

Practices and Challenges of Internal Political Pluralism in Ethiopian Broadcast Media: FM102.1, FM98.1 and Ethiopian National Radio in Focus

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Selome Getachew, entitled: *Practices and Challenges in Internal Political Pluralism in Ethiopian Broadcast Media: FM102.1, FM98.1 and Ethiopian National Radio in Focus* 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

Practices and Challenges in Internal Political Pluralism in Ethiopian Broadcast Media:
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The main purpose of this study was to examine manifestation of political pluralism in news coverage of the Ethiopian broadcast media in reference to three selected stations. Theories of Habermasian public sphere theory, polarized pluralist model, agenda setting and political economy of mass media have been employed as theoretical frameworks for this study. The study employed quantitative method as the principal method and qualitative as supplementary. By taking samples from a six-month news transmissions in the selected stations, an analysis and interpretation was conducted based on the procedures and rules of content analysis. Moreover, eleven key informants, who have direct or indirect relation with the topic, were selected and interviewed, to triangulate the information gained via content analysis. The data were organized into relevant categories and analyzed accordingly. The result of the study reveals that, internal pluralism has not been properly interpreted in the studied media houses. Comparatively, the views of opposition parties were highly oppressed in the selected broadcasting media. The media fails to entertain equitable coverage of news presentation between the ruling party and the opposition parties. It seems that ideas and complaints from the society doesn't get enough space in the media. When we see the representation of the ruling party in the media, it is mostly depicted as developmental, the stations did not have room for corrective news pieces. Because they use mostly news prepared or developed by the in-house reporters, the balance of the news transmission has been affected. The study concluded that the democratic political system demands Ethiopian broadcast media to entertain pluralism, internal political pluralism has been compromised in the sample broadcast media implying that there is little chance for entertaining diverse political views in the Ethiopia broadcast media predominately owned by the government. Based on the study, a couple of recommendations that might help to reduce the limitations of the press are suggested.

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DEDICATION

This piece of work is dedicated to my mother, who has lived all her life for her children and my father who gave me all courage to be the person I wanted to be.

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List of Acronyms

AA	Addis Ababa
AU	African Union
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
EBA	Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority
EBC	Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
EC	Ethiopian Calendar
EDP	Ethiopia Democratic Party
EPRDF	Ethiopian
ETV	Ethiopia Television
EU	European Union
FBC	Fana Broadcasting Corporation
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FM	Frequency Module
GC	Gregorian Calendar
HRW	Human Rights Watch
MW	Medium Wave
SW	Short Wave
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US	United States of America
WTO	World Trade Organization

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1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Media accessibility involves diversified areas of human activity. One of such areas is pluralism. In fact, of late, the pluralism idea is becoming the most significant aspect of media accessibility. Pluralism is an effect of freedom of speech but it is also a value associated with free speech itself. Freedom of expression and freedom of information – the freedoms “to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas are basic human rights as set out in 1948 by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A number of explanations are forwarded from different corners regarding the above issue. A bulk of literature in media politics, political economy or international relations is devoted to forwarding various kinds of theoretical approaches that attempt to define the rationale behind the actions of a media towards pluralism of media politics. According to Karppinen (2006, p. 26).

In theorizing the public sphere and relationship between media and democracy, the importance of the principles of difference, diversity and pluralism only seems to heighten. It can be argued that theories and concepts on which normative views of media and democracy build having generally taken a marked pluralist or anti-essentialist turn.

The importance of pluralism in the media, as it has been dealt by many literatures, is that, instead of a singular notion of the public sphere, public use of reason or the common good, theorists increasingly stress the plurality of publics, politics of difference and the complexity of ways in which the media can contribute to democracy.

In the words of Haraszti (2011, p.55), media are pluralistic if they are multi-centered and diverse enough to host an informed, uninhibited and inclusive discussion of matters of public interest at all times. Pluralism of the media means a media structure that is:

- (a) Comprised of competing media outlets which are independent from each other, a central owner, or other influence;
- (b) Diversified on separate but overlapping planes of ownership, political views, cultural outlooks and regional interests
- (c) Able to communicate to all corners of society
- (d) Capable of conveying a great variety of information and opinion;
- (e) Designed to draw information from a wealth of different sources.

It is believed that, broadcast media has high power of transferability and make much influence on the audience whether it has been viewed or heard by an intended or unintended viewer. According to Salomon (2008, p.9), the Broadcasting Regulation of the UNESCO:

Broadcasting is the most pervasive, powerful means of communication in the world. In many places with high levels of illiteracy or poverty, the only access to news and information is by word-of-mouth, or radio. Of the two, radio is certainly the more authoritative. In more developed areas, television has replaced radio as the most trusted and main source of news. And as well as news, broadcasting provides education and entertainment; in Western societies like the UK, people spend an average of 24.4 hours a week watching television, and 23.9 hours listening to radio. Whoever controls access to so much viewing and listening, and whoever controls the content of what is watched and heard, is in a prime position

to influence the way in which viewers and listeners see the world and their attitudes towards their own and other's cultures.

Coming to the Ethiopian contexts, the nation is the home for people with different religious, culture, economic, political orientation, and other backgrounds. To build democracy and ensure development in this nation, the active participation of the public at large is very essential. And media have the power to facilitate these vital issues if it is managed properly. As (Ethiopia: Proclamation No. 590/2008 of 2008, Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation, 2008, p. 4328) clearly states that,

All public bodies shall have regard to the right of the mass media, in fulfilling its public function, to: a) seek, receive and impart news or information; b) express opinion or criticism on various issues or; c) participate in the process of forming public opinion through other means. On this, the proclamation also states that “Restrictions on the freedom of the mass media shall only be made by laws issued in accordance with the Constitution”

The later statement is that, unless the content or the motive of an information seeker or provider is deliberately harmful to the good of the nation, any citizen have the right to enjoy the freedom given by the Constitution. As stated in Tamerat (2015), regarding freedom and pluralism of the media, The Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa states:

- (a) Availability and promotion of range of information and ideas to the public
- (b) Pluralistic access to the media and other means of communication, including by vulnerable or marginalized groups, such as women, children and refugees, as well as linguistic and cultural groups,

(c) The promotion and protection of African voices, including through media in local languages, and

(d) The promotion of the use of local languages in public affairs, including in the courts

Ethiopian Broadcasting Agency proclamation also strengthen the above idea. According to the proclamation “any program to be transmitted shall reflect different and balanced viewpoints to serve the public at large” (proclamation No_533/2007 article 30/1).

Because of an open and free media landscape with divergent opinions and ideas is a key aspect in democratic societies, media pluralism is considered highly important with regard to media policy and the issues of pluralism in Ethiopian media is worth investigation.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

It is normal in discussion to derive arguments on freedom of expression from the United Nations (1947) Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In its Article 19 the most widely accepted formulation of the right of free expression, which makes a big leap for many countries as starting point for their country's law drafting either in free speech or human right, including Ethiopia. United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) Article 19, P. 4 states that “Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.” It is, first of all, a right to freedom of opinion: an essentially private right. Only after that is it a right to freedom of expression: a more public right. For librarians, the key thing is that in setting out a right to ‘seek, receive and impart information and ideas’ it provides as good a rationale for the practice of librarianship as can be found.

With this in mind, we can turn to the Ethiopian attitude to freedom of speech and the right to hold opinion. One of the topics addressed by the FDRE Constitution is the media and freedom of speech. Indeed, the Constitution contains a number of provisions that are of the medium and the medium nature. Some of them are:

- Everyone has the right to freedom of expression without any interference. This right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any media of his choice.
- In the interest of the free flow of information, ideas and opinions which are essential to the functioning of a democratic order, the press shall, as an institution, enjoy legal protection to ensure its operational independence and its capacity to entertain diverse opinions.
- Any media financed by or under the control of the State shall be operated in a manner ensuring its capacity to entertain diversity in the expression of opinion” (Ethiopian Constitution / Article 29/2, 4, 5/).

However, some sources claims that this provision simply has paper value as freedom of the press has faced mounting challenges in Ethiopia. There are criticisms on the Constitution with regard to the media freedom and some say that it has much of an ambiguous articles regarding to freedom of speech and expression of opinion. For instance, the Human Rights Watch released on March 6, 2015 its observation of the state of media freedom which reads as below:

Ethiopia has made good progress in many fields of development. But while western donor countries laud Ethiopia’s successes, it’s citizens suffer from state

repression. The ruling party, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, and its regional offshoots exercise pervasive control over the country's economic, political and social life. Journalists and opposition politicians are regularly convicted under repressive laws. Peaceful protests are met with brutal crackdowns, and torture of dissenters in custody is commonplace.

Moreover, most private media and opposition party members affirmed denial of their right for free speech in the media. On Fortune Newspaper May 10, 2015 edition, Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) has announced its discontinuation in the use of media broadcast time that is allocated by EBA for Political campaigning. EDP representatives explained to Fortune that the Party has reached to this decision after repeated allegations of censorship and denial by different media outlets to broadcast campaign programs by the party though the media house reject this complaint saying the party failed to abide by the rule of the election campaign.

While Prime Minister Haile Mariam Desalegn discussed democracy, human rights, press freedom and the future of Ethiopia with Aljazeera, one of the main issues that has been raised by the reporter, Martin Dennis, was that the government has been deemed as one of the most heavily censored countries in the world, and has been accused of mercilessly stifling political opposition and civil liberties, and of imprisoning those who do cross the line.

As it has been discussed in the introductory part, the broadcast media has much power than the other media, because of its nature, in relation to political views in one nation. However, broadcast media are under a state ownership except few FM radio and Fana Broadcasting Corporate which is nominally private. In addition, the telecommunication continued to be a state monopoly, no private Internet Service Provider (ISP) was licensed, and the cost of connectivity was kept out

of reach of the vast majority of Ethiopians. As would become clearer during the elections 2005, however, this form of restriction on the new media was insufficient to prevent them from playing an important role in mobilizing dissent against the government Gayliardone (2014, p. 24). As it has been mentioned in Abdissa & Zenebe (2014, p. 5) the so called significant factor why the government of Ethiopia tends to have a monopoly over the communication sector is that Ethiopia's developmental state model—which prioritizes economic growth and national security—is central. They also mentioned that the government also sees control of the sector as an important way to keep in check security threats the sector could pose to the regime if left to the whims of the market. The concerns over the destabilizing potential of ICT have been exacerbated by the unrest generated by the Arab Spring and the role that technologies are said to have played in bringing down long-surviving authoritarian regimes in the Middle East. In fact, it seems that by being fearful that the new media could be turned against them, the EPRDF simply prevented other actors from entering the market of communication.

As Gurevitch (1982) argue, society is a complex of competing groups and interests, none of them can be predominant all of the time. In a democratic political setting, media organizations are seen as bounded organizational systems, enjoying an important degree of autonomy from the state, political parties and institutionalized pressure groups. Control of the media is said to be in the hands of an autonomous managerial elites who allow a considerable degree of flexibility of media professionals. Accordingly, any state, which is democratic and constitute multi political group is expected to entertain various political and economic views by giving chances to all in order to create a balanced and fair democratic society. This is, for the reason that liberal public regimes tend over time to satisfy more of legitimate needs of their publics and to generate more unforced, sustained loyalty than do other forms of political associations. This implies that media

pluralism is the necessary element of a truly democratic society. For example, Williams (2003, pp. 50-51) states that pluralism and functionalism share a belief that the media are an essential component in the workings of liberal democracy. The former sees the media as representing the diversity of competing interests in society, enabling everyone to have the chance to participate and be informed, whilst the latter stresses the integrative role of the media in maintaining a consensus through the reinforcement of a set of shared values about democracy and the democratic process.

There are different challenges and misunderstanding on the practice of media pluralism, though its importance was increased through time. In analysing the concept of pluralism, two perspectives have to be mentioned: internal and external pluralism. Internal pluralism reflects how social and political diversity are reflected in media content. That is, the representation of different groups in the media as well as divergent political or ideological opinions and viewpoints. Media concentration (the opposite of diversity) can manifest itself in the value chain of content creation, content packaging and/or content delivery. Whereas External pluralism covers the number of owners, media companies, independent editorial boards, channels, titles or programmers. But external pluralism is all about media structures that may influence the media content and business. Internal pluralism is mainly about content diversity in a media institution, which is the main focus of the present study.

The issue of Ethiopia's broadcasting media, therefore, should be seen in the above light. The issue to be raised in this regard is the extent to which all the broadcast media, especially, the once like EBC that have wider range of coverage in Ethiopia with the ability of entertaining diversified political views of the country. It goes without saying that for a diversified society

like ours, fair political, cultural and economic view in the media is not an option but mandatory. As media are there to serve the society, they should reflect the ideas and views of that society. Thus this study attempts to find out how political diversity is reflected in the Ethiopian broadcast media in the selected media houses

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The main objective of this study is to examine the practice of political pluralism in the news coverage of the Ethiopian broadcasting media with reference to FM102.1, FM98.1 and EBC's National Radio.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- To find out the extent to which diverse political views are being entertained in the Ethiopian broadcast media
- To examine how the editorial policy and news manuals of the media houses contribute to the practice of pluralism
- To assess the main internal and external challenges in entertaining the concepts of media pluralism in the selected media houses

The specific objectives are those which aim at dealing with the following research questions:

1.4 Research Questions

- To what extent do news stories entertain political diversity in the Ethiopian broadcast media?
- How do the editorial policy and news manuals of each corporation contribute in the practice of media pluralism?

- What are the main internal and external challenges in entertaining the concepts of media pluralism in the selected media houses?

1.5 Scope of the Study

According to the Ethiopian Broadcast Authority research report of 2006 EC (2014GC), there are 53 FM radios, 15 SW and MW radio station, in total 68 radios including branch stations are licensed in the country among which 62 are operating. And the TV stations are 9, which are legally registered according to the laws of Ethiopia. It is understandable that it won't be feasible for this paper to consider all the stations for the analysis. Hence, this thesis has analyzed the most accessed radio stations and those of not entertainment, which are FM102.1, FM98.1, and National Radio. Nevertheless, it has eventually been managed to address salient aspects of the study area. On top, regarding the programs, due to the reason that it won't be feasible to pick specific programs and analyze, its scope is limited to the evening, prime time news of every channel. For this research, evening news is equivalent to news transmitted at 2.00local time (8:00PM)

1.6 Significance of the Study

The result of this study would shed some light on the pluralistic trend especially in the news session. As far as my knowledge is concerned, since there has not been any actual study made on the issue so far, this study can provide an inception for further studies on related issues. The outcome of the study will be of considerable importance to many of the broadcasting media in relation to their practice in entertaining much of a diversified idea. Further, the output of the study may also help the concerned authorities, especially those of licensing and regulating to

recognize the practices weak spots and thereby take corrective measures in relation to its shortcomings.

In a similar vein, it is hoped that media organizations in general and the selected media institutions in particular, will benefit from the outcome of the study. The study can provide these media an opportunity to reflect upon their experiences in news gathering and reporting and shall also benefit in getting valuable information from the results of the study and this in turn may help them make sound decisions.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The researcher has selected only three stations that have been assumed as a representation of the rest and those that are not entertainment focused. There is no doubt, therefore, that this will have some minimal impact on the information analysis. The Second one is the timing for conducting this research. This research was conducted during the Federal Election session which took place all over the Country. Because of this (a) Stations were not cooperative enough to give information by being suspicious (b) Most officials in the media houses are very busy because of the election reporting. Accordingly, it was very difficult for this research to get the desired data timely and precisely. (c) Shortage of reference materials especially on the areas of the Ethiopian media was another limitation while developing this material.

In spite of the fact that access to information is a constitutional right of an Ethiopian citizen, apart from the general problems faced, the top managements of FBC has banned the researcher from using any information from the station and also refused giving an interview. The reason behind was the objective of this research paper.

Last but not least, one more limitation is on the method used to analyze the study. The primary method used was content analysis. By its very nature, this method has shortcomings. One of the limitations is that it does not tell how the positive or negative practices of media pluralism influence the audience. To overcome such limitation, in-depth interview was done with selected informants.

Despite the above limitations, the findings of this study will potentially have important implication in the broadcast media with regard to the essentials of practicing internal media pluralism, specific to political pluralism.

2 CHAPTER TWO: Review of Related Literature

2.1 Media in Democratic political setting

2.1.1 Media and Democratic Society

Shortly before Thanksgiving in November 2006, President George W. Bush embarked on a five-day trip to Asia. On his last stop, in Indonesia, several thousand protesters staged demonstrations against the White House's policies in Iraq. At a press conference at the presidential palace in Bogor, President Bush was asked how he would respond to the protesters "saying that your policy in the Middle East and Iraq and elsewhere is anti-Islamic" Boler (2008). President Bush has tried to define democracy and freedom as a universal right characterizing democracy as a transcendent value—less of a governmental structure than an ideological weapon. Most nations, those who claimed themselves as democratic once, have their own definition and boundaries for being a democratic society. The level of democratic discourse also differs from country to country from the democratic process that county has gone through. However, for more conventional way and for the sake of being on the same page, on this particular thesis, the researcher has used the following definition of Democratic Society as an operational definition which previously has been defined by Democracy Watch (2011): A Democratic Society is a society in which all adults have easily accessible, meaningful, and effective ways to participate in the decision-making processes of every organization that makes decisions or takes actions that affect them, and to hold other individuals, and those in these organizations who are responsible for making decisions and taking actions, fully accountable if their decisions or actions violate fundamental human rights, or are dishonest, unethical, unfair, secretive, inefficient, unrepresentative, unresponsive or irresponsible; so that all organizations in the society are

citizen-owned, citizen-controlled, and citizen-driven, and all individuals and organizations are held accountable for wrongdoing.

Hence, from the above definition, media being one of the institutions in democratic society, it should be citizen-owned, citizen-controlled and above all citizen-driven. Studies which have addressed the relationship between the media and politics in democratisation contexts usually have two major concerns: (1) democratisation through the media and (2) democratisation of the media itself. On this research paper, the latter is the major concern.

As cited in Boler (2008, p. 173), Justice Stewart effectively argued that democracy needs the media to report the news, without “fear or favor.” Citizens need to know what the government is doing; the press needs the freedom to tell them. He firmly acclaimed the following:

Only a news organization that bravely reports what it knows, rather than what it is told is acceptable to say, can act as a check on government. That is why the news media breaking of such stories as the 2005 National Security Agency telephone surveillance program and the 2006 U.S. Treasury Department tapping of the SWIFT financial transactions is good news for a reinvigorated American democracy.

Having said all that, despite the fact that a democratic society holds the right to know and participate in its country’s say, whether political, economic or socio-cultural movement, the government “sometimes” has the “right to limit the right of the press to report a story but not “always” if the reporting has a conflict with the interest of that particular nation. Even though the digital revolution enhanced reporters’ fact-finding abilities and produced better investigative

ways, the age of Globalization becomes an opportunity as well as a treat for Media ethics especially in Democratic society.

2.1.2 Media and Democracy in the Age of Globalization

Media, as being a powerful medium of information dissemination instrument, the age of globalization has become both an opportunity and treat for a nation's sovereignty and cultural dynamics. King and Tomlinson stated that to understand the interrelationships among Political, Historical and Cultural issues dynamics, it is therefore crucial to put them into a broader historical framework by making note that the cultural and economic factors that demark what is now commonly termed "globalization", and that are informing the unfolding of democratization in various regions, are intimately tied to past waves of transnational and transcultural exchanges and confrontations (as cited in Blankson & Murphy (2007, p. 4).

Again, as depicted by Blankson & Murphy (2007, p. 4); while developed more than thirty-five years ago, Galtung's emphasis on the combination of intra- and inter-national forces as defining global relations deserves perhaps even more attention today from media scholars, as indigenous (national) cultural industries around the globe have become increasingly linked to and developed in relation to transnational media conglomerates. Even though the conglomerates of media as some of the trade sectors, like WTO, as a result globalization brings about a tremendous opportunities for member countries, it has also affected some developed nations in media censorship and control according to the nation's interest and security. As a result, mass media have become one of the most pronounced areas of African society where the excises of democracy is in its early stage and culture being reinterpreted, as they have served as avenues

for public education and discourse on the tenets of democratization, the free market, and consumer culture.

In the eyes of Kraidy (2002, p. 3), in international communication theory and research, cultural imperialism theory argued that audiences across the globe are heavily affected by media messages emanating from the Western industrialized countries. Although there are minor differences between "media imperialism" and "cultural imperialism," most of the literature in international communication treats the former as a category of the latter. Grounded in an understanding of media as cultural industries, cultural imperialism is firmly rooted in a political-economy perspective on international communication. As a school of thought, political economy focuses on material issues such as capital, infrastructure, and political control as key determinants of international communication processes and effects.

Information providers, such as the media, potentially influence political and economic outcomes by reducing society's cost of obtaining information. For business, households, and most others, these providers are the main source of information on public policy choices and current social and economic conditions. In some countries, these responsibilities are spelled out and in others they are implicit. But in almost every case they amount to the same thing: to keep citizens informed, journalists have a responsibility to provide information that is accurate and reported fairly — and independently — from outside influences.

Despite the fact that the age of globalization has some impact on media practices, by devising controlling mechanism and regulation, freedom of expression has to be granted as a basic human right.

2.1.3 Human Right and Freedom of Expression

As defined by the Human Rights Watch (HRW), an international non-governmental organization that conducts research and advocacy on human rights, Human Right is defined as follows:

Basic rights that fundamentally and inherently belong to each individual. Human rights are freedoms established by custom or international agreement that impose standards of conduct on all nations. Human rights are distinct from civil liberties, which are freedoms established by the law of a particular state and applied by that state in its own jurisdiction. Specific human rights include the right to personal liberty and Due Process of Law; to freedom of thought, expression, religion, organization, and movement; to freedom from discrimination on the basis of race, religion, age, language, and sex; to basic education; to employment; and to property. Human rights laws have been defined by international conventions, by treaties, and by organizations particularly the United Nations. These laws prohibit practices such as torture, Slavery, summary execution without trial, and arbitrary detention or exile.

We note from the above that, freedom of thought and expression is one part of human right that an individual possess fundamentally and inherently. As Merrill & Blevens (2008, p. 26) the press's autonomous freedom needs to be handed over to the public for use in the public interest,

not in the narrow interests of profit-making private interests. In the libertarian press, the public was virtually powerless; in the communitarian press, the public would have the power and also the positive freedom to use this power. Considering this statement, if press freedom need is mandatory to the people of a specific country, in other words it indicates that the press will be entertaining diverse ideas and ideologies. In this respect, the issue of media pluralism, both structural and content wise, will be brought up.

2.2 Media Pluralism

2.2.1 Understanding Media Pluralism

As stated in CMPF Policy report (2013) the importance of media freedom and media pluralism arise in relation to the pluralistic democratic political system. Media freedom and pluralism are both a result and a guarantee of efficient and legitimate democratic rule. However, as it has been cited in Moris (2012, p.3) Tambini wrote that for an idea to be effective in policy and regulation it must be clearly defined. Media pluralism is not and this is a central challenge.

The idea that either reducing media concentration or increasing competition will lead to increased content diversity and the idea that increasing content provision will lead to increased consumption. As it has been depicted by (Media Pluralism in member states of the EU, 2007), media pluralism is a concept that embraces a number of aspects such as: diversity of ownership, variety in the sources of information and in the range of contents available in different member states. Some think that pluralism is only a plurality of ownership. On this regards plurality of viewpoints is excluded.

Hence, in order to have a clear understanding of pluralism, it is import to have a brief definition of the terms ‘pluralism’, ‘plurality’ and ‘diversity’.

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary meaning:

Plurality means: a number of votes cast for a candidate in a contest of more than two candidates that is greater than the number cast for any other candidate but not more than half the total votes cast; a state of being plural.

Pluralism means: a state of society in which members of diverse ethnic, racial, religious, or social groups maintain and develop their traditional culture or special interest within the confines of a common civilization.

Diversity means: the condition of having or being composed of differing elements: variety; especially; the inclusion of different types of people (as people of different races or cultures) in a group or organization.

Having said the above independent, raw, word definitions, different scholars have defined media pluralism in different ways:

Boyle (2002) Defines media pluralism as:

The term generally associated with diversity in the media; the presence of a number of different and independent voices, and of different political opinions and representations of culture within media.

However Boyle’s definition has some limitations. His concern is much on the content of the media. However, there are several factors, other than the content, that affects media pluralism practices. On the other hand, the European Council Committee of Experts on Media Concentrations and Pluralism (MM-CM) has defined pluralism in the following terms:

Media pluralism should be understood as diversity of media supply, reflected, for example in the existence of a plurality of independent and autonomous media and a diversity of media contents available to the public.

As can be seen from the above, according to the definition of MM-CM, pluralism is all about the diversity within what is made available, rather than within what is consumed. The EU Commission staff working paper, (Media Pluralism in member states of the EU, 2007), suggests that media pluralism implies that all measures that ensure citizens access to variety of information sources, opinion, voice etc, in order to form their opinion without the undue influence of one dominant opinion forming power.

A basic symmetry is seen to exist between media institutions and their audiences, since in McQuail's words, the 'relationship is generally entered into voluntarily and on apparently equal terms'. Audiences are seen as capable of manipulating the media in an infinite variety of ways according to their prior needs and dispositions and as having access to what Halloran calls 'the plural values of society' enabling them to 'conform, accommodate or reject'. Curran and Gurevitch (1977) explains the pluralistic society as a complex of competing groups and interests, none of them predominant all the time. On that other hand, Asuizzaman (2010, p. 5) argues that Pluralism is not diversity alone, but the energetic engagement with diversity. It is not just tolerance, but the active seeking of understanding across the lines of difference. Pluralism is based on dialogue but dialogue does not mean that everyone at the 'table' will agree with one another. Pluralism involves the commitment to being at the table –with one's commitments.

According to the European Commission councils that assuring pluralism in the media involves adopting measures that ensure access by citizens to a variety of sources of news, opinions, voices, etc. to allow them to form their own opinions “without the undue influence of one dominant public opinion forming power.

On his study of pluralism, Hitchens (2006) mentioned that there are four dimension that need to be taken into account: the existence of different types of media structure and services, the plurality of ownership, the diversity of opinions reflected by the media, and the variety of programs types and genres, including both news and entertainment content. As per Hitchens description, media pluralism is an idea that encompasses diversity of media type, ownership, content and genres.

In the same token, Karstens (2009) definition encompasses almost all ideas of the former scholars mentioned in this section. He suggested both the internal and external practices that either directly or indirectly affect media pluralism practices. In short, in his view pluralism of the media means a media structure that is: comprised of competing media outlets which are independent from each other, a central owner, or other influence; diversified on separate but overlapping planes of ownership, political views, cultural outlooks and regional interests; able to communicate to all corners of society; capable of conveying a great variety of information and opinion and designed to draw information from a wealth of different sources. Therefore, as this definition comprehends all dimensions of pluralism, this has been considered as an operation definition of this research paper

2.2.2 Types of Pluralism

The way in which the media house is structured is explained by External Pluralism while the content has been explained and justified using Internal Pluralism. Pluralism as explained by Hitchens (2006) both American and Australian uses the term diversity in the place of pluralism where as in the UK context pluralism is for external and diversity is for internal.

Having said that, adhering to the difference between internal and external pluralism, an internal pluralism will tell us content variety and genre types of a single medium. On the other hand external pluralism is diversity in media organization structure and also media type. In order to monitor both types of pluralism, we use structural regulation for the later and content regulation for the previous type of pluralism Klimkiewicz (2010, pp. 906-907).

2.2.2.1 Internal Pluralism: deliberation, participation, and democracy

Internal pluralism reflects how social and political diversity are reflected in media content. That is, the representation of different cultural groups in the media as well as divergent political or ideological opinions and viewpoints. Internal pluralism plays an important role in news and public affairs coverage, and also for public broadcasting and media landscapes dominated by one (monopoly) or two (duopoly) players. Governments can not only stimulate internal pluralism by facilitating public service broadcasting, but also by means of financial support such as grants, press funds, reduced tax rates, etc. (ibid)

On his speech, Pat Rabbitte TD, an Irish Labour Party politician, who was Minister for Communication, Energy and Natural Resource has said that:

In an age where we are exposed to a barrage of media electronic paper, broadcast, where media is so pervasive that it becomes part of our mental wallpaper, it is often easy to forget how important media is to our society and for our Democracy. He also stated that; an active, robust and diverse media sector, both in terms of ownership and content is therefore a key prerequisite for any modern democratic society. Diversity of content-ensuring that the full spectrum of view, interests and concerns prevalent in Irish society are represented full in media.

Also as stated in the Central European Journal of Communication 2 (2013) pluralism of ideas and world views, political and religious ideas and interests should be presented to the public in an unbiased and respectful way. McQuail also mentioned the importance of impartiality and balance in reporting of different views as variable of internal pluralism in the media.

Ethiopia having a multi-party system, has been following a parliamentary system rather than a presidential for more than two decades. It is true that it is only an informed society that can participate in political, economic, or related issues of the country. Hence, a given society's democracy and the availability of pluralistic media are inter-related subjects. A nation would almost be crippled to use democracy if not supplied with a well-balanced information.

In understanding the nature of media pluralism, the political context of the media system has an important role. In a document produced by Government Communications Affairs Office titled Developmental Media, Communication and Ethiopian Renaissance (2012) -the media's role in

democracy is diverse. After all, it acts as additional mechanism to check and balance on government activities; creates an enabling environment for accountability when public figures stray from the track and provides issues for public discussion by inviting citizens to actively participate in the issue of their country. In such scenario media can strengthen and benefit democracy. However, if the media fails to accomplish these responsibilities, and instead acts as mouthpiece for the interest of particular group such as the government or large corporations, it does not only fail to do its role to secure democratic governance, but it can also undermine it.

A vibrant democracy needs an independent and pluralistic media. Here, independent means media independent from governmental, political or economic control or from control of materials and infrastructure essential for the production and dissemination of media products and programs. By this process, 'public opinion' forms and influences government. The media then seen as essential to the operation of a public sphere of open debate. The press constituted a public sphere in which an open political debate could take place Curran and Gurevitch (2000).

In general, in the process of building democracy, in the progression of creating a participatory government, particularly in developing countries, by its very nature, the media should be plural to entertain different viewpoints, voices and culture. The result of pluralism include not only a distinctive type of political theory but also distinctive conceptions of (inter alia) public culture, public philosophy, constitutionalism, deliberation, public policy, democracy and free association.

2.2.3 Determinates of Pluralism

Independent study on indicators for Media Pluralism in the Member States, prepared for the European Commission Directorate-General Information Society (2009), identifies five dimensions of media pluralism. These are political pluralism, cultural Pluralism, geographic/local pluralism, pluralism of media ownership and control, pluralism of media types and genres. The researcher have explained only the following three major determinates and more specifically elaborated the Political pluralism for this specific research purpose,

Pluralism of media ownership and control: For functionalists, the relationship between ownership and control of the media centers on the importance of there being a range of views on offer through newspapers, magazines, television and so forth. In this respect, social stability is considered to be best-preserved by there being a reasonably wide range of different media from which people can choose. Specifically, ownership and control is seen as being separated. The function of owners (individuals or multiple shareholders) is an economic one, whilst the function of management (the controllers of media output) is one of ensuring the content of the media appeals to as wide a range of people as possible. Thus, highly popular publications (for example, daily newspapers selling millions of copies) sit alongside more-specialist publications.

Geographical/Local Pluralism in the Media Geographical pluralism in the media refers to fair and diverse representation of and expression by (i.e. passive and active access) local and regional communities and interests in the media. It comprises a plurality of themes and voices being present in the media, socialisation through multiple forms of media access and participation, choice between different forms of interaction, and representation of diverse values, viewpoints and roles, in which local and regional communities can be recognised. Such pluralism may be assessed through the spatial dimension, i.e. how media content is produced and distributed within local

Political Pluralism in the Media Political pluralism in the media refers to the fair and diverse representation of and expression by (i.e. passive and active access) various political and ideological groups, including minority viewpoints and interests, in the media. This definition is thus twofold: firstly it encompasses the capacity and possibility of all social segments, with their likely diverse political/ideological views and interests, As described in the EU Commission's report, within the scope of this definition of political pluralism, 'social segments' is to be understood beyond what is included in the cultural pluralism aspects of social features. Thus, 'social segments' include social groups with shared social characteristics such as class, age or other which are not relevant for the cultural pluralism dimension but form the basis for the creation of specific political interests, engagement and organisation (for instance trade unions, youth organisations etc.). To address/reach the public by means of media (whether owned by, or affiliated to them, or owned by third parties), and secondly it designates the spectrum of political and ideological viewpoints, opinions and interests covered by and represented in the media.

As per the report from an Assessment of Seven Districts of Uganda on The State of Political Pluralism and Democracy at Local Government Level, a critical requirement for the realisation of greater democratisation in any society is the practice of genuine political pluralism which also can be manifested in the embedment of a full-blown multi-party political dispensation at all levels of that society. It keeps on telling that for political pluralism to be successful, the environment in which it is to practice has to be one which allows it to work, i.e. there should be in existence a basis for multi-party politics. Secondly, the people need to be enjoying their civil and political liberties. Equally important, political pluralism requires that political parties not only exist at the local level, but also that they exercise internal democracy and have the strength to organise well and effectively at that level. Lastly, the role of civil society is important in promoting and ensuring the success of political pluralism

2.3 Theoretical framework

More traditionally, a theory has been defined as “a systematic abstraction of reality that serves some purpose ... A creative and rigorous structuring of ideas that project a tentative purposeful, and systematic view of phenomenon” Chinn and Kramer (1995: 72).

According to Imenda (2014, p. 187), it is not controversial to state that three people coming from different walks of life, watching the same event, are likely to come up with different interpretations of that event. Certainly, depending on “the spectacles” each one of them is “wearing” in viewing the event, they would each have a different “view” of the event. Each person’s view-point, or point of reference, is his/her conceptual or theoretical framework. This statement being interpreted in a research world, conceptual or theoretical framework is the soul of every research paper. It (conceptual or theoretical framework) determines how a given

researcher formulates his/ her research problem – and how s/he goes about investigating the problem, and what meaning s/ he attaches to the data accruing from such an investigation.

Hence, the next section of this research will be discussing the frameworks that are important in explaining this research paper. These are Habermasian public sphere theory, Polarized Pluralist model and political economy of media in which these three have direct relation in explaining the existence of pluralism and the agenda setting theory which indirectly explains the practice by discussing the presentation of the news.

2.3.1 Political Economy of Media

To put recent work by economists into perspective, some short background on media research in other fields may be helpful. Modern empirical research on mass media effects began in the 1930s, partly motivated by Hitler's and Mussolini seemingly effective use of media in their propaganda and the simultaneous rapid increase in radio use Prat & Strömberg (2013). McCombs and Shaw also argued that, in response to the minimal effects findings, researchers developed new theories of media influence that do not rely on people receiving information that conflicts with their prior beliefs. Agenda setting theory refers to the idea that media coverage of an issue makes people believe that this issue is important.

Again, according to Prat & Strömberg (2013) the political economy contributions tend to be characterized by a number of elements. First, in contrast to most previous work, economic models of media influence tend to focus on the informational role of mass media, on the premise that information makes a difference to how people vote and that mass media provide the bulk of

the information that people use in elections. A second and related innovation is the focus on economic outcomes. As in most political economy, the final objective of interest is not the behavior of the political system but its outcome in terms of variables, such as public goods provision, that directly enter the citizens preferences. Third, economists have emphasized the use of formal game theory for modeling interactions within the media industry and between the media and other agents.

As cited Kuzyk, McCluskey, & Ross (2005) “Because of its unique role in transmitting information to mass audiences, mass media is likely to affect policies.” Mass media can potentially awaken the sleeping masses to the dispersed costs of a policy and raise resentment toward the group that benefits. While arguing regarding plurality in terms of transparency Prat & Strömberg start with questioning “what type of information are beneficial to the function of a democracy?” then comes the elaboration. Naturally, some types are intrinsically bad, like personal details of regular citizens or intelligence that could jeopardize national interests. While defining the scope of privacy protection and national security can be difficult in practice, there is general agreement that these exceptions should not prevent the media from reporting freely on government activity, except in very special circumstances. Potentially more important is the possibility that more information about government activities may actually create perverse incentives for politicians which will, in the end, hurt the voters.

In countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, makes it clear that the media serve the ends of a dominant elite. It is much more difficult to see a propaganda system at work

where the media are private and formal censorship is absent. This is especially true where the media actively compete, periodically attack and expose corporate and governmental malfeasance, and aggressively portray themselves as spokesmen for free speech and the general community interest. What is not evident (and remains undiscussed in the media) is the limited nature of such critiques, as well as the huge inequality in command of resources, and its effect both on access to a private media system and on its behavior and performance.

Within this overall framework, the mass media make important contributions to the maintenance of democracy. The Press is privately owned and relatively free of state control so that there is far more freedom of the press to criticize government than was the case in former Communist societies. Therefore, pluralism in collaboration with liberal media theory – or liberal Pluralism is the identified framework for analyzing the accessibility of the media by various groups. Consequently, political economy of media theory is identified as a proper framework for analyzing the power implication of this.

2.3.2 Polarized Pluralist Model

As cited in Richani (2012, p. 1) Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini's *Comparing Media Systems* (2004) has come to be regarded as a 'seminal work' in the field of media studies. Despite some criticism levelled at the models and the theoretical framework, researchers around the world have attempted to 'fit' their regions or countries of study in one of the three models put forth with some trying to adapt the framework and models accordingly.

In comparing media systems, Hallin and Mancini sought to determine the relation between media and politics by comparatively analysing 18 media systems in North America and Western Europe. They propose a framework consisting of four principal dimensions:

1. The development of media markets, with particular emphasis on the history or weak development of a mass circulation press;
2. Political parallelism- that is the degree and nature of the links between the media and political parties or more broadly, the extent to which the media system reflects the major political divisions in society;
3. The development of journalistic professionalism
4. The degree and nature of state intervention in the media system

In line with these dimensions, Hallin and Mancini distinguish between three different models or “ideal types” of media systems, the Polarized Pluralist, the Democratic Corporatist and the Liberal models. The authors also argue that the differences among their three models have substantially decreased over time and that the media systems in Europe, namely the Polarised Pluralist and the Democratic Corporatist, despite persistent differences, are converging towards the Liberal model as best exemplified by the US commercialised media system.

In the eyes of the four principal dimensions, these scholars explain the polarized pluralist model as follows:

- Freedom of the press and the development of commercial media industries generally came late
- High political parallelism
- Power and authority within news organizations has been more openly contested in the polarized pluralist system

- The state plays a large role as an owner, regulator, and funder of media, through its capacity are characterised by a particularly rapid and uncontrolled transition from state controlled to commercial broadcasting
- The patterns are rooted to a large extent in the high degree of ideological diversity and conflict that characterised these southern European countries and which in turn is rooted in delayed development of liberal institutions.

Here, the chronically weak financial state of newspapers, their elite orientation and limited readership, and their deeply engraved literary roots have led to a greater emphasis on interpretation and commentary than factual reporting Mancini. According to many accounts, the Italian and French journalistic tradition has been to mix news and views and to prioritize opinion over reportage (Chalaby, 1996; Kuhn, 2007; Mancini, 2000, 2007). The greater dependence on state aid and political favoring, strong press-party ties and the late development of journalism as an independent profession have made scrutinizing watchdog reporting (i.e., media-initiated negativity) less likely. On the other hand the media's intricate involvement with a polarized system that is characterized by internal conflicts and which uses the media as instruments in political disputes makes coverage of ideological confrontations (i.e. politician-initiated negativity) more likely.

As it has been explained above, this model is a result of extremists' outlook which is a direct impact of the scarcity of information in a given society. When a society lacks adequate information on single issue, then it will, somehow look for an alternative voice, which might have the notion of extremists ideology.

2.3.3 Agenda Setting Theory

The emerging body of research on framing, agenda setting, and priming has signaled the latest paradigm shift in political-communication research. Scholars of mass communication often suggest that the field passed through a series of paradigms in the 20th century McQuail (2005). Agenda setting refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues (e.g., based on relative placement or amount of coverage) and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences McCombs & Shaw (1972).

The principal outlines of this influence were sketched by Walter Lippmann in his 1922 classic, *Public Opinion*, which began with a chapter titled “The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads.” As he noted, the news media are a primary source of those pictures in our heads about the larger world of public affairs, a world that for most citizens is “out of reach, out of sight, out of mind.” What we know about the world is largely based on what the media decide to tell us. According to (McCombs) the power of the news media to set a nation’s agenda, to focus public attention on a few key public issues, is an immense and well-documented influence. Not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news. Newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news – lead story on page one, other front page display, large headlines, etc. Television news also offers numerous cues about salience – the opening story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story, etc.

The agenda-setting influence of the news media is not limited to the initial step of focusing public attention on a particular topic. The media also influence the next step in the communication process, our understanding and perspective on the topics in the news.

(McCombs) States elaborated the abstract idea of Agenda setting theory as follows:

For all the agendas we have discussed, the objects are public issues, but they could be other items or topics, such as the agenda of political candidates during an election. The objects are the things on which the attention of the media and the public are focused. In turn, each of these objects has numerous attributes, those characteristics and traits that describe the object. For each object there also is an agenda of attributes because when the media and the public think and talk about an object, some attributes are emphasized, others are given less attention, and many receive no attention at all. This agenda of attributes is another aspect of the agenda-setting role of the news media.

Rogers and Dearing's (1988), as cited in Johnson-Cartee, (2005, p. 17) produced their media agenda-setting research discoveries as follows:

- (1) The mass media influence the public agenda.
- (2) An understanding of media agenda setting is a necessary requisite to comprehending how the mass media agenda influences the public agenda.
- (3) The public agenda, once set by, or reflected by, the media agenda influences the policy agenda of elite decision makers, and, in some cases, policy implementation.
- (4) The media agenda seems to have direct, sometimes strong, influence upon the policy agenda of elite decision makers, and, in some cases, policy implementation.
- (5) For some issues the policy agenda seems to have a direct, sometimes strong, influence upon the media agenda.

What we can see from the above literary sayings is that, it is undeniable that the media's reporting is often in a state of inclusion or exclusion, favoring or disfavoring various issues for various reasons. Under such circumstances, the mass media can influence individuals, the public, governments and other groups by shaping their agenda through giving more emphasis to some issues while disregarding others. However, while saying that, we also should consider that some aspects which have direct impact to the nation's interest be considered in manners out of this.

2.3.3.1 The Impact of News Sources on Media Agenda

According to Reese (pp. 301-309), he has made a firm resemblance between the god Janus from Roman mythology and the agenda of issues. The god Janus could look into two directions at once. Appropriately, his name was given to the first month of the year which stands between the New Year and the old. Similarly, the agenda of issues and events found in the news media assumes a similar forward and backward looking stance. This media agenda simultaneously projects forward a powerful structuring effect on audience perceptions, while itself indicating the powerful influences behind its creation.

By focusing on the influences, the agenda-setting-approach implicitly adopts the pluralistic values of democratic theory, bringing public opinion to center stages. As the analysis of news sources takes an important step beyond a strictly "topical" description of content, by identifying "whose" agenda is being promoted. This approach assumes that source selection largely determine how stories are framed and the tone they will take, whether quoted directly or not.

Having said all the above explanations, regarding the agenda setting theory, it doesn't tell us the existence of pluralism, however it tell us about the how it is being affected by the practice. Therefore, the Agenda setting theory of mass media, as a supportive theory, is one of the frameworks used to analyse this research paper.

2.3.4 Media Development in Ethiopia

As cited in Shimelis (2000), Deneke explained that Ethiopia is one of the few countries in Africa with an early lead in developing its own script written literature. In spite of this, however, the number of publications of both a religious and secular nature was incomparably low. When it comes to the production of magazines, newspapers and other periodicals, the country was a late comer. As it has been elaborated in the work of Skjerdal (2012) the first Ethiopian newspaper came to birth around year 1900. The exact year and name of the earliest newspaper is, however, uncertain. Principally, three publications could qualify as the first press product: (a) The weekly *Le Semaine d'Ethiopie* ('Ethiopian weekly'), was distributed in Harar in 1905, but it may have appeared in the same city as early as 1884, 1888, 1890 or 1896, possibly under the name *Le Semeur d'Ethiopie* ('the Ethiopian sower'). Despite this facts Ethiopia is believed to have started writing since the fourth century and introduced the printing machine at the 17th century, the establishment of the mass media in the country has a very short history.

The period of military dictatorship from 1974 to 1991 was one of total government control of the media and the flow of information. As Shimelis (2000, p. 19) mentioned on his book, the assumption of power in 1991 by the EPRDF ushered in a period of fundamental transformation in the political economy of the country. As part of the democratization process, the EPRDF-led government conceded freedom of the press. This concession was granted concomitantly with the

new government's acceptance of the 1948 Universal Declaration of the United Nations (217 A/111), especially Article 19, which states: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. Following the government's concession, an incredibly large number of newspapers and other periodicals burgeoned, with ownership ranging from party/government through public and professional associations to the private sector. Of this the share of independently-owned papers and magazines reached 287 by 1997 (1989 E.C.) (Tedbabe, 1990 E.C.: 32). However after 1997EC unrest due to the election result, almost all the private printing press has vanished, four strived to go forward until recent times two have succeeded to date.

On his research Tamerat (2015, p. 65) also mentioned another Article by the Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expressions in Africa regarding Independence of Media Regulatory Bodies as this:

- (a) Any public authority that exercises powers in the areas of broadcast or telecommunications regulation should be independent and adequately protected against interference, particularly of a political or economic nature
- (b) The appointments process for members of a regulatory body should be open and transparent, involve the participation of civil society and shall not be controlled by any particular political party
- (c) Any public authority that exercises power in the areas of broadcast of telecommunication should be formally accountable to the public through a multiparty body

Accordingly, Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority is the monitoring body of the overall broadcasting medium in the County. The objective of the Authority shall be to ensure the expansion of a high standard, prompt and reliable broadcasting service that can contribute to political, social and economic development and regulate same. On the same manner the Authority has the power and duties to issue, suspend and cancel broadcasting service licenses of those medium who failed to meet the objectives of the Authority.

Under the Proclamation No.533/2007, a proclamation on broadcasting services, on part four, Article 30 states as follows:

1. Any program to be transmitted shall reflect different and balanced viewpoints to serve the public at large.
2. The accuracy of the content and source of any program to be transmitted shall be ascertained

Having stated the above Article, the Authority has also placed a check and balance method for punishing those medium who have violated the above stated Article. Consequently, part six, Article 45, states the penalty of any person or medium found guilty of violating Article 30 as follows:

Unless punishable with more severe penalty under the Criminal Code, any person found guilty of violating Sub –Article (1), (2) or (3) of Article 30 this Proclamation shall be punishable with a fines not less than Birr 10,000 and not exceeding Birr 50,000.00

Besides its power of ensuring the broadcasting service in the above manner by its own assessment from the programs that have been transmitted, the Authority accepts complaints arising from the society, governmental or non-governmental organizations and others who

thought directly or indirectly being affected by a single program. The Authority has its own Standard Format for gathering the complaints. The forms are Annexed to this research paper as **Annex IX** and **Annex X**.

After receiving the complaints and make the decision, the Broadcasting Authority again request the complaining body the reaction towards the Authority's decision and the procedures used at the time. As the Officials from the Authority described it, they use this method for the check and balance for further strengthening of the function of the Authority. This same assessment sheet is also annexed to this research paper as **Annex XI**.

As the research done by the Government Communication Affairs Office, the development of the history of the Ethiopian Broadcast media should be seen in four different era: (a) The first era (1895-1928EC), (b) Second era, in the Italian Regime (1928-1933EC), (c) The third era, the Derug Regime (1928-1933EC) and (d) the fourth era, EPRDF (1983 to date). The first provisional radio station was inaugurated in 1933 in a contract signed with an Italian Company. The Italiano handed over the installation, but retrieved it soon following the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1938. Short Waves broadcasting was resumed in 1941 and then in the subsequent years, Radio Ethiopia operated from three location – Addis Ababa, Harar and Asmara broadcast in six languages. Radio Ethiopia, which now has both national and external services broadcast its programs in eight vernacular languages (English, French and Arabic).

Television broadcasting in Ethiopia began in the early 1960's. An educational TV broadcasting project was initiated in 1965 and by 1971 there were five programs covering a range of topics for students up to grade eight. It gradually expanded in to adult education and to cover the whole

of the country in 1981. Since 1991, Ethiopian Television (ETV) broadcasts its programs in three vernacular languages and English. ETV also has started additional channels known as ETV2 and ETV3. At the start of this channel TV Africa was broadcasting its programs to Addis and its surrounding audience. But, currently is transmitting programs prepared by Addis Ababa city media agency. According to the research paper prepared by the Ethiopian Broadcast Authority on the broadcast services and use, ETV was first established by the British Company called Tomson in 1957EC. At that time, the mission was to transmit the AU summits that was held in Addis that same year. That black and white transmission was not able to cover distance more than 20 miles.

2.3.5 Developmental Journalism and Ethiopian Media

As it has been dealt by Daorueng (2014, p. 243) when the term 'development journalism' was born a few decades ago, the world was moving on a different path from today. Then, there were clear and distinct zones into which countries and regions were divided. Economically, countries were classed as 'developed' and 'underdeveloped'. The former existed in the West, the latter in other parts of the globe. Communist and non-Communist nations were clearly presented, giving a clear distinction between the two camps in world politics. Development journalism was first introduced in a global context much less complicated than that of today. The clear political and economic divisions gave people much simpler attitudes and ways of life compared to what we have in the 21st century. The media, like most public institutions, functioned within a much different atmosphere. Nevertheless, development journalism, when first introduced, triggered a heated debate on how journalism should be practiced.

Development journalism had different definitions in different contexts. In some places it meant the communication process being used as a tool to serve the development goals of the state. Journalism, which was practiced by all forms of media, played the same role in promoting the total development plans of a government. Some as Vital (2000, p. 35) defines it as a form of mass communication which intends to promote development; by imparting ideas cultivating attitude teaching the skills a developing county needs. On the other hand V. Desai (2008), from the Indian Institute of Mass Communication concluded that development journalism is all about news bearing on development policies and activities news related to agricultural development.

Generally, the above definitions fail to deal with:

1. A specific topic and especially do not differentiate between development communication and development journalism which creates confusion in the readers mind.
2. Fundamental issues of government interference or non-interference in the process of news dissemination; and
3. Finally the perspectives of the working journalist

However, a more professional definition of development journalism, as well used as operational definition for this research is, from Daorueng (2014) goes as this:

Development journalism was treated as being similar to investigative journalism.

Journalists who wished to make a legitimate report on development issues needed a critical view to examine them. In this case, journalists had a task to observe critically and report on the whole government development process, which included planning, implementation, impact and shortcomings as they were. The role of journalists was not to support the state development goals without

question. Instead, it was to make sure that the development process was accountable and transparent.

In the same token (Kayode, p. 4) justifies the role of developmental journalism as those who bring attention to issues that are overlooked or under represented by other media and by international political community. In line, he also mentioned that, on the development model of journalism, it's main actors are ordinary people rather than official figures. While understanding the above scholarly thoughts, as a tool for social justice, development journalism can be very valuable. By speaking for those who cannot, a development journalist can inform the rest of the world about important issues within developing nations.

On the other hand (Merican) argued that there seems to be no final definition on development, as also on development journalism. Consequently, by implication, it is difficult to find individual case of national media systems in the so-called newly independent nations that clearly exemplify the "development media theory". Unlike to his thoughts, (Hachten, 1981: Mcquail1984) stated that the media is to serve national development goals of economic development and political integration. However, despite some common perceptions, both the proponents and critics of development journalism are not always clear about it's concept and method of application to any particular setting.

Because of this ambiguity, some government can also use the idea of "development" to restrict freedom of speech for journalists. Journalists are told not to report on certain issues because it will bring a negative impact to the "development" of the nation in question, and therefore citizens are not actually being given access to the whole picture (Kayode). Dependency –dissociation

paradigm and development journalism are associated the evaluation of the aspirations of the newly independent nations of the Third World for political, economic and cultural self-determination and an ideological distancing from Western forms of medetrainization. In the tradition of dependency-dissociation, Nkrumah of Ghana, Nyerere of Tanzania and Kaunda of Zambia exposed the 'revolutionary theory' of the press. This 'theory' entailed greater state control of the media, a departure from the private ownership of media evident in the colonial period.

When we come to the Ethiopian context according to (Skjerdal, Development journalism revived: The case of Ethiopia, 2011, p. 68), journalist in the Ethiopian state media appear to be well aware of the development journalism policy. Most of them took courses, attended seminars and trainings related thereto. As employees of the state media institutions, the editors and reporters have always acknowledge that an important part of their function is to support national progress and development. But he firmly criticized that the model has been misused and misinterpreted which ends up to be the mouth piece of the government which only articulates the government success.

3 CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section of the research will be dealing with the methodology that has been taken in order to peruse the study. The main points that are going to be dealt are the designs of the study, data sources, sampling technics used, data collection tools other related matters.

3.1 Design of the Study

This research has deployed quantitative content analytic approach as a pivotal research method, while adding a qualitative method of in-depth interview to it. According to Gray (2004); Hansen et al., 1998; Wimmer & Dominick (2006) using such pair of methods is commonly known as ‘triangulation’ or “mixed methods” approach, which is helpful in mitigating and/or compensating one method’s weaknesses/disadvantages by the strengths/advantages of the other. However, Trochim (2006) argued that, despite the fundamental philosophical differences between qualitative and quantitative research methods, in practice however, there is little difference in between them, chiefly for the following two reasons: “All qualitative data can be coded quantitatively, and all quantitative data is based on qualitative judgment.” For this reason, qualitative is not to be taken as an opposite of quantitative and vice-versa. Therefore, these methods of enquiry are not absolutely exclusive or unconnected to each other.

In the coming section, the reason for choosing the above methodology and its direct relation to the research will be discussed.

3.2 Data Source

During the two regimes of Ethiopia, that is, the Emperor and the Dergue, television and radio have been monopolized by government, except for a recent, the EPRDF, effort to provide license for 53 FM stations, 15SW and MW in a total of 68 radio stations. For this specific research, the researcher choose the three stations that are FM102.1, National Radio and FM98.1 for the following reasons:

1. The population of Ethiopia has reached to 94,000,102 by having the global population rank of 13 as of July 15, 2014 <http://www.worldometers.info/> 2015. Having said that, the country's media history hasn't developed much and hence the most widely used medium in the country is still radio. In developing countries like Ethiopia, where the illiteracy rate is so high, radio has the potential to reach millions. McLeish enlists some of the benefits the medium offers as follows: (a) It acts as a multiplier of change, speeding up the process of informing a population, and heightening an awareness of key issues. (b) It acts as a watchdog on power holders, providing contact between them and the public. (c) It disseminates ideas. These may be radical, leading to new beliefs and values, so promoting diversity and change-or they may reinforce traditional values, so helping to maintain social order through the statuesque. It enables individuals and groups to speak to each other, developing an awareness of a common membership of society.

2. As it has been discussed earlier, despite the fact that the concern of this paper is internal pluralism, the external pluralism of a broadcasting media plays a vital role on its content diversity. Therefore, these three selected stations have different media structure and also different legal entity, private, public and somehow in-between.
3. According to the research paper made by (EBA, 2006EC), for the radio media market share 98.1 takes the lead by having 52% of listeners while 102.1 follows by 49%. In spite of the fact that the National radio has only 11% and ranking 6th of the audience market share according to the research, by having 8 stations for transmission, it reaches every corner of the country.
4. The reason for choosing the night prime time news session is that, according to the EBA research paper 59% of listeners to radio uses their home to listen to radio programs. Moreover, as the audience assessment made by the Authority elaborates, from all the programs of the stations, the No.1 program that has 58.1% of audience market share is news and current affairs. For that, the researcher of this theses found it feasible to choose the prime time news session.

The participants of the in-depth interview were selected based on their relevance to the media and the pluralist concept of the same in the Ethiopian Broadcasting media. The first groups will be the media directors/news directors of 102.1FM, 98.1FM and 97.1. Here the Broadcast Media Inspection Team leader from Ethiopian Broadcasting Agency has also been included. Second group are selected editors and reporters from each agencies. Third group will be representative from opposition party since the media political plurality directly affects diversified political

views in one country. Therefore, by choosing the two most popular opposition parties, EDP and Medrek, one representative from each took part in the in-depth interview.

3.2.1 Rationalizing the key informants

(a) Media Managers of the Stations:- The media managers are the key personnel in passing the editorial policy of that specific stations. In doing so, they know the pros and cons of the policies passed by them in respect to the media contents, especially in news coverage for this specific paper. Therefore, it worth interviewing the media managers.

(b) Broadcast Media Inspection Team leader from Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority:-

Since EBA is the overall monitoring and licensing body of the media houses, both in their content as well as performance, the Authority's say to this research paper is mandatory.

(c) Selected Editors and reporters from each stations: Editors have the first hand to choose news piece as well as presenting. Their way of selection, prioritization as well as news discard justification filled the gap for the "why" part of the thesis. On the other hand reporters are those who have the first-hand experience on such matters.

(d) Opposition party leaders: The very first existence of multi-party system denotes that there exists diversified and different political thoughts and ideologies. The researcher only chooses two of the parties, Medrek and EDP for the interview from other opposition parties. The rationale behind the selection is that these two parties are the oldest of all the

existing opposition parties and have also at least participated the previous Ethiopian National Election 2002EC (2010GC)

3.3 Sampling Techniques and procedure

Sampling reduces the whole of available objects of analysis to a manageable corpus which is representative of the whole set. As such, it is about constructing the size of the sample as much as about finding appropriate sampling techniques. Different objects of analysis may require different sampling techniques that are applicable to that object (e.g. text-based such as Web pages or transcripts, or visual such as photographs or movies). As Krippendorff (2004, P. 113) notes, statistical sampling theory offers so-called probability sampling techniques, which are designed to ensure that all sampling units have the same chance to be included in the sample. The techniques he identifies as applicable to texts are random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling, varying probability sampling, cluster sampling, snowball sampling, relevance sampling, census, and convenience sampling.

In this study the researcher selected three broadcasting agencies night session news for a period of six month time from August 1, 2014GC to January 31, 2015GC. In this regards, the news samples taken are for the whole week, meaning from Sunday to Saturday. The Broadcasting stations that are selected for this research are, FM102.1, FM98.1 and FM97.1.

The reason for choosing the six month time (August 2014 GC to January 2015GC) is clear. That is, since the Ethiopian 2007 pre-election advocacy starts from early 2007E.C, it will help us to compare the pluralistic views entertained in those media before and during pre-election process. Moreover, since, media is the basic medium for any election process campaign, it will help to

analyze whether a fair and equal information has been given to the nation for making reasonable and oriented decision during the election process.

As it can be deduced from the above information, considering the total evening news transmission of all the three stations for six months will be highly time taking. Therefore, by considering the time constraint, the researcher choose to take news every other three days. Here the sampling technique used is systematic sampling. To use the systematic approach, simply choose every K^{th} member in the population where K is equal to the population size divided by the required sample size. In this manner, in the six month time, by taking every other three days news into consideration, for one station the researcher took a total of 46 news sessions and for the whole stations $46 \times 3 = 138$. Finally 351 local political news items were found for further analysis. After analyzing this sum profoundly, the reliability of the result was crosschecked using the in-depth interview as mentioned in the above section.

3.4 Data Collection Instrument

3.4.1 Content Analysis

Sociologists have been interested in mass media content since the early 20th century, starting with Max Weber who saw media content as a means of monitoring the 'cultural temperature' of society (Hansen, Cottle, Negrine & Newbold, 1998, p. 92). Content analysis is used to study a broad range of 'texts' from transcripts of interviews and discussions in clinical and social research to the narrative and form of films, TV programs and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines.

Media content analysis was introduced as a systematic method to study mass media by Harold Lasswell (1927), initially to study propaganda. Media content analysis became increasingly popular as a research methodology during the 1920s and 1930s for investigating the rapidly expanding communication content of movies. The term Content Analysis is 75 years old, and Webster's Dictionary of English language listed it since 1961. According to (Prasad), Content Analysis has been considered as full-fledged scientific method during the World War II when the US government sponsored a project under the dictatorship of Harold Lasswell to evaluate enemy propaganda. Later on the method spread to other decillions.

The arrival of television has opened much space of the content analysis research methodology to be practiced don the mass communication and media sectors. Below, we have some definitions of Content Analysis as cited on Asia Pacific Public Relations journal 6(1):

- Content analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within text" (Stone, Dunphy, Smith & Ogilvie, 1996, with credit given to Holsti, p. 5);
- In more contemporary times, Weber (1990) says: "Content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text" (p. 9);
- Berger (1991) says: "Content analysis ... is a research technique that is based on measuring the amount of something (violence, negative portrayals of women, or whatever) in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular form of art"
- Neuman (1997) lists content analysis as a key non-reactive research methodology (i.e. non-intrusive) and describes it as: "A technique for gathering and analyzing the content of text. The 'content' refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any

message that can be communicated. The 'text' is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication” ;

However, a widely used definition of content analysis which illustrates the early focus on *quantitative* analysis was provided by Berelson (1952) who described it as a “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.

A careful examination of the definition of the method show emphasis placed on aspects such as system, objectivity, quantification, context and validity - with reference to the inferences drawn from the communication content about the sender, the message or the receiver of the message. Thus, content analysis is all about making valid, Content Analysis. A method of Social Science Research replicable and objective inferences about the message on the basis of explicit rules. The material for the content analysis can be letters, diaries, newspaper content, folk songs, short stories, and messages of Radio, Television, documents, texts or any symbols.

From the above we can deduce that Content Analysis is described as the scientific study of content of communication. It is the study of the content with reference to the meanings, contexts and intentions contained in messages. As we can see content tells us what is contained and Content Analysis help us to recognize what is contained in the message.

3.4.1.1 Steps in Content Analysis:

A researcher who wishes to undertake a study using content analysis must deal with four methodological issues: selection of units of analysis, developing categories, sampling appropriate content, and checking reliability of coding Stempel (1989).

More specifically studies using content analysis usually involve the following six steps:

1. Formulation of the research question or objectives
2. Selection of communication content and sample
3. Developing content categories
4. Finalizing units of analysis
5. Preparing a coding schedule, pilot testing and checking inter coder reliabilities
6. Analyzing the collected data

(a)Content Categories

Content Categories are constructed in response to the query “what classification would most efficiently yield the data needed to answer the research questions raised?”

As cited in Devi Prasand, Berelson (1952:1470) rightly points out “content analysis stands or falls by its categories. Particular studies have been productive to the extent that the categories were clearly formulated and well adapted to the problem and the context.

Considering the sensitiveness of the content categories for the whole analysis, the researcher decided to use the hereunder categories. The respected operational definitions all categories are also give aside.

1. Content of the News: refers to the central ideology of the news content. The major themes related to the political pluralism were coded as: ruling party view, opposition parties view, external view and neutral.
2. News coverage extent: This refers to the emphases given to that particular news piece: News coverage were coded as: Headline, News in Brief and News with Reportage
3. Precedence of the news: This category indicates the sequence in which that particular news has been placed. The precedence were coded as prime time, middle and last session
4. Source of the news: The producers were coded as: staff reporter, government news agencies, information and communication center, foreign source, private sources and public
5. The Agenda: This refers to the main idea of the news and were coded as: war, development, foreign aid, opposition, social conflict, other
6. Participants in the story: - this category indicates some of the determinants of pluralism in the media. For this research the participants were coded as officials from the federal, „developed“ or „developing“ regional or zonal administrates, opposing political parties, civil societies and NGOS, grass roots in Addis Ababa or out of Addis.:
7. Source of the news: - Meaning that the individual or institution that has prepared and developed the news. The main types of producer were coded as; staff reporters from the main office or from the regional FM stations, news agencies, information and communication offices and mixed contributors.

(b) Unite of Analysis

Once the categories are identified and defined in terms of the research objectives, the content analyst asks two interrelated questions. They are:

- a. What unit of content is to be selected for classification under the categories? and
- b. What system of enumeration will be used?

The unit of analysis is the smallest unit of content that is coded into the content category. The units of analysis vary with the nature of data and the purpose of research. Thus, the unit of analysis might be a single word, a letter, a symbol, a theme (a single assertion about one subject), a news story, a short story, a character, an entire article, or an entire film or a piece of programme. As for Devi Prasand, the second question, in content analysis, the counting or quantification of the units is performed by using three methods of enumeration: a) space /time, b) frequency and c) intensity or direction. A unit of analysis can be measured in terms of space (for example, number of column inches) or time (minutes devoted to a news item on the TV). In the case of frequency, it is the number of times a given unit or theme figured in a body of text - is recorded. Intensity or direction implies the measurement of the direction of the symbolic meaning contained in the message

Krippendorff (1980) identifies five possible types of units:

- ***Physical units*** occupy an observable space in print media or time in audiovisual media..
- ***Syntactical units*** are units of language, such as words or sentences, for example the names of political candidates in Rafael's study of vehicle campaign stickers.
- ***Referential units*** refer to a person or an event, for example a specific cartoon character or an event such as drinking coffee.
- ***Propositional units*** are structures such as stories or dramas, for example a cartoon character rejecting an offer of alcohol.

- **Thematic units** are broad topics within a structure, such as relationships with the boss or peers, for example the continuing efforts of a son to have his father stop smoking, shown again and again over a series of comic strips.

Taking into account what has been said before, the unit of analysis for this specific study is combination of items and their themes in advance which represent the whole determinants of media pluralism in each news stories that explicitly or implicitly deals with practicing the concept of pluralism in the media. In terms of news content of the units of analysis; content of each news, coverage extent of the news, priority of the news, agenda of the news, the persons or the type of organizations involved in the news, the aim of the story, the source of the news and some other additional units were tested.

As cited in *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6(1), 1–34, Berelson (1952) suggested five main purposes of Content Analysis as follows:

- To describe substance characteristics of message content;
- To describe form characteristics of message content;
- To make inferences to producers of content;
- To make inferences to audiences of content;
- To predict the effects of content on audiences

As from the above elaboration, content analysis only tells us the “what” part of the content, what the message contains but not the “why” part of the message. In order to be able to narrow the gap of this effect, this research also used in-depth interview.

3.4.2 In-depth Interview

3.4.2.1 What is an In-Depth Interview?

According to the Pathfinder Guideline (2009), an In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation. For example, we might ask participants, staff, and others associated with a program about their experiences and expectations related to the program, the thoughts they have concerning program operations, processes, and outcomes, and about any changes they perceive in themselves as a result of their involvement in the program.

3.4.2.2 When are In-Depth Interviews Appropriate?

In-depth interviews are useful when we want detailed information about a person's or organization or specific programs. The primary advantage of in-depth interviews is that they provide much more detailed information than what is available through other data collection methods, such as surveys. They also may provide a more relaxed atmosphere in which to collect information—people may feel more comfortable having a conversation with you about their program as opposed to filling out a survey (Gunter, 2002)

However according to (Kumar et. al (2002), there are a few limitations and pitfalls, each of which is described below.

Prone to bias: Because program or clinic staff might want to “prove” that a program is working, their interview responses might be biased. Responses from community members and program participants could also be biased due to their stake in the program or for a number of other reasons. Every effort should be made to design a data collection effort, create instruments, and conduct interviews to allow for minimal bias.

Can be time-intensive: Interviews can be a time-intensive evaluation activity because of the time it takes to conduct interviews, transcribe them, and analyze the results. In planning your data collection effort, care must be taken to include time for transcription and analysis of this detailed data.

Interviewer must be appropriately trained in interviewing techniques: To provide the most detailed and rich data from an interviewee, the interviewer must make that person comfortable and appear interested in what they are saying. They must also be sure to use effective interview techniques, such as avoiding yes/no and leading questions, using appropriate body language, and keeping their personal opinions in check.

Not generalizable: When in-depth interviews are conducted, generalizations about the results are usually not able to be made because small samples are chosen and random sampling methods are not used. In-depth interviews however, provide valuable information for programs, particularly when supplementing other methods of data collection. It should be noted that the general rule on sample size for interviews is that when the same stories, themes, issues, and topics are emerging from the interviewees, then a sufficient sample size has been reached.

For this specific research paper the reason why we need the in-depth interview is because of the following reasons:

1. Plurality of a media has both direct and indirect relation with it's structural ownership. Therefore, since the Content Analysis couldn't examine the situation, in-depth interview will be conducted with the Media House owners and the Governmental Communication Agency Authority.

2. To get diversified views on the research topic and also to answer the “Why”, we should involve scholars from different sectors;
3. To make the Content Analysis result more firm and credible, we should use a triangulation method for reconfirmation of result. For that, we use in-depth interview.

3.5 Method of Data organizing and Analysis

The data analyses process began with the presentation of the findings of the selected media contents in terms of the previously described analytical categories. To describe the findings of the collected data, were coded using SPSS version20 software and further processed by the researcher using analytical methods and produced tables and figures. Following the preliminary data descriptions, the researcher has proceeded to analyse, interpret and compare the results and focus of the selected news coverage in relation to the issue of media pluralism.

Later, the findings from the in-depth interviews were analysed thematically, in terms of their major ideas or themes. The researcher has also tried to correlate the findings of the selected news along with their content analysis vis-à-vis the data gathered through an in-depth interview. In addition to these, some cues from the theoretical framework of this study and other previously conducted researches also used as additional inputs to fertile the analysis and discussion part.

3.6 Inter - Coder Reliability

According to Hayes & Krippendorff (2007, p. 3) in content analysis and similar methods, data are typically generated by trained human observers who record or transcribe textual, pictorial, or audible matter in terms suitable for analysis. Conclusions from such data can be trusted only

after demonstrating their reliability. Much communication research is based on data generated by human beings asked to make some kind of judgment. In content analysis, for example, people (for generality, henceforth referred to as observers) are employed in the systematic interpretation of textual, visual, or audible matter, such as newspaper editorials, television news, advertisements, public speeches, and other verbal or nonverbal units of analysis.

Reliability, generally, is the proportion of “real” information about a construct of interest captured by your measurement of it. For example, if someone reported the reliability of their measure was .8, you could conclude that 80% of the variability in the scores captured by that measure represented the construct, and 20% represented random variation. The more uniform your measurement, the higher reliability will be Landers (2011).

To know the degree of consistency between different coders, it is measured by a reliability coefficient using a scale from 0.00 (very unreliable) to 1.00 (perfectly reliable). In most instances, however, ‘perfect reliability’ is not achieved and that is why a score of 0.9 (i.e., a reliability level of 90 percent or higher) is generally deemed to be acceptable (Berger, 2000; Gray, 2004). To calculate the extent of inter-coder reliability, the researcher employed Holsti’s (1969, as cited in Wimmer & Dominick, 1997) formula, that is,

$$\text{Reliability} = 2M / (N1 + N2)$$

Where, M represents the aggregate number of coding decisions with which the two coders agreed upon, while N1 and N2 represent the total number of coding decisions made by coder one and coder two, respectively. Hence, the overall inter-coder reliability for this study ranged from 95 percent to 99 percent.

4 CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1.1 Introduction

This chapter, in the forthcoming sub sections, will be dealing with the research findings, analysis of the same followed by discussion in the eyes of the pluralism determinates and the basic framework of this research. As it has been depicted earlier, the key objective of this research paper is to examine the practice of political pluralism in the news coverage of the Ethiopian broadcasting media. For that, the three media selected are FM102.1, FM98.1 and the National Radio. The time span considered is from August 1, 2014 to January 31, 2015. In order to strengthen the research findings, in-depth interviews were also conducted with twelve key informants. From EBC and FBC, two political news reporters were interviewed and one similar reporter from FM102.1. The other group of key informant were CEOs and news directors the media houses. However, while the researcher succeeded in interviewing the said bodies from FM102.1 and EBC, the top management of FM98.1 denied cooperation in giving interview, even to the extent of forbidding the researcher from using the archives. The reason given by them was that “They are not willing to give information on research of such pluralism topics”. The next two groups are those other than media houses, but who directly or indirectly being stakeholders for those media. The first one is the Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority, the monitoring and licensing body of any broadcasting media in the country and the other the opposition party leaders. Therefore, the researcher interviewed one from the previous and two from the later.

The findings of the study have been presented, analyzed and discussed in the following sections. Before passing on the detailed analysis, however, it is important to present the total number of

news items analysed from each station considered for the study. Accordingly, out of the total news items off 1560 covering the time period ranging from 1 August 2014 to 31 January 2015 a total of 351 (97 from FM102.1, 130 from FM 98.1 and 124 from National Radio) stories/news were considered that focused on political issues of the country. These stories were further examined in relation to the eight analytical categories identified for the study. This also has been elaborated in the following tabular explanation.

	Frequency	Percent
FM102.1	97	27.6
FM98.1	130	37.0
EBC	124	35.3
Total	351	100.0

Table 1 The number of news analysed in each broadcasting media

The findings have been presented together with their analyses in the forthcoming section.

4.1.2 Content of the News

According to question no.1 of the analytical category, the content of the news is referred as four different views, ruling party view, opposition parties’ view, external view and views which are out of the three mentioned, referred as other’s view.

As can be seen from a total of 351 news contents, the ruling party view has a count of 227, which becomes 64.7%, whereas the opposition party views reflected in all the three stations from the above total sum is 10 in news pieces, which counts only 2.8% of the total coverage. We may

treat external and other’s views in one category since the above two are the basic players of the content of the news.

Content of the News		
	Frequency	Percent
Content	Ruling Party View	227 64.7%
	Opposition Parties View	10 2.8%
	External Views	37 10.5%
	Others' Views	77 21.9%
	Total	351 100.0%

Table 2 The occurrence of the Content of the news

The above tabulation only explains frequency of the content in all the three stations. However, for further discussion, it needs to be analyzed in each radio station. Also, as can be seen from the above table, the ruling party view content takes the lion’s share of the news, therefore, we consider comparing percentage of contents that are of the ruling party and non-ruling party (referring to opposition party, external views and others view).

			FM102.1	
			Others	FM102.1
Content	Non-RP-Content[Opposition/External/Other-Views]	Count	59	65
		% within Content=1=Ruling-Party/0=Non-RP	47.6%	52.4%
		% within FM102.1	23.2%	67.0%
	RulingParty-ViewsContent	% of Total	16.8%	18.5%
		Count	195	32
		% within Content=1=Ruling-Party/0=Non-RP	85.9%	14.1%
Total		% within FM102.1	76.8%	33.0%
		% of Total	55.6%	9.1%
		Count	254	97
		% within Content=1=Ruling-Party/0=Non-RP	72.4%	27.6%
		% within FM102.1	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	72.4%	27.6%

Table 3 Comparison of content of FM102.1 with the other two stations

From the above, we can see that FM102.1 has transmitted the largest number of non-ruling party view by having 52.4% of the total 100% whereas the other two stations have lesser shares with 47.6% together. On the contrary these two stations, EBC and FM98.1 has been transmitting much of ruling party view, which counts to be 85.9% and 102.1 a very small portion of the news dedicated to ruling party view which is 14.1% of the total transmission being considered. In the same manner, results for the other two stations presented hereunder:

			FM98.1	
			Others	FM-98.1
Content		Count	91	33
	Non-RP-Content[Opposition/External/Other-Views]	% within Content=1=Ruling-Party/0=Non-RP	73.4%	26.6%
		% within FM98.1	41.2%	25.4%
		% of Total	25.9%	9.4%
	RulingParty-ViewsContent	Count	130	97
		% within Content=1=Ruling-Party/0=Non-RP	57.3%	42.7%
		% within FM98.1	58.8%	74.6%
		% of Total	37.0%	27.6%
Total		Count	221	130
		% within Content=1=Ruling-Party/0=Non-RP	63.0%	37.0%
		% within FM98.1	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	63.0%	37.0%

Table 4 Comparison of content of FM98.1 with the other two stations

			EBC	
			Others	EBC
Content=1=Ruling-Party/0=Non-RP	Count		98	26
	Non-RP-Content[Opposition/External/Other-Views]	% within Content=1=Ruling-Party/0=Non-RP	79.0%	21.0%
		% within EBC	43.2%	21.0%
		% of Total	27.9%	7.4%
RulingParty-ViewsContent	Count		129	98
		% within Content=1=Ruling-Party/0=Non-RP	56.8%	43.2%
		% within EBC	56.8%	79.0%
		% of Total	36.8%	27.9%
Total	Count		227	124
		% within Content=1=Ruling-Party/0=Non-RP	64.7%	35.3%
		% within EBC	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	64.7%	35.3%

Table 5 Comparison of content of EBC with the other two stations

Again, while we see Table (4) and Table (5) we note that from the total news transmission within the station, FM98.1 has transmitted 42.7% ruling party view and EBC, the same view 43.2% from the total news transmitted by that station.

However, since the main concern of this research paper is to analyze the political pluralism, how the opposition parties’ view presented compared to others being treated worth studying.

		Frequency	Percent
Content	Others Views	114	32.5%
	Ruling-Party Views	227	64.7%
	Opposition-Parties Views	10	2.8%
	Total	351	100.0

Table 6: Content frequency

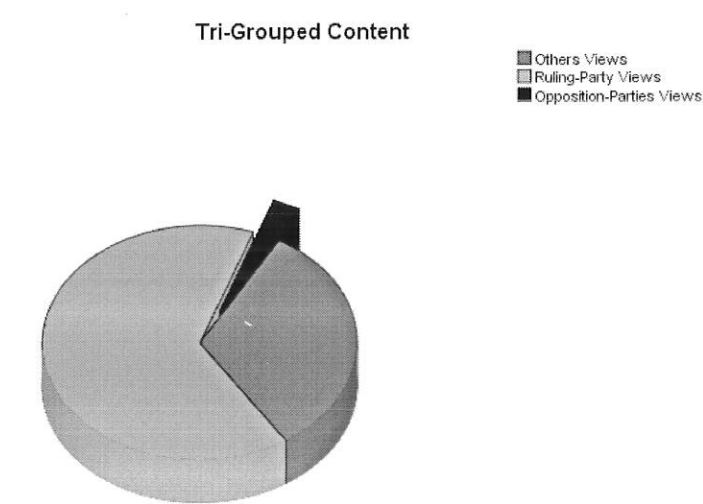


Figure: 1 Ruling party view’s share from the total news transmission

We can see from Table 6 that within the selected period of time, only 2.8% of the news was that of the opposition parties as a whole.

Generally, as can be seen from all the above tables, EBC (the National Radio) stood number one in transmitting the ruling party’s view and FM98.1 being second with 42.7% and the least is 102.1 by only having 14.1% of the total ruling party news transmission. But the question here is, what agenda has been transmitted whether the content is non ruling party’s or ruling. Hence, content of the news verses the agenda needs assessment.

1.3 Content of the News Vs Agenda

From all the twelve different agenda stated in the content analysis code sheet, after computing the Chi-Square Tests, those agenda that worth investigation are those of development and social complaint concern. The value obtained for the others implies insignificance. Accordingly, tables are drawn in the respected formats.

			Broadcasting Agency		
			FM102.1	FM98.1	EBC
Agenda	other Agendas	Count	84	75	70
		% within AGn=DEVLpmt	36.7%	32.8%	30.6%
		% within Broadcasting Agency	86.6%	57.7%	56.5%
		% of Total	23.9%	21.4%	19.9%
	Dev't Agenda	Count	13	55	54
		% within AGn=DEVLpmt	10.7%	45.1%	44.3%
		% within Broadcasting Agency	13.4%	42.3%	43.5%
		% of Total	3.7%	15.7%	15.4%
	Total	Count	97	130	124
		% within AGn=DEVLpmt	27.6%	37.0%	35.3%
		% within Broadcasting Agency	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	27.6%	37.0%	35.3%

Table 7: Development Vs other agenda in terms of content of the news

		Broadcasting Agency		
		FM102.1	FM98.1	EBC
SocialComp	Count	75	123	117
	% within SocialComp	23.8%	39.0%	37.1%
	other Agendas			
	% within Broadcasting Agency	77.3%	94.6%	94.4%
	% of Total	21.4%	35.0%	33.3%
	Count	22	7	7
	% within SocialComp	61.1%	19.4%	19.4%
	SocialComp Agenda			
	% within Broadcasting Agency	22.7%	5.4%	5.6%
	% of Total	6.3%	2.0%	2.0%
Total	Count	97	130	124
	% within SocialComp	27.6%	37.0%	35.3%
	% within Broadcasting Agency	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	27.6%	37.0%	35.3%

Table 8: Social Complaint Vs other agenda in terms of content of the news

Sheger FM102.1 is hence the leading radio station in presenting societal complaints. On the contrary, both FM98.1 and EBC have the same contribution in delivering social complaints news, which is 19.4% each.

An agenda of a news and its producer only doesn't tell us the full story of a news being told. The intended goal of that specific news should be analyzed. Hence, the next section will elaborate the cross tabulation of the content, agenda and its intended goal or aim.

4.1.4 Content, Agenda and its aim

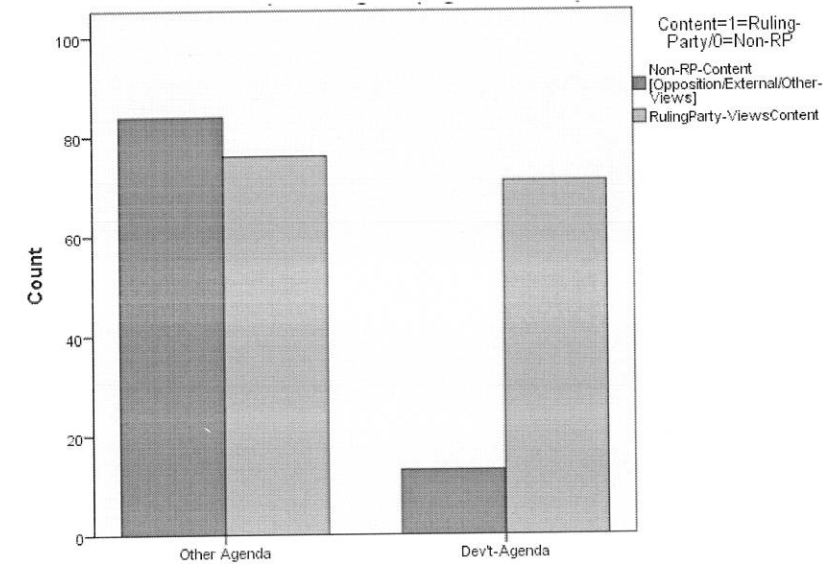


Figure 2: Content and Agenda analysed according to the aim, impelling

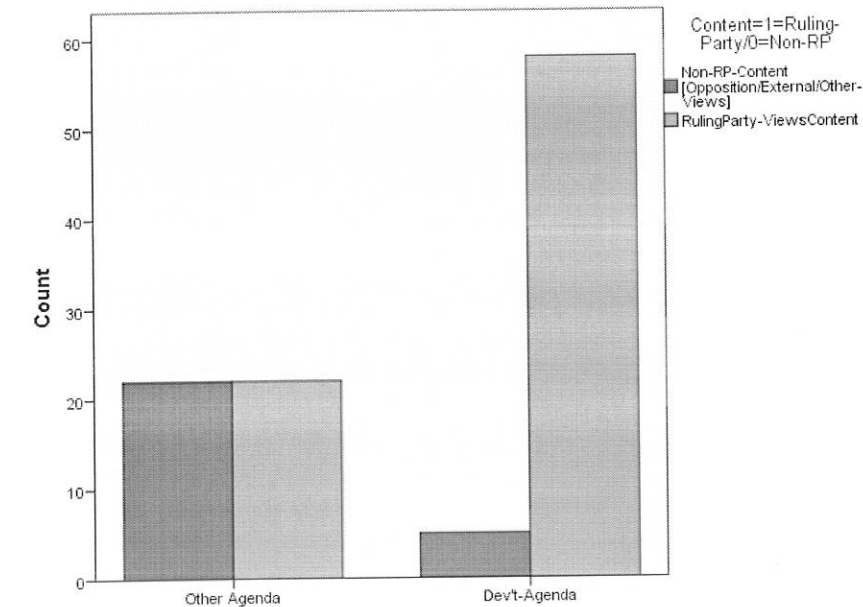


Figure 3: Content and Agenda analysed according to the aim, informing

From the above two graphs we have obtained that out of the total development news that are the views of the ruling party, while 38.4% of is informing 56.8% is impelling. Here the term impelling is used to describe Agitation and Persuasion as one. This shows us that much development news are told either just to give the information or rather to impel the audience attention

4.1.5 Content, Precedence and Extent

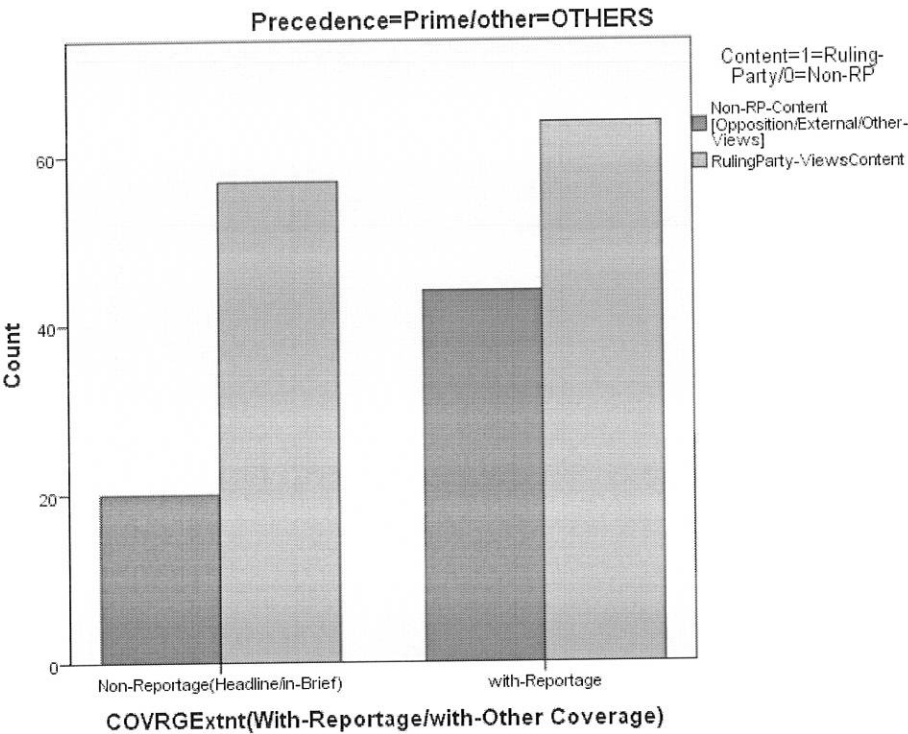


Figure 4: Content of the news, in its presentation precedence and coverage extent

From the analysis, out of the total ruling party view news, it has been proved that 87.3% of the news has been presented during the primetime of the news session. Out of this 55.2% was presented with detailed reportage.

4.1.6 The Agenda and the precedence of the news

			Precedence of the News		
			Prime	Middle	End
AGn=DEVLpmt	other Agendas	Count	111	93	25
		% within AGn=DEVLpmt	48.5%	40.6%	10.9%
		% within Precedence of the News	66.9%	62.8%	67.6%
		% of Total	31.6%	26.5%	7.1%
	Dev't Agenda	Count	55	55	12
		% within AGn=DEVLpmt	45.1%	45.1%	9.8%
		% within Precedence of the News	33.1%	37.2%	32.4%
		% of Total	15.7%	15.7%	3.4%
	Total	Count	166	148	37
		% within AGn=DEVLpmt	47.3%	42.2%	10.5%
		% within Precedence of the News	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	47.3%	42.2%	10.5%

Table 9: The agenda of the news and its presentation precedence

As it can be seen from the above table, out of 111 prime time news, 55(45.1%) is developmental news. And it is obvious that from the total amount only 12 developmental news were transmitted at the end of the session.

4.1.7 Source of the news

	Frequency	Percent
A=Federal-Govt	136	38.7
B=A.A-Administartion	102	29.1
C=MAJOR/WELL-DEVELOPED-Regional-States	25	7.1
D=MINOR/LESS-DEVELOPED-Regional-Admin/Zones/Woredas	35	10.0
E=Mixed	18	5.1
F=Abroad[Foreign-Elements	35	10.0
Total	351	100.0

Table 10: Where the news information obtained from

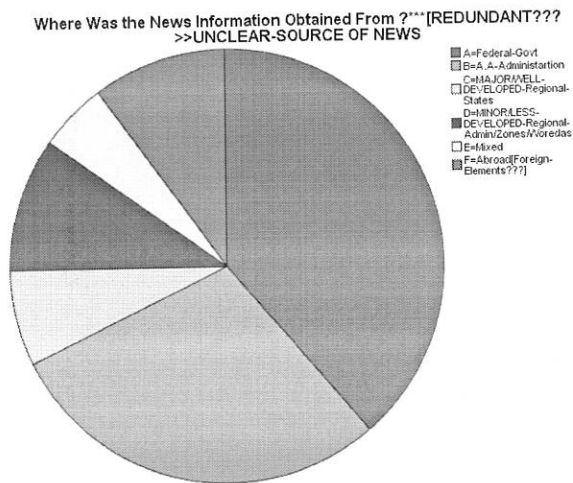


Figure : 5 The share distribution of news sources

We can see from the above that out of the total 351 news pieces 136 piece (38.7%) was from the Federal Government and 102 (29.1%) is from A.A City Administration. All the rest only consists of 113 in count or 32%. According to content analysis category No. 4, source of the news has been divided into seven units. From those categories, staff reporters from the main office were the major actress in reporting or producing news in all the three stations. 83.1% of the news source in FM98.1 is the staff reporter. It is the largest percentage form all the three stations. The

next counts taken is for FM102.1 with 63.9% and lastly EBC with 48.4% news coverage by staff reporters. All in all, from the total news collected and analyzed 65.5% of the news was produced by staff news reporters. From the remaining, 8% and 9.1% of the news was produced by or sourced from public sources and government agencies, respectively.

			Source of the News						Total	
			Staff-Reporter	Govt. News Agency	ICA(Information-Communication-Agency)	Foreign Source	Private-Sources	Public		Other
Broadcasting Agency	FM102.1	Count	62	11	1	14	5	4	0	97
		% within Broadcasting Agency	63.9%	11.3%	1.0%	14.4%	5.2%	4.1%	0.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	17.7%	3.1%	0.3%	4.0%	1.4%	1.1%	0.0%	27.6%
	FM98.1	Count	108	1	8	0	1	10	2	130
		% within Broadcasting Agency	83.1%	0.8%	6.2%	0.0%	0.8%	7.7%	1.5%	100.0%
		% of Total	30.8%	0.3%	2.3%	0.0%	0.3%	2.8%	0.6%	37.0%
	EBC	Count	60	20	15	6	1	14	8	124
		% within Broadcasting Agency	48.4%	16.1%	12.1%	4.8%	0.8%	11.3%	6.5%	100.0%
		% of Total	17.1%	5.7%	4.3%	1.7%	0.3%	4.0%	2.3%	35.3%
	Total	Count	230	32	24	20	7	28	10	351
		% within Broadcasting Agency	65.5%	9.1%	6.8%	5.7%	2.0%	8.0%	2.8%	100.0%
		% of Total	65.5%	9.1%	6.8%	5.7%	2.0%	8.0%	2.8%	100.0%

Table 11 Broadcasting agencies and their respective sources of news

4.2 Discussion of Findings

Freedom of expression and the media accessibility has been the major buzz in the Ethiopian media recently. Most foreign human rights and democratic associations tend to blame the government for the misuse of the media. Hereunder the researcher has tried to discuss the findings of this research, both from the analyzed contents from the categories given and the supporting in-depth interview conducted with eleven key informants from the perspective of (a) according to the research questions raised at the beginning of this research paper and (b) the proposed theoretical frameworks selected to inform the study.

4.2.1 Media pluralism practice extent

Content of the News

As it has been cited in Davide Morisi (2011, p. 8) Napoli explained content pluralism can be divided into three components: format or program-type diversity, i.e. the range of choices between different types of TV programs, such as news, dramas, comedies, etc.; demographic diversity, i.e. the representation of minority or ethnic groups within media programs; and idea-viewpoint diversity, i.e. the representation different social, political, and cultural perspectives within the media.

View point diversity, in particular, has a crucial role in content pluralism and represents one of the ultimate normative goals for policymakers. Historically, this component has been included by the Federal Communication Commission among the key dimensions of the diversity principle has been defined as “the availability of media content reflecting a variety of perspectives”.

Hence, the content of the news, meaning whose point of view has been transmitted, has a major role in studying media pluralism.

According to the data analyzed in the previous part of this chapter, out of the 351 news count, the ruling party view counts 227, which becomes 64.7%, whereas the opposition party views reflected in all the three stations from the above total sum is 10 in news pieces, which counts only 2.8% of the total coverage. External views and the rest will take the remaining as their share. While assessing the share distribution of the above count for the each stations, EBC, National Radio, takes the lead in transmitting the ruling party view by having 98 counts (43.1%) out of 227, FM98.1 being second by having 97 counts (42.7%), only a single count less from EBC. Last is FM102.1 only with 32 counts, meaning 14.1% of the total share. This shows us that EBC and FM98.1, in their news session, majorly transmit ruling party's view.

The Deputy Director and news section head of EBC, Ato Teshale Bekele has explained the situation in the following manner:

Pluralism is one of the characteristics and values of EBC. It is clearly stated on the Editorial Policy of the station as well. Developmental issues are our main concern. Unlike other counties, in Ethiopia, there are several nations and nationalities, different cultures and political interests. It won't be visible for us to entertain all at a time. But in our every day's editorial meeting, we assess the extent to which we have achieved pluralism in terms of composition and content by, again, make development the prime issue. Hence, even though we cannot say EBC has achieved media pluralism fully, we can say it has managed it at large.

On the other hand, Abent, a senior editor at EBC explains the matter in a different style:

It is only during the election time that opposition parties get active. It is one big reason for our corporate not to cover their interest in our news session. The second reason is that, most opposition parties are too “suspicious” about this corporation. They always tend to classify the stations as “the government mouthpiece, which works hand in hand with the ruling party. Hence, it is very rare that we receive an invitation from them to report a news. Despite all these fact, we, EBC, put a maximum effort to deliver a balanced view.

Abayneh, a senior editor in Fana Broadcasting Agency has the same thought, but he explained it from a different angle:

I believe that, my station works well in considering political pluralism. I don't believe that there exists an independent journalism. Everyone has a system he/she favors. Our editorial policy clearly states that we support a system that built Democratic Developmental State. Consequently, the ruling party's views and much of news are of this type which is the party's main ideology. Our daily editors meeting is being monitored and assessed from this perspective. In black and white, this means, supporting the democratic and opposing the anti-democratic.

Despite the fact less number of ruling party view has been transmitted by FM102.1 compared to the other stations, Ato Fasil Redi, senior editor and A/new director explained the situation:

I can say that FM102.1 has entertained media pluralism at its best. However, while saying that you have to note that it is all in our “permitted playground”.

However, Political pluralism in the media refers to the fair and diverse representation of and expression by (i.e. passive and active access) various political and ideological groups, including minority viewpoints and interests, in the media. Any country, which labeling itself as a democratic state should create a participatory democracy. On his interview with Aljazeera, PM Hailemariam Desalegn, explain the level of democracy in Ethiopia by saying: “Participatory Democracy in this Country is one that anyone can learn from rather than criticize about”.

However, views of opposition parties differ from the above by far. Dr. Merera Gudina, the vice chairperson of Mederk Coalition explains the above situation in the following manner:

I can say that, those media that are referred as “Private” are “pensioned”. There is no media in Ethiopia that doesn’t have direct or indirect government control. Let alone the media, those organization that are referred as public have become assets of the ruling party. Most media, the reason why they appear in our party meetings, is not to transmit our views and stands, instead they are there as “espionage”. Especially, the public media have attended 25 to 30 meetings of our party. Amazingly, they have only presented three of them, even in a distorted way.

In the same token, Ato Adane, the Deputy in the Executing committee and Head of finance of EDP has explained the matter as this:

Regarding the media, we can say that no media is independent. Even those that are referred as “private” are under the government influence. We mostly give them news quoting our views and stands, including the private once, they intend to discard it. In case they do transmit, they present it in a way they need it. Therefore, almost, they don’t cover our views at all.

As it has been explained in the previous chapter, while explaining the political economy theory, its general definition states that political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources. Hence, the mass media, being one part of the communication resource, in discussing the frame work the political economy contributions tend to be characterized by a number of elements. The basic element is that, in contrast to most previous work, economic models of media influence tend to focus on the informational role of mass media, on the premise that information makes a difference to how people vote and that mass media provide the bulk of the information that people use in elections. Therefore, the ruling party seems to have advantage in using the mass media and hence dominates the content transmitted in the selected stations. However, despite the fact that the content has been dominated by the ruling party view, it is very crucial to analyze the dominating agenda in the news session of the selected stations.

The Agenda

From all the twelve agendas listed, the two most significant once that are worth studying in this research paper are developmental and social complaint agenda.

According to the analytical findings, the percentage of development agenda, from all the news transmission within a stations is rated as: 13.4% in FM102.1, 42.3 in FM98.1 and 43.5% for EBC. On the contrary, social complaint agenda within the broadcasting agency news transmission is rated as; FM102.1 - 22.7%, FM98.1 -5.4% and EBC- 5.6%.

These raw numbers shows us FM102.1 is the leading social complaint entertaining and the least for development news handling. On the other side, almost half of the news transmitted by FM98.1 and EBC are that of the development and it seems that these two station don't have much room for social complaints. Ato Teshale, from EBC says "Considering some capacity limitation, we are trying and of course working with our full capacity to cover all the agendas worth reporting. But we give more emphasis and priority for development and development related matters. Of course, in a supportive way".

On the contrary, Abayneh from EBC has a different perspective from the above on the same station. He said that ".....this country's democracy is "a house in making". Therefore, in order to build a balanced perspectives, media are expected to entertain both ruling and opposition party's view in a sensible manner. However, in this respect there are times that we are forced to deceive the wrong deeds of the ruling party and expected to amplify when opposition parties found faulty. This is a double standard in our agenda selection.

Dawit, from FM98.1 explained the matter in a more dramatic way:

Our agenda depends on the happenings. Sometimes, there may arise political conflicts and societal complaints. However, "our station is not here to tell deaths.

This is because";

1. It is not our intention to aggravate the tension by telling the number of deaths;
2. Unless and otherwise we have witnessed the conflict, we prefer not to report the incidence
3. Despite the fact that it has happened for really, if the reporting has a negative impact on the nation's sovereignty, we tend to back from reporting.

For more than a decade, the EPRDF has been acclaiming democratic developmental state ideology and developmental journalism as well. On his article (Skjerdal, Development journalism revived: The case of Ethiopia, 2011, p. 59) mentioned that a close ally of the government, the Ethiopian state media have recently make development journalism a key concept officials policy document. The concept was first adopted in the editorial policy of various state media like ENA, EPA and ERTA. Consequently, a policy entitled “basic and directives for an operational philosophy of our democratic and developmental media” has been designed. This policy document was basically developed at higher management level. The document states that the goal of the government is to level Ethiopia among middle income countries within 20-30 years and all societal forces including the media are expected to take part in the process.

As cited in Wimmer & Wolf (2005, p. 2) Kunczik 1995: 90-4 explained that in development journalism model the journalist is expected to critically examine development projects in one hand and controls government activates on the other hand. He emphasized that freedom of the press would be a basic requirement for such act. In this regards the journalist should form liberal intelligence and should be able to critically examine the aims of national development and analyze and solve them by reasonable criteria by being free of social constraint. In the contrary,

from the above, both from the content analysis and in-depth interview, what we can deduce is that the positive aspects of development news are given high priority and it even seems that the wrong deeds and corrective sides of the news were left out. On this regard, Mederk representative, Dr. Merera added that “only very very few times that they have transmitted what they have recorded on our meetings and releases. Even for that they put the news for few seconds and vanish. They are like GONGOS (Government NGOs). They are there to amplify government, in other words, ruling party view.

Producer of the News

According to Davide Morisi (2011, p. 8) two basic elements that constitute source pluralism are: diversity of workforce and diversity of news sources. Clearly, diversity of news sources could also be part of content pluralism, as a component of diversity in media content. However, within this context it seemed more appropriate to place it under the supply side, by considering both the way media outlets source their stories and the level of plurality in the wholesale news market. In spite of this fact, regarding source pluralism, the major source for news for all the three stations are staff reporters. 65.5% of the total news have been produced by staff reports. All the interviewees from all stations have confirmed the same. Abinet from EBC told the researcher that “EBC has several sources of news, however the major once are staff reporters”. Also Dawit, from Fana stated that “mostly, for the corporate, news sources are staff reporters.”

The content and agenda of the news are the two vital categories of news to analyze the practice of media pluralism. However, the way that specific news piece has been presented and the

intended meaning also have effect on the consumer perception. Therefore the next sub-section will be dealing with the issue “whose view?”, “what agenda?” “in what way?”

News content and Precedence

As we have seen it in Chapter two of this paper, the principal outlines of agenda setting theory influence were sketched by Walter Lippmann in his 1922 classic, *Public Opinion*, which began with a chapter titled “The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads.” As he noted, the news media are a primary source of those pictures in our heads about the larger world of public affairs, a world that for most citizens is “out of reach, out of sight, out of mind.” What we know about the world is largely based on what the media decide to tell us. The coverage extent and the precedence of the news has higher impact on audibility of a news piece. Presenting a news in the prime time of the news session and presenting it with detailed reportage has big impact on that news item.

From the analysis part, what we have seen is that out of the total ruling party view news, it has been proved that 87.3% of the news has been presented during the primetime of the news session. Out of this 55.2% was presented with detailed reportage. This proves us that presentation of the news (mainly precedence and extent) in the selected media houses gave the ruling party a favorable conditions.

4.2.2 Editorial Policy: An Opportunity or Challenge in Practicing Media Pluralism?

Further to the constitution and several rules and regulations that are applicable in the country, each media house has its own, editorial policy and other guidelines that are specifically designed for that media. As it has been defined in (Why Editorial Policy, 2008, p. 2), an editorial policy is simply a short document that defines what subjects will (or will not be) covered in your writing or transmission. It is the guidelines and policy statements set forth by the editor(s) or editorial board of a publication. It may also include information on why you are covering X and not Y as well as some background information on the authors. The editorial policy of any media helps that media to give quality and up the standard services to the audience. In the introduction part of the EBC editorial policy, the importance of the editorial policy has been elaborated as that such editorial policy is important for having fair and transparent media environment. It also helps the corporation to be accountable for its deeds and also help to serve the society at its best.

There are three interlocking aspects to professional self-regulation which reinforce each other and which form a comprehensive approach to professional self-regulation: (a) Journalists' codes of ethics (b) Standards that ensure editorial independence (c) Media organisations own guidelines on the coverage of events and (d) Inevitably this brings up questions of process – how are these self-adopted codes upheld – do they rely solely upon the power of moral exhortation or can they be given force in some way. In many sectors of commercial life, self-regulation is entrusted to a body of industry professionals to administer. Inside a media organisation the classic approach is to have a media Ombudsman – employed by the media company to receive and investigate complaints from newspaper readers or listeners or viewers of radio and television stations about accuracy, fairness, balance and good taste in news coverage.

For all the three stations, the very basic documentation for developing the editorial policy are (a) FDRE Constitution (b) Proclamation on press freedom No. 590/2000 (c) Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority Proclamation No. 533/1999. One of the objectives of this research paper is to examine the extent to which the editorial policy and news manuals of the corporates contribute to the practice of pluralism.

On the editorial policy manual of EBC, on Chapter three, sub –article 3.1.2 it clearly states diversity as one part of the core values of the corporation. It says that the contents of EBC transmission will entertain language, gender, age, culture and religious equality and integrity.

Article 3.1.3 also states that EBC will contribute its share in creating a participatory democratic state. It works towards the nation’s sovereignty. By deploying a developmental journalist model, the corporate’s main role will be to criticize and inform the society wrong practices and mostly “rent seeking” and “corruption”. It also works towards achieving good governance. As we can see, the editorial policy of EBC has more or less gives the opportunity the station in order to practice media pluralism in all dimensions. Contrary to the editorial policy, it has been clearly seen in the analytical session of this paper that development journalism has only been used as a pretext in the practice. Therefore, the failure is not from the editorial policy, rather it is in the interpretation and implantation of the same.

When we see, FBC’s editorial policy (1992) incorporates the importance of diversity and pluralism in the media. Its current motto also underlines this issue. “Free thinking, for a better life!” Thus to entertain the concept of free thinking at least a plural idea has to get enough spaces from the perspective of political ideologies , views, cultural differences and geographical locations. In the core values of the editorial policy of the station, it promote equity and equality

among citizens and assure mutual benefit for every citizen from the National Development as per his/her contribution to the national development. It proactively promote and protect equality among Ethnic, Gender and faith based communities and Nations and Nationalities to foster their values, languages, and culture and history with respect and to effect improvement based on their own choice.

On the other hand, Sheger 102.1, as per the editorial policy of the station, the core value is to be an independent voice of the society. The station's policy is more concerned in being independent news and information in a balanced and ethical way. This information and entertainment station's motto is "it's about you", hence it is mostly focused in societal issues.

From the above we can learn that in all the stations, their editorial police gave them ample space to practice media pluralism. Hence, the policies can be referred as mostly as an opportunity than being a challenge for such practice.

4.2.3 Internal and External Challenges in practicing media pluralism in the selected media

Based on the collected data, the analysis process and the information gathered from the key informants of this research paper, it has been analyzed that there are key internal and external factors on each media houses that hinders the smooth practice of media pluralism especially in the news session. The internal challenges include lack of skilled manpower and self-censorship and the external challenges are government and non-government organization interference, extremism and access to information

Internal Challenges

Lack of skilled manpower

With the exception of FM102.1 informants, all informants from the other two stations buy the above point. They have revealed it as a crucial matter that journalists and reporters do not have adequate knowledge that enable them to freely and wit fully present the actual truth. Especially, Ato Teshale and Ato Abent, from EBC, noted the importance of investigative journalism for having a fair and balanced views in the media. On top of this, they claimed that our journalist are not capable enough to set agenda for the people. Rather they expect the people to throw one for them.

Self-Censorship

All the three stations agree in this matter. Most journalists, either unknowingly or being fearful, they mostly prefer not to report ideas that have a notion against the ruling party or similar matters. Even, during editorial meetings, no effort has been made on this regards. This is, as Ato Teshale stated it, is an indication of “undeveloped democratic view”.

External Challenges

Government and Non-Governmental organization interference

External interference has been mention as of the external challenges faced by the two stations, FM98.1 and EBC. Despite the fact FM102.1 believes in the existence of such intruders, they seem to control it in a way of presenting highly tangible evidences for all news piece they produce. On the other hand, Yayesew, from EBC intensely suggested that “after transmission, some government bodies, especially minister offices, tends to interfere on the news.” Dawit

strengthen this idea by saying that government official do not want to hear any compliant on their negative sides. Sometime they even force the station to release corrective news in such regards. Even up to warning and even rarely they dare to threaten us. However, it all depends on the strength of that journalist”.

Extremism

Extremism was overwhelmingly mentioned as a major problem by all the three station respondents. Ato Teshale explained the matter as bellow:

Political extremism is one big challenge in our station for practicing media pluralities. Even if they are given the space and time to have a say on any political issues, policies and economic situation of the country, most parties have a tendency of telling hatred, unworthy critics and detestation of the existing system.

Dawit from Fana share this same idea. However he explained it from a different perspective. He believes that, mostly scholars, while discussing a specific subjects on media, they have a feeling that their ideology will be perceived as philosophy of a single party rather than an individual. Therefore, in fear of such interpretation, most scholars prefer to cease from participation.

Here we notice two most extreme ideologies rather than having middle way to analyze and advice the political situations of the country. In the view of Salvatore Babones (2004, p. 4) “the concept of polarization is not unambiguous” the concept of polarization may refer to the total spread of opinion at the elite level, it may refer to the total spread of opinion at the mass level, it

may refer to the (ideological) distance between the position of the parties located at the extremes of the party system and it may also refer to the distribution of parliamentary seats among the various parties located along the left-right dimension. As is has also been defined by the political philosopher Giovanni Sartori. Polarized pluralism is a description applied to a two party or multiparty political system which is seen as overly polarized and therefore as dysfunctional. Hence the extremists situation of the country can be described and analyzed from the perspective of two extremists leaving the middle judgmental ground very scarce which is a direct implication of polarized pluralistic method.

Access to information

According to Proclamation No. 590/2008, a proclamation to provide for freedom of the mass media and access to information, Article 4 sub article 3(a) states that: All public bodies shall have regard to the right of the mass media, in fulfilling its public function, to seek, receive and impart news or information. Despite of this, all the three stations claimed to the researcher that their right to access to information has been denied by different bodies.

Here, access to information can be seen in two lights. One is the difficult situation journalists face while seeking for information and second one, refusal of officials, scholars and political elites to give information for media houses. Ato Dawit from Fana put the challenges in this form:

In our country, political elites and party representatives are not willing to give information in the media, especially on sensitive issues like election. On top, we do not have adequate research institutions that journalist can get information.

On the other hand, Ato Abent, told the researcher that there is a trend from their information sources to close the door on them. This is because most scholars and political parties classify this station, EBC, as government ally.

Fasil from FM102.1 have told the researcher that there exists problems while seeking for information. Especially, most government organizations are not will to give us data, materials and evidences on a specific issues. But he stated that their station always struggles to pass by such obstacles.

5 CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

In theorizing the relationship between media and democracy, citizens' access to a wide range of information in the public sphere is unarguably a key condition. Furthermore, notions of pluralism and diversity today seem to invoke a particularly affective resonance. Pluralism in media must express various objectives, ideological and political orientations and audiences with different cultural background on different geographical locations. As stated by the UNESCO, "pluralism is one of the most vital components of a democratic society" which intern is a perquisite for sustainable social and economic development (UNESCO, 1991). We have mentioned earlier that there are several aspects of media pluralism, like political cultural, geographical (locational) diversity. However, the main objective of this study was to examine the practices of political diversity in the news session of the selected media. To achieve this objective samples were selected from all the three stations news broadcast from 1 August 2014 to 31 January 2015, and a total of 351 news stories were coded with the respective analytical categories. In addition, several informants were also interviewed. Hence, both quantitative and qualitative content analysis approaches were applied with quantitative content analysis as pivotal research method for this study.

To examine the practice of internal media pluralism in the news session quantitatively, several analytical categories were formulated and sample subjects were examined accordingly. The following are the research conclusions based on the findings of the study.

- Unlike the practice of pluralism, the findings of the study reveals that from the total news collected (351), 227 of the news is that of the ruling party view which contains 64.7% of the total news transmitted. However, views of the opposition parties, major stakeholder of the political system of the country, is only 10 in count. This shows us the dominant voice, especially in the news session, is the ruling party.
- In relation to the agenda transmitted during the six month time, FBC and EBC transmitted 42.3% and 43.5%, respectively, of developmental news which is a view of the ruling party. Whereas, these stations only transmit 5.4 and 5.6 percent of social complaints in their news. FM 102.1 has 10.7% of developmental news from a total news transmitted. According to Facil, he claimed that this information & entertainment station is more of a “social voice” radio. Hence the main purposes of the station is cover much of social issues. From this we can conclude that the majority of the stations are dominated by developmental, ruling party view news. According to Dr. Negeri Lencho, an assistant professor of journalism and communication at the post-graduate school of journalism, Addis Ababa University on his interview with reporter newspaper, dated 23 November 2013:

Developmental journalism seeks to spread the development at all levels, and holds those irresponsible as accountable. It shouldn't just interpret development on an economic angle, there should be social and political developments too. Any development is a result of democratization; so good governance and rule of law have a stake in economic development. The trend here doesn't follow this path.

Therefore, we conclude that there is misperception and misuse of developmental journalism especially in FM98.1 and EBC.

- From the analysis we can grasp that from a total of 227 news that of ruling party view 70% of it has been given the prime time of the news. Form that 37% of the news has been delivered with a reportage. This tells us that more emphasis and weight is given only for ruling party views.
- As the statistics goes and all key informants informed the researcher, the major producer of the news is the staff reporter. This shows us that most news will have similar ideological content.
- In relation to the major challenges, the findings of the study showed that political challenge (both internal and external) was overwhelmingly mentioned as a major problem in all the selected broadcast media outlets Overall, the findings of the study suggest that there are enormous political challenges that the Broadcast media is facing in order to practice internal pluralism, especially regarding political matters.
- Most news are from government and government related sectors. Such practice is not advisable since it won't give space to the nation to hear alternative ideologies other than the government.

According to (UNESCO, Media pluralism, 2005)Plurality is reflected through a combination of public, private, commercial, mainstream, alternative, national, and community media with diverse content and possibilities for various segments of the society to engage with different media. Diversified media ownership provides more opportunities for the free flow of information – on public affairs; people's free expression through the mass media; cultural expression, particularly in vernacular languages use, and the arts; popular participation public affairs discussion; political pluralism, and public demands for transparency. Therefore a pluralistic media environment not only

promotes but also assures the existence of the greatest possible number of newspapers, periodicals, TV and radio broadcasting institutions and reflects the widest possible range of voice and opinion within any society at different level of operation such as global, national and local.

Taking the overall findings of the study into account and the behavior of internal media pluralism, the study concludes that on the news session of the selected media, there exists dominance of the ruling party in all aspects, and therefore, no other party or scholar have space to participate. Consequently, concerning the practice of internal media pluralism, it critically lacked entreating diversified ideas of the nation. The last section of this research will be dealing with some recommendations on the situations concluded in order to improve the plural environment of the selected stations and also to some extent the pluralistic stance of the country.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following major points were recommended to improve the unsatisfactory practices of internal media pluralism in the news session of the analyzed media houses.

- As the findings indicated, lack of adequate knowledge of the reporter is the basic obstacle to practice media pluralism. Providing capacity building trainings and moreover additional preparations for investigative journalism will equip the journalist with basic tools to exercise the idea of pluralism.
- Even though the Ethiopian government acclaim developmental journalism, the current practice doesn't show the real faces of this model and pluralism has been compromised under the pretext of promoting development. In this model, the journalist is not only expected to appraise the good deeds but should also be able to criticize all the wrong moves by the developer. Any societal complaints related thereto should be presented and discussed. Therefore, the media houses should encourage the practice of pluralism in every approach of reporting, including development reporting.
- In all the three stations dominant source of information were government officials. Therefore, it needs to entertain diversified views in the news by participating other sources such as community at the grass roots, opposing political parties, researchers, Non-Governmental Organizations and other relevant information sources. This will help to produce news with balanced views.
- There are no professional training given on the importance and practice of pluralism in the news. Therefore, capacity building trainings, especially on media pluralism should

incorporate in the media house so that to empower journalists and media practitioners in practicing pluralism

Let me rap-up by quoting Dr. Negeri's interview with the Reporter English newsletter, of 23 November, 2013 with regards to informed society:

“..... So I should say that a society is best when it is fully and truly informed, otherwise an uninformed society is better than a misinformed one. The misinformed one has the power to cause destruction and become a threat to others. I don't mean that an uninformed society is needed, but it should be well informed.”

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APPENDICES

Annex I

News Content Analysis Code Sheet

Name of Coder: _____

Code for coder one= 01

Code for coder two= 02

Date of broadcast _____

Broadcasting Agency _____

Item No _____

1. Content of the News

- A. Ruling party view ☐
- B. Opposition parties view ☐
- C. External view ☐
- D. Other's View ☐

2. Precedence of the news

- A. Prime ☐
- B. Middle ☐
- C. End ☐

3. News Coverage extent

- A. Headline ☐
- B. News in Brief ☐
- C. News with Reportage ☐

4. Source of the News

- A. Staff Reporter ☐
- B. Government News Agencies ☐
- C. Information and Communication Agency ☐
- D. Foreign Source ☐
- E. Private Sources ☐
- F. Public ☐
- G. Other ☐

5. The Agenda

- A. War ☐
- B. Development ☐
- C. Foreign Aid ☐
- D. Opposition ☐
- E. Social Conflict ☐
- F. Societal compliant ☐
- G. Policy Agenda ☐
- H. Media Agenda ☐
- I. Foreign Relation ☐
- J. Multi-party concern ☐
- K. Administrative ☐
- L. Other ☐

6. Aim of the story

- A. Informing ☐
- B. Propagating ☐
- C. Sensationalizing ☐
- D. Mass mobilization ☐
- E. Agitation ☐
- F. Persuasion ☐

7. From where does the information obtained?

- A. The federal government ☐
- B. Addis Ababa city administration ☐
- C. Developed regional states ☐
- D. Developing regional states-including zone and weredas ☐
- E. Mixed ☐
- F. Abroad ☐

8. Who are involved in the news piece?

- A. Officials from the federal government ☐
- B. Officials from developed regional or zonal administrative ☐
- C. Officials from developing regional states ☐
- D. Officials from Addis Ababa ☐
- E. Opposition political parties ☐
- F. NGOS ☐
- G. Community members in Addis Ababa ☐
- H. Community members out of Addis Ababa ☐
- I. Mixed ☐
- J. Governmental organizations ☐
- K. Others ☐

Annex II

Code Guide

Operational Definitions for the sub-categories of the main analytical categories

- I. Operational definitions for the sub-categories of the main Content of the News
 1. Ruling party view: This unit refers to the all views that has been refed as views of EPRDF
 2. Opposition parties view: This unit refers to the all views that has been refed as views of that of opposition party, which are legally registered in the laws of Ethiopia
 3. External view: Views that come from foreigners
 4. Other's View: For the purpose of this research paper other's view is views from the local people but neither ruling party view nor opposition party vie
- I. Operational definitions for the sub-categories of the main Precedence of the news
 1. Prime: The total no. of news has been divided into three. The first group of the three is called the prime time new
 2. Middle: The second group is called the middle
 3. End: The remaining of the above called the end
- II. Operational definitions for the sub-categories of the main category news coverage extent
 1. Headline: When only the significant part (the caption) of the news told it is then referred as headline
 2. News in Brief: When some elaboration on the headline has been added, it is then referred as news in brief
 3. News with Reportage: This unit refers to news that has been supported with live report form a reporter or the source of the news

III. Operational definitions for the sub-categories of the main category source of the news

1. Staff Reporter: When the news is organized and delivered by the in-house reporter of that specific media
2. Government News Agencies: this stands for those who hold public office in different levels of government administration including federal government officials, regional/state government officials and PR of different government organization
3. Information and Communication Agency: this stands for any news dissimilated from the Information and Communication Agency
4. Foreign Source: Any news that has been received from media other than local media is referred as foreign source
5. Private Sources: Private sources are all local media that are not governmental or public
6. Public: Stations that are under EBC
7. Other: this refers to sources other than the above six sources

IV. Operational definitions for the sub-categories of the main category of the Agenda of the news

1. War: This refers to an action or a period of hostile relations between countries, states, or factions that leads to fighting between armed forces, especially in land, air, or sea battles
2. Development: Such news are those that has a story relates to the process of changing and becoming larger, stronger, or more impressive, successful, or advanced effects that has a direct impact on the political setting of the country
3. Foreign Aid: These are news related to any foreign aid made to Ethiopia or the process or any happening relating thereto
4. Opposition: Any negating idea on the current political setting or on the ruling party
5. Social Conflict: Conflicts within the country, conflicts between or among tribes of the country

6. Societal compliant: This stands for statements expressed by the community or group of people expressing discontent or unhappiness about some situations of the country or the ruling party
 7. Policy Agenda: Refers to a news agenda that has concern in elaborating policy agenda either the ruling party agenda or the opposition party
 8. Media Agenda: This stands for any news that tells about the media or the medium in relation to the political setting of the country
 9. Foreign Relation: this news type refers to the agenda that reflects any positive or negative relationship the country has with other country's that has an impact, direct or indirect, on the political setting of the country
 10. Multi-party concern: News that tells about opposition party views, election and related matter
 11. Administrative: Discusses the administrative issues of the ruling party
 12. Other: All agenda that are not included in the above agenda are included in this part
- V. Operational definitions for the sub-categories of the main category of the Aim of the Story
1. Informing: It stands for news tones that only have "telling" nature. This types are only told for communicating information
 2. Propagating: When the tone of the news is to publicize the agenda raised it is referred as propagation
 3. Sensationalizing: When the agenda is presented in a shocking or emotionally sensitive way, it is then referred as sensationalizing
 4. Mass mobilization: This stands for agenda that has a tone for social movements, revolutionary movements. It also has a tone of raising awareness of a demand for particular development objective
 5. Agitation: When the agenda is touching and drives audience to enquire audiences to do participate in or buy the agenda
 6. Persuasion: Stands for the tone of the agenda that is told to make audience believe the issue being told.

VI. Operational definitions for the sub-categories of the main category of from where the information obtained

1. The federal government:
2. Addis Ababa city administration: Information that are obtained from Addis Ababa City Administration
3. Developed regional states: Amhara, Oromya, Tigray, Harari, South Nation and Nationalities People and Dire dawa
4. Developing regional states-including zone and weredas: Afar, Somali, Benishangul Gumuz, and Gambella
5. Mixed: If the information obtained from both developed and developing regional states
6. Abroad: If the information is obtained from sources out of Ethiopia

VII. Operational definitions for the sub-categories of the main category of who are involved in the news piece

1. Officials from the federal government:
2. Officials from developed regional or zonal administrative ☐
3. Officials from developing regional states ☐
4. Officials from Addis Ababa ☐
5. Opposition political parties: If opposition party representatives or members are present
6. NGOS: When personals form Non-Government Organizations participated
7. Community members in Addis Ababa: Those who lived only in and around Addis Ababa
8. Community members out of Addis Ababa:
9. Mixed: If officials both from Community members in Addis Ababa and Community members out of Addis Ababa were involved in that news piece
10. Governmental organizations:
11. Others: Any participant other than the above listed

Annex III

Questions for key informants

Mangers of the Media House

Name -----

Media House Name: _____

Responsibilities in the station -----

Years served in the station _____

- 1. How are media pluralism and diversity defined in your station?
- 2. Is there a system to monitor media pluralism and diversity, especially in terms of political view, in your station? If yes:
 - a. What body is in charge?
 - b. How do you measure or evaluate the degree of media pluralism and diversity?
 - c. What aspects of pluralism and diversity do you monitor: - structure (diversity of media companies and outlets, composition of national and local media markets, audiences and regulatory structures, etc.)? - content (genres, formats, opinions including political, cultural, religious, etc.)? - sources (news agencies, independent production, etc.)?
 - d. Please describe any support measures and monitoring mechanisms that you have put into place in order to encourage media pluralism and diversity in your station
- 3. What are the main sources for News stories? Why?

4. What kind of stories are most likely to get priority in the interest of the institution?
5. Is there any challenge in practicing media pluralism, especially political diversity, in your station? If Yes:
 - A. What are the challenges?
 - B. What are the possible solutions for these challenges?
5. Any additional comments?

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION

Annex IV

Broadcast Media Inspection and Capacity Building Team Leader

Name -----

Responsibilities in the station -----

- 1. a. How are media pluralism and diversity defined in your station?
- 2. Is there a system to monitor media pluralism and diversity, especially in terms of political view, in your station? If yes:
 - a. What body is in charge?
 - b. How do you measure or evaluate the degree of media pluralism and diversity?
 - c. What aspects of pluralism and diversity do you monitor: – structure (diversity of media companies and outlets, composition of national and local media markets, audiences and regulatory structures, etc.)? – content (genres, formats, opinions including political, cultural, religious, etc.)? – sources (news agencies, independent production, etc.)?
 - d. Please describe any support measures and monitoring mechanisms that you have put into place in order to encourage media pluralism and diversity in your station
- 3. Please list any recent studies made by your office on:
 - a. media concentration in general;
 - b. impact of concentration on media pluralism of content;

c. audience satisfaction vis-à-vis media pluralism of content.

4. Please list any relevant institutions active in the field of media concentration, pluralism and diversity.

4. Is there any challenge in devising a mechanism for media pluralism? If Yes:

A. What are the challenges?

B. What are the possible solutions for these challenges?

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION

Annex V

Director of the News Session

Name -----

Media House Name: _____

Responsibilities in the station -----

Years served in the station _____

- 1. How do you get news ideas?
- 2. What is the focus in producing news stories?
- 4. What kinds of news stories get prime time? Why?
- 5. What are the main sources for stories? Why?
- 7. Do you cover the political activities of opposition political parties? How?
- 8. How do you assign reporters to cover a story? Why?
- 9. Do you think the issue of media pluralism, especially political pluralism, well entertained in the news session of your station? If yes,
(a) What are the parameters?
If No, why?
- 10. What are the challenges?
- 11. What are the possible solutions for these challenges?

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION

Annex VI

Opposition party leaders

Name -----

Name of the Party -----

Position _____

- 1. When was your party established?
- 2. How do you evaluate Ethiopian broadcasting media in entertaining different political viewpoints?
- 3. What medium does your party uses to inform the society? Why?
- 4. Do you think the issue of media pluralism, especially political pluralism, well entertained in the news session of the Ethiopian broadcast media? if yes
 - (a) In which stations
 - If no, why
- 5. What major challenges do you see in practicing pluralism in Ethiopian Broadcast media?
- 6. What are the possible solutions for these challenges?

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION

Annex VII

News Reporters

Name _____

Media House Name _____

Responsibility _____

Years served _____

- 1. In what ways are reporters assigned in your news room?
- 2. Who is your direct monitoring body in organizing news items?
- 3. Do editors censor your reports?
 - a. If yes,

By what criteria
- 4. Do any governmental or non-governmental bodies interfere in your reporting?
 - a. If yes

In what ways
- 5. In your reporting, do you think that you have covered a diversified ideas?
 - a. If yes

What are your parameters to measure this?
- 6. Do you think the issue of media pluralism, especially political pluralism well entertained in the news session of your station? Explain why.
- 7. What challenges and opportunities are there in practicing media pluralism during reporting?

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION

Annex VIII

List of Informants:

No	Name of Informant	Position	Organization
1.	Ato Abiyu Mekonnen	Broadcasting Media Inspection and Capacity Bld. Team Leader	EBA
2.	Ato Teshale Bekele	Deputy Director	EBC
3	Ato Abenet Demeke	Chief News Editor/Radio	EBC
4	Ato Adane	Head in Executing Committee	EDP
5	Dr. Merera Gudina	Deputy Chairman	Medrek
6	Ato TAdesse Bezuaalem	Reporter	FBC
7	Ato Dawit Mesfin	News section head/Reporter	FBC
8	Ato Yayesew Shimeles	Reporter	EBC
9	Ato Abayneh Tilahun	Senior Reporter	EBC
10	Ato Fassil Redi	Senior Reporter/	FM102.1
11	Ato Eshete Assefa	News Director	FM102.1

ለኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስት ባለስልጣን

በብሮድካስት አገልግሎት ላይ የሚቀርብ ቅሬታ ማመልከቻ ቅጽ

1. የቅሬታ አቅራቢው ሙሉ ስም _____
 - 1.1. የመኖሪያ አድራሻ፡- ክልል _____ ክ/ከተማ _____ ቀበሌ _____ ስልክ _____
2. የቅሬታው መሰረት፡- የቴክኒክ ☐ የፕሮግራም ☐
3. ቅሬታ የቀረበበት ብሮድካስተር (የፊደሮ/የቴሌቪዥን ጣቢያው) ስም _____
 - 3.1 የብሮድካስት አገልግሎቱ (የፊደሮ ወይም የቴሌቪዥን ጣቢያው) አይነት፡-
የንግድ ☐ የማህበረሰብ ☐ የመንግሥት/የህዝብ ☐
 - 3.2 የብሮድካስት ጣቢያው አይነት፡- ሬድዮ ☐ ቴሌቪዥን ☐
4. የፕሮግራሙ ርዕስ ወይም የቴክኒክ ግድፈቱ ምንነት _____ (ከታወቀ)
5. ለቅሬታ መነሻ የሆነው ድርጊት የተፈጸመበት፡- ሰዓት _____ ቀን _____ ወር _____ ዓ.ም _____
(የሚታወቅ ከሆነ)
6. ለቅሬታው መነሻ የሆነው ድርጊት በቅሬታ አቅራቢው ላይ ያስከተለው የመብት ጥሰት ወይም ጉዳት ዝርዝር፡-

7. ቅሬታው ለብሮድካስተሩ ቀርቦ ከሆነ ከብሮድካስተሩ የተገኘው ምላሽ ወይም ውጤት፡-

8. የቅሬታ አቅራቢው ሥም _____ ፊርማ _____ ቀን _____

ማስታወሻ፡-

- ♦ ቅሬታው በውክልና የቀረበ ከሆነ ሕጋዊ የውክልና ማስረጃ ካዚህ የማመልከቻ ቅጽ ጋር ተያይዞ መቅረብ አለበት፡፡
- ♦ ማመልከቻ ቅጹን በመሙላት ሉራኪል ኃይለ አለም ህንፃ በሚገኘው የባለስልጣኑ ቢሮ ቁጥር 406 ማቅረብ ወይም በፖስታ ሣጥን ቁጥር 43142 መላክ ይቻላል፡፡

ሰላተዮጽያ ብሮድካስት ባለስልጣን

ብብሮድካስት አገልግሎት ላይ የሚቀርብ ጥቅማ መቀበያ ቅጽ

1. የጥቅማ አቅራቢው ስም (በጠቋሚው ፍላጎት ከተገለጸ) _____
 1.1. የመኖሪያ ክልል _____ ክ/ከተማ _____ ቀበሌ _____ ስልክ _____ (ካሰረሰ)
2. የጥቅማው መሰረት፡- የቴክኒክ ☐ የፕሮግራም ☐
3. ጥቅማ የቀረበበት የብሮድካስት ጣቢያ ስም _____
 3.1. የብሮድካስት ጣቢያው አይነት፡- ሬድዮ ☐ ቴሌቪዥን ☐
4. የፕሮግራሙ ርእስ ወይም የቴክኒክ ግድፈቱ ምንነት _____
5. ለጥቅማው መነሻ የሆነው ድርጊት የተፈጸመበት፡- _____ ቀን _____ ወር _____ ዓ.ም
6. ከጠቋሚዎች የተገኘው የፕሮግራም ወይም የቴክኒክ አሰራርና የህግ "ጥላቻ" ዝርዝር፡-

7. የጥቅማ ተቀባይ ባለሙያ አስተያየትና የውሳኔ ሃሳብ፡-

8. የብሮድካስት ሚዲያ ክትትልና ድጋፍ ቡድን ውሳኔ፡-

ማሳሰቢያ፡-

- * ማንኛውም ሰው የአገሪቱን ሕጎችና አሰራሮች በሚጥሱ ብሮድካስተሮች ላይ ጥቅማ ለባለስልጣኑ ሊቀርብ ይችላል።

Annex XI

ሰሚሊያ ኢንሰፔክሽን የተገልጋይ /የደንበኛ/ አርካታ መስኪያ ቅጽ

የኢትዮጵያ ብሮድካስት ባለስልጣን ኢንስፔክሽን ሪፖርት ደንበኛ አርካታ መሰከት ያስፈልገዎት ዋና አላማ ባለስልጣን መ/ቤቱ መሰረታዊ የውጤት ተኮር ምዘና ትግበራ እያካሄደ በመሆኑ የኢንስፔክሽን ውጤት ላይ የብሮድካስተሩ አስተያየት ለዚሁ አላማ እንደ ግብአት ስመጠቀም ነው። የእርስዎ አስተያየት አስፈላጊ በመሆኑ ቅጹን በመሙላት እንዲተባበሩ በአክብሮት እንጠይቃለን።

ይገለፀዎል በሚሉት ነጥብ ላይ ይህን ምልክት (✓) ያድርጉ
የጣቢያው ስያሜ ----- ጣቢያው ያለበት ወረዳ/ከተማ -----
ኢንስፔክሽን ለሰንተኛ ጊዜ ተካሂደ -----የአሁኑ ኢንስፔክሽን ሰንተኛው ነው-----

ቁ	የመስኪያ መስፈርት	በ ዝቅተኛ	ዝቅተኛ	ጥሩ	በ ጥሩ	እ.በ.ጥሩ
1	በጣቢያው ኢንስፔክሽን የተካሄደበት ወቅት ተገቢነት					
2	በኢንስፔክሽኑ ስለሚካሄድበት ጊዜና ሁኔታ ቀድሞ ከማሳወቅ አንፃር					
3	በኢንስፔክሽኑ ከጣቢያው ኃላፊና ከሚመለከታቸው ባለሙያዎች ፣ ባለድርሻ አካላት ጋር በቂ ውይይት ከማድረግ አንፃር					
4	የኢንስፔክሽን ሪፖርቱ አደረጃጀትና ጥራት					
5	በሪፖርቱ ለችግሮች መፍትሔ አመላካች ከመጠቀም አንፃር					
6	በጣቢያው ላይ የተሰጠ የአድማጭ አስተያየት ጠቃሚነት/ጠቁሚነት/					
7	የኢንስፔክሽን ሪፖርት ግኝት ትንታኔ ከብሮድካስት አዋጅ መመሪያና ሌሎች የጋዜጠኝነት ስነምግባር ቃኝቶ ከማቅረብ አንፃር					
8	የኢንስፔክሽን ሪፖርት በወቅቱ ለብሮድካስተሩ በማሳወቅ በኩል					
9	የኢንስፔክሽኑ የተመደቡ ባለሙያዎች ብቃት					
10	በኢንስፔክሽኑ የተሰማሩ ባለሙያዎች የስነምግባር ሁኔታ					

አቻ የመስኪያ መስፈርቶች

በጣም ዝቅተኛ0
ዝቅተኛ20
በቂ.....40
ጥሩ.....60
በጣም ጥሩ80
እ.በ.ጥሩ100
አስተያየት የሰጠው የጣቢያው ባለድርሻ አካል ወይም ኃላፊ ስም -----

ቀን ----- ፊርማ -----

DECLARATION

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

Name: Selome Getachew

Signature: _____

Date of submission: _____

Place of submission: Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia