

Media Pluralism and Development in Ethiopia with Special Focus
on Religious Media

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Abstract

Media Pluralism and Development in Ethiopia with Special Focus on Religious Media

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This paper examined the interplay between media pluralism and development in Ethiopia with special focus on religious media taking in to consideration the different arguments regarding pluralism of media and development. The study included some concepts regarding media pluralism and theories of religious media in the related literature review part. The study employed qualitative methods both the focus group discussion and the in-depth individual interview tools of data collection using quota non-random sampling method. Open ended questions such as the respondents view on the media pluralism and its role for development were asked for all the respondents in the study. The findings of the study showed that the plural media plays unprecedented role in the development of the country and its people both negatively and positively. The negative effects of the media pluralism on development were suggested merely theoretically. These are creating fear, suspicion and discrimination. Strengthening tensions and fostering stereotypes were also suggested from the negative effect of the media pluralism. However, practical examples regarding the positive contribution of the plural media for development were clearly explained. The creation of job opportunity, the enhancement of democracy, good governance and human right, the role in the elimination of harmful practices, securing women's rights, the preserving of the international and inland laws, the promotion of love, respect and peace, the elimination of crimes, corruptions, and injustice were some of the findings written under the positive contribution of the media pluralism for development.

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Table of Contents

Contents	Page
Abbreviation	
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction -----	1
1.1. Background of the Study-----	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem-----	5
1.3. Objectives-----	7
1.4. Research Questions-----	8
1.5. Significance of the Study-----	8
CHAPTER TWO: Review of Related Literature -----	9
2.1. Brief History of the Emergence of Media-----	9
2.2. Media Pluralism-----	13
2.2.1. Definition, Key Concepts and Theoretical Frameworks-----	13
2.2.2. Media Pluralism and Diversity-----	15
2.2.3. Media Pluralism and Development-----	17
2.2.4. Determinants of Media Pluralism-----	19
2.3. Religious Media: Theoretical Studies-----	19
2.4. From Uncritical Acceptance to Total Resection: Theories and Approaches-----	21
2.4.1. Functionalist Approaches-----	21
2.4.2. Essentialist Approaches-----	23
2.4.3. Interactive Approaches-----	29
2.5. Religious Media and Media Religion-----	33

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology of the Study -----	37
3.1. The Research Design-----	37
3.2. Sample Selection and Size-----	37
3.3. Informants-----	38
3.4. Data Collecting Tools-----	38
3.4.1. Focus Group Discussion-----	38
3.4.2. In-Depth Individual Interview-----	39
3.5. Data Processing and Analysis-----	40
CHAPTER FOUR: Data Analysis and Presentation -----	41
4.1 The Respondents’ General View On Media Pluralism (First Category)-----	41
4.1.1. The Respondents’ View On The Various Media of Western Countries-----	41
4.1.2. The General Role of Plural Media-----	42
4.1.3. Plural Media and Development-----	44
4.1.4. Respondents’ View Regarding The Existence of Media Pluralism-----	45
4.1.5. Necessity of Media Pluralism in Ethiopia (As Compared to the Western media)-----	47
4.2 The Positive Contribution of Media Pluralism (Second Category)-----	51
4.2.1. Media Pluralism and The Society-----	51
4.2.1.1 Private Media/Religious Media’s Role In Making Responsible and Flag-Waver Society-----	51

4.2.1.2 Media Pluralism and New Community-----	53
4.2.1.3 The Plural Media/Religious Media and the Social Development-----	56
4.2.1.4 Religious Media and the Culture-----	60
4.2.2 Plural Media and Economy-----	63
4.2.2.1. Religious Media and Economy-----	63
4.2.2.2. Media Pluralism and Job Opportunity-----	66
4.2.3. Plural Media and Politics-----	71
4.2.3.1. Media Pluralism and Promotion of Democracy, Good Governance, and Human Rights-----	71
4.2.3.2. Plural Media/Religious Media and Politics-----	73
4.3. The Negative Effect of Private Media Especially Religious Media in All Types of Development (Third Category)-----	76
4.4. The Existence of Plural/Private Media in General and Religious Media in Particular (Fourth Category)-----	81
CHAPTER FIVE: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendation-----	86
5.1. Summary and Conclusions-----	86
5.2. Recommendations-----	92
References	
Appendices	

Abbreviations

CEC Commission of the European Communities

DFID Department for International Development

ECHR European Convention on Human Rights

ENA Ethiopian News Agency

EPRDF Ethiopian Peoples Republic Democratic Front

ERTA Ethiopia Radio and television Agency

ETV Ethiopian Television

FDRE Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

FGD Focus Group Discussion

FGM Female Genital Mutilation

ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

IPDC International Program for Development of Communication

PMC Population Media Centre

MDD Media Division Directorate

RVOG Radio Voice of the Gospel

UDHR Universal Declaration of Human rights

UNESCO United nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

WEMF World Electronic Media Forum

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Though some countries have shown remarkable progress in recent years, the media environment in some other counties has remained limited. The 20th century has brought the development of mass media and the foundations of a global media. The media transformation is being accelerated because of the digitalization of technology. Locksley (2009) explains the transformation of the media as follows:

In the 21st century the transformation of the media is accelerating as a consequence of the digitalization of content and its global distribution over digital platforms to digital devices. This digital transformation supplements, and at times by-passes, traditional models and platforms by introducing two-way, bottom-up, and lateral content distribution and production with new devices. Internet payment enabled music- and video-playing mobile phones with cameras are a recent addition to the new media, adding a fourth “screen” to those of cinema, television, and personal computers (, p.2).

New media do not displace old. Rather, they sit side by side. Hardcopy newspapers and books are still published, but can also be accessed on the Internet. The news can be received on radios, watched on TVs, or accessed on laptop computers and mobile handsets.

The creation of many apparatus of media and the availability of different ideas led to the emergence of plural media. The definition of media pluralism has been explained by many scholars in different ideas.

The concept of media pluralism encompasses many aspects such as the diversity of ownership, multiplicity of sources of information and also diversity in the contents (Commission of the European Communities, 2007).

According to Carver (2006), media pluralism simply means that there is a variety of different types of media and different owners. He explains that it is perhaps easiest to explain this by looking at what pluralism is not instead of defining what pluralism is.

The first character is that pluralism is not having a single state monopoly broadcaster while the second one is not having a single private company owning all broadcasters.

Third pluralism is also not having a single model of broadcasting.

However, the concept of media pluralism in the Western countries is not just having different media outlets with various owners and different ideas. It is beyond this thought. It is believed by some scholars as an ideology or the other manifestation of Neo Liberalism. However, the concept of media pluralism in both the USA and in the Europe is also different. In Europe the plural media gives more concern to community than individual while in the USA it is highly individualized.

In achieving its status today as an indispensable human right, media pluralism has had an interesting journey. Both Article 19 of the UDHR and Article 19 of the ICCPR stress that the right to free expression and the free flow of information is only possible if society has free access to a multitude of media, and if society has a free choice between different media outlets (Haraszti, no date).

Media pluralism and freedom of media were appeared to be recognized for the first time in the 1950s in the western countries. According to Haraszti, the notion of media freedom and pluralism has been, since the 1950s, developed in the constitutional law of several countries, with France, Germany and the United Kingdom leading the way. Over time, the various mechanisms of the Council of Europe have provided powerful and detailed

elaboration of pluralism as a right corollary to, and inseparable from, the right to freedom of expression promulgated by Article 10 of the ECHR.

He also added that the three of the Council of Europe institutions improved the situation over the years: the case law of the European Court of Human Rights, several seminal recommendations by the Committee of Ministers, and resolutions by the Parliamentary Assembly. The 27 members of the EU secured a separate entry for media pluralism in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (conceived in 2000), putting it on an equal footing with the other two basic free speech human rights, free expression and the free flow of information (Article 11, “The freedom and pluralism of the media shall be respected.”) This came into force through the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009.

However, media pluralism in Ethiopia was guaranteed in the FDRE constitution for the first time after the overthrow of the military regime. The country guaranteed freedom of expression only in 1991 that led to the emergence of private press. Prior to 1991, there was no private press in Ethiopia. It came to exist only following the decline of the Derg in 1991 when the government of Ethiopia (EPRDF) guaranteed freedom of expression in the transitional government’s charter and then in the 1995 constitution. It was at this time that the long standing tradition of censorship was removed and that the private press—the print media—began to increase their quantity sharply.

The Ethiopian publishing industry began to grow after the Press Bill of 1992. There were a number of magazines and newspapers though their exact figure differs. Nevertheless pluralism of media in broadcast is at very low rate. Moreover, at the moment there is no religious broadcasting as the 1999 Broadcast Agency Law prohibits the setting up of religious broadcasting stations in Ethiopia.

Nevertheless, after a time, the print media began to decrease their number for various reasons. Mekuria (2007) puts its reason as the availability of limited resources. He believes that the 'independent papers' are owned by private share companies (business communities, political parties or just individual business entrepreneurs). Because of a very limited middle-class, the income on advertising is also very limited. The government papers are subsidized by government funds, and partly financed by advertisements and subscribers. Others also stated that the culture of reading has not been properly cultivated, despite the fact that literacy has been increasing over the past few years. Moreover, the low distribution of the print media has also been suggested as a reason for its diminishment

Nevertheless, Norris and Inglehart (2009) strongly argue that the reason for the closing down of the print and the proscription of the broadcast media was because of the tight legal rein on the entire media landscape. Furthermore, Berger (2007) also explains that the reason was the existence of the most restrictive media environments. In addition to the closing down of many private media, there is no any religious or political radio running at the moment since it is precluded by the Broadcast proclamation of 1999.

When dealing media pluralism and development, the term development should not be only regarding the economic development. However it should compass all sorts of development like social, cultural, political, behavioral, mental...etc. The term development refers to a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Regarding the importance of plural media many scholars put different ideas. According to Mouffe (2000), plural media are vital to ensure the public is involved in defining development strategies, and to attain widespread support for those strategies. They enable people to learn about issues and make their voices heard. Free, independent media are important to ensure freedom of speech (guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), promote democracy, good governance, peace and human rights, combat poverty and crime, inform people about issues and enable them to participate in public debate (Mouffe, 2000).

Pluralism is understood not merely as a fact, something that must be dealt with, but rather as a valuable principle that is 'constitutive at the conceptual level of the very nature of modern democracy and considered as something that we should celebrate and enhance' (ibid: 19). From a Liberal perspective and in contrast with more community-centered or unitary views of society, pluralism is seen as fruitful and as being a necessary condition of human progress (Karppinen, 2006).

According to the UDHR, in order to safeguard the fundamental freedom to receive information, to ensure the interest of the viewer to have access to information, pluralism of media in general is necessary. Generally, plural media are extremely important in raising awareness and knowledge about a given problem (Waisbord 2005). They are able to expose large amounts of people to messages and generate conversation among audiences and others who were not exposed.

Nevertheless there are also some scholars who oppose the existence of plural media giving different reasons. According to oak, he believes that the more media there, the

more wrong messages that could lead to conflict are transmitted. He further adds pluralism of media leads to the problem of information overload. He says,

All the time, you are glued to some form of media. It is bombarding you with content, news, information, gossip, rumors - it is exposing you to everything it has, some things necessary, some not; some things important, some not, some things you want to ignore, some things you cannot. Media is everywhere, affecting every aspect of life (p2).

Oak explains about the negative effect of plural media in identifying the information as Right or Wrong Dilemma. He believes that there are many sources of media that convincingly make their point which is hard to distinguish between right and wrong. He says, the media is constantly bombarding us with information. He poses the following questions: “How far do we go to check its authenticity? How deep do we dig to get to the root of something that's making news? How critically do we judge the reality of reality shows and the truth behind true stories?”

The media can also engender suspicion, fear, discrimination and violence by strengthening stereotypes, fostering inter-group tension and excluding certain groups from public discourse (IPDC2008). Postman (1977, cited in Hosseini, 2009) also argues that media shouldn't be used for religion considering media as a destruction of religion from holiness to nonsacredness. Similarly, Heidegger (1985) as cited in (Hossein, 2008), also opposes the usage of media considering media as a replacement of God.

As People in Ethiopia have limited access to mass media outlets, considering religious and communal associations may also be important in carrying out development interventions.

The different viewpoints given by many scholars regarding media pluralism and development appeared to be a concern. Some of them support the existence of plural media while others reject its existence. Though most of the arguments seem that the availability of plural media help for the development of a given country, some others have also opposed its existence. Based on the arguments stated earlier, one could guess the necessity of pluralism of media in Ethiopia as either pointless or indispensable for the many reasons rose.

Therefore, while discussing the contribution of media pluralism for development more vividly, the researcher has found the advantages and disadvantages of media pluralism on development of a given country to be crucial issue. Thus, the researcher believed that exploring the interplay between media pluralism and development in Ethiopia with a special focus on religious media is worthwhile.

1.3. Objectives

The General Objective of this Study was

- To examine the interplay between media pluralism and development.

The Specific Objectives were

- To determine the relationship between pluralism of media and development
- To explore the negative and positive contribution of media pluralism for development
- To investigate the link between religious media and development

1.4. Research questions

- Is there a connection between media pluralism and development
- Does pluralism of media in general foster the development of a given country?
 - If so, what about the role of religious media?
- What is the negative and positive contribution of religious media for development?

1.5. Significance of the Study

So far, there seems no research has been conducted in Ethiopia regarding media pluralism and development or the regarding the contribution of religious media for development in either positive or negative aspect. The study has clearly identified these contributions in both aspects. Therefore this study may help to anyone who needs to know the positive and negative contribution of media pluralism in general and religious media in particular for the overall development of a given country.

It may also help as a springboard or as a reference for anyone who wants to conduct a further research regarding this title.

CHAPTER TWO: Review of Related Literature

2.1. Brief History of the Emergence of Mass Media.

The first printed book dates from 686 in China. The Gutenberg press, using the new technology of movable type, started printing in 1453. The first English language newspaper— another new media—appeared around 1620. The 19th century saw numerous advances with the inventions of the telegraph, telephone, phonograph, jukebox, cinematography, wireless telegraph, and loudspeaker, each of which separately added new media. Many of these inventions converged in the 20th century to transform the media (Population Media Center, (PMC) 2006).

In 1920, KDKA of Pittsburg became the world's first private commercial radio station; in 1925 the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was broadcasting radio throughout most of the United Kingdom; and by 1935 half of U.S. households had a radio. The BBC began so-called high-definition television (TV) broadcasts in 1936; cable TV was introduced in the United States in 1948; and in 1962 Telstar began transmitting trans-Atlantic images. Since then, mobile phones, microprocessors, Dolby noise reduction, Pong, audio cassettes, desktop computers, the Cable News Network (CNN), compact discs (CDs), laptop computers, pay-per-view, the World Wide Web, online databases, CD-ROMs, high definition TV, DVDs, MP3s, user-created content, and podcast have assumed roles in the live and recorded media landscape. The transformation has created major new industries and social activities which indicates the direct contributions of the media to development, (ibid).

History of Mass Media in Ethiopia

A. Print Media

Though 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. In the city of Axum religious works, prose and poetry, written in Geez or translated to Geez was developed by the Ethiopian church at the fourth century (PMC, 2006).

According to the historian, Elaine Sarcreeam, the Portuguese missionaries introduced the printing machine to Ethiopia in the 17th century and were printing religious books (Ullendorff, E., 1960). In October, 1863, in the reign of Emperor Theodros, another printing machine was introduced by Lorenzo Biancheri (PMC 2006). in 1885, the Swedish Evangelical Mission established their first small press at Minkulu, near Massawa, and later in 1895.

However, the PMC (2006) explains that the development of modern periodicals is traced only to the last years of the nineteenth century or the first years of the twentieth century.

The first medium introduced was a weekly newspaper (La Se-maine d'Ethiopie, 1905), published in French by a Franciscan missionary living in Harar which later, in 1911, changed its name to Le Semeur d'Ethiopie. Although Ethiopia has a long tradition of cleric inscription, the first Amharic news paper publication is a century old. The first news paper that appeared in the 1902 was the *A'emro*. The first issues were hand written. Between 1912 and 1915 weekly newspapers like Melekete Selam, Yetor Wore ("War News"), and many others emerged.

However, some historical evidences suggest that the hand written sheet produced by Blata Gebre Egziabher around 1900 probably preceded both of the above papers.

In 1965 Berhanena Selam Printing Press, a modern institution run by the government was established. The Printing Press played a role in the publication of two national weekly newspapers, Addis Zemen (New Era), in Amharic (1941) and its English counterpart the Ethiopian Herald, in 1943. These two served as the main official press organs of the state and as the main source of information for literate people.

During the 17 years of Mengistu's rule, the government-and party-owned publications Meskerem ("September"), Serto Ader ("Worker"), and the pre-Derg Yezareyitu Ethiopia ("Ethiopia Today") were published in addition to the previously mentioned Addis Zemen and the Ethiopian Herald. For the most part, these print media were controlled by the country's government, subject to official censorship and string-pulling.

In October 1992 the proclamation of the Press Freedom Bill by the Ethiopian Transitional Government came to appear for the first time. After the proclamation of the Press Freedom Bill, hundreds of new, independent newspapers and magazines developed, especially in Addis Ababa.

B. Radio

An experimental radio station existed in the 1930s which was interrupted during the Italian invasion in 1936. After Ethiopia chased out the Italian invading force, Radio Ethiopia started broadcasting in 1941 with a 7 –kilowatt shortwave transmitter and five full-time employees. The broadcast was not able to scale the surrounding hills of the city of Addis Ababa. By 1970 the Radio managed to expand its broadcast to cover 40 percent of the population across all major cities, towns and hamlets of Ethiopia. The radio operated under the direction and guidance of the Ministry of Information. (Mekuria, 2005:9)

In addition to Radio Ethiopia, Radio Voice of the Gospel established in 1963 which the World Lutheran Federation owned. With its coverage of Addis Ababa and its environs it broadcasted five and half hours daily with MW transmitter and an hour with SW transmitter every evening in Amharic, English and French languages, but the national broadcast was entirely in Amharic. Christian voice of the Gospel was nationalized in 1980 by the Derg Regime. At the moment there is no religious broadcasting as the 1999 Broadcast Agency Law prohibits the setting up of religious broadcasting stations in Ethiopia (ibid:10).

Other radio stations that the government allowed to operate in country are FM Addis, Radio Fana, Zami FM, FM 96.3, Afro FM and Sheger FM . FM Radio covers not only the capital Addis Ababa with 80% of its programs occupied by entertainment and advertisement (Ethiopia Radio Editorial Policy cited in Mekuria, 2005:25), but also different towns like Arba Minch, Mekele, Bahrdar, Jimma...etc. Radio Fana's present legal status renders it private station. However, whether Fana is non –partisan has been debated (Mekuria, 2005:26). In general, till 2007 the Ethiopian Radio stations were governmental, party owned and 'private' stations (Mekuria, 2005:25). However, now there is no party owned radio.

C. Television

Television broadcasting was launched in Ethiopia in 1964. The Ethiopian Television expanded its coverage from one percent when established to 47 percent in 1998 and increased its staff from 31 in 1964 to 643 in 2005 ((Mekuria, 2005:11). Currently there are more than 2000 staff. ETV used to broadcast in Amharic and English. It also started broadcasting in Oromiffa, Tigrigna, Afar, Harari, Somali, Arabic and French since 1991.

ETV broadcasts about 24 hours a day. The television broadcasts news, economic, socio-cultural, and educational and entertainment programs which are prepared by the station. It also broadcasts news it receives from local news agencies mainly Ethiopian News Agency and Walta Information Center as well as international news agencies like BBC, Reuters, and CNN (Blen, 2006:9). However currently there are 4 TV stations; ETV 1, Addis TV (ETV2), ETV 3 and TV Oromiya those are all state owned station (Blen, 2006).

D. News Agencies

News agencies are the main sources of media. The availability of difference sources is one of manifestations of media pluralism. However, the country has only two news agencies the Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) and Walta Information Center (Walta) which are both government controlled. ENA is the largest local news agency in the country which is government funded. It gathers news from all over the country through its regional desks and also from international media houses while Walta has 39 correspondents in zonal towns.

2.2. Media Pluralism

2.2.1. Definition, Key Concepts and Theoretical Frameworks:

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 the different Member States. For many analysts or observers, media pluralism has come to mean, almost exclusively, plurality of ownership. Concentration of ownership, it is

feared, may result in a skewed public discourse where certain viewpoints are excluded or underrepresented (Commission of the European Communities (CEC), 2007).

To Carver (2006) media pluralism is different media with different owners and different sources.

According to Asiuzzaman (2010) pluralism focuses on an engagement with diversity; tolerance with the active seeking of understanding across lines of difference; dialogue that reveals common understandings; independence or autonomy of the groups to enhance the openness in the system; consensus or widespread agreement among political activists and leaders on democratic principles and values.

Media Pluralism also highlights the pluralist view that the media are independent; the independence of media from the government, pressure groups and big conglomerations; the relative independence of journalists in writing their articles; media freedom by reducing media ownership concentration, and by supporting more and diverse media voices; editorial independence in the mass media by supporting the efforts of journalists and media professionals to work freely and to resist all forms of internal and external pressure that undermine the quality and ethical standing of media; public engagement with media and policymakers in order to develop a more balanced, accessible and democratic media system; a comprehensive strategy for diversity to help media meet the challenge of improving levels of diversity, both in content and within media institutions, and among broadcasters; awareness of minority concerns and cultural identity among media professionals, and to promote dialogue between media and representatives of different communities (Asiuzzaman, 2010).

According to the Media Division Directorate (2002), diversity of ownership of media outlets is not sufficient per se to ensure media pluralism of media content. The MDD stated that the way media content is produced also has an impact on the overall level of plurality in the media

The intense competition between newspapers or television channels may not itself guarantee pluralistic content. This raises the concern of whether, and if so to what extent, inadequate competition among information sources can have a negative effect on the functioning of democratic society, owing to a pluralism deficit (Commission of the European Communities (CEC), 2007).

Asiuzzaman (2010) emphasizes 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. To him 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.

2.2.2. Media Pluralism and Diversity

Citizens' access to a wide range of information in the public sphere is unarguably a key condition in theorizing the relationship between media and democracy. Furthermore, notions of pluralism and diversity today seem to invoke a particularly affective resonance; to an extent that they permeate much of the argumentation in current European media policy debates (Karppinen, 2006).

Yet opinions on the meaning and nature of these values are manifold, and they embody some of central conflicts in contemporary media policy. Based on the undisputed merits

of social, political and cultural pluralism, diversity and variety in the media can even be seen as desirable ends in themselves (ibid).

But as McLennan (1995: 7) noted, the constitutive vagueness of pluralism as a social value gives it enough ideological flexibility so that it is capable of signifying reactionary tendencies in one phase of the debate and progressive values in the next. From the perspective of democratic theory, it has, thus, been noted that ‘pluralism is currently one of those values to which everybody refers but whose meaning is unclear and far from adequately theorized’, Mouffe (1993a: 69).

In media policy, the resonance of pluralistic discourses has been exploited accordingly in arguments for various and often incompatible objectives; for free market competition, as well as further public interventions and public service obligations (Karppinen, 2006).

In both political and analytical discourses, the concepts of media pluralism and media diversity are used more or less synonymously, raising some confusion regarding the difference, or a possible hierarchy, between the two concepts.

Karppinen, 2006 defines the difference between pluralism and diversity in an explicit way. He says, “The notion of media diversity is generally used in a more empirical or tangible meaning, whereas pluralism refers to a more diffuse societal value or an underlying orientation. In the broadest sense, the concept of media diversity refers to the heterogeneity on the level of contents, outlets, ownership or any other aspect of the media deemed relevant.”

Respectively, different frameworks have been suggested to analyze its different subcomponents such as source, content and exposure diversity, as well as their mutual

hierarchies and relations (McQuail, 1992; Napoli, 1999; Hellman, 2001; Doyle, 2002 in Karppinen, 2006).

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 places. For many analysts or observers, media pluralism has come to mean, almost exclusively, plurality of ownership. Concentration of ownership, it is feared, may result in a skewed public discourse where certain viewpoints are excluded or underrepresented. Further, because some viewpoints are represented while others are marginalized, abuse of political power can occur through the lobbying of powerful interest groups – whether these are political, commercial or other (CEC, 2007).

Although pluralism of ownership is important, it is a necessary but not sufficient condition for ensuring media pluralism. Media ownership rules need to be complemented by other provisions. Different instruments on different levels have already been analysed in the issues paper on media pluralism prepared for the 2005 Liverpool audiovisual conference.

2.2.3. Media Pluralism and Development

The definitions of ‘development’ centered on the criterion of the rate of economic growth. The level of national development at any given point in time was the GNP or, when divided by the total population in a nation, per capita income. Although there was a certain amount of intellectual discomfort with per capita income as the main index of development, especially among non economists, alternative measures and definitions of development had relatively few proponents (Everett M. Rogers 1976). The term development refers to "a multidimensional process involving major changes in social

structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty" (Todaro, 1977: 62). This is because development is not solely about economic or technological growth, but it is also importantly about increases in knowledge and skills, growth of new awareness, enhancing of the human spirit and the fusion of human confidence (Matebu, 2006:9) citing (Moemeka, 1994) and (Servaes, 1999).

However, we should still note that what constitutes 'improvement' or 'change for the better in the different aspects of human life' is, as Melkote and Steeves (2001: 44) indicate, debatable mainly because also the reference criteria may vary from place to place and from time to time (Matebu Tadesse, 2006).

Media pluralism is one of the most vital components of a democratic society, which in turn is a prerequisite for sustainable social and economic development. This fact has become more and more widely understood and accepted in May 1991, when African journalists gathered in the Namibian capital, Windhoek, for a regional seminar on promoting independent and pluralist media. The Windhoek Declaration became the first in a series of commitments, region by region, to uphold the freedom of people to voice their opinions, and their access to a variety of independent sources of information (UNESCO, 1991).

According to Article 19 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the mass media (radio, television, newspapers, magazines and Internet) are fundamental to development as fulfilling a public service role, acting in the public interest as the fourth estate keeping a close eye on abuses of power by politicians, corporations and others (Asiuzzaman, 2010).

The Panos Eastern Africa also regards media pluralism as a precondition for sustainable development. The media is a key player in coalition of actors working to effect change. Yet for the media to play a crucial role in the development of the region it must have the capacity and space for diverse views within society and diverse channels of communication. These channels facilitate balanced information flows between and within societies on the issues affecting the poor.

2.2.4. Determinants of Media Pluralism

Pluralism is a very complex issue that cannot be secured by creating one panacea solution. According to Doyle (2002), the following have to be investigated in order to decide what sort of acts or policies are the best for any given country that want to support media pluralism: size and wealth of the market; diversity of suppliers; consolidation of resources; and diversity of output.

2.3. Religious Media: Theoretical Studies

The interaction between media and religion has been argued by many scholars. Attempts that strove to twist the religion in a way that suits the media were made. According to Hosseini (2008)

Major efforts have been exhausted bringing religion closer to media (rather than bringing media closer to religion), or to break down the traditional boundaries between the “religious” and the “media.” In light of such efforts and various researches, some have tried to show the necessity of building new bridges between religion and media. These attempts have even made scholars believe that in the “media age,” the secular is sacred and the sacred is secular. This endeavor was aimed at the unification of the two important elements of contemporary human life, which historically could also be understood in the context of challenging the relationship between science and religion. (Hosseini, 2008, p.56).

The various theories and approaches about the essence of the media have been classified in three branches: functionalistic, essentialist, and interactive hypotheses. To Hosseini (2008), although the basic principle of media essentialism has been accepted, religion, which is neither the institutional ministry nor an absolute personal experience, has the potential to be consistent with the exclusive nature of the media. For scholars, theologians, and media researchers, religion and media is a subject of keen interest; it is being analyzed from multiple perspectives.

One possible reason for the shortcomings in some of this research is the lack of logical distinction between theoretical studies and applied studies of religion and media. Certainly, it does not mean that accepted principles in theoretical studies have no impact. Nor does the religious use of media or mediated use of religion necessarily have an impact on theory. But the scientific objective of the separation of these studies, while acknowledging the relation and interdependency between them, helps explain the basis principles, tools, and consequences of the fields of religious and media studies (Hosseini 2008).

While touching on past theoretical issues of religion and media, a new theory is presented along with some possible outcomes. In this new theory, there is a consensus and agreement about what is called Religious Media or Media Religion, and that four important characteristics of religions, culture, media, and globalization expand and develop in a harmonious and correlated manner.

2.4. From Uncritical Acceptance to Total Resection: Theories and Approaches

According to Hosseini, in theoretical studies of media and religion, reference is made to two or three outlooks and approaches. Although these classifications are on one level

convincing and acceptable, it should be noted that with respect to extensive studies in recent years, one could talk of research ranging from total rejection to complete acceptance.

By total acceptance, it refer to an outlook which considers the nature of the media as a mere tool and instrument of religion; total rejection considers the nature of the media, television in particular, as contradictory to the nature and ultimate objective of religion and religious inclination (Hosseini, 2008).

Some of the views expressed about religion and the media are more important and influential than the others. From a theoretical perspective, this spectrum and its extreme points are instructive (ibid).

2.4.1. Functionalist Approaches

According to Hosseini (2008), outlooks generally termed as functionalist consider the media a mere tool or instrument unproblematically employed by religious concepts and notions, as well as other concepts that might be contradictory to religion. However, perception that the functionalist theories consider the media an absolute container and carrier of different messages seems to be inaccurate and shallow.

He added that almost all who have emphasized the media as a tool have also attributed other characteristics to the media. The main difference refers to the nature of the media under which the functionalists consider its essence to be an intermediary, while the essentialists emphasize the specific characteristics of each medium (Hosseini 2008).

Based on his idea, those who, through a philosophical approach, consider the technology a tool for certain objectives or regard it as human activity, are among those who regard modern technology and the media as having a functionalistic nature.

Hosseini explains that Heidegger is a philosopher who has strongly criticized the naturalistic approach to technology and that he believes that even the definition of technology as a human activity cannot be interpreted as something outside the functionalistic approach. Heidegger states:

One says technology is a means for a goal and the other says technology is a human activity. These two definitions of technology belong to each other, because defining the objectives and providing appropriate means to reach those goals is a human activity. Manufacturing and use of tools, devices and machines and even those manufactured and employed items as well as objectives and needs which they fulfill and satisfy, all belong to something which in fact is called technology, Krell (1977, p. 40) in (Hosseini, 2008:58).

When Hosseini elaborates the functionalists' viewpoint, he stated that the media lack an independent cultural identity but could be employed for the dissemination of messages. To him, undoubtedly, those who believe that the media are just the carrier, container, and disseminator of messages as essential to the nature of the media, belong to the functionalist school. They even believe that, while the tool should not interfere in the outcome, the commitment of the media to existing values is turning the means into the goal. There are issues about the above mentioned theory that have to be resolved, and are stated briefly hereunder to reach the main discourse in this respect. However, Postman does not insist on the alteration of the weakness of man's rationality or power of thought as much as scholars such as Jerome Bruner, Jack Goody, Walter Ong, and Marshall McLuhan (Postman, 1985 in Hosseini, 2008).

It is worth mentioning that some thinkers have even traced back the tradition of understanding and deliberation about technology as a tool to Aristotle. For instance, based on such an interpretation, Hood believes that technology has no meaning in itself and is only a mere tool in the service of objectives, Christians (1997). Pat Robertson articulated such a perspective as follows:

It is utter craziness and complete absurdity if someone says that the church should not give in on accepting television. Needs are the same and messages are also the same, but the means to transmit could differ. It would be madness and idiotic if the church refuses to deal with the strongest medium of education in the United States of America, Postman (1985, in Hosseini, 2008, pp.58-59)

Hosseini says that we can recall the functionalist approach of Armstrong, who believes that media are neutral, impartial, and can be utilized for benevolent purposes, such as transmission of the holy book, religious stories, and traditions, Clark & Hoover (1997 in Hosseini, 2008).

2.4.2 Essentialist Approaches

Essentialists believe that the media has its own identity. According to Hosseini (2008) the essentialists claim that the media, essentially and intrinsically, have an independent cultural and historical identity. Therefore, in their interaction with other aspects of human life, the compatibility or incompatibility of this nature and essence with the other entities should be fully taken into consideration. These approaches are mainly supported by two different philosophical and media studies bases.

Due to lack of adequate attention to the outlook of essentialism and the shallow conclusion, essentialists consider any religious use of the media as contradictory to the

nature of religion Although there are such extreme points among the essentialists in which the media become fully contradictory to religion, there are other views and theories that, despite the independent nature of media from religion, could have a mutual interaction (Hosseini 2008).

In discussing this approach, it would be helpful if we refer to two thinkers, Heidegger and Postman. One deals with the issue from a philosophical and essentialist perspective, and the other looks at the case from a cultural viewpoint (ibid).

A. Ontological Essentialism

Heidegger (1977) in Hosseini (2008) explained that he strongly rejects the functionalist paradigm by evaluating and analyzing the ontological essentialism. In contrast to traditional interpretation, Heidegger considers technology an ontological phenomenon. “Man does not have an external relationship with technology. Technology has been integrated into the structure of man’s existence. The characteristics of technology could be understood only through their compatibility and adaptability with mankind. From Heidegger’s perspective, functionalism should be rejected and cannot be reformed. Thus, technology is not a mere tool, but is an emergence and revelation. In other words, technology is a reality in a sphere where this revelation and evolution takes place.”

Heidegger gives a strong warning to mankind about technology. He rejects the hypothesis in which the freedom and determination of human beings is considered to be unaffected by technological predestination, Christians (1997). Heidegger points to the intrinsic danger of technology. He believes that the threat posed by technology against mankind is the secondary danger, while the real and fundamental peril is aimed at the essence of the human being:

The threat to man does not come in the first instance from the potentially lethal machines and apparatus of technology. The actual threat has already afflicted man in his essence (Heidegger, 1966 in Hosseini, 2008, p. 60).

When Hosseini (2008) puts the argument of Heidegger (1966), He said that Heidegger argues that the technological revolution has forced man to accept and act in accordance with calculative thinking, and consequently, the originality of mankind and our intrinsic nature have been destroyed,. In fact, by reviewing the ontological foundations of technique, Heidegger has tried to free technology from subjective and functionalist notions, turning instead to one of the most basic philosophical questions (Hosseini, 2008).

Therefore, technology is not a mere tool, but it is a sort of development. If we pay attention to this fact, a completely new horizon about the nature of technology will open in front of us. This new sphere and horizon is the development of reality dimensions, Heidegger (1977).

Heidegger, through the notion of Gestell that the nature of technology is not technologic in itself, has underlined the real danger and threat of technology. He refers to the salvific nature of technology and believes that the presence of technology, in essence, provides a possibility which never comes to our mind, Heidegger (1977).

Heidegger (1977) in Hosseini (2008) stated that the nature of technology provides us with an opportunity to see the world in a specific manner, to bring order to the world, and establish a relationship with it. Through such a new approach toward the world, nature becomes a permanent endowment and a source of energy for mankind. This kind of

relationship with the world, in the age of technology, will turn into the prevailing and basic understanding of the world. Heidegger (1977) states that:

We are delivered over to technology in the worst possible way when we regard it as something neutral, for this conception of it, to which today we particularly like to do homage, makes us utterly blind to the essence of technology. (p. 4)

Heidegger (1977) emphasizes that “modern technology is not merely human doing” (p. 15). Technology has an anthropological structure, and the human response to technology is limited. Human action is not self-originating, but guided by a historical play of language and concepts, is not under any one person’s control.

Man can indeed conceive, fashion, and carry through this or that in one way or another. But man does not have control over unconcealment itself, in which at any given time the real shows itself or withdraws, (Heidegger 1977 in Hosseini, 2008, p. 60).

Hosseini argues that we can understand from the brief explanation above that Heidegger’s essentialist interpretation becomes clear., the essence of technology (including the media), and conquering the nature, history and culture of human beings, has shaped man’s cosmology and ideology according to Heidegger’s hypothesis. Such a domination and hegemony can never be oriented by any other means or nature.

Therefore, adds Hosseini, any attempt to “religionize” the media or turn religion to media, according to Heidegger, is fruitless, useless, and abortive. Similarly, technology could not have any interaction with religion because a contradictory nature exists between them. However, he has spoken of a solution known as salvation, but this concept is so ambiguous that no clear or explicit meaning emerges (Hosseini, 2008).

B. Media Essentialism

Hosseini (2008) believes that studies that deal with media and religion are usually attached to McLuhan and Neil Postman. He says, “In studies dealing with religion and media, references are made to McLuhan and his famous proposition “The Medium is The Message” to his disciple Neil Postman, and to those who believe that media have an independent essence”.

Here, due to the importance of the views expressed by Postman, will briefly be touched upon the opposing relationship between religion and media (and television in particular) (Hosseini, 2008).

Hosseini believes that Postman affirms that studying the tools which a culture uses for the exchange of ideas and messages is essential for the perception of that culture paying tribute to McLuhan’s views. He emphasizes that any new medium or tool is capable of imposing its essential form and content on public opinion and, consequently, determines the ideas, ways of thinking, and the sentiments of the people. According to Postman, this is what McLuhan meant by “The Medium is The Message.” (Hosseini, 2008)

According to Hosseini, Postman believes that in the social systems which pass through technocracy and enter the technopoly stage, culture is necessarily surrendered to technology. He believes that in “technocracy systems,” despite clashes and competitions, two different ideologies, cultures and technologies existed. For instance, America in the 19th century existed with technology, culture, and tradition (Hosseini, 2008).

But by the emergence of technopoly (monopoly of technology), one of these ideologies is eliminated from the scene, Postman (1993). Thus, technopoly has a certain characteristic nature, with the most prominent feature of technology being that it has replaced God.

Consequently, culture has to find its reality and validity through the domination of technology. Postman (1993, 1998) concludes:

With the rise of Technopoly, one of those thought-worlds disappears. Technopoly eliminates alternatives to itself in precisely the way Aldous Huxley outlined in *Brave New World*. It does not make them illegal. It does not make them immoral. It does not even make them unpopular. It makes them invisible and therefore irrelevant. And it does so by redefining what we mean by religion, by art, by family, by politics, by history, by truth, by privacy, by intelligence, so that our definitions fit its new requirements. Technopoly, in other words, is totalitarian technocracy. (Hosseini, 2008, p. 61)

He has expressed the same view about media and television in particular.

When Hosseini further explains regarding this Postman's critical view, the media and television have completely ruled out the possibility of combining with religion because of their entirely different nature and essence.

Postman, by underlining this point, insists that one cannot expect mass media to transmit various messages. He says that the most important and fundamental element of a religion is its spiritual and super-natural sanctity. Because television, by nature is worldly, the integration of these two would result in turning a holy concept to a materialistic ritual, Postman (1985). It is impossible to convert the earthly nature of television to a heavenly one (Hosseini, 2008).

He attributes television to man's desires and religion to man's real needs. Implicitly, Postman holds that desires are different from needs; this separation is important and crucial to media studies. Postman believes that prophets and messengers never offered the people what they wanted or desired, but gave them what was necessary to survive.

The function of television is to support consumerism, only satisfying people's desires, Postman (1985).

Hosseini briefly explains the consistency and compatibility of religion and the media is impossible depending on what Postman has said about the nature of the media. he believes that to Postman, this would result in the destruction of religion from holiness to nonsacredness He stresses that the main power of television is that it opens our hearts to its themes and characters, not the windows of our mind to process abstract ideas or think about such concepts (Postman 1985 in Hosseini, 2008).

Hosseini further added that in reference to cultural destruction using Aldous Huxley (instead of George Orwell's 1984) at the conclusion of his fascinating work *Amusing Ourselves to Death*, Postman has said that the most useful, and least harmful impact of television, is when this medium entertains us with nonsensical and absurd programming. In contrast, he observes, the most dangerous and harmful moment is when it starts to talk about serious and fundamental issues such as news, politics, education, science, economy, and religion, trying to integrate them into its nature. Intriguingly, Postman posits that we would all be better off if television programs were worse than what they are now (Hosseini, 2008).

2.4.3. Interactive Approaches

Hosseini (2008) expresses that in prior studies dealing with the realm of religion and media, no such concept as the "interactive approach" has emerged. According to him hereunder is intended to describe a view that, irrespective of theory, tries to find a way to interconnect these two important elements of contemporary life through analysis of applied works.

Considerable expansion of mass media during the past two decades has led the religious leaders, especially in Christianity, to call for interaction between these two large social institutions without taking into account a theoretical basis for doing so.

Hosseini gives an instance that the Vatican (1997) has expressed a very positive view of interaction between media and religion, and has described the media as a divine blessing and gift. Among contemporary scholars, the works of Stewart Hoover (1997) and his colleagues could be regarded as efforts aimed at interrelating media and religion.

Hosseini (2008) believes that Hoover, by describing the role of the media in creation of symbols as well as their interpretation and applications, underlines the importance of interaction between religion and the media. However, he emphasized that Hoover gives a definition and description of religion that fits the intended objective of interaction with the media.

Hoover does not describe religion as an institutional phenomenon reduced to an individual or personal experience. He stresses that religion is not confined to events that occur in a sacred domain but rather as a part of culture, making religion and culture are inseparable. In fact, the role of religion is to give meaning to human life and should be considered from this angle (Hoover & Lundby 1997 in Hosseini, 2008).

However, we should not be ignorant of the fact that, despite numerous studies of the inseparability of religion and culture, no definite answer of which one is more fundamental than the other has been established (Hosseini, 2008).

Hoover (1997) in Hosseini (2008) also talks about the role of the media in preparing the ground for religious rituals, believing that media bring encourages religious reintegration.

When Hosseini puts in general, the strong recommendations made by Hoover (1995) and his colleagues about the use of the media for the promotion of religious notions shows that he considers the interaction between religion and media a social necessity.

Since any solution provided for the interaction of media and religion must be based on theoretical foundations. Instead of pondering the theoretical concepts, Hoover has concentrated his efforts on interaction, convergence, and the explanation of this necessity. Without theory, consequence cannot be more than a functionalist recommendation and suggestion. Nevertheless, such an objection does not reduce or weaken the significance or importance of these applied efforts. Undeniably, these approaches lack the necessity of having a philosophical basis from which the consequences should derive (Hosseini, 2008).

In addition, added Hosseini, we could refer to the research of “social reflection” in religious and media studies under the heading of interactive views. Scholars who have been influenced by thinkers such as Giddens have tried to explain and define the various aspects of social reflection through religious and media studies. He has described these as the promotion and reconstruction of coherent patterns of meanings in various cultures, explaining the ultra-rational realities and determining the boundaries of the structures of meanings that are socially acceptable (White, 1997). Robert White stresses that the methods of delivering sacred symbols in the semantic realm is diverse. Consequently, reliance on a restricted kind of sanctity, while eliminating other means, will possibly lead to the inevitable confirmation and stabilization of desecrating, or reversely sanctifying, processes (Hosseini 2008).

Hosseini also brings another scholar, Martin-Barbero, who believes that, due to the crisis caused by modernity, mankind is looking for a new personal and social identity, as well as renewed needs of mystification and enchantment. He believes that modernity has not fulfilled any of its promises, with the exception of demystification and the emptying of meaning and sacredness from human thought. Since both media and religion are important cultural intermediations for providing mystery, meaning, and sacredness, the necessary interaction between media and religion seems to be one of the most important and crucial issues in the modern world (Martin-Barbero 1997 in Hosseini, 2008).

Hosseini (2008) citing Mohammadi (2003) states that scholars are trying to find a common ground between religion and the media to provide a mechanism for interaction between the two. David Olson considers the media a technology that informs, records, shares, and distributes symbols. At the same time, he considers religion the symbolic form for diverse methods of comprehension, understanding, and experience McQuail considers religion and media as two social institutions, through which he tries to explain the ways which they could interact.

According to Hosseini in order to find religion and media proximity and convergence through common grounds has been attempted by Lynn Clark. Clark emphasizes three common points. First, the media are trying to give meaning to religion. Second, the media need to provide a clear definition of the relationship between personal and institutional religion. The similarity or duality of religion and morality is also important in this regard. Third, there is attention of both media and religion to political issues, especially the problem of justice, which provides the common ground to be studied (Clark, 1998 in Hosseini, 2008).

Hosseini (2008) emphasizes that it should be mentioned that the main reason behind this brief review of interactive views is to draw attention to this approach. Certainly, each of the presented ideas requires further comprehensive evaluation, and like any other human thought, has numerous shortcomings. However, without touching upon weaknesses, it is good to point to an issue which, with the philosophical background, seems to be crucial. He also added that any recommendation about the interaction between media and religion should be based on theoretical hypotheses, without logical or essential consequence of accepted theory.

However, he also believes that there could be no interaction between religion and the media without theory. But a fundamental mechanism and comprehensive definition of these two fields must be based on theoretical foundation, and is believed that some of the above mentioned ideas lack such an important dimension (Hosseini, 2008).

2.5. Religious Media and Media Religion

Religion, media, culture and globalization are the terms that are regularly raised together since they affect one another. According to Hosseini (2008), the theory of religious media is made up of four interactive dimensions of religion, culture, media, and globalization. With reliance on religious pluralism as the central axis, an interactive and sustainable relationship is formed between these four attributes and, consequently, a perfect interaction between religion and the media is attained.

Regarding whether globalization is the result of economic development or other factors, such as modern information technology, or new philosophical or epistemological foundations, many discussions were raised. Nobody doubts the unique role of the media in the process of globalization. Hosseini (2008) warns that despite the exclusive identities

of religions in the process of globalization, the interaction between media and religion in the global age and the issue of cultural and religious globalization must be taken very seriously

Hosseini believes that globalization undoubtedly has a concrete impact on religion and faiths. Globalization can bring changes and developments in the religious institutions, approaches of religious beliefs. It can bring formation of new ideological schools and change some principles of religiosity and ethics. He gives an example how the globalization can influence the religion in concrete evidence.

For instance, the change in the nature of faith in various religions, in which faith has been reduced from an institutional system of beliefs to a completely personal and empirical notion, is inspired by globalization's tendencies. These tendencies are a result of the influence of modernity and its dominant philosophy. (Hosseini, 2008, p.66)

Religion and culture are strongly interrelated to each other. The research on religion could be more complete if we give attention to important issue of human culture.

While studies the religion and culture different thoughts were raised in different times. At one end, religion is absolutely regarded as originating in human culture. At the other extreme, human culture is completely influenced by religion and religious manifestations Hosseini (2008).

Nevertheless he believes that no matter which idea is accepted, the religion and culture should be separated. On the other hand, the impact of each on the other and the inseparable interaction between them must be taken into serious consideration since such an inevitable relationship has caused scholars to consider one as the component of the other (ibid).

When Hosseini (2008) concludes whether religion is a part of culture or they are considered different entities, there is no doubt that the theory of religious pluralism shapes our understanding about culture and, in a balanced way, interacts with religion, media diversification, and globalization.

However, he also stated that globalization is also affected by media diversification. In this regard, some believe that the main element of the emergence of globalization is media diversification. On the other hand, religious pluralism theory, with its impact on cultural pluralism, shapes the various dimensions of globalization (Hosseini, 2008).

According to the Encarta Encyclopedia (2009), religion is sacred engagement with that which is believed to be a spiritual reality. An adequate understanding of religion must take into account its distinctive qualities and patterns as a form of human experience, as well as the similarities and differences in religions across human cultures.

Hosseini (2008) also defines religion as a combination of divine beliefs, traditions, and rites which have both personal and private aspects, as well as social dimensions.

The examples of the more fundamental role for religion are issues related to spiritual tranquility, preserving, and promotion of ethical values and virtues, giving meaning to life, the meaningfulness of the universe, or human salvation (Hosseini, 2008)

The definitions of mediated religion and Religious media were clearly put by Hosseini. He stated that the mediated religion just the use of media as an instrument in order to transmit the doctrines and teachings of one religion. In mediated religion the media is used to transmit messages of the religion.

He further explains the views of the functionalists and the essentialists regarding the mediated religion. He believes that a conservative media functionalist might believe in mediated religion, but any essentialist attitude toward the media prevents being a fundamental functionalist. He added that, in this sense, the problem caused by ignoring the separate identities of the media and religion, and the possibility of integration of these two phenomena, becomes apparent (Hosseini, 2008).

However, he stated that the religious media is just dealing with the absolute goals of religion. According to Hosseini (2008), religious media is the utilization of the media with its (the media's) unique identity in order to achieve the religious objectives. From his thought it is understood that the religious media excludes the monopolistic teachings and beliefs of religion. When he elaborates the above idea giving example, he put it as the following:

If a fully entertaining program, piece of music, or video clip is aimed to fulfill the main objectives of religion (bestowing the meaning and direction to human life), such programs are included in the general category of religious media, even though explicit religious teaching is not distributed. (ibid.p.68).

To generally conclude the arguments raised by Hosseini, the religion can be influenced by globalization and culture through the media while, on the other hand, the globalization and culture can be influenced by the religion using the media. Using media as a tool in order to transmit the doctrines of religion is said to be mediated religion. However, the religious media is the utilization of media with its unique features to achieve the religious objectives.

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology of the Study

3.1 The Research Design

The study focused on the interplay between media pluralism and development in Ethiopia with special focus on religious media. Since it needs insightful knowledge and view points of the peoples engaged in the activity of media, the researcher employed qualitative method of data analysis as qualitative methods are effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, and religion. The two most common qualitative methods of collecting data are in-depth interviewing and focus group discussion. Each method is particularly suited for obtaining a specific type of data (Qualitative Research Methods, 2005:2). Thus, in-depth individual interview and focus group discussion were implemented to collect the data.

3.2 Sample Selection and Size

While collecting data the researcher used Non-random sampling (sample selection is not determined by chance (judgmental or purposive sampling – conscious and deliberate intentions of those who apply this, Deacon et al, 1999) method of data collection in order to effectively get the necessary information.

The researcher found the Quota sampling (as an instance of non-random sampling) to be the right choice in collecting the data. The researcher decided on a range of criteria that were likely to be important to the study and then set out a series of ‘quotas’ in relation to them that were filled to produce a representative sample.

Hence the researcher had purposively selected the respondents he expected would give appropriate and effective information for the study. Accordingly, the researcher chose

respondents from both the broadcast and print media. Since more emphasis had been given for the print media, more respondents were selected from the print media (from religious and other private media). Moreover, the researcher also decided to include both the academicians and professionals who were engaged in the activity of media.

3.3 Informants

The researcher held the interview with 2 academicians from each broadcast and print media, 4 professionals from the religious media (2 from the Muslim print media both magazine and newspaper and 2 from the Christian print media both magazine and newspaper), 1 professional from broadcast (ERTA), 1 from private media, 1 from Ethiopian Broadcast Authority and 1 active audience and reader.

Moreover, the researcher also conducted a focus group discussion with 7 people those are purposively selected, 4 professional and 3 academicians at the same time.

3.4 Data Collecting Tools

As per the adopted research methods, the study went through two main stages of data collection method, namely, focus group discussion and individual in-depth interviews.

3.4.1 Focus Group Discussion

In order to make focus group discussion more useful, it requires active input and structuring from the side of the moderator. Accordingly, the researcher prepared an outline of the interview guide that helped run the discussion in line with the purpose of the study. Before the discussion was started, the moderator and note taker have had all the necessary belongings like tape recordings (2), note pads and pens. Then the moderator made cute presentation of the topic, including the briefings about the purpose

of the study, the anonymity of their identity and the introductions. However, fearing not to influence what people say during the discussion, the researcher avoided to talk about the topic in any detail. But the moderator has helped the participants to remind themselves of questions they need to go back to, where they need more complete information, etc during the discussion.

The focus group discussion has been conducted with the 7 persons, of which 4 professionals and 3 academicians. The discussion took more than an hour.

After data collection, all handwritten notes were expanded into more complete narratives, and then entered into a computer.

3.4.2 In-depth Individual Interview

An in-depth individual interview was conducted with a total of 11 persons consisting of media administrators, professionals and academicians from broadcast and the print media. Though more focus was given for the persons from religious media, professionals from private print media were also included in the interview. The interview had been held from April 11, 2012 –May 7, 2012 which took much time.

The interview was held in different places most of them in the offices of the respondents and café where it is suitable for them. However, it was really hard to conduct an interview with these persons since they are too much busy. That's why it took 27 solid days to finish the interview.

Just like the focus group discussion, the researcher introduced himself, the topic with brief explanation, the purpose of the study and the anonymity of the informant, and asked

for their permission to record the interview on audio tape recorder, before commencing the interview.

3.5. Data Processing and Analysis

All individual in-depth interviews and FGDs were tape recorded. The data then were transcribed and translated in to English as the discussions and some of the interviews were first held in Amharic. After that, it was then coded thematically with careful consideration of the objectives of the study

Finally, the coded data were analyzed using techniques of thematic analysis by corroborating the data obtained from both FGDs and Individual in-depth interviews for the sake of triangulation. And pertinent quotations from the group discussions and individual in-depth interviews which speak to the theoretical assumption were selected to illustrate the major findings of the study. Since there were many questions, the researcher put them in four categories based on the kind of response they claim in order to minimize the workload. Then, the data were written in narrative form with pertinent quotations used by respondents to illustrate major findings of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: Data Analysis and Presentation

All the interviews and focus group discussion were tape recorded and transcribed. Since Most of the interviews were held in Amharic, the researcher has translated it in to English. In order to minimize the work load the researcher has put the entire question into categories based on the similarity of the response they claim.

Accordingly, the view on the various media existing in the West, the role of their existence and their role in Ethiopia as a developing country have been put in the same category.

4.1. The Respondents' General View on Media Pluralism (First Category)

4.1.1. The respondents' view on the various media of Western countries

Respondent 1 and respondent 5 share a very similar idea in the view they have towards the various private media in the Western countries. They believe that the private media are different in different countries. Whether in Western or in developing countries the role of the media depends on the establishment of the existing political economy of the country. E.g. if there is a media in a neoliberalism, the media serves for the neoliberalism, and the media in the developmental system serves for it. They believe that it can't go out of the political economy. The media cannot be free of the existing political economy. Hence, they have a contribution in fostering the existing philosophy of political economy. They have a great influence in compelling the people have similar thought in the political economy.

Respondent 10 explains that there are different people with different experiences in different countries. He added that the role the medium plays in West is different from the

role it has in developing countries. The role the medium plays in a poor country is greater than it has in the West. So media depends on the country or the place they are in.

4.1.2. The General Role of plural media

When my respondents explain the role of plural media, a lot of ideas have been raised. However, I will put only the general role that the existence of media pluralism plays as we are going to discuss the detail in the next category.

Respondent 8 said that the media has uncountable importance. According to respondent 8, though the main duties of a particular media are informing, educating, inspiring and entertaining, it can do more beyond these or relying on these. He added that the more media there are the more diversified idea can be entertained. He says, “We are now in a moment where most of the things are done by the exchange of information, so plurality of medium plays a pivotal role.”

Respondent 11 also confirms the above idea saying that the role pluralism of media plays is not such a simple thing. He emphasized that the private media is just a fourth estate which checks and balances the government especially in the works of the government and its practice of power, though in our country the government controls the media. It plays a great role as a supervisor by awakening the people. Respondent 3 also supports the idea of respondent 11. He believes that the private media is just a fourth government that can control the works of the government. It praises and encourages if there are good works, and admonishes if bad happens and corrects errors.

Thus, we can imagine from their response that the media is powerful. It can even do more for a given country than the government can do. The more media there are the better the government and its practice can be checked.

Respondent 12 emphasizes that private media makes the interaction between government and the people transparent by creating awareness regarding what is being done in the country, by telling what the laws of the country says, especially in exposing the accountability of the government and thereby strengthening the development and democracy of the country.

Respondent 3 believes that the plural media are useful to communicate people, to entertain different ideas and to edify what is bad and good. He warns that there could not be development without discussions and criticism.

Respondent 6 raises India as an example of its democratic system and argues that it is the result of the various media in the country. According to his belief, the private media foster their citizens' participation in the development, democracy and good governance of their country by educating, entertaining, exchanging information, providing new, model and current ideas.

He adds that they have a big role in maintaining good policy and democracy, in nation building and in developing sense of ownership of their country. He added that the plural media can reflect the dream, view, happiness and desire of one community, show where the community is standing and bring the people to a similar consensus.

In addition, respondent 2 says plural media can make people have the ability to access different information from different channels and different ideas by competing one another.

4.1.3 Plural media and Development

In relation to the media pluralism and development, respondent 7 states that the availability of a diversified media outlet shows the existence of freedom of expression. Freedom of expression by itself is also an expression of development. So, here we can understand from the respondent that the existence of media pluralism by itself is a manifestation of development.

Respondent 9 believes that the message that is disseminated by different media can show the way how to get rid of poverty by asking scholars and providing new and creative ideas. He added that media can make the people actively participate in the current developmental order by mobilizing and indicating the remedies by exposing the mistakes and wrongdoings. According to respondent 9, media has a great power in facilitating the social and economical development of a country by providing new and current information, by educating, and entertaining their citizens. He adds, “Currently it is called a fourth state. This shows that it is very powerful in developing and deteriorating a given country.”

Respondent 2 says pluralism of media brings plurality of idea; diversified idea in to light; it brings alternative ideas, gives opportunity to community to come up with various ideas. Behind ideas are actions.

Respondent 8 believes that the private media plays a big role in the development of a given country. He added that the plural media can make the people love jobs, show the way the people can make better their livelihood, teach concerning the people's health and regarding social science using panel discussion and providing drama to convert the people's idea in to practice.

Respondent 17 expresses the various importance of media pluralism. Based on his response the private media can make the people actively participate on the current development activities, be concerned of the development, can give critics by disclosing the wrongdoings and showing their remedies. The media is powerful in inducing the generation know its culture, system and identity. It makes the people responsible and ethical person. According to respondent 17, though there is growth or development, if the scholars, governmental bodies, civil servants and laborers are not ethical, concerned and responsible, the development will be the grave of identity and culture.

Respondent 4 said that when the outlet of different ideas increases; their input for development in the country also increases. He believes when ideas are circulated, it creates tolerant people because if always heard, no more strange idea. It becomes normal, and then can foster tolerance.

4.1.4 Respondents' View Regarding the Existence of Media Pluralism

The researcher had asked the respondents whether they support or oppose the availability of media pluralism. Almost all agreed with its existence. According to respondent 4, God created human being with different thinking abilities and different attitudes. So the only way to entertain these thoughts is the existence of different media. Naturally human being wants his idea be heard. In support of this idea, respondent 8 and respondent 9 told that

the more media there are the more diversified idea can be entertained. He added that media plurality is the expression of diversified people.

Respondent 10 strongly warns that if there is no plural media, there will not be any idea other than one idea that is state sponsored. He emphasized that if there is no plural media, there will be only one way, one socio economic interpretation; there will not be any other choice. If there is no plural media that means there is one voice, one people and one idea.

Respondent 5 confirms that if there is no plurality of media, there is no choice in having different attitudes. If the media is held by few individuals, media loses it being oxygen of democracy and people become depoliticized, as the media serves its owners' interest.

Four of the above respondents support the existence of media pluralism and believe it is the only way to entertain diversified ideas, views and attitudes. We can also understand from their response that media monopoly may intensify the owners' interest and may eventually move the people off politics.

Respondent 7 believes freedom of expression cannot be exercised in a place where there is no private media. Since the public media is administered by the government and parliament, its fairness/being balance is not believable by the people. So private media are said to be impartial and are encouraged to exist.

From the ideas of respondent 7, respondent 3 and respondent 10, we can conclude that media are said to be independent of the government and can be impartial. The socio economic interpretation cannot be manipulated if there are various media.

Respondent 6 says media pluralism should exist for two reasons. 1st the law compels us to accommodate different media as far as the media respects the constitution. The constitution allows the right to write and speak. 2nd for the role they contribute. If the media are strong enough, they have the capacity of building nation and developing ownership of one's country.

However, respondent 12, respondent 2 and respondent 4 warns that pluralism of media can also have a disadvantage. It can be used in two ways as we can use a knife for good and evil. Respondent 4 adds that to cause harm depends on the kind of the owner of the media.

Based on the response respondent 1 gave, there are media that create social instability and disbelief on the current government by magnifying the mistakes encountered in the process of good governance. Respondent 2 also emphasized that the private media can be influenced by individual interest since they are commercial and easily susceptible to be influenced by financial motivations, like the advertisers, corporate and labour unions, but if they challenge this pressure, their existence can effectively serve a particular nation.

4.1.5 Necessity of Media Pluralism in Ethiopia (as compared to the Western media)

According to respondent 5, the political economy we follow is different from that the West follows. The West follows neo liberalism and it doesn't allow governments' interference. So it is difficult to copy the Westerns media and run it in Ethiopia since they follow different political economy.

Regarding the necessity of media pluralism in Ethiopia, respondent 10 thinks that the role the plural media has in a developing or poor country is broader than it has in the West. So

the availability of plural media is undoubtedly significant. He argues that in the developing or the poor countries, there is no strong democratic institution nor matured politics and nothing clear regarding election. He also added that there are many marginalised societies (politically, economically, and religiously). There are also many societal questions and political and economic interests. Therefore the medium can play a big role in bringing all these issue to light. Hence, the plural media in the poor country plays a great role as compared to the role of media in the West. Therefore, he warns that the plural media should be strengthened in a developing or poor country like Ethiopia.

It is clear from his thought that he supports the existence of plural media in Ethiopia since he says plural media benefits more for the poor countries.

Respondent 9 believes that Ethiopia is a country where democracy is yet immature. There is a developing democracy. It is a country found struggling with poverty. So the media can show the people how to come out of poverty keeping its identity. He explained that the private media can recommend the outlets from poverty bringing different means.

Respondent 11 also believes that the private media are the only breathing apparatus of the people, so they should exist. He confirms his idea saying, “If I was suppressed in a governmental institution ‘Addis Zemen’ may not expose it, so the only choice I have is the private media.”

He also adds that the people may explode when you tell them that there is no problem when it really exists. He meant that the governmental media do not tell the exact problems happening in the country, so the only choice is having plural media since they are likely to tell the truth.

Respondent 12 argues that the media controlled by the government here are called developmental and are really one sided. They can't tell to the society what is exactly happening. Though it is difficult to say there are private media, since they are very few in number comparing with the past media, they have the ability to remove the gap of information. For e.g., the governmental media do not transmit what makes him blamed e.g. if there is a drought the governmental media may not disseminate that. However, the private media can do that. They can also disprove what the governmental media forwarded if it was untruthful.

Respondent 3 also shares the idea of respondent 12, respondent 11 and respondent 10. His words run as the following:

Private media are called independent media. They are independent from the government and other parties. So they can transmit whatever idea they need. They are more close to the people. They are not afraid of lacking any political benefit. They see everything in the point of view of the countries benefit. Its trustworthy is greater, so the people follow it. Private media brings idea from the government, from the opposition parties and from the people and forwards it to the people. But the government media does not do this. Moreover the private media can show the reality happening in the country; where the truth lies. So, plural media is crucial.

Respondent 13 says addition of one media by itself is addition of another idea, it brings new modus operandi. He added that if it works on culture, it may make us self-confident and then we can do for our development. Because new media comes with new system, new ideas are entertained since it needs public attention.

However, respondent 8 emphasizes that the number of media outlet should be balanced with the development of the country based on the capacity we have unlike the Western

media. He said that we can't compete with the Western. Having media outlets more than needed, will not be good. It can be manipulated since the people are not developed like the Westerns.

Though 3 of my respondents said it is difficult to compare the Western media with the Ethiopian media, they eventually agreed that it is necessary. All the media depends on the countries socio-and economic political system. One of my respondents did not agree to be existed as many mediums as the Westerns since we are unable to control the media. However, respondent 10 argues it is more important than the West to exist pluralism of media in Ethiopia since there are more marginalised people in Ethiopia than in the West.

Respondent 8 opposes the above idea. He says:

We can never compete with the Western. We may share some experiences from them, but we can't bring those media to here because our degree of development is completely unparallel. We can use their development as model. Their media is more scientific. We may use such things but not as it is. It needs to be modified in a way that goes with our people; otherwise we will be surrendered to their culture.

Respondent 5 also shares the idea of respondent 8 saying that we have to see the primary goal of the media. The media in West cannot be used here. The goal of a given media in a given country may not work for another country. So it is impossible to use the Western media here since the people, culture, degree of development, education, and mental advancement are unparallel as compared to our country's reality.

Respondent 7 explained that the Ethiopian private presses can contribute a great role in the development of a given country. Ethiopia is a highly diversified country in many things, ethnically, by language, by religion. He believes freedom of expression cannot be

exercised in a place where there is no private media. Since the public media is administered by the government and parliament its fairness/being balance is not believable so private media are said to be impartial and are encouraged to exist in Ethiopia.

4.2. The Positive Contribution of Media Pluralism (Second Category)

4.2.1 Media Pluralism and the Society

4.2.1.1 Private Media/Religious Media's Role in Making Responsible and Flag-waver Society

Religious media plays a great role in making the people love their country. "It is a better tool than any other institution, I could say", says respondent 9. Respondent 8 also believes that the message of the media depends on the editorial policy of that institution. It starts from the people involved in the media. If they are responsible and flag-waver citizen, it becomes easier for them to make their audience responsible and flag-waver citizen.

According to respondent 9, if the people know the reality of their country, it helps them strongly love their country. He also added that loving ones country should depend on knowledge and should not be emotional since emotional love is temporary. So the media can feed them providing knowledge. Respondent 1 and respondent 9 both confirm that the media can create passion and irritation by telling the ugliness and horridness of poverty, by informing the people the impact of poverty like migration, backwardness, identity crisis, lack of self confidence, being easily attacked by others etc.

Respondent 3 further strengthens the above idea. He said that media institutions can make responsible and flag waver citizen by telling the people where the country is now, what it needs, what good works happened, what is expected from the citizen and what is happening currently. This initiate the citizen to think about their country and feel concerned of what is being done and what they should do.

Respondent 17 explains the religious media can make the people enthusiastic and wholehearted in doing any activity for their country by teaching good ethics. It can be a testimony by itself that the media had mobilized the people during the Ethio-Eritrean war and currently in Abay Dam. “No other reason can be the assurance of the ability of media in creating responsible and flag-waver citizen”, added respondent 1.

Respondent 2 believes the religious media can teach the rights and responsibility of good citizen, loyalty, sense of nationalism, good morals and serving a nation. If the religious media, preaches about good ethics and peace based on the religious thoughts, it is powerful in creating flag-waver citizen since all the religion says do good, be good citizen, be far away from theft, adultery and drinking. All these create responsible citizen by persuading the people since they easily accept messages from religious person.

Respondent 5 believes generally media has a power to make people love their country, citing the Indian media as an example. They have a great role in removing conflict, but he fears that the cultural imperialism can also be entertained. Cultural imperialism comes purely by media.

However, respondent 7 does not believe the private media can create responsible and flag waver citizen. He says it is done more by the governmental media than the private media.

On contrary, respondent 14 believes that one of the expressions of responsible and flag-waver citizen is when they are far away from corruption. “Therefore,” he added, “There is no other tool than the religious media to eliminate corruption which is the biggest obstacle for development.

4.2.1.2 Media Pluralism and New Community

Regarding the role of plural media in creating new community, two ideas have been raised by all the respondents. They believe that the media can create new community which is morally good and bad, or new community that enhances the development of the country and a community that does not care regarding the countries development.

When respondent 1 explains by giving examples, he said that private media can create new community who is concerned of its environment that protects its natural resources from degradation and misuse. Respondent 3 further added, “If the people formerly had no good attitude towards their country and to some fields of works; the media can create a newer community who loves their country and change the peoples’ attitude towards the formerly hated jobs.” This can be related to development in two ways, first the development in the peoples thinking, second in the economic development.

Based on the response of respondent 2 and respondent 4, the private media, specially the religious media, can create new community by propagation religious messages and creating vision. They can also make them participate in the development process of the country. According to respondent 2, the people need to participate in any developmental process needing to be called by its community and not as an individual. Thus we understand from this that the media can create new community and can inspire them to

participate in the developmental order of the country. So, in short the creation of new community can contribute for a development of a given country,

Respondent 12 also believes that the media can create newer community by empowering their adherents depending on the religious thoughts.

However, respondent 10 believes that though private media in general can create a community who has developmental thinking, he does not believe that the electronics media are contributing positively. He explained that electronic media are creating a community who is ashamed of its identity by introducing cultural imperialism since they are highly influenced by the Western media. Everything they do is Westernized; all the songs the entertainments. But, he confirms that the religious media can create new community in a positive way. They can create new community who is proud of its own identity, culture and values.

We can understand from his idea that the electronic media can create new community in a negative manner. Since there is no religious electronics media here, we can say that the religious media plays a greater role in creating new community who is more close to development than the other media do.

According to respondent 6, the private media can, theoretically, build two new communities. The first one is a community concerned in eliminating the economic poverty, and the second one is a community concerned of building democratic system. However, he believes that the role of the private media is very limited when it is seen practically.

Respondent 7 brings two dimensions of new community. He believes that they can create new community who is transparent and vibrant society who critically evaluates the government; however, they can also create a community who is dependent of private media, or a community who always blames government insignificantly.

When respondent 8 replies to the same question, he said, “Of course they can.” He added, “They can create a community who keeps his culture, who is built by good ethics and whose culture is not intermingled. The religious media is able to create a new community not less than the school can do.” One of the expressions of social development is keeping one’s own identity and being ethically good community.

However, respondent 9 believes that building new community should not be by rejecting the community’s base but it should be in combination with the philosophy of the first community. He says, “We have to transform back to that society because we were a civilized country previously; however, the time may not allow us so, we have to go with the time. Therefore it should be side by side.” He further added that the current community has no good attitude towards job and job creation. The world has passed three civilizations, agricultural-led, industrial-led, ICT- led, but we are at the first one, the agricultural led economy. This is the result of the bad attitude we have towards the job. So this community needs to be changed, to be a newer community who respects and loves a job. Here the existing of plural media can play a great role in creating new community using different methods and approaches. Different methods and approaches can be entertained only if there is plural media in a given country. So the existence of media pluralism can create new community and thereby can contribute for the development of a given country.

Respondent 10 believes the private media can create two kinds of new community. According to his idea, after the 2005 Ethiopian election the private media has created new community on the subject of politics. The community at this time has a greater awareness than the community before the election of 2005. At least the private media has made the people to be concerned in the politics. But on the other hand, he believes that some media have also created a generation who loves and sacrifice his golden time for football of the Western country which is shameful. Nevertheless, he believes that this can even be changed to another community who loves his country and loves a job using the religious media.

Respondent 16 confirms the idea of respondent 10 giving an example from the government media. He says the government media at this time is creating a new community who loves the Western football. It even transmits live. So u can imagine what kind of generation can be built. This can build a new community who do not care about the politics, about his country and his culture. But the religious media is far from such kind of worthless deeds.

4.2.1.3 The Plural Media/Religious Media and the Social Development

I have presented a question to my respondents regarding the role of plural media in general and religious media in particular in the social development. Most of them agreed on the positive contribution of the media specially the religious media. However, they have also stated some social hindrance that the media can bring.

Respondent 3 and respondent 9 said that Ethiopia is a country where diversified religion and ethnicity live together. Respondent 9 also added that the religious media plays a great role in a country where different religions are available. He elaborates that the religious

media teaches the social bonds like the way the people help each other, one to be kind for another, and to live peacefully. Respondent 2 also further strengthens respondent 9's idea telling that the religious media can create social development by bringing various ideas that foster and promote peace, love, tolerance, and respect.

Respondent 3 confirms respondent 9's idea saying that the religious media can strengthen the culture of respecting the religion one another, living without undermining others religion, one not to interfere in the business of others' religion.

So according to the idea of respondent 9, respondent 2 and respondent 3, if the religious media succeeded in strengthening these crucial social bonds, the peoples' thinking will be shifted to the betterment of the country since development of social interaction leads to the development of the country.

Depending on respondent 5's explanation, there is a trend of mixing culture with religion in Ethiopia. E.g. the bad habits like chewing chat and drinking alcohol that cause a great destruction in the society are linked to religion. So, related to this, respondent 1 believes that the religious media plays a great role in reducing crime, avoiding alcohols and drugs telling they are harmful mentally, physically and economically. Respondent 3 adds that the bad habits, like chewing chat sitting, is wasting time and bring a big social crisis. And he put the religious media as the only solution for this. Hence, the religious media can easily eradicate these harmful practices by disclosing these practices that they have no roots in the religion.

In support of the above idea, respondent 4 explains that the main reason of social divergence in the country is misconception or misunderstanding. He gives an example of misconception saying:

“My friend is convinced that the Muslims believe the reward of killing non Muslim is the Jennah or heaven.”

He asserts that that was a clear example of misconception when the holy Quran warns, “One who kills an innocent person is as if he kills the whole people in the world.”

According to respondent 4, the religious media can have the power to correct these misconceptions disclosing the fact and persuading the people. Correcting these misconceptions can foster tolerance and develop positive thinking among different religions that could contribute for the social development of the people in that country.

Respondent 5 also believes that the religious media here is influential in persuading the people than any other media. However, he is afraid that the media can also preach the opposite if the owner of the media misunderstood their religion.

Respondent 10 and respondent 6 explained that the private media can theoretically build tolerance. In all communities there are differences in sex, politics, religion, economy, culture, profession etc. These differences need recognition and tolerance to live in harmony. So the private media plays a great role in creating tolerance and make the people nonviolent. When people start to live in harmony, there comes development.

Respondent 8 believes that the private media specially the religious media can recommend the peoples living style and teach good ethics. Respondent 9 also adds that the religious media can contribute for the people by providing the doctrines of their religion.

According to respondent 9, religious media can foster the social life of all the believers to a better status. By persuading that the country belongs to all believers equally, it can

lead them to think of their social life beyond their religion issues. He believes that it can recommend the people that they should participate in the basic social issues like asking each other, eating together and in the economic and educational development.

When people come close to each other through these issues, it fosters tolerance, respect, love, peace. It creates social bond stronger than the religion can make. The people can be united in the national feeling by the help of media. There is no better development than doing in unity. The religious media can play a greater role in accelerating these all issues.

However, respondent 9 believes that the religious media can, on the other hand, have negative effect in instigating the people to unwanted conflict, but not much even. Nevertheless, he argues that he has not seen any kind of practical conflict so far among the adherents that was created by the religious media.

Respondent 12 and respondent 17 again believe that religious media can build the society in a better way than the other media could do since people believe and respect the divine rules more than any other rules. Hence, if the religious media institutions succeeded in building the society to be good at religion, they can be good for their family and their country. Corruption, injustice and societal problems can be easily removed if the religious media advises the people to be trusted for their work and the government.

Based on respondent 4's response, the country cannot hire police for each individual since it is a poor country. So the religious media can contribute in creating people with good manner who have the sense of responsibility and patriotism.

4.2.1.4 Religious Media and the Culture

Respondent 5 and respondent 3 believe that there are some bad cultures like chewing chat, drinking alcohols and playing gambling which are economically, mentally and spiritually harmful. These are the most dangerous practice that waste time, money and cause health problems. This can lead to cultural crisis in a given country. Therefore it is believable that the private media plays a great role in removing these harmful cultural habits.

Respondent 1 says religious media can bring cultural transformation. He elaborates by giving example as follows.

We can take practical example in our country like the money that is spent during the marriage, 'teskar¹', 'ye arba qen²', 'ye semanya qen', 'ye amet qen' etc. The people have been spending money the farmer harvested and accumulated in years. As a result of these unnecessary expenses, the people have been entering into poverty. However, nowadays by the help of the media it is reducing its practice. The religious media contributed a lot in telling how to save money, abstain from unnecessary expenses and use their money properly.

According to respondent 1, the people have been spending excessive money in cultural ceremonies believing their religion orders them to do so. However, he explained that the religious media has taught the people that they should spend money according to their capability and minimize the food and everything they spend during that time. He assures that the people are changing their mind nowadays and that it was the result of the religious media.

¹ A religious ceremony of a deceased person held at the first anniversary of his/her death.

² 'Ye arba', 'ye semanya' and 'ye amet qen' are ceremony prepared for the deceased person at the 40th, 80th day and yearly after he/she passed away respectively.

By removing these harmful cultures, one can easily guess how much money can be healed; time can be converted to money and health problems be avoided. Since these activities are related to religious practices, it is the only option to use the religious media to amend these worthless cultures which seems religious.

Respondent 3 and respondent 8 added that there is a harmful culture in Ethiopia. Many worshipers do not work on some days which they consider them as saints' day. Accordingly, this culture can bring a big economic deficit in the country. Therefore, since it is believed it has no religious base but merely a culture, the religious media can contribute here a better role in rectifying these pointless cultures. Nevertheless, respondent 9 claims the religion has no any influence. He says though there are many cultural holidays, they do not that much in influence the development of the economy negatively.

Furthermore, respondent 3 and respondent 1 confirms that religious media is contributing a lot in eliminating the harmful cultural practices like FGM, tattoo, piercing, and circumcision. The religious media persuades the people that these practices are prohibited by any religion. So it is clear to guess that the religious media contribute for the development and betterment of culture by eliminating the harmful one and strengthening the useful one.

Respondent 16 says that, culturally, the burden of workloads especially the housework has been left to the women until now. However, this is not good culture. Most people believe it is unethical. Therefore, in removing this harmful culture and in securing the right of the woman the media has a great role.

Respondent 2 also believes that the religion is basically imbedded to the culture of particular society. It maintains a cultural statuesque by resisting like Westernization culture and erosion of one's identity and culture. So these institutions can maintain or underscore the cultural elements or sentiments by the help of religious media only.

Respondent 4 brings another idea regarding the cultural misconception of Muslims wearing style. He says there is a belief in the mind of some Muslims that to be a Muslim one should wear Arabic costume. This is, he says, a big mistake. Islamic costume can be prepared from Ethiopian cultural costumes. So correcting this misunderstanding is left to religious media. The religious media fosters cultural development in such ways. Nevertheless, according to respondent 7, culture cannot be respected or disrespected because it was promoted by the media or not. The culture can be respected only by the dignity the owner of the culture has on the culture. But he believes that the religious media can play a great role in creating awareness regarding the dignity one should pay for its culture.

As said by respondent 5, religion is the highest form of culture. There are many good and harmful cultural practices. The religious media can play a great role in eliminating the bad culture and strengthening the good one. In line with the above idea, respondent 9 confirms that the culture is the result of religion or the religion has become culture. He asserts that the attitude we have towards economic development is intertwined with laziness which is a very bad culture. For e.g. we despise or look down on some type of works. We do not give similar dignity to all works, though all the religions order us to do so. Therefore, the religious media can teach the people that despising any kind of job is

regarded as sin since the religious scriptures order us to love all jobs. By doing this the religious media can work for the development of a given culture.

Respondent 10 states a very special and all inclusive idea which generalizes the ideas of all the respondents gave. He believes that everything in the world cannot go out of the culture of a given country. His words about the media's role in culture flow like this.

Since the media has a great role in promoting and strengthening the culture, the culture can play a great role in all sorts of development. Everything is embedded in the culture. All the views, values, ideology, practices, regarding all the power, education, identity, world, money, economy, jobs and job creation, human being, nation, knowledge, are found within the culture. So media can transform all these to a better stage.

It can be argued that promoting the culture to a better stage does mean promoting the entire thing explained above. Therefore, the media can contribute all inclusive advantage by enhancing a given culture. However, he is afraid that it can also have the power to make it worse on the other hand. It can destroy the indigenous culture. Many taboo words, practices can be entertained specially by the electronics media.

4.2.2. Plural Media and Economy

4.2.2.1 Religious Media and Economy

Respondent 1 states that there is a harmful practice in some parts of the country. Many people spend money in many unnecessary ceremonies like marriage, 'teskar', 'ye arba qen and ye semanya qen'. Respondent 3 and respondent 5 also added that there are also days that the people do not totally work believing they are saints' day. However, respondent 8 and respondent 1 argue that all these are unfounded according to any religion. Respondent 1 adds these groundless expenses have been expanding poverty in

the country. Respondent 15 also asserts that these can create severe economic crisis in a given country.

From the above idea, it is easily understood how much time and money has been wasted due to the misinterpretation of their religion. Thus, the religious media has got a superb job in rectifying these thoughts and leading their mind towards their job. It is predictable that the media, especially the religious media, can bring great economic advancement by doing such activities.

Respondent 2 says that the availability of the private media, beyond creating jobs, is money investment by itself. The more media there are the more money investment there is. Money involvement enhances economic development.

According to Respondent 3, religious media initiates the people to work. He says, “For e.g., according to Islam there are only three holydays in a year. Even the time that we are obliged to observe is only minutes. That is from the sermon up to the prayer which is approximately 20-30 minutes. But after that we are ordered to find jobs or benefits.” In support to the above idea, respondent 8 also quotes from the bible the phrase “let one who do not love a job not eat.” These all can be forwarded by the religious media. And these ideas can in turn initiate the people to engage in various jobs that lead to economic development.

However, respondent 5 believes the ability of the messages of the religious media in fostering economy depends on the attitude of the religion towards the economy. In assurance to this thought respondent 3 and respondent 8 have told us from the Quran and the Bible that they order people to work. Hence we can conclude that the message of the religious media can bring positive effect in economic growth.

Respondent 7 explains that the religious media can mobilize the people to be engaged in occupation, inform about business, and introduce new business. He said that nowadays information by itself is money. Economic development comes when businesses are created and people engaged in the business. So the religious media can also play a great role in promoting these activities depending on one's religion.

Respondent 8 believes the religious media can teach their adherents the discipline of living and advises to keep the countries property and protect the nature since God orders to do so. He also added that the religious media advises the people that in order to have a successful life, the people should use their resource wisely.

According to respondent 9, the religious media can play two roles in economy. First, there are golden economic and developmental thoughts in each religion that the Ethiopian people did not use them. If the private/religious media has the capability to interpret these thoughts combining with the current situation, the media can build developmental and economic thinking which leads to development. Second, there is existing developmental culture that we came through for years. Therefore, by eliminating the harmful culture and strengthening the useful one, the religious media can remove the thought that is obstacle for the economic development and build the useful one up using religious teachings. Thus, it is the religious media that can bring those ideas to light. If good thoughts regarding economic development came to light and the bad culture towards having a job were eliminated strengthening the good one, there could be none that the religious media could contribute for development other than doing these.

Respondent 10 stated that the private/religious media carry out numberless tasks. It can be used as an advertising medium, teach about entrepreneurship, illustrate how one

community can be economically better, recommend better economic policy, give critics on failed economic policy, tell about poverty, notify about economic institutions, provide an opportunity for the economic institutions to tell their interest and promote by it, create opportunity to communicate the actors of economy- the seller and buyer- and many other tasks.

4.2.2.2 Media Pluralism and Job Opportunity

Almost all the respondents agreed that the media institutions play a great role in creating job opportunity in the country. According to their response, I have divided them in two phases. The first phase is concerning the job the media themselves create, while the second phase focuses on the capability of the jobs they create through their messages or the content.

Phase I

The existence of various private media creates more job opportunity. The more media institution there are, the more job opportunity they create. The media can have the capability of hiring different professionals in different fields that the government cannot hire. Specially, nowadays, according to respondent 3, the main problem of the new graduate is employment opportunity. The government even cannot afford jobs for these all new graduates. So the private media are the only solution for the problem of these graduates.

A number of workers can be hired in one media institution, says respondent 4. For e.g. if we take from the print media, many employees starting from the printing press up to the news paper vendors can be accommodated in this institution. When respondent 8 further

elaborates the idea of respondent 4, he stated that it starts from the house rent, then it goes on to the reporters, columnist, camera man, different editors, managing directors, distributors, sales men, many workers in the printing press, promoters, finance accountant, layout designer, graphics designer, secretary, brokers, guards and contract taxi drivers.

We can imagine how much job opportunity can be created when only one institution can hire such a number of workers. Creating such enormous job opportunity can unquestionably reduce the problem of unemployment in the country. Creating job opportunity minimizes poverty and increases the economic development of a given country.

Respondent 17 further added by giving example of workers from TV and radio. It is really tedious to state all the type of works in the TV and radio. Respondent 17 has explained the type of jobs created through broadcast media based on the experience he has. He explains that there are numberless programs and different workers in each programs and myriad fields of works starting from the guards up to the technician including the light controllers in television and many office holders.

However, respondent 5 does not agree with the above job opportunities. He says private media are money oriented. He prefers to call them commercial media instead of private media. Based on his idea, everything they see is in the perspective of their benefit. He concludes that they try to work a huge workload with a very limited human power as much as they can. So, if they can they need to minimize human power. He tries to give as an example by comparing the number of workers in FM Addis from governmental media and Sheger FM from private media. The number of the employee in both institutions is

completely unparallel. Nevertheless, he said that though to some extent, the availability of the private media can contribute for new job opportunity.

Respondent 14 says that the tax they pay for the government is a kind of job for the government. So far they have paid hundreds of thousands of birr within the past two years alone. We can imagine how much money is paid from all the media institutions. Had there not been the media institutions, the government would not have gained this amount of money. Respondent 14 brought us another dimension of job opportunity created by the existence of plural media. From his intent, we can learn that the more media there are the more tax the government gets.

“Money circulation is one type of job by itself” adds respondent 14. According to their magazine, he said that though they did not benefit enough, they have done a big role in circulating the money in the market. So far, they have been able to circulate millions of birr in the market. This is also another type of job that the plural media can create. We can relate this to the idea “the more media there are the more opportunity of money circulation can be created.” Money circulation can contribute for the balancing of the peoples’ economy which is one sort of development.

Phase II

The second phase regarding the job creation is based on the content or message of the media. All most all agreed that the media can create a job through its message. Some of the messages they stated are like motivating, inspiring, creating awareness and shaping the minds of the people.

The second one that I believe the media institution could create a job is through their message or content. The more media there are the more

beneficial idea we get. Media can create the feeling of participation in the developmental process of a give country. (Respondent 4.)

He also further added that though the government is expected to provide a job; it is difficult to think such in Ethiopia. So in filling the gap, media institutions play a great role by showing and recommending various types of jobs.

Respondent 17 explains that the media is influential which has the power to shape human mind and lead to different paths. The peoples' mind can easily be maneuvered by the media. Respondent 4, respondent 5 and respondent 6 explained that since almost all the people in Ethiopia believe everything told by the media as truth, the media can easily divert the peoples' thought. It can make them think how and what to do.

Respondent 15 also says that the media can motivate, inspire and create awareness on how to do or how to create a job. If the media succeeded in doing the above, it is easy to start the job as actions are behind thinking.

According to respondent 1, media has a great role in mobilizing the people just like it did in Abay Dam. It can also introduce the activity and kind of jobs done in different places.

Respondent 3 explains that almost all types of media do advertise and announce vacancy that helps the employee and employer contact each other. This by itself is sort of job creation. According to respondent 10, the media institutions can also recommend untouched field of jobs, new kind of job or creativity that has not been accustomed, teach about entrepreneurship and work investment promotion. These directly or indirectly create or facilitate the creation of job opportunity.

Furthermore, respondent 8 explained that the media institutions play a great role concerning job creation by providing new sort of jobs, rewarding new creation of jobs, inspiring, showing, motivating and advising. It can show how bee is kept or something like that by bringing experts or psychiatrist etc. Respondent 9 further strengthens the idea of respondent 8 by saying that the media could encourage job creativity since it is one way of reducing poverty. It can provide role model person or country and motivate the new generation to love jobs.

However, respondent 7 said that the message told by the media institutions may create a job but not much. It is very limited since their purpose is not to create a job. Respondent 11 also supports the idea of respondent 7 saying that he doesn't believe they are active in creating jobs through their messages. He either does not believe that they are expected to do so.

Respondent 12 further explains that we should first see the objective of the media. E.g. if we take the sport news paper it is not expected to talk about business it rather is expected to entertain and inform. Respondent 17 confirms this idea saying, "This is more concerned to the business media like Fortune and Capital news paper since their objective is that."

However, respondent 14 believes that especially the religious media plays a pivotal role in reducing poverty. They tell that corruption is forbidden in any way. Corruption at this time is the great headache of the government. Again they can talk about injustice which is the most problematic issue for all of us.

4.2.3 Plural Media and Politics

4.2.3.1 Media Pluralism and Promotion of Democracy, Good Governance, and Human Rights

Regarding the media's role in promotion of democracy, good governance, and human right, the responses of all my respondents were very similar. Almost all said that the private media, especially the religious media, can play a greater role in securing and promoting human rights, good governance and democracy.

Respondent 1 said that the religious media can play a great role in promoting human rights, good governance and democracy as the core message and ultimate goal of all religion is democracy or tolerance. He elaborates his idea by giving examples. He says:

For example if the media tells that stealing another person's property, fighting with others, violating ones right are immoral and illegal, then the media is promoting human right. It can teach democracy by telling that respecting oneself starts from respecting others, not doing what you don't want to be done on you, how to be tolerant and that we should not look down at other religion. All these are the basic aim of all religions.

From the above idea we can conclude that the religious media can easily secure democracy and human right since the people has a stronger belief in religion. In short, religious media can work better than the other media.

Regarding good governance media can teach that one should not abuse peoples' right using ones power. It can tell serving people equally and to be just when judging, added respondent 1. In addition, according to respondent 2, the religious institutions can encourage their adherent to use their right and do their responsibility by giving an

example that the religious institution can inform their adherents to elect who is good for them and reject who violates the rules and regulations.

Respondent 4 also emphasizes that if there is a private media, the government cannot be dictator in any way. He believes media is powerful that can frighten the government. Though the government needs to be dictator, it cannot accomplish its job since the private media exists. Of course journalists can be jailed. Nonetheless, the media can exert a big pressure on the government if there is ill governance. Thus private media plays a great role in securing democracy and good governance in the country, elaborated respondent 4.

Respondent 4 further explained that since the media forwards everything to the people the government starts to handle the people in good manner because the government fears not to be fired. Though the government can't control the people who make corruption, the media may control them by exposing the wrong doings and forwarding to the people

Media institutions are just as schools, says respondent 5. They can promote them by teaching what right is, by teaching the people to know his right, teaching to take proceedings of his right, to respect his and others right. He also said that the governmental media are unwilling to inform the right of the people since they fear the people may oppose the government when some wrongdoings happen. So, here the private media can play a great role in creating awareness about the human right.

Respondent 9 believes it is the prior responsibility of the government to secure and promote them. However, he agrees that the private media could also play some. Private media can make the people peace lovers telling about democracy. Democracy means entertaining different viewpoints and arguments. This can be accomplished if there is plurality of media, believes respondent 9. According to respondent 9, the primary role of

private media is exposing the wrongdoings and weakness of the government and office holders and thereby striving for peace and good governance to prevail.

Respondent 10 further said that the private media can strengthen good governance, human right and democracy and can eliminate autocracy. He believes that the private media can educate the people about the national and international laws regarding the rights of individual, groups, police, teacher, and judges etc. He added that they can teach the extent of one's right since most people do not know their right and obligation. Respondent 12 strengthens the idea of respondent 10. He said, "For e.g. a police can never beat a person, but we see him doing that. The private media can inform the people regarding the right of prisoners, regarding the election process and so forth." Nevertheless, the government may not need this thinking if the people are aware they may not be ruled; however, the private media can secure this one. Respondent 15 cites an example that the awareness created during the election process of 2005 was by the help of private media.

However, respondent 6 does not believe the private media do play a great role in securing democracy, peace and good governance since he believes they are not that much responsible.

4.2.3.2 Plural Media/Religious Media and Politics

Regarding the role the religious media can play in politics, different views have been given by the respondents. Respondent 1 explained that the government and the state are separated. He believes that both do not interfere in each other's matters. Adding to the idea of respondent 1, respondent 3 also believes that though there might be seen some

mistakes in implementation, the current government has clear position regarding the religion. That is, the separation of state and religion.

However, being separated, respondent 1 believes that the religious media can compel the government in settling quickly when religious, ethnic or other conflicts are raised. The religious media can initiate the people to actively participate in politics, in political administration, in peace and development and in the works of good governance. This easily depicts the power of the religious media in influencing the politics.

Respondent 3 also said that the religious media can correct the one (politicians or governmental bodies) who have negative attitude towards ones religion by exposing the facts. He also added that the religious media can compel the politicians that they should see all religion in equal eye.

In short, we can understand from the idea of these two respondents that the religious media plays a great role in rectifying the wrongdoings regarding the politics.

Furthermore, respondent 9 explained that the constitution in principle separates the state and the religion. And he believes that it should be separated. However, he says it is impossible in this country. When he forwards his arguments he said:

The government or political parties do not believe they can survive being isolated from the religion which has many adherents. The government cannot be isolated from the major religion. It is difficult. Even in practice we can see it nowadays the people claiming the government interfered in religious matters.

It is clearly understandable from his idea that the religion can affect the government or the politics, and the government or politics can affect the religion. So, based on this analysis, I can conclude that the religious media can manipulate the politics since the

people involved in it can be influenced by religion for the reason that my objective is examining the role of religious media in the development of politics. If the religious media has the ability to affect politics, then we can conclude it has some effect in the development of politics.

Respondent 16, respondent 5, respondent 6 and respondent 7 also strongly argue that there is neither fourth estate nor independent media let alone in Ethiopia even in the whole world. All the media are dependent either economic, or politically or in religion. The media is manipulated by the interest of the owners. Based on the interest of the owners the media can affect the politics in either negative or positive way.

Respondent 1 fears that some religious media may mislead the people. He gave me an example that there are some groups who claim that the country belongs to only one religion, on one hand, and other groups who admires the suicide bombers or support the Talibans on the other hand. These thoughts can purely bring social and political crisis.

Nevertheless, though he does not believe this can compel the people into unwanted conflicts, he said that it is the negative result of the religious media in politics. But on the other hand he saw no one preaching for clash.

According to respondent 4 the main role of religious media regarding politics is eradicating fear of politics. “Nowadays,” he said, “the government media are telling us that the ‘mahbere kidusan’³ is going to establish Christian state and the ‘wahabis’⁴ an

³ A religious organization of the Ethiopian orthodox Tewahdo church.

⁴ Any Muslim who is thought to be the follower of Mohammed Bin Abdulwehab, who strongly opposes all gradually added practices unfounded in the Holy Quran and Hadeeth.

Islamic state. This is fear mongering. It is one of the mechanisms of depoliticizing the people. So this can be removed by media only, especially by the religious media.”

Here, according to respondent 4’s idea, the religious media can play a great role in creating awareness regarding the politics. Having political awareness is one sort of development.

But respondent 5’s idea shows that nowadays almost the media has no influence as compared to the previous regimes. But, he believes the religious media can build good office holders, force the office holders to quickly settle conflicts and answer people’s questions. On the other hand though very limited, they can also create political bias. So the religious media, whether negatively or positively, can affect the development of the politics.

Respondent 8 believes politics should not be intermingled with religion. The religious media should not do this. They are expected to inform religious doctrines. However, respondent 10 strongly disagrees with the idea of respondent 8. He argues that the plural media can strengthen and weaken the politics and institution of politics.

4.3. The Negative Effect of Private Media Especially Religious Media in all Types of Development (Third Category)

I have presented the following general question to all my respondents regarding the negative effect of the plural media in development.

“Some people believe the private media specially the religious media can affect the development of the country negatively. Because it can engender suspicion, fear, discrimination, violence and can strengthen stereotypes, fostering inter-group tensions

and excluding certain groups from public discourse. These finally can lead to social disharmony, conflict and social divisiveness. These are the main hindrances of development. What is your view regarding this thought?"

Respondent 1 believes that if the religious media disseminates a message that contains the feeling of 'Mine is right and best, but not yours,' 'mine is superior but yours inferior', 'Ethiopia is the island of the Christian.', or an idea that promotes extremism and fundamentalism e.g. by saying 'killing innocent people will lead you to heaven.', may easily destroy tolerance and respect between the people and eventually can lead to conflict and destruction.

In addition, respondent 7 also thinks that the media can engender fear or suspicion and that it can lead to unwanted directions. He stated as an example that the message being transmitted regarding the Waldba monastery as really troublesome. He argues that this is just adding fuel.

According to respondent 3, the religious media can even bring war theoretically if it was intended to do that. However, preaching to show that one's religion is right does not mean insulting others or provoking war.

Respondent 2 on the other hand asks that if the religious media transmits a message that creates chaos like 'Go out and attack this one or that one', then how come the people live peacefully in an environment where it is hostile and unfriendly, in a situation where one sees the other as an enemy? He added that the religious media should be aware of that everything told in the church or mosque should not be forwarded to the media since it can create disagreement. Respondent 16 believes that it determines the way the reporting is presented. It could be very sensational that stirs the people's emotion.

Respondent 12 do not accept the above idea. According to him, there are some spiteful content even in their media. But they cannot be eliminated. The aim of the media is to inform people and to disseminate the reality that the society has to know. Therefore, he added, though it is aggressive like about a burnt mosque or a church, it should be disseminated. In relation with this, respondent 8 and respondent 9 also assure that so far many ideas have been disseminated, but they did not see any conflict triggered by the message.

Respondent 11 does not accept the idea that the messages that create tension, fear, suspicion or social divisiveness should not be disseminated. He believes that it is a paradox that one wants to be unjust at the same time needs not to be reported the unjust he deed. This is opposing the aim of media. It is foolishness. He asks, “Why are we here if we are not to report that?” If the one needs the bad message not to be reported, he should not have done that. If there is justice and security, no need of reporting.

Nevertheless, based on the response given by respondent 4, the religious media can bring negative behaviour in people. If a news paper always reports admiring the activity of the suicide bombers as patriot and the bombing as a fire work, this can creates negative behavior in the audience. Bombing is bad action; however, if it is presented as good, it affects. However, he explains that if all religions go only using what their religion orders them, there will not be any conflict, suspicion or discrimination.

Respondent 7 also believes that if the religious media transmits only what is in the Quran or in the Bible, there could not be created any conflict. The flash point is when one insults others or interferes in the business of other religion. Respondent 1 adds that there are some media that preaches ‘this kind of sect is the only right, but that one’s religion is

wrong, unnecessary and not sacrosanct', even within the same religion. This creates tension between the believers. Respondent 2 also adds religious media could create fear discrimination and suspicion, violence if the religious media instigate one to attack the other and to take revenge which can create social disturbance. Respondent 4 also says that the religious media is the typical tool that can create tension between religious people if needed. But the question is the kind of the owner.

Respondent 3 opposes the idea of respondent 1 and respondent 2. He said that one should know the aim of the religious media. It depends on the objective of the religious media. However, he does not believe the religious media leads to such a way as far as he knows practically. Respondent 9 asks if there is any conflict in Ethiopia that rose because of the religious media. He confirms that he has not seen any media that orders go and attack this one or that one as far as he knows. He strongly argues that Ethiopian people are not emotional rather they are tolerant since the culture compels them to be tolerant and live peacefully.

According to respondent 15, the aim of the media is not to make fight the people; just to inform the concerned body. If a mosque was burnt it is reported as "a mosque was burnt". It does not say go and attack this one because this has happened. The media are responsible to report such thing.

Respondent 8 does not believe the religious media could engender suspicion, fear or discrimination. By criticizing or undermining and demoralizing others, religion cannot be promoted. However, he believes that the differences in view are beauty; they are development and new idea can be gotten from difference. He added that there is always difference in people's thinking. We cannot say why. However, being different, we can

live together in tolerance. This is what the democracy teaches us. We cannot say only mine is right, so follow me.

Therefore, we can understand that the religious media should not compel others to accept their idea. Rather they should respect the difference since different idea can be entertained if one respects the other. Variety in idea is the base of development.

Respondent 4 supports the idea of respondent 8. He said that there must be differences so as to determine one's identity. No difference no identity. One person can be a male, Muslim, tigre, Sunni, scholar, short, black etc. However, these differences should not create chaos between the people. According to respondent 4, a person cannot exist without having these identity markers. Moreover, he believes that there is no much difference with in the religions that could lead to conflict.

Respondent 9 emphasizes that the effect of the media depends on how we use it. Nuclear can be used for good and bad likewise the media also can be used. If there are responsible religious media that works for the betterment of the country, religious media can contribute a greater role in persuading the people more than the Etv can do.

According to Respondent 12, there are some spiteful content that the religious media disseminates. The society has to know it. E.g. if a church or a mosque was burnt we should report that though it is aggressive. It is up to the audience to interpret the idea. Respondent 12 confirms that disseminating hard lines is unavoidable. It is the result of the progress. Time after time it will be adapted, and the people's awareness regarding the democracy will keep growing. According to respondent 12, reporting what has actually happened may ease the problem as it creates awareness and makes it transparent.

4.4. The Existence of Plural/Private Media in General and Religious Media in Particular (Fourth Category)

Regarding the existence of religious media three ideas have been raised. The first idea is that religious media should not be allowed in Ethiopia at this time or should be banned. The second idea emphasizes that the religious media should exist; however, it needs censorship. The third group believe that the banning and censorship are violation of freedom of expression so religious media should run without any hindrance.

Respondent 5 opposes the existence of religious media. He regards the religious media as unnecessary at this time. Religious media discriminates the one who is not its follower. It may contain reports of burnt out mosque or churches that can strengthen the difference and foster the tension between religions or even within the same religion that creates divisiveness or sect among the adherents.

Nevertheless, except respondent 6, all the respondents oppose the banning of the religious media in Ethiopia. They believe banning the religious media is violation of people's right. However, though they all believe that media should not be banned, they vary in whether there should be censorship or not.

Respondent 11 says, "It should exist; however, it may need strict control over the content forwarded by the religious media." But respondent 15 rejects the idea of respondent 5. He believes that the aim of the media is not to make quarrel among the people, but just to inform the concerned body. He said that if a mosque or a church was burnt, the media does not say go and attack this one because this has happened. Respondent 13 also focuses that one should look at the ultimate aim of the media. The media is reporting in the sense that 'reporting it will settle the conflict'. It is a kind of warning. Reporting 'a

mosque was burnt' makes the people and government aware. He further strengthens his idea saying, "If we report it now, it precludes next not to appear such kind of bad actions again."

We can understand from his thought that the aim of media determines the kind of consequences it brings. According to his idea, reporting what happened is useful in a way that it aware the people and make them cautious of the thing happened.

However, respondent 6 strongly advocates that the religious media should not exist at this time. He believes the people here is immature unlike the people in the West. He says, "Here, there is no religious tolerance. They do not know that one should respect others right as he needs his right to be respected." He added that one day the media may forward a very aggressive message in mistake. And the people here are very sensitive who claims himself as very religious person. He fears that there might come an endless conflict like what happened in Rwanda, Kosovo or Liberia.

Respondent 9 rejects the above idea as baseless. He rather confirms that Ethiopian people are not emotional rather they are tolerant. He argues that it is not because of the existence of the religious media only that the conflicts can be occurred. There are many types of conflicts regarding ethnicity, race etc., not only religious. The big issue is how these media can be operated in a manner that they work to peace.

He asks respondent 6 saying, "Do we mean we are not mature so we need no democracy, free press, multi party system?" He regards this as out of the reality and the lesson of media. This cannot be a reason for the banning of the religious media. Rather the religious media can work for settling the conflict raise between either religion or

ethnicity. But, he believes that the media should take care and be responsible. It should not try to raise conflict deliberately.

Respondent 8 also opposes respondent 6's idea. He explains that he has been working for many years but he did not see any conflict raised by the content disseminated by the religious media. He added that they once have disseminated an aggressive message unintentionally but did nothing. He also says that he knows many religious media that contains unethical about the other religion but nothing happened so far.

Respondent 9 and respondent 15 provide similar idea with the above asking if there is any conflict that rose because of the religious media in Ethiopia. They explained that they have not come across any media that orders one to go and to attack this one or that one.

However, though he does not support censorship, he believes that the message should be edited and checked before they are transmitted. He believes that if the religious media does not respect the press law, then there can be a conflict like anyone who violates the law, but not only the religious media. According to respondent 9, even the government media can commit that. But it is legitimate that the religious media should take care not to release hostile idea.

Respondent 10 strongly argues that the existence of the religious media is important at this time instead. Because he believes the best way to foster tolerance is the religious media. Respondent 12 adds that there are some spiteful or hard line contents. Nevertheless, he believes that they should be forwarded since the aim of the media is to inform people and to disseminate the reality. The society has the right to know it. Respondent 11 says the tension between the religions could be created; however, it can be avoided through the media since it becomes normal after a time when they are always

heard and adapted. According to respondent 14, reporting the tension creates transparency and can open a way for the government to take a measure before it gets worse.

Respondent 10 adds an example that the existence of religious media could have been used rather as a discussion forum for the current government's claim regarding the establishment of Christian state and Islamic state.

Respondent 2 believes that the religious media should not be banned; however, he believes that there should be self censorship or an institution of media regulation. He explains as far as the religious media preaches its own religion without reaching others, keep their own track, do not insult others, there is no reason to ban the religious media. He again strongly argues though the religious media did the vice versa, it cannot be enough reason to ban the media. We need it badly. Respondent 8 also warns that the banning of the religious media could rather lead to an endless conflict.

Nevertheless, respondent 9 believes that no one can ban the media ever. First, he says, there is an international law that compels the government or any concerned body not to ban any media. Second, he added, it is impossible to ban the media. This day is a time of technology where there exist social networks, websites, the satellite TVs. He finally asks, "How come the government or any concerned body overcome these and ban the religious media?"

Respondent 7 says the religious media should not be banned; however, there should be censorship. Respondent 8 opposes the idea of respondent 7 saying the religious media could be edited and checked before dissemination; however, there should not be censorship. Respondent 11 added a question that if there is a need to censor who is going

to censor that when there is no a strong religious institution. Censoring religious media calls for religious institutions.

Respondent 9 raises a very crucial point. According to his idea, the biggest issue that the government should do before hand is that all the media including the governmental media should teach the people one to recognize others religion just as he needs his religion to be recognised. All the religious things like respect, tolerance, security, peace and love comes after the recognition of one religion. He, therefore, emphasizes, “If this was done no need of struggling to ban the religious media.”

CHAPTER FIVE: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendation

5.1. Summary and Conclusions

The main objective of the study was to examine the interplay between media pluralism and development giving special emphasis to religious media. Accordingly the study has effectively met its objective. Media pluralism undoubtedly affects the development of a given country both negatively and positively.

Media pluralism plays a great role in all sorts development; politically, economic, socially, culturally, and mentally whether negatively or positively. It is very difficult to state one sort of development regarding the availability of media pluralism. When one speaks about the role of plural media in society, it is likely to touch the development in culture, politics, behavior or economics. For example the religious media can eliminate the costly traditional ceremonies like 'teskar'. Hence this can be regarded as social, cultural and economical development. Nevertheless the researcher has tried to conclude and summarize the positive and, to some extent, the negative role of the plural/religious media separately as much as possible.

Whether in Western or in the developing countries, the role of the plural media depends on the establishment of the existing political economy of the country. However, the role the media plays in a poor country is greater than it has in the West.

Though the main duties of a particular media are informing, educating, inspiring and entertaining, the availability of plural media can do more beyond these or relying on these.

The more media there are the more diversified idea can be entertained; addition of one media by itself is addition of another idea. Media plurality is the expression of diversified people. All sorts of development exist after various ideas come to light.

Private media is just a fourth estate which checks and balances the government especially in the works of the government and its practice of power. By educating, entertaining, exchanging information, providing new, model and current ideas, the private media can foster the citizens' participation in the development, democracy and good governance of their country.

The availability of a diversified media outlet shows the existence of freedom of expression. If there is no plural media, there will be only one way, one socio economic interpretation; there will not be any other choice. If there is no plural media that means there is one voice, one people and one idea. If the media was held by few individuals, media loses it being oxygen of democracy and people become depoliticized.

Private media especially the religious media can create new community not less than the school can do. They can create new community who is proud of its own identity, culture and values by teaching about good moral, good ethics, loyalty, sense of nationalism, serving nation and many others. They can create new transparent and vibrant community who is concerned in eliminating the economic poverty of the country, and in building democratic system. However, they can also create a community who is dependent of private media or a community who always blames government insignificantly, a generation who loves and sacrifice his golden time for football of the Western, who do not care about the politics, about his country and his culture.

The plural media plays a great role in the social development of the community. The availability of plural media specially the religious media can foster and promote peace, love, tolerance, and respecting the rule. It can strengthen the culture of respecting the religion one another, living without undermining others religion, one not to interfere in the business of the others' religion. It also plays a great role in reducing crime, avoiding alcohols and drugs declaring that they are harmful mentally, physically and economically. Corruption, injustice and societal problems can be easily removed if the religious media advises the people to be trusted for their work and the government. More over it can also correct misconceptions disclosing the fact and persuading the people and thereby avoid the social divergence in the community.

Regarding the cultural development, the plural media plays a pivotal role in removing harmful cultural habits and rectifying the pointless cultures like holydays, FGM, tattoo, piercing, and circumcision. It also plays a big role in securing the right of the woman and in resisting Westernization of culture and erosion of one's identity and culture.

The media has a great role in promoting and strengthening the culture since the culture plays a great role in all sorts of development. Everything is embedded in the culture. All the views, values, ideology, practices, regarding all the power, education, identity, world, money, economy, jobs and job creation, human being, nation, knowledge, are found within the culture. So media can transform all these to a better stage.

The availability of the plural media, especially the religious media can avoid the bad work ethics like celebrating all days without work or the attitude of despising some sort of jobs. Therefore media pluralism plays a pivotal role in transforming the culture.

However, the private media on the other hand, especially the electronics media are creating a community who is ashamed of its identity by introducing cultural imperialism that can destroy the indigenous culture since they are highly influenced by the Western media.

Pluralism of media plays a very significant role in creating a large amount of job opportunity and thereby removing poverty. For e.g., the religious media has the power to remove the unnecessary ceremonies like marriage, 'teskar', 'ye arba qen' and 'ye semanya qen' and some thoughts that are obstacle for the economic development. Avoiding these is just reducing poverty.

The more media there are the more job opportunity they provide. Each media institutions need human power to run it. If there are many media institutions, the money paid as a tax for the government increases. Additionally they can also circulate money in the market. Creating job opportunity helps the country fill the gap of unemployment and reduce poverty,

The plural media can be also used as an advertising medium, it can teach about entrepreneurship, illustrate how one community can be economically better, recommend better economic policy, give critics on failed economic policy, tell about poverty, notify about economic institutions, provide an opportunity for the economic institutions to tell their interest and promote by it, create opportunity to communicate the actors of economy- the seller and buyer- and many other tasks.

The more media there are the more various messages are entertained. These different messages motivate, inspire, show and create awareness on how to do or how to create a job. They recommend untouched field of jobs, new kind of job or creativity that has not

been accustomed, teach about work, about investment promotion providing new sort of jobs and rewarding new creativity of jobs.

Pluralism of media can also contribute for the development of politics in the country. It can tell serving people equally and to be just when judging. Corruption, the great headache of the government at this time and the injustice can be easily removed by the religious media. Again they can teach to elect the party who is good for the country and reject the one who violates the rules and regulations of the country. The core message and ultimate goal of all religion is democracy.

The private media can exert a big pressure on the government if there is no good governance by exposing the people who abuse peoples using ones power and the wrongdoings and weakness of the government and office holders and thereby striving for justice and good governance to prevail.

Private media can play in securing the national and international laws regarding the rights of individual, groups, police, teacher, and judges etc. They can also teach the extent of one's right since most people do not know the extent of their right and obligation.

The private media, especially the religious media can compel the government to quickly settle when religious, ethnic or other conflicts are raised. It can also eradicate the fear of politics. Media pluralism can enhance and secure good governance, human right and democracy. In general the availability of plural media can affect the political development of the country. Nevertheless if the media was abused by the interest of the owners, it could lead to political bias.

The availability of religious media in a country can theoretically affect the development of the country and its people negatively. Due to its negative effect some respondents recommend that the religious media should be either banned or censored while some others argue it should run as free as a bird.

The availability of plural/religious media may theoretically destroy tolerance peace and respect. It may create chaos and conflict by criticizing, undermining or demoralizing one over the other. It can create bad behaviour on some people and make them aggressive. Hence the plural media specially the religious media can engender fear suspicion and discrimination and violence by strengthening stereotypes, fostering inter-group tension and excluding certain groups from public discourse. Eventually it can lead to social divisiveness and disharmony.

Some people claim that there are immature and undeveloped people in Ethiopia. So if the religious media contain messages very sensitive like burning a church or a mosque, it is likely to lead to fighting.

Nevertheless, reporting what has actually happened eases the problem as it creates awareness and make it transparent and adapted. And it is difficult to conclude immature people do not need plural media. It is just as saying they do not need democracy, free press or multi party system. So the conclusion theoretically given by some respondents to ban the media pluralism or censor the message, especially the religious media, is unfounded. Because banning or censoring is violation of the right to freely speak, propagate and profess ones idea or religion. But it is advisable that the messages should be checked and edited in a way that does not offend others.

Furthermore, practically, there is no any conflict rose by the availability of plural media so far. There is no any media that orders one to go and attack the other. The people in Ethiopia are very tolerant. Many experienced professionals in the field ask if there has ever been occurred any kind of conflict in Ethiopia.

Therefore, the researcher eventually concluded that media pluralism undoubtedly affects the development of a given country both negatively (virtually theoretically) and positively (practically).

5.2. Recommendations

Since media pluralism plays undoubtedly a great role in the positive development of the country and its people it should be strengthened and even be subsidized by the government when necessary.

Especially the religious media plays a pivotal role in building people with good manner and good ethics who are far away from injustice, crime, corruption, theft, drug and other addictions.

Therefore, it would be better if the availability of media pluralism; especially the religious media does not encounter any hindrance by the government or any other concerned body for two things. First, the existence of plural media contributes an enormous role in the development of the country and its people. Second, banning or censoring the media by itself is violating the human and democratic rights guaranteed under the Ethiopian constitution as well as the international laws.

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Appendix I

A. Questions for the Interview and Focus Group Discussion Regarding Religious Media

Name

Profession

Educational Level

Duration in the Current Job

Any Contribution

General Media

1. There are varieties of privately owned media in western countries. What is your view regarding this idea? What is the role of their existence for a given country?
2. How do you think could privately owned media contribute for the development of the country? What role could these privately owned media contribute in Ethiopia?
3. Religious media is one of the media that is owned privately. Different views have been given by scholars on the existence of religious media. What is your view regarding the existence of religious media? What about its existence in Ethiopia?

Religious Media

4. What role can it play in creating jobs and reducing poverty?
5. What role can it play in creating responsible and flag-waver citizen?
6. What is the role of the religious media in the promotion of democracy, good governance and human rights?

7. Do you think religious media could bring social, political, economical, cultural and mental advancement/deterioration of the country and its people? Explain?
8. Do you think religious media can create new communities? What kind of communities do you think religious media could create? How do these communities relate to the existing developmental order?
9. How do you think religious media can contribute in inspiring beneficial changes in the behaviors of individuals, groups, and organizations? And in what way does this change contribute for the development of the country?
10. Some scholars like Neil postman oppose the existence of religious media.
 - In what way could religious media affect the progress of development negatively in a given region?
11. Can the religious media engender suspicion, fear, discrimination and violence? In what way?
12. Some people believe that the existence of religious media could lead to religious disharmony by promoting conflict and social divisiveness rather than bringing development in the country. What is your view regarding this idea?

B. Questions for the Interview and Focus Group Discussion Regarding Private Media in General

Name

Profession

Educational Level

Duration in the Current Job

Any Contribution

1. There are varieties of privately owned media in western countries. What is your view regarding this idea? What is the role of their existence for a given country?
2. How do you think could privately owned media contribute for the development of the country? What role could these privately owned media contribute in Ethiopia?
3. What role can it play in creating jobs and reducing poverty?
4. What role can it play in creating responsible and flag-waver citizen?
5. What is the role of the private media in the promotion of democracy, good governance and human rights?
6. Different views have been given by scholars on the existence of private media. What is your view regarding the existence of private media? What about its existence in Ethiopia?
7. Do you think private media could bring social, political, economical, cultural and mental advancement/deterioration of the country and its people? Explain?
8. Do you think media can create new communities? What kind of communities do you think private media could create? How do these communities relate to the existing developmental order?
9. How do you think private media can contribute in inspiring beneficial changes in the behaviors of individuals, groups, and organizations e.g, ideas, practices, attitudes...? And in what way does this change contribute for the development of the country?

10. In what way could private media affect the progress of development negatively in a given region?
11. Can the private media engender suspicion, fear, discrimination and violence? In what way?
12. Some people believe that the existence of private media could lead to social disharmony by promoting conflict and social divisiveness rather than bringing development in the country. What is your view regarding this idea?

C. Questions for the Interview and Focus Group Discussion Regarding Religious Media (Prepared in Amharic)

ስም

የስራ ሃላፊነት(ስራ)

የትምህርት ደረጃ

በስራው ላምን ያህል ጊዜ ቆይተዋል

ያበረከቱት አስተዋፅኦ

General Media

1. በምእራብ አገሮች በጣም በርካታ የሆኑ የግል ሚዲያዎች አሉ። የነዚህ መኖር ለአንዲት አገር ምን ሚና ይኖራቸዋል? እዚህ ላይ ያለዎትን አስተያየት ያብራሩ።
2. የግል ሚዲያዎች ለአንዲት አገር እድገት ምን አይነት አስተዋፅኦ ያደርጋሉ ብለው ያስባሉ? እነዚህ የግል ሚዲያዎች በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ምን አይነት ሚና ሊኖራቸው ይችላል?

3. ሃይማኖታዊ ሚዲያ በግል ከሚያዙት ሚዲያዎች አንዱ ነው። በሃይማኖታዊ ሚዲያ መኖር ላይ በብዙ ምሁራን የተለያዩ ሃሳቦች ቀርበዋል። በዚህ ላይ ምን ይላሉ? የዚህ መኖር በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥስ?
4. ሃይማኖታዊ ሚዲያ ስራ በመፍጠርና ድህነትን በመቀነስ ላይ ምን አይነት ሚና ሊጫወት ይችላል?
5. ሃይማኖታዊ ሚዲያ ሃላፊነት የሚሰማውና አገር ወዳድ ዜጋ በመፍጠር ላይ ምን አይነት ሚና ሊጫወት ይችላል?
6. ሃይማኖታዊ ሚዲያ ዲሞክራሲ፣ መልካም አስተዳደርና ሰብአዊ መብት በማስፈን ላይ አስተዋፅኦ ይኖረዋልን? በምን መልኩ?
7. ሃይማኖታዊ ሚዲያ በአንዲት ሃገርና ህዝቦቿ ላይ
 - ማህበራዊ፣
 - ፖለቲካዊ፣
 - ስነ-ጥናታዊና
 - ባህላዊ ለውጥ ላይ አወንታዊና አሉታዊ አስተዋፅኦ አለው ብለው ያስባሉ? እንዴት?
8. ሚዲያዎች አዲስ ማህበረሰብ በመመስረት ላይ አስተዋፅኦ ይኖራቸዋልን? ሃይማኖታዊ ሚዲያስ ምን አይነት ማህበረሰብ መፍጠር ይችላል? እነዚህ አዲስ ማህበረሰብ ለአንዲት አገር እድገት ምን አይነት ሚና ሊጫወቱ ይችላሉ?
9. ሃይማኖታዊ ሚዲያ በግለሰቦች፣ በቡድንና በድርጅቶች ላይ አሉታዊ የሆነ የባህሪ ለውጥ ማምጣት ይችላል ብለው ያስባሉን? ይህ ለውጥ ለአገሪቷ እድገት ምን አይነት አስተዋፅኦ ይኖረዋል?

10. አንዳንድ ምሁራን ለምሳሌ እንደ ኔል ፖስትማን ያሉ ሃይማኖታዊ ሚዲያ መኖር የለበትም በማለት ይቃወማሉ። እዚህ ላይ ያለዎት አስተያየት ምንድነው?

- ሃይማኖታዊ ሚዲያ የአንዲት አገር እድገትን አሉታዊ በሆነ መልኩ ተፅእኖ ሊያሳድር ይችላል?

11. አንድ ሃይማኖታዊ ሚዲያ

- ጥርጣሬ፣
- ፍራቻ፣
- አድሎና
- ጥቃትን ሊያባብስ ይችላል ወይ? በምንመልከት?

12. አንዳንድ ሰዎች የሃይማኖታዊ ሚዲያ መኖር በአንዲት አገር እድገት ከማምጣት ይልቅ ወዳልተፈለገ ሃይማኖታዊ ግጭት ወይም አለመግባባት ይወስዳል ብለው ያምናሉ። በዚህ ላይ ያለዎት አስተያየት ምንድነው?

D. Questions for the Interview and Focus Group Discussion Regarding Private Media in General (Prepared in Amharic)

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የስራ ሃላፊነት(ስራ)

የትምህርት ደረጃ

በስራው ላምን ያህል ጊዜ ቆይተዋል

ያበረከቱት አስተዋፅኦ

1. በምእራብ አገሮች በጣም በርካታ የሆኑ የግል ሚዲያዎች አሉ። የነዚህ መኖር ለአንዲት አገር ምን ሚና ይኖረዋል? እዚህ ላይ ያለዎትን አስተያየት ያብራሩ።

2. እነዚህ የግል ሚዲያዎች ለአንዲት አገር እድገት ምን አይነት አስተዋፅኦ ያደርጋሉ ብለው ያስባሉ? እነዚህ የግል ሚዲያዎች በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ምን አይነት ሚና ሊኖራቸው ይችላል?
3. የግል ሚዲያ ስራ በመፍጠርና ድህነትን በመቀነስ ላይ ምን አይነት ሚና ሊጫወት ይችላል?
4. የግል ሚዲያ ሃላፊነት የሚሰማውና አገር ወዳድ ዜጋ በመፍጠር ላይ ምን አይነት ሚና ሊጫወት ይችላል?
5. ዲሞክራሲ፣ መልካም አስተዳደርና ሰብአዊ መብት በማስፈን ላይ አስተዋፅኦ ይኖረዋል? በምን መልኩ?
6. በግል ሚዲያ መኖር ላይ በብዙ ምሁራን የተለያዩ ሃሳቦች ቀርበዋል። በዚህ ላይ ምን ይላሉ? የዚህ መኖር በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ?
7. የግል ሚዲያ በአንዲት ሃገርና ህዝቦቿ ላይ
 - ማህበራዊ፣
 - ፖለቲካዊ፣
 - ስነ-ጽሑፍ
 - ባህላዊ ለውጥ ላይ አወንታዊና አሉታዊ አስተዋፅኦ አለው ብለው ያስባሉ? እንዴት?
8. የግል ሚዲያ ምን አይነት ማህበረሰብ መፍጠር ይችላል? እነዚህ አዲስ ማህበረሰብ ለአንዲት አገር እድገት ምን አይነት ሚና ሊጫወቱ ይችላሉ?
9. የግል ሚዲያ በግለሰቦች፣ በቡድንና በድርጅቶች ላይ የባህሪ ለውጥ ማምጣት ይችላል ብለው ያስባሉ?? ይህ ለውጥ ለአገሪቷ እድገት ምን አይነት አስተዋፅኦ ይኖረዋል?

10. የግል ሚዲያ የአንዲት አገር እድገትን አሉታዊ በሆነ መልኩ ተፅእኖ ሊያሳድር ይችላልን?

11. አንድ የግል ሚዲያ

- ጥርጣሬ፣
- ፍራቻ፣
- አድሎና
- ጥቃትን ሊያባብስ ይችላል ወይ? በምንመልከ?

12. አንዳንድ ሰዎች የግል ሚዲያ መኖር በአንዲት አገር እድገት ከማምጣት ይልቅ ወዳልተፈለገ ሃይማኖታዊ ግጭት ወይም አለመግባባት ይወስዳል ብለው ያምናሉ። በዚህ ላይ ያለዎት አስተያየት ምንድነው?