√	√					√	
89	Metu and other Oromia strike again	September 19, 2016	√						√	
90	Seven alleged arsonists	September	√						√	

	caught in oromia	er 22, 2016								
91	Ethiopian PM attacks social media, Internet at UN	September 22, 2016						√	√	
92	TPLF Four soldiers killed in Oromia, Ethiopia	September 23, 2016	√			√	√		√	
93	Ethnic violence displaces hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians	October 20,2017				√	√			√
94	Somaliland Displaced Thousands of Oromo ethnic People	October 22,2017	√				√		√	
95	Somali Region Liyu Force invade Oromia	October 24,2017		√			√		√	
96	Oromo-Somali conflict consuming civilian lives.	October 26,2017		√			√		√	
97	78 dead in recent Oromo-Somali conflict by TPLF Somalia liyu force	October 26,2017	√			√	√		√	
98	Somali Liyu Police launches cross-boarder attacks against the Oromo	October 28,2017		√			√		√	
99	Ethiopia's ethnic violence displaces up to 400,000	October 28,2017	√				√		√	
100	Somali Special Force (Liyu Police) Have	October 29,2017		√			√		√	

	Attacked Innocent Oromo People									
101	Elders from east Hararghe call for an end to “Liyu police anarchy” in Oromia; stay-at-home strike spreads through the region	October 28,2017		√			√			√

2. EBC NEWS

No	Headline	Date	News in Categories				News sources		
			Backing the Government	Stability Report	Blaming Oppositions	Others	Own	ENA*	Others
1	Irecha celebration disrupted due to disturbance by forces of violence	October 2, 2016			√		√		
2	Hospital confirms stampede caused Irreecha deaths	October 3, 2016	√					√	
3	Ethiopia declares mourning for the loss of lives at Irreecha festival	October 3, 2016		√			√		
4	State Gov't pledges support for families of stampede victims	October 4, 2016		√				√	
5	President conveys condolences over fatality during Irreecha Festival	October 4, 2016		√			√		

6	AU sends condolences to gov't, families of victims of stampede	October 4, 2016		√			√	
7	State of Oromiya vows to take legal measure on violent forces damaging public property	October 5, 2016			√		√	
8	Rock thrown by unknown individuals kills an American	October 6,2016			√			√
9	Government says working hard to serve the public	October 6,2016	√				√	
10	Ethiopia declares state of emergency	October 9,2016	√				√	
11	OPDO says it will reshuffle the leadership of the party as well as the state	October 10,2016	√				√	
12	The command post to operate the state of emergency begins work	October 10,2016		√			√	
13	The declaration aims at securing peace and security of the public, the government	October 11, 2016		√			√	
14	president Mulatu says the government will work to defend the anti Ethiopian movement	October 11, 2016			√		√	
15	Illegal troop under control in bus station checkup	October 12,2016			√		√	
16	Violent driven areas reversed to stability in State of Oromia	October 12,2016		√			√	
17	Ethiopia won't shrink from regional responsibility because	October 13,2016	√					√

	of State of Emergency: GCAO								
18	Council of Ministers adopts specifics of emergency decree	October 14,2016	√					√	
19	The government and the public need to work collaboratively on national security	October 14,2016		√			√		
20	The detail on state of emergency will help better implementation	October 14,2016	√				√		
21	President Mulatu says the government and the public is on the side of investors whose properties were damaged	October 14,2016	√				√		
22	The house is committed to follow up the implementation is questions raised by the public, Abadula, House speaker	October 14,2016				√	√		
23	The command post announce the details of state of emergency	October, 15,2016	√				√		
24	Factories damaged during violation restarted operation	October 17,2016		√			√		
25	House approves decree on state of emergency	October 20,2016	√				√		
26	State of Emergency normalizing situation in Ethiopia	October, 21,2016		√				√	
27	Foreign visitors need not	Octo				√	√		

	inform anyone to visit any place they want, Federal Attorney General	ber 24,2016							
28	Human Rights Watch is denouncing Ethiopia, MOFA	October 25,2016				√			√
29	18 investment projects that were damaged in Sebta, Oromia and restart operation	October 26,2016		√				√	
30	Citizens peaceful movement is returned to the usual, GCAO	October 26,2016		√				√	
31	EPRDF is progressing in deep rehabilitation, executive committee of the front	October 27,2016		√			√		
32	State of emergency Inquiry board begins work	October 28,2016	√				√		
33	Premier says the measure taken on anti peace forces will continue	October 29/2016			√		√		
34	Ethiopia appoints new cabinet members, ministers	October 30,2016	√				√		
35	The government announces the unrest in Oromia is because of the action taken to illegal forces	July 7,2017			√		√	√	
36	Securing the rule of law is not a compulsory thing to put for negotiation, Mayer Diriba	July 7,2017	√				√	√	
37	Measure has been taken on forces allegedly killing and dismantling people in west	July 14,2017			√		√		

	Oromia, village zone.								
38	Government controls Oromia unrest	July 15, 2017		√			√		
39	One of the suspects for killing peaceful citizens in Metu is under control	July,13,2017			√			√	
40	The region, warns forces to stop their action to aggravate the instability in Oromia region	July 17,2017			√		√		
41	Anti terrorism task force denounce the actions of terrorist groups in Shashemen.	July 18, 2017			√				√
42	The Government Vow to Exercise the Responsibility of Maintaining Peace	August 8,2017		√			√		
43	State Chief calls on public to ensure stability, rule of law	August 9, 2017		√				√	
44	OFC Party, should take the responsibility for loss of life and property, Oromia region.	August 10/ 2017			√			√	
45	Seven Dead in Ambo Demonstration	August 11, 2017			√		√		
46	Questions for the government should be presented peacefully, Religion Fathers	August 13/2017		√			√		
47	The government urged nations and nationalities should protect the federal system and its fruits	August 14/2017		√			√		
48	OPDO/EPRDF vows to solve	August	√				√		

	the questions raised by the public	16/2017							
49	Amb Taye briefs Addis-based Africa Ambassadors on current affairs	August/19/2017		√					√
50	The government promised to solve instability in few areas in a collaborative way	August21 / 2017		√			√		
51	Hailemariam lauds police role in defending constitutional order	August 22, 2017	√				√		
52	EPRDF passes resolutions to uphold rights, benefits of the people	August 23, 2017		√				√	
53	Government Vows to solve Instability with the Public	August 23, 2017		√			√		
54	Police Commission said the news on social media about Demonstration in Addis not true	August 23, 2017			√		√		
55	UK says it shares Ethiopia's stand on peace, security	Sept. 16, 2017		√				√	
56	Ethiopian Prime Minister at UN Assembly decries use of social media to spread messages of hate and bigotry	September 22, 2017				√			√
57	TPLF decides to solve party problems	September 25, 2017	√				√		
58	Peace Journalism vital to	September		√					√

	resolve conflicts: GCAO	r 29, 2017							
59	The instability in Oromia is reversed to peace.	September 30, 2017		√			√		
60	EPRDF Executive Committee expresses full commitment to address past, present challenges	October 1, 2017	√					√	
61	House discusses draft legislation on constitutional special interest of Oromia on Addis Ababa	October 3, 2017				√	√		
62	EPRDF Executive Committee wraps up meeting on current issues	October 3, 2017	√					√	
63	Violence in Ambo town orchestrated by those who want to make Oromia center of violence: Regional state	October 5, 2017			√			√	
64	Dr Merera appears in court today	October 8, 2017			√		√		
65	Sheikh Mohammed Hussein Ali Al-Amoudi donates \$1.5 mln for displaced people	October 9, 2017				√		√	
66	Gov't working to restore peace at Oromia-Ethiopian Somali border areas	October 13, 2017		√				√	

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and all the sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Signature: _____

Date of Submission: June 2018

Place of Submission: **Addis Ababa University**