Media Framing of Amhara Protests: The Case of Amhara Television and Aljazeera

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Abstract

The study examined the framing of the 2016 Amhara protest in Ethiopia by Amhara Television (ATV) and Aljazeera. The research employed mixed research design and employed themes, frames, sources, tone, and media functions as categories. The findings reveal that ATV reports focused on reducing unrest and government initiatives, but Aljazeera focused on ethnic tensions, human rights, and the magnitude of the crisis. Regarding frame types, Aljazeera mostly used diagnostic and human-interest framing. In contrast, ATV mainly used economic, prognostic, and morality framing. Moreover, Aljazeera often employed victims' families and opposition groups, but ATV commonly used religious leaders and government officials as news sources. Regarding media roles, Aljazeera focused on stating the cause, whereas ATV paid more attention to proposing remedies. Both, however, paid equal attention to articulating and defining the problem. As for the tone of the stories, Aljazeera was positive about the public protest, but ATV condemned the persistence of the protest. Besides, Aljazeera and ATV showed different understandings regarding the causes and solutions to the problem. Finally, these differences in framing occurred because of the differences in organizational culture, editorial policy, and the general media philosophy adhered to by journalists in their respective media.

Keywords: Amhara protest, Amhara Television, Aljazeera, framing

Introduction

Despite the fact that the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) toppled the Derg in 1991 and established an ethnically based federal system in Ethiopia, the government faced popular protests. The 2005 national election results and conflicts among political parties sparked one of the country's largest public rallies. Furthermore, in April 2018, Ethiopia experienced another protest that helped propel Abiy Ahmed to the leadership (Mebratu, 2021).

The attempted arrest of Colonel Demeke Zewudu, the chairperson of the disputed territory's representatives, triggered the Amhara protest in 2016, according to the Texas A&M University Center on Conflict and

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Development. The center also stressed the importance of Ethiopia's ethnic politics (https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf docs/PA00TH11.pdf). Colonel Demeke was hunted down by federal security officers in Gondar, Amhara region, but they were all slain, and the representative was apprehended under negotiated surrender. On the other hand, his arrest sparked the protest (Yohannes, 2021).).

Wolkait is an administrative district that had been part of the Amhara Territory until being relocated to the Tigray Region by the governing Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF); as a result, it is a contentious place between the Tigray and Amhara ethnic groups (Yohannes, 2021, p.112). Using the Welkait case as a litmus test, John (2021) stated that previous political institutions failed to accommodate democratic procedures, resulting in the loss of democratic and peaceful players while aggressive ethnic entrepreneurs profited.

Even though Colonel Demeke was imprisoned as part of a negotiated surrender, the residents of Gondar protested his arrest, and the protest expanded throughout the districts and towns of the Amhara region. Mr. Getachew Reda, the then-head of communication affairs, stated that the protests did not fulfill constitutional criteria. According to him, the protesters were aided by weapons, explosives, and lawbreakers. According to Baren and Davis (2012, p.338), "the credibility and motives of moment leaders are frequently harmed by framing that characterizes them as excessively emotional, disorganized, or immature''. Because the media presented public gatherings as possibly violent, some people may have concluded that police responses are justified. As a result, hundreds of people, mostly young people, have been slain in the Amhara region, and tens of thousands of demonstrators have been jailed by government security forces (Amnesty International, 2017).

The media is one of the most critical determinants of how a dispute is handled. As a result, the media must frame the story so that peace and democracy are guaranteed. Chinyere found that "the mass media can report or air programs in such a way that peace will be promoted and can equally create room for balanced opinions to encourage conflict prevention" (2020, p.110). As a result, this study was conducted to investigate how Amhara Television (the local media) and Aljazeera (the foreign media) framed the 2016 Amhara Protest. Therefore, the following research questions were posed.

1. What are ATV and Aljazeera's mainframes, themes, sources, tones, and media functions about the 2016 Amhara Protest?

2. What was the primary factor that affected media coverage of the Amhara region's political upheaval in 2016?

Framing

The media shapes the events occurring around us by framing issues for the audience. Despite the very fact that scholars have offered and still offer various definitions, a universally accepted definition of framing remains elusive. The framing, however, may be summarized by Entman as follows:

> Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text   in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and or treatment recommendation for the item described (1993, p.52). Salient

According to Entman, framing is the reality that journalists construct to identify a problem, explain the reason, assess morals, or provide a solution. After a few years, framing was also seen as a way of determining a few aspects of perceived reality and constructing a story that emphasizes links between them to support a particular view (Entman, 2007). However, framing is impacted by internal and external elements that influence how journalists and news organizations frame a situation (DeVreese (2005).

Frames of Various Types

Thematic and episodic frames are the two types of framing. The former refers to public issues in terms of specific incidents or events (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). Conversely, the latter is concerned with ''public issues in a broad or thematic sense'' (Iyengar & Simon, 1993, p.369). For instance, crime can be framed episodically by focusing on criminal activities and their victims   and by uncovering the roots of crime or crime trends on a thematic level.

Conflict frame

Conflict frames are used to express disagreement and dispute among individuals, groups, or organizations to attain audiences' attention (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Their study found the conflict frame, the second most common frame, and the more serious the newspaper, the more the conflict frame was present.

Human interest frame

    This frame depicts an event, topic, or problem, a human face or an emotional aspect (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The human-interest frame activates people's psychological pulses in crises, causing them to have a more negative perspective toward the catastrophe (Padin, 2005, cited in An and Gower, 2009).

Economic Frame

This frame describes an event, problem, or issue in terms of the economic impact it will have on a person, a group, an organization, or a country. It was identified as a common news frame by Neuman et al. (1992), as mentioned by An and Gower (2009).

Attribution of Responsibility Frame

This frame is defined as a method of assigning blame for a problem or solution to the government, a person, or a group (Semetko &Valkenburg, 2000). They also stated that serious newspapers employed the attribution of responsibility frame the most (cited in Ana and Gower, 2009). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) found that the responsibility frame was the most regularly utilized in the news in their study.

Morality Frame

While discussing society's morals and religion, the morality frame stresses public events or problems that should be recognized. The "morality frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions" (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p.96). The morality frame received the least attention in their investigation   compared to the responsibility, conflict, and economic consequences, and human-interest frames.

Media and Ideology

Many scholars have noted the media's link with ideology. Hassen (2018), for example, pointed out that, in addition to molding people's perspectives, the news media also promotes their vested interests. He also added that some ideologies are promoted in the name of presenting objective information to the public and that "many ideologies and power dynamics are intertwined in Pakistani news headlines" (2018, p.1). In addition, Lu et al. (2016, p.75) noted that "the mass media exert profound influences on people's ideology, values, and political attitudes." Compared to Western media, nearly "all traditional media in China are state-owned and are managed by the party's propaganda system."

Tolson (1991), as cited by Hassen (2018), alleged that media texts are sometimes ideologically constructed and shaped. This ideologically motivated content aims to replicate and deepen oppressive and exploitative social connections. Furthermore, media ideological constructs are naturalized, and the public accepts media "information" as "common sense" knowledge. Fairclough (1995), on the other hand, summarized the impact of political, cultural, and economic institutions on the media industry.

Materials and Methods

The study used a mixed research design that included quantitative content analysis and qualitative text analysis. ATV was chosen because it was domestic media that covered the 2016 Amhara protests closely. Aljazeera was chosen because it was one of the few international media to cover Ethiopian politics closely. Because it was a major period that marked the beginnings of the political protest in Gondar, a province in the Amhara region, the research period spanned 11 July 2016 to 17 January 2017. As a result, 30 Aljazeera news pieces and 92 ATV news stories were chosen for analysis.

Unit of Analysis

News reports were used as the unit of analysis as long as they highlighted the 2016 Amhara political protest. Furthermore, the researchers created a code sheet to help them recognize distinct frames. In each article, the themes, sources, frame types, tone of the stories, and media functions were all categorized based on various parameters. The framing factors were conflict, economic consequences, diagnosis, etc. The media function and tone of the stories were also categorized.

Data Analysis

The data from the content analysis was analyzed using descriptive statistics, while the data from the text was analyzed using thematic analysis.

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Findings and Discussion

Framing have an impact on news consumers, and when individuals are exposed to news coverage, they learn by the frameworks that organize it (Baren & Davis, 2012). ATV and Aljazeera employed various kinds of

frames which they think will put their audience in their   desire, and technically avoid some big affairs which they believe will take their audience in the unwanted understanding of the issue.

Themes Covered by the Television Stations
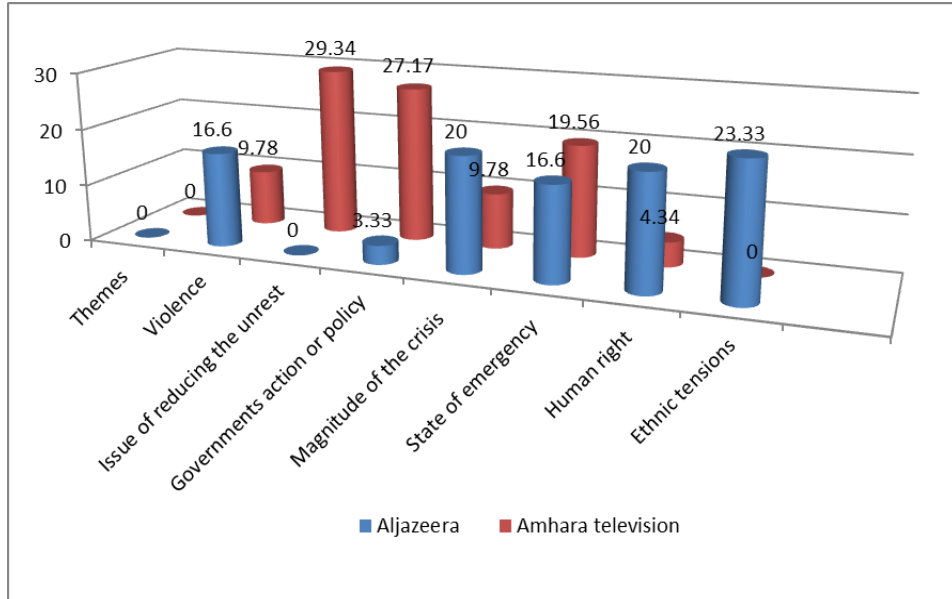
Figure 1. Theme distribution between Aljazeera and ATV

Figure 1 shows that reducing unrest (29.34%) and government action (27.17%) were the two most important subjects for ATV, but both were given very minimal coverage by Aljazeera. Instead, ethnic politics was Aljazeera's main focus (23.33%) and it paid close attention to human rights (20%). Human rights problems received little attention from ATV (4.34%). Aljazeera emphasized the size of the crisis and the issue of violence more than ATV (20% and 16%), respectively. Aljazeera and ATV appeared to provide nearly equal coverage regarding the state of emergency.

The results of the qualitative data also supported the results of the quantitative data as depicted below:

> Bahir Dar residents said the youth should peacefully address their concerns about good governance and development. They also demanded that the administration respond quickly to the public's questions (ATV, Sep 7, 2016).

ATV ran reports advising demonstrators to address their questions peacefully and avoid using violence to express their displeasure. In contrast, the station's coverage ignored the protestors' underlying issues. It just broadcasted the government's interest at the expense of demonstrators' demands.

As shown below, ATV also accused social media of distributing bogus news and raising tensions:

> Residents of Debre Berhan City have stated that the fake news they hear on social media will not deter them from continuing on their peaceful path. Residents also expressed their sorrow over the loss of life and property due to the unrest that occurred in several locations (ATV, Sept.7, 2016).

Table 1 shows that minimizing unrest was not a concern for Aljazeera. Instead, its focus was ethnic concerns, as reflected in the following excerpt:

> Ethiopia has seen other protests this year in Gondar and elsewhere. The Welkait ethnic group lives between the Amhara and Tigray regions. Many Welkait and Amhara opposition groups accuse the government of being dominated by Tigrayan politicians. The Welkait accuse the government of forcing them to be part of Tigray and not recognizing their ethnic group. Welkait opposition groups want to join the Amhara. The government has refused. They say that the government is ignoring them - the government that they allege is dominated by other ethnic groups from the north (July 15, 2016).

When Aljazeera broadcasts news about the Amhara political turmoil, it mentions ethnic federalism as the cause of the problem. They framed that ethnic issue as the catalyst for the violence, as narrated below:

> In the Amhara region, demonstrations began over the status of a district - Welkait - that was once part of Amhara but was incorporated into the neighboring Tigrayan region more than 20 years ago. Those demonstrations have since widened. The ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front is a multi-ethnic coalition of four parties. The opposition and political analysts say it is dominated by the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (Sept 4, 2016).

Similar to Aljazeera, Africa News (2016) reported that tens of thousands of demonstrators in Ethiopia's Amhara region demanded the government

to stop Amhara mass killings, respect for Amhara and Amharaness, and end the TPLF's supremacy. However, ATV did not use any of these expressions. Instead, ATV's report focused on achieving economic success and good governance.

Furthermore, ATV broadcasted statesmen's pledges at various levels, as indicated below:

> The former EPDRF combatant assured the public that the government is dedicated to providing a prompt response to public requests. They went on to say that the problems that have arisen in the meantime are due to administrative inefficiencies. The combatants had also voiced their sorrow at the death of the people during the conflict. Mr. Abay Tshaye, Mr. Abadula Gemeda, Mr. Bereket Semon, and Kasu Elala (Ph.D.) all stated that the administration would work hard to put an end to the abuse of public power for personal gain   (ATV, Aug 8, 2016).

As shown below, ATV aired news reports claiming the government is dedicated enough to respond to public complaints:

> Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn stated that the administration will respond democratically and inclusively to public demands. Recognizing the possibilities of peaceful protest in the country, the prime minister emphasized that any activity that does not meet the necessary criteria for peaceful protest is illegal (ATV, Aug 8, 2016).

Compared to ATV, human rights were Aljazeera's most significant topic (20%), but not ATV's (4.34%). Aljazeera used data from international human rights organizations to highlight the number of individuals killed by the government's security forces. Aljazeera also tries to draw attention to abuses of human and democratic rights. Amnesty International (2017), for example, documented the killing and arrest of numerous teenage demonstrators in the Amahara region by government security forces.

Aljazeera was critical of the state of emergency and saw how it drastically limited people's rights while giving the government unrestricted power.

> Human rights groups, which accused the government of using excessive force in the protests, said hundreds were killed in the demonstrations in some of the country's worst violence since the ruling party came to power in 1991. Under emergency rule,

detainees could be sent to rehabilitation centres without charge, the government had previously said (Aljazeera, Aug 8, 2016).

According to New York-based Human Rights Watch, at least 500 people have been killed by security forces since the demonstrations began in November 2015. Though protests started among the Oromo, Ethiopia's biggest ethnic group, they later spread to the Amhara, the country's second-largest ethnic group. Authorities have denied that violence from the security forces is systemic, though a spokesman previously told Aljazeera that police officers "sometimes take the law into their own hands", pledging an independent investigation (Aljazeera, Aug 8, 2016).

ATV framed the state of emergency as a favorable opportunity to preserve the rule of law and human and democratic rights.

Residents of Changi claim that declaring a state of emergency has solved the current crisis. On his side, Changi Mayor Mr. Asemie Berle stated that the newly established command post is restoring human and democratic rights (ATV, Nov 30, 2016).

Even though both stations emphasized the declaration of a state of emergency almost equally, ATVs saw it as a necessary solution for the people's peace and stability. This showed that the government's interests and ideology considerably influenced how ATV portrayed news, as Skejerdal (2012) and Menychle (2017) saw significant government control or meddling in Ethiopia's media business.

Journalists and editors of the two media decide some issues be news and ignore many more. When an issue or event has several sides, the media tend to focus on certain elements of that issue or problem (Powers & Andsager, 1999).

ATV did not bring opposing sides together; instead, it concentrated on the repercussions of the demonstration and characterized all violent measures as immoral. This might be attributed to government control of the media. According to Ross (2010), Ethiopian official media outlets were chastised for being used as propaganda weapons by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front after the fall of the Derg Marxist regime in 1991. Furthermore, Skjerdal (2012:247) revealed that Ethiopian media practitioners maintain "professionalism by shifting between professional and national loyalties on certain occasions." This might explain why ATV constantly broadcast stories that could halt the protest.

Many regarded Aljazeera's coverage of the Arab uprising as a voice of reality and a catalyst for change. According to Dalacoura (2012), the situations of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen, and Syria, where public protests resulted in the fall of governments or major internal fragmentation and contestation, are greatly aided by the Aljazeera article.

ATV focuses on highlighting government attempts to reduce political violence, exposing the views of important government leaders in the process. These politicians told the public that poor leadership was a major contributor to the violence and promised to serve the people to the best of their abilities. During this time, officials asked the protestors to calm down. This is attributed to the government's control over the media. In this regard, Chomsky and Herman (1988:61) noted that "monopolistic control over the media is a problem in countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy."

Aljazeera highlighted human rights issues in that the Ethiopian government was systematically suppressing civil society's voice by stifling any possibility of a democratic movement. Aljazeera underlined human rights violations and demonstrated how the Ethiopian security forces abuse their control over the youth. Furthermore, Aljazeera was expressing the viewpoint of an international human rights organization. In line with this, Joyce (2010) witnesses Aljazeera replicating and shaping public opinion by providing marginalized groups with a voice, emphasizing opposing viewpoints, and stimulating conversation on human rights concerns. On the other hand, ATVs did not attempt to uncover human rights breaches or investigate whether the government's security forces used excessive force.

Despite this, Aljazeera never advised the protestors to avoid violence. This indicates that Aljazeera was unconcerned about reducing political unrest. This might be due to Aljazeera's desire to emphasize contentious concerns. Furthermore, it appears that Aljazeera backed the political movement.

The two stations handled the declaration of the emergency in considerably different ways. While Aljazeera advocated for the state of emergency to be repealed, ATV portrayed it as a protector of citizens' rights. The discrepancy could be owing to their sources, as ATV used government officials' narratives while Aljazeera used the voices of an international human rights organization, experts, and victims' families and friends.

Sources used

While news sources are crucial and may have a big impact on news content, such as the media agenda and media framing, there hasn't been much study on what influences source selection and impact (Strömbäck et al., 2013). Aljazeera did not use religious leaders as news sources instead relying on opposition groups, victims' families, and parents. Al Jazeera may have chosen them to give the matter a global perspective.

Sources	Aljazeera		ATV	
	Story no. (30)	Percent (%)	Story no. (92)	%
Government officials	4	13.33	24	26.08
Experts	5	16.67	18	19.57
Victim families and friends	7	23.33	5	5.43
International organization	5	16.67	-	-
Community members	-	-	14	15.22
Unspecified sources	1	3.33		
Religious Leaders	1	3.33	27	29.35
opposition groups	7	23.33	4	4.35
Total	30	100	92	100

Table 1: Source distribution across Aljazeera and ATV stations

As indicated in table 1, religious leaders (29.35%) and government officials (26.08%) were the most popular sources of ATV. On the other hand, Aljazeera did not use them very well as a source. Aljazeera's most widely used news sources were opposition groups, victims' families, and friends (23.33%) each. This disparity may arise since EPRDF molded the media and how the state media remained heavily influenced by the party, with coverage frequently focusing on development efforts like road-building or agriculture, as well as information about other government programs (Stremlau, 2011). Because the government owns the media, the news agency, and the media regulator, the government took this step (Menychle, 2019). According to Strömbäck et al. (2013), official sources dominated media coverage of the 2009 European Parliamentary election campaigns, as is true of the Amhara protest in 2016 by ATV and

Aljazeera. In their case, they found that international official sources and EU spokespersons were mentioned significantly less frequently than local official sources in their case. Furthermore, Takahashi (2010) discovered that the media in Peru mostly relies on official sources for environmental information, with environmentalists rarely cited.

In addition, Li (2007) pointed out that government officials were one of the first two main sources of the 9/11 crisis, as was true in the coverage of the Amhara protest in 2016, while public relations officers were the major source of information. As the conflict seemed to dwindle, these individuals disseminated propaganda. They were speaking to ATV because they were certain that the administration would handle the protest. These are signs that the government is using the media to justify its power in the country by stifling citizen resistance. ATV's dependence on government-affiliated sources while ignoring the opposition also failed to meet journalistic standards, as Skejerdal and Mulatu (2021) highlighted that the sources of news-oriented reporting for the government media were mostly government officials and sympathizers. In addition, they said media sources are approached who only support their political goals.

Frame types used by Aljazeera and ATV

Frame type	Aljazeera		ATV	
	No. of stories	%	No. of stories	%
Diagnostic	7	23.33	4	4.35
Prognostic	2	6.67	18	20.65
Attribution of responsibility	5	16.66	5	5.43
Solution	3	10	9	9.79
Empathy	2	6.67	4	4.35
Morality	-	-	19	20.65
Human interest	6	20	4	4.35
Economic	2	6.67	23	25.0
Conflict	3	10	5	5.43
Total	30	100	92	100

Table 2: Frames types distributed between Aljazeera and ATV's media framing of the 2016 Amhara protest

Table 2 shows that the two media framed differed significantly between the two stations. For the diagnostic frame, Aljazeera concentrated on the root cause of the problem (23.33%). On the other hand, ATVs paid very little attention to diagnostic framing (only 4%). ATV attempted to demonstrate the magnitude of the impact by prognostic framing (20.65%), whereas Aljazeera paid little attention (6.67%). The morality frame and the economic consequence frame (20.65%) and (25%), respectively, were the additional key areas for ATVs. Aljazeera paid comparatively little attention to these framing patterns. In comparison to ATV, Aljazeera paid more attention to human interest framing (20%) and responsibility framing (16.66%). Aljazeera's findings look in agreement with Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000), who discovered that the attribution of responsibility frame was the most commonly used one in the press and television news, followed by the conflict, economic consequences, human interest, and morality frames, respectively. In addition, the findings from ATV and Aljazeera appear to contradict Ashenafi's (2012) findings, which revealed that the conflict frame was the most often used, followed by the attribution of blame and economic consequence frames.

However, ATV's coverage of the 2016 Amhara protest was not concerned with human interest framing. Bruktawit (2008), on the other hand, revealed that human interest was the most regularly used frame by Ethiopian print media when reporting on gender violence. Aljazeera's reportage put a human face on the news. This could indicate that Aljazeera wanted the viewers to be aware of the violence perpetrated by government security forces. According to Baylor (1996:241), "Media attention often impedes movement success." For Baylor, the impact of media attention, whether favorable or not, is primarily determined by just how the media agents frame movement objectives and actions.

The focus of Aljazeera was on diagnostic framing, with ethnic federalism-based politics cited as the main cause of the violence.

Here's an example of a news item that reflects Aljazeera's perspective:

> On July 31, residents of Gondar, which is around 700 km north of the capital, Addis Ababa, came out to demonstrate amid a long-standing territorial dispute with the neighboring Tigray region. During Ethiopia's transition from a unitary to a federal state in the early 1990s, some Amhara claimed they lost territory to

> Tigrayans when the country was restructured along ethnolinguistic lines (Aljazeera, Aug 1, 2016).

Yohannes (2021:109) cited "structural, institutional, ideological contradictions and weaknesses resulting in marginalization, economic dogmatism, parochial political culture, strategic exclusion, ideological hegemony, and weak institutional set-ups" as the causes of Ethiopia's public protests from 2015 to 2018, appears to support Aljazeera's framing.

ATV didn't do much diagnostic framing, and its diagnosis was unrelated to Aljazeera's. The following headline from ATV shows how the lack of good governance and development difficulties are at the heart of the problem:

> Members of the Amhara National Democratic Movement's (ANDM) central council realized that addressing the people's development and governance concerns is critical to reducing the instability that has arisen in various sections of the region. Members also voiced confidence in the organization's ability to apply previous expertise to the current problem (ATV, Sep 3. 2016).

The economic consequence frame was identified as the most dominant frame in ATV news coverage of the 2016 Amhara protest. ATV focused on the damage to structures, as well as the property of individuals and the general public. It heavily utilized economic consequence framing in the process to quell the public protest. The following were some of the highlights of the news:

> Youths in Showarobit City condemned the act of damaging public and government property through chaos and violence. The kind of chaos and violence which harm the public and individual property is not fair. As such, it needs to be condemned (ATV, Sep. 4, 2017).

ATV used prognostic framing in addition to the economic consequence frame. The station attempted to forecast the region's and the country's fates. The station portrayed continued public disturbance will have far-reaching catastrophic consequences for the country's peace and development:

> Residents of Womberma, a community in West Gojjam, believe that the ongoing violence and anarchy would damage newborn development. They claimed that, despite the constitution's

protection of peaceful protests, citizens should be wary of present activities that endanger society's lives and property (ATV, September 8, 2016).

Aljazeera broadcasted ordinary people's lives in the region, which appeared to enrage the Amhara people. This is an excerpt from Aljazeera's report:

> Amba Giorgis, Ethiopia - Etenesh sits alone on a worn cow skin in her mud-walled home in Amba Giorgis, a small Ethiopian market town in the northerly Amhara region. Her husband, a merchant, was arrested early in November   due to his alleged participation in anti-government protests over the last few months. "He was taken to a military camp," says Etenesh, a mother of two who sells coffee to farmers from her shack (Aljazeera, Jan 10, 2017).

Aljazeera addressed the audience and went over their feelings so that they might respond to the issue in the way above. Aljazeera identified a mother responsible for her family's well-being and then highlighted how her husband's detention has harmed her. The narrative seems to have been written to appeal to everyone in a normal state of mind, which is human interest framing.

On the other hand, ATVs used morality framing by engaging significant community members, such as religious leaders and the elderly to teach moral lessons about the unacceptable use of violence and the danger it presents to the country. As indicated below, ATV emphasized the significance of sustaining regional peace.

> Elders and religious leaders from Hulet Eju Enesie woreda in east Gojjam convened a meeting. Mr. Yiresaw Tamire, the spokesman for the Amhara region, said the administration has started answering some of the people's inquiries and assured them that issues that require more time would be answered ahead of time. The panelists expressed their condolences for the loss of life and advised the society to raise its concerns peacefully (ATV, August 13, 2016). Religious leaders in the city of Woldia have pledged to play a role in bringing/restoring peace to their city. They also stated that they are doing their best to avoid the turmoil and unrest seen in several parts of the region (ATV, August 13, 2016).

As indicated in the following lead, ATV framed that the regional administration must take responsibility for the crisis it caused:

> The Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM) stated that the deep rejuvenation is proceeding according to plan. Apart from the accomplishments, the group's chairperson, Mr Demeke Mekonenn, stated that the organization would take responsibility for the difficulties that have arisen (ATV, Sep 4, 2016).

The ATV headline above highlighted the responsibility of the region's ruling party (ANDM). On the other hand, Aljazeera did not portray party accountable; rather, it held the whole political system accountable. It framed the issue as a systemic issue. The following statement alluded to Aljazeera's narrative:

> Protesters from the Amhara ethnic group say they are marginalized by the minority Tigrayan-led government, which they accuse of monopolizing power and controlling the economy. The ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front is a multi-ethnic coalition of four parties. The opposition and political analysts say it is dominated by the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (Aljazeera, Oct 11, 2016).

On the other hand, ATV employed empathy framing to allow the audience to feel the negative consequences of the protest, as shown below:

> The disturbance in Bahir Dar has hurt the city's civil servants. According to the servants, the situation impacts   people's ability to receive prompt service (ATV, Sep 10, 2016).

Conflict framing was also handled differently by the two media. Aljazeera reported the conflict as a fight between the protesters and the government security forces. Still, ATV portrayed it as if the confrontation was between the government security forces and protesters, which ATV regarded as anti-peace and anti-development extremists, as shown below:

> The state of emergency was declared by the Council of Ministers to put an end to the anti-peace and anti-development elements that threaten the country's constitutional order. (ATV, 10 July 2016).
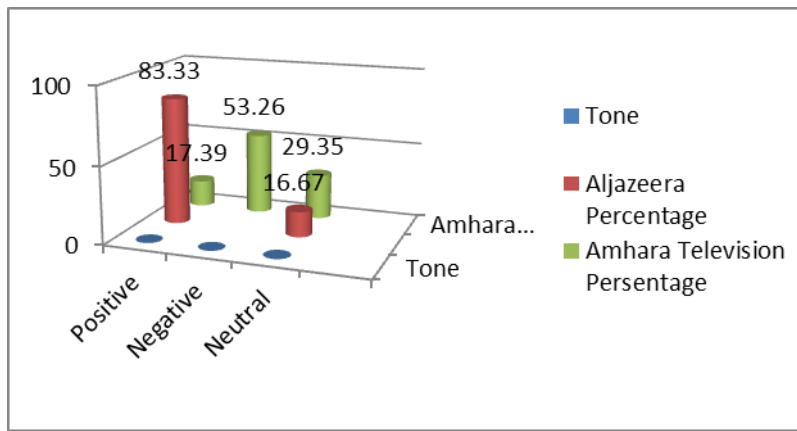
The two television stations approached the problem frames in very different ways. The local one cited improving government delivery, generating job opportunities, providing fair and timely civil service, having public discussions, and engaging in public conversation. On the other hand, Aljazeera presented for equal representation of all ethnic groups in the federal government. Yonas and Kassahun (2021) found that the EPRDF's failure to provide public service delivery, maintain law and

order, and respect human rights led to widespread popular protests from 2015 to 2018. Still, the response to the public protest was repressive enough to pave the way for new pro-reform leadership to emerge from the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) in April 2018.

In general, Aljazeera and ATV framed the 2016 Amhara protest differently. While the former framed the protest as a demand for equal representation and a question of identity, ATV framed it as if it had been created due to a lack of good governance and development. Likewise, several media channels can present an event in various ways. As an illustration, the Intifada was frequently depicted as a war for freedom and independence waged by Palestinian youngsters throwing stones at a highly equipped Israeli army. In Israel, however, the conflict was depicted as a question of protecting law and order (Divine, 2001).

ATV's and Aljazeera's tones

Figure 2: the distribution of news stories' tone

The tone of the two television stations' responses to the political unrest was significantly different. As shown in Figure 2, Aljazeera was very positive towards the protest, covering (83.33%) of the story in a positive mood, but ATV strongly opposed the protest (53%), and appeared neutral (29.35%). The two media had opposing positions on the 2016 public demonstration, and they sought to mold and shape their audiences' perceptions and opinions through the tones of their stories. Amhara TV recommended the protestors demand their rights peacefully and avoid joining anti-peace groups. Otherwise, Seifu (2019) observed that the government often characterized public demonstrations as violent.

Media function

Role of the media	Aljazeera		ATV	
	No. of stories	Percent (%)	Story no. (92)	Percent (%)
Define the problem	9	30%	27	29%
State the cause	17	57%	19	21%
Provide moral evaluation	0	0%	9	10%
Suggest solution	4	13%	37	40%
Total	30	100%	92	100%

Table 3: Distribution of media functions performed by the stations

The result shows that Aljazeera and ATV have discrepancies in terms of media functions (Table 3). Amhara television is known for working to find or suggest solutions for problems (40%). On the other hand, Aljazeera didn't seem to care about the solution (13 %). Aljazeera concentrated on identifying the root of the problem (57 %). Both were fairly comparable in terms of the media's role in framing the protest. Finally, Aljazeera never attempted to provide moral judgments to its viewers, although ATV did so briefly (10%).

Most ATV reports (40%) suggested that the political unrest could be resolved. The media urged the protesters to refrain from destroying private and public properties. ATV accomplished this by demonstrating the far-reaching repercussions of using violence to vent anger. The party officials also assured the public that they would fulfill their public obligations by efficiently carrying out their duties. Furthermore, ATV relayed the voice of deep rejuvenation from government leaders, as indicated below:

> Leaders at all levels should be sincere and responsible in their responses to society's most pressing issues. The comprehensive renewal review, which began in the central committee of the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), is now being carried out at the zonal and district levels. Senior authorities in South Shewa are likewise undergoing a comprehensive rejuvenation (ATV, Nov 10, 2016)

Aljazeera stated that the political instability was the product of the TPLF's two-decade administration. However, critically understanding and interpreting those suggested causes by Aljazeera might influence the national and international audiences to work for a lasting solution. For example, on 21 Dec 2016, Aljazeera reported that:

> The Amhara are the second-largest ethnic group in Ethiopia, constituting 27 per cent in the country of nearly 100 million people. The ruling coalition, the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), is a grouping of four ethnic-based parties, including Oromo, Amhara, and Tigray parties. The Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) is the founder of the EPRDF and is perceived to be the powerhouse of the coalition, even though Tigrayans represent just six percent of the population.

The media's role is critical in defining the problem, identifying the source, rendering moral judgments, and recommending solutions. In terms of suggesting solutions, ATV was considerably superior to Aljazeera, provided the stations were nearly equal in detecting the problem.

Conclusion

Regarding themes, Aljazeera prioritized ethnic concerns, human rights, the magnitude and scope of the crisis, and the issues of violence in their coverage. Furthermore, Aljazeera employed diagnostic and human-interest framing, while ATV used prognostic, economic, and morality framing. While Aljazeera employed victims' families and opposition groups, ATV commonly used religious leaders and government officials as news sources. Aljazeera focused on stating the cause, but ATV focused on the solutions. In addition, Aljazeera was positive about the political unrest, but ATV was negative. As a result of variations in organizational culture, editorial policy, and the overall media philosophy adhered to by journalists in their respective media, the Aljazeera and ATV texts showed opposing framings of the Amhara protest.

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