

ADDIS ABEBA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

THE REPRESENTATION OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS
IN NEWSPAPERS

BY
YIKUNNOAMLAK MEZGEBU

NOVEMBER 2008 G.C.

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Abstract

In their claim as agents of change CSO's produce newsworthy actions. The thesis studies their representation in three Amargina newspapers over the entire election year 1997 (2005 G.C.). The paucity of material on the issue has led me to rely more on theoretical sources (social responsibility theory, normative theory, agenda-setting theory) and, by the same token, on experiences that diverge from the Ethiopian.

Both quantitative and qualitative methods are used. The data gathered by the usual sampling techniques and semi structured and unstructured interviews are analyzed with regard to type of articles, attribution, tone, themes.

The findings are that portrayals depend on the domain of activity: rather favourable in the socio-economic domain, less so in the political.

My concluding remarks evoke the question of self-image that a certain type of representation seems to have entailed.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

The growing prevalence of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Ethiopia is a new social phenomenon (OSJE, 2007). It is thus natural to expect this phenomenon to be reflected in the media. The media have various reasons to portray CSOs: CSOs are producers of actions and results worthy of news reporting; CSOs and the media have convergent goals, both want to make the world ‘a better place to live in’.¹

The attention CSOs get in the media in Ethiopia testifies to their growing entrenchment in the society. Similarly, the type of the portrayal of the CSOs by the media may be an important comment on the role CSOs that operate in Ethiopia claim to play in society. Of course, whatever validation there is can be realized meaningfully only through the representation of CSOs by a party other than the CSOs themselves.

The Ethiopian Society’s attitude towards CSOs and the government’s willingness to create an enabling environment for them can be inferred from the extent and the way CSOs are portrayed by the media.

1.1 Background of the study

CSOs in Ethiopia in general have a fairly young age of not more than two decades (OSJE, 2007 p.9). They would like to be seen as agents of change addressing the various social challenges facing the poor and marginalized of society, and of popular empowerment in terms of limiting authoritarian practices in social, political and economic settings (OSJE, 2007).

¹ The CSOs’ forceful initiatives to get wide coverage through sponsorship mechanisms is another occasion. A point in case is the current practice of having an entire page at one’s disposal in order to publicize the organization’s projects. They buy direct access to society that the media provide.

Generally speaking, the reason for the existence and the ever -growing number of CSOs is their desire to complement government actions in meeting the needs of certain population groups and regions that the government finds difficult to serve (orphans, persons with disabilities, poor and destitute women, the elderly, pastoralists, etc.); they intend to assist the State achieve high quality governance as well. This explains why CSOs are highly important in a particular part of the globe: Africa.

Although under other appellations, civil societies with an ambitious objective hardly differing from the one described above have long existed in Ethiopia.² Leaving aside the vexed question of affiliation, it is the name and the legal registration of CSOs that is new as opposed to the historic community based organizations instituted under frameworks other than the current requirements of legal registration and professionalism of leadership. This paper is interested in assessing how the activities of the new CSOs are recognized in Ethiopia.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

It is of course not our intention to offer statements of goals and roles of most CSOs which are willingly provided by the practitioners themselves. Rather the fact that Africa in general and Ethiopia in particular needs to coordinate all positive efforts in order to produce a wholesome human environment underlies the expectation that the media would foster communication between all the stakeholders engaged in the formulation of that environment.³

² The fact that Civil Societies have long existed in Ethiopia is so self evident that to have to merely state it trivializes the matter. The fact applies to the whole of Africa and everywhere else as it is characteristic of all human communal organization. A mere look into the formation and objective of the organizations is an obvious testimony. The modern CSOs operate in a manner the traditional ones do. For all practical purposes, the fundamental difference is perhaps the affiliation more or less manifest to foreign organizations/organisms. The issue of foreign-oriented CSOs investing vulnerable communities which began since the evil days of 1977 is, contrary to appearances, highly controversial.

³ This is another way of stating the social responsibility of the press which enjoys its freedom in the name of serving the citizens. This is not merely what we wish to see them accomplish; it is rather a social

The impetus to writing this thesis is the desire to look into whether the media organizations in Ethiopia are at all aware of the CSOs and their actions in the country. If so, how do the media depict the CSOs? If not, why have they failed to acknowledge them? These are questions worth asking.

The questions are meant to lead, hopefully, to many other insights: the operational policies of the Ethiopian print media, the criteria of the media's preference to portray some CSOs and ignore others, the CSOs' more or less successful attempt to reach the wider public et cetera are to be inferred from the research questions.

Moreover, it is very important for academic researches to point to the gap in communication between the media and CSOs; the realization of this gap and its alleviation would help both parties heighten their efficiencies for greater enlightenment and the formulation of a better place to live in.

1.3 Objectives

The presentation and assessment of the Ethiopian print media's representation of CSOs as catalysts of the democratization process or otherwise is one objective of this thesis. Moreover, it hopes to highlight some important aspects of the newspapers' practice and in so doing help them undertake a critical self examination .This will hopefully lead them to mend some of their ways.

Following from this general and perhaps somewhat ambitious objective is the more particular one: that this paper would help the three newspapers examined in this thesis critically rethink of their role in retransmitting the voices and practices of the CSOs to the entire Ethiopian society.

obligation that is expected of them. This obligation emanates from the fact that freedom entails concomitant responsibilities.

1.4 Delimitations of the study

According to the 1997 census, the total number of legally recognized CSOs is two hundred and fourteen⁴. However, it is through the sole representation of only some ninety CSOs in the three local newspapers that the analysis of the relationship printed media/CSOs would be developed. Also, three Amharic language newspapers, Addis Zemen, Reporter and Addis Adama, are selected and the study which covers the election year 1997 presents how these newspapers portray CSOs in the country. These three newspapers are selected based on circulation, ownership and age considerations. Their circulation is comparatively higher than other state or private owned newspapers.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

Not so much has been written on the Ethiopian experience of media-CSOs relationship. This paucity of relevant literature may in itself suggest the very young age of the entrenchment of the CSOs in the country.⁵ Moreover, accessing what scarce literature there might be on the field, most of it unpublished, is too laborious. It is thus the case that most citations from the literature do concern theoretical issues that deal with experiences other than those of Ethiopia's.

1.6 Methods

Both quantitative and qualitative methods are to be applied in this thesis. Not all issues of the three papers over the specific period of publication are read. Stratified random sampling is employed. Content analysis of the collected data is undertaken to analyze the findings. Conclusions are then drawn.

The period of publication selected is 1997 (2004/5 G.C.). This period is interesting because it was an election year with singular importance for Ethiopia. Publications from

⁴ Please visit :[www.yale.edu/envirocenter/envdem/docs/OTHERS/BELLIETHATHAN/Belliethathan%](http://www.yale.edu/envirocenter/envdem/docs/OTHERS/BELLIETHATHAN/Belliethathan%20CSOs%20in%20Ethiopia.pdf)

⁵ It is however important to be wary of the all too frequent fallacy that equates the absence of local documentation to young age. It is above all indicative of an oral society.

September to August i.e. from the preparation for the campaign up to the period that succeeded the post electoral crisis are analyzed.

The selection of the period makes inference about the course of actions the media took in portraying CSOs simpler. It is to be recalled that the times were very tough in that the Ethiopian government's innermost attitude towards the media was revealed.⁶

CHAPTER TWO: Review of Related Literature

2.1 Definitional Issues

2.1.1 Representation

Representation, as described by Gill Branston and Roy Stafford is concerned with answering the question of 'how the groups, or possible identities or events that exist partly 'outside' the media have been represented in the media' (Branston and Stafford, 2003, 90). The definition given here seems to emphasize on 'how' because it is taken for granted that media's *raison d'être* (reason of being) is primarily to represent events out there.

The topic of the media's representation of any human phenomenon seems to touch on different themes within media and communication studies. Whether or not they reach society and critics through the media themselves, there are some phenomena that will

⁶ Government-media relationship is, of course, outside of the research's topic. However, if the data shows any relative decline of reports on CSOs from September to August, an implicit illustration of the media's fear of government reactions will inevitably be evoked.

anyhow spark debate and discussion on them. Both the representation and its absence could for instance be subject matters of journalism ethics⁷, of press freedom⁸ et cetera.

The reading of the literature concerning the ways the Ethiopian media generally portray CSOs (Civil Society Organizations) could be interesting on diverse accounts. It could provide elements towards a closer understanding and eventually an evaluation of both the media's and the CSOs' activities. Moreover, the level of freedom the media enjoy in Ethiopia could be inferred from a preliminary survey of the coverage they accord the CSOs. This is so because the latter take issue with the government's reluctance to grant full-fledged rights to individuals and groups⁹ in many instances.

2.1.2 Civil Societies

“Civil Society” is defined in different ways by different authors, though the underlying concept remains the same. Bratton, for instance defines Civil Society as “a sphere of social interaction between the household and the state which is manifest in norms of community cooperation, structures of voluntary association, and networks of public communication” (Bratton, 1994, 2). Similarly, Hyden defines Civil Society as a public realm in which citizens voluntarily organize themselves in order to express their opinion

⁷ The way media frame: their inclusion and exclusion of anything is subject to scrutiny for it is possible to cover something inaccurately and/or ignore it because of bias.

⁸ Whether it is the media's responsibility to enlighten citizens or their own choice that prompts them to do so is a theme widely discussed and debated in the area of press freedom.

⁹ Lest the statement seem hasty: a word on areas of possible conflict on prerogatives: CSOs assume a self proclaimed role of assisting the Ethiopian government in its economic, social, and political efforts like helping the disabled (e.g. ECDD) and providing public health education (e.g. Action Aid Ethiopia) through awareness creation workshops. The law draft on NGOs makes the government's attitude towards this role quite clear.

on issues of common concern (Hyden, 2002). These definitions imply both the platform and the objective of Civil Societies, i.e. democracy.

On the surface of it, the circular argument might seem absurd: Civil Societies need democracy for their survival so that their survival would in turn benefit the democratization process itself. It is however clear that they would strengthen the democracy in which they thrive. Where there is a satisfactory if not sufficient level of democracy, though, this support may be considered to be merely supplementary. Nevertheless, in cases like Ethiopia, where democracy is in its bud, the part Civil Societies should play in this regard is invaluable.

The UNDP report of 1993 agrees with the ongoing thesis by defining Civil Society as one of the three spheres¹⁰ that interfere in the democratization of societies. The report also noted that Civil Society is the sphere in which social movements become organized (UNDP report, 1993). The main concept in the definition is shared by many organizations' reports and individual authors.¹¹

The discussion of CSOs in general is based on the conception that some distinctions within them do not override the common characteristics. Different writers label different types and levels within the CSOs.

Cangas (2004), for instance, has four categories of CSOs:-

The first, Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), incorporate neighborhood committees, cooperatives, women and youth associations, culture and sports clubs and local churches and Islamic brotherhoods.

The second in Cangas' category are the formal and structured Civil Society Associations operating from local to international levels. These are supporters of CBOs and their operation is run mainly by professional and paid staff.

¹⁰ According to the UNDP report, the three spheres that interfere in the democratization of societies are civil society, the state, markets.

¹¹ CIVICUS (2003), Salamon and Anheier (1997), Desalegn 2002), London school of economics (2004) are but few examples.

The third level is made up of umbrella organizations, national associations and federations. These, together with thematic groupings, share information, set up strategic planning and secure funding.

Finally, he names a fourth level represented by platforms which are dialogue fora for the umbrella organizations and networks that make up the third level.

2.2 Theoretical Issues

Both the media, which fundamentally deal with questions of representation and the new brand of CSOs (Civil Society Organizations), have plenty of literature describing and analyzing them in their original homes of establishment. Both have emanated from philosophies of particular peoples, though they tend to flourish (and considerably succeed in doing so) over the entire globe today.

The seemingly alien nature of the present day media and the CSOs in Ethiopia makes their hitherto description and analysis very scarce. This puts us in a curious situation whereby it seems mandatory to shift and restrict our attention to theoretical issues elaborated in the outside world, a context irrelevant to that of the issue we project to investigate.¹² This importation could be explained by the prescriptive nature of the very commencement of the concepts and the received understanding of the practices themselves.

As already mentioned the topics of representation and of CSOs have relationships to different fields within and outside¹³ of media studies individually as well as jointly. It seems evident that both have common objectives and goals concerning democracy and this common democratic concern enables one to theorize them together. This would be

¹² This situation is the predicament of an educational system largely dependent on importing knowledge and based on the uncritical acceptance of “universal applicability of scientific knowledge”.

The all too frequent line of argument that ideas know no borders and that the very idea of democracy itself is after all a borrowed concept ...etc. are irrelevant. We are here making an irrefutable observation: that the authors are simply writing, and incontestably rightly so, about their own experiences; and that the theorizing is after all a systematized presentation of that same experience!

¹³ The fact that the formation and practice of the CSOs are distinct from those of the media supports the statement.

particularly important in the case of Ethiopia because of the need to coordinate all and every effect as an input to the democratization process.

Consequently, it is important to see in detail the relevant media theories- constantly keeping in mind the above mentioned reservations!- and their potential development to incorporate CSO-related concepts in the specific Ethiopian situation.

The first of the theories deemed relevant to this research, the social responsibility theory, bestows on the media a protective power over the society: a respectful function that honours the profession journalism.

2.2.1 The Social Responsibility Theory

The Social Responsibility Theory has as its pivotal theme that ‘freedom carries concomitant obligations’ (Siebert et al., 1956, 74).

The theory discusses what press freedom entails. Social Responsibility Theory, setting the philosophical bases of journalism, proceeds to prescribe what both the press and the public should enjoy and then pay for. In particular, it pinpoints the tasks indicated at the end of this section that the press must carry out. The tasks, according to the theory, were meant to satisfy the public interest. The relationship between the media and the public lies in the implicit convention that the media’s right of access to information and its right of expression is but in the name of the public.¹⁴

At this point of the brief presentation of the theory, let us note in passing that the media must be aware of their obligations. It is clear that, today, the media in developed democracies hardly rely on the theory alone to remind them of their modalities of functioning; they have sufficient other reminders like the public’s awareness and consequent explicit demands¹⁵. It is again not far from the truth to say that the ingredients that prompted the elaboration of the theory are observed in the present day state of the Ethiopian media.

¹⁴ This issue is widely discussed by many editors in “The Responsibility of the Press” (1966).

¹⁵ The concrete public response to the media’s accountability may, for instance, find expression in the sales and audience ratings.

This realization shows that Ethiopia's brand of philosophy and practice of media clearly emanates, after all, from the original setting of the theory. Obviously, we are not after some wholesale appropriation of theory and practice. Rather it is the situational similarity that fully justifies the relevance of the theory to the actual context the Ethiopian media find themselves in.¹⁶

The social benefits that Ethiopia now expects of its media are comparable to those expectations of long that surrounded the birth of the Social Responsibility Theory. The benefits that America, for example, sought of its media decades ago are what Ethiopia seeks of hers today. Though the concrete contents naturally change, the terms of expectation of the American society persist; democracy is a perfectible system. In a parallel way, there are also theoretical evolutions that strive to acquire an adequacy with the changing reality.¹⁷

Concerning the domain of discussion at hand, Ethiopia is so far behind the developed democracies that it could apply the theory even in its original form and still benefit from it. The Social Responsibility Theory is all the more interesting to Ethiopia that we need to have plain guidelines¹⁸ of what the media ought to do.

The six tasks that the theoreticians assigned to their media were "servicing the political system, enlightening the public, safeguarding the rights of the individual as a watchdog against government, servicing the economic system, providing entertainment and

¹⁶ Theories are, indeed, results of deep reflections on particular environments; the mere fact that they are well formulated should not entice us to adopt them. We are here implying that there might be media theories whose application in the Ethiopian setting, original as all settings are, could render problematic.

¹⁷ An example of such evolution is observable in the discussion under the agenda setting theory.

¹⁸ The guidance approach is appealing in Ethiopian type environments where the practice of professional journalism is not well developed. For all its relevance though, the guidance approach of the theory is fraught with danger: who will preside over the choice of appropriate guidelines? which modalities will be judged fit? etc.

maintaining its own financial self-sufficiency” (Siebert et al, 1956,74). These are precisely the tasks that I think we ought to expect of today’s media in Ethiopia.

From the understanding of the theory stems the desirability of prescribing that the Ethiopian media play a central role in the betterment of social as well as political life in the country: hence Normative Theory.

2.2.2 Normative Theory

This theory relates media performance to wider societal pragmatic gains. McQuail describes normative theory as:

[It is] concerned with examining or prescribing how media ought to operate if certain social values are to be observed or attained. Such theory usually stems from the broader social philosophy or ideology of a given society. This kind of theory is important because it plays a part in shaping and legitimating media institutions and has considerable influence on the media’s own audiences (2000, 8).

Such a statement accords well with our conviction stated above that the media should endeavour to cater for the society’s interests through effective execution of their social responsibility.

In the same vein, the similarity between the media’s roles that can be inferred from the Social Responsibility Theory and CSOs’ roles that are definitional of Civil Societies leads one to expect a mutual understanding between them. The fact that they both work towards the goal of weaning citizens’ economic and political lives from governments’ and other undesired influences makes them objective allies.¹⁹

¹⁹ The statement appears to be unduly biased in that it implicitly grants every positive personality to the media and CSOs pitting them against governments put in an adverse position. Though this might be the case in many instances, it is however important there should be no institutional mutualism that would involve profit making for this would result in both parties (especially the media) corrupting their primary aims. This is a real enough danger given the financial dealings between CSOs as clients that pay for advertising services provided by the media. Cf. note 1.

Since the media are involved in monitoring their environment in order to identify settings that would facilitate their watch-dogging service, it is expected of them to take note of and represent the CSOs that operate within their societies. This should be the media's obligatory task for at least two reasons:

First, CSOs operate in the name of democratizing the society, and thus the state, through promoting common goals. This sufficiently justifies the media's representing them for it is the public's good that is at stake for both sides.

Second, the media must permanently watch over the CSOs because the latter (especially in the Ethiopian case) depend on external funds which they obtain in the name of the citizens. It is the media's responsibility to depict accurately the way CSOs operate.

Whether or not CSOs come out to act in line with what they purport to do, the media are to be judged in function of how they portray the former.

Apart from what has been discussed so far, there are also other theories whose concern is to describe the role of the media. These latter theories are interested more in explaining the actual operational mechanisms and the effects and outcomes of the media. Agenda-setting theory is one such theory.

2.2.3 Agenda-Setting Theory

Agenda-Setting theory discusses the media's ability to orient their audiences' attention towards whatever they consider to be important (Griffin, 2006). Griffin, citing McCombs and Shaw, says that "the mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agendas to the public agenda" (2006, 395). He ascribes President Nixon's resignation to the media's repeated coverage of the Watergate scandal.

The central concept of the theory is that audiences align their judgments on the themes that deserve priority with those of the media. In effect, the representation of anything by the media often seems to make whatever is represented to be the agenda of the audience.

In Ethiopia, Civil Societies are known to the extent that the media report on them efficiently; the corollary is that they lead an almost clandestine existence if the media fail

in their task or deliberately ignore them.²⁰ Therefore, the expectation we have of the media that they cover CSOs and our wish to prescribe media's coverage of CSOs is justifiable by many points.²¹

Just as important is the view that holds the public to be the main determining element in the nexus media-public. The equally firmly held views are probably the two extremities of a single truth continuum whose modalities of expression vary in function of multiple parameters and imponderables. Even then, it is worth taking note of them in their clear-cut and non-nuanced expression.

As already stated, the agenda-setting theory views the audience as quite passive recipients of the media's priorities. It accords to the media unrealistic powers over the audience. In fact the theory sprang from the observable grounds that many people do expect of the media to give them guidance on the degree of importance of the different items. It was this that enabled the hypothesis developers McCombs and Shaw to make a generalization that, all the same, fell short of complete acceptance.²²

In other words, the opposing view reverses the agenda-setting role from the media to the public. It is believed that the media give priority to what they deem is the priority of the public. Should the media ignore an event that is a topical preoccupation of the public, they inevitably lose public attention, and eventually go out of business altogether.

In brief, it is expected of the Ethiopian media not only to set the public agenda , but also to listen to the heart beat of the society and give due coverage to Civil Societies.²³

²⁰ The allegation of deliberate neglect is relevant because some CSOs accuse the press of demanding to be paid to cover a story. Though the experience in the country makes it seem very probably true , it cannot be easily proved for people hesitate to speak out openly.

²¹ These points have been discussed time and again; thus it will suffice to merely name them here: the social responsibility together with its attendant watchdog role.

²² Of course, it is in the nature of theories- emanating from the generalization thrust- to fall short of being absolutely correct. Nevertheless, this does not spare them the criticism.

²³ CSOs in Ethiopia are engaged in helping the disadvantaged .The number of people, employees as well as beneficiaries, interested in CSOs is very high. Thus the due coverage given to such organizations is to be

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology and Procedures of the Research

The systematization of the inquiry at hand is the essential part of the duties of a researcher. This chapter deals with the methodology used in the interrogation of Ethiopia's print media's portrayal of Civil Society Organizations, the topic of the thesis. Apparently, there are several ways through which arriving at a relatively accurate description of the matter is possible. Equally apparent are both the irrelevance and purposelessness of applying multiple methodological approaches to a specific point of inquiry where they are not called for. In spite of this, however, there is still a need in this research design to combine two methods, quantitative and qualitative.

3.1 Combined Methods

There are different levels of debate on the epistemological and technical dichotomies of quantitative and qualitative research methods as well as on the desirability of triangulating methods in a single research design. Some consider the chasm to originate in the epistemological underpinnings of the two thoughts that are too far apart to bring together in a single research design; thus they prefer to employ each side of the dichotomy separately.

Others argue for an eclectic procedure whereby researchers select only the pros from both methods while ignoring the cons. As Bryman²⁴ puts it:

If some research topics are more suited to a survey, while others would be better served by a qualitative approach, still others will be even better served by a marriage of the two traditions whereas the integrated strategy may not fit some issues. The critical issue is to be aware of the appropriateness of particular methods (or combinations of methods) for particular issues (1988: 173).

undertaken from a double perspective: (i) look into how they operate, and (ii) see how the beneficiaries view the support they get.

²⁴ In the words Douglas, Bryman says: "Since all research methods have costs and benefits, and since they differ greatly in their particular costs and benefits, a researcher generally finds it best to use some combination or mixture of methods" (1984: 86).

In an earlier work Bryman (1984: 76) has a cogent quote of M. Trow who says ‘the problem under investigation properly dictates the methods of investigation’.

Ultimately then, the degree of sensitivity in responding to the particular characteristics of a research design would orient whichever way to look for a method. The disagreements on quantitative versus qualitative methods and methodologies²⁵ are so settled.

In line with the points raised above, the employment of quantitative and qualitative elements is appropriate for this research design. The need to combine elements from the two methods stems from the nature of the data to be analyzed in this research.

As noted in the introductory chapter, this research gathers data from three newspapers. These newspapers differ in many aspects: publication dates, frequency of publication, distributional scopes, et cetera. The difference in frequency of publication-a daily, a biweekly and a weekly- is the determining element in favour of combining the methods. The choice of method was constrained by decisions that I had made from the outset: the decision to cover the entire year 1997 (2004/5G.C.), and to limit the number of issues to analyze to one hundred fifty six. Now, the total number of issues over the entire year greatly exceeded the number I had chosen to analyze. This immediately called for a quantitative approach.

The period under investigation covers the year 1997²⁶ in its entirety. All the issues of the weekly Addis Admas, constituting one third of the data, were included in the material to be analyzed. The two other newspapers which had far too many issues contributed 52 issues each which were picked up through a sampling process that took into account the question of representativeness.²⁷ Besides, the relevant response to the question of validity

²⁵ Bryman (1984: 76) regards ‘method’ and ‘technique’ as synonymous terms equivalent to ‘ways of gathering data’ while he takes ‘methodology’ to refer to an epistemological position.

²⁶ This year is chosen because of its importance as the year of election known to most foreigners as ‘the 2005 election’. There was apparently a tension between the press, government, and CSOs. This makes inferential judgment about the three parties interesting.

²⁷ Following Hansen et al., “It is rarely either possible or desirable to analyze absolutely all media coverage of a subject, area or issue”. (Hansen et al., 1998: 100).

that could be legitimately raised necessarily points to the chosen span of time: duration of one year is, in my opinion, a large enough span to allow meaningful findings.

As for the sampling technique itself, I employed a quite simple one regarding the biweekly newspaper: the two consecutive issues were queued and one was picked up from each pair alternatively. Thus, only 52 issues were chosen for analysis.

The sampling technique employed in the daily newspaper is a slight variation of systematic sampling (Deacon et al, 1999: 46, Hansen et al., 1998: 103). It is quite similar to the one Hansen et al. discuss. These writers describe the strategy in these terms: “[...] a sampling strategy often used for obtaining a representative sample is [...] that of one continuous week-Monday to Sunday- followed by a ‘rolling’ or composite week, that is Monday of one week, Tuesday of the following week, Wednesday of the following week and so on...” (1998: 103)

In addition to questions of representativeness and validity, causality²⁸ is another significant element in this research. It seems that many writers on methodology ascribe (sometimes rather derogatively) the concept of causality to quantitative researchers. For example, Bryman says: “Once the survey or experimental data have been collected, they are then analyzed so that the causal connection specified by the hypothesis can be verified or rejected” (1998:18).

As was mentioned above, establishing causal connections between different interrelated variables has been regarded as the main preoccupation of the quantitative researcher. However, in qualitative research too, causal connections are useful ingredients that do lead to insights. After all, the descriptive thrust of the qualitative approach cannot be contented with mere listing of observed “facts and events”. On a more general level, all

²⁸ The importance of the concept of causality in this particular research is not merely consequent to the deployment of the quantitative method. The very nature of representation (the topic of the research) needs to envisage and test out causal relationships between the different analytic variables in order to draw significant conclusions .

discourse that one undertakes has an underlying organizing principle that connects its constituent elements : spatial juxtaposition, temporal sequence , causal relationship.

One area of difference between the quantitative and qualitative approaches is the conception of the nature of warrantable knowledge and the means of its acquisition. While quantitative research, drawing on positivism believes that ‘only those phenomena which are observable, in the sense of being amenable to the senses can validly be warranted as knowledge’ (ibid, 1998:14), qualitative approach aspires to understand events, actions and processes in their natural context, through being ‘sensitive to the complexities of social phenomena...’ (Bryman, 984: 82).

The difference stated above implicitly describes the role of the researcher in the respective methods .In the quantitative approach, the researcher observes a particular phenomenon from a detached view point and then proceeds to generalize the finding to a larger population. On the other hand, the qualitative researcher assumes a participant position to obtain an insider’s understanding and thereby accurately describe the particular scene.

From the discussion on the two approaches presented so far, it is possible to infer that causal connections pertain more to one’s in-depth observation and consequent understanding than to physical senses. It thus follows that drawing causal connections based on deeper understanding may not necessarily be the concern and preoccupation of the quantitative²⁹ researcher alone. Based on this insight the writer of this paper has drawn inferences from the causal connections between variables.

²⁹ The reason for such a statement is not the present researcher’s desire to claim the “deep understanding” for the ‘camp of qualitative researchers’. Rather, he wants to state his conviction, that despite the labeled status of causality, the qualitative-inclined research too needs to make inferences based on causal connections between the variables within the research design.

3.2. Data Gathering Techniques

3.2.1 Sampling Texts

Once the choice of print media was settled, the next steps of this research involved sampling according to the quantitative³⁰ method.

The first step was the choice of three titles; a number which I esteemed would give a fairly representative view of the press. In so doing, the validity of the choice concerning the particular titles is accounted for. It resides in the exemplarity of the newspapers targeted considering the following three aspects³¹: the scope of distribution, the newspaper's age, and ownership. Addis Zemen, the oldest of these, is state owned while Reporter, with a comparatively higher circulation is a pioneer private newspaper. Addis Admas, again a private newspaper, is among the few young newspapers that survived the post-election crisis.³²

The span of time that the investigation would cover was then decided to be of one year duration. Delimiting the period was the next step. The election year 1997 was chosen. The interest of the chosen period was that it highlighted the behaviour of the stakeholders in the domain of mass communication. An election year is, of course, an exceptional one, and as such cannot be representative of the habitual behavior of newspapers. However, it is also a rare moment where the actors who administer the life of the community as well as those whose purpose of existence is the provision of community service are offered the occasion to intervene significantly.

At this stage, along with the delimitation of the period, issues from the three newspapers were also selected in a manner already described.

³⁰ Hansen et al., (1998: 100) have identified three steps in the selection of media and sample, "the selection of media or titles, the sampling of issues or dates, the sampling of relevant content", and such is the procedure followed in this research.

³¹ "Monthly statistical data about press products which circulate beyond the confinement of one region, from 10th March 2008G.C. to 8th April 2008: Addis Zemen18447, Addis Admas 31000, Reporter 11000".
<http://www.moinfo.gov.et/circulation.php>

³² This crisis ended up with the ban of all private newspapers, especially those of the age mates of Addis Admas.

The third step was reading thoroughly all the one hundred fifty six issues of newspapers. Every week of the year is represented by three issues from the three newspapers. Thus, units of analysis were identified after the first reading.

3.2.2 Interviews (semi structured and unstructured)

Very often, interviewing members from both the media and the CSOs seemed worthwhile; at times even necessary, in order to arrive at a sound understanding of certain questions. In particular, only through such interviews could one pursue further the investigation of a suspected cause-effect relationship. Of course such relationships are naturally entertained hidden from anybody's view and knowledge.³³

The type of interview that suits best such a situation and enables to conveniently elicit the appropriate information is semi-structured interviewing, defined as:

Semi structured interviewing abandons concerns with standardization and control, and seeks to promote an active, open-ended dialogue. Although it bears some resemblance to everyday conversations, it does not conform to all of their conventions: the interviewer still retains and controls the terms of the discussion...by reference to interview guide that set out the issues to be covered during the exchange (Deakon et al., 1999: 65).

In line with this description of the interviewing technique, the interviews in this research design were conducted with stakeholders of both sides, i.e. the newspapers under discussion and the CSOs portrayed in them in different ways and to varying degrees of extent. Six media workers (four reporters and two editors) and four CSO members (a director, a program coordinator and two staff members) of different organizations were in-depth interviewed.

³³ For instance, if there seems to be correlation between laudatory articles and particular contributors, the researcher could rightly infer some bias on the journalist's part. However, it would not be safe to generalize so without further investigation; it can only be discerned through trustworthy interviews.

3.3 Data Analysis Techniques

3.3.1 Units of Analysis

All comparative study³⁴ and analysis whether it pertains to variation over time or over space is based on the repetition of an item (event) which constitutes the basic unit of analysis. In the case at hand, the length of the text that covers CSOs may be taken as the unit of analysis. This unit may in turn be quantitatively expressed in number of lines, of words, paragraphs, columns, pages or even in centimeters. However, the quantitative expression of the exact length of the texts that would hopefully enable frequency counts of occurrence did not seem useful to the interpretation of the contents.³⁵ It may even reduce communicative aspects that are normally unquantifiable into quantifiable entities. In this study, the unit of analysis is the length of the text that covers CSOs but qualified as short (half a page to a rare full page), medium (one to one page and a half) and long (one and a half to two pages). This definition of the unit of analysis was devised after a prior classification of the texts into *news*, *feature* and/or *interview*.

Of course, due to the physical disparities among the three papers, the length of the units of analysis expressed in absolute terms- say, in number of words- differ. This discrepancy notwithstanding, the relative weight accorded to the CSOs within each paper are, however, very nearly equal.

3.3.2 Analytic categories

Analytic categories are extracted from the thorough reading of the data. For instance, the category *bylines* has been retained as an analytic category following the detection of some characteristics in the coverage that seemed suspect. The suspicion of regularity, a particular tone, recurrent coverage or manifest position sensitizes one to read with sustained vigilance and to investigate further the eventual relationship between the

³⁴ I postulate an initial state of description zero (the absence of description) against which the real description is compared so to say.

³⁵ In the words of Hansen et al., “[...][a] line of criticism concerns the argument that, in counting individual units and their frequency of occurrence, content analysis fails to capture the way in which meaning arises from the complex interaction of symbols in texts” (1998: 97).

contributor of particular articles and the concerned CSOs. This was pursued to explore the eventuality of corruption of any magnitude by any stakeholder that the system under which newspapers operate might allow.

Most of the analytic categories are, however, generally so straightforward that one will look out for them right from the outset. For instance, the researcher realizes from the very early stages of the research topic development that he will consider the tone or the general attitude of the story in the newspaper. Inter-textuality (the position of a text in relation to other texts) is another element similarly envisaged before the reading starts. This is so due to the considerable importance the concept has acquired in the domain of researching portrayal.

3.3.3 Coding

Adequate definition of analytic categories ensures reliable coding (Amare, 1998: 6). The reliability of a coding depends on the extent to which the subjective factor is sufficiently reduced so that the outcome of a categorization exercise of the data becomes predictable and reproducible.

Amare identifies three types of coding: (ibid, 1998: 9). This research employs the first two types, i.e. descriptive and inferential coding systems.

In the descriptive coding, the coder records only what he sees and observes; no inferences or judgments. The descriptive coding is thus a style that is more objective. On the other hand, inferential coding, as the name indicates, is a coding style in which the coder 'is required to consider what each observed content is indicative of and then record that meaning under a specified category' (ibid, 1998: 9).

The two types of coding were suitable for the combination of the qualitative and quantitative methods that is adopted in this research. Clearly, descriptive coding is desired when we have to do with items like frequency, names, dates et cetera. These must be stated in a way that they are perceived in the same way by all. On the other hand, this research is inclined more towards interpretation of statistical elements than the mere stating of them; consequently, it often uses inferential coding to make meaning out of the numerical facts.

3.3.4 Qualitative content analysis

Through the employment of qualitative content analysis, the relevant themes and categories are extracted from the sampled data. The extraction of relevant themes is vital to ensure a focused progress of the research.

The focal point in qualitative content analysis is the thrust to ‘discover content in a different way from the ordinary way of reading (Neuman, 1997: 273).

The analysis in this research is interested in drawing meaning from beyond the surface; it is sought through a close reading of the selected newspapers coupled with in-depth interviews of people from the media houses and the CSOs.

The contextual interest of this research project is that it leads (hopefully) to descriptions and interpretations more appropriate to the concrete situation.

Strictly speaking, in this particular research design, the quantitative elements, *counting* and *causality*, serve as forerunners for the more involved scrutiny and thick description of the scene: qualitative content analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR: Analysis of Findings

This chapter deals with the interpretation of the collected data. It was stated in the previous chapters that the main objective of this research is an accurate understanding and description of a part of Ethiopia’s print media in a specific context and experience. The three newspaper houses selected to be the object of this research are intended to illustrate Ethiopia’s newspaper journalism in their multi-faceted aspects such as circulation,³⁶ age, ownership, etc.

³⁶This does not mean the research aspires to make generalizations about the Ethiopian media situation as a whole. The statement is meant to point out that the leading newspapers in both state and private ownership are the three discussed in this research. The researcher recommends the reader to visit (<http://www.moinfo.gov.et/circulation.php>) which contains a list of currently published newspapers in Ethiopia.

As for the circulation, the statistical data available are: “Monthly statistical data about press products which circulate beyond the confinement of one region, from 10th March, 2008 to 8th April, 2008: Addis

The chosen titles' record of practice during that particular period could provide a variety of insight on the level of Ethiopian journalism and the extent of effective freedom of press that is guaranteed by the Ethiopian constitution.

4.1 The Context and the Media

As could be seen in the previous discussion concerning the importance of the chosen period, it could be labeled as the Ethiopian media's 'prime time.' This is so because 1997 (2005 G.C) was a year where the new democracy in the country was tested. This is true not because there were mere elections in that year but that opposition parties did contest for political power to an extraordinary extent.

Ethiopia's political situation in the eve of the elections was full of suspense and the result was expected to be a turning point in Ethiopian politics. Many were eager to see if a peaceful power transfer could be effectively realized in the event of the oppositions' victory. If the outcome of the elections were not litigious, the credit would have gone to all stakeholders besides the political parties. Obviously, the media and the CSOs would have been among those who deserve that credit. It is precisely the media's representation of CSOs at this crucial moment in the history of Ethiopia that this research studies³⁷.

The reason of the study of representation at such a time is interesting in that it reveals how competition for power is really conducted and how accurately the media describe and report on it. The following could illustrate our point.

Zemen, 18443; Addis Admas, 31000; Reporter, 11000". The period studied is of course 2004/5. However, the research considers that the current circulation figures represent fairly accurately the state of affairs of the period of study.

³⁷ The interest of the period of study is also discussed in sub section 3.2.1 (Page.....).

The government's attitude towards the press was problematic and was of course assumed in the name of safeguarding the constitution; the opposition parties who were critical of the government's policies on federalism were accused of allegedly proffering ethnic insults.

One of the objectives of this research is to see how the media were faring in their function of watch-dogging at what is, after all, an important moment of public responsibility. Not only is the professional efficiency of the media tested in such a time but also its firmness and dedication to serve the 'truth' in time of ready blows³⁸ and temptations of partisanship. This is the key reason for choosing 1997 to be the focus of this research.

In line with this, to study the representation of CSOs in an election year is based on the presumption that CSOs, true to their claim of peace promotion duty, would inevitably have intervened to defuse tensions among political parties and sympathizers. Moreover, CSOs would have observed the conduct of the elections, and thanks to their relative independence, would have made observations that could have eventually set them at logger heads with the government. It thus follows that reporting on the activities of CSOs would have amplified the conflict between the government and the CSOs. The government, already fearing for its power, would have been exasperated by the reportage and consequently (perhaps) would have then adopted extreme positions towards the press.³⁹

4.2 The Context and the Civil Society Organizations

As we have seen in the review of related literature, CSOs (at least some of them) consider that they are helping the democratization of the country. As far as these politically motivated CSOs are concerned, their role is obviously more significant during elections than at other ordinary times. Such times offer them rare opportunities to reach

³⁸ The ban of most of the newspapers in the post electoral period is illustrative of the situation.

³⁹ Based on hindsight and after-the-event happenings, I presume that thus must have been the succession of events.

the public in their thrust, for instance, to create awareness, or to participate in different capacities in observing the conduct of the election. It is thus interesting to see how often and around what themes⁴⁰ they produce events worthy of media's attention.

Even then, the interest of this research is not so much to find out what the CSOs have been doing then as to understand how much they interested the media and in what manner. Clearly then, the subjects of investigation of this research are the media, particularly in their representation of CSOs.

The interesting point in focusing on the media and the CSOs at such a time is the appeal that the period has in enabling sound reflections on different aspects such as the media's professionalism, its self definition, the conception of their duties, the media's relationship to government and to the public et cetera. Obviously, it is too ambitious to hope to infer all surrounding understandings of the media from the mere reading of their representation of CSOs. However, careful scrutiny of the texts' implicit tones and explicit positions as well as the information retrieved from interviews would still lead to meaningful understandings of the state of the profession.

4.3 Discussion of Analytic Categories

Analytic categories are elements which the researcher extracted from the texts relevant to the research. The categories are presumed to give deeper insight into the whole scene. Examination of these categories is done in a way that is removed from mere quantitative exercise and its concomitant desire for external validity. Before we delve into the discussion, though, let us have a look at the tabulated presentation of the categories and their actual figures on the newspapers.

Table 1: Analytic categories in the stories of the three titles.

⁴⁰Even though it is beyond the interest of the research to classify CSOs, it is worth noting the oversimplification involved in labeling them as humanitarian or political by merely looking at the type of their activity during the election period; it might as well have been a temporary engagement to avoid confrontation with the government.

Analytic Categories		Titles		
		Addis Zemen	Addis Admas	Reporter
No. of articles		37	23	52
No. of CSOs		35	18	25
Type of articles ⁴¹	News	36	10	18
	Feature	1	10	32
	interview	0	3	2
attribution ⁴²	attributed	4	4 (2 writers)	27 (14 writers)
	nonattributed	33	19	25
Tone	favourable	34	23	25
	unfavourable	3	0	27
	Neutral	0	0	0
Themes	Economic	19	11	21
	Social	13	8	12
	Political	5	4	19

4.3.1 Recurrence and its Meaning

The discussion of the number of reports or articles in the given time and the given media houses is an important point of departure. The number of times a report is done should be examined before any thematic analysis. This exercise tells us the number of newsworthy phenomena the CSO sector produced and those of them that were noticed and reported by the newspapers.

⁴¹ The identification of stories as news, feature or interview is based on the well established writing style that each exhibit.

⁴² In this case, a story is labeled as 'attributed' if there is a proper noun in the byline and 'un-attributed' if there is either nothing or there is an organization or an agency.

According to the data, there appears to be coverage of a CSO-related matter on every other issue of a newspaper. For instance, *Addis Zemen*, the daily newspaper, has covered 37 (sampled) stories in 52 weeks of the year. Whereas *Addis Admas*, the weekly newspaper, has covered 26 stories about CSOs in the 52 weeks, exactly one story every fortnight. However, the coverage is not evenly distributed over the issues; at times, CSO-related stories appear over successive issues, at others, quite spread out.

The biweekly newspaper *Reporter* had a CSO-related story in every single one of its issues during the year 1997.

What does this numerical discussion mean to studying representation? The question takes us back to the question put out at the outset of the research: are the media aware of the CSOs' existence at all? If so, do they acknowledge the newsworthy actions that they produce? The answer is yes; the media not only are they aware of the existence of the CSOs but have also given them a fair⁴³ space.

Moreover, the numbers could tell the extent to which CSOs are aware of the importance of frequent access to media, and consequently, in their conception, to a wider audience.

According to a conversation I had with a CSO director,⁴⁴ it is the CSOs that take the initiative to invite the media. The invitation's outcomes are, most of the time, contingent

⁴³ I admit that the statement is ultimately subjective. One could very well argue from the reading of the same data that the media have over or under reported the CSOs. The sum total of significant societal actors and their activities is hardly quantifiable. That notwithstanding, the sector of the population (number of people) that CSOs actually come into contact with is extremely small. A sociological reality that can illuminate the workings of the media/CSOs is the urban phenomenon of social coteries. The preponderance of coverage is to be understood as an 'endogamous' conversation whose consumers are essentially members of the very same milieu. Taking the sheer bulk of the population into consideration, the media/CSOs are, in my opinion, oblivious to the fact that they lead an existence on the margins of the Ethiopian society.

⁴⁴ Mr. Bob Ransom, Director of Ethiopian Center for Disability and Development.

upon the incentives given by the CSOs. It all depends on the CSOs' pockets whether their actions are reported on or ignored.

Another CSO worker⁴⁵ describes the situation in exactly the same terms: access to the media depends on the CSOs' provision of daily fares to journalists. He adds that a reporter's attendance of an event does not guarantee the reporting; this is secured by the money paid at the end of the session of the event. The interviewee relates anecdotes that illustrated his points.

According to this interviewee, another way to secure reportage on the CSOs' activities is to invite a government official to an event. In his words, "inviting government officials is a good way of avoiding 'envelopes'".⁴⁶ This is not without a defect, though. The informant says the story veers into promoting the prominence of the official, he and not the CSO-initiated event become the center of the report.

From the presentation of the interviewees' views, it seems that the phenomenon of 'envelopes' is the media's reluctance to cover a story 'for free'. However, the point has its counter-version from the media houses.

An editor in Addis Zemen⁴⁷ suspects that it was the CSOs' eagerness to secure favorable coverage at all costs that provoked the emergence of 'brown enveloping'. The CSOs need these newspaper reports to be presented as track records to obtain funds. The interviewee says that many big organizations seem to take coverage by the state media to be indicative of their efficiency as well as of their accomplishments.

This view, expressed slightly differently, is shared by the Anti Malaria worker. He says that CSOs get the money from concerned individuals and organizations. And the proof that the money was efficiently invested in the desired area is provided, among other

⁴⁵ Ato Mekonen Aderaw, Program Coordinator, Anti Malaria Association.

⁴⁶ The fact that the money is paid in a colored envelope has resulted in the coinage of the term 'brown envelope journalism'

⁴⁷ Ato Feqadu Molla, Editor, Addis Zemen newspaper.

ways, by independent reports of the media. Therefore, the CSOs pay whatever is ‘due’ to get the media testify to their ‘meritorious efforts’.

In some cases, newspapers take the initiative to cover CSOs in view of establishing privileged relations in order to obtain preferences in buying pages of advertisement/vacancy announcements and the like. This story of clientelism comes from a chief editor⁴⁸ of a newspaper that was not selected in the study; sometimes newspapers send reporters to cover a story of a CSO for the sole purpose of establishing business friendship.

Apparently, the Ethiopian print media report CSO-related issues for reasons other than recording the actual performances of the organizations. However, it is advisable to adopt positions that leave room for other pictures of the media-CSO relationship.

4.3.2 Number of CSOs⁴⁹ Covered

Number of CSOs is the second category in the table. The meaning that could be extracted from the analysis of the two categories combined together enables reflection on the nature of the media’s professionalization even deeper.

The *number of CSOs covered*⁵⁰ by a particular newspaper in the given period, viewed against the *number of articles*, gives the average picture of how often that particular media house covers a single CSO. This gives some indication on the professional impartiality of the media house’s practice. Should there be glaringly frequent coverage of particular CSOs while none to other comparable (in terms of size, domain of intervention, actuality of type of activity etc.) organizations, then one may be led to suspect questionable professional ethics of that particular media house.

⁴⁸ Ato Berhanu Belachew, chief editor, Google newspaper.

⁴⁹ In 1997, there were 214 officially recognized CSOs in Ethiopia.

⁵⁰ The list of CSOs covered is appended, see Appendix.

In this regard, the three newspapers have different distributions of repeated reports on particular CSOs. For instance Addis Zemen has covered in its 37 stories 35 different CSOs, while Addis Admas reported on 18 CSOs with its 26 stories. From the two figures, it is possible to infer a fair distribution. In Addis Zemen, almost every story focuses on a new CSO, except for Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association which enjoyed coverages on three occasions.

Similarly, Reporter made 52 reports on 25 CSOs. This means that a CSO gets an average of twice a year. However, the average does not give an accurate picture of the reality for the shares of coverage are not evenly distributed, some CSOs getting much more than others.

We can infer from the above numerical description an insight on the sense of professional fairness. The absence of repeated coverage of particular CSOs noted in most cases suggests that there is no bias (be it in favour of or against a particular CSO). And yet, information gained through interviews admits that incentive driven corruption is rampant the industry.

How then can we account for the non bias ratio that the papers manage to produce?

Most of the media professionals interviewed for this research tell of ways the media houses screen bias: it is incumbent on editors to detect suspect frequency of coverage and attitudes. The interviewees maintain that the system under which the media operate is so vulnerable that, still, laudatory reports very far removed from reality do insinuate themselves. According to the interviewee from Anti Malaria Association, this problem is even more pronounced in the coverage of CSOs engaged in awareness creation activities the outcomes of which are difficult to measure.

Our informant from Addis Zemen has another account of the bias screening task. He notes one instance in which editors are hindered from checking reports against reality. The policy of the state media highly favours reporting on the accomplishments of CSOs. The coverage is meant to demonstrate that the government has created a favourable environment for the CSOs. Such general guides curb the enthusiasm to check the accuracy of reports.

An almost total absence of repeated coverage of particular CSOs was noted earlier in the discussion. Now, these numerical facts coupled with the information gained through the interviews could then hint at the media houses' more or less successful efforts to combat corruption. According to an informant from Reporter⁵¹, the newspaper has chosen to adopt a 'damage control' stance of mitigating the too blatant biases. This is of course short of fighting incentives per se. He says it is practically impossible to eradicate incentive transactions between CSOs and journalists, but that it is possible to examine the tone of the report and decide over its publication.

In the same vein, a staff of Walta Information Center⁵² says offers of 'envelopes' to journalists is a problem recognized by all staff. The journalists themselves identify stories that are 'motivated' ⁵³but consider the practice as normal. The commitment to combating 'envelope journalism' has been reduced to mere lessening of the exaggeration's extent.

In conclusion, the danger that threatens the media is twofold: the journalists and the CSOs. However, the ratio of figures (number of CSOs/ number of stories during the year) seems to suggest that the harm is rather mild. Given the allegedly rampant corruption, the danger of over reporting on particular CSOs has been averted.

4.3.3 Types of Articles

The classification of the articles as *news*, *features* and *interviews* has two purposes. First, it defines the units of analysis: *news* generally ranges from half a page to a full page, *features* one to one page and a half and *interviews* range from one and a half to two pages.

⁵¹ Yemane Nagish, Staff, politics Column, Reporter.

⁵² Ato Shewaye Gelaw, staff, Walta Information Center.

⁵³ The practice is so banal that a new term butchie () from the verb botcheqe (to snatch)) has been coined for it.

This semi-quantitative definition preferred to counting the words or sentences is justified by the researcher's inclination more towards interpretation of the whole data than to quantified elements of particular aspects.

Secondly, the classification indicates the margin of maneuver the papers have regarding the information at their disposal; obviously, news and interviews are hardly manipulable compared to features.

Of course, the choice of questions during interviews or the presentation of quantified news relating to qualitative facts such as awareness creation ...etc allow more or less subtle interferences. Inversely, interviews may create opportunities for articulate interviewees who might end up in transforming the journalist into their spokesperson.

As for the nature of features, it is very difficult to pinpoint. In many cases, features are favourable reports. However, their structure is such that a dexterous writer could employ them for almost all purposes.⁵⁴

In this particular research, the stories about CSOs in the three newspapers are mostly news stories. For instance, out of the 37 stories sampled in Addis Zemen, we have 36 news stories, one feature and no interview. Similarly, Addis Admas had 23 stories during the year out of which ten were news stories, ten features and three interviews. A significant number of features appear in Reporter followed by news and interviews: 32 features, 18 news and only 2 interviews.

Table 2: type of stories

Stories Titles	Total number of stories	News	Features	Interviews
Addis Zemen	37	36	1	0
Addis Admas	23	10	10	3
Reporter	52	18	32	2

⁵⁴ Here, the term feature is employed in the following sense:.....

What is the purpose of the quantification of the classified items? As mentioned earlier on in this section, the numbers throw some light on those stories that are amenable to interference; combined with the attitude of the text (to be discussed below), and eventually with a particular writer, they may enable us to depict the professional state of the media houses as accurately as possible.

4.3.4 Attribution to Writers

The basic purpose of surveying the byline is to examine whether the media houses favour anonymous stories (attributed to News Agencies, staff reporters and non-attributed) or with named authors, and, in the second eventuality, whether they have the same journalists regularly writing on CSOs matters.

The more there are stories with named authors, the simpler it would be to infer the relationship between the writer and the CSO concerned. The inference is possible from (1) the writer's frequency of coverage of a particular CSO(s), (2) the writer's tone (3) the nature or type of articles. The examination of such points together with in-depth interviews enables one to describe the professional activity of the media house as accurately as possible.

Repeated commendations or attacks on a particular CSO by a particular writer would lead to suspect bias. On the other hand, if there is no writer noticeably interested in the same CSOs, there would be no reason to suspect bias.

Considering the *types of stories*, we can make helpful observations too: the writer who favors interviews is decidedly in favor of the CSO while the one who tends to write features wants his personal imprint (negative or positive) on the story.

The survey of the byline in the three newspapers gives the following picture:

Table 3: Attribution to Writers

Title	No. of stories		Anonymous authors			Identif ied author
	Attributed	Non- attributed	Non- attributed	Attributed to Agency	Attributed to staff	
Addis Zemen	37	0	0	26	7	4
Addis Admas	6	17	17	0	0	4
Reporter	30	22	22	2	1	14

Addis Zemen attributed all the thirty seven stories: 26 to Ethiopian News Agency, 7 to Walta Information Center and only 4 to individual writers.

In the case of Addis Admas, of the 23 stories, only seven are attributed, and these to four individual writers (one of them three times) . The remaining 17 stories were not attributed at all.

Reporter, the newspaper that produced the highest number of stories on CSOs (52 stories) during the year under discussion, did not attribute 22 stories. The remaining thirty articles were attributed: twenty seven to fourteen named writers and three to anonymous staff reporters. Out of the 14 named authors five had repeatedly written on CSOs (one wrote 6 times, one four times, one three times and two twice each).

There are some strong points that emerge from the configuration of the articles. The public title Addis Zemen gets its stories from the established public network and often has anonymous bylines (ENA, Walta Information Center). Reporter seems to have some relative strength in collecting their own stories. As for Addis Admas, it starkly exhibits the problem of non-attribution.

Reporter has 22 non-attributed stories and Addis Admas 17. Now, this practice calls for a remark of a general order. Ultimately, the question at stake is that of assuming responsibility and accountability. Anonymity (whose highest expression is non-attribution) allows responsibility to be spread out so thinly that it finally vanishes. This opacity of the newspapers is fundamentally contrary to a healthy professional exercise

and to practices of an open democratic society at large. And newspapers declare that they need precisely such a society to live and thrive in!

At the linguistic level too, there are interesting phenomena equivalent to anonymity. The passive voice which has become the hallmark of current journalistic Newspeak is one such counterpart; it is a fitting grammatical construction to dilute responsibility. Things simply happen, no need of subjects, so to say. Another apparition is the infatuation for nominalization complemented with a semantically empty verb ('They are hungry' would probably read 'there is a situation of hunger'). This concurs with the passive voice cited above in ejecting the subject from its hitherto rightful place.

Corollary to the above remark is the importance of transparency, above all when there are already suspicions of bias concerning certain CSOs/media relationships as will be even clearer in the discussion on attitudes and tones.

A cautionary remark is apposite here. The bare number of attributions to particular authors may indeed lead us to suspect bias; however, one needs to seriously go through each story to reach a balanced overall conclusion. A case frequently observed is that of reports which quote participants in order to give their stories an immediate and human flavor: they are often marred by one-sided and over enthusiastic statements. Reports on family planning trainings offered to women are a notorious instance. In such stories, the task of the researcher is to carefully look out for the inclusion different accounts of the same event.

In sum, the relevance of the study of bylines is its input in the general understanding of the media's depiction of stories. In this particular case, this section (byline) is included as a separate analytical category to add sensitivity to the understanding of Ethiopia's print media particularly in the latter's representation of CSOs. The inclusion of the category is triggered by the pertinence of the whole subject (portraying CSOs) to media ethics.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The configuration of articles with or without bylines will be raised again in the discussion on tones and it offers an interesting observation when considered along with the attitude of the stories on CSO.

4.3.5 Attitudes and Tones of Writing

The thrust in reading the tones of the stories on CSOs is perhaps the vital point of this research. The preference for the word *tone* to words like *position, view, stance, attitude* et cetera comes from the belief that the former evokes more aptly overt and covert stands of the texts ; the latter group of words refer more to plainly expressed meanings than to implied ones.

Within this analytic category are three different sub-categories that are separately discussed. These sub-categories which characterize and differentiate each one of the stories are: favorable, unfavorable and neutral tones.

The researcher realizes that real life is actually a realm that denies all oversimplifications; the coexistence of contrary elements enmeshed in an inextricable manner is more the rule than the exception. He is also aware that the hegemony of particular norms of discourse (tolerance, gender, minority issues...etc) is time bound, one giving way to another. Now, abiding by such and such fashionable norm often pertains more to more or less subtle institutional coercion (be it journalistic, academic, social, political etc) than to intellectual adherence. However, one still needs well-cut words to denote delimited sense; we still need to employ words like ‘overall’ with their full meanings. The qualifications and connotations summoned to our rescue in our extreme caution should not burden us to the extent of incapacitating all discussions. Therefore, the notion of intimate conviction and decisions based in conscience, as opposed to the presence or absence of a list of adjectives, will play a role in labeling tones as favourable or unfavourable.

4.3.5.1 Favourable Representations

Judging from the general distribution of favorable and unfavorable tones, the three newspapers seem to harbor different inclinations in representing CSOs. More precisely,

two of the newspapers, Addis Zemen and Addis Admas, are inclined towards depicting almost all of the CSOs they report on favorably, while Reporter seems to be ill-disposed towards some of the CSOs.⁵⁶

The extreme positions that are plain lead to an inquiry into the editorial policies of the three newspapers. In the mean time, it is remarkable that none of these newspapers has a portrayal of any CSOs that could be characterized as neutral.⁵⁷

Most of the favorable stories in Addis Zemen and Addis Admas are easily identifiable from their headlines: “*campaign to save the generation, combating stigma and discrimination, HIV/AIDS awareness campaign: sensitization of taxi driver*” et cetera. In such stories, the awareness creators, the campaigners and the humanitarian activists are particular CSOs. The two newspapers tend to be uncritical towards CSOs; there is almost nothing negative that they find noteworthy. More specifically, Addis Zemen depicts CSOs favorably in thirty four of the thirty seven stories, while Addis Admas was favorable in all the stories during the year.

Apparently, these newspapers were interested in stories they could applaud. Had they been more investigative, they would surely have had critical views too. It is still noteworthy that almost no particular CSO is covered twice during the year. Indeed, this saves them from unduly suspicion.

Unsuspected as they could be though, the newspapers can still be criticized for their partial reporting that concentrates solely on success stories. A case in point is some stories written on credit services provided by certain CSOs. In such stories, appreciative

⁵⁶ It is useful to remember that the fundamental interest pursued by the research is to investigate the general handling of the CSO phenomenon by the media and not a comparative study of different titles within the media.

⁵⁷ See table on page26.

anecdotes such as the case of a hotel maid who turned into a grocery owner thanks to the money she borrowed from a certain *Rased*⁵⁸ et cetera are common. The writer omits reports on possible failures due to debts that had to be paid back in a short period, high interest rates and the like.

Now, our focal point in this sub-section is the description of the newspapers' attitudes towards the CSOs they report on. At this point, it is important to recall the information gained through interviews. According to the members of CSOs, journalists of all media, particularly those of newspapers, are unabashed about receiving incentives.

How then can we account for the various episodes dwelt on to illustrate the different tones?

Contrary to what one would expect, ownership does not seem to be a critical element in dividing the attitude of newspapers (compare public Addis Zemen with private Addis Admas). Given the discrepancy between Addis Zemen and Reporter (with a declared pro-government though critical stance), the degree of concern to uphold the present political arrangement does not seem to be a more satisfactory explanatory factor either. Therefore, one is all the more inclined to endorse the allegations of corruption and envisage 'envelope journalism' as one plausible explanation.

4.3.5.2 Unfavourable Representations

The proportion of favorable to unfavorable depiction of the CSOs it covers suggests an investigative thrust on Reporter's part. Of the 52 stories on CSOs, 25 are favorable, 27 unfavorable. At the look of it, the figures would tempt one to label the newspaper as either fair or as too critical; the other two titles had not reported unfavorably on any organization at all.

⁵⁸ The story is found on Addis Admas, 18, Nov, 1997 and *Rased* is a transliteration of the name of the CSO.

In our case, we label it fair⁵⁹ for it is free of one sidedness characteristic of ‘envelope journalism’. Obviously, we exclude the possibility of receiving incentives and writing freely all the same.

How then can we account for the negativity of Reporter (twenty seven unfavorable reports) which is glaringly at variance from the other two titles?

In the section that discussed attribution to writers, we had observed that in Reporter, unlike in Addis Zemen and Addis Admas, the same journalists had written on CSOs repeatedly. This urges us to examine the eventuality of any correlation between the particular writers and the particular CSOs. In addition, the recurrence of the same authors enables us to explore the eventuality of any correlation between particular writers and particular attitudes on one hand, and, on the other hand, to draw conclusions on a possibly discernible and persistent stand of particular authors on the general existence of CSOs. Therefore, the variance is perhaps explained by the fact that particular authors may be ill-disposed towards particular CSOs or that they may be opposed to the general idea of CSOs.

Out of the 14 journalists of Reporter that wrote on CSOs, 5 did so on repeated occasions, some twice, and others up to six times. One of these who wrote 3 articles represents all the CSOs he writes about unfavorably. Three authors with six, four and two stories had each half of his stories favorable and the other half unfavorable. The fifth one, who wrote three stories, had two positive portrayals and a negative one.

Disregarding a story that continues on successive issues, only one writer wrote two stories on the same CSO. We may infer from this that a journalist can hardly use the newspaper Reporter as a platform for his personal agenda concerning the CSOs. Nevertheless, it is difficult to decide whether the restraint of journalists is due to the principle of YILUÑTA () that governs social behavior, which I think probable, or to regulations proper to the newspaper.

⁵⁹ I realize that the idea of fairness is open to questions. My perspective is that positions and consequent practices that are adopted in accordance with one’s conscience are different in nature from bribery pure and simple. We can eventually affirm corruption but we cannot be certain of its absence.

In conclusion, there is some truth to the widely uttered allegation of ‘brown enveloping’ in the Ethiopian media. The hasty statement that many stories- especially those in Addis Zemen and Addis Admas- if not all are ‘incentived’ or ‘sponsored’ advertisements does not seem so hasty after all.

4.3. 6 Thematic Issues Covered

In their portrayal of CSOs, the print media are, in principle, interested in exploring the domain of activities. The research considers these latter to investigate whether there is a typical/systematic way of domain portrayal, which boils down to a CSOs’ portrayal by virtue of the CSOs’ predilection of activity.

The newspapers’ reports encompass the social, economic and political domains of the society. Within these general domains, the newspapers touch upon many issues that the research investigates. Of the two ways envisaged to go about it, the separate discussion of each newspaper in terms of the different CSO related themes it touches upon is cumbersome. Rather, the research envisages themes common to the three newspapers and discusses the way they handle them. Whichever approach is adopted though, the purpose is to comprehend the newspapers’ professional practices through the depiction of CSOs.

4.3.6.1 Economic Development

One of the common themes to the three newspapers is the depiction of CSOs as agents of development. The term *development* comprises diverse activities that are generally called humanitarian actions which could be discussed under different categories as well. In this case, reports pertaining to any sort of material betterment brought about by the CSOs, their proclaimed intentions notwithstanding, is taken as part of developmental issues. In the following sub-sections, we will successively discuss some of these prominent issues.

4.3.6.1.1 Education

One of the issues many stories focus on is CSOs’ involvement in education: supplementing educational materials, sponsoring children or training teachers, et cetera. Their activities include also such involvements as those in regular academic and

vocational education, special topical trainings, artistic contests, exhibitions and awareness creation activities.

In this regard, Addis Zemen covered 10 stories on education while Addis Admas covered only 2 and Reporter none. All the stories related to education are favorable towards the involved CSOs. The typical report presents a crowd of shabby children often dirty and ill dressed that are uncomfortably seated for a lesson. A picture of a ceremony for one or other reason would show them avidly swallowing the words of the CSO representative.

4.3.6.1.2 Credit Services

Some CSOs, according to the reports, are portrayed as credit service providers to low-income people. This is one of the major activities that enable the CSOs to claim some role in the development of the country. Many stories relate anecdotes of individuals whose life radically improved as a result of the money they borrowed from NGOs and CSOs.

Addis Zemen and Addis Admas covered more of the stories on credit services than Reporter did. Reporter, which depicts most of the CSOs it covers rather unfavorably, has less such stories.

In most of the instances where there are reports on credit service provision, the concerned CSOs are portrayed positively. Typically, they depict a low-income woman struggling for survival in an unbelievably harsh economic environment and then follows the angelic support of some credit service that reclaims her from unfathomable poverty. The success story of the hotel maid noted in the discussion on *favorable representations* is exemplary.

4.3.6.1.3 Water and Food Supplies

Provision of clean water, food and medical care to orphans and patients - activities here considered under economic development, but that could also pertain to health- are again

repeatedly raised issues. Reports related to this are predominantly found in Addis Zemen compared to the remaining two.

The story typically shows a rural woman going to long arduous distances to fetch water, unclear at that; it then proceeds with extra details of hardship to finally culminate in the installation of a water pump almost in the very yard of the woman's house.

In addition, some NGOs are involved in irrigational installments. These CSOs' activities are praised in all the stories as famine averting efforts.

4.4.6.1.4 Health

Health issues are considered here under economic development. Primary health care, let alone an advanced health system, are contingent upon considerable economic security.

In all three newspapers, HIV/AIDS and malaria are the most outstanding issues. Many CSOs are reported to invest a lot of money to combat these diseases. The stories typically report on the money, most of which is invested in awareness creation concerning prevention, stigma, and in medical and nutritional support to HIV/AIDS and malaria victims.

Almost all stories related to health depict the CSOs in favorable terms. In this regard also, the reports about the CSOs sometimes include the number of beneficiaries and the amount of money invested by particular CSOs.

In conclusion, stories depicting CSOs as agents of economic development present them favourably. In all cases, the writers endeavor to describe the difficult background and the subsequent ameliorations of the situation to show the contributions of the CSOs.

4.3.6.2 Social Development

Besides economic development, social development is a category that encompasses various activities. CSOs interested in the development of social awareness are reported in the three newspapers.

The agendas of CSOs interested in bringing about change in the social life of the society are varied. The prominent ones are:

4.3.6.2.1 Women and Children

The sample stories of the entire year are predominantly reports pertaining to women and family planning issues. Women's empowerment is considered to entail profound positive change in the overall development of the country. According to reports in all three titles, many CSOs work towards women empowerment with the conviction that the more just an environment is to women, the more it would gain in terms of human and material development.

Women's issues are particularly related to legal and cultural concerns. Lots of reports frequently present women as victims in all realms of social life. In particular, they relate all sorts of attacks by men, ranging from vexations to cases of rape.

Similarly frequent is the big-time women's issue, what the CSOs, the media and part of the urban society have branded⁶⁰ as harmful cultural practices: forced marriages/ kidnapping, circumcision with all sorts of genital mutilation, dowry etc.

Children's issues, almost always appended to women's, are widely raised in CSO-related stories. On these issues, Reporter and Addis Zemen have more stories than Addis Admas. Children's trafficking is the recurrent issue that CSOs hope to stop through legal as well as awareness raising interventions.

⁶⁰

The overall picture that comes through is that children and women are disadvantaged and that they are in need of advocates.

4.3.6.2.2 Family planning

Family planning is identified on its own here and not subsumed under women's issues; most stories relate awareness raising workshops on contraceptive methods that some CSOs' conduct. Men as well are reported to attend these sessions on family planning. Of course, this is perfectly comprehensible for the success of the planning depends on both partners.

4.3.6.2.3 Disability

In all three newspapers, there are many reports on CSOs engaged in assisting the disabled. For instance, Addis Zemen has 6 stories concerning CSOs interested in rehabilitating the disabled. Reporter has 3 stories, Addis Admas has none. In terms of type of stories, most of them are feature stories. This must have resulted from the writers' enthusiasm that saw disabled persons enabled to acquire autonomy and support themselves.

In most reports, some CSOs are presented as the instigators of disabled persons' groupings which facilitate training provisions. The procedures of the training and the routines of everyday life of the disabled are described in detail. The presentations seem to address an imaginary individual allegedly squandering his days lazily hanging round or begging. "Look at you enjoying good health and doing not nothing useful with it, while these poor souls are bravely trying to surmount their handicap!" they seem to say.

In conclusion, stories on social development are the most numerous, followed by those on economic development. Most CSOs' interest is in humanitarian actions such as providing immediate support for the disadvantaged. However, those interested in economic development tend to prefer laying the foundation for economic and social justice to be achieved in the long run.

4.3.6.3 Political Development

Most such stories depict CSOs involved in the democratization process of the country. In this section we will briefly review the extent to which the three newspapers portray CSOs claiming⁶¹ to be politically active participants.

The finding of the study is that CSOs are more often represented in their role as economic and social actors than as political activists. The proportion of the stories representing them as political participants is indeed small: 5 stories out of 37 for Addis Zemen, 4 out of 23 for Addis Admas and 19 out of 52 for Reporter.

The figures could be interpreted in different ways. The small number of stories on CSOs' political participation could simply be an accurate representation of the reality. It could also reflect the media's conscious decision to avoid controversial topics. Reporter's relatively numerous stories could suggest that the newspaper considered itself as a stakeholder in the political goings-on.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND REMARKS

5.1 Conclusion

The paper examined the representation of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in three Amharic newspapers during the 1997 historic election year. The titles (the daily Addis Zemen, the biweekly Reporter and the weekly Addis Admas) were selected based on interesting aspects they have in terms of circulation, ownership and age.

The CSOs' declared aim is to participate in different capacities in the democratization process of the country: be it through direct political participation or through socio-economic empowerment. The media's claimed function too is responsible representation of reality in order to enable citizens hold duly informed opinion and to help them make decisions with full knowledge of the facts. An election period is a critical moment where

⁶¹ For the self-definitions, see chapter two.

both the media's and the CSOs' aspirations are foregrounded in all their intensity. It is thus an opportune occasion to scrutinize the articulation of the three components of the study (the newspapers, the CSOs and the period) in an actualized quest of democracy.

A combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques of data gathering and analysis were employed in the research; this was dictated by the nature of the data and the analytical approach. On one hand, stories that appeared on one hundred and fifty six issues over a year were sampled; the number of stories and the span of time covered are considered representative and valid selections for the study. Data was gathered through semi-structured interviews too. On the other hand, the thrust of the analysis that tends more towards interpretation rather than limit itself to the quantification of categories dictates to adopt the qualitative approach.

The analytic categories are types of story (news, features and interviews), tone or general attitude, bylines (anonymity and attribution to writers) and thematic issues (economic, social and political development); the preferred coding systems suitable for the combination of the qualitative and quantitative methods adopted in this research are descriptive and inferential; and, the unit of analysis is the length of the text.

The researcher had no hypothesis to test; in particular, the study did not intend to verify any hypothesis on the freedom of press nor on the professionalism in the Ethiopian print media. Rather, the study aimed to describe as accurately as possible the behavior of the media in relation to the CSOs at a moment that was extremely relevant to both. The outcome of such a study is, of course, primarily in the nature of a review of an event. Secondly, a deeper understanding of the practices of both would ensue from considerations of frequency of representation and accounts for it, constructed images, eventual privileged relationships between the media house and particular CSOs et cetera.

But for the number of stories on politics-interested CSOs we get in the title Reporter, the fact that the two other titles have few stories is for the least strange. During an election

year, we would normally expect CSOs working on human and political rights to be very active; and yet, it is precisely then that their coverage is marginalized.

In general though, the CSOs are favorably represented. However, this finding is marred by what all the interviewees call “the dues to be paid”, widely practiced incentive /bribery system.

5.2 Remarks

At the base of the research are questions on how CSOs and domains of their activities are represented in the media. One of these questions asked whether there was a typical/systematic way of domain portrayal. Indeed there are, and caricatured too.

In most stories, the CSO-driven projects are typically reported with the depiction of a horrifying social and human environment as a background. Follow the laudatory report highlighting the ‘rebirth’ of a large number of beneficiaries with the magnitude of effort and cost consented to alleviate the human disaster. Many a self-proclaimed expert on things Ethiopian endeavours to motivate its actions by making the needs manifest in such a way.

What are the overall effects on the society?

One of the most significant facts in the country since the evil days of 1977 is, in my opinion, the advent of the new type CSOs (NGOs). They have entailed questions of sovereignty not only in the political realm but most importantly in the deeper cultural level. The overall effect is the damage inflicted on the self-image of Ethiopia.

An apt expression of the state of self-confidence in some is perhaps the popular “what is it to me that it doesn’t rain here! God forbid there should be drought in Canada!” I take it to be indicative of the wounded self-confidence that prevails in the country.

We may also take the anecdote of one CSO sponsored booklet as exemplary . “The little girl and the fig tree”, translated in three of the major languages, is graciously distributed in public schools. It is the story of adults forbidding a little girl to climb up a fig tree lest it might dry up and die. The child climbs up the tree any way and discovers

that the tree did not die after all. The grand lesson is the realization of archaic male adult conspiracy to undermine the feminine gent, and the child makes it known in a debased language! Obviously, we are not dealing here with the normal process of knowledge acquisition through transgressing the forbidden. It merely confirms what one had suspected all along. Here then are children to whom is proposed a fore taste of reading culture. Whence comes this urge to be so hostile to the human and cultural environment, so carelessly ridiculing the social fabric?

Now, the researcher's considered opinion is that the media's unrestrained praise of CSOs aggravates things. The CSOs visibility is promoted in such a way that all activities unrelated to CSOs is annulled. Such representation in fact frames the citizenry (i.e. the civil society) as devoid of all sense of initiative with the jet-set CSOs coming to its rescue. There is, of course, something obscene in the fat salaries of those in the famine business.

I am aware that a sense of deep human solidarity is also involved. Far be it from me to play down the compassion of the individual grassroots activists that are dear to my heart. I am interested in the erected system of CSOs and the related representation. Even then, I do not probe intent either; I note observable effects. I am here stating things that my intimate knowledge allows me, all the more necessary that we generally shy away from them. The intellectual effort that should and could have been engaged in rethinking this site of image elaboration does not seem to be keen on it. This dimension is, to my humble mind, one of the big issues to work on.

The proximity approach that CSOs are bent on has a non-negligible fragmentary thrust in it; the integrative levels of organization of a national community are shunned. The state which I believe is the highest expression of the collective self has had to face some encroachments. This also needs attention and research.

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APPENDIX

List of Civil Society Organizations/NGOs in Addis Zemen

No.	Names of CSOs in the three titles Addis Zemen	Author	Type of story
1	ተስፋ ጐሃ ኢትዮጵያ	ENA	News
2	መቅደም ኢትዮጵያ	ENA	News
3	የኒሴፍ	ENA	News
4	ለገጠር ሕጻናትና እንስሳ ማውታ	ENA	News
5	አይሪሽ ኤይድ	ENA	News
6	የአፍሪካ ሕብረት ገጠር ግብርናና ኢኮኖሚ ኮሚሽን	Identified Author	News
7	የኢትዮጵያ የሕግ ባለሙያ ሴቶች ማህበር	ENA	News
8	የአየርላንድ መንግስት የካናዳ ዓለማዊ ፅርዓታዊ	ENA	News
9	የእንግሊዝ ልማት ትብብር	ENA	News
10	ፒፕል ኢን ኒድ	Staff Reporter	News
11	ፕሮሰፔክት ኢትዮጵያ	ENA	News
12	የአፍሪካ ሂውማኒታሪያን	ENA	News
13	የአፍሪካ ሕብረት	ENA	News
14	ጂቲዬድ	ENA	News
15	የክርስቲያን በጎ አድራጎትና ልማት ድርጅት	Identified Author	Feature
16	የጅማ ስጋ ደዌ እና አካል ጉዳተኞች ማህበር	Identified Author	News
17	ትንግሌ ብርሃን ኢትዮጵያ	ENA	News
18	አፍሮ ፍላግ የወጣቶች ማኅበር	ENA	News
19	የኢትዮጵያ ሲቪክ ማህበራት ቅንጅት	ENA	News
20	የኢትዮጵያ ሴቶች ማህበራት ቅንጅት	ENA	News
21	የኖርዌይና የዴንማርክ ሕጻናት አድን ድርጅት	Walta Info. Center	News
22	የአካል ጉዳተኞች ማኅበር	ENA	News
23	የሃረር ተስፋ ጎሳ ተባባሪ በጎ ፈቃደኞች ድርጅት	Identified Author	News
24	የሲቪክ ማህበራት ድርጅት	Walta Info. Center	News
25	ሰዎች ለሰዎች	ENA	News
26	ወርልድ ቪገርን	ENA	News
27	ክርስቲያን ህዕ ድርጅት	ENA	News
28	አግሪ ሰርቪስ ኢትዮጵያ	ENA	News

29	ሰላም የአካባቢ ልማት ማኅበር	Walta Info. Center	News
30	የኢትዮጵያ ካህናት ጉዳተኞች ብሔራዊ ማህበር	Walta Info. Center	News
31	አክሽን ኤይድ	ENA	News
32	ተስፋ ጉሳ ኢትዮጵያ ማህበር	ENA	News
	Addis Admas / /		
1.	ትውልድህን አድን	None	News
2.	ሴቭቶር ጂኔራሽን	Identified Author	Interview
3.	አክሽን ኤይድ	Identified Author	Interview
4.	መ.ያ.ድ	None	Feature
5.	ሀይወት	None	News
6.	የካናዳ ልማት	None	Feature
7.	የኒሴፍ	None	Feature
8.	የሰንበታ ሴቶች ራስ አገዝ ድርጅት	Identified Author	Feature
9.	ሴቭ የር ጂኔራሽን	None	Feature
10	የአፍሪካ ቻይልድ ፎረም	None	Feature
11	ራሴድ	None	Feature
12	ሲ.ሲ.ኤፍ	None	News
13	የዮኤስ ኤ ሕፃናት አድን ድርጅት	None	Feature
14	ፒኤስአይ	None	Feature
15	ሮተሪ ኢንተርናሽናል	Identified Author	Feature
16	ሂድማን ራት	None	Interview
17	የአ.አ.ወ.ማ አለም አቀም ኢምፖርሽን ዩ.ኤስ.ኤ.ዲ	None	News
18	የዲን ማርክ ሀፃናት አድን ድርጅት	None	News
19	የኢትዮጵያ ህግ ባለሙያ ሴቶች ማህበር	None	Feature

20	የኢትዮጵያ ህግ ባለሙያ ሴቶች ማህበር ፖስት ፋይንደር		News
21	የበጎ ፍቃድ ደም ለጋሾች ማህበር	Identified Author	News
	Reporter / /	Author	Type of story
1.	ሲ.አር.ዲ.ኤ	None	Feature
2.	አፎሮ ፍለማ የወጣቶች ራኔይ	Identified Author	Feature
3.	ብራይት ፎር ቸልድረን ቮለንተሪ አሶሴሽን	Identified Author	Feature
4.	የክርስትያን ልማትና ተራዶ ድርጅት	Identified Author	Feature
5.	አክሽን ኤድ	Identified Author	Feature
6.	የክርስትያን በጎ አድራጎ የልማት ድርጅት /ሲ.አር.ዲ.ኤ/	Staff reporter	Feature
7.	ሲ.አር.ዲ.ኤ	None	Feature
8.	ታለንት የወጣቶች ማህበር	None	Feature
9.	ኢንተር አፍሪካ ግሩፕ	Staff reporter	Feature
10	የቃሊቲ አረጋውያን እንክብካቤ ተቋም	Staff reporter	Feature
11	የኢትዮጵያ የህግ ባለሙያዎች ሴቶች ማህበር	Identified Author	Feature
12	ፖሎስ ኢትዮጵያ	Identified Author	News
13	የጎዳና ተዳዳሪ ህፃናት ወላጆች ማህበር	Identified Author	Interview
14	የአእምሮ ጤና እንክብካቤ ማህበር ኢትዮጵያ	Identified Author	News
15	የሕግ ባለሙያዎች የሴቶች ማህበር	Identified Author	News
16	የክርስትያን በጎ አድራጎ አክሽን ኤድ	Identified Author	News
17	አክሽን ኤድ ሲቪል ማህበራት	None	Feature
18	ቡክ ሊንክ	Identified Author	News

19	ሲቪል ማሕበራት	Identified Author	News
20	ኢትዮጵያ ሴት ማሕበራት ቅንጅት	Identified Author	Feature
21	የኢትዮጵያ አካል ጉዳተኞች ማሕበር	Identified Author	Feature
22	የካናዳ ሰዎች ለሰዎች	Identified Author	News
23	የኢትዮጵያ የልብ ህፃናት ሕሙማን ማሕበር	Identified Author	News
24	የኪዳኖረት ህፃናት ማሳደጊያ ድርጅት	Identified Author	News
25	የኢትዮጵያ አይነ ስውራን ማሕበር	Identified Author	Feature
26	የኒሴቭ	Identified Author	Interview
27	የሲዊድን ህፃናት አድን ድርጅት	Identified Author	Feature
28	ኢንተር ምን ኦክስፋም	Identified Author	Feature
29	መቅደም ኢትዮጵያ	Identified Author	Feature
30	ኤስ.ኦ.ኤስ	Identified Author	News
31	የክርስቲያን በጎ አድራጎት ድርጅት	Identified Author	News
32	የኢትዮጵያ ሕግ ባለሙያ ሴቶች	Identified Author	News
33	ወሴክማ	None	Feature
34	የኢት.መገ.ብዙ.ን.ባለሙያ ሴቶች	None	Feature
35	ጎዳና ተዳዳሪ ህፃናት ወላጆች ማሕበር ኢትዮጵያ	Identified Author	Feature
36	የሲቪል ማሕበራት ቅንጅት	None	News
37	የአይምሮ ጤና እንክብካቤ ማሕበር ኢትዮጵያ	None	Feature