

**THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIA FRAMES ON THE PUBLIC'S
PERCEPTION OF THE 2015-16 ETHIOPIAN PROTEST**

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Tesfagebriel Tekola, entitled “The Influence of Media Frames on the Public’s Perception of the 2015-16 Ethiopian Protest” and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Acronyms

AJE - Al-Jazeera English

ANDM - Amhara Nationality Democratic Movement

CNN - Cable News Network

CSA - Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia

EBC - Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation

EPRDF - Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

ETV – Ethiopian Television

EU - European Union

FBC - Fana Broadcasting Corporate

HRW - Human Rights Watch

IGO - Intergovernmental Organization

OAU - Organization of African Union

OPDO - Oromo People Democratic Organization

RTLMC - Radio Television Libre Mille Collines

RVI - Rift Valley Institute

SNNPR - Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region

SPLF - Southern People Liberation Front

TPLF - Tigray People Liberation Front

WAIC - Wolkait Amhara Identity Committee

WCC - World Council of Churches

WPE - Workers Party of Ethiopia

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ABSTRACT

Analysis of the Influence of Media Frames' on Publics' Perception of the 2015-16 Ethiopian Protest

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The 2015-16 Ethiopian protest is a series of protests that started in 2015 in Oromia region and then spread in to different parts of the country mainly, Amhara region, Konso zone, and Gedeo zone. During these yearlong protests more than hundreds of deaths and property damages had been observed. During protests media are believed to play a significant role. They do not provide only information, but “by framing social and political issues in specific ways, they declare the underlying causes and likely consequences of a problem and establish criteria for evaluating potential remedies of the problem” (Johnson-Cartee, 2005, cited in Asmeret, 2013, p. 42). Considering this, examining how EBC framed the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest and whether the frames have influenced the publics' perception of the issue was the main objective of this research. To do so, quantitative method of research was employed. Through random sampling technique 95 sample news were collected for the content analysis using EBC's Website Archive. For the survey, 300 sample respondents were selected from three sub-cities of Addis Ababa (Yeka, Bole, and Lideta). With the help of Microsoft Excel, the selected news contents and survey responses were analyzed using frequency distribution and percentage analysis. Finally, comparison of the content analysis and survey analysis results was made to come up with the final findings.

The results show that the dominant frame that EBC used to structure its news is anti-peace frame in which the news portrayed the protest as an anti-peace movement planned by anti-peace and anti-development groups to create chaos and terror. On the other hand, the public framed the protest in terms of its economic consequences. The tone of the news towards the protest was negative while respondents showed positive attitude towards it. In general, the findings show that there is incongruence between the media frames and audience frames, and the frames were not successful at influencing audiences' perception regarding the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest. Based on the findings the researcher has recommended EBC to present a more balanced news by representing all sides of a story, especially during protest times.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

It is almost impossible to think human history without communication. Communication is a very important constituent of our lives and existence and no society has been known to exist without communication. It is the exchange of ideas, views, information, experiences and the sharing of meanings between persons, nations, societies and cultures. One of the means for a communication to take place is the media. This demands a continuous study in the area of mass communication and how it affects different societies and people.

Media are sources of information that the public empower itself with. There is popular recognition that media play considerable functions in different societies by providing information upon which critical decisions are based. In essence, media are a key instrument in decision making, by providing information, and a platform for articulation, aggregation and formation of public opinion. This shows that, media play role in politics.

Media and politics can be taken as two sides of a coin. They would substantially influence each other. Officials are needed by the media because they provide information needed to produce news; officials on the other hand need the media to communicate their message to the public (Black, 2006). Media play great role in almost every political activity including conflicts. According to Ha (2003), “without news media, both the voters and political actors cannot even imagine how to participate in and maintain the democratic process” (p. 11).

During the first half of 20th century, early media scholars used to believe that media’s power to influence the audience was direct and unlimited. They perceived media as a powerful means to alter audience’s stance on almost everything. Then another phase of media effect studies started to take place. In the early 1950s, the limited effect studies came to denounce the previous studies that gave media an unlimited power. After series of studies conducted by researchers such as Lazarsfeld and Hovland, “they found that media were not as powerful as mass society or propaganda theory had suggested” (Baran & Davis, 2012, p. 137). By the limited media effect theorists, “Media were

conceptualized as relatively powerless in shaping public opinion in the face of more potent intervening variables like people's individual differences and their group memberships (ibid, p. 136).

In countries where lead by liberal form of governments, the media are expected to play a fourth estate or watchdog role. The media as fourth estate means that the media act as a mediator between the public and the government. They present citizens the right information to enable them make rational and responsible choice and decision. Media also raise political issues for discussion. As Tiung and Hasim (2009), state, "politicians are considered to be items of high news value, and politicians need the media for publicity and for informing the people of their activities" (p. 408). In a country like Ethiopia, mass media's role in the politics is immense. Media may have a lot of influence by presenting politically important information to large heterogeneous and anonymous audience.

The media do not simply provide information of what happened or how it happened. In agenda setting theory, the media have the power to give the audience what to think about. Maxwell, McCombs and Shaw (1972), explained their interpretation of agenda-setting, "In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story" (cited in Baran, 2012, p. 294).

The extension of Agenda Setting Theory, which is Framing Theory, raises the power of media into providing information with a frame of references. Walter Lippmann cited in Bryant. & Zillmann, argue that, "the news media, our windows to the vast world beyond our direct experience, determine our cognitive maps of that world" (2008, p. 2). Lippmann's notion was that the information provided by the news media play a key role in the construction of our pictures of reality. He also argues that, the decision made by professionals and other stakeholders in the media determine what information becomes available and in what way it should be available. The media assign meaning to information so that the audience can get not only what to think about, but how to think about too.

Thus, Bullock et al., (2001) suggest that media studies should also pay attention to the way the media frame a given problem. Media framing explains the media's portrayal of certain issue.

Specifically, media frames “are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters” (Schudson, 1989, p. 35). As Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) emphasize, “framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by the audience” (p. 11).

Talking about political instability, media can influence the dynamics and outcome of political instability in different ways. That is why different stakeholders, especially the government wants to primarily seize and use the media for its own advantage during protests, movements, violence, unrests and coups. In news related to protest, frames may affect perception of the issue and generate specific evaluations about the protest, cause, solution, and those who are involved in it. Examining how the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest was framed in EBC’s news is one of the objectives of the current study.

Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world. It is currently striving to achieve a better economic and political development, and reach middle income country status within short period of time by implementing various policies. Ethiopian government has been working towards this goal by setting 2025 as a deadline. However; starting from August 2015 to the end of 2016, there were a series of protests country wide. The protests were intense in Oromia Regional State, Amhara Regional State, and some places in South Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Regional State. Many civilians and police members have lost their life, not to mention the hugely destroyed investments and factories, and other private and public properties. It was for this reason that the government announced the six month State of Emergency in October 15, 2016. During these protests the national TV channel, Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation, (hereafter EBC) was covering the issue by discussing the causes, stakeholders, and solutions.

The Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation, formerly a state owned, but now a public television channel came in to existence on Nov 2, 1964 (EBC’s Editorial Policy, 2014). The establishment of the television channel has had a considerable influence on the political, economic and social life of the Ethiopian society over the last several decades. It began its service with the support of Thomson Television International, a British firm. EBC has contributed a lot in providing a

platform for the government and to promote as well as mediate the government and the public. It also played an important role in covering various national and international issues.

It began its service in two languages (Amharic and English) (EBC's Editorial Policy, 2014). Currently, EBC broadcasts in several local and foreign languages: Amharic, Tigrigna, Afan Oromo, Somalia, Afar, English, French, and Arabic languages. Most of its services are also being aired via Arab sat to audience living abroad. It is also working to expand the channels so as to entertain various issues apart from news coverage. It is undeniable that EBC can play an important role in framing different issues of national importance. The information it delivers regarding national plans for development and other issues is believed to have impact on the public's perception. It is considering these that EBC was selected for this study.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

According to political science's conflict theory, conflict is inevitable. If conflict is inevitable the media play a major role during conflicts. Media contribute on the escalation of conflicts either constructively or destructively. The Rwandan Genocide can be a nice example. A report by the United Nations regarding the Rwandan Genocide states that, "the station (RTMLC) went so far in its verbal abuse of the Tutsi and in provoking the Hutu against them, it significantly raised the bar of permissible hatemongering". In addition, the media used for propaganda during 1st and 2nd World War, Syrian conflict, the Arab Spring and other conflicts can also be mentioned to elaborate the role media played in conflicts.

In addition to providing information about the political process, "the mass media can confer status and legitimacy on political leaders and issues" (Tobechukwu, 2009, p. 66). The media interpret and put stories into perspectives; that way, they assign meaning to information and indicate the values by which it should be judged. As Vladislavljević (2015), explains it more "by representing conflicts they report on in particular ways, the media strongly influence the dynamics and outcomes of conflicts, and thus also shape the prospects of success of conflict parties" (p. 2).

Tobechukwu also argues that, "by creating and sustaining political values, the mass media are also important tools for political stability and social equilibrium" (2009, p. 67). This shows that the focus they give and the way they frame the issues influence the course and outcome of conflicts.

“By framing social and political issues in specific ways, news organizations declare the underlying causes and likely consequences of a problem and establish criteria for evaluating potential remedies of the problem” (Johnson-Cartee, 2005, p. 26 cited in Asmeret, 2013, p. 42). There is no difference for media in Ethiopia too.

In situations like the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest, media play paramount role in providing different information regarding the protest to the public. Especially a huge media organization like EBC, provides not only mere information, but also a frame of understanding the protest. Diaspora television channels were claimed to be jammed not to reach their audience in Ethiopia. So, news regarding the protest were mainly transmitted via EBC apart from few international media that rarely covered the subject. As a result, the researcher wanted to study how EBC framed the protest, and the researcher did some preliminary assessment regarding the Ethiopian media environment.

In Ethiopia, the media are mostly criticized for their role of political patronage. Asmeret (2013), acknowledges that governments in countries like Ethiopia own media outlets and use it to promote their interests. She also states that, “government media outlets in Ethiopia were criticized for being used as tools of propaganda for the ruling political party” (p. 42). Formerly, EBC was a state owned media, but since 2014 it has become a public media directly responsible to the Parliament.

Previous researches revealed that government is the main news maker in EBC and it influences the news contents. This is more supported by Temesgen’s (2013), statement; “journalists give a little emphasis to other sources. Information was presented from the angle of the government officials” (p. 65). However, since the media house was proclaimed as a public media in 2014 there are expected changes to take place in the news reporting ways. So, the necessity of a study that might show the change is not for a debate. Because, studying the news frames influence on the audience perception not only show the dominant frames used in the news, but also the influence of the medium on the audience.

Checking for framing related studies in Ethiopia, the researcher found out studies that only focused on identifying news frame and factors that influence the media to frame in that particular way. Some of the studies are about a framing of foreign issues in local and/or international media, or a comparative analysis of the two media institutions. Wibshet (2016), studied how ISIS was covered in the news reports of Al Jazeera English /AJE/ and Cable News Network /CNN/. Mohammed

(2014), conducted a study to investigate how Aljazeera, BBC, and ETV framed the Syrian conflict. Desalegne (2014), also conducted “Framing of the 2011 uprising in Egypt: Content Analysis of the Ethiopian Herald and the Reporter”.

Methodologically speaking, almost all of the researches that the researcher encountered were qualitative and/or quantitative content analysis of certain issue, of which some were supported by in-depth interviews with journalists and editors (Bethelhem, 2006; Ketema, 2015; and Senait, 2011). One of recent framing studies on Ethiopian domestic political issue is that of Ketema (2015). He analyzed how competing political parties were framed in the news during the pre-election time. The study found out that the government media framed the ruling party positively and the private media tried to be neutral on the subject matter. Yet; the researcher came across no research that employed survey method and dealt with news framing influence on audiences’ perception.

Keeping these in mind, the current study aims to make a step forward to address this gap by studying how EBC framed the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest and examining whether the frames have got in to audiences’ cognition or not.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is examining the influence of EBC’s news frames regarding the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest on the public’s perception of the issue.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives of the Study

In line with addressing the above general objective, the study also have the following specific objectives:

1. To find out how EBC framed the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest
2. To identify the tone of EBC’s news towards the protest
3. To determine the major sources that are quoted in the news
4. To find out audiences frame and tone regarding the protest

1.4. Research Questions

- What are the dominant frames that EBC used to structure its news about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest?
- What tone did the news had towards the protest?
- Who are the most quoted source of information in the news?
- Did EBC's news frames of the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest have any influence on audiences' perception of the same issue?

1.5. Hypotheses

The fact that EBC is the first television channel with over 50 years' of service makes the researcher assume that Ethiopian people, especially in urban areas, attend EBC's news programs to get latest information regarding various issues of national importance. Until recent time, EBC was also the only television channel in the country. Regarding EBC's audience, Thomas (2016, p. 6) stated that "EBC broadcasts from 27 transmitters around the country and claims to reach a potential audience of 25 million people". This shows that the channel has large number of audiences.

Considering the above aspects, and basing on the central point of the framing theory, which is "frames that paradigmatically dominate news are also believed to dominate audiences" (D'Angelo, 2002, p. 876) the researcher came up with the following hypotheses to be tested based on the findings.

Hypothesis 1: The frames identified in the survey will be congruent with frames identified in the content analysis.

Hypothesis 2: The tone conveyed in the news about the protest will correspond with the survey respondents' perceptions of the same topic.

Hypothesis 3: The media frames of the protest have influenced the audience understanding of the same topic.

1.6. Significance of the study

This study provides latest information on news framing of the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest. As a result, accomplishing this study is of paramount importance to the researcher, other students, the concerned government bodies, and for the selected media institution. This study have an immense

benefit for the researcher. As a student researcher, the researcher was engaged in various steps of learning through this study. The researcher believes that it has widened his knowledge scope regarding research.

The result of this research will also be of help for the media outlet under study since it will help them to assess their frame of the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest, and whether they were successful at influencing the public's understanding of the issue via their news frames. The study may also help journalists to widen their knowledge about framing and its influence on perception, and provide Journalists with a better insight into how they could achieve better coverage of political news, including protests. What is more, it may help them to be more careful and critical when dealing with sources and their respective frames. Moreover; it will surely be a stepping stone for other researchers who might be interested on the issue and the theory.

1.7. Scope of the Study

This study focuses on examining how the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest was framed by the EBC and whether the media frames have any influence on audience's perception of the issue under discussion. The study area was three sub-cities of Addis Ababa, and since the samples were taken through multi-stage random sampling technique they are representative. It is also necessary to note that other than the 2015-16 protests in Ethiopia the current study did not include previous protests. The research also used only the Amharic language news for the content analysis.

1.8. Organization of the paper

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

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Media and Politics

There are many institutions that functions together in a society. Government and media are two of these social institutions that are influenced by their relationship to each other. According to Fourie (2004, p. 463), “governments are the most important of these institutions”. Government is formed by a group of individuals that seize the power through legitimate (ex. election) or illegitimate (ex. coup) way. No matter the way they seize power, but media are an integral part of the process. The media can be subject to the control of political institution in a legal, normative or structural way. So, the media plays the role of a bridge between the government and the people. Therefore, “the mass media of a country, more than any other kind of institution, are shaped by the prevailing type of political power. This relationship obviously gives a government a lot of potential control over and influence on the nature of news” (ibid).

In the contemporary world no government or particular political party can pursue its functions without having the backing of the media. Scholars also assert that it is almost impossible to disconnect media and politics because they cannot live without each other. “Politicians need the media for publicity and to inform the people about their activities” (Tiung & Hasim, 2009, p. 11). According to Curran & Seaton (2003), “to inform, to discuss, to mirror, to bind, to campaign, to challenge, to entertain and to judge – these are the important functions of the media in any free country” (p. 379).

In an undemocratic political system the media serve as a means of mass manipulation in favor of those in power. They are determined to fulfill the interest of the ruling class. On the contrary, in the presence of a democratic political system which is “a favorable political environment that provides media with a remarkable degree of independence from the ‘threat of political interference’, the media are destined to unite, educate, and as a result, improve the actions and decisions of the polity” (Yetnayet, 2008, p. 24).

Assessing the link between Ethiopian media and 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, p. 91). He 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. During the imperial regime when the Emperor and Ethiopia were regarded as one being, the press was targeted to satisfy the interest of the imperial Crown and Royalty (Getachew, 2003). High media censorship and journalists’ intimidation 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” (Graber, 1989, p. 22 cited in Nigussie, 2014, p. 88) 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, p. 88).

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. The 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:

- a) *The freedom of conscience, expression, association and peaceful assembly;*
- b) *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 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 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). ...Bringing dual ownership system of the media for the first time in the nation's history and the constitutionalization of the freedom of the press is a good step forward in the democratization process. Nigussie (2014, p. 91)

However; he 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 politicization of the Ethiopian state media" Skjerdal (2011, p. 70). Skjerdal criticizes the democratic character of the Ethiopian media environment. Ross (2010, cited in Nigussie, 2014) 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, Desalegne (2014), 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".

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 unfavorable political system makes their survival unbearable. Nigussie (2014), maintains that “there is great hostility and acute polarization between government and private media” (p. 91).

He also asserts that “lack of professionalism from both media types have 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. Albeit the several accusations on the government for adversely impacting the media freedom, the government claims it uses the media as herald of development and democracy (Skjerdal, 2011). These days the government is granting license for private television and radio agencies (Example: Fana Broadcasting Corporate, Walta Information Center and Arki Broadcasting Service).

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.

2.2. Media and Movement

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

Nevertheless; the interests of movement actors and journalists most often do not coincide. According to McLeod (2007), “most protest groups operate with limited resources and have a difficult time securing public visibility, disseminating information, and exerting influence. ... A peaceful protest is not likely to fit established news conventions for what makes a good news story.

As such, protest groups often engage in activities that provide the kind of drama that garners media attention”.

Smith, et al. also claim that, “not all public demonstrations receives media attention” (2001, p. 1399). This is because the media often select and give emphasis for issues they think should be reported. Even, when protests succeed at obtaining the attention of mass media outlets, media reports portray protests in ways that may undermine the movement’s agendas. Journalists often focus on other things newsworthy. As Vliegenthart and Walgrave (n.d), 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” (p. 5).

This is best elucidated by a protest paradigm; according to a protest paradigm, protests have two options: be ignored by the media, or resort to drama and risk that events might be used to delegitimize the group (McLeod, 2007). McLeod and Hertog (cited in McLeod 2007) identify that protest paradigm is characterized by news frames, reliance on official sources and official definitions, and the invocation of public opinion, delegitimization and demonization.

Selective and over reporting of negative, although not false, news can affect the way we perceive a situation and, sometimes, an entire group of people. “By selectively reporting on the small percentage (in relation to the total number of demonstrators throughout the country) of those who are rioting and inciting violence and showing the same incidents repeatedly, the media portray a false narrative” Pena (n.d) argues. Without a cognizant of this, we might come to think of what we see as an accurate depiction of the movement. This let people to have a distorted reality about the issue which will eventually affect the outcome of the movement.

2.3. Background of the Protest

Ethiopia has been governed by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) since they captured the capital and ended the Ethiopian Civil War in 1991. Members of the Tigrayan ethnic group constitute a minority of Ethiopia's population. However; “members of this ethnic group dominate the senior positions in the country's military and political system while the majority of Amhara and Oromo people are marginalized” according to a report by, ‘The Rift Valley Institute’ (2016).

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 populace. 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 neighboring 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 ethno-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.

2.3.1. How it all began

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

Democratic Movement (ANDM) politicians reportedly had sympathy with the initial protests, which they may also have seen as means of leveraging greater influence at the center, the report claims.

Protests erupted again in Ethiopia on 5 August 2016 following calls by opposition groups. Protesters demanded social and political reforms including an end to human rights abuses (including government killings of civilians, mass arrests, government land seizures, and political marginalization of opposition groups). The government shut down the internet across the country for two days, fearing that was how the demonstrations were being organized. There is only one, state-controlled internet service provider so this was fairly straightforward, Abbink describes.

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

2.3.2. Escalation

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

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)” (ibid). 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".

2.3.3. Causes of the protests

- **Dissatisfaction towards the governance system**

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 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.

- **Political and Economic Marginalization**

Oromia Region

According to diplomatic, NGO, and opposition sources, "hundreds of thousands of people marched in more than 100 towns and cities in the vast Oromia State, in protest at "the government's draconian and ever-escalating repression." This resulted in at least 148 people being killed on 5 and 6 August 2016" (RVI, 2016).

Under the ethnic-based federal system, Oromia and Amhara are the two biggest regional states, which are the largest sub-national administrative regions and defined along ethno-linguistic lines. Protests in the two regions pose a great danger to the federal government. This risk is especially high in the event of the protests becoming coordinated across regions. The Oromos, who make up around a third of the population, "have long complained that they have been excluded from the

country's political process and the economic development which has seen the capital, Addis Ababa, transformed in recent years” (ibid).

The ruling party, EPRDF (a coalition of four major political parties: TPLF, OPDO, ANDM and SPLF) “has long been criticized for its internal inequality among the parties” (ibid). TPLF was branded as a superior amongst all, a claim that the government firmly oppose. EPRDF has undoubtedly created a sense of persistent dissatisfaction among these two large populations, Abbink wrote. “The explosion of pent-up anger appears fueled by issues of humiliation and discrimination caused by Ethiopia’s regionally skewed and ethnic-based politics” (ibid).

Amhara Region

At the root of the demonstrations in Amhara is a request by representatives from the Wolkait Amhara Identity Committee that their land, which is currently administered by the Tigray regional state, be moved into the neighboring Amhara region. The disputes over land, which is closely tied to heritage and identity have been central to the demonstrations, even though private ownership has been outlawed since 1975. “Territorial identities are still quite strong and sometimes reinforced by ethnicity. The Wolkait committee says “community members identify themselves as ethnic Amharas and say they no longer want to be ruled by Tigrayans”” (ibid). The federal government restricted itself from interfering in the subject matter, claiming that since the place is in the Tigray Regional state, it’s a jurisdiction of the regional government to deal with the situation.

In the ensuing confrontations, security force members were killed. On the weekend of August 6-7, renewed protests erupted in several locations and “about a hundred demonstrators were shot and killed” (ibid). Later in August, the large Esmeralda flower farm near Bahir Dar was burned to the ground and the Dutch owners withdrew from Ethiopia.

In July 2016 the Anti-terrorism task force detained members of the Wolkait Amhara Identity Committee (WAIC). Soon after, protests erupted in many areas of the Amhara Region. One of the biggest demonstrations took place was on 1st August, 2016 in Gondar city. Thousands of people held a demonstration over “the arrest of the WAIC members, government repression and objected Federal government encroachment in regional affairs. Protesters carried placards expressing solidarity with the Oromo people” (ibid). They also drew attention to the dispute over the administration of Wolkait Tsegede.

Further demonstrations soon followed in the Amhara region. “Many protests spiraled into violence as security forces fired live bullets on protesters. On 5 August 2016, 50 student protesters were killed while protesting in the populous city of Bahir Dar” (ibid). Evidence collected by Ethiopian Human Rights Project has so far shown that major protests took place in 6 of the 11 zones in the Amhara Region. The zones include North Gondar, South Gondar, Bahr Dar Special Zone, Awi, West Gojam and East Gojam. Anti-government street demonstrations and “stay at home” protests took place in small Wereda towns and in some cases in rural Kebeles across the six zones.

Konso

The Konso community in Ethiopia’s Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People’s Region (SNNPR), located south of Lake Chamo, have also been protesting against the regional administration, according to Abate Seyoum (2016). On Sat. March 5 confrontation took place between the community and a federal police force.

The fundamental cause of the conflict between the regional administration and the Konso Community, as Abate explain, was “a request of the Konso community for a constitutional administrative autonomy”. The Konso community have been trying to voice their complaints through several mass rallies between July and October 2015, on Friday October 9 2015 more than 50,000 people staged a silent walk through the town. The main demand Konso Community from the regional government was to grant them a zonal status of their own, Abate (2016) wrote.

Abate also asserted that, the government has finally submitted to a peaceful negotiated solution to the problem. The Federal Government intervened by releasing the chief traditional leader on 21/03/2016 from prison to hold meeting with the community.

2.3.4. The protesters

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

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

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

2.3.5. Reactions

New York-based Human Rights Watch reported that more than 500 people have been killed in clashes with the security forces as of October 2016, although the government disputes this figure. Several bodies including the United Nations and the European Union called for restraint on the part of security forces. An Amnesty International report stated that over 600 people were killed and hundreds more sustained injuries in heavy-handed but ‘unsurprising’ response by Ethiopian security forces to the widening protests. As part of Government’s official response, they disputed HRW’s figures disclosing that 173 people died in the protests out of which 28 were police officers.

International concerns were raised by the United States and France. The European Union (EU) also expressed concern, being the first political bloc to wade in on the issue. The Africa union at the time had yet to comment. Eventually; the AU recognized the violent protest and called for the

Ethiopian government “to find peaceful and lasting solution to the social, political and the economic issues that were underlying the protests”.

“The U.S. Embassy expresses its deep condolences to those who suffered as a result of the violence and regrets the damage to livelihoods, economic development, and the social fabric that such violence brings,” the US statement said. The World Council of Churches (WCC) also issued a statement, mourning persons who were killed in the protest. They called on the authorities to exercise restraint over the security clampdown. As August closed, the United States upgraded their caution to Citizens issued earlier in the month to the status of a travel alert. The State Department said the travel alert remained valid till February 18, 2017.

Another significant development in August was at the 2016 Olympics in Rio, Brazil. In Rio Ethiopian athlete Feyisa Lelisa crossed his arms over his head at the finishing line, to show his solidarity to the Oromo people he believe are being treated unjust in the country. The incident famously brought the protest to the attention of the international community through major international media and social media.

Moreover; the Israeli Foreign Ministry issued a travel warning on 1 September 2016. Places in the Amhara Region included in the warning were Gondar city, a popular site for many Israeli tourists and an area where many Ethiopian Jews originated. The warning was announced a day after the Prime Minister of Ethiopia Hailemariam Desalegn 's announcement on EBC and gave direct order for the Ethiopian Army Forces to use any force necessary to bring order to the region.

2.3.6. The Present Situation

A six-month State of Emergency (hereafter SoE) declared on 9th October has seen protest subside. The SoE was declared by Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn. Constitutional government is overridden by rule by a Command Post chaired by Prime Minister Haile-Mariam Desalegn. According to Article 93 of the Ethiopian constitution, the council of ministers has the power to declare the State of Emergency under three conditions: 1) during foreign invasion, 2) during a natural disaster or natural epidemic, and 3) when there is a breakdown of the country’s law and regulation which will endanger the constitutional order. The state of emergency authorizes the military to enforce security nationwide. It also imposed restrictions on freedom of speech and access to information. The SoE initially included curfews, social media blocks, and restrictions on

opposition party activity and a ban on diplomats travelling more than 40 kilometers outside the capital without approval.

The SoE was followed by an unusually far reaching cabinet reshuffle on 1 November, changing the government only appointed a year earlier in October 2015. The new cabinet brought high profile ministerial appointments from the ethno-national groups most associated with the protests. Several top positions went to Oromos. Dr Workneh Gebeyehu, who shifted from his very recent appointment as Oromia regional president, was promoted to Minister of Foreign Affairs. An Addis Ababa University lecturer in journalism, Dr. Negeri Lencho, was appointed minister in charge of the Government Communication Affairs Office.

On March 15, the SoE was relaxed, and arrests and searches without court orders were stopped, and restrictions on radio, television and theatre were dropped. On March 30 the Ethiopian parliament announced the extension of the SoE by four months. The extension came amid reports of continued violence and anti-government activities in some rural areas. According to Ethiopia's defense minister, Siraj Fegessa, "we still have some anti-peace elements that are active and want to capitalize on disputes that arise among regional states in the country". The minister also claimed that, "some leaders of the violent acts that we witnessed before are still at large and disseminating wrong information to incite violence".

2.4. Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation

Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) was established in 1964, during the time of Emperor Haile Selassie, with the technical help of the British firm, Thomson. EBC was initially established to highlight the Organization of African Unity (OAU) founding heads of state meeting in Addis Ababa in that same year. The establishment of the Ethiopian television has had a considerable influence on the political, economic and social life of the Ethiopian society over the last several decades. It has contributed a lot in providing a platform for the government and to promote as well as mediate the government and the public. It also played an important role in covering various national and international issues.

During the Imperial regime, "apart from serving as disseminating of information to the public, EBC was used to build the Emperor's personality cult" (Birhanu, 2009, p. 187). In the dictatorial Derg regime, in 1982, Color television broadcast began in commemoration of the founding of

Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE). The military junta firmly controlled its everyday activities (Leena, 2012). With the coming of the EPRDF in 1991, EBC has seen restructuring processes. It is shifted from monolingual to multilingual transmissions. All regions have transmissions through their own languages, but depend on EBC's network for transmission (Skjerdal, 2012). Skjerdal also added that EBC covers 42% of the geographical area of the country.

Since its establishment, as Simon (2005) claims "EBC has remained in the hands of government, with its operations and content regulated by government". Simon also noticed that, "most of the programmes are made to promote the government's policies, and the quality of journalism is often weak". Currently, Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) broadcasts its news and programmes through three mediums, namely radio, television and website. The accountability of EBC is to the House of People's Representatives and is led by a management board in accordance with the Establishment Proclamation of EBC 858/2006.

According to EBC's editorial policy (2014) creating awareness about the political, democratic and social benefits citizens can get by mobilizing themselves around the constitution; and creating the realization that the rights and benefits of all citizens could be respected through peaceful and legal means, and hosting differing ideas are the main bases of contents of EBC. EBC also claims to support Ethiopia's continental and international participation and recognition by disseminating information that reflect the development, peace and democracy as well as good image of the country.

2.5. Theoretical Framework: Framing

During the first half of 20th century, early media scholars used to believe that media's power to influence the audience was direct and unlimited. They perceived media as a powerful means to alter audience's stance on a lot of things. Then another phase of media effect studies started to take place. In the early 1960s, the limited effect studies came to denounce the previous studies that give media an unlimited power.

Before Lazarsfeld' and his colleagues initiate new way of looking, it was believed that media has absolute power in changing audience attitude. The hypodermic needle and magic-bullet models were substituted by more theoretically and methodologically sophisticated ideas of Lazarsfeld' and his colleagues. Lazarsfeld' and his colleagues emphasized on the importance of personal

experience and argued that media messages reinforced people's existing attitude rather than changing their attitude (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007).

Paradigm shift has been continued and diverse theories were introduced to the world. The emergence of framing, agenda setting and priming are some examples of this endless development. Though these theories are considered to be related or have similar premises, as Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) explain, agenda setting refers to the idea that there is strong correlation between the stress that mass media set on particular issues and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audience, while priming occurs when news content recommends to receivers that they ought to use specific issues as a base for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments. Framing on the other hand focuses how an issue portrayed in news reports can have an influence on audiences' understanding.

Framing has become an important topic in the field of media and communication studies. With its growing attractiveness, scholars have contributed to the development of the theory. Goffman is acknowledged as the originator of framing analysis with his (1974) concept of frames which define social situations. Goffman and others who laid sociological foundation assumed that "individuals cannot understand the world comprehensively unless the individuals apply primary frameworks to process new information effectively" (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

Although Goffman and others are mentioned in relation to the existence of the theory, Frank Lantz was the first professional pollster who systematically used the concept of framing as a campaign tool (ibid).

2.5.1. Definition

Each news item has a theme that structures it (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). This theme connects different semantic components of a story into a coherent whole. Pan and Kosicki (1993) call these themes "frames" due to their structuring function. In functional terms, Dunwoody and Peters (1992) define a frame as "a knowledge structure that is activated by some stimulus and then employed by a journalist throughout story construction" (p. 213).

Various scholars have defined framing differently. Entman is one of the most cited scholars in framing research. In the application of framing theory for media analysis, Entman's (1993) study

is important to mention. He defines framing in terms of selection and salience. According to Entman (1993, p. 55), "to frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."

According to Iyengar and Scheufele (n.d), Gamson and Modigliani (1987) provided probably the most widely-cited and also all-encompassing definition of framing. They see frames as a way of giving meaning; "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events ... The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (p. 143).

Entman (1993) also described framing based on the role it plays. According to him, "...frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies". In similar manner, Vreese, (2005) argued that frame includes source presentation and defining an issue. Vreese, (2005) defined frame "by virtue of emphasizing some elements of a topic above others, a frame provides a way to understand an event or issue." (p. 53).

For Parenti (1986), framing is a persuasion mechanism and, "just short of lying, the media can mislead us what to think about a story before we have had a chance to think about it for ourselves" (p. 220). Parenti (1986) argues that propaganda relaying through framing is effective. According to his explanation "By bending the truth rather than braking it, using emphasis, nuance, innuendo, and peripheral embellishments, communications can create a desired impression without resorting to explicit advocacy and without departing too far from the appearance of objectivity." (p. 220). Entman (1993) also agrees with Parenti to some extent by stating the danger of framing. "The danger in understating or omitting information is that it limits the alternatives or knowledge the public is exposed too" (Entman, 1993).

On the other hand, Chong and Druckman (2007) described framing based on the impact it has on audience understanding. They argued an issue can be viewed from different points of view and taken as having implications for several values or thoughts and this is the major premise of framing theory. Chong and Druckman, (2007) defined framing as "a process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue" (p. 104). The mass media construct or interpret social realities through framing (McQuail, 1994; Scheufele,

1999; McQuail, 2005). Gitlin (1980) states that, media frames organize the world both for journalists who report it, and for the general public who relies on their reports.

The famous statement in framing concept is that of Bernard Cohen (1963). He stated: “the media may not be successful in telling people *what to think*, but they are stunningly successful in telling us *what to think about*”. “Framing goes beyond what issues the audiences think about to guiding them how they should think about these issues” (Craft and Wanta, 2004). As per Entman’s (2007) explanation “if the media really are stunningly successful in telling people what to think about, they must also exert significant influence over what they think.” D’Angelo, also asserts that “frames that paradigmatically dominate news are also believed to dominate audiences” (2002, p. 876).

Framing is also described as a valuable tool in news media. Gans, (as cited in Vreese, 2005) illustrated framing is an important device for journalists to lessen the complexity of an issue. Similarly, Straubhaar and La Rose (2006) stated that “in the framing process like painter who chooses what to put in the painting, journalist decide on what to include or exclude what conceptual framework to put them, in what context to include and how to interpret the issue.”

2.5.2. Functions of Frames

There are various scholars who have discussed the functions of frames. According to Dunwoody and Peters, (1992) 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 (Scheufele, 2000). 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” (p. 309).

Entman (1993) plainly point out that frames perform four functions for the media organization when reporting a certain issue or event. These are problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and suggesting remedies (solutions). Entman (1993) defines these functions of frames as the following;

Frames define problems—determine what a causal agent is doing and costs and benefits usually measured in terms of cultural values; diagnose causes—identify 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 explanation by Billings (2004), “the three functions of media frames are: selection (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.

2.5.3. Frame’s Locations

As Entman (1993) claims, media frames can be found in four areas of the communication process: (1) The communicator- who are influenced by his/her mental organizations, perceptions and belief systems called schemata when consciously or unconsciously decides what to include or exclude in framing an issue. (2) The text- consist of frames which are manifested by the inclusion/exclusion or presence/absence, "of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentence that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (ibid, p. 52).

(3) The receiver- who may have his/her own frames of an issue or frames that arise from internal structures of the mind/schemata, but this may or may not be reflected in the text. Frames can affect the thoughts and insights generated by the public by determining what information they are exposed to and confirming or disconfirming previously stored beliefs. (4) The culture- is demonstrated in executing common frames among the society (ibid, p. 52-53). Today’s culture is overwhelmed with frames commonly shared and accepted by the social majority (Entman, 1993).

Many of these frames have been spread throughout society due to the consistent exposure and omission of information in the media. One reason media frames have become so common within social culture is because they can be found in all levels of the communication process.

Framing in all four locations carry out similar functions which are selection and salience. “These functions of framing are essential to construct arguments about problems, causation, evaluation, and/or solution” (ibid).

2.5.4. 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 (Fortunato, 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” (Vreese, 2005). 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. On the societal level, frames may contribute to shaping society’s political actions and decision making processes (ibid).

- **Identifying frames**

The same as the definitions of framing, various scholars propose and use distinctive approaches in conducting a research on framing. There is no universal standard and steps to follow to identify frames in news; however “there are two approaches: inductive and deductive in nature, widely pursued by scholars” (Vreese, 2005, p. 53). 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 small amount of data and the frames created by this method are difficult to replicate (Vreese, 2005).

The other alternative is the deductive approach, which works with a priori defined frames that are formed and operationalized prior to the investigation (ibid). Most scholars are in favor of applying 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. Nonetheless Cappella and Jamieson (1997) as cited in 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)

In this regard, various framing researchers have conferred mechanisms to identify frames in the news. As Entman (1993) said, the occurrence or absence of certain key words or typical phrases is indication of the frame. He also asserted that, “...stereotypical views or images, sources of information and sentences which “...thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments are pointers of frames” (p. 52) Gamson and Modigliani (as cited in Vreese 2005) on the other hand, stated that frames can be identified based on: metaphors, exemplars, catch phrases, depictions and visual images used in the news. Furthermore; Tankard (2001) cited in Vreese (2005, p. 101) listed eleven places of frames.

These are; Headlines, Subheads, Photos, Photo captions, Leads, Source selection, Quotes selection, Pull quotes, Logos, Statistics and charts, and Concluding statements and paragraphs

2.5.5. Types of Frames

Based on characteristics, nature, and content of frames, framing researchers categorize frames in to two broad classifications: Issue-specific frames and generic frames. Issue- specific frames are found only in specific topics/issues that do not have broad socio-cultural implications. These kinds of frames are utilized to different issues/topics differently; thus, making framing researches difficult to generalize, compare, and to make an all-inclusive theory (Vreese, 2005). Generic frames are applicable to different topics at different times and even with different cultural contexts (ibid). Furthermore, generic frames are used at two levels of study. One group of study contains

coverage of politics, particularly election campaigns. A second group focuses on generic news frames that are basically related to journalism profession (ibid).

Littlejohn & Foss, (2009) identify two kinds of generic news frames in early studies of framing research in television news: an “episodic frame” and a “thematic frame” (p. 408). Iyengar (1991) also discusses the difference between the two types. Episodic framing defines public issues as concrete or specific events that are the result of actions by individuals. Thematic framing, on the other hand, defines public issues as abstract instances and put responsibility on abstract societal systems. In his study of attribution framing effects, Iyengar (1991: ch.5) manipulated a network television broadcast to include either a thematic or episodic frame for poverty.

Thematic frames discussed recent nationwide increases in poverty, reductions in social welfare programs, and the relationship between unemployment and the deficit. By contrast, episodic frames focused on particular cases of unemployment, describing a Midwestern family unable to pay its winter heating bills, homeless individuals in New York and San Diego, and an unemployed auto worker in Ohio. Iyengar (1991) observes robust framing effects on perceived causal responsibility for poverty. He explains, “Individualistic attributions for poverty (i.e., blaming individuals for living in poverty) were more than twice as prominent under conditions of episodic framing. Conversely, the frequency of societal causal attributions i.e., blaming societal forces for poverty was substantially higher following exposure to thematic framing of poverty” (p. 54).

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) as cited in Vreese (2005, p. 56) have identified five commonly used generic frames: ‘conflict frame’, ‘human interest frame’, ‘attribution of responsibility frame’, ‘morality frame’, and ‘economic consequences frame’.

The conflict frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries. The human interest frame brings a human face, an individual’s story, or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem. The responsibility frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group. The morality frame interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. The economic consequences frame, finally, presents an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country (Vreese, 2005, p. 56).

2.5.6. Studying Frames

There are different methods researchers utilize to scrutinize frames. D'Angelo (2002) suggests three paradigms in news framing.

The cognitive paradigm discusses how individuals' encounters with a news frame become an interpretation, how they are stored in memory and are activated in future encounters with similar frames. Scholars who apply the critical paradigm see frames as products of the newsgathering process by which journalists and reporters disseminate information about issues and events from political and economic elites' perspectives and values. The constructionist paradigm analyzes how individuals articulate their views after exposure to news frames. (p. 879)

Scheufele (1999) suggests two kinds of frames, "media frames that are characteristics of the news text, and individual frames that are mentally stored principles audience members use for information processing. Scheufele (1999) writes that individual frames are cognitive devices that serve as folders of major subjects into which future media content can be filed. "There is a reciprocal relationship between frames in the text and the event schema and frames in the audience's thinking" (Entman, 1991, p. 7). These two types of frames can be examined either as a dependent or as an independent variable.

Researchers that study frames as independent variables are interested in the effect of framing. They are concerned with the effect of media frames on the attitudes of an individual or audience (Huang, 1995; Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele, 2000). On the other hand researchers that study frames as dependent variables are concerned with factors that influence the construction and modification of frames in the news media (ibid). When media's and audience's frames overlap, the media and the audience weigh differently on those frames (Scheufele, 2000). This study positions media frames as an independent variable that influences individual or audience frames.

2.5.7. Factors Affecting Framing

Several factors determine the effect of frames. According to Chong and Druckman (2007), the strength and repetition of frame, credible source, individual motivations, availability of information and conversation after the exposure of media frames affect framing outcome. It is

inevitable that the issue of strong frame is raised while discussing about framing effect. Chong & Druckman, (2007) noted that “strong frames often rest on symbols, endorsements, and links to partisanship and ideology, and may be effective in shaping opinions through heuristics rather than direct information about the substance of a policy” (p. 111).

Research findings pointed out, framing effects are also determined by receivers’ knowledge. Studies indicated less knowledgeable individuals are affected by framing than knowledgeable individuals. For instance Chong and Druckman, (2007, p. 112) concluded “People who are better informed about the issues are more likely to have established a frame of reference for their opinions and are less likely to be swayed by how other people frame the issues for them”. Dunwoody and Peters (1992) also posit that media frames seem to activate knowledge structures about physical things and events in the environment.

In this cognitive process, individuals activate parts of prior knowledge that assist them to form interpretations; therefore, perception occurs at the point of contact of frames and individuals’ prior knowledge (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987; D’Angelo, 2002). “Prior knowledge is believed to mediate the power of frames in an evaluative context” because the schemata, activated by frames, function to direct how an individual recognizes and uses framed information (D’Angelo, 2002, p. 875). Other researchers on the other hand, report the opposite. Druckman & Nelson (2003), on the contrary, argued that knowledge boost framing effect because it increases the tendency that the considerations highlighted in a frame will be available to the individual.

2.5.8. Critiques of Framing Theory

Framing theory is found within the theoretical context of media effects, particularly within media manipulation theories. Since media effect theories criticized on the huge attribution they give for media effect, the framing theory shares this critic. In this regard, Vreese, (2004) said it is difficult to be sure whether the audience focuses on the ‘frame’ or ‘facts’ about the news and it considers the audience as powerless or passive to resist the viewpoints of the media.

Framing researchers have been in serious debates over its definition. The theory is criticized due to its lack of clear definition. Scheufele (1999) argued that “many of the limitations of media framing theory relates to its lack of a clear conceptual definition and generally applicable

operation”. Regarding the drawback in conceptualization, Entman (1993) described framing as a scattered conceptualization (p. 51) with previous studies lacking clear conceptual definitions and relying on context specific, rather than generally applicable operationalizations. Brosius and Eps, (cited in Scheufele, 1999, p. 103), argued that “framing is not clearly explicated and generally applicable concept rather it is just a metaphor which cannot be stated directly as research question”. Partially, because of these vague conceptualizations, as Scheufele (1999) noted framing has been used repetitively to describe similar but distinctly different approaches and studies have irrationalized framing in combination with other concepts like agenda setting and priming.

Concerning research in framing Scheufele, (1999) said, because of the absence of commonly shared theoretical model underlining framing research, studies on framing are characterized by theoretical and empirical vagueness. In addition, the researches, have been conducted to find media effect of framing based on experiment do not exactly show why and how news stories frames influence audiences or readers behavior, attitude and cognitive.

Carragee and Roefs (2004) also criticized recent developments in research examining media frames and their influence on audience understanding. According to their argument, a lot of research in framing neglected the relationship between media frames and broader issues of political and social power. The neglect, as per their explanation, is caused by different factors including “...conceptual problems in definition of frames, the inattention to frames sponsorship, the failure to examine framing contests, and the reduction of framing to a form of media effects” (p. 214).

Studies on framing theory are often criticized for neglecting the visual part of news. As Matthes, (2009) explains, “we do not know much about how visual elements are incorporated in frames, though they are arguably quite important for framing theory”. Graber (1989) cited in Matthes, (2009) wrote, “purely verbal analyses not only miss the information contained in the pictures and nonverbal sounds, they even fail to interpret the verbal content appropriately because that content is modified by its combination with picture messages”. Matthes calls for framing scholars to contribute to the general discourse in the field about the role of visuals.

However, this do not reduce its importance, rather as Vreese, (2005) noted it is becoming attractive subject of study. Hence, analyzing the way the media frame an issue and its influence on the

audience understanding of the issue is essential to understand framing theory which is the main intention of this study.

2.5.9. Framing Studies

Since the emergence of framing theory in the 1960s and 70s there are multitude of researches conducted in the area. Though it is hardly possible to mention all researches done in the area it is must to see some of them. One of the good illustrations in this regard is the study of Entman (1991) on the news reports of the shooting down of the Iranian Airline by the US and the Korean Airline by the former USSR. In this study, Entman applied the framing theory and concluded that the incident caused by the US was covered as a technical error, while the USSR's as a moral outrage, though both incidents had been the result of grave human blunders.

The other example that may shed more light on the power of media framing is that of Vreese (2004). Vreese (2004) studied the effects of frames in political television news on issue interpretation and frame salience. Through experiment method the research investigated the effects of television news frames on (1) audience interpretations of a political issue, (2) the salience of news frames versus other information in the story, and (3) support for future policy. Vreese selected a sample of 145 adults who watched an experimental television news bulletin about the enlargement of the European Union. According to his finding "a news story was manipulated to reflect a conflict frame or an economic consequences frame. The two frames provide direction to the audience's thoughts about the issue but do not yield different levels of policy support" (ibid).

Jin Yang (2003), on the other hand, using a frame analysis technique, compared how the Chinese and US media covered the 1999 NATO air strikes in Yugoslavia. He found that both framed the event on the basis of their national interests. As a result, the Chinese newspapers framed the air strikes as an intervention of Yugoslavia's sovereignty, whereas the US newspapers framed the air strikes as a humanistic aid to Albanians in order to stop the ethnic cleansing initiated by Serbians.

Talking about framing studies, Matthes (2009) has listed five major problems in framing researches. He argues that problems in framing research include lack of operational precision, the descriptive focus of many analyses, neglect of visuals, and insufficient reporting of reliability. As per his explanation, lack of transparent translation of framing definitions to concrete, operational

steps, and the fact that most studies are descriptive, not testing any hypotheses regarding framing theory are pertinent to deal with. “To advance a theory of framing as a major concept within the field of communication, a less descriptive strategy is necessary” (ibid). He also mentions the neglecting of visual elements (including photographs, cartoons and drawings in print and pictures in television). Moreover; “the lack of reliability reporting in a vast amount of studies poses a problem for framing research” (p. 360).

In the next chapter, the research approaches used to answer the research questions are discussed in detail.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This study aims to determine whether the frames present in EBC's news reports about the 2015-16 protests in Ethiopia have influenced the frames audience members hold about the same issue. To examine the media content, a content analysis of EBC's news was conducted, and to investigate audience frames, a survey of Addis Ababa residents in three sub-cities was conducted.

3.2. Research Design

After specifying the research questions of this study, the next step was preparing a valid research design to accomplish the questions. As Kothari (2004, p. 31) specifies, "Research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data". Having a research design is a must to do task before delving in to any kind of research. Stressing on its need, Kothari asserts that, "research design is needed because it facilitates the smooth sailing of the various research operations, thereby making research as efficient as possible yielding maximal information with minimal expenditure of effort, time and money". This research has also used a defined research design from the scratch to the end.

In the research world the approaches can be put in to two baskets: quantitative and qualitative approach. According to Kothari (2004), "the former involves the generation of data in quantitative form which can be subjected to rigorous quantitative analysis in a formal and rigid fashion" (p. 5). It is also described as a method of research "based on the assumption that social processes exist outside of individual actors' comprehension, constraining individual actions, and accessible to researchers by virtue of their prior theoretical and empirical knowledge" (ibid). Qualitative approach to research on the other hand is "concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior. Research in such a situation is a function of researcher's insights and impressions" (p. 5).

For the purpose of this research only quantitative method of research was employed. Since it is a scientific mechanism of studying social aspects, comparatively, this method yields more reliable

findings through objective manner. The study should clearly show the relationship between audience's perception and EBC's frame of the Ethiopian protest. Thus; the quantitative data is found to be imperative to study the influence of news frames on audiences' perception.

3.3. Determining Media Frames through Content Analysis

Content analysis is preferred among researchers for it's an efficient means to scrutinize media content. Content, as Deacon et al., (1999) define is any message that can be communicated in forms of words, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes or meanings. Kothari also articulates that, "content-analysis consists of analyzing the contents of documentary materials such as books, magazines, newspapers and the contents of all other verbal materials which can be either spoken or printed" ((2004, p. 110).

Content analysis is also a technique used for gathering and analyzing the content of a program. Other scholars also described content analysis as a method of research that is "widely used in communication research and provides a brief description of important aspects of text or data collected" (Wilkinson, Joffe & Yardley, 2004, p. 38). Therefore; content analysis is considered to be the most appropriate method of study since it involves the analysis of the content of the media institution under study. Quantitative content analysis was used to assess how EBC framed the 2015-16 protests in Ethiopia.

3.3.1. Selection of Media Outlet

EBC is the first national TV channel in Ethiopia, and it has been the only local television channel in the country until recent move by the Broadcast Authority to give license to three media institutions to launch a television channel. Considering its half a century experience in the industry, EBC has a wider reach compared to other media outlets in the country. As explained in the chapter two of this research, it is the most important source of news and information in the country. Television in Ethiopia caters mainly for the urban audience, because of poverty, lack of electricity and other reasons hinders people from having TV set outside the main towns. However the researcher assume that, there are considerable change these days resulted from the high expansion of electricity to the rural areas and change in a life style.

Previously a state run, currently a public media, Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) operates at global level. It can be accessed by satellite dishes and websites from anywhere in the

world. “It broadcasts from 27 transmitters around the country and claims to reach a potential audience of 25 million people” (Powell, 2011).

Due to its established brand and wide reach EBC entertain a range of national, regional, continental, and global issues. Mainly a news channel, but also broadcast assortment of documentaries, entertainment programs, talk shows, discussions, music programs, dramas, children’s programs and others. According to EBC’s editorial policy, there is no limitations on issues to cover: be it political, social, cultural, Art, Science, or health.

EBC was covering the Ethiopian protest for it was a national agenda that resulted in declaring a state of emergency. The researcher believes that, a media of such a high figure plays a significant role in providing valuable information to the general public during protests. It also plays a role towards escalating or deescalating the protest in both ways: peaceful or violence.

It was considering the above discussed reasons that the researcher wanted to make this study on EBC’s news frame and its influence on the audience perception of the protest.

3.3.2. Sample Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the complete news. Only news reports that mainly discuss the protest were analyzed to eliminate the framing bias present in highly opinionated commentaries and other related pieces. News that discussed the topic in an indirect way, and those that made only superficial references to the protest were excluded from the sample. Visuals that accompany the text were not included in the analysis.

3.3.3. Sampling Technique and Sample Size

Employing the appropriate sampling technique and selecting determining the relevant sample size ensures the representativeness of the sample. As Bethlehem (2009, p. 3) describes it, “if the sample is selected in a ‘clever’ way, it is possible to make inference about the population as a whole. In this context, “clever” means that the sample is selected using probability sampling”. Thus the researcher employed systematic random sampling to select the necessary sample size from the total population. The technique of systematic random sampling implies that “only the first unit is selected randomly and the remaining units of the sample are selected at fixed intervals” (Kothari 2004, p. 62).

The researcher took fifteen months news items related to the Ethiopian protest, from August 2015 to November 2016. This fifteen months period saw a number of protests in the country that resulted in declaring a state of emergency in October 9. Within this period, journalists and media houses were able to discuss the protest from different angles, and gave the public enough exposure time to learn about the topic.

During the selected period of time EBC broadcasted 126 news stories related to the Ethiopian protest. Using systematic random sampling 95 sample news stories were taken from the total news stories of same topic. To arrive at the sample, the archives of EBC's website was used to download news reports containing the key words 'protest', 'instability', 'unrest', and 'demonstration' in their headline. After downloading the news they were arranged in alphabetical order and due to the small number of the total population, the researcher excluded news within the interval of 3; which means, news 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, ... were included, and news number 4, 8, 12,... were excluded from the sample.

3.3.4. Intercoder Reliability

Intercoder reliability is a crucial component in content analysis. "It refers to levels of agreement among independent coders who code the same content using the same coding instrument (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011, p. 171). Without a proper establishment of intercoder reliability, the findings cannot be valid and replicable. It is used to assess the degree to which a result can be achieved or reproduced by other observers. There is no consensus on a single "best" way of assessing the intercoder reliability. One of the most commonly used formula is that of Holsti's (1969) formula:

$$R = 2M / N1 + N2$$

Where M is number of coder decisions on which coders agree; and N1 and N2 are the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder, respectively. Including the researcher two coders independently coded a total of 665 units, and agreed on 647 of them. The other coder was provided clear description of the coding process. Wang (2011) explains "the intercoder reliability could be satisfied in studies where coefficients are above .85" (p. 18). The average intercoder reliability was .97.

$$R = 2(647) / 665 + 665$$

$$R = .97$$

3.3.5. Definition of Variables and Terms

The **frame** is the predominant thematic structure employed to present the story. The researcher look at the special angle used to present the news, ideas that were mentioned frequently to determine frames used.

As proposed by Vreese (2005) deductive and inductive approaches can be used to identify frames. Frames can be identified based on a review of studies completed about a specific topic. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), postulated five generic frames: conflict, economic consequence, human interest, morality and responsibility. In the current study the following broad frames derived from studies that have examined protest and other political topics are used.

1. The conflict frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries.
2. Human Interest frame brings a human face, an individual's story, or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem.
3. The economic consequence frame presents an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country.
4. Morality frame interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions.
5. The responsibility frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group.

(Cited in Vreese, 2005, p. 56)

Protest: in the current study refers to statement or action expressing disapproval of or objection to something. Though some media preferred to use words such as unrest, violence, demonstration and others, the researcher preferred to rely on the nomenclature used by international organizations to avoid framing bias. Different international organizations such as the United Nations, African Union, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International used the word protest to refer to the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest.

Note: the definition of protest frame is not equivalent to that of protest, and it is differently defined in the chapter four.

Public's perception: refers to the perception/understanding the public has about the protest. This comprises what they think of the protest in general and the cause, damages, deaths, solutions, and stakeholders related to the protest specifically.

Tone: refers to the story's orientation: whether the news depicts the protest as a positive or negative. The following are three potential types of tone:

1. Positive tone is displayed by news that mainly discuss the advantages of the protest. These news consider the protest as a solution to a problem.
2. Negative tone is displayed by news that mainly discuss the risks and disadvantages of the protest. These news consider the protest as a means of destructing development and creating instability.
3. Neutral tone is displayed by news that are mainly event-oriented and do not mention pros and cons of the protest. They neither treat the protest as a solution nor as a problem.

Sources

The first two sources cited in the story were coded to determine who or what individuals, organizations or groups tried to influence or shape the media frames. These sources may be the government or other policy-makers at all levels, politicians, opposition parties, research institutes, investors, and member of the general public.

A. Government: this refers to any government officials at federal and regional level. These include the nine regions in the country that are recognized by the FDRE constitution.

C. Political parties: this includes the ruling party as well as other organized political parties.

D. Individuals: this refers to the public or ordinary citizens who do not represent any organizations, but quoted as main sources of the news.

E. University Intelligentsia: this represents academicians or scholars who took part in the news by reflecting their views on several issues.

3.4. Determining Audience Frame Through Survey

According to Wimmer and Dominick (2011, p. 159), "content analysis alone cannot serve as a basis for making statement about the effects of content on the audience". Based on this, the method used in this research is extended to a survey method in order to come up with solid finding including the influence of the news frame on audience's perception. "Survey aims to examine the interrelationships between or among variables and to develop explanatory inferences" (ibid).

Bethlehem (2009), also asserts that, “survey results allow making reliable and precise statements about the population as a whole” (p. 2). The measurement of audience frames in this study was based on the respondents’ answers to a semi-structured questionnaire. Thus; this research also determine the influence of the news frames on the viewers.

3.4.1. Study Area

Addis Ababa city is selected as a study area because of its diversified population and availability of numerous media. The proposed study covers three of the sub-cities in Addis Ababa. According to the CSA’s Projected Population of Addis Ababa, the city has a population of 3,048,631, of whom 1,595,968 were females and the rest 1,452,663 were males. This is 3.71 percent of Ethiopian population and 22.42 percent of urban population (14 million) (CSA 2012, cited in Addis Ababa Socio-Economic Profile 2013, p. 15). All of the population in Addis Ababa is urban inhabitant.

According to the CSA projection, the population size of sub-Cities varies in space. As a result Kolfe Keranyo (477,284 or 15.66%), Yeka (385,775 or 12.65%), Nefas Silk (351,967 or 11.55%) and Bole (343,856 or 11.28%) have the largest share of population of the city in their order. On the other hand, Akaki Kality Sub-city (201,721 or 6.62%) have the smallest share of the city’s population. Taking this in to account, Yeka Sub-city, Bole Sub-city and Lideta Sub-city were randomly selected for the survey.

Table 1. Proportional distribution of respondents according to sub-city

Sub-cities	Population	%	Count
Yeka Sub-city	385,775	40	120
Bole Sub-city	343,856	36	108
Lideta Sub-city	224,471	24	72
Total	954,102	100	300

3.4.2. Sampling Technique and Sample Selection

Sub-cities and individuals for the survey were selected via multi-stage random sampling method. First, the three sub-cities were selected, and then respondents were selected from the sampled sub-cities. The respondents were drawn from Yeka, Bole, and Lideta sub-cities using simple random sampling technique (Table 1). The idea was to give each audience in the population an equal

chance of being included in the sample. According Kothari (2004), “simple random sampling is also known as chance sampling or probability sampling where each and every item in the population has an equal chance of inclusion in the sample”. Using this sampling method, 300 respondents were selected.

As Bethlehem (2009) explains “random sampling ensures the law of Statistical Regularity which states that if on an average the sample chosen is a random one, the sample will have the same composition and characteristics as the universe” (p. 3). This make the samples representative and the results generalizable to the total target population of the study. Colwell (2002) also affirm that “random sampling provides the most efficient means of providing data that can be generalized to the larger population from which the sample was drawn” (p. 103).

3.4.3. Method of Data Collection

❖ Questionnaire

Questionnaire was administered in the three sub-cities in Addis Ababa city. Questionnaire as Kothari (2004) asserts is preferred because, “it is free from the bias of the interviewer; answers are in respondents’ own words. Large samples can be made use of and thus the results can be made more dependable and reliable” (p. 101). Therefore, a total of 300 questionnaires were administered in the selected Sub-cities of Addis Ababa.

The questionnaires have three sections. The first section asks respondents to give demographic information about themselves, their choice of media, watching frequency, and knowledge about the protest which are important for the study. The second section is related to statements related to the protest. The questions in this part are presented on a Likert scale. Likert Scale according to Wimmer and Dominick is perhaps the most commonly used scale in mass media research to measure attitudes (2011, p. 55). At the end of the section, questions which help to find out more information about the respondents understanding of the protest and different aspects of it were included.

❖ Procedures

In addition to the researcher, two other data collectors who have a BA degree in Journalism and Communication were participated in the questionnaire administration. Both data collectors have taken research method courses, have a good idea about research methods and they have done a senior essay for their BA degree. The data collectors were first informed about the research, the

questionnaires and the places of collecting the data. When collecting the data, the data collectors gave the questionnaires in person and politely asked respondents to fill the questionnaires. Finally, after checking for possible inconsistencies and errors, the responses were put into computer using Microsoft Excel software, and were examined according to the objectives of the research.

3.4.4. Coding

To identify audience frames regarding the protest, the researcher focused on the main idea of the responses, aspects emphasized by the respondents. All types of frames that were detected in the audience's open-ended response were coded. The literature frames identified in the literature reviews used in the content analysis portion were also applied in the coding for audience frames.

3.5. Method of Data Analysis

After gathering the relevant data to answer the research questions the next step is analyzing the data. "Data analysis is the crucial stage where researchers begin to understand their findings in light of their research aims" (Basit, 2003, p. 145). Frequency distribution tables were used to compare the frames detected in EBC's news and those observed in the survey responses, so that to test the three hypotheses of the current study. First, the content analysis of EBC's news was done. Following the content analysis, the survey analysis was done to elicit the audience frames. Finally, comparison of the two (content analysis and survey analysis) was made to accomplish the general objective of this study.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

"It is important to ensure that research is conducted in an ethical manner, especially when it is social in nature, involving people" (Esterberg, 2002, p. 186). Since "the confidentiality of participants is an important consideration in social research" (ibid), all participants' identity was neither acquired nor disclosed in this study. This was communicated with the participants during the questionnaire filling sessions, both by written and verbal form.

Additionally, it was made clear to the participants that filling the questionnaire is voluntary. Participants were given necessary information of the nature of the research with the appropriate contacts, during questionnaire filling.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to determine whether EBC's news frames about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest have influenced audiences' frames of the same issue. Quantitative data that are pertinent to the objective were collected. This chapter presents results that reveal the frames EBC used to report the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest and audiences' frames drew from the respondents' answers to survey questionnaire items. The tone of the news toward the protest was compared with that of the survey respondents' views on the same topic. Finally depending on the results of the content analysis and survey the researcher have discussed the findings.

4.2. Content Analysis Results

A total of 95 news that discusses the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest in depth were collected from EBC over 16 months period (September 2015- November 2016). Out of these, 58 were about the protests in Oromia regional state and 27 were about the protests in Amhara regional state (Table 2). Only 6 and 4 news discussed the protests in Konso zone and Gedeo zone respectively.

Table 2. Total number of news about the protests

Protests in	Number of news	Percent
Oromia	58	61.1
Amhara	27	28.4
Konso	6	6.3
Gedeo	4	4.2
Total	95	100

4.2.1. Frames

Research question 1 of this study was: "What are the dominant frames that EBC used to structure its news about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest?" As thoroughly discussed in the chapter two of this research, there are five general frames that various framing researches have applied: economic consequences, morality, conflict, human interest, and responsibility frames. Though content

analysis is done in an objective manner, Wimmer and Dominick stress that “perfect objectivity is seldom achieved” (2011, p. 157). This is because, in specifying “the unit of analysis and the precise makeup and definition of relevant categories individual researchers must exercise subjective choice” (ibid). Using this as a reference point the researcher has proposed the following two new frames after making preliminary assessment of the content and identifying frames that could not be categorized among the 5 frames discussed in the literature part. These are discussed below.

- ❖ **Anti-peace frame:** this frame is found in news that describes the protest as a violence and disturbances aimed at looting and damaging public and private properties. This frame also discuss the issue as a move to destabilize and disintegrate the country.

Example 1. EBC: anti-peace forces destroyed public and government institutions in some parts of Oromia regional state.

- ❖ **Protest frame:** this frame acknowledges that there are people who brought their grievances to the street because of little attention given by the government to resolve the concerns timely. It rather treat the issue as a peaceful demonstration.

Example 1. Residents of Dabat Wereda in North Gondar Zone of Amhara state have called on the Government of Ethiopia to properly address public grievances related to development and good governance so as to guarantee durable peace in the country. (*EBC, November 2016*)

Both the literature frames and the emergent frames were coded. A significantly high amount of news were structured around the ‘anti-peace frame’ which constitute 71.6% of the first frame and 76.8% of the second frame mentioned in the news. Following the ‘anti-peace frame’, conflict frame made up 13.7% of the first frames detected in the news. Economic consequence frame (5.2%) was the third commonly observed first frame in EBC’s news regarding the protest. Only small of number of news were found to have other frames: responsibility frame (4.2%), protest frame (3.2%) and morality frame (2.1%).

As depicted in Table 3, the anti-peace frame also was the leading second detected frame (76.8%), followed by the conflict frame (9.5%) and economic consequence frame which constituted 8.4 percent of the second frame detected in the news’. Morality and protest frame were found as a second frame in only three and two news out of 95 respectively. This indicates that anti-peace

frame is the dominant overarching news frame detected in EBC's news about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest.

Table 3. First and second frame mentioned in the news

Frames	First frame		Second frame	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Economic consequence frame	5	5.2	8	8.4
Responsibility frame	4	4.2	--	--
Conflict frame	13	13.7	9	9.5
Morality frame	2	2.1	3	3.2
Human interest frame	--	--	--	--
Anti-peace frame	68	71.6	73	76.8
Protest frame	3	3.2	2	2.1
Total	95	100	95	100

4.2.2. Tone of the news

The second research question of this study was “What tone did the news had towards the protest?” Table 4, shows that, among the 95 news stories analyzed, bulk of the news 92 (96.8%) were found to be negative toward the protest issue; only three news (3.2%) were positive, and no stories were found to be neutral. This indicates that EBC considered the protest as a means of destructing development, creating instability and disintegrating the country.

Table 4. Tone of the news

	Frequency	Percent
Negative	92	96.8
Neutral	0	0
Positive	3	3.2
Total	95	100

4.2.3. Sources

Discussing about framing news, it is better to go through the most frequently cited sources of information in the news, because they are the one who might be influencing news stations to frame in a way they frame news. As Table 5, depicts government through its officials and press releases made up more than half (54.7%) of the total 95 news. This is including government offices at federal and all regional levels. Among the government, the Government Communication Affairs Office and the Prime Minister take the highest share in making news.

Individuals and religious institutions were the second main sources quoted in the news reports, comprising equal 8.4% of the first cited source. Police, both federal and regional, made up 7.4%, intergovernmental organizations such as the African Union and United Nations were cited as first source in six (6.3%) news. Political parties, though there were none from the opposition side, were cited as first source in four (4.2%) news. Statements from various embassies foreign governments, Ethiopian diaspora community, University intelligentsia, and international media made up 4.2%, 3.2%, 2.1%, and 1.1% respectively (Table 5).

Government with all its institutions and officials also was the most dominant most frequently cited sources in all cited second sources, making up 72.7% of the total. It was followed by individuals not affiliated with the government (7.4%) and intergovernmental organizations (6.3%). Religious institutions and political parties made up 5.2% and 4.2% in that order.

The third research question was, “Who are the most quoted source of information in the news?” And, the findings demonstrate that the government’s view dominated EBC’s news report about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest. The opposition political parties and the protesters or unaffiliated individuals were rarely cited in the news though they are an important party for they would have brought balance to the news.

However; the federal and regional government offices and officials were the most effective in facilitating EBC reporters frame the protest. This shows that the government was also aggressively influencing the framing. In almost all anti-peace frame news the government was the only news source cited.

Table 5. First and second most frequently cited source in the news

Sources	First		Second	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Government	52	54.7	69	72.7
Police	7	7.4	--	--
Political parties	4	4.2	4	4.2
University intelligentsia	2	2.1	2	2.1
Individuals	8	8.4	7	7.4
IGO (AU, UN, etc.)	6	6.3	6	6.3
Embassies and foreign governments	4	4.2	--	--
Religious institutions	8	8.4	5	5.2
Ethiopian diaspora community	3	3.2	--	--
Foreign media	1	1.1	2	2.1
Total	95	100	95	100

In order to have a firm understanding on the details of how the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest was framed in the national public broadcasting television channel, EBC, the following specific aspects of the news report about the protest were considered. The first one is the cause of the protest that the news depicts. Table 6, depicts that 62 (65.2%) out of 95 news stories shows that the protests were the deed of anti-peace and anti-development groups. The news explicate that the objective of these groups was creating instability and marring the development of the country. Political parties listed as a terrorist such as OLF and Ginbot 7 were blamed for the protests in 10.5% of the total news. The government is known to accuse these groups claiming that they aim to overthrow the legitimate government through undemocratic means.

Chauvinists and narrow nationalists in the country (5.2%) and radical Ethiopian Diasporas (8.4%) were accused of instigating the protests by spreading false propagandas to bring anarchism to the diversified multination state. Five percent of the news also discuss Egyptian and Eritrean governments' to have a hidden agenda of distracting the stability and fast growth of Ethiopia. Opposition parties are mentioned as responsible body for the protest in only two news (2.1%). Both news were about the protests in Bahirdar city, where the peaceful demonstration called by

Blue Party (Semayawi Party) turned in to violence. Only three news acknowledged that the protests were because of the public's grievance on the government though the news did not mention the grievances.

Table 6. Cause of the protest

Causes	Frequency	Percent
Anti-peace and development groups	62	65.2
Chauvinists and narrow nationalists	5	5.2
Radical Ethiopian diasporas	8	8.4
Opposition political party	2	2.1
Terrorist	10	10.5
Egypt and Eritrea	5	5.2
Public grievance on government	3	3.2
Total	95	100

Table 7, shows the causes for the damaged properties and loss of human lives during the protests. Of 55 news that specifically indicate the cause for the damages on public and private properties anti-peace and anti-development groups (65.5%) are the main responsible body associated with it. They are also associated with the loss of human lives in the 66.7% of the total 51 news that state those responsible for the deaths. Terrorists made up 18.2% and 19.6% for the two categories respectively. Followed by opposition political parties (3.6%), chauvinists and narrow nationalists (12.7%) make the full list of those who are linked with the damages of properties. Chauvinists and narrow nationalists, and opposition political parties are also made the cause of the deaths in 9.8% and 3.9% of the news respectively (Table 77).

Table 7. Cause for the damaged properties and loss of human lives

Causes	Damaged properties		Loss of human lives	
	Frequency	Percent	frequency	percent
Anti-peace and anti-development groups	36	65.5	34	66.7

Chauvinists and narrow nationalists	7	12.7	5	9.8
Opposition political party	2	3.6	2	3.9
Terrorist	10	18.2	10	19.6
Total	55	100	51	100

The news were also analyzed to know how they framed the measures taken by the government to resolve the issue. Out of the total 95 news stories selected for analysis, 90.5% discussed the measures taken by the government as appropriate and just. Only 9.5 of the news found to be neutral, leaving no news showing negative approach towards the measures (Table 8). This shows that the media institution under study was trying to legitimize the measures taken by the government.

Table 8. View towards the measures taken by the government

	Frequency	Percent
Appropriate	86	90.5
Neutral	9	9.5
Inappropriate	0	0
Total	95	100

4.3. Audience Analysis

This section presents the analysis of respondents' characteristics in order to have firm ground to determine the perception of audiences towards the Ethiopian protest. The perception of respondents can be observed from different perspectives taking the different dimensions of life in to consideration. Yet, including all the dimensions in this study is neither manageable nor relevant. Accordingly, variables such as age, sex and education background are considered in the study. The questionnaire distributed for this study was 300 in number, and out of these 284 respondents fully filled and returned the questionnaire. The respondents comprises both sexes, different age group, and educational background.

Table 9. Demographic data of the respondents

Variables	Category	Frequency	Percent
Age	18-24	98	34.5
	25-34	72	25.4
	35-44	54	19
	45-54	34	12
	55-64	14	4.9
	65+	12	4.2
	Total	284	100
Sex	Male	148	52.1
	Female	136	47.9
	Total	284	100
Educational Background	No formal Education	1	0.4
	Primary	21	7.4
	Secondary	47	16.5
	College and Preparatory	84	29.6
	First degree	107	37.7
	Second degree	24	8.4
	Third Degree	0	0
	Total	284	100

As depicted in Table 9, those are 18 to 24 years old made up 35% of the total respondents followed by those who are 25-34 and 35-44 registering 25% and 19% respectively. The majority of respondents, i.e. 50.6% fall to the age group of 18-30 years. The rests of the respondents (12%) falls to the age of 40-50 and (5%) are in the age of >55 years respectively. The data shows that majority of the sample population are above 18 and below 44.

Education is the other demographic variable worth looking. The respondents have different educational background. Accordingly, 37.7% of the respondents were first degree holders, 29.5% of the respondents have attended preparatory level or college class, and those who finished

secondary level education constitute 16.5%. With 8.5% second degree holders and 7.4% primary level education only one respondent (0.4%) has attended no formal education.

Male respondents constituted 52% of those who participated in the survey. Female respondents made up the rest 42%.

4.3.1. Media Exposure Habits Related to the 2015-16 Ethiopian Protest

All of the respondents used in this analysis (284 or 100%) claimed that they have certainly heard about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest and know something about it. Asked about which of the protests in various parts of Ethiopia they have heard about, all of the respondents (100%) heard about the protests in Oromia and Amhara regional state. 41.5% and 35.2% of the respondents have also claimed that they have the information about the protests in Gedeo and Konso respectively. Only 11.3% confirmed that they heard about the protest in Konso area.

Table 10. List of Protests that respondents have heard about

Protests	Frequency	Percent
Oromia	284	100
Amhara	284	100
Konso	32	11..3
Wolkait	100	35.2
Gedeo	118	41.5

When they were asked what source of information they access to learn about the protest, 76.4% said they depended principally on television. Another 9.1% reported the radio as their main source of information regarding the topic. 2.1% read it on newspapers; another 12.3% said they get information about the protest on the internet.

Listing the second most used source of information the radio constituted the majority respondent which is 45%. 24% and 23% of the respondents referred to television and the internet respectively as their second most sought after source of information about the Ethiopian protest. Only 6% have mentioned newspaper. Other source included magazine (2%) (Table 11).

Table 11. Sources of information about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest

Sources	First		Second	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
From a friend or relative	--	--	--	--
I saw it on television	217	76.4	68	24
I heard it on the Radio	26	9.1	129	45.5
I read it from Newspaper	6	2.1	17	6
I read it from magazine	--	--	5	1.7
I saw it on the Internet	35	12.4	65	22.8
Total	284	100	284	100

As Table 11, depicts television is the first major source of information about the protest with 76.4% and the second major source of information with 24%. No respondent claimed that they don't watch television news at all. This means all of the respondents watch television news though the degree varies. Out of the total respondents who filled the questionnaire properly, 136 said that they watch television news four times a week (47.9%) , 113 (39.8%) claimed that they watch television news daily, and thirty-five (12.3%) said they watch television news weekly (Table 12). This shows that, 87.7% of the total sample population confirmed that they watch television news four times a week to daily (Table 12). The study upholds that the respondents were keen television news spectators. Taking this in to account, television is thus most likely to influence understanding about the Ethiopian 2015-16 protest.

Table 12. Frequency of watching television

Response Item	Frequency	Percent
Never	0	0
Monthly	0	0
Weekly	35	12.3
Four times a week	136	47.9
Daily	113	39.8
Total	284	100%

EBC is the most watched news channel with 96.5% respondents said they regularly watch it. Addis TV (2.8%) and Oromia TV (0.7%) complete the list. Asked to list the second TV channel that they regularly attend only 160 (56.3) responded to it. Among them Addis TV (41.3%), ENN (40.6), Oromia TV (9.3%), EBC (6.3) and EBS with (2.3%) are listed as the second regularly watched television news channels (Table 13). This means that respondents also turn to other news channels presumably to look for different perspectives about the protest. From this it is possible to say that EBC is the most regularly watched television news channel constituting 96.5% as first and 6.3% as second. This supports the assumption that EBC is the major source of frame regarding the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest.

Table 13. Regularly watched television news channel

TV Channels	First		Second	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
EBC	274	96.5	10	6.3
Addis TV	8	2.8	66	41.3
Oromia TV	2	0.7	15	9.3
ENN	--	--	65	40.6
EBS	--	--	4	2.5
Other	--	--	--	--
Total	284	100%	160	100

How often do people watch news that discuss the protest? Since 96.5% and 6.3% claimed that EBC is the first and second news channel respectively that they regularly watch. This shows that all respondents watch EBC regularly. Out of these 130 (45.8%) and 97 (34.1%) responded that they were exposed to news that discuss the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest from three times a week to daily.

Yet, 52 (18.3%) stated they watch news that discuss the Ethiopian protest once in a week, and 5 (1.8%) said they once in a month watch news about the topic (Table 14). No one responded “never” to see a television news discussing the topic. These results indicate that the topic has received considerable media attention.

Table 14. Frequency of exposure to news about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest

Response Item	Frequency	Percent
Never	--	--
Once in a month	5	1.8
Once in a week	52	18.3
Three times in a week	130	45.8
Daily	97	34.1
Total	284	100

The student researcher has also asked the respondents to evaluate their degree of understanding regarding the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest. The majority of the respondents (49.3%) believed that they “understand it very well,” 41.2% said they understand the topic “enough to get by,” and 27 (9.5%) supposedly understand the issue “somewhat” (Table 15). That almost half of the respondents confidently reported understanding the topic very well indicates that the topic was discussed rigorously in the media. Since the majority respondents are educated it is also possible to relate this result with their consciousness level. The more they are educated the better they understand the topic.

Table 15. Respondents’ self-evaluation of their degree of knowledge about Ethiopian protest (2015-16)

Response Items	Frequency	Percent
Close to nothing	--	--
Very little of it	--	--
Somewhat	27	9.5
Enough to get by	117	41.2
Very well	140	49.3
Total	284	100

4.3.2. Audience Frames

One of the objectives of the research is to determine the frames Addis Ababa residents hold about the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest. The predetermined frames in the literature which are economic

consequence, conflict, human interest, morality, and responsibility frame were detected in the survey's open-ended question. In addition the researcher had elicited two frames (ant-peace frame and protest frame) in the answer of the open-ended question of the respondents.

As depicted in Table 16, by making up 30.3% of the first mentioned audience frames the economic consequences frame is the most frequently found frame. This frame contains the respondents' views that there was a huge effect of the protest on the economy both at national and regional levels. Respondents also mentioned that the protest was related to claims of the government that the economy is boosting. This frame also includes remarks that emphasized the expectation that the economy will grow despite the series of protests.

The conflict frame recorded 18.7% of the survey's open-ended responses. In this frame, respondents discussed the protest as a fight between government and the protesters and between government and anti-peace groups. The 'anti-peace frame' (13.4%) was the fourth most frequently mentioned, respondents describing the protest as a violent action that aimed at interrupting the country's long held stability and development.

There are also many respondents that emphasized on blaming any responsible body they thought is responsible for the protest, damages, and deaths. This constitute the 'responsibility frame' which is fifth most found frame with 13%. The 'protest' and 'morality' frames made up 18.3% and 6.3%, respectively, of the first mentioned frames.

As in the first part, by registering 39.8%, the economic consequences frame also dominated the second frame mentioned in the survey responses (Table 16). The 'responsibility frame came in second (24%). The protest frame made up 18% of the second mentioned respondents frames. There was slight indication of the conflict and morality frames, which constituted only 13.7% and 4.5%, respectively, of the second mentioned frames.

Table 16. First frame mentioned in the open ended question

Frames	First Frame		Second frame	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Economic consequence frame	86	30.3	113	39.8

Responsibility frame	37	13	68	24
Conflict frame	53	18.7	39	13.7
Morality frame	18	6..3	13	4.5
Human interest frame	--	--	--	--
Anti-peace frame	38	13.4	--	--
Protest frame	52	18.3	51	18
Total	284	100	284	100

4.3.3. Tone of the Respondents towards the Protest

The respondents' positions toward detailed features of the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest were measured through the use of seven Likert-scale items. Respondents were also asked to give answer to various question regarding the protest to specifically know their stance about the issue.

Table 17, Table 18, and Table 19 show the degree to which the survey respondents agree and disagree with different statements about the protest. The statements are measured on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means 'strongly agree', 2 (agree), 3 (neutral), 4 (disagree) and 5 means 'strongly disagree'.

Table 17. Legitimacy of the concerns raised by the protesters

The protesters had a legitimate concern to raise.		
Response Items	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	94	33.1
Agree	151	53.2
Neutral	1	0.4
Disagree	33	11.6
Strongly disagree	5	1.7
Total	284	100

The majority of respondents agree (53.2%) to strongly agree (33.1%) that 'the protesters had a legitimate concern to raise'. Relatively, only insignificant number of the respondents disagree and strongly disagree with the statement, 11.6% and 1.7% respectively. Only one respondent (0.4%)

claimed to be neutral on the statement. This shows that the respondents had a genuine concerns that needed proper attention from the responsible body.

Table 18. Audiences’ stances on the necessity of protest

The protests were necessary.		
Response Items	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	87	30.6
Agree	107	37.7
Neutral	25	8.8
Disagree	55	19.4
Strongly disagree	10	3.5
Total	284	100

As shown in the above table, 87 (30.6%) respondents strongly agreed with the statement that ‘the protests were necessary’ and 107 (37.7%) respondents agreed to the statement. This shows that the majority of the respondents (68.3%) believe that the protests were necessary and they support it. Those who disagree to strongly disagree with the statement ‘the protests were necessary’ altogether made up 22.9%. Only 8.8% were neutral on the statement.

Table 19. Respondents’ stance on the measures taken by the government

The measures taken by the government to resolve the issue were inappropriate.		
Response Item	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	37	13.0
Agree	121	42.6
Neutral	17	6
Disagree	99	34.9
Strongly disagree	10	3.5
Total	284	100

Out of the total 284, 121 (42.6%) and 37 (13%) respondents agree to strongly agree with the statement that ‘the measures taken by the government to resolve the issue were inappropriate’. 99

(34.9) respondents disagreed and only 10 (3.5%) respondents strongly disagreed with the statement, the rest 17 (6%) being neutral. This shows that the majority of the respondents are against the measures taken by the government to resolve the issues. As explicated in the open ended question's response, they assume that it was the action of the government that escalated the protest. Those who disagree and strongly disagree (38.4%) with the statement suggested that the government had to do what it did to restore stability.

Table 20. Audiences' stance whether the concerns are properly addressed or not

The concerns raised by the protesters are properly addressed		
Response Item	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	16	5.6
Agree	55	19.4
Neutral	50	17.63
Disagree	93	32.73
Strongly disagree	70	24.64
Total	284	100

The majority of respondents disagree (32.73%) and strongly disagree (24.64%) that the concerns are properly addressed. They assume that the silence is temporary and suggest that the government to bring real and observable change other than promising. Those who agree with the statement made up 19.4% and of the 284 responses, only 5.6% respondents strongly agree to it. As highlighted in the open-ended question responses of those who agree and strongly agree, by reshuffling the cabinet and declaring state of emergency the government have addressed the concern properly. Fifty (17.63%) respondents refrained from agreeing or disagreeing.

Table 21. Audiences' list of causes of the protest

Possible causes	1st main cause		2nd main cause	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Anti-peace and anti-development groups	20	7	10	3.5
Youth unemployment	28	9.85	20	7

Corruption	80	28.15	69	24.3
Bad governance	95	33.5	86	30.3
Injustice	31	10.9	59	20.8
Unequal wealth distribution	12	4.2	12	4.2
Foreign Countries (Eritrean and Egyptian government)	9	3.2	16	5.6
Terrorist groups	9	3.2	12	4.2
Ethnic disparity	--	--	--	--
Total	284	100%	284	100%

After listing the above possible causes of the protest respondents were asked to rearrange them from 1-9 according to their magnitude. Other than the listed causes the researcher also provided blank space for respondents to write any causes that are not in the list. The majority of the respondents (33.5%) believe that bad governance is the first main cause of the protest. Corruption (28.15%) is the second in the first main cause list. Injustice, youth unemployment, and anti-peace and anti-development groups made up 10.9%, 9.85% and 7% respectively. Only 4.2% made unequal wealth distribution the first main cause of the protest while similar number of respondents (3.2% and 3.2%) associated the protest with the intervention of foreign countries and terrorist groups.

Bad governance again make the highest portion with 30.3% of respondents listing it the second main cause of the protest. Corruption, injustice, and youth unemployment also sustained their place in the list with 24.3%, 20.8%, and 7% respectively. The rest, foreign countries intervention (Eritrea and Egypt), terrorist groups, unequal wealth distribution, and Anti-peace and anti-development groups made up of 5.6%, 4.2%, 4.2% and 3.5% respectively (Table 21).

This shows that the protests were against issues such as bad governance, corruption and injustice which in total constituted 72.55 percent as the first main cause of the protest and 75.4 percent as the second main cause of the protest. Relatively small number of respondents (13.4 percent in the first and 13.3 percent in the second) associated the protest with some other causes, but not related to the government.

Table 22. Respondents' responsible body for the damaged properties and loss of human lives

	Cause for the damaged properties		Cause for the loss human lives	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
The government	85	29.9	168	59.15
The protesters	89	31.4	56	19.7
Opposition parties	42	14.8	26	9.15
Terrorists	68	23.9	34	12
Other	--	--	--	--
Total	284	100	284	100

As shown in Table 22, 31.4% of the respondents blamed the protesters for the damaged properties that ranges destroying small shops to burning cars and factories. Relative number of respondents (29.9%) made the government responsible for it. Terrorists and opposition parties made up 23.9% and 14.8% respectively.

Comfortably over half of the respondents (59.15%) made the government responsible for the deaths happened during the protests in various parts of the country. With clear difference, the protesters were blamed for the loss of human lives by 19.7% of the respondents. Respondents also made terrorists (12%) and opposition parties (9.15%) responsible for the deaths. This result indicates that the government was using excessive power to disperse the protesters.

In general, the above assessments demonstrate that the respondents made a positive evaluation of the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest.

Audiences' tone towards the protest was measured by first coding the tables to items 1, 2, and 3. This produces a coding protocol in which the smaller the number, the greater the degree of agreement. Those who answered 1 or 2 (agree to strongly agree) were categorized as having positive attitudes toward the topic. Those who answered 4 or 5 (disagree to strongly disagree) were categorized as having negative attitudes toward the protest. An analysis of the frequency of responses to the first three items (Table 17, Table 18, and Table 19) indicate that those with a positive attitude made up 70% or 597 of the valid responses (n=852). About 25% (212) showed a negative attitude toward the issue (Table 23).

Table 23. Audiences' tone towards the protest

Category	Frequency	Percent
Negative	212	5
Neutral	43	25
Positive	597	70
Total	852	100%

4.4. Result of the Content Analysis compared with Survey Results

4.4.1. Frames

Hypothesis 1 postulated that the frames identified in the survey would be similar with frames identified in the content analysis. In order to examine this hypothesis, comparison of the frames detected in EBC's news stories and audience's frame found through survey's open-ended answer was made.

Table 24. Media frames and audience frames compared

Frames	First observed		Second observed	
	Media %	Audience %	Media %	Audience %
Economic consequence frame	5.2	30.3	8.4	39.8
Responsibility frame	4.2	13	--	24
Conflict frame	13.7	18.7	9.5	13.7
Morality frame	2.1	6..3	3.2	4.5
Human interest frame	--	--	--	--
Anti-peace frame	71.6	13.4	76.8	--
Protest frame	3.2	18.3	2.1	18

As shown in the above table, anti-peace frame (71.6%) was the most dominant first frame observed in EBC's news reports while it was among the least in audiences' responses. On the other hand it was the economic consequence frame (30.3%) that was exhibited in audiences' response as first

dominant frame. However; the economic consequence frame only constituted 5.2% of the total news examined.

Framing news as a conflict during protests or crisis situation is common to media; conflict frame was the second most dominant first frame observed in both the media and audiences' response, it constituted 13.7 and 18.7 percent respectively. The protest frame was among the least elicited frames in the media, but it was the third dominant first frame found in the gleaned audiences' responses, by constituting 3.2% and 18.3% in their order.

By constituting 76.8% of the total news, the anti-peace frame again was the most frequently happened second frame detected in EBC's news reports though it was nonexistent in the audiences second frames detected. In the audience responses, it was again the economic consequence frame (39.8%) that was most frequently identified second frame. The responsibility frame, which was missing in EBC's news frames, appeared in 24% of audience answers. The protest frame was observed more frequently in the audience answers (18%), than in the news (2.1%).

According to these results there is no correspondence among the frames found in EBC's news and audience responses. This shows that the messages the media communicate regarding the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest have failed to find their place in the audiences' thoughts. This is more supported by the evidence that the frequency of using certain frame or the percentages of frames found in EBCs' news and audience responses are distinct.

This is more elaborated in Table 24; it shows that anti-peace frame constituted 71.6% of the first and 76.8% of the second observed frames in the media. This is not true for the audience frames, because this frame is fourth in the first and absent in the second frames detected in the public responses. In addition, the economic consequence frame which is the most dominant first frame in the public answers is among the least in the content analysis.

The protest frame which constitute 3.2% of the first and 2.1% of the second frames mentioned in the news also do not correspond with the audience responses in which the protest frame made up 18.3% and 18% of the first and second frames observed, respectively. This frame depicts the issues as a normal peaceful protest against the governance system and other problems by large number of population across the country.

As discussed in the 2nd chapter of this study, framing theory is under the umbrella of the media effects theory, which asserts that audiences are passive and the media are capable to get through their thoughts. The theory argues that media, deliberately or unconsciously structure their news in certain frames. The theory also upholds that these frames can get in to the audiences' cognition. However; audiences are not a machine "who passively receive all the information that come out of the media rather they absorb, analyze and give their own meaning based on past experiences" (Ketema, 2015, p. 25).

The findings of this study support Ketema's point. Though EBC put a frame of understanding in its news regarding the protest it was hardly successful in telling the audience how to think about the protest. No matter how the media frames issues, it has to compete with various factors to influence audiences' understanding about that certain topic. The findings show that there are factors that affect the success of framing influence other than the level of exposure to a particular media and issue coverage.

The influence depends on various contributing variables such as the previous experience and knowledge of the person, level of education, and exposure to other media. When individuals are getting the message from different media they mostly tend to make their own judgment or incline towards the medium that is related to their preference.

4.4.2. The Use of Tone

This study is guided by the operational definition of tone that refers to the story's orientation or how the context of the story depicts the stakeholders, the Ethiopian government and the protesters. Positive, neutral and negative are measurement scales to describe reporting tones. The second hypothesis of this study postulates that the tone conveyed in the news towards the protest will correspond with the survey respondents' attitudes towards the same topic. In order to test this hypothesis, the tone of both the news and audience responses was examined. Stories orientation regarding the protest in EBC were categorized as negative, neutral, and positive, they are found to be reported with different tone scales. Audience were also asked different questions that help to know their attitude towards the protest.

Table 25. The tone of EBC's news and audience attitude towards the protest

Tone	Media	Audience
Negative	96.8	5
Neutral	--	25
Positive	3.2	70

Concerning the tone evaluation, most of the coverage of the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest in EBC falls under negative tone, because stories narrated in line with the position of the government. As the above table depicts, 96.8% of the total news reports analyzed was negative toward the topic, whereas only 5% of the survey responses considered the protest in that line. There is a clear difference of tone between the media and the public. According to the data, only 3.2% of the total (n=95) news was inclined to be positive while the public response showed a positive (70%) attitude towards the protest. No news was found to be neutral in EBC's report, on the other hand quarter of the respondents demonstrated a neutral stance (Table 25).

As the results depicts, the tone conveyed in the news towards the protest is incongruent with that of the survey respondents. This is because the news stories portray the protest as a negative, however; the audience had a more positive understanding of the protest.

4.4.3. Detail view of the News Stories and the Audience about the Protest

In order to have a clear understanding of how the media portrayed the protest and how the public understood it, the following detailed categories were added in both the content analysis and survey questions. Different causes for the protest, the damaged properties and loss of human lives as mentioned in the news and the survey responses were extracted for analysis.

Table 26. Cause of the protest

	Media %	Audience %
Anti-peace and anti-development groups	65.2	7
Chauvinists and narrow nationalists	5.2	--

Public grievances (bad governance, corruption, injustice, unequal wealth distribution, and youth unemployment)	3.2	86.6
Foreign Countries (Eritrean and Egyptian government)	5.2	3.2
Radical Ethiopian Diasporas	8.4	--
Terrorist groups	10.5	3.2
Ethnic disparity	--	--
Total		100%

On 65.2% of EBC's news the cause of the protest was claimed to be anti-peace and anti-development groups. Whereas, only 7% of the respondents said the same. According to 86.6% of the respondents, the protest was because of public grievance against the government, which is the least cause according to the news (3.2%). Though the respondents did not buy this idea, 8.4% and 5.2% of the news from EBC depict that Radical Ethiopian Diasporas, and chauvinists and narrow nationalists respectively caused the protest (Table 26).

Table 27. Cause for the damaged properties and loss of human lives

	Cause for the damaged properties		Cause for the loss human lives	
	Media	Audience	Media	Audience
The government	--	29.9	--	59.15
Anti-peace and development groups	65.5	--	66.7	--
Chauvinists and narrow nationalists	12.7	--	9.8	--
The protesters	--	31.4	--	19.7
Opposition parties	3.6	14.8	3.9	9.15
Terrorists	18.2	23.9	19.6	12
Other	--	--	--	--

Total	100	100	100	100
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As Table 27, shows, the news blamed the government for the damages and deaths not even in a single news, however; 29.9% and 59.15% of the public believe that government is responsible for the damages of properties and deaths occurred during the protest periods, in that order. Rather, the news asserted that it was anti-peace and anti-development groups who caused the damages to various public and private properties (65.5%) as well as loss of human lives (66.7%). Close to quarter (23.9%) and 31.4% of the respondents blamed terrorists and the protesters respectively, for the damages occurred on properties. Based on the above data, it is possible to say that the difference occurred because the government was the major source of information in the news regarding the protest.

Table 28. Views towards the measures taken by the government

	Media	Audience
Appropriate	90.5	38.1
Neutral	9	6
Inappropriate	0	55.6
Total	100	100

During the mass protests in different places, the government had used different methods to disperse the protesters. Table 28, depicts how the news and survey responses view these measures: appropriate, neutral, or inappropriate. Of the total (n=95) news stories about the protest, 90.5% view the measures taken by the government as just and appropriate, only 9% remaining neutral. On the other hand, 55.6% of the total respondents (n=284) believe that the measures taken to resolve the protests were inappropriate. Statements such as “it was government’s action that escalated the protest” and “had the government took the right measure, the state of emergency wouldn’t have been needed” were highlighted in the survey responses.

These findings show that the news stories were trying to legitimize what the government did to bring order to the country, however; they were not successful in getting in to the cognitions of the audience.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Summary

The 2015-16 Ethiopian protest is a series of protests that started in 2015 in Oromia region and then spread in to different parts of the country mainly, Amhara region, Konso zone, and Gedeo zone. During these yearlong protests more than hundreds of deaths and property damages had been observed. The protests were first erupted in November 2015 and continued until October 2016, the month in which the government declared a state of emergency to resolve the unrests. Though the degree varies, both national and international media have been covering the protests.

This study examines how the national public broadcasting medium, EBC framed the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest, and whether EBC was successful in getting the frames in to the audience cognition. Thus, the study employed quantitative research methods, and analyzed news contents of EBC about the protest to assess how the protest was depicted in the television channel. And, survey was conducted to know whether the medium shaped the audiences' understanding of the protest and its multi aspects.

In order to elicit the media frames, a content analysis of 95 news that directly discuss the protest was done. For the audience part, 300 questionnaires were randomly distributed in three sub-cities of Addis Ababa, and the analysis of 284 fully filled questionnaire was done. The survey helped to see how EBC's audience understand or interpret the several features of the protest. Finally, how EBC framed the topic and the tone of the news towards the topic were compared with audiences' frame and tone towards the protest.

According to the content analysis findings the dominant frame that EBC used to structure its news is anti-peace frame. Using this frame the news portrayed the protest as an anti-peace movement planned by anti-peace and anti-development groups to create chaos and terror. These news also condemn and delegitimize the movement. Anti-peace frame was the most dominant news frame that was observed first and second by constituting 71.6% and 76.8% respectively. On the other hand, anti-peace frame (13.4%) was among the least first observed frames in the audience frames and missing in the second observed audience frames.

The public framed the protest in terms of its economic consequences. In the open-ended responses, audiences discussed the protest in relation with its economic consequence ranging from personal to national level. The economic consequence frame was the first in both the first observed and second observed frames by registering 30.3% and 39.8% of the responses respectively. This frame was only noticed in a relatively very small number of news 5.2% and 8.4% as first and second observed in their order.

The data show that there is incongruence between the media frames and audience frames. Therefore; the first hypothesis of this study that posits, ‘the frames identified in the survey will be similar with the frames identified in the content analysis’ is disproved. The media frames regarding the protest and audiences’ understanding were not matched, this supports the idea that, “when media’s and audience’s frames overlap, the media and the audience weigh differently on those frames” (Scheufele, 2000).

The researcher believes that, the discrepancy is because of three reasons. Firstly, the large number of the respondents were educated (more than 75% of the respondents have attended college and above college). This increases their media literacy and the chance of being conscious on the media messages. Second, almost all of the respondents have asserted that they also checked other source of information regarding the protest, including: radio, newspaper and the internet. Getting information from diverse media make the audience to evaluate and crosscheck the information they receive from different media. Chong and Druckman affirms that “people who are better informed about the issues are more likely to have established a frame of reference for their opinions and are less likely to be swayed by how other people frame the issues for them” (2007, p. 112).

The third reason is that, of the analyzed news government offices and officials were the most dominant news sources of information and the protesters were not represented. Sources often shape the central theme of the news and government made 50.7% and 72.7% of the first and second mentioned sources in the news respectively. On the other hand, respondents were on the side of the protesters; 86.3% of them agreed that the protester had a legitimate concern to raise and 68.3% of the respondents believed that the protest was necessary. Above 95% of the news depicted the protest as negative, while 70% of the respondents showed positive attitude towards it. This diminishes the chance of being influenced by the media that negatively depicts, the issue they perceive otherwise.

The second hypothesis of this study speculated that, ‘the tone conveyed in the news towards the protest will correspond with the survey respondents’ attitudes towards the same topic’. This hypothesis is also disproved depending on the findings. The tone the news had towards the protest and audiences’ attitude towards the same issue do not match. As the result of the content analysis indicates, of the 95 news analyzed 96.8% had negative tone towards the topic, while 70% of the respondents had a positive attitude towards it. The findings suggest that balanced coverage of the protest was not observed in EBC.

As explained in detail in the above part, the first and second hypotheses of this study are refuted by the findings. Since there is no congruence between the media frame and audiences’ frame, and media’s tone and audiences’ tone towards the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest, the third hypothesis also disproved. Thus; EBC’s news frames were not successful at influencing audiences’ understanding regarding the issue.

5.2. Recommendations

5.2.1. Recommendations to the EBC and Other Media

As Ketema, (2015) clearly put it, “sources can easily influence the tone and the way the journalist frames the news stories” (p. 24). It is true that, without sources journalism would not be the same. That is why Muluken (2013) said, “sources are critical for producing media content, and media sources are also very important elements in framing issues, because sources who talk to a specific media outlet can make some issues salient and ignore some other issues deliberately or unconsciously” (p. 70-71). The findings of this study also showed that single sources highly influence the theme of the news content. As a public broadcasting channel, EBC need to entertain diverse and plural views, so that everyone might feel represented in the media.

Elites get to influence news more frequently than ordinary individuals. However; this should not be done always by the media, since it is vital that the media ought to give a chance to ordinary people and be a voice to the voiceless.

The media also need to discharge its responsibility of keeping the public well-informed so that citizens make an informed decision towards any issue. By providing news made as per the journalistic standards the media can contribute to the country’s stability and positive transformation instead of spreading only the government side of the issue or messages of hate and

division. The media also need to conduct timely researches to evaluate their performances and implications they make.

5.2.2. Recommendations to Policy Makers

The findings of this research shows that institutionally affiliated sources mostly dominated the news discourses regarding the protest. As a result, the news reflect government interests. The news mostly condemn and delegitimize the protest by framing it as a deed of anti-peace forces. Significant number of news were also legitimizing government's actions and measures taken to resolve the protest. So, it is possible to say that most of the news carried government's stance on the issue.

On the other hand; the public think that there were legitimate concerns that needs proper answers, and the protests were necessary. Besides, most of the respondents (86.6%) raised bad governance issues as a cause for the protests and (57.7%) of the respondents disagreed that the concerns are properly addressed. Thus, based on the findings the following recommendations are put.

- The government should have open ear for different complaints so that it can solve them by discussing the concerns with its people before they bring it to the streets.
- The respondents still don't think the issues are properly addressed; this leaves the government with an assignment of getting back to its people for discussion.
- When the information that comes from the government is incongruent with that of the public, it shows that there is miscommunication between the two. The government need to ask why people did not perceive the protest as an anti-peace movement while it was claiming it to be so.

5.3. Limitation of the Study

As with any project, there are limitations in the current work. This study had to deal with probably small number of sample size for the survey, considering the total population of Addis Ababa. Even though the researcher has tried to make the sample representative by using multi-stage random sampling method and select three sub--cities, the results of the study might not still represent the whole population of the city. The small sample size was also not sufficient enough for statistical procedures to identify differences. There was also disproportion by education in the survey's sample population; more than 75% of the respondents have attended college and above college.

More insight could be gained by including more samples and the opinions of those who have not attended any formal education.

The content analysis part of this study also included only news stories regarding the 2015-16 Ethiopian protest, but not other programs such as documentaries and interviews which would have made the analysis richer. The study also focused only on analyzing the news texts; the visual contents, videos and pictures of the news were not part of the study.

However; the study would be an important document regarding how the media framed the Ethiopian protest that took place between August 2015 and November 2016 and the public's understanding of the protest. It will be important for media practitioners, researchers, and policy makers to understand the public's perception of the protest and how it was framed by the media.

5.4. Direction for Future Study

Future framing studies should focus on encompassing videos, pictures and other visual contents, to enhance the findings of this study. Future studies can also conduct the same framing influence research by using more than one medium (print vs. broadcast vs. online, private vs. public, local vs. foreign or diaspora), in order to make comparative analysis. This is because, different media institutions may have used different perspectives to report about the protest.

Future studies should also focus on studying the influence of media frames on prompting reaction. This would take a framing research from influence on attitude to another level, which is examining the frames influence on emotional responses of individuals. In the case of protests, this kind of study allows the researcher to understand the escalating/deescalating role the media play.

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Appendix I

Content Analysis Coding Sheet

Name	Label	Guide	Coding values	Code
ID		Give number to the news		
Protests	The protest that the news is about	Write place of the protest discussed in the news	Name of places	
Frames	First frame observed	Refer to the attached definitions of frames	1 - Economic consequence frame 2 - Responsibility frame 3 - Conflict frame 4 - Morality frame 5 - Human interest frame 6 - Anti-peace frame 7 - Protest frame	
	Second frame observed	Refer to the attached definitions of frames	1 - Economic consequence frame 2 - Responsibility frame 3 - Conflict frame 4 - Morality frame 5 - Human interest frame 6 - Anti-peace frame 7 - Protest frame	
Tone	Tone of the news towards the protest	Refer to the attached definitions of tone	1 - Negative 2 - Neutral 3 - Positive	
Source	First source mentioned	Write name of a person, group, organization that comes first in the news If person write the title, party, affiliation, position	Name of a person, group, organization,	

	Second source mentioned	Write name of a person, group, organization that comes second in the news If person write the title, party, affiliation, position	Name of a person, group, organization, If person write the title, party, affiliation, position	
Causes	Causes of the protest	Write issues, name of a person, group, organization, country, that is made responsible for the protest	Issues, name of a person, group, organization, country, that is made responsible for the protest	
	Causes for the damaged properties	Write name of a person, group, organization, country, that is made responsible for the damaged properties	Name of a person, group, organization, country, that is made responsible for the damaged properties	
	Cause for the loss of human lives	Write name of a person, group, organization, country, that is made responsible for the loss of human lives	Name of a person, group, organization, country, that is made responsible for the loss of human lives	
Measures	View towards the measures taken by the government	Refer to the attached definition	1 – Appropriate 2 – Neutral 3 – Inappropriate	

- **Definitions of frames**

1. The **conflict frame** emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries.
2. **Human Interest frame** brings a human face, an individual's story, or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem.

3. The **economic consequence frame** presents an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country.
4. **Morality frame** interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions.
5. **The responsibility frame** presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group.
6. **Anti-peace frame**: conveys the issue as a violent, anti-peace action that aims at destabilizing the country
7. **Protest frame**: depicts the issue as a peaceful protest to voice a complaint towards the government.

- **Tone** refers to the story's orientation: whether the news depicts the protest as a positive or negative. The following are three potential types of tone:

Positive tone is displayed by news that mainly discuss the advantages of the protest. These news consider the protest as a solution to a problem.

Negative tone is displayed by news that mainly discuss the risks and disadvantages of the protest. These news consider the protest as a means of destructing development and creating instability.

Neutral tone is displayed by news that are mainly event-oriented and do not mention pros and cons of the protest. They neither treat the protest as a solution nor as a problem.

- **View towards the measures taken by the government**

Appropriate: news that portray the measures taken by the government as suitable and just to the circumstances.

Neutral: news that say nothing about the measures taken by the government

Inappropriate: news that portray the measures taken by the government as unsuitable to the circumstances.

Appendix II

Intercoder Reliability

Categories	No. of Coding Decisions	Decisions on which the coders agree	Decisions on which the coders disagree	Reliability	Percentage of Agreement
First frame observed	95	95	0	1.00	100
Second frame observed	95	87	8	.91	91.57
Tone of the news towards the protest	95	90	5	.94	94.73
Cause of the protest	95	93	2	.97	97.89
Cause for the damaged properties	95	93	2	.97	97.89
Cause for the loss of human lives	95	94	1	.98	98.94
View towards the measures taken by the government	95	95	0	1.00	100
Total	665	647	18	.97	97.29

This was done using Holsti's (1969) intercoder reliability formula

$$R = 2(M)/N1+N2$$

Where:

M – Refers to decisions on which the coders agree

N1 and N2 – Refers to decisions which each coders independently make

Appendix III

QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction and purpose

My name is Tesfagebriel Tekola, a graduate student in Journalism and Communication at Addis Ababa University. I am currently working on my thesis which examines how Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation covered the recent protests in the country and how viewers perceive this issue. This questionnaire includes items that seek demographic information, your television viewing habits, and your general knowledge about a topic of which you may be familiar, Ethiopian protest. I seek your voluntary participation in this study. You are not expected to provide your name or any contact address. Your responses will be kept confidential.

Contact Information

For further information, please contact via: +251 916 532150

Part I

1. Age

- a) 18-24 b) 25-34 c) 35-44 d) 45-54 e) 55-64 f) 65+

2. Gender

- a) Male b) Female

3. Educational Background

- a) No formal education b) Primary c) Secondary d) Preparatory
e) First Degree f) Second degree g) Third degree

4. Have you ever heard about the political protest in Ethiopia?

- a) Yes b) No

5. Which of the following protests have you heard about?

- a) Oromia b) Amhara c) Gedeo d) Konso e) Wolkait f) All

6. How did you learn about the protests? *Please circle all answers that apply.*

- a) From a friend or relative b) I saw it on television c) I heard about it in the radio.
d) I read about it in newspapers e) from magazines f) I read about it in the Internet
g) Other (*Please specify*) _____

7. About how much of the protest do you think you understand?

- a) Close to nothing
b) I understand very little of it.
c) I understand it somewhat.
d) I understand enough to get by.
e) I understand this topic very well.

8. How often do you watch television news?

- a) Never b) Monthly c) Weekly d) Four times a week e) Daily

9. What TV news channels do you watch regularly? Give number 1, 2, and the same for your choice.

- a) EBC b) Addis TV c) Oromia TV d) ENN e) EBS
f) Others, please specify _____

10. When watching television news, how often do you watch news that discuss the protest?

- a) Never B) Once in a month c) Once in a week d) Three times in a week e) Daily

Part II

The following are statements people make about the protest. To what extent do you agree with these statements?

11. The protests were necessary

- a) Strongly agree b) Agree c) Neutral d) Disagree e) Strongly disagree

12. The protesters had a legitimate concern to raise

- a) Strongly agree b) Agree c) Neutral d) Disagree e) Strongly disagree

13. The concerns raised by the protesters are properly addressed.

- a) Strongly agree b) Agree c) Neutral d) Disagree e) Strongly disagree

14. The measures taken by the government to resolve the issue were inappropriate.

- a) Strongly agree b) Agree c) Neutral d) Disagree e) Strongly disagree

Part III

15. Who do you think is responsible for the damaged properties?

- a) Government b) The protesters c) Opposition parties d) Terrorists
e) Others, specify _____

16. Who is to blame for the lost human lives?

- a) Government b) The protesters c) Opposition parties d) Terrorists
e) Others, specify _____

17. The following are possible causes of the protest. Arrange them in order of their magnitude.

- ☐ Anti-peace and anti-development groups ☐ Youth unemployment ☐ Corruption
☐ Bad governance ☐ Injustice ☐ Unequal wealth distribution
☐ Foreign countries (Eritrean government and Egyptian government)
☐ Terrorist groups (Ginbot 7, OLF, Al-Shabab) ☐ Ethnic disparity
☐ Others, please specify _____

18. In general, what comes to your mind when you hear about the Protests in the past months?

What are the things you know or have learned about it?

Thank you very much for participating in this survey.