



**NGO-Media Interaction on Addressing Development Issues
on the News Media: Malnutrition in Perspective**

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Yonas Alemu, entitled *NGO-Media Interaction on Addressing Development Issues on the News Media: Malnutrition in Perspective* 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 meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

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This study is an endeavor to combine theoretical and pragmatic understanding of the multiple realities of NGO-Media relationship and interactions. It tried to investigate the everyday politics that take place between the media and NGOs and its possible implications on the development debate. Poole's Adaptive Structuration Theory (AST) and Hirokawa and Gouran's Functional Perspective on Group Decision Making Theory were employed as theoretical framework. To put the implications of the interaction into realistic context of the development debate, the study also engaged the concept of development communication and development journalism. In order to obtain relevant data the study used purely qualitative method and methodology. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, key-informants interviews, focus group discussion, document reviews and personal observations. A covert observational research method helped the researcher's observations to be integrated into the analysis. Data were collected from seven media institutions and nine Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The media institutions and the Non-Governmental Organizations were selected based on purposeful and convenience sampling methods. The NGOs were selected based on their active intervention programs on malnutrition issues and their relatively active relationship with the media. The media, on the other hand, were selected to be inclusive of all varieties i.e state and private media, print and broadcast media. The combinations of this selection method provided four categories: private print, government print, private broadcast and government broadcast. A total of 7 media organizations, 8 NGOs and 4 key individuals informed the research. The in-depth interviews were conducted with media editors and NGO communication officers. The focus group discussion was conducted with reporters. The collected data were then systematically analyzed using the theoretical framework and related studies. The analysis addressed the research

questions through thematic categories that have grown out of the data during and after the data collection. Accordingly, the findings of the study led to the understanding that NGO-Media interaction has a number of limitations which contribute to the depoliticizing of the debate on development issues. The findings greatly agree to the premise that NGO-media interaction has very limited collaboration from both sectors. It was found out that their interaction is mostly lacking mutual trust and dominated by prejudices and wrong attitudes. This lack of trust and transparency limits the possible areas of collaboration mainly their watchdog roles thereby resulting depoliticized development debate. The depoliticizing effect may apply across the board to all development issues and sectors though the study was focused on malnutrition only. The study also highlighted that the relationship between NGOs and state media is mostly affected by the relationship between government and NGOs and the government and media which, according to related studies, is not yet of a promising situation. The study strongly suggested proactive dialogue as a first step of identifying their common grounds to work together.

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ACRONYMS

AFSA	Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa
AST	Adaptive Structuration Theory
Ch&Ss	Charities and Societies
CCRDA	Consortium of Christian Relief and Development Association
C4D	Communication for Development
ERTA	Ethiopian Radio and TV Agency
COHA	Cost of Hunger in Africa
CS	Civil Society
CSF II	Ethiopia - European Union Civil Society Fund II
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CSP	Charities and Societies Proclamation
ENGINE	Empowering New Generations in Improved Nutrition and Economic Opportunities
EU	European Union
EVMPA	Ethiopian Volunteer Media Professional against AIDS
FBC	Fana Broadcasting Corporate
INGOs	International NGOs
LIHDC	Lambadina Institute for Health and Development Communication
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoH	Ministry of Health
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NNP	National Nutrition Program
NSAs	Non-State Actors
PANE	Poverty Action Network Ethiopia
TAU	Technical Assistance Unit
TECS	Tracking Trends in Ethiopia's Civil Society
COHA	Cost of Hunger in Africa
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

While the exact focus of this study dwells on the interaction, relationship and partnership among Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the media on addressing development issues in the news media, in order to be more focused a topic recognized as 'developmental' is required. In this case, malnutrition was undertaken. The issue of malnutrition served as an entry point to closely investigate the interaction between CSOs/NGOs and the media. Therefore, it is appropriate to briefly explain the burden of malnutrition particularly in Ethiopia.

Ethiopia was identified as one of the 18 countries with very high underweight prevalence rates of more than 40% (Chhabra and Rokx, 2004). The annual cost associated with child under-nutrition is estimated at 55.5 billion Ethiopian birr. According to the Cost of Hunger in Africa (COHA, 2013) today, more than two out of every five children in Ethiopia are stunted; 28% of all child mortality in Ethiopia is associated with under-nutrition; 16% of all repetitions in primary school are associated with stunting; child mortality associated with under-nutrition has reduced Ethiopia's workforce by 8%.

Ethiopia, as a nation, has given a serious attention to the problem and developed a National Nutrition Programme (NNP) to be implemented from June 2013 - June 2015. The document was signed by nine ministries taking nutrition as crosscutting entry point and an indicator of the MDGs. Ministry of Health (MoH), Ministry of Education (MoE), Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Water and Energy, Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, and Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs all signed on the document.

The COHA stated 'in order to achieve improved child nutrition at national level, we must be able to bring together a coordinated inter-sectoral response that is able to address the direct determinant of under-nutrition, beyond just the health sector.' This is including the media where information about available, accessible and affordable foods can be disseminated to the public and where discussions on the entire development program may well be held.

A number of international development agencies, especially non-governmental ones have also come forward with their intervention projects to alleviate the problem of malnutrition in

Ethiopia. These include, but not limited to, Save the Children's ENGINE program and UNICEF's Nutrition for National Development project. In this effort mass media are considered as partners among NGOs.

Multi-channel approach for development communication would ensure wider reach with lasting effect. The success of development communication depends on team approach, i.e. the coordination between the communication agencies (extension workers, radio, TV, Press, etc.) and development agencies. The team should consist of communicators, experts, specialists and researchers. Consultation, collaboration and coordination between development agencies and communication media agencies would facilitate the effectiveness of the development communication strategy (Rajish, K. 2011).

Wilbur Schramm (1964) is said to be the first to recognize the significant role communication could play in the national development of the third world countries. He believed that mass media could better the lives of people by supplementing the information resources and exposing people for learning opportunities. Schramm's conceptualization of the interaction between mass communication and development became the focus of many development programs (in Rajish, 2011).

The roles of NGOs include emergency support, backing long-term national development goals and advocacy for specific development issues. Explaining Ethiopia's situation and the role of NGOs in advocacy, Clark (2000:13) wrote 'A solid understanding of an advocacy role for NGOs has been slow to evolve in Ethiopia. Several factors contributed to this, including the weakness of the news media and academic institutions, and the absolute dearth of public debate in the Derg years.' Knowledge transmission and enhanced transparency are regarded as key ingredients of an effective strategy by development policymakers. Promoting good governance and development requires improvement of media capacity for reporting on socioeconomic and development issues such as public health and education (Hudock, 2003).

The roles of NGOs/CSOs are varied and they have been involved in a serious manner since the end of World War II. NGOs/CSOs have been promoting communication for development for a couple of decades. As Milton W. (2010) stated, 'it is the big challenge of the twenty-first century to combat poverty, war, and hunger, and civil society has to play a major role in this regard'.

Civil society actors have already influenced important processes. They raised public awareness about problems nobody talked about before, they demanded transparency in decision-making, and they forced decision-makers to justify their actions or their non-actions.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

On July 2013, with support from the European Union's Initiative, 'supporting non-state actors building partnerships' a workshop was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia bringing a cohort of media gatekeepers, journalists and communication officers together to help them build partnership and cooperation. The researcher had access to the recorded video of the workshop along with the written report and was also able to communicate with many of the attendants. When they were asked to reflect on their relationship with NGOs, the media gatekeepers were retorting strongly that they wouldn't publish NGOs' press releases just because they send them over. They also complained that they don't like how they are being approached by these organizations. The communication officers were also unhappy about the media in Ethiopia. This incident left the researcher with a number of questions on their relationship, partnership and interaction in the context of development communication.

Similarly, in March 2007, Polis Conference had brought together a wide range of African media practitioners, policymakers, donors, NGOs and academics in a high level conference on 'Development, Governance and the Media: the Role of the Media in Building African Society'. And they concluded that, 'little was done in the way of serious research concerning the relationships between the media sector, and the organizations and governments that promote developmental policies and messages'.

On the Polis Conference Joe Hanlon of the Open University argued that 'the role of the media is to challenge hegemonic assumptions, to probe further, to analyze the MDGs as a contested political space'. He thought that 'the MDGs were deeply embedded in the Washington consensus, transferring money from economic sector help to social welfare.' As he pointed out, 'there is little point in achieving universal primary education (MDG goal number 5) if there are no jobs available for newly educated adults at the end of their education.' Media, he suggested, had 'a responsibility to question and challenge the hegemony of the international nomenclature' (Beckett and Kyrke, 2007). In line with this Cox (2006), argues that the media has the duty to defend the public's right to information, voice, expression, and participation. It is also the

responsibility of the media to balance news stories with statements from all sides of the issue. The argument goes on with further strong critique that the MDGs had become a priori assumption of international development vocabulary, taken for granted as 'depoliticized technical targets' rather than recognized as the politically motivated and contested elite consensus that they actually represented. This view was clearly put by another scholar as follows: 'the development establishment has the power over resources and over how to define the discourse on development' (Wilkins, 2000:203). Non-governmental organizations were criticized for seeking to depoliticize development debate and simply push one unified message upon the media.

Background papers prepared for the 10th UN Inter-Agency Round Table on Communication for Development again raised critical point on 'communication confusion' of most development agencies:

The role of communication as empowerment of the poor contrasts sharply with how most communication is currently understood at country level within the development system, which is often focused on enhancing the public profile of development institutions and advocacy for specific programme areas. Because of this, many communication for development efforts, focused for example on subjecting policy initiatives to informed scrutiny and public debate, are carried out by personnel who are principally employed to promote those policies in the best possible light.

This can be rephrased simply as the struggle between cause and image or corporate communication versus development communication. According to Mefalopulos, (2008:3) this challenges 'is the lack of clarity, and at times the confusion, that many development managers display in their failure to differentiate among the various areas of communication, especially between this field of study and others, such as corporate communication or mass communications'. Organizations working on development issues are trying to achieve both at a time though striking the balance stays a problem. Building the corporate image and promoting the development issues has come into competition and that is part of the communication confusion.

The July 2013 conference has served as a platform where development agencies and communication agencies took the opportunity to reflect on their relationships and the challenges and prospects of working together. The researcher was able to observe CSOs/NGOs' complain against Ethiopian media. They complained that the media in Ethiopia are unable to hold the government accountable for its actions on developmental issues. They have highlighted two main reasons: 1. Ethiopian media professionals do not practice development journalism in the sense that it is a process where the poor and disadvantaged are given voice which the NGOs claim to have stand for 2. Ethiopian media professionals have not specialized in any of the specific development issues resulting weak analysis in their reporting. These statements point to the dissatisfaction the researcher has been observing for the last few years in his career. The researcher, therefore, proposes to investigate their relationship, collaboration, cooperation and partnership within the above mentioned constraints of working together to address development issues.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General objective:

The main objective of this study is to investigate the interaction, partnership and relationship among NGOs/CSOs and media on addressing and promoting developmental issues in Ethiopian mainstream news media.

1.3.2 Specific objectives:

The specific objectives of the study are to:

- Identify the common grounds and differences NGOs/CSOs and the media have in order to work together to address (question and promote) development issues.
- Find what exactly the CSOs/NGOs are trying to achieve in their relationship with the media.
- Identify the strategies used by NGOs/CSOs and the media to approach one another and work together.
- Find out the limitations they have in working together to address development issues in the news media.

1.4 Research Questions

As expressed in the statement of the problem this study focuses mainly on exploring the interaction, relationship and partnership of media and NGOs/CSOs on addressing and promoting

development issues. The following research questions guided the entire research to answer the overarching question: why is their relationship not working as it should or could?

1. What are the common grounds and differences NGO/CSOs and the news media have in working together to address development issues (nutrition in this case)?
2. What are NGOs trying to achieve in their relation or communication with the media?
3. What strategies do NGOs/non-state development agencies use to approach and work with the media?
4. What are the limitations for them to work in partnership to address, question and promote development issues?

1.5 Significance of the study

As the attempt to build partnership between the media and NGOs/CSOs staggers, the findings, conclusions and recommendations of this research are assumed to contribute by providing an insightful document both parties could refer to in their effort to strengthen their communication. In addition to that, the study could be an important resource for similar researches serving as a springboard especially in the absence of studies that examine NGO-Media relationships.

1.6 Scope of the study

This study was not meant to investigate the acceptability of development journalism in Ethiopia either by private or government media. It simply assumes that various developmental issues (one of which being malnutrition) are being addressed by the media despite their claims about development journalism at organization level. Therefore, it only be studied the interaction between NGOs and the media. Besides, due to financial limitations it studied media agencies and NGOs located in Addis Ababa. Further justifications can be found in the methodology section of Chapter Three.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

This research used a wide variety of sources despite a number of challenges that might have compromised the data. Resources had a critical negative impact which limited the study in terms of its inclusiveness. Due to the vast engagement areas of NGOs, it was found to be critical to use

convenience and snowball sampling which might not precisely represent in terms of variety. NGOs refusal to let the researcher access their communication strategies was also challenging which might have compromised the data. There was an air of reluctance among state media reporters and especially editors to provide information. And when they did speak they were economical with the information they provided. There were times when respondents warned the researcher not to mention their names with quotes. The deadline-bound routine work of newsrooms kept journalists busy and it was very difficult to bring them together for a focus group discussion. Initially, the researcher planned to conduct two focus group discussions based on private and state media categories. However, it was found to be surprisingly difficult to bring private media journalists together for a Focus Group Discussion (FGD). Therefore, there was not much of an alternative but to replace one of the proposed FGDs with in-depth interviews which bothered the researcher as having compromised data compared to the FGD from state media reporters which the researcher managed to conduct.

Besides, the theoretical frameworks of Adaptive Structuration and Functional Perspective on Group Decision Making are not without their own limitations. For instance, Adaptive Structuration Theory demands a high level understanding of the complicated nature of society and their interactions. However, there were very limited journals and articles that explain the theory to use it for analysis. It was to reduce effect from such limitations that the researcher used two theoretical frameworks along with the concept of development communication and development journalism.

1.8 Organization of the Study

The study has five chapters. Chapter One discusses the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives and significance of the study. It also addresses the research questions. Chapter Two provides the bulk of information on NGO-media relationship in a condensed manner. It also discusses the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter Three tries to justify the method and methodologies. Chapter Four dedicates much of its space to discuss and analyze the data collected from media and NGOs. It uses the concepts and methods of analysis from the theoretical framework. Chapter Five provides the conclusions and implications of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter reviews some literature on the rise and role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)/CSOs and mass media in national development and the partnership the two build. The concepts of development and development communication are also addressed followed by a discussion on the theoretical framework of the study namely, Adaptive Structuration Theory (AST), Functional Perspective on Group Decision Making and the concept of Development Journalism (DJ).

2.1 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)/ Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

NGO is an acronym for Non-Governmental Organizations, but to define what they exactly are is not as simple as that. Differentiating them from among other sectors requires a closer look which could make their nature even more baffling. Often NGOs are considered as part or subset of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) or Non-State Actors (NSAs). Clark (2000:3) writes 'the terms civil society and the NGO sector are not interchangeable. Civil society refers to the large universe of nongovernmental entities found in virtually every society.' This might include labor unions and trade unions, professional associations, grassroots community organizations, cultural affiliations, and other voluntary associations. NGOs, according to him, are among the subsets of actors within civil society. These NGOs are mainly engaged in poverty alleviation and civic education.

On the other hand, McPhail (2009) writes that there are only a few criteria to becoming an NGO. Such an organization needs to simply remain independent from government control, be non-profit seeking, non-criminal, and not seeking to challenge governments on issues of control/power. (NGOs cannot enforce or become a political party of any sort). Again Tsehai (2010) says that there is no universal definition for civil society organizations. He contends that different definitions could be given to them depending on the result to be achieved. He gives Elbayar's (2005:1) definition that could, more or less, serve the cause of this study: 'Civil Society Organizations are associations that make up the third sector of modern life, separate from the government and the market place.' Similarly another definition from Ethiopian Consortium (2005:4) goes as follows, 'associations that are not part of the government system and not established to make profit to be distributed to members'. In line with this, Chekol et al

(2004) emphasize that these associations are 'separate from the state, enjoy some autonomy and formed voluntarily by members of society to protect and extend their interests, values and identities'.

Despite their inconsistencies and shortcomings, many definitions of civil society and NGOs focus on the autonomous and voluntary nature of the sector. Diamond (1994) in Dejene and Asnake (2011:87), for example, conceives civil society as 'the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting, autonomous from the state and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules'. Civil society is thus viewed in contradistinction to the state and its intermediary character as standing between the private sphere and the state.

There are many other explanations of what NGOs/CSOs are and it is important to see their historical emergence to understand them in a relatively wider context. The focus of this study is on the NGO sector of Ethiopian civil society working on poverty reduction and hunger alleviation, particularly, nutrition issues, though it shall be noted that the descriptions and analyses may apply across the board.

2.2 The Rise and Role of NGOs in National Development

As McPhail (2009) indicated the concept of NGOs has been there back in the 1800s. However, it was only in 1945 that they came into the mainstream when the United Nations recognized them as a means of differentiating between participation rights for intergovernmental, specialized agencies and international, private ones. Looking back at the trails of history, McPhail (2009), states that major aid interventions and the beginnings of modernization planning programs began during World War II. The promises from the elites of the northern hemisphere to give the south a better way out of the economic and cultural problems were not realized.

At first it was the churches promising a better life both here and the hereafter. Then a wave of NGOs, foreign aid agencies, and academics took up the cause. The cause or goal was to improve the lives and lot of inhabitants of the peripheral regions of the world (McPhail, 2009:2).

According to Farrington and Bebbington (1993:2) in McPhail (2009:68) the reasons for the rise of NGOs is the 'excesses of state inefficiency, repression, and corruption' which ultimately

require a second thought among those who believed that ‘social development would be achieved through public sector actions.’ The profit-making private sectors are also found to be unwilling to ‘eradicate poverty, empower the poor, or even invest productively.’ The main point here is that the efforts made by the state and the private sectors to change the living standards of societies had become impossible to materialize which resulted in the emergence of the non-state, non-profit making, non-partisan sector which is independent of the state.

Referring to Mitlin et al. (2005), Lewis and Kanji (2009:21) write that ‘NGOs exist as alternatives’. In being ‘not governmental’ they create opportunities for people to take part in the development and social change process in ways that would not be possible through government programs. NGOs, therefore, ‘constitute instruments for turning these alternative ideas, and alternative forms of participation, into alternative practices and hard outcomes’. Lewis and Kanji further write that,

Mainstream macro-theories of ‘modernization’, as well as the more radical ‘dependency’ theory, which had dominated development ideas for two decades, had both lost their appeal (Booth 1994). NGOs came to be seen as sources of alternative ideas and useful new organizational actors that might open up new theory and practice (Lewis and Kanji, 2009:39).

This shows us that the rise of NGOs was one out of necessity. While the debate still continues among scholars to delineate their roles from the governmental and private sectors, Shandra (2007:666) in McPhail (2009:70) explains that Non-Governmental Organizations seek to change the practices of governments and multilateral institutions, which often involves lobbying government and multilateral agency officials. This statement emphasizes on the role NGOs, particularly international ones could play in the development of nations with the influence they may put on government officials on public policy and development issues. Giving more emphasis the scholar continues, ‘...thus, international Non-Governmental Organizations are in a position of pointing out embarrassing failures and hypocrisies of nations, which puts pressure on governments to adapt behaviors to international norms’. International NGOs are expected to point out failures of states and put pressure to change the status quo.

This explanation may sound a bit in disparity with what McPhail has said about NGOs on ‘not seeking to challenge governments on issues of control/power.’ Shandra pointed out that international NGOs are in a position of pointing out embarrassing failures and hypocrisies of nations putting pressure on governments and push them to adapt ‘international behaviors and norms’ while McPhail is standing on the safe side. Perhaps, Shandra may not be referring to the issues of control and power by giving NGOs a responsibility to point out failures of governments. She might rather be giving NGOs a place in the nation’s development process. The roles assumed for NGOs in a nation’s development are still controversial and often leads to controversy with governments.

Despite these arguments the roles NGOs play in the development process is inevitable and undeniable. In the contemporary development practice often their roles are focused on three categories – service delivery, catalysis and partnership (Lewis and Kanji, 2009:91). Often service delivery is quite mechanical and tangible which might cause little argument with the state. It can even be appreciated by the state which could not meet the demand of its citizens. Supporting clinics and hospitals, schools, providing free HIV test, free vaccinations, consultation etc...are service deliveries NGOs may be engaged on. The Red Cross/Crescent which is the largest NGO in the world can be mentioned as the first service provider NGO.

A catalyst is an agent triggering change. This is another key role NGOs play in the development process. ‘One form of catalyst is the NGO that aims to bring about change through advocacy and seeking influence; another is the NGO that aims to innovate and to apply new solutions to development problems’ (Ibid, 2009:97). An advocacy role of NGOs was not acknowledged as one of their key roles until the 1990s. But since then advocacy has been growing important with achievements that include the establishment of international baby-milk marketing code, the drafting of an essential drug list within national health policies, debt cancellation and the removal of restrictions on international trade of some items. Such results are not achieved with ease. In order to make this happen it requires facing authorities with serious dialogues and arguments which sometimes may not have pleasant ending. In this line Green writes that,

Many CSOs see themselves as ‘change agents’. Often their work is painstaking and almost invisible, supporting poor people as they organize to demand their rights, pushing the authorities for grassroots improvements such as street lighting,

paved roads, schools, or clinics, or providing such services themselves, along with public education programs on everything from hand washing to labor rights (Green, 2008:60).

As catalysis and change agents, NGOs find themselves in difficult arguments and dialogues. In one way or another they get involved in the nations' politics which is said to be a restricted zone at least rhetorically. This is clearly described with the following words: 'whichever view of policy one takes, NGO advocacy can be seen as a particular form of micro-politics in which individuals and organizations seek influence (Lewis and Kanji, 2009:100). Since advocacy is a means of seeking influence over development issues and public policy, it is not appropriate or possible to view NGOs completely out of the political sphere. Their role in national development can vary depending on their type and size. NGOs can vary in size, from small grassroots movements to the largest ones such as the Red Cross/Crescent. In an attempt to clarify their nature based on their function McPhail (2009:69-70) has classified NGOs in to four categories:

- **Charitable orientation NGO:** This type of NGO often involves a top-down paternalistic effort with little participation by beneficiaries. It includes NGOs with activities directed toward meeting the needs of the poor, such as distribution of food, clothing or medicine; provision of housing, transport, and schools. These NGOs may also undertake relief activities during a natural or man-made disaster.
- **Service orientation NGO:** This type of NGO deals with activities such as the provision of health, family planning or education services in which the program is designed by the NGO and people are expected to participate in its implementation and in receiving the service.
- **Participatory orientation NGO:** These NGOs are characterized by self-help projects where local people are involved particularly in the execution of a project by contributing funding, natural resources, and voluntary labor.
- **Empowering orientation NGO:** This type of NGO aims to help poor people develop a clearer understanding of the social, political and economic factors affecting their lives, and to strengthen their awareness of their own potential power to control their lives.

Sometimes, these groups develop spontaneously around a problem or an issue. Empowering orientation NGOs are considered to be the most important in terms of promoting development and reducing the digital divide in peripheral nations.

2.3 The Rise and Role of NGOs in Ethiopia

Ethiopia has always been regarded as rich in associational life. Traditional civil society organizations such as *idir*, *mahiber* and *senbete* existed for quite a long time. But the formal and non-traditional CSOs (mainly NGOs) in Ethiopia started emerging during the 1950's and their numbers increased exponentially in the 70's due to the famine the country experienced. During this period welfare type NGOs and faith-based organizations were established. They played a leading role in providing emergency relief service mostly to the community affected (Konjit, 2010). In the 1990's, as a result of the change in the political landscape, the number of NGOs increased fast. NGOs that addressed development issues in addition to welfare type activities also increased (Diagnostic Survey on Ethiopian NGOs, 2003) (in Konjit, 2010).

According to the Ethiopian Charities and Societies Agency, currently there are a total of 3056 charities and societies. The Agency classified these organizations in to seven categories: Foreign Charity (345), Ethiopian Charity (371), Ethiopian Residents Society (120), Ethiopian Residents Charity (1992), Ethiopian Society (114), Consortiums (53) and Adoption Foreign Charity (61) (www.chsa.gov.et, June, 2014).

Comparing NGOs in Kenya, Uganda and South Africa Konjit (2010) pointed out one clear difference. In Ethiopian NGOs there is a lack of activism. Many people who join the formal NGO sector in Ethiopia did so either with a welfare attitude (to help the less fortunate) or to advance their professional career. Most members of CSOs in the other countries, however, come from a culture of struggle against colonial oppression. This explains the nature of CSO/NGOs in Ethiopia.

Often developmental NGOs are criticized by the public and the state for a number of reasons. Their effectiveness in solving the problems of communities is still open for debate. In light of this, Hulme and Edwards (1997) in Lewis and Kanji (2009) say that,

NGOs are no longer ‘flavor of the month’ in either mainstream or alternative development circles, as once perhaps they were during the 1990s. The idea of NGOs as a straightforward ‘magic bullet’ that would help to reorient development efforts and make them more successful has now passed (Lewis and Kanji, 2009:21)

This statement shows that development agencies, separate from the state and the private sectors had been once considered as ‘magic bullets’ that could bring solutions to the social, cultural and mainly economic calamities of societies. However, the image they have once built is now deteriorated as they failed to prove it in action. The authors further explain that ‘many people question exactly whose views NGOs are representing, by what authority, and how accurately they present their information’ (Ibid, 105).

And yet, the authors, despite this claim, argue that ‘non-state actors such as NGOs play increasingly important roles in developing, transitional and developed societies’ (Ibid: 21). The assistance they gain from international donors has increased surprisingly. This increasing flow of resources and their exposure to public scrutiny may well be considered as a testimony for their continuing importance in nations' development. More to this point, Asnake and Dejene (2011) write:

Despite these difficulties, the economic influence of CSOs, and particularly those who deliver services, and development-oriented NGOs, has been growing tremendously. Like elsewhere in Africa, the role that non-governmental organizations play in bridging developmental gaps that are left by both the public and private sectors is increasing dramatically (Asnake and Dejene, 2011:95).

It is also reported that one-fifth of the development aid in Ethiopia is controlled by NGOs. The role of civil society organizations in ‘addressing both market and state failures’ has been strongly encouraged and supported by donor governments and agencies that ‘diverted some of their assistance from bilateral and multilateral schemes to civil society organizations or NGOs’ (Ibid). In order to understand NGOs’ role in development and their conception of communication for development, we shall, in the next section, briefly discuss the basic concepts of development and the historical debate surrounding development communication.

2.3 Development and Communication for Development (C4D)

Terms like development and communication have been quite controversial at least among the elites and scholars of the field. Development could mean different things to different scholars. That's why Melkote and Steeves (2002:34) write that the 'theory and practice of development communication cannot be meaningfully discussed without defining development as well as communication'. And unfortunately there have been very little studies on development communication that tried to define development. It was only proved as a difficult task by those studies that tried to define it leaving scholars poles apart in their conceptualization of what development means (Ibid). Development has come to be a concept which is contested both theoretically and politically, and is inherently both complex and ambiguous. These days, development has taken on the limited meaning of the practice of development agencies, especially in aiming at reducing poverty and the Millennium Development Goals (Thomas, 2004).

As quoted by Miltin and Hickey et al (2006:7), Cowen and Shenton (1998: 50) noted that, 'one of the confusions, common through development literature is between development as immanent and unintentional process...and development as an intentional activity'. The researcher would like to emphasize that the very phrasing of the 'Millennium Development Goals' explains the targeted, therefore, 'intentional' development.

As the debate on the essence of development continues, so does the argument on the essence of communication for development. A number of definitions have been given by scholars. For instance, Quebral conceptualizes communication for development as:

'an art and science of human communication applied to the rapid transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human potential' (Quebral, 2006:101).

In this view, the purpose of development communication is to advance development. Since development requires a mass of people with a low rate of literacy and income to be informed about and motivated to accept and use unfamiliar ideas and skills in very much less time than that process would normally take, communication is a means to speed up this process. This rapid

communication includes many development issues as noted by Murthy, who states, 'though communication for development or development communication grew out of agricultural communication, the term comprehensively includes not only agriculture but also population, nutrition, health, education, housing, employment and so on' (Murthy, 2006:1).

Another definition by McPhail (2009:3) goes:

Development communication is the process of intervening in a systematic or strategic manner with either the media (print, radio, television, video, and the Internet), or education (training, literacy, schooling) for the purpose of positive social change. The change could be economic, personal, spiritual, cultural or political.

Servaes (2002) identified five approaches of communication for development. 1. Behavior change communication 2. Mass communication 3. Advocacy communication 4. Participatory communication 5. Communication for structural and sustainable social change.

Generally, it is possible to claim that the concept of development communication is characterized if not defined by the three major paradigms of development: modernization (the dominant), dependency (critical) and the emerging (participatory) paradigms (Servaes, 2002). The following sub-topics discuss these paradigms concisely. It shall be noted that these three perspectives are not exclusive of each other; they overlap and coexist. As Quebral (2006) mentioned, to the disappointment of paradigm developers 'nomenclatures and paradigms still are indiscriminately mixed' where older paradigms co-exist with newer ones, each to be used when the situation is right.

2.4 Paradigms of Communication for Development

2.4.1 The Dominant Paradigm

According to Mefalopulos (2008) the central idea of the old paradigm known as the dominant paradigm was to solve development problems by 'modernizing' underdeveloped countries by showing them the footsteps of richer and more developed countries. This conception of development explains that development was associated mainly with economic growth, and communication with the dissemination of information and messages aimed at modernizing 'backward' countries and their people. This was overstated by development thinkers in the late

1940s and 1950s where underdevelopment was believed to be solved by ‘a more or less mechanical application of the economic and political system in the West to countries in the Third World’ (Servaes, 2002:5). Summarizing this view, Rogers (1976:7) says that ‘in short, the old paradigm implied that poverty was equivalent to underdevelopment. And the obvious way for less developed countries to develop was for them to become more like the developed countries’. In this view, communication was bounded in the Sender-Message-Channel-Receiver (SMCR) sense. It has been used for the introduction and diffusion of new ideas and technologies through mass media-centric approaches and campaigns.

2.4.2 The Dependency Theory

In contrast to the modernization (dominant) paradigm, in the 1960s, an alternative theoretical model came into play: the dependency theory. The champions of this school of thought, mainly from Latin America, criticized some of the core assumptions of the modernization paradigm mostly because it implicitly put the responsibility, and the blame, for the causes of underdevelopment exclusively upon the recipients, neglecting external social, historical, and economic factors (Mefalopulos, 2008). This view of development criticized the former strongly in that most of the scholars writing about development were Westerners; balances of payment and monetary exchange rates were largely determined in New York, London, and Washington; the international technical assistance programs sponsored by the rich nations, unfortunately, made the recipients even more dependent on the donors (Rogers, 1976). Despite these criticisms against the dominant paradigm, communication remained as linear, one-way model among the dependency theorists as was with its predecessor (Mefalopulos, 2008). More to this point Servaes (2002:45) writes, ‘in many ways dependency is the antithesis of modernization, but at the level of national communication processes it is a continuation of it’. The role of communication is basically similar with the two paradigms characterized as elitist, vertical or top-down.

2.4.3 Participatory Model (the Emerging Paradigm)

Following the dependency paradigm a participatory model emerged. This participatory model is less oriented to the political-economic dimension and more to the cultural realities of development. Other social dimensions came to be the focus than just economic growth. And this is indicated by the consensus built in the definition of the Millennium Development Goals

(Mefalopulos, 2008). The ideas of access, participation and self-management came to be central in the development process. And communication, in contrast with the previous two paradigms, rejects 'the necessity of uniform, centralized, expensive, professional and institutionalized media'. However, it was only easy to say than to execute. As Dervin (1980:85), in Servaes (2002:84) explained, 'one sees much mention made of the need for alternative communication strategies in general terms but very little mention made of the 'how' of that communicating'. This is an indicator that the passing of the dominant paradigm is indeed overstated and it is, at least to some level, still in play, which the researcher firmly believes to be true. That's possibly the reason why McAnany (2010:4) pointed out that, 'a disconnection between theory and practice seems to have developed because on the ground, much of the modernization/diffusion paradigm continues in projects promoted by the development establishment even in the new millennium. And as for theory, Ogan and his colleagues (2009) indicated that in their survey of recent Communication for Development (C4D) literature (1998-2007), 'Daniel Lerner's 1958 modernization theory has even staged a comeback'.

Keeping the above statement in mind, for the purpose of this study, the researcher focuses on stakeholders' participation in terms of taking part on development projects. 'Participation in a project can be conceived in a number of ways—from the most passive (for example, holding meetings to inform stakeholders) to the most active form (for example, collaboration in decision making' (Mefalopulos, 2008:9) This thesis, therefore, concentrates on how participation in the development process should be maintained through collaboration of stakeholders on decision making. Both the media and NGO/CSOs, seen in this light as stakeholders, are expected to collaborate in making decisions on addressing development issues.

2.5 The State and CSOs/NGOs in Ethiopia

The emergence of CSOs in the Ethiopian history is a recent phenomenon and still they are at their early stage of development. The change of regime in 1991 could be seen as an opportunity for the sector along with its own challenges. Of the many reasons that helped the voluntary sector since then include the economic and political liberalization policies and the provision of financial and technical assistance from international agencies are the major ones to mention. And yet relationship between the Ethiopian government and the civil society or non-governmental organizations has not been smooth for various political reasons (Asnake and Dejene, 2011).

Explaining the relationship between the state and CSOs/NGOs before the 1991 and its continuing effect Clark notes that,

The historical centralization of power in Ethiopia has left long shadows, and the impulse to extend strict and at times arbitrary authority over various civil society entities remains embedded in the psychology of some officials. Many in government seemingly see civil society actors by definition as political opponents—indeed, as part of the partisan opposition—despite a decidedly nonpartisan orientation by the vast majority (Clark, 2008:8).

But again, Clark praises the improvements demonstrated since 1991. ‘By any measurement, the progress realized since 1991 is impressive’. He appreciates the changes in which civil society has come to be vibrant and relevant to the nation’s political and economic revitalization and the media slowly gaining credibility, and professional associations again forming (Ibid). In their analysis of this relationship the Ethiopian scholars, Asnake and Dejene, write that ‘the incumbent state, despite all the promising beginnings, that regulates the formation and activities of these organizations in Ethiopia is not yet aligned to the constitutional provisions that guarantee freedom of associations.’ The experiences observed from the advocacy CSOs in Ethiopia witnessed that government ministries have the inclination to ‘use their regulatory powers as a way of disciplining those with ‘unpleasant voices’ (Asnake and Dejene, 2011:103). They have also mentioned that the relationship between the government and CSOs is not the only problem these organizations face. Issues of sustainability and acceptance from the public are also the most important problems. A number of literatures from the CSOs/NGOs have shown similar results. A study conducted by Christian Relief and Development Association (CRDA) concluded that,

Civil society members believe that the current operating environment has declined post-election 2005, and that there is, once again, a revival of caution by government, a ‘keep your head down’ attitude by CSO/NGOs and a reshuffle of strategies by donors. Whatever the reasons for this, the nature of these perceptions and actions is in itself significant and warrant dialogue (CRDA, 2006:36) (in Teshai, 2010:187).

In spite of the relaxed situation for the formation of civil society organizations, there is still an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion between CSOs and the state. The changed political environment did not, as such, change the relations of civil society organizations and the state. Referring Jalal and Sefulaziz (N.d), Asnake and Dejene, (2011) contend that the level of dialogue between civil society organizations and the state in Ethiopia is limited. They boldly state that ‘NGO-government relations are, at best, poor due to the hegemonic tendency of the government’ (Ibid, 2011:94).

In line with this Asnake and Dejene write that the growing assumption of NGOs as conduits for foreign financial transfers has a number of implications. Most importantly, this would pitch the state and NGOs on a collision course, as the state does not want its role in the development of the economy minimized by ‘unaccountable’ NGOs. For example, the Ethiopian government has reportedly, ‘...rejected attempts by the United Nations to include in its agreements a provision allowing NGOs to access monies earmarked for the state. The government has also made it clear to bilateral and multilateral funders that it is unwilling to allow NGOs access to approved development assistance monies, which the state itself is incapable of spending’ (Dessalegn 1999:17) in (Asnake and Dejene 2011) The growing outflow of expertise from governmental organizations to both international and local NGOs and the degree of financial latitude, which is usually enjoyed by many NGOs, is also believed to have negative impacts on the image of NGOs as true partners of the poor in developmental endeavors.

To improve this situation various scholars of the field suggested solutions. Constantinos (1992), for instance, suggested that national consortia must undertake the task of promoting the NGO sector as a channel for supplementing official development efforts, and not as an antagonist or competitor with government. For that to happen, he pointed out, that they must engage in advocacy and dialogue with relevant national authorities to secure NGO access to the national media. Again Green emphasized that it is the checks and balances among the legislature, judiciary, executive, media, and civil society that determine the degree to which democratic regimes respect the rights of all their citizens (Green, 2008).

This relationship between these development organizations and the government has its own consequences when it comes to the media both private and state ones. In such a circumstance, development issues, such as nutrition, that touch upon various sectors including the agriculture,

health, water and sanitation, energy etc cannot easily be debated on the media. The following section reviews the relationship of the mass media and CSO/NGOs.

2.6 Mass Media and CSOs/NGOs

Communication scholars of the modernization paradigm thought that growth of the mass media was essential because communication, which was linear and one-way transmission, would reach the wider audience. The indicators of national development, such as per capita income, literacy, urbanization, and industrialization also correlated with indicators of a well-developed media infrastructure (Mody and Melkote, 1991) in (Murthy, 2006). Though the media's effect in the development process is not as strong as it was thought to be during the early 19s it is still in use. And among NGOs/CSOs, according to Silver (2003) media advocacy on development issues is regarded as a very important part of their work. Media advocacy is 'the strategic use of mass media as a resource for advancing a social or public policy initiative' (Ibid: 11). This is about using various techniques drawn from public relations, advertising, investigative journalism, and grassroots lobbying. Through media advocacy, non-state/ non-profit actors can frame public policy issues and actively enter the public debate. Advocacy communication, according to Mefalopoulos (2008) is one that is intended to influence change at the public or policy level and promote issues related to development and using communication methods and media to influence specific audiences and support the intended change. This clearly shows the intention among NGOs to direct the development debate toward a certain point. The development establishment, as pointed out by Wilkins (2000), has the power over resources and over how to define the discourse on development.

In Ethiopia, Media both during the Derg and the Imperial regime had been considered as the mouthpiece of the government. Media channels were used as propaganda channels giving no professional independence for journalists. Both the imperialist and socialist nation of that time had had no place for journalism in the sense of professionalism (Barton, 1979). Since the liberation in 1991 with the EPRDF taking over the nation there have been lots of changes. The liberation has brought with it the promise of freedom of speech and an independent media. And among CSOs/NGOs the mass media are given greater value. 'The free flow of reliable information is crucial for all the work of civil society ... hence CSOs should fight for freedom of information and an independent media. A free press is more important to the voluntary sector

than to media operatives or journalists (Desalegn, 2010:127). A free press could serve its purpose as a watchdog in close collaboration with NGOs/CSOs. As Lewis and Kanji (2009) indicated;

Another role for NGOs is to act as monitors which can, in Najam's (1999: 152) phrase, 'keep policy honest'. This role may include the idea of being a whistleblower if certain policies remain unimplemented or are carried out poorly, as well as scanning the policy horizon for events and activities which could interfere with future policy development and implementation (Lewis and Kanji, 2009:110).

This sounds as a very interesting common ground the media and NGOs can position their relationship on and work together to address development issues. However, recently, NGOs and the media do not seem to be in good terms. To put the matter in the words of the scholars, 'in the media, NGOs no longer have the relatively easy ride they once did, and it is not unusual to find them criticized as ineffectual do-gooders, over-professionalized large humanitarian business corporations, or self-serving interest groups' (Ibid, 21). This problem is even exacerbated by inappropriate solutions sought by the non-for profit sector to use the media. On the Polis Conference in 2007, Jim Tanburn was quoted saying:

In developing nations across Africa NGOs are paying media outlets to convey a particular message, even going so far as to provide content themselves, thus eroding editorial independence and journalistic capabilities. So in a sense journalists had been objectified in the rush for development, rather than being part of its driving force. Media has been developed merely as a means to an end, a tool to achieving the targets of others; itself simply a silent mule (Beckett and Kyrke, 2007:32)

This clearly indicates that there needs to be a realignment of the relationships they have come to build. This problem could, at least partially, emanate from the limited participation of the stakeholders in the development process. If, as Mefalopulos (2009) noted, the stakeholders (in our case the media and NGOs/CSOs) have taken part in discussions and analysis of pre-determined objectives set by the projects there might not be such corruption. This part of the review of related literature, therefore, clearly shows that there is a need to improve the partnership of stakeholders, particularly, the media and NGOs/CSOs in the development process.

The argument from critical scholars further goes to point out that the organizations that are most influential in disseminating information are the largest ones, including private corporations, foundation, governments and their branches, and major political parties. These large political and economic institutions have power and influence over the manufacture and distribution of hardware, provision of training, decisions about message channels, the creation of messages, and export of cultural products in a manner consistent with their values (Melkote and Steeves, 2001:31). Having the technical expertise and specialized knowledge on specific development issues NGOs often provide trainings for journalists and they manipulate the media to deliver the message as they shaped it. This is a critical problem observed in their relationship and partnership.

Partnership is not about using each other to one's own end. It is, rather, about understanding the difficulties of each other and work together to reach at a consensus through discussion and strategic decision making process. As the communication strategy of Family Health International (FHI, N.d:9) indicated 'a partnership with the media can link media professionals and health workers. Media professionals may have gaps in their understanding of development and health issues, and health workers often fail to understand the difficulties those who work in the media'. This understanding helps to build better partnership. And partnership with the media helps to improve communication between the media and other sectors such as NGOs and it also encourages access to frequent, accurate, well-researched articles. 'Without a good partnership, there may be poor media coverage which would: spread false information about the issue, create unnecessary fear or panic, contribute to an inappropriate lack of concern, have a negative effect on political and financial support for projects' (Ibid, 10).

In order to participate meaningfully in the discussion of public issues, people need both knowledge and education on how to use the knowledge at their disposal. The media have an enormous potential to provide such knowledge and education, but again, they can also be a vehicle for uncritical assumptions, beliefs, stereotypes, ideologies and unorthodoxies, that blunt critical awareness and make good governance and participation difficult. Thus only when they can empower individuals and communities by enabling them to publicly scrutinize and contest decisions taken in their name by the power elite can the media promote democratization through good governance and active participation by civil society (Lee, 1995), (in Nyamnjoh, 2011:43).

If stakeholders are not involved in development projects from the very beginning they would have a tendency to be suspicious of project activities and less interested to give their support. Therefore, as Mefalopulos (2008) noted, the role of communication is even much greater to involve them in the definition of an initiative which helps to grow their motivation and commitment.

2.7 Development Communication and Mass Media

During the modernization age, mass media were at the center of communication initiatives that relied heavily on the traditional vertical one-way model because they were thought to be extremely powerful in persuading audiences to change attitudes and behaviors, (Mefalopulos, 2008:6). Nowadays, however, in the development process, mass media are not considered as effective as they were first thought to be in the early 19's. However, they have always been there supporting the development effort. Even there are scholars who view the entire scenario from the other corner. On this debate Fair (1989:144), as quoted by McPhail, says that,

Criticisms leveled at the paradigm (modernization) . . . contained certain Western assumptions and values about the process of development . . . Yet, based on some of the results presented from the meta research . . . it seems fair to say that the impact of the debate has not been to radically alter the way scholars carry out their research. Rather, it seems the field has continued on the tradition of the modernization paradigm (McPhail, 2009:9).

According to her analysis the passing of the dominant paradigm, that is linear modernization approaches, was still in play among both academics and NGOs alike and the passing phenomena was overstated. And it is not that difficult to observe this phenomenon in the so called third world. The mass media are telling people, especially those living in the rural parts of the nation, who are actually the majority, how to live their lives, raise families and how to get ahead economically. More to this point, Power and Glen (2006), consider that building a stronger media in Africa as an indispensable part of tackling poverty, improving development and enabling Africa to attain its development goals.

Development communication scholars and practitioners still tend to be split between those who view communication as an organizational delivery system versus those who view

communication more broadly, as inseparable from culture and from all facets of social change (Melkote and Steeves, 2001). Communication in the first view connotes media systems or the mass media, with its perceived capability to directly affect large, passive audiences. Therefore, communication for development was expected to diffuse from elite sources information to raise expectations, unify diverse groups; and persuade people to shed traditional attitudes, learn new skills, and adopt technological innovations. However the media does not have the same potential in every society, or for everyone in the same society. 'Given unequal access to wealth and power, certain communities or individuals are less privileged than others and this could make a world of difference in terms of media access, content and practice' (Nyamnjoh, 2011:43). Whatever the view might be mass media are expected to empower citizens in the development process. And to empower citizens means to question basic monolithic assumptions and conventional wisdom about governance, critically examine power myths and accepted personality cults, and to suggest and work for the demystification of the state, custom and society (Ibid).

On the World Electronic Media Forum in 2005 it was stressed that traditional radio and TV will continue to be the most effective ways of delivering high-quality information on issues such as health care and education, and of debating issues of general interest and promoting a culture of peace (Locksley, 2009:2). The storyline is simple: the media can contribute to development by bringing about beneficial changes in the behavior of individuals, groups, and organizations. Whether the media bring about change depends on its content, tailoring to target audiences, and, to some degree, its interactivity.

2.8 Theoretical Framework of the Study

Considering the nature of the study which focuses on the interaction and relationship that takes place between staff and communication officers from NGOs/CSOs and gatekeepers and journalists from media organizations in the development process of the nation, this study employs Adaptive Structuration Theory and Functional Perspective on Group Decision Making Theory as its theoretical framework. The concept of development journalism as well serves to explain the role journalists have in the development debate and process.

2.8.1 Adaptive Structuration Theory (AST)

In 1980 Marshall Scott Poole tried to find out if and when ongoing groups actually follow the single-sequence model of group communication when they make decisions on important issues. The single sequence model of communication within groups had five steps before reaching consensus. These are orientation, conflict, coalescence, development and finally, integration. And he realized that social structures such as group composition, communication networks, status hierarchies, task requirements, group norms and peer pressure can also be influential factors in their communication (Griffin, 2006).

It was not so long before he left these factors because he was not convinced to consider them as determining factors to reach at a decision. Poole then found Anthony Giddens' societal structuration interesting in his endeavor to find out the patterns of group communication. Initially, Giddens' structuration is intended at the macro level (society level) but Poole recognized how it could be adapted for group communication. And he called his theory Adaptive Structuration because he observed members of task groups intentionally adapting rules and resources in order to accomplish their decision-making goals.

In short, structuration is the production and reproduction of social systems by people's use of rules and resources to interaction. Communication matters when groups make decisions. The rules and resources members use affect decisions, yet those structures will also be affected by the very decisions. Interaction, rules and resources, production and reproduction are the main elements Adaptive Structuration theory uses to explain the changes in structures. According to Poole rules are 'propositions that indicate how something ought to be done or what is good or bad' while resources are 'materials, possessions, or attributes that can be used to influence or control the actions of the group or its members' (Ibid:265). In the same vein, Kort and Eddine say,

Obviously, in reality rules are standards imposed by the social system. Structures are mode of communication rules that constrains agent. If the agent does not follow rules they cannot be in coherence with the other members of social system and cannot develop any relationships (Kort and Eddine, 2013:4).

More to the point, Poole adapted Giddens' original idea of production of social systems which refers to changes at the societal level. Production takes place when people use rules and resources in their interaction. Then reproduction takes place when the actions of the people reinforce the structure or the status quo they are in. This is referred to as duality of structure because while making decisions, it is not only the decision that can be affected by the structure, but the rules and resources (structures) are also affected by the decision made. This entails why groups can at some time be stable and predictable and unstable and unpredictable at other times. As quoted by Griffin, Poole writes;

Both stability and change are products of the same process. Structures are stable if actors appropriate them in a consistent way, reproducing them in a similar form over time. Structures may also change, either incrementally or radically through structuration (Poole, 1992) in (Griffin, 2006:270).

The concerns of morality, communication and power are also addressed by Poole's AST. These three elements of the interaction process are mixed together. He says that it is 'hard to use moral norms without considering their interpretation – a matter of meaning – and how they are 'made to count' – a matter of power' (Ibid).

The researcher is convinced that Adaptive Structuration's elements of 'rules' and 'resources', 'production and reproduction', and help better explain the interaction between NGOs and the media. Journalists and NGO communication officers both have their own 'rules' and 'resources' which help them to exercise power during their interaction.

2.8.1.1 Critiques against AST

A number of scholars were attracted by Giddens' structuration theory at the societal level and many had their critics on the theory. This makes it inappropriate to use a theory without knowing the criticisms against it. Therefore, this section briefly reviews the major criticisms against AST. As mentioned above, Pooles' Adaptive Structuration Theory is based on Giddens' structuration; therefore, the criticisms made on the later are relevant for the former. According to Kort and Eddine (2013) the critics against Giddens' structuration can be classified into three main categories: (1) the conflation of structure and human agent, (2) the complexity and the spread of

the theory that lead to contradictions, and (3) the lack of assumptions and methodological guidelines.

2.8.1.1.1 The conflation of structure and human agent

Referring Rose (1998) Kort and Eddine (2013) emphasize that the conflation of structure and human agent as the main criticism on structuration theory. Giddens contends that structure can never be separated from agent but he puts the emphasis on agent rather than on structure. Therefore, he leaves his main objective to overload the dualism. On this criticism Kort and Eddine write that although he (Giddens) admits in some quotations that 'structure can exist outside agent he continues to turn down the possibility of the separation between them instead of empirical analysis' (Kort and Eddine, 2013: 94-95). More to the point, the definitions of modalities and interactions (such as interpretative scheme, communication, power, etc) are expressed in agency term. For example power is defined as the human capacity. This denied the power of structure that has also power that is perceived as a constraint by agent. Therefore, it would be difficult in structuration theory terms to capture the continuity of structural characteristics. In summary, human agent change their interpretation of rules and resources based on their interaction with others in addition to their interactions with structures, this level of analysis is omitted in structuration theory.

2.8.1.1.2 The complexity and the outspread of the theory that lead to contradictions

Giddens' structuration is considered as a very difficult concept to understand. Referring Pozzebon and Pinsonneault (2005) Kort and Eddine (2013:96) state that structuration is 'a complex theory that involves concepts and general propositions that operate at a high level of abstraction'. Giddens is criticized for not being able to have control over the material he is discussing. His analysis touches upon too many topics and concepts which make structuration difficult to understand. Besides, it was pointed out that there are no standard rules for all structures and interpretation of rules does not depend only on the consequence of action. The rules operate differently according to individuals and type of structure.

2.8.1.1.3 The lack of assumptions and methodological guidelines

The other very critical point against structuration theory is its inability to provide strong and clear methodological guidelines. Kort and Eddine (2013:99) emphasized that 'the structuration theory does not give clear "laws", its empirical application, so far, is sharply limited and

controversial'. Although Giddens gave a deep explanation in 1984 on the theory's empirical application, a clear guideline is difficult to be grasped. More to this point is given by Jospheh (2006) in Kort and Eddine (2013) that the theory does not allow the introduction of relationships from a broad perspective and proposes that the theory may be used as complementary rather than in conflict with other theories. Even, Turner (1986) in (Kort and Eddine, 2013) states that it is difficult to be tested empirically because there are not any clear propositions; it is just a compilation of concepts. This lack of empirical guidelines leads to remain that the concepts of structuration theory are so abstract that an empirical application is far from easy.

All the above three categories of criticisms are, indeed, directed to Giddens's structuration theory. The researcher took this amount of space for criticisms on Giddens's structuration for a good reason: 'Poole's faithful adaptation of Giddens' ideas and terminology' as put by Griffin (2006). In keeping with this, Poole acknowledges that structuration is a tough concept to grasp and apply. Finally, Griffin notes that, 'Adaptive Structuration Theory may not be playful, but it holds out the satisfying promise that every group member can be a player in the process of what the group creates' (Ibid: 273).

2.8.2 The Functional Perspective on Group Decision Making Theory

As pointed out in Chapter One a number of efforts have been made to bring together the media and non-state development organizations in Ethiopia. Discussions held on their cooperation and partnership has been constrained by complaints coming from both sides; blaming each other. This was exactly what was observed during the workshop initiated, organized and facilitated by the European Union Civil Society Fund II on July 2013. Despite the old pessimistic adage 'too many cooks spoil the broth', partnership among stakeholders in the development sector has come to be a prerequisite. The partnership they build has an effect on the coverage on development issues in the news media where major development programs are supposed to be debated over. This calls for Hirokawa and Gouran's Functional Perspective on Group Decision Making Theory which provides a communication strategy to reach a consensus and work together with improved integration.

The functional perspective on group communication theory is 'a unified and coherent set of propositions, assumptions, and claims that attempt to explain how and why communication is

related to the quality of the decisions groups make'. It has been an influential theory on explaining how communication affects group decision making and how communication can be structured to improve the quality of their decisions. Hirokawa and Gouran state that the origins of the theory are the work of John Dewey and his work on reflective thinking, Robert Bales and his work on interaction process analysis, and Irving Janis and his work on vigilant decision making (Salazar: 2012). The theory assumes that, group members care about the issue, are reasonably intelligent and face a challenging task which calls for more facts, new ideas and clear thinking and that is the time where group interaction has a positive effect on the final decision (Griffin, 2006).

According to Wittenbaum et al (2004:18) functional perspective can be defined as 'a normative approach to describing and predicting group performance that focuses on the functions of inputs and/or processes'. This definition shows that the perspective deals with issues regarding the quality of teamwork and those factors that contribute to it or detract from it form the functional perspective. In light of this, referring Collins & Guetzkow (1964), Gouran & Hirokawa, (1983) Hackman & Morris, (1975), Orlitzky summarizes,

The question of why some groups arrive at better decisions than others has long been of interest to group and organizational scholars in a variety of academic disciplines. Efforts to address this puzzle have led to the widely held view that variations in the quality of group decisions can, in many cases, be attributed to the quality of the interaction, or communication that precedes choice making in the group (Orlitzky, 2001:314).

The label 'functional perspective' indicates that there is a task to be achieved by the group with four functions identified by Hirokawa and Gouran. These are 1. Problem analysis 2. Goal Setting 3. Identification of alternatives 4. Evaluation of positive and negative consequences (Griffin, 2006). These four functions are elaborately explained by Orlitzky (2001) and Griffin (2006) referencing Hirokawa and Gouran (1985, 1988 and 1990):

Problem Analysis

This is the first function where the group takes a realistic look at the conditions to find out if something has gone wrong. When there is a potential threat which the group fails to recognize

faulty analysis takes place (Griffin, 2006). To avoid that developing a thorough and accurate understanding of the problem is critical. According to Orlitzky (2001) understanding of the problem includes (a) the nature of the problem, (b) the extent and seriousness of the problem, (c) the likely cause(s) of the problem, and (d) the possible consequences of not dealing effectively with the problem. So problem identification and analysis is considered as the first step of the functions.

Goal Setting

In coming together and forming a team, group or partnership, it is assumed that groups have one or more common goals to be achieved through the interaction of the group members (Wittenbaum et al, 2004). And these goals need to be clear: 'a group needs to establish criteria by which to judge proposed solutions. If the group fails to satisfy this task requirement, it's likely that the decision will be driven by politics rather than reason' Griffin (2006:251). Setting goals, therefore, is the second very important function in group interaction.

Identification of Alternatives

The originators of the theory, Hirokawa and Gouran, propose the importance of marshaling a number of alternative solutions from which groups could choose (Griffin, 2006). Elaborating this idea, Orlitzky (2001:315) writes, 'the group must generate, or be aware of, a number of appropriate and feasible alternative choices among which an acceptable choice is assumed to exist'. The concern here is that if members are not insisting to generate as many alternatives as is realistically possible the answers or solutions that will be introduced will be very few (Griffin, 2006). This may add to the complexity of the problem and the failure of the goals members set.

Evaluation of Positive and Negative Characteristics

Following the previous function, group members need to consider the merits and demerits of each alternative solution. But this is not expected to happen automatically. The group needs a member to remind the other to think of the advantages and disadvantages of the alternatives (Griffin, 2006). Given the information available to it, the group needs to be fully cognizant of the positive and negative consequences associated with alternative choices (Orlitzky, 2001). It is the participants' role to test the relative merits of each option against the criteria they accepted as relevant. Hirokawa and Gouran (cited in Griffin, 2006:254) discuss the issue of priority of the functions. They recognize that the 'requirements of a given task may make a specific function

less important than it normally is. Sometimes problem definition and goal setting may have less of an impact on the quality of the solution than time spent generating and evaluating solutions’.

2.8.2.1 The Role of Communication in Fulfilling the Functions

As a group progresses on its path toward a given goal, communication may influence decision making in different ways. In consistent with this view, Orlitzky (2001), quotes Steiner’s (1972) formula which goes as follows: ‘Actual productivity = potential productivity – losses due to faulty processes. Presumably, when communication is functioning well, actual productivity would approach potential productivity’. In this process Hirokawa and Gouran (as cited in Griffin, 2006) have identified three roles of communication: promotive, disruptive and counteractive. Elaborating these three, Salazar writes,

When communication plays a promotive role, it allows the group to successfully accomplish the functional requisites. When communication plays a disruptive role, it functions to create obstacles that hinder or prevent the group from satisfying any of the requisites for successful decision making. Finally, when communication plays a counteractive role, it functions to negate or neutralize a communicative act that functioned as disruptive influence (Salazar, 2012:2).

Thus, communication enables a group to resume movement along the goal path defined by the functions of effective decision making. The theory predicts that groups that better fulfill the requisites of effective decision making will make more effective decisions. Since journalists from media establishments and communications officers from NGOs often meet on trainings, workshops and media briefs this research employs functional perspective on group decision making theory to analyze the communication and interaction that takes place among the media and NGO/CSOs.

2.8.2.2 Critiques on Functional Perspective Theory

Hirakowa and Gouran’s functional perspective has been an influential and successful theory in the field. However, there have been a number of limitations identified by different scholars. Some of the criticisms have been accepted by the originators of the theory and some scholars such as Stohl and Holmes suggest a remedy for the limitations of the theory which the researcher took into consideration.

The theory is mainly criticized for taking the group members' rationality with overemphasis (Griffin, 2006). Group members may not be able to communicate rationally all the time and that reduces the theory's ability to predict group communication. Besides, 'most real-life groups have a prior decision making history and are embedded within a larger organization (Ibid: 269). The functional perspective doesn't consider these. In order to deal with this limitation Stohl and Holmes (as cited in Griffin, 2006) propose an extension of the functional theory that encompasses bona fide groups—groups that are naturally occurring, interact with the broader social environment in which they are embedded, and whose members have a degree of history. They suggest examining historical (understanding the past, present, and future) and institutional (understanding the group's connections to its environment) functions.

Hirokawa and Gouran have considered the critiques on their theory and come up with a new set of requisites. Their first attempt was to craft a one-size-fits-all model. However, they accept the fact that it is not relevant for every situation and they suggest members should use the four functions only when addressing questions of policy (Griffin, 2006). But in their effort to improve the theory, Hirokawa and Gouran, (as cited in Salazar, 2012), added more functions to the originals. The group members should also strive to do the following:

1. Make clear their interest in arriving at the best possible decision.
2. Identify the resources necessary for making such a decision.
3. Recognize possible obstacles to be confronted.
4. Specify the procedure to be followed in working on the task.
5. Establish ground rules for interaction.
6. Employ appropriate interventions for overcoming affiliative, cognitive, and egocentric constraints that interfere with successful accomplishment of fundamental task requirements.
7. Review the process by which the group comes to a decision and, if indicated, reconsider judgments reached.

It shall be noted that the limitations and critiques on functional perspective theory are partially the reasons which persuaded the researcher to consider Adaptive Structuration Theory discussed previously to complement the study.

2.8.3 Development Journalism

The concept of development journalism has always been debatable among both scholars and practitioners and it has as many definitions as the scholars who think of it. Following the participatory approach to development communication, Kunczik (in Banda 2007) represents development journalism as an intellectual enterprise in which the journalist should form a kind of free intelligence and should critically examine the aims of national development and the applicable instruments in a rational discourse and solve them by reasonable criteria free of social constraints. Accordingly, development journalism has the following tasks: (i) to motivate the audience to actively cooperate in development; and (ii) to defend the interests of those concerned. Ogan (1982:3-5) in Wimmer and Wolf (2005) notes the very discussion on development communication as a sign for the beginning of development journalism. Referring Domatob and Hall (1983:9) and Kunczik (1995), Wimmer and Wolf (2005:1) explain that 'development journalism follows the former discussion about development politics' and fundamentally deduces two important points: (1) Development is a central social objective, (2) the mass media play a decisive role in this process.

In essence, development news is not different from regular news or investigative reporting. It can address various development issues both at the macro and micro levels. What is more important is that the journalist, when dealing with development news-beat, S/he has to critically examine, evaluate and report the relevance of the development project to national and local needs. They also need to see the disparity between the plan and its actual implementation. In his endeavor to give an all-inclusive definition of development journalism, which he admits as problematic, Aggarwalla (1978) in Mwaffisi (1991:87) says that 'development journalism is the use of all journalistic skills to report development processes in an interesting fashion. It may require high skills and hard work but the reward of this kind of journalism can be tremendous.'

It must be noted that here development is recognized as a process which takes place in an extended period. And the main point of the statement is that development journalism is not something that is different from any journalism. It requires all the skills a journalist should have to perform his/her job. What makes the difference is the issue that is being reported. Development issues are projects and works that affect the lives of the society in one way or another. Therefore, the journalist is responsible to investigate how the life of the society is being affected, positively or negatively, by the development programs and projects of the state and any

other development agencies such as NGOs. In line with this Shaw (1990) in Wimmer and Wolf (2005:3) extends the tasks of development journalism as follows:

Development news should examine critically, evaluate and interpret the relevance of development plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues. It should indicate the disparities between plans and actual accomplishments, and include comparisons with how development is progressing in other countries and regions.

Providing contextual background information about the development process, discussing the impact of plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues on people, and speculating about the future of development are also part of the development journalism tasks. Development news centralizes the needs of the society which could be different one from the other. However, it may include 'primary needs, such as food, housing, employment; secondary needs such as transportation, energy sources and electricity; and tertiary needs such as cultural diversity, recognition and dignity' (Ibid).

Therefore development journalism is not a simple reporting of what is taking place but an inquiry which requires 'high skills and hard work' the reward of which is great. This implies that 'journalists can only meet the challenge development journalism offers them if they are enlightened journalists. They must be well trained in both journalistic skills and the subject matter of their reports' (Mwaffisi: 1991:87). The concept of development journalism complemented this study in that it acknowledges journalists as important actors of the development debate along with the state and independent development agencies such as NGOs.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

The research investigates the relationship, interaction and partnership between NGOs and the media on their efforts to address and promote development issues, particularly, hunger and malnutrition in the mainstream media. To this end, the study used qualitative methods only. In order to study how communication professionals from NGOs and journalists and media gatekeepers from the media interact and communicate in the development process the views and perspectives, as Bruhn (2011) pointed out, of those living the experience is very important. This research, as stated above, used only qualitative methods because qualitative research is intended, as Yin (2011:7) described, to 'find out the meanings' journalists, media gatekeepers and NGO communication officers give to their relationship and interaction under real-world conditions. It, therefore, 'represents their views and perspectives'. Not only this; it also contributes 'insights into existing or emerging concepts that may help to explain human social behavior' and it strives to 'use multiple sources of evidence rather than relying on a single source alone'. These characteristics make the study entirely qualitative.

However, the above explanation doesn't keep the argument away. Roger and Joseph (2011) mention that the discussion on the qualitative research approach can be confusing because there is no commonly accepted definition of the term 'qualitative'. Accordingly, some qualitative researchers resist defining the term at all for fear of limiting the technique. The task is further complicated because of the several levels of reference connected with the term. The word qualitative has been used to refer to (1) a broad philosophy and approach to research, (2) research methodology, and (3) a specific set of research techniques. Therefore, by refereeing to qualitative methods, it shall be noted that, the researcher is not only indicating the research methodology but the broad philosophy and approach and the specific set of research techniques the study uses. It is also important to note that the researcher has taken the liberty to use qualitative methods on the basis of the nature of the theoretical frameworks of the study. This view is supported by Mingers who (2001:243), as quoted by Poole (who developed AST) (2009:584), said that, 'it is possible to detach research methods (and perhaps even methodologies) from their paradigms and use them, critically and knowledgeably, within a context that makes different assumptions'.

Qualitative research, as indicated above, is characterized by its commitment to discovering the subject's point of view on topics of interest. One approach to increasing the validity of qualitative data is to have multiple data collection methods (Desai and Potter, 2006). That is, research questions are addressed through a variety of interviewing techniques and respondents, rather than through a single method as is the case with surveys. Thus, the data collection methods of this research included: in-depth/intensive interviews with media gatekeepers and NGO communication officers, key informants interviews with relevant personnel from various organizations and Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) with state media journalists. Another very important qualitative method the study engaged was the participant observation method. According to Marshall and Rossman (1989:79) observation is a 'systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study'. Participant observation is, therefore, a process that enabled the researcher to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities. As DeWalt and DeWalt, (2002) suggested this method provides the context for development of sampling guidelines and interview guides.

Relevant documents that were believed to have influenced or at least contributed either positively or negatively to the interaction between the media and NGOs were also in the assumption that they may strengthen the analyses. Editorial policies, communication strategies of NGOs and the new civil society proclamation were included in the document analysis.

3.2. Data Collection Instruments

Concerning the different methods that can be used to gather data in qualitative research, Given (2008:254) said 'the use of multiple methods helps in gaining greater rigor and more in-depth understanding of the issues or phenomena in question. It adds to the overall richness of the research and provides a much more varied set of data as compared with the use of one single method'. To this end, this research used in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation and document reviews to gather the necessary data.

3.2.1 In-depth Interviews with media gatekeepers and NGOs' communications personnel

The purpose of a depth, or focused interview was to gain as complete and detailed understanding as possible of the topic at hand. Depth interviews involve semi-structured interview guides, and assume enough prior exploration of the topic to know what the relevant questions are that relate to the topic under investigation. It may also give people a chance to discuss things they have never been able to tell anyone before (Desai and Potter, 2006). The researcher, therefore, explored as many topics as possible related to the study. This was supported by an extensive reviewing of related literature. Using in-depth interview was, indeed, not without constraints. As Bruhn (2002:240) clearly articulated the difficulty of using in-depth interview is 'that people do not always say what they think, or mean what they say'. Considering this, the researcher used a semi-structured interview method which allowed asking follow-up questions to probe what the participants really meant about what they said. The in-depth interviews helped to examine what the NGOs are trying to achieve in their relationship with the media and what strategies NGOs use to approach the media.

3.2.2 Focus Group Discussions with Reporters

According to Robert (2011) groups are 'focused' when the researcher gathers individuals who previously have had some common experience or presumably share some common views. In this study, the researcher believes that reporters have common experience of communicating with various sector-specific NGOs. One FGD was conducted with reporters from state media. Initially two FGDs were proposed by the researcher. However, due to the difficulty to get private media journalists together for a focus group discussion one of the proposed FGDs was cancelled and replaced by in-depth interviews. The researcher served as moderator meanwhile recording and taking note of their discussions. Referring to Krueger (1994), Berg (2001), suggests that a typical focus group session consists of participants no more than seven. This research, therefore, has an FGD with six participants at a time. The FGD served to identify the common grounds the media and NGOs share and the limitations they have in working together.

3.2.3 Key Informants Interviews

Key informants are defined as individuals who possess special knowledge and who are willing to share their knowledge with the researcher. Based on prior knowledge obtained from participant observation during and before the project organizations such as European Union's Civil Society

Fund II which is working to ‘support non-state actors to building partnerships’ and individual consultants who produce training manuals and provide trainings for journalists on behalf of NGOs were identified and interviewed as they were believed to be relevant informants. Independent consultants who were employed by NGOs to provide media trainings on malnutrition issues were part of the study. This supported the study by providing additional point of view on the NGO-media interaction realities.

3.2.4 Participant Observation

Participant observation is a process of establishing rapport within some sort of community that is under study and learning to act in such a way as to blend into the community so that its members will act naturally, then removing oneself from the setting or community to immerse oneself in the data to understand what is going on and be able to write about it (Bernard, 1994). Because of the nature of his occupation which was contiguous to both media and NGOs the researcher began observing their interaction since early 2012; at a time long before this project was conceived. Through this period the researcher had the opportunity to attend various media trainings provided by NGOs and a number of occasions where NGO communication personnel and journalists met for a number of reasons including media briefings, events, ceremonies and trainings. On these occasions the researcher was able to build personal relationships with journalists from both state and private media and a number of NGO staffs. This research, thus, engaged the participatory observation method to gather information through, as was suggested by DeWalt and DeWalt (2002), active looking, informal interviewing and writing detailed field notes. For the purpose of this research the researcher attended two media round table discussions and one media training organized by Save the Children International and UNICEF. Below is the observation checklist:

	What to Observe?	Yes	No	Not Clear
01	When trainings or workshops are starting, do NGOs make their objectives clear?			
02	Is there an argument about the issue being discussed?			
03	Is the argument addressing the political nature of malnutrition?			
04	Is the facilitator or trainer trying to avoid the argument?			

05	Are the journalists receptive of the information the people on behalf of NGOs provide?			
06	Do the journalists complain and ridicule the content of the training or the information NGOs provide?			
07	When the training or workshop was finished, were the journalists satisfied and happy?			
08	Do NGOs ask the media to cover the issue?			
09	Do NGOs ask the media to mention the name of the organization in their reporting?			
10	Do NGOs ask the media what the content of the story is before the journalists publish it?			
11	Do NGOs follow up whether the journalists produce stories after the workshop or training?			
12	Do NGOs avoid very inquiring journalists?			

Observation Checklist used to observe during and after media trainings, workshops, media briefs and media round tables organized by NGOs.

3.3 Sampling Methods

Kuzel explains that it is often difficult to do strict probability sampling in qualitative studies. A number of non-probability sampling strategies exist aiming to be theoretically representative of the study population, by maximizing the scope or range of variation in the subject of study (in Crabtree & Miller, 1992). This research used purposive sampling based on characteristics relevant to the topic under study. According to Mack and Woodsong et al. (2005:5), 'purposive sample sizes are often determined on the basis of theoretical saturation' (the point in data collection when new data no longer bring additional insights to the research questions). Purposive sampling is therefore most successful when data review and analysis are done in conjunction with data collection.

The researcher chose study informants to represent the range of variation on those characteristics that are meaningful to the topic under study. To identify the appropriate organizations a complete list of NGOs was accessed from the Ethiopian Charities and Societies Agency (Ch&SA). Then organizations settled in Addis Ababa were selected for the study because the majority of existing

and functioning NGOs are found in the capital where the majority and influential media organizations are also found. As classified by the Agency, NGOs working to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger (MDG 1) were identified. Of these organizations, the researcher identified those classified by the Agency under food security and poverty reduction. The selection from here on was based on the concept of maximum variation. To achieve this variety both international and local organizations were included in the study. Prior information gathered from the Agency clearly showed that some NGOs are inactive for a long time and that it was not useful to take samples randomly. Therefore, from these two varieties of organizations the researcher used prior assessment through phone calls and website visits to make sure whether they have active projects on hunger and malnutrition and whether they communicate with the media while implementing their projects. The researcher also considered organizations' years of experience, size and popularity as complementary characteristics while taking samples based on convenience sampling.

In order to get a high quality data organizations with a number of years of experiences were given more attention in the selection process. NGOs with many years of experiences on development issues are believed to provide quality data and inform the study adequately. After checking their websites and profile documents organizations with a minimum of 10 years of existence and function were taken into consideration.

Some organizations have many years of experience with wide reach and strong impact in the development process. However, their experience was not relevant to this study as they are not interested in advocacy through mass media. They prefer to go to their targeted so called 'beneficiaries' and provide technical assistance and education. This had them excluded from the study because their relation with the media couldn't provide quality data. This was cleared through prior assessment.

Convenience sampling was used only after the relevant characteristics of variation were taken into consideration. Once the selection considered the variations, taking samples from the rest that qualify the variations was based on convenience sampling because it couldn't make a difference on the data quality.

For interviews with media gatekeepers again maximum variation was utilized. A complete list of media organizations working in Addis Ababa was prepared. Then they were classified as print

and broadcast media. Again they were sub-categorized as private and government-owned media. In order to attain the maximum variation the researcher took interviewees from private-print, private-broadcast, government-print, and government-broadcast. Reporters for the focus group sessions were selected in a similar manner. However, since the data needs to be of great quality only participants with at least three years of media experience were selected. The researcher accessed list of journalists who received trainings or attended workshops on the issue of malnutrition from NGOs which was used to locate the reporters to have them in the FGDs. Once initial contact was made with the selected NGOs a snowballing technique was used to identify experienced independent consultants who developed training manuals and provided trainings on behalf of the NGOs. While using convenience and purposive sampling a list of participants of EU's SCF II workshop were accessed and used to track some of the participants to recruit them as informants of the study.

Based on the above reasoning the following media organizations and NGOs were selected to collect data from.

No.	Media Organization	Type
01	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC)	Government Broadcast
02	Fana Broadcasting Corporation (FBC)	Private Broadcast
03	Addis Zemen	Government Print
04	The Reporter Amharic	Private Print
05	Fortune	Private Print
06	Addis Ababa Mass Media Agency (AMMA)	Government Broadcast
07	Addis Admas	Private Print
No.	Non-Governmental Organization	Type
01	Consortium of Christian Relief and Development Association (CCRDA)	National/Local
02	Poverty Action Network Ethiopia (PANE)	National/Local
03	Movement for Ecological Learning and Community Action (MELCA-Ethiopia)	Local
04	Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa (AFSA)	Continental

05	World Vision	International
06	Save the Children	International
07	Care Ethiopia	International
08	Oxfam GB	International

In addition to the list of media and NGO list two independent consultants with more than 15 years of experiences with media and NGOs were interviewed. CCRDA and PANE are consortiums. Consortiums are stronger both financially and politically for advocacy than single organizations. The Civil Society Agency doesn't have organized list of NGOs based on their roles and current projects. Most NGOs focus on service delivery on the ground rather than working with the media on advocacy. They also do not have a special budget for communication works. Therefore, the researcher had to use snowball sampling to reach at the appropriate organizations for the study. Organizations working actively with the media in the areas of food advocacy are identified through snowball sampling technique where the first person suggests the second and the second the third and go on.

As can be seen from the lists there is only one purely local NGO taken for the study which might lead to the assumption as having a compromised data. However the researcher did that on purpose as a result of prior assessment which revealed that local NGOs operating at the grassroots level among communities often do not actively engage the media and have scarce or no budget to work with the media. Random phone calls to some 20 grassroots NGOs that were identified as working on food security and malnutrition issues informed the researcher that they have nothing to do with the media and that they do not even have communications departments or personnel. Networks of the local NGOs were found to have relatively strong communication activities and allocate budget for that purpose. CCRDA is an umbrella organization and has 243 local NGOs as members and PANE is a network and has 43 local NGOs as members. These numbers do not include their donating international organizations. This justifies the need to consider networks instead of individual local NGOs that may be unable to inform the study well. The Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa (AFSA) is affiliated with MELCA-Ethiopia and the researcher has had the opportunity to observe how it runs its communication works.

3.4 Data Organization and Analysis

In-depth interviews and focus group sessions were audio-recorded. All the recorded audio files were transcribed into computer to prepare them for analysis. Interviews and FGDs were conducted in Amharic because the researcher believes it would enable participants to explain their ideas without language barriers. The data was analyzed by developing themes and categories that emerged throughout the process of the research project and also based on the theoretical framework. Data analysis is an integral part of qualitative research and constitutes an essential stepping-stone toward both gathering data and linking one's findings with higher order concepts. And categorization, according to Given (2008:75), is 'a major component of qualitative data analysis by which investigators attempt to group patterns observed in the data into meaningful units or categories'. Through this process, categories were created by chunking together groups of previously coded data. This integration or aggregation was based on the similarities of meaning between the individually coded bits as observed by the researcher. Categories in turn were abstracted or conceptualized further to discern semantic, logical, or theoretical links and connections between and across the categories. The results of this process led to the creation of themes from the categories. The concepts and theories reviewed in Chapter Two were also used to analyze the data gathered through in-depth interviews, FGDs and key informants interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This study set out to examine the interaction between development-oriented NGOs and the mainstream media partly based on Taylor and Napoli's view that 'civil society has been informed by the rhetorical tradition' (Hauser, 1997, 1998; Hauser & Benoit Barne, 2002); 'in information and media development' (Spichal, Calabrese, & Sparks, 1994), and 'collaborative inter-organizational relationships between media and NGOs' (Doerfel & Taylor, 2004; Taylor & Doerfel, 2003) in (Napoli & Taylor 2008:1226). Thus this chapter examines how this interaction has been taking place in view of the theoretical and conceptual framework reviewed in the previous chapters.

As was explicated in Chapter Three the study used purely qualitative methods and methodologies. In-Depth Interviews (IDI) and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) were used to gather data from media gatekeepers, reporters, NGO communication officers, independent consultants and key informants. A brief analysis of editorial policies and communication strategies was also conducted. The analysis illustrated their interaction in reference to the theoretical framework (Adaptive Structuration Theory and Functional Perspective on Group Decision Making in the context of development communication) explained in Chapter Three along with findings of prior studies reviewed in Chapter Two. First hand observations of the researcher were also incorporated into the sub-topics of the chapter as were found to be relevant to further strengthen the analysis and interpretation of findings. Of the seven participants the focus group discussion included three journalists who participated in the 'Media and CSOs Collaboration and Media Skills Workshop' organized by Civil Society Fund II in July 2013. They were very instrumental in exploring their relationship with the NGOs.

4.1 NGOs and Media Mutual Perceptions, Common Grounds and Differences

To examine their common grounds and differences informants from media and NGOs were asked to articulate how they view each other's roles and capacity in the development discourse. Data from interviews with reporters, media gatekeepers and NGO communication officers revealed a consensus in that both parties play an important theoretical role in the nation's development discourse. However, the ability and attitude of putting these roles into practice was viewed by both sides as having severe limitations. Differences were reflected on their attitudes towards each other's capacity to properly contribute to the development debate. The perception

NGO communication officers have about their own organizations and the perception the media's has of NGOs was found to have a number of drawbacks and prejudices.

It was indicated in Chapter Two that NGOs have a watchdog role which is similar to the media's primary role. However, data collected from the media revealed a tendency to view NGOs as institutions that need to be watched instead of working with them to watch and report on the activities of the government and the private sector. The alleged large amount of money NGOs receive usually from Western donors happens to be one of the root causes of the conflict because the media believe most NGOs abuse their abundant resources which they secured in the name of poverty-stricken citizens.

In this vein, data collected from the responses of informant journalists and communication officers revealed that there exists a misunderstanding between the media and NGOs. Media professionals perceive NGOs as extremely wealthy institutions and they expect them to make enormous difference in their areas of engagement. The excerpt as articulated by a communication officer of CCRDA points to this argument:

There is a serious attitudinal problem among the media about NGOs. The media are products of the current social and political circumstances and they share the views and opinions of the society. Their expectation from NGOs is beyond our practical capacity, both legally and financially. Our role is to demonstrate model projects and help communities normalize them. However, the society and thus the media expect us to make a huge difference which usually is built on wrong assumption the society has of NGOs as being exceptionally wealthy. After all, we are not tax collectors (Personal Interview with CCRDA Communication Officer, May 13, 2014).

He further used an example of three-legged stool to elaborate his ideas about the contribution of NGOs as one of the three pillars of development along with the government and the private sector. He explained that without any of them the development process couldn't be healthy and the media are supposed to be watching over the three sectors independently which unfortunately is not the case. Dessalegn et.al (2010:26-27) indicated that 'a major concern of most organizations in the sector (NGOs) is the lack of a secure access to funding from domestic sources. ... CSOs therefore are dependent on international donors and foreign sponsors for almost

all of their program activities and running costs'. This indicates that society in general and media in particular have developed an attitude toward the NGO sector over time that they are wealthy institutions. Since they are depicted that way many expect them to bring tangible social change at least in their particular areas of engagement.

A communication officer of Save the Children International similarly commented that there is a common perception among the public that NGOs are wealthy and the staffs rich. This comment indicates that communication officers are also viewed as having a relatively better income which makes journalists suspicious of being taken advantage of. The officer strongly criticized, 'when the new charities and societies proclamation was ratified the media's coverage of the situation was what seemed like an anti-NGO campaign' (Personal Interview with SCI Communication Officer, April 27, 2014).

This clearly demonstrates the negative attitudes NGOs perceive they receive from the media. It also greatly agrees with a study by Dessalegn et.al (2010:109) which concludes that 'despite the various remarkable contributions illustrated, the study notes that many in society are still maintaining an unfavorable opinion of the NGO sector at large'. Through informal conversations with media professionals, friends and colleagues, the researcher as well was able to observe that this attitude is deep rooted and long held. On the side of the media the story was not any different. Some of these opinions happened to be very suspicious of NGOs. As a media gatekeeper from the Fana Broadcasting noted,

As I become well informed of current issues I abandoned my confidence on NGOs and suspect that they have some hidden agenda beyond their overt projects. They are working to achieve something be it for their government, their own individual or institutional interest. Foreign charities are being run by foreigners and they earn a lot of money. If these NGOs were doing their jobs properly they should have achieved their stated missions and visions and be gone by now (Personal Interview with News Editor in FBC, April 26, 2014).

This view toward the NGO sector was frequently reflected in many bits and pieces of expressions in almost all the interviews, focus group discussions and the studies reviewed. The unfavorable view toward NGOs affects the sector's interaction with the media and consequently limits its contributions to the development discourse and debate. Prejudices were observed as

dominant challenges to the NGO-media relationship. The data clearly aligns with findings by another research quoted below:

The relationships that are, thus, sporadic or even none-existent are, further, heavily burdened by the insufficient mutual trust or lack of it. Both media and civil society organizations share a number of prejudices about the other side which contributes to the lack of trust and prevents them from looking for options to build quality relationship (Tafra M, 2013:8).

The CSO-Media workshop held as part of the on-going effort to bridge the gap between the media and NGOs on July 2013 by EU's CSF II documented the following important points which resulted from the discussions. The researcher added a few of the lists as they came out of the interviews and the focus group discussion.

Media perceptions towards CSOs	CSOs perceptions towards media
CSOs do not consider media as watchdog rather view them as their public relations entity	Most local media are not credible
CSOs bias journalists by paying unnecessary incentives	Media view CSOs as rich and well-paying clients
CSOs follow spray and pray approach (no developed relations)	Most of CSO communication materials are discarded without due attention
CSOs assume all media as money driven	Presence of government official given much more importance than the issues itself
CSOs do not have human interest stories	The media publishes/broadcasts biased stories, and not evidence based stories
CSOs do not share their research findings	Media often do not analyze issues, rather passive reporting
CSOs do not know media	Media do not know CSOs and are not accessible

4.2 Covering Hunger and Malnutrition

Hunger and malnutrition issue was selected to show the interaction between media and NGOs in the development process as it is important to present an analysis on how the interaction between NGOs and the media affect the issue. Often, as can be observed from the discourse in

international media and academia, development issues are promoted when they are declared as areas of intervention by international development agencies, institutions and foundations such as USAID, DFID, World Bank etc...Because the financial support comes from them and they set the agenda in one way or another. Currently, it is possible for any indifferent person to notice the frequent media coverage concerning food security and malnutrition. When local and international NGOs take this issue into their projects they, in order to get recognition, always need to get coverage of their works by the local and international media. However, there are a number of challenges that keep the issue from getting coverage. One of these challenges ironically emanate from the very interaction NGOs and media have to get coverage of the issue.

There has been a wide and growing consensus among development actors around the globe as to the existence of close links between development and governance, which is also recognized by the Ethiopian government as reflected in various policy documents. Poverty is not merely a state of low income but a human condition caused by deprivation of the capabilities, choice and power necessary for the enjoyment of fundamental rights. Accordingly, effective strategies to address poverty or enhance development need to be multi-sectoral, multi-level and holistic approaches that target structures and social arrangements that breed or sustain exclusion, marginalization, vulnerability and disempowerment.

The data provided by NGOs are always taken with a serious caution because we feel that there is some string attached to it. If the data provided by NGOs is greater or smaller than quoted by the government we suspect some agenda is being played in the background. Under the first sub-topic it was explicated that NGOs are viewed as extremely wealthy institutions by journalists. However, paying journalists to cover any issue is viewed by the media institutions as illegal and criminal act. And if they are caught reporters might even be fired. The researcher, however, had two years of hands-on experience where the NGOs found out an alternative means of reaching journalists through network organizations of journalists such as Lambadina Institute for Health and Development Communication (LIHDC) formerly known as Ethiopian Volunteer Media Professionals Against AIDS (EVMPA), which is a network of 130 individual journalists. Funds are granted to these networks for media capacity building projects where journalists get paid for attending trainings. The journalist network organizations receive the fund from NGOs for media capacity building projects but they enter into promising deals with the funders to have a specific number of media coverage on the particular issue their project focuses on.

The Executive Director of LIHDC, as a key informant, reported that the challenge to get their member journalists to give coverage is extremely threatening because the network's General Assembly is composed of individual journalists and they have a feeling that a lot of money is being consumed by the network's staff while they are carrying out the donkey work. This is where the irony becomes activated. A project which aims at awareness raising through media coverage fails because the journalists have an ever-growing suspicion that resources are allocated by the NGOs to get coverage of the issue. To mention a case, the researcher, during his two years career at a local NGO and half a year experience with a continental network of farmer organizations and civil societies, has observed that the attempt to get in to the papers or the camera has always been faced with obstacles from the media. Some may not find the issue newsworthy; some completely or in part distort the content of the information provided to them. And this has been a major challenge for communication officers because donors always wanted to be mentioned in the news. The communication officer had to push member journalists to produce stories once they attended trainings and workshops organized by the institution. An editor of Addis Guday magazine once replied through the phone that he was not interested to give the issue any coverage and that this author was wrong to call him. He angrily noted that as long as he doesn't find a worthy angle to put the story into perspective he wouldn't cover the story just because he attended the training.

A communication officer of the Save the Children explained that it is possible to view the media coverage from two angles: the commercial coverage and the news coverage. As long as they can afford to pay the media have no objection to put it on air or in print. But when it comes to news the coverage of development activities by the NGO sector is very low. Most of the coverage on broadcast media is about government project success stories. Therefore, the decision to give coverage to the issue of hunger and malnutrition is being affected by how rules and resources are being used in the interaction between the media and NGOs.

Poole's Adaptive Structuration Theory tries to explain how people's use of rules and resources to interaction result the production and reproduction of social systems. As the NGOs are being unable to get coverage of their project agendas their interaction led them to develop personal relationships with individual journalists who often give coverage for their issues. The researcher also has observed that NGOs intentionally leave those journalists out from their trainings, workshops and media briefs because they only want those reporters who instantly take it on air

or in print. The editor-in-chief of Fortune Newspaper mentioned an incident where he asked a challenging question during an important training session provided by some NGO and since then he was never again invited to trainings as he was believed to be a threat. In stressing his point he said 'they are afraid of me'.

NGO communication officers also have different views toward private and state media. As viewed by the communication officers private media give coverage of the issue fairly by balancing the success stories with appropriate criticisms while the state media are viewed as only interested on success stories denying space for NGOs to point out weaknesses. Another gap mentioned by the communication officer is the knowledge and capacity limitations of reporters. A communication officer of Save the Children International, who for many years was also a journalist in one of the state media said,

There is a serious limitation with the media in terms of capacity to understand the issues under discussion. Their English language limitation can be one of the simple examples that limits their ability to understand the issues which often ends with distorted interpretations and presentations of the contents of press releases we provide them. They don't have the capacity to analyze policies and put the contributions of NGOs in the context of development projects and goals such as the MDGs (Personal Interview with Communication Officer of Save the Children International, April 27, 2014).

The political environment also affects the coverage of development issues in the mainstream media. NGOs often complain that they are unable to reflect their views in the development process. The communication officer of Poverty Action Network in Ethiopia (PANE) said, 'in Africa, this is the worst place (Ethiopia) where NGOs can never make information on their works reach the public either through broadcast or print media because almost all the media are owned by the government'. He explained that this problem is often mostly observed with broadcast media. The private print media relatively give better coverage in their own judgments but the print media is market oriented and NGO issues such as nutrition and water and sanitation may not be sensational enough to attract their attention.

A number of documents including the Cost of Hunger in Africa report indicate that hunger and malnutrition issues are as highly political as well as they are technical. Respondents from NGOs

indicated that they often try to be at peace with the government and that they provide information for the media that wouldn't disappoint government officials. A consultant with many years of experience in providing trainings for journalists was asked to reflect his opinions on the contents of trainings and training manuals prepared by NGOs for media capacity building projects. He commented that training contents often tend to make the issues more technical by avoiding leadership and management issues out of the discourse.

This interaction between the media and NGO indicates that the first function of Hirokawa and Gouran's Function Perspective has been compromised because the media and NGOs should have taken a realistic look at the conditions to find out if something was gone wrong. But they continue their interaction without taking time to reconsider the state of their communication, relationship and interaction. It is important to remind that Orlitzky (2001) indicated that understanding of the problem is critical.

Even though informants both from the media and NGOs seem to have the understanding of their problems in their interactions they didn't create the possibility to come together, hold a dialogue and make their interests clear. Such a dialogue could have helped them to recognize potential obstacles to be confronted, specify the procedure that should be followed in their collaboration and establish their ground rules so that they can focus on accomplishing the fundamental task requirements instead of pulling apart from each other with growing negative attitudes toward each other which resulted in less coverage of the issue and when there is coverage often ended biased.

As an editor from the AAMMA explained it is often the source that matters most than the content of whatever communication material is sent to media gatekeepers. Respondent media gatekeepers also mentioned that there are not free Public Service Announcements (PSAs) because the media institutions are becoming business-oriented. When media gatekeepers receive communication materials such as PSAs the first thing they do is making sure whether the sender is an NGO. It was also indicated that development journalism according to Wimmer and Wolf (2005) follows the discussion on development politics and policies. This being the case, it is extremely critical that both the media and NGOs address the political nature of hunger and malnutrition.

4.3 Depoliticizing the Development Debate

This study was conducted to understand how interactions between NGOs and media professionals and institutions take place in the context of development discourse in the mainstream media. The limitations explicated so far led to the understanding that development debate has been depoliticized. As was explicated in Chapter Two of this thesis the 2007 Polis Conference made a serious note on how the development debate is being depoliticized by the media, governments and NGOs. The responses obtained from informants of this study as well reflected a strong consensus to the point.

The development debate has been conceptualized in close relationship with development communication. Over the years, development communication has been defined in terms of its roles and functions. Recently, a consensus has been reached among practitioners that development communication are not exclusively about communicating information and messages, but they also involve engaging stakeholders and assessing the situation. In order to understand the applied sense of the development debate it is reasonable to consider Mefalopulos' observation:

Development communication is not exclusively about behavior change. The areas of intervention and the application of development communication extend beyond the traditional notion of behavior change to include, among other things, probing socioeconomic and political factors, identifying priorities, assessing risks and opportunities, empowering people, strengthening institutions and promoting social change within complex cultural and political environment (Mefalopulos, 2008:19).

In the same vein, Gebremedhin (2007) emphasized that one of the most important roles of NGOs is to serve as watchdogs over the development activities that are being carried out in a country. Their role is very much similar with the media's role. However, as Konjit (2010) pointed out, the NGO sector in Ethiopia lacks activism which contributes to the lack of inclusive development discourse where governance and human rights issues are denied of space in development related reporting by the media.

When issues are not addressed with inquiry into their root causes the communication is a simple information sharing practice rather than a development communication. Development communication is expected to investigate the socioeconomic and political factors of particular social and economic problems being addressed by the government, NGOs or the private sector. The development debate entails an opportunity where citizens, government officials, concerned civil society organizations come together at a platform created and facilitated by the media to discuss and debate development issues, activities and policies (Francis B, 2011). However, data from respondents of both media and NGOs suggest that there is very limited or no space to debate development issues. In this piece of academic endeavor the researcher has come to realize that NGO-Government relation is highly critical in order to understand the relationship between NGOs and the media. The study having an ethnographic nature managed to collect data through covert observation. On a visit to a local consortium NGO namely Poverty Action Network in Ethiopia (PANE) the following was recorded from a note posted on a wall:

- What we can do:
- Ensure our leaders to take MDGs seriously.
 - Active participation in policy designing and priority setting.
 - Close monitoring of programs implementation.
 - Ensuring transparency and accountability by our leaders.
 - Active participation in project reviews, evaluation and report writing.

Over the last two years the researcher had the opportunity to attend and participate in more than 20 media round table discussions facilitated by NGOs on different development issues including family planning, reproductive health and hunger and malnutrition. Specifically for the purpose of this research, the researcher attended two media round table discussions and one media training on malnutrition. In many of these occasions journalists raised what seemed a common question about using statistics as they often get confused of the different studies with different statistics by different development agencies. Study findings of the Ethiopian Demographic Health Survey (EDHS) by the Central Statistics Agency and studies by Save the Children International or UNICEF often have different figures and different implications which confuses journalists. Statistics matter in media stories and the researcher was able to observe a number of arguments between the media and various NGOs. One of the respondent communication officers indicated that NGOs these days take a great care not to publish study findings that may disappoint the government because often the government rejects study findings of NGOs. In that case, most of

the things PANE claims as its roles cannot be achieved. When such arguments take over the discussions, facilitators, often independent consultants tend to avoid the argument by making the problem a matter of sophisticated and technical differences in the sampling process rather than investigating the intentions behind the studies.

Respondent reporters and media gatekeepers admitted that they also have a knowledge gap on the development issues they are addressing. This is a drawback factor for the media to produce articles and media productions that are not critical of the development projects. Respondent journalists were asked to reflect on their knowledge and understanding of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for instance. A reporter from EBC commented during the FGD, 'we do not know what they exactly are and I don't think we need to know each and every detail of the goals. We only review them when we produce stories and I think that's enough' (Informant 2 of FGD, May 7, 2014). Such a view is shared by the participants of the FGD though his argument that journalists don't need deep knowledge of the issues is of a highly debatable nature.

According to the data obtained through in-depth interviews whenever the state media is provided with information by NGOs they always try to give the credit to the government if it is a success story which magnifies the later in the public eye. Development is a process that needs a continuous assessment of all the development projects and activities. However, as was frequently mentioned by respondents the media and NGOs have often event based communication which contributes to the depoliticized development debate because event based communication encourages journalists for mere reporting of what has been said in the event rather than a deep analysis of the entire project throughout the project duration.

The media have come to develop an attitude toward development issues taken up by NGOs. NGOs often design their projects and communication strategies without engaging the media from the very beginning and finally when they come to journalists to get coverage for their activities they will have to explain what the issue is and how they are going to address it; an endeavor which often ends up by discouraging journalists as if the issue is an agenda solely belonging to that particular NGO that tries to obtain more funds out of the project. As reported by an editor from Addis Zemen Newspaper, Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) does not report any news that is related to NGOs which resulted from a direct order from government authority. This indeed

needs further investigation. However, ENA was not selected for this small study and the researcher suggests further studies to include the agency. The editor said,

Our coverage for NGO related issue is very rare and when we do priority is given for those of good reputation working in collaboration with the government. For instance, if the NGO is working on health issues it gets coverage if it is implementing its projects together with the Ministry of Health' (Personal Interview, Addis Zemen, April 28, 2014).

Her statements are supported by the informant communication officers. The following statement by a communication officer of Save the Children International clearly points to this claim:

Gatekeepers get the news by sending reporters or through news agencies or through press releases. Then they judge the news using their checklists. The first checklist is to make sure that the story is positive which simply means that it promotes the government. The second checklist is to make sure that there is a government official in the story and the last check point is to make sure that there is nothing in the story that gives recommendations for the government (Personal Interview with SCI's Communication Officer, April 27, 2014).

The officer however has pointed out that the unlike the state media, the private media journalists are more or less fair in their coverage of development issue. He explains that they often attempt to balance their stories from different perspectives.

The above statement of the editor gives a clear insight of how the development debate is being depoliticized mainly through giving priority for NGOs that have good relationship with the government. The relationship between the state media and NGOs seems to be determined by the relationship between the government and the NGOs which unfortunately is not in the scope of this study. Hirakowa and Gouran's Functional Perspective Theory seems to be unable to explain the situation here with its optimistic view that group members care about the issue and that they are rational. Poole's AST which at least imprecisely explains the situation from the social structure of rules and resources. The government's stand on NGOs has come determine the relationship between the state media and NGOs. The unwritten rules that affect the relationship between the government and NGOs have transcended into the NGO-media relationship.

This explains why NGOs these days seem to be unable to get their voice across through the state media. Since they are considered as critical institutions that are responsible for the good of society depending on the nature of their specific sectors of engagement they are supposed ignite debates around the development activities of the nation. However, the government is accused by NGOs as rejecting their recommendations and study findings which is also affecting the media coverage.

Addressing hunger and malnutrition is not simple matter of behavior change. The problem's root causes are related to many factors such as maladministration of resources, gender inequality and poverty. The World Food Programme (WFP) in its 2014 article, 'What Causes Hunger?' clearly indicates that 'the world produces enough food to feed the entire global population of 7 billion. And yet one person in eight on the planet goes to bed each night hungry'. Some of the factors that contribute to hunger and malnutrition include: poverty trap, lack of investment in agriculture, climate and weather, war and displacement, unstable markets and food wastage. Trying to address hunger and malnutrition out of these contexts may limit the strength of the reporting and thus depoliticizing the issue. Francis (2011) contends there is an obvious difficulty to separate development from governance issues which prevents CSOs/NGOs from making effective and sustainable development interventions by addressing the root causes of poverty, which are usually related to problems in governance. An organization working to increase educational coverage cannot achieve its objective just by constructing schools unless it also engages in creating awareness among the public about the rights of boys and girls to education.

4.4 Communication Strategies, Editorial Policies and Training Manuals

This section of the paper is based on the understanding that communication strategies, editorial policies and other training manuals are important part of the interaction. Robey and Stauffer explained,

Like other communication efforts, working with the news media is done best when it is based on a strategy and follows a systematic process. A good strategy seeks opportunities to match the goals and objectives of the organization with the interests of journalists. As in other communication strategies, assessing the needs of the audience-journalists is important to reaching them effectively (Robey and Stauffer, 1995:2).

This research, despite reluctance from both NGOs and media to share their documents, was somehow able to access editorial policies of Ethiopian Press Agency (EPA), Fana Broadcasting Corporation, the Reporter newspaper and Fortune Newspaper. Communication strategies of NGOs were not accessible because they announce them as 'internal documents' which persuaded the researcher to include in the interview questions to explain their communication strategies which might have compromised the quality of the data. This reluctance can also be seen as an incident that shows the secrecy of NGOs which was indicated as a challenge for journalists.

Ethiopian Press Agency's editorial policy dated September 2003 prioritizes news coverage according to what they value as most important at the top and the least important at the bottom. In order to make the sense of the original document the Amharic version of the paragraph is attached as an annex at the end of the thesis. The editorial policy states,

5.31.3 Contents are prioritized in terms of their significance to make decision making easier to leave the least significant ones out if time or space run short. (Editorial Policy of EPA, 2003: 63) (translation by the researcher).

Based on this principle the Agency has prioritized its news coverage as follows:

- 1st. Vision related statements of the federal government.
- 2nd. Current decisions, statements and activities of the president, the federation and the house of peoples' representatives.
- 3rd. Decisions, statements and activities of regional councils.
- 4th. Meaningful activities of public and private investors.
- 5th. Activities of political and civil organizations.
- 6th. Current issues.
- 7th. News from nearby locations. (EPA Editorial Policy, 2003:64).

There is a clear pattern that can be observed from this prioritization of news coverage. It is the source consideration. The news agency clearly appreciates news coming from the government and related offices which drops NGOs down on the list. The category 'political and civil organizations' is also highly generalizing in that it merges political and non-political

organizations as if they have no difference. A number of questions on the clarity of this prioritization could be raised.

An editor of Addis Zemen Newspaper commented,

Despite their legal establishment and official statements from government offices that considers NGOs as development partners, it is really doubtful if the government considers NGOs as allies on the development process of the country. I seriously doubt if the government views NGOs as its partners that contribute to the nation's development' (Personal Interview: April 28, 2014).

Similarly the editorial policy of Fana Broadcasting Corporate (FBC) places NGOs as the 8th priority out of ten lists. Unlike EPA's editorial policy FBC's editorial policy separately mentions NGOs. The complete list of news coverage priorities is attached as an annex. It is very clear that NGOs are being least prioritized coming after continental and international issues and even religious issues. What matters here seems more of the source that the nature of the news itself.

In relation to this view one of the respondent communication officers said,

NGOs are not given priority by the news media. Even when they feel like the issue is really important they want to make sure that there is at least one government official in their coverage otherwise they will not give it a space. NGOs are legally registered as development partners because the country is extremely poor and is in need of support from the voluntary sector. NGOs bring resources, innovation and expertise and that's the reason the government accepts them as development partners. The media should investigate NGOs to make sure whether they are performing according to the goals and objectives they set rather than ignoring and stereotyping them (Personal Interview with PANE Communication Officer, May 13, 2014).

Editors from the Reporter Newspaper and Fortune Newspaper were asked to reflect on the issue of prioritizing news coverage by the state media. They said their organizations do not prioritize news coverage based on source consideration but the relevance and proximity of the story. They consider prioritizing news coverage by only considering the source of the news is inappropriate. However, as the scope of this thesis do not allow to analyze each and every aspect of the

editorial policies but to showcase how NGOs are being depicted and treated among the media it would rather be wise to reflect on very relevant issues only. Informant journalists also mentioned that they are not often interested to speak to communication officers because they doubt their expertise to explain specific development issues. They would rather prefer to talk to program managers and executive directors of the NGOs which is not often the case. They also perceive that the role of communication officers should not be answering the questions themselves but linking them with the right staff and facilitating the process of obtaining information.

Concerning training manuals that are developed by NGO staff to provide trainings to media professionals an editor of Fortune Newspaper commented that when they (NGOs) first prepare the training materials they need to assess the media environment in Ethiopia. Before they start to provide the trainings on malnutrition they have to identify the media working on food security and related issues. Often, they present you the same PowerPoint every time they call you for trainings. I reject stories because they are the same and all. The trainers do not have knowledge of how media function (Personal Interview: April 29, 2014). He strongly commented,

There are not effective or useful media strategies from the NGOs. It is just because they want to import that media culture from Western countries that they try to imitate everything. They are not able to create journalists that are curious enough to cover the issues regularly and passionately because they have failed to capture the needs of Ethiopian media in their strategies. It is with the strength of 'perdiem' that they get coverage. Ethiopia is one of the few countries where you get paid for receiving trainings and that's because we don't need the trainings (Personal Interview with Editor of Fortune Newspaper, April 29, 2014).

The above statement demonstrates that training manuals are not able to produce the demanded result. As was again articulated by the respondent that 'when the media receive a training they give coverage about the training itself saying 'this training was provided by this organization for media people' because they don't care about their professional integrity'. Communication officers on the other hand were asked when they would consider themselves as successful in their communication with the media. According to their responses it can be observed that as long as journalists mention the name of the organizations that is holding the training and that it was published or aired they tend to consider themselves as successful and that they are proud to

report it to their donors. The widespread story that government officials are of a negative attitude towards NGOs was repeatedly mentioned by reporters of state and private media and communication officers of NGOs.

4.5 The Use and Abuse of Rules and Resources

This sub-topic was undertaken to closely examine how rules and resources are being used (and abused) in relation to the interaction between the media and NGOs. This partly helps to understand what the NGOs and media are trying to achieve in their relationship and whether their aims are taking the appropriate route. This can help us understand whether their strategies are of constructive nature. It is apparent that it emerged out of Poole's AST which deals with rules and resources of groups or society causing production and reproduction of social systems taking place in their interactions. According to Poole rules are propositions that indicate how something ought to be done or what is good or bad. It is a continuous process that keeps changing through time. The aim is to reflect on how these uses of rules and resources contribute to the depoliticized development debate. McPhail (2009) conceptualized development communication as a process of strategic intervention for a positive, economic, social or political change. His statement need to be called in to attention since malnutrition is a problem closely linked with economy, society and politics.

Respondents from both media and NGOs were asked to list out what resources they consider in their relationship with one another. The following table presents list of rules and resources gathered through personal interviews and FGD.

	Resources	Rules
Media	Knowledge and skill of reporting and investigating Media tools and equipment to reach the mass at a time Power to make issues agenda Trust by the people	Written editorial policies (these are often based on the ethics of journalism)
NGOs	Technical knowledge and expertise	Written organizational policies

of sector specific issues Financial resources Power to make issues agenda Knowledge of communities Lots of untapped information, publications etc...	
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The relationship between media and NGOs has for long been viewed by many as one that has been exposed to corruption where the rules and resources of both sectors have been abused. A knowledge management officer of EU CSF II said, ‘whenever you mention someone working for an NGO the first word that comes to their mind is ‘rich’. So all the good works are buried under such attitudes (Personal Interview with knowledge management officer of EU CSF II, April 29, 2014). Contrary to the accepted view by many resources for communication works are often referred to as limited. Communication officers have frequently mentioned that they have limited resources for their communication works. According to PANE’s communication officer the NGOs themselves are not yet strongly convinced of the importance of communication. Often communication resources are allocated to particular projects only to produce some IEC/BCC materials. This limitation of NGOs has been the most frequently admitted one. People often get the bulk of their new information from the media. Thus any organization seeking public attention and support needs the media. This being an important characteristic of the NGO-media interaction it often went in unexpected production and reproduction of rules.

The Media-CSO Workshop proceeding documented that 'the common CSO allegation on the corrupt practices of media personnel is obviously exaggerated, as it does not have an institutional nature' and it recommends ‘strengthening mutual understanding and maintaining continuous conversations with the institutions helps to stop the corrupt practices'. However, CCRDA’s communication officer briefly explained how partly this corrupt practice become deep rooted.

During the 2005 election some individuals NGO leaders stood against the government. The fault was not institutional. But they were tagged by the government as agents of destructive force with a hidden political agenda and scapegoats for the ignition of the political crisis that took place in the aftermath of

the election. After the election the media avoided NGO activities from its coverage. NGOs in turn began to provide unusual amounts of per diems and incentives to journalists. Now that trend has come to be a standard culture and the NGOs keep paying and the media keep demanding it (Personal Interview with CCRDA Communication Officer, May 13, 2014).

It was rather increasingly evident that when organizations become short of resources the first measure they take is avoiding the communication and monitoring packages of their projects. Therefore, it is very critical that currently most of the coverage NGOs get (without taking the paid ones into account) is through personal relationships communication officers have with journalists. Most of the communication officers are basically experienced journalists. On another note the relationship between the private media and NGOs has a bit of different features than that of state media. The private media would rather use their power to impress people by making big headlines from a relatively ordinary information released by NGOs.

The private media prefer to sensationalize their news on NGOs by exaggerating complains and criticisms of NGOs against the government. On the other hand, the government media have a tendency to give priority for a government official in their news even though the news source is a Non-governmental Organization. And that individual official decides what the content of the news is going to be (Personal Interview with a Journalist of FBC, May 20, 2014).

The journalist also reflected that issues of no news value get coverage because journalists have the perception that NGOs have the money and as long as they get paid they don't mind to put it on air or in print. In the meantime, the media are very suspecting of all NGOs that their data are of some vested interest to make more funds which seems to be true as their communication strategies are also designed to raise funds which was admitted by the communication officer of Oxfam GB.

During the FGD journalists were asked to reflecting on the media-CSOs collaboration workshop that was organized by the CSF II in July 2013 and a participant criticized that NGOs give priority for their names before their works which can be related to concept raised in the review literature which was referred to a problem of cause versus image. Because NGOs understand the resource of media as a means to reach the public they tend to use the media as their public

relations tool. But since both have their own power to bring an issue into a public agenda their interests are expected to be shared. Another editor appreciated the workshop because it helped them to explain how the media functions.

Often they think the media people are interested only on the per diem they receive but that's not the case because often times we go and cover newsworthy issues without NGOs giving us anything. But at the institution level the media seems to be of the opinion that NGOs have the money and they should pay to get coverage (FGD with State Media Reporters, May 7, 2014).

If the agent does not follow rules they cannot be in coherence with the other members of social system and cannot develop any relationships (Kort and Eddine, 2013:4). This is clearly observed in a response given above. Institutional approach was found to be quite sophisticated where political will is lacking. As Griffin noted if the group fails to satisfy this task requirement, it's likely that the decision will be driven by politics rather than reason' Griffin (2006:251). Of course, the interaction between the media and NGOs was observed as driven by politics rather than task requirements. A journalist from FBC informed the study that media organizations often favor NGOs that are working in partnership with them. If the NGOs have business deals with the media at the institutional level the NGOs are guaranteed that they will get reporters who are sent to any event organized by the NGOs.

On sharing her experiences World Vision's communication that she never approached the media at the institutional level rather she used her personal contacts with individual journalists. This was often observed from other interviews and the researcher himself had experienced it while working as a communications officer for a local NGO. Most of the communication officers were at some point journalists and they make a good use of their contacts. This clearly indicates that the relationship is not of a healthy nature because reporters give coverage for issues of less importance just to do favor for their good old friends. Journalists from the private media houses were mentioned as the most vulnerable ones because government media and particularly the broadcast media is very restrictive to allow anyone in. personal relationships are not durable as journalists could change their positions or leave the profession for good.

Reporters were asked to express what their instinctual feeling is like when they meet with NGO communication officers at some venue for media briefing, training or any other possible reason.

Almost all have similar expressions that go back to the resource and rules of Poole's AST. They said that they feel somehow uncomfortable because they lead their lives on staggering salary whereas the communication officers of NGOs live in a relatively better income. Sometimes problem definition and goal setting may have less of an impact on the quality of the solution than time spent generating and evaluating solutions. Hirakowa and Gouran's theory is mainly criticized for taking the group members' rationality with overemphasis (Griffin, 2006) which can be related to the situation explained here. Group members may not be able to communicate rationally all the time and that reduces the theory's ability to predict group communication. Besides, 'most real-life groups have a prior decision making history and are embedded within a larger organization (Ibid: 269). The role of public relations and promotions in the NGO sector seems to be in competition with the role of the institutions and organizations in the development process in that they are accused of trying to take credit for more than they contribute.

4.6 Communication Limitations

In addition to the above listed unconstructive perceptions and prejudices toward both sectors, the media-NGO relationship has often been limited by other communication limitations. One of these limitations is the highly inconsistent nature of their communication without a clear strategy where both, whenever possible, try to take advantage of one another. Reviewed literature demonstrated that partnership among development agencies and the media has come to be recognized as an integral part of the development process. And that clearly establishes the need for clear communication strategy developed and agreed by both the media and NGOs. Hirokawa and Gouran's Functional Perspective on Group Decision Making Theory assumes that group members care about the issue, are reasonably intelligent and face a challenging task which calls for more facts, new ideas and clear thinking to have a positive effect out of their interactions. Data from interviews and FGD however show that clear thinking is missing from their interaction as they have their own assumptions, attitudes, and prejudices toward each other which they have not discussed to address the limitations of working in collaboration. A communication officer of CCRDA said,

NGOs have inherent communication limitations. They think that when they implement any project they assume their work will tell about itself. But in this competitive world no matter how big your achievements are nobody cares about

you unless you compete for attention. But we fail to do that often. (Personal Interview with CCRDA Communication Officer, May 13, 2014).

This was a statement complemented by a state media journalist quoted as saying, ‘those NGOs working on development issues have limited capacity to promote their works. They only invite us when they want coverage for their campaigns. They lack consistent engagement with the media’ (FDG with State Media Reporters, May 14, 2014). The Functional Perspective on Group Decision Making Theory suggests that identifying the challenges that could be faced during interaction is a critical step to have a positive result. Participants of the CSO-Media Collaboration Workshop were able to identify, though not exhaustively, their common grounds and challenges. However, except for that occasion, which was very small in terms of representation compared to thousands of NGOs in Ethiopia, there had not been dialogues in their interaction aimed to identify their common grounds and limitations. The role of NGOs in the development process and their desire to build or restore a good name has been stumbling.

Respondents from both state and private media often accuse NGOs of trying to take advantage of them to build their public image and that NGOs consider them as public relations entity rather than watchdogs that overlook all development activities. Referring to the ‘NGO-Media Collaboration Workshop’ an experienced journalist from a state media who participated in the focus group discussion sarcastically described the scenery as follows:

The NGOs do not know how to approach the media. They think the media are disorganized. They think the media could attend every birthday and christening party. I think they thought we (himself and his colleagues who attended the workshop) were the decision makers in our media institution because they were looking at us in a particular way whenever they speak of the media. They have no idea how and when to approach and invite media. They just keep calling on us for all trivialities (FGD with State Media Journalists, Participant 2, May 14, 2014).

There is a tendency among NGOs to see the media as public relations tool. This as an issue has never been brought to discussion except in the case of the CSO-Media collaboration workshop which partly initiated this research. Partnership is often mistaken by both parties for business deals. Communication officer were asked to explain how they view the media in the development process where most of them admitted their practice as heavily intending to view

and use the media as a tool to achieve their specific organizational goals rather than as an integral part of the development process. It is indeed true that media is a tool to achieve specific goals set by anyone involved however the media is being abused by development agencies around the world. This is a question of using media for events to get visibility and obtain more funds or involving the media in the process of whatever sector development agencies are engaged with. Research informants reported that what they view as partnership is when they pay for the media to work with them for some particular period. However, partnership cannot be achieved through business as the two have different interests. This indicates that a healthy and working relationship between the media and NGOs has been lacking. As one informant indicated, 'we submit work plans for every three months and one of our critical worries is finding a way to keep NGOs out of our plans because we might be suspected of taking money from the NGOs to make them visible'. When letters of media invitation arrive they are treated well if only they have mentioned some sort of government ministry office otherwise they'll simply be thrown away to a dustbin.

Often NGOs are more proactive to approach and work with media. It is only when they speak of their achievements that they get coverage. Unless you go to the media they wouldn't come to you. This is true both for the print and broadcast media. The media come to NGOs when a single issue or event comes up such as Water World Day or AIDS Day. On the ordinary days such issues do not easily get coverage. And that is a gap. Even when they produce stories on such issues it is of doubt to what extent they do research because often they are dependent on the information NGOs package and provide them. Concerning deep analysis and research, coach editor of Fortune Newspaper indicated,

Fortune cannot give coverage for developmental issues in a consistent manner because it doesn't have the capacity (institutional, financial) to reach out the fields over the country. Almost all reporters and media houses in the country are based in Addis Ababa which makes it difficult to observe the works of NGOs in the field. Unless the NGOs arrange a field visit for the journalists, (and when they do they want a PR material to promote their achievements) the media can't reach them (April 29, 2014).

Communication officer were also asked to describe their experiences of what they consider as success as they work with the media. The respondents disclosed that getting coverage for their issue and having their organizations' names and logos on the news is what they consider as their success and what they feel proud to report to their superiors.

What I expect from the media is that they come to us proactively and investigate our works. They do not have to accept whatever we packaged and passed on to them. They should rather inquire our works (World Vision's Communication Officer, May 14, 2014).

This quote however is an exact opposite of what one informant media gatekeeper strongly condemned how NGOs object the idea of being investigated. She stressed the point that NGO Executive Directors are inaccessible and are unwilling to answer questions from the media. Another critical problem that often place NGOs in a difficult situation is the expectations both the society and the media have on the impact of their projects. There are also many NGOs operating on a small-scale and even if they have positive achievements, small-scale or micro-operations do not often provide replicable results.

The functions of Functional Perspective theory as revised by the authors argues that members need to make clear their interests in arriving at the best possible decision. However, except for the July 2013 platform where both the media and NGOs came to discuss their problems there were no such opportunities where dialogue to make clear their interests in arriving the best possible decision could be discussed. Therefore, the early and necessary step which is dialogue has always been missing while wrong assumptions become even more exaggerated.

Hirokawa and Gouran also insist the need to establish ground rules for interaction. These ground rules are supposed to be developed and agreed by both sides. However, data from interviews demonstrated that the ground rules were not discussed or reflected upon to be agreed by both sides before, during or after particular interaction processes. For instance, Save the Children International has a policy not to pay for journalists when events take place in Addis Ababa. This could be an acceptable practice however, as Poole's Adaptive Structuration Theory suggests, it is important to clearly establish their agreements on the matter because Poole's Adaptive Structuration theory indicates that production and reproduction of social systems are affected by how rules and resources are used by people. As long as there is a clearly established agreement

on why NGOs wouldn't pay for events that take place in Addis Ababa it might be discouraging for journalists to attend the media brief which finally results less amount of coverage to the development issue.

4.7 Legal Frameworks: The Charities and Societies Proclamation

One of the major factors that obviously affect the relationship between the media and NGOs is the legal framework they function in the country. This research is not dedicated to entirely analyzing the Charities and Societies Proclamation. It only highlights the most significant issues that contribute to the strengthening or weakening of NGO-media relations. This is a theme that was developed from the frequent mentioning of the Proclamation by research respondents both from the media and NGOs. A study by Gebremedhin (2007) states,

Many governments, however, are suspicious of civil society, and are drafting, enacting, and applying laws to regulate civil society that often restrict or narrow civil space... In a number of African countries, new and restrictive CSO/NGO laws have been enacted or being drafted which include mandatory registration, large number of required founders, broad government discretion, restrictions on activities, government supervision and monitoring, extensive investigatory powers, interference with operational activities, government authorization or approval requirement for activities, complete prohibition of activities, and restrictions on foreign engagement are among the common practices being employed by governments in Africa (ibid, 2007:21).

Informants from both sectors frequently mentioned how the new charities and societies proclamation is affecting their interactions. A focus group participant who is a state media journalist said, 'media people have a negative understanding of the proclamation. After the proclamation, they have started to view NGOs as enemies rather than as development partners (Focus Group Discussion Participant representing EBC, May 7, 2014)'. This statement was complemented by a former journalist and now a communication officer in one of the International NGOs (INGOs) who articulated the situation as follows:

The situation before and after the new proclamation is different. Since the proclamation there is fear both among the local and international NGOs. They

have changed the way they function in terms of media and advocacy. They always try not to go against the government rather than the law (Personal Interview with SCI's Communication Officer, April 27, 2014).

This statement clearly indicates how the NGOs are depoliticizing the development debate out of fear of the government. The most important aspect of the new proclamation is its restrictions on intervention area mainly advocacy which directly affects NGOs' role in the development debate, advocacy works and their relationship with the media, both private and state. Information that is of an important nature to the development discourse of the country could be left unused because of limitations that arise from the proclamation which prohibits NGOs from engaging in advocacy works.

The other point of argument from the Charities and Societies Proclamation that discourages Ethiopian civil societies from engaging the media is the fact that it defines 'Ethiopian Residents' as society or charity that receives less than 10 percent of its funding from foreign donors. And these are the ones that are allowed to engage in advocacy and human rights issues. According to Desalegn and Akaleweld (2010:106) 'the Proclamation contrary to other policy documents attempts to make a distinction between development and governance/human rights interventions'. Concerning CSOs defined as 'Ethiopian Residents', the proclamation allows them to engage in poverty reduction and other development interventions, but prohibits them from engaging in governance/human rights issues. The researcher was also able to observe that an advocacy NGO called Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa (AFSA) which is a network of farmer organization networks has for the last three years been coordinated from Addis Ababa but was not unable to register in Ethiopia.

4.8 Challenges to Advocacy

Advocacy has been an effective tool to influence decision makers in different areas of development issues. Advocacy is often in need of support from the media. In Ethiopia advocacy is a recent phenomenon and has been given a small space. According to Konjit(2011) the reason for its weakness is our historical background as a nation. In many of African countries NGOs emerged as a resistance against colonial power and they have accumulated years of experiences in political activism.

The researcher has had firsthand information about a continental food sovereignty advocacy NGO which is unable to register in Ethiopia despite their strong need to work closely with the African Union. The organization functions with its networks in different African countries with legal registration in Uganda. The ideal role expected to be played by the media as a space for development debate is not often a point of argument. The problem comes when it was examined in practical terms. The private media often sees NGOs as income sources and they always want to take advantage of their resources which poses a serious limitation to advocacy works. And when advocacy works are weak development issues easily get depoliticized.

In an informal interview during a participant observation a journalist referred to communication officers as persons who are 'under politicians and above journalists'. With follow up questions he explained that communication officers are 'politicians who did not make it to the election term but they have managed to leave the hard work and less pay of journalism and earn better salaries'. This indicates that journalists are aware of the fact that most of the communication officers worked at once as journalists and they have left the work at some point in their lives. Not only that but it is an indicator that they have a hard feeling about the situation. Such understandings also pose limitations to NGO advocacy works. Journalists also tend to see their employing media institutions as their guides to the meaning they attach to journalism.

A participant of the FGD said:

I define journalism in accordance with the context I am working in. Now I work for Ethiopian Television (now EBC) and I define journalism in the ideology my media organization has about the nation's development which is development journalism. If I were working for another a weekly magazine I may have a different perspective toward journalism. But whoever I work for I believe I am an agent of development (Participant 1 of FGD with state media reporters, May 7, 2014).

The respondent's statements claim that his definition of journalism is determined by the media institutions that employed him and at the same time he claimed that whoever he is working for he still considers himself an agent of development. Such identifications toward one's own views influence the bigger NGO-media relations because the journalist views NGO works through his media's ideologies.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

This research attempted to examine what the everyday politics of NGO-media interaction looks like and the actual roles of both in the process. It tried to identify the limitations that are hindering healthy collaboration between the two. The study has employed purely qualitative methods. Accordingly, to assess their interaction, in-depth interviews were conducted with editors and reporters from eight media institutions and communication officers of seven Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). In addition to one FGD with state media journalists, four in-depth interviews were also conducted with key informants i.e independent consultant, trainers and executive directors.

The research has attempted to look at the common grounds NGOs and media have. Accordingly, the research's findings led to the understanding that though the two have watchdog roles as their very common ground, because of their prejudices toward each other they have not been able to fully explore their opportunity of working together. Rather than strengthening this important aspect of their shared purposes they focus on their differences most of which based on self-interest and uninformed judgment.

With respect to their intents or goals they seek to achieve, the study's findings showed that instead of the abundant possibilities of collaboration and support to each other, the interaction between the media and NGO sector seems to have been taken over by self-interest where one tries to take advantage of the other. In relation to their strategies to approach each other it was found out that some media editorial policies were very suspicious and restrictive to entertain contents from the NGO sector which again was found out to be rooted on their prejudices that NGOs are wealthy institutions. On the other hand, NGOs were perceived by journalists as less accessible and unwilling to share information with the media except their packages of advocacy.

According to the findings, the strategies used by NGOs to approach the media is often led by their own needs for visibility which helps them acquire credibility in the eyes of the public and secure more funding from donors. At the same time though they do not speak of it in the open they are economical of the information they share with the media. Their strategies, therefore, have gaps which demands deliberate effort to strengthen their collaboration and open

information sharing practice based on trust and mutual understanding. In relation to the identification of particular limitations in their communication a number of factors has come to light. The highly event based, inconsistent nature of their communication emerged as one of the most easily noticeable limitations. The research also tried to explore the overall implication of the NGO-Media interaction on the development discourse, in this case, malnutrition. Mostly growing out of the above mentioned limitations, their frail communication which lacks the bravery to be built upon principles rather than personal feelings and prejudices have contributed to the depoliticized development debate.

The situation of NGO-media interaction has come to be a critical area of attention that needs further investigation. The previous chapter endeavored to address the research questions from Chapter One. However, the discussion has proved that the ramifications for the problems on their relationship are not readily predictable as the power relations among the media (both private and state), the government and non-governmental organizations are sophisticated and varied. Both the media and NGOs have been playing significant roles in the development discourse of the country. However, there have been a number of limitations that could be attributed to a number of factors which include, according to the findings of this small research, the deep rooted and long held prejudices each has toward the other, the lack of transparency and inaccessibility to one another and the lack of proactive dialogue.

Put simply, NGO-media interaction have been lacking clear thinking and purpose where both parties seem to be interested only on achieving their own organizational or personal interests. Moreover, though they have been in a position to address the gaps in their relationship, there have been very limited constructive dialogue opportunities. This research was not able to include the government side of the story which is very critical to construct more clear meaning understanding of their interaction. In the past as well as today, the nature of governance and political system also defined relations of power between the state and the media, the state and NGOs and the media and NGOs.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the research it is evidently correct to conclude that NGO-media interaction is not of a constructive nature. Both the media and NGOs are not carrying out their responsibilities to create a more harmonious and constructive relationship. It is the researchers'

recommendation to NGOs to establish a culture of initiating constructive dialogues with the media and to become more open and accessible to journalists in their endeavor to obtain information which completes their reporting in its political sense. The findings of the research also suggest that prejudices that are involved in their interactions need to be reviewed and clearly put into a healthy perspective. Proactive dialogues between the two sectors need to be frequently and continually initiated because such dialogues can help identify and elaborate their common grounds and explicate the myths and facts about each other. These include the shared objectives of NGOs and media actors, the possible areas of collaborations and cooperation, and the common challenges in the cooperation. It is very critical for the NGOs to be highly transparent to the media and become less economical with the information they provide about their projects and avoid bureaucratic barriers to access information. NGOs also need to revisit their communication strategies which are mostly focused on visibility and more fund raising. The media, on the other hand, need to be receptive of NGO releases with the appropriate level of investigation without any prejudice against the sector in general.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Guide Questions

Interview Guide Questions for Journalists

1. What is your general observation about the development activities of big NGOs (e.g. Save the Children, Hunger Project) working on malnutrition in Ethiopia?
2. What kind of experience do you have in dealing with NGOs over news report/ feature article?
3. How do you explain your role in promoting or questioning the MDGs?
4. How do you explain the importance of media relationship strategy for NGOs in the context of facilitating development objectives?
5. How do the NGOs maintain relationship with media?
6. What specific challenges do you face while addressing malnutrition issues in your media?
7. Can you specifically identify the areas of weakness and strength of NGO-media interaction in Ethiopia?
8. What are the challenges that remain within NGO-media relationship in Ethiopia?
8. Do you think there is scope for effective NGO-media interaction in Ethiopia? If yes, what are your recommendations?

Interview Questions for NGO Communication officers

1. What is your general observation of how development activities carried out by NGO sector in Ethiopia are addressed in the media?
2. How do you explain the importance of media relationship strategy for an NGO in the context of promoting development objectives? As a development organization, what do you expect from media?

3. How does your organization maintain relationships or interact with news media or journalists? Please explain the media relationship strategy of your organization.

5. Can you specifically identify the areas of weakness and strength of NGO-media interaction in Ethiopia?

6. Do you think there is a scope for effective NGO-media interaction in Ethiopia? If yes, what are your recommendations?

4. What are the challenges you/your organization encounter interacting with news media or journalists?

7. What specific challenges do you face in addressing and promoting malnutrition issues in the news media?

8. When and why do you consider your actions as an achievement in your relationship with the media?

9. How do you explain your practice in promoting or questioning the MDGs?

Guiding Questions for Focus Group Discussions with Reporters

1. How do you explain your role in the development process of the nation?

2. What's your general observation on your relationship with NGOs?

3. What are the challenges you face from NGOs in addressing development issues, particularly, malnutrition? Please, explain with examples.

4. What do you expect from stakeholders of the development process such as NGOs in addressing and promoting the issue of malnutrition in your media?

5. What are your recommendations for NGOs to improve their relationship with your media?

Interview Questions for Independent Consultants

1. What is your observation on the relationship between the media and NGOs in the development process?
2. What are the challenges you face from NGOs when they employ you to provide trainings on malnutrition for the media?
3. Have you had any challenging questions or discussions with journalists on the issue of malnutrition? Please give examples and elaborate.
4. How do you strike the balance between the interests of the media and NGOs when you provide trainings and develop training manuals (particularly on malnutrition)?
5. What's your general observation on the manuals developed to train media professionals on the issue of malnutrition?
6. How do you frame the trainings (on malnutrition) you provide for journalists?

Appendix 2: List of Informants

No.	Name of Informants	Sex	Years of Experience	Organization	Position
Informants from Media					
01	Adam Tadesse	Male	6	FBC	Senior Editor
02	Almaz Ayalew	Female	15	Addis Zemen	Senior Editor
03	Aynew Hailelessilassie	Male	8	Fortune Newspaper	Coach Editor
04	Habtamu Dessalegn	Male	5	AAMMA	Senior Producer
05	Metasebiya Kassaye	Female	6	Addis Admass Newspaper	Senior Editor
06	Mihiret Haile	Female	9	Reporter Newspaper	Senior Editor
07	Wondemagegn Kifle	Male	6	EBC	Senior Producer and Host
08	Solomon Geda	Male	10	EBC	Senior Reporter
09	Henok Hailu	Male	6	EBC	Senior Reporter
10	Birhane Sisay	Male	8	FBC	Senior Reporter and Editor
11	Tariku Taye	Male	7	FM 97.1	Senior Reporter
NGO Communication Officers					
12	Getachew Dibaba	Male	4	SCI	Media Manager
13	Mesha Yilma	Male	8	MELCA-Ethiopia	Communications Officer

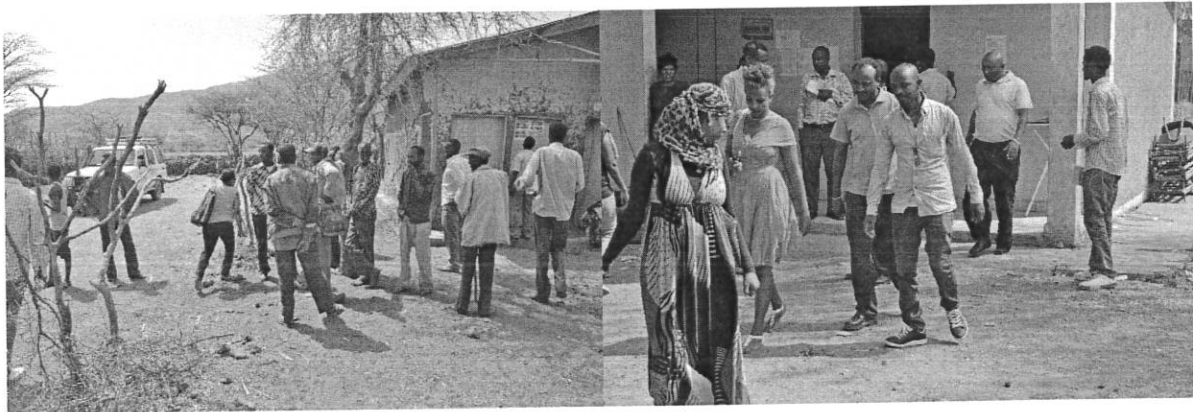
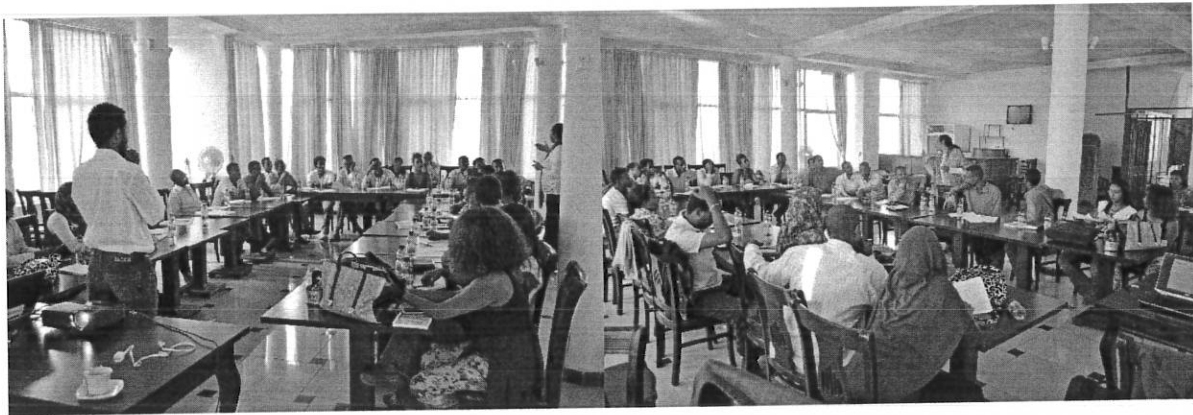
14	Meron Belay	Female	5	World Vision	Communications Officer
15	Tigist Gebru	Female	6	Oxfam GB	Communications Officer
16	Yonas Kefale	Male	7	Care International	Communications Officer
17	Yidnekachew Solomon	Male	12	PANE	Communications Officer
18	Tafese Refera	Male	-	CCRDA	Communications Officer

Key Informants

19	Million Belay	Male	20	MELCA-Ethiopia and AFSA	Director/Independent Consultant
20	Sisay Abebe	Male	15	LIHDC/Lead International Consult	Executive Director/Media Trainer
21	Abiy Seifu	Male	13	Addis Ababa University/Save the Children Int.	Consultant and Media Trainer
22	Yemisirach Binalfew	Female	-	EU SCF II	Knowledge and Information Management

Appendix 3: Pictures

Media Training on Malnutrition in Adama and Field Visit to Surrounding Regions



Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis (NGO-Media Interaction on Addressing Development Issues on the News Media: Malnutrition in Perspective) is my original work and all sources of materials used for this study have been appropriately acknowledged.

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Signature: _____

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Place of Submission: Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia