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**COLLEGE OF HUMANITY LANGUAGE STUDIES,
JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION**

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ETHIOPIAN MEDIA AND
JOURNALISTS IN TRANSITION**

BY

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AUGUST 2021

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

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DECLARATIONS

I Yenus Muhammed, do hereby declare that this Thesis is my original work and that it has not been submitted partially; or in full, by any other person for an award of a degree in any other university/institution.

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ENDORSEMENT

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Yenus Muhammed, entitled — A Comparative Analysis of Ethiopian Media and Journalists in Transition submitted in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ACRONYMS

CPA	Collation Provisional Authority
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
DW	Deutsche Welle
EBC	Ethiopia broadcast corporation
ENA	Ethiopia News Agency
EPDM	Ethiopia People Democratic Movement
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
ESAT	Ethiopian Satellite Television
ESAT	Ethiopian Satellite Television & Radio
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
IMN	Iraqi Media Network
IPI	International Press Institution
IREX	International Research and Exchange Board
KBS	Korean Broad Casting System
KMT	Chinese Nationalist Party or Kuomintang
<i>OECD</i>	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OLF	Oromo People Liberation Fort
OMN	Oromia Media Network
OMN	Oromo Media Network
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PJSI	Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions
PP	Prosperity Party
SCNR	Supreme Council for National Reconstruction
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VOA	Voice of America

ABSTRACT

The study focused on a comparative analysis of Ethiopia television media channel and journalists in transition period. The study specifically focused on the role of media function in old regime and ongoing regime, press autonomy and freedom, media challenges, journalists' professional ethics practice, media watchdog role, and media future development. The study adopted mixed approach and employed comparative explanatory design in state and private television media channel. The study employed stratified sampling method to selected 2 state media channels from 3 and 2 private from 6 media channel. The total population of the study was 670 (644 state media and 26 private) and 245 participants (227 state and 20 private) selected by using simple random sampling. Questionnaires and interview were used to gather data from state and private media. Descriptive statistical techniques were used for data analysis by using SPSS software version 26. The study found that state media influenced by ruling party in both regimes than private media. However, the old regime influence media than ongoing regime. While, there was similar path dependency in state media than private media channels but press autonomy and freedom seems free in ongoing regime than old regime in both regimes. In addition, state media channel has been government watchdog and private media channel was party watchdog and currently convert to government watchdog. The study result illustrated that media for the future look bright, while have challenges. The main challenge of media was material and equipment as well as political instability. Generally, media function, ethics, and press autonomy and freedom were better in ongoing regime than old regime. While, private media was independent compare to state media in both regimes. Therefore, the results suggest that media should be break path dependency via media standard function discourse, top managers of state media should be appointed by merits rather than politically. Government should be facilitating training for all journalist based on international standard and experience sharing with developed countries media.

Keywords: *Journalism, media, journalists' professional ethics, democracy, authoritarian, state, private, press autonomy and freedom.*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is presented the background of the problem, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, scope of the study, significance of the study, and limitation of the study and organization of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

Media has huge impact on the world's daily life. Television is the most powerful medium to present news event in memorable ways as well as mainly influence our day-to-day life and shape our attitude and awareness of the issues and events that are important in the society (Andsager, 2000). Which means television is the main source of social information and providing information for the audience (Gui & Stanca, 2009) as well as give crucial information to the society what going in the world in each day.

On the other hand, Rioba (2008) noted that free media is enhances democratic values through informs and empowers all members of society. Similarly, Jassim and Al-Mljaw (2008) asserted that mass media give critical information for state and society about sociocultural problem, political problems, politics and political activities. Alongside, media are responsible to producing changes citizen values, attitudes, and behaviors corresponding with democratic. Thus, media can play great role in socialization and modernization by encouraging individual and national aspirations and teaching a new way of participating in politics and socioeconomic life (Gross, 2002: 90 cited in Jebril, Stetka, & Loveless, 2013).

Jassim and Al-Mljaw (2008) stated that media in transition is watchdog of democracy by practice of reduce unconstructive characteristics of society, peace restoration, reduce elitist influence and forces, peacemaking in violence and democratizing the society and nation building process. Thus, media focus on enhancing citizens take part in media development by media reforming in developing. In other words, Rioba (2008) and Jebril, et al., (2013) argued that media are considered as positive contribution to democratic political culture, and democracy.

Most Africa countries have been used media for great influence on masses think by lies and propaganda through pipe dictating the tune of media (Afoke Isike & Omotoso, 2018). Thus, most media during the late of transition government mass media are loss their truthfulness by the audience. Most scholars found that during new transition period people's use and depend on media as a source of hot information on political situation of the country and they turn to be heavy users of the media and seekers of information (Voltmer & Schmitt-Beck, 2006).

In the political transition period, media are become a part of the transitional change which means moving from state controlled to free media (Jassim & Al-Mljawi, 2008) and most media were influenced by the political systems, and used to be as a part of their tools. While, some authors are not sure media are a part of transition change and free from political influence. For instance, governments will always try to regain their control over media performance (Abduall, 2014; Webb, 2014; Issawi, 2015 cited in Allam, 2018) it is difficult to predict the exact form and pace of such changes (Rugh, 2004; Khamis, 2011; Webb, 2014; Jebril & Matthew, 2017 cited in Allam, 2018). However, Voltmer and Rowsley (2009) cited in Jassim and Al-Mljaw (2008) argues that it is not sure to identify a direct relationship of cause and effect between the media and democratization and there is no empirical evidence media are independent and suppressed by the new transition.

In transition period, the role of media is focus on attitudinal dimension change on erosion of credibility and legitimacy of the old nondemocratic regime (Gunther and Mughan, 2000 cited in Jebril et al., 2013). In addition, domestic media contribute to attitudinal change of the citizen by political government propaganda that completely controlled by the state (Jebril et al., 2013).

Chomsky's propaganda model of media noted that political leader's interest is to control media outlets and shape news and information before it is disseminated to the public. In addition, use and misuse of media, public opinion, attitude and power of interpreting the media is also important for the democratization of the society (Jassim & Al-Mljaw, 2008). There is no any common behavior of transition government that brought improvement of journalism practice (Rioba, 2008).

Regarding on the above literature, the Ethiopia media has been varied throughout the transition period and shown nonlinear progress. Ethical role of journalism and media legitimacy has been eroded the development and independency of the media. Due to this, the study tries to attempt the relation, influence, change, and media role of historical background of media in transition period on media development and self-regulations.

1.2 Background of the Study Organization

Television Service in Ethiopia under the nationalization of Ethiopia Broadcast Corporation passes major steps. The National public broadcaster EBC (formerly ERTA) started broadcasting in 1962 as the first television station in Ethiopia and government owned television (Jemaneh & Yohanes, 2017) and it is headquartered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and it is the country's oldest and largest broadcaster. Here's more than half of the century now when Radio and TV is in Ethiopian homes (ERTA, 2009).

Ethiopian Television was able to present the program to its viewers through different processes which came into existence in 1965 (Sileshi, Binyam, and Yemane, 2016). Thus, the Ethiopian Television Service was almost an organization that had put its own footprint which was crucial to the country's educational development (Meseret, 2013). EBC referring to the federal state media, and it is the first and foremost Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) (Jemaneh & Yohanes, 2017). EBC is contain news channel and entertainment with 24 hours coverage, with content on culture, politics, documentaries, and economy (ERTA, 2009). In addition, the state broadcaster still has different language departments (Amharic, Afaan Oromo, Tigrinya, Somali, Afar and English). However, EBC continues to stay close to the government, but has a somewhat freer position than before. The broadcaster no longer censors stories or events on orders from the political leadership (Mesfin, 2019).

Recent surveys indicate that private stations have three to four times as many listeners and viewers as the state-owned ones (Mekuria et al., 2018). The private stations are particularly popular in the urban areas, but they are increasingly reaching the rural area. Private TV station market eventually coming in 2008 with EBS TV, a US based satellite TV channel mostly focused on infotainment. In 2016 and 2017, more private broadcasters such as the news centered

ENN TV and others like LTV Ethiopia, Fana TV, EOTC TV all joined the market (Jemaneh & Yohanes, 2017).

ESAT was established in 2010 and funded by individual donors and members of the Ethiopian diaspora and that its primary objective is to "provide free access to information to the people of Ethiopia" (Mezmur, 2019) ESAT from its inception was a source of contrary voices highly critical of the Ethiopian government in FDRE regime (Mezmur, 2019). It was one of the pivotal media organizations reporting on anti-government protests that swept across Ethiopia starting in 2015 and lasting until 2018. The station has long been linked with the Ginbot 7 political opposition group, something that has not be verified by ESAT itself (Mesfin, 2019) and the company has some staff -members in its headquarters in Addis Ababa.

Fana Broadcasting Corporate or FBC is a private news media company operating in Ethiopia. Launched in 1994 it focuses mostly on political, social and economic reports about Ethiopia. In 2016, FBC formally signed an agreement with the Ethiopian Broadcasting Authority (EBA) to become a licensed broadcaster in the country (Mezmur, 2019). Fana TV is an Ethiopian satellite television channel owned by Fana Broadcasting Corporate of major ruling political parties of the countries. It operates both radio and television stations within Ethiopia. In recent years, the channel stretched its network with number of news correspondents across the nation. FBC generally supported the federal government of Ethiopia and the ruling FDRE (Mesfin, 2019).

Ahadu television is private owned media and established in 2018 but they were stay for last 4 years in radio station in Addis Ababa. In addition, Ahadu television are the most popular station and cover urban and rural areas in the countries.

1.3 Statement of the Study

In many countries, most media influenced by political systems. However, media in new political transition considers as free and independent as well as has better situation than old regime to practice their role in healthy environment change (Jassim & Al-Mljawi, 2008). After old regime, most media get their autonomy and they immediately tend to support transition periods due to this they feed political situation and reality news for public audience. In addition, in the transitional period, media raise highly politicized political hot issues that related to the old and ongoing regime political condition (Randall, 1998 cited in Jebril, Stetka, & Loveless, 2013).

Media contribute to bring political change from old regime to the new regime by against the old regime activities and political issues (Jebril, Stetka, & September, 2013). At the early stage of transition, media influence the potential impact of political decision and orientation (Salgado, 2009; Beck & Voltmer, 2007 cited in Jebril et al., 2013). In addition, Once the media get their independent from old regime, they become facilitate transparency and accountability in quality news reporting in the governance (Norris, 2009).

In old regime, media is powerful apprehended by elite interests that promoting notional democracy and against any impulses for further change in the country (Hughes, 2005 cited in Al-Mljaw, 2008).). But media play a neutral or even a positive role by providing balanced information and contextualizing developments in order to audience take their decisions in the raised issues (Howard 2009; Puddephatt 2006 cited in Jebril et al., 2013).

Notwithstanding, at the end of old regime period, there is a conflict between media and the old political regime because media get often influenced and pressured by old political constraints (Norris, 2009) and become supporter of newly emerging regimes (Jebril et al., 2013). After a few periods of political transition in the country, media development is turn in to the old regime influence (Diamond & Plattner, 2001). In addition, in the transition process, medias become fair and difficult to reach their initial hoped (Voltmer & Sorensen, 2016).

Voltmer and Sorensen (2016) noted that both old and new regime show similar symptoms of crisis and have similar historical experience on control media for political agenda. In addition, during transition period the broadcast media stand on and parted from objectivity of old regime government actions and media do not raise the new ruling party critical problem and ho issue (Voltmer & Sorensen, 2013) generally media have been nonlinear development in political transition period.

Ethiopia media has been experienced to stand on government side during new political transition period. However, the old regime influenced and control media for their political propagandas. For instance, in 1964 – 2010, television media had been supported transitional governments agenda and later political leaders used the media for their political propagandas (Abel, 2005; Solomon, 2005, and Getachew, 2006).

After long nationwide protest of Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and internal crisis, a new prime minister (PM) of Abiy Ahmed was elected to chairperson of ruling party of EPDRF (later changed the name to Prosperity Party). Inaugural speech of the ruling party PM promised to the parliament to give more attention on unity and patriotism against the backdrop of ethnic tensions. Ethiopia media is evolving in the current transition time in order to safe instability in the country. However, Mesfin (2019) described that state media channels can used as propaganda mouth-piece and honorable for the ruling party. International Media Support (IMS) (2018) asserted that transitional situation in Ethiopia remains doubt on media reform process and developments are stand at twice road whether positive and negative result.

There is no any study conducted on the comparison of media in a comparative analysis of Ethiopia media and journalists in transition. Therefore, the study helps to fill the gap on the study topic to address media role and watchdog function difference in medias in both old and ongoing regime. As well as the study address media autonomy and freedom, media ethics, media challenge and its future development in ongoing transition period.

The study tries to investigate comparative of media in transition period in media autonomy and freedom, ethics, media role function, its challenge and its future development based on media historical background and normative theory.

1.4 Objective of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective of the Study

General objective of the study was to investigate media role difference in previous regime and current political transition situation of Ethiopia based on theoretical background of journalism. In addition, the study assessed challenges of media role and its effectiveness in current transition political period.

1.4.2 Specific Objective of the Study

The specific objectives of the study were:

- i. To investigate media path dependency influence on its role, media ethics, and autonomy and freedom in ongoing transition period;
- ii. To assess the media watchdog and its role practice difference between state and private media in ongoing and old regime period;
- iii. To assess the media challenge difference between state and private media;
- iv. To compare media ethics, autonomy and freedom, and future relation with ongoing transition government activities

1.5 Research Question

This study was guide to answer the following research questions:

- i. How media path dependency influence on its role, media ethics, and autonomy and freedom in ongoing transition period?
- ii. What are media watchdog and its role practice difference between state and private media in ongoing and old regime period?
- iii. What is media challenge difference between state and private media?
- iv. What is the difference between medias on media ethics, autonomy and freedom, and future relation with ongoing transition government activities?

1.6 Significant of the Study

The contribution of this study will be show that the difference of medias on media role, autonomy and freedom, watchdog role, challenges and its future development in previous and ongoing transitional period of Ethiopia.

The finding of this study will be useful for medias to give valuable information about media challenges and path dependence influence on media role for current and future media development. Beside of this the study give crucial information to media broadcast authority,

media policy makers, and media managers and editors to identify range of difference on medias role, watchdog function in old regime and ongoing transition period. Furthermore, they understand media challenge, ethical role, autonomy and freedom, and media future effectiveness in current ongoing transition period in Ethiopia.

On the other hand, the finding help to enhance government media value by ensuring the development media self-regulation and media ethics and its effectiveness. Moreover, the study will contribute for other researcher as a reference on similar topic in press, radio and media in the country.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The study conducted in state and private television media channel which found in Addis Ababa. The study also focused medias difference on media role practice and their watchdog function in ongoing transition period which is Prosperity Party (2019 -2020) regimes and previous/old regime which is FDRE (1991-2018). Furthermore, the study assessed media difference on autonomy and freedom, challenges, media professional ethics in the ongoing transitional period. Lastly, the study tries to forecasting media future development difference in both medias.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

The study limited to include different regional and political party media because of personal security and political instability throughout the country. In addition, the study limited to participate private media because most of them focus on entertainment and business rather than develop democracy in the country. Those medias also isolated themselves from political issues and focus only doing business. Therefore, the study includes private media who participate to build democracy in the country. Medias who act as watchdog of political parties and found out off the capital city of Ethiopia limited to conducted in the study due to lack of financial and security and in the country limited to assess their media role. Therefore, the study finding was not generalized the whole state and private media in the country.

1.9 Theoretical Framework of the Study

The two common theoretical background threads and apparent in This study regarding on media and journalism in transition are: journalism and normative theory and media dependency theory. Each of these theoretical frames works conceptual underpinning for this study on media and journalism in transition.

The two theoretical models support the proposition that media development in the old transition and assess the future media freedom, development and change in new transitional period regarding on historical background of Ethiopian media.

1.10 Oppressional Definition

Transition period: transition refers to political regime change or a period of major state reforms which is moving from dictatorship toward democracy (Carothers, 2002).

Media: it is a source of information and cumulative coverage about politics and society in order to reaching their goal to make profit or provide high quality of journalism (Stromback & Esser, 2014).

Watchdog: refers to investigate impropriety, an adversary to monopoly over power and defend the truth and check the fact to increase accountability

State media: refers to state controlled or state-owned media that is controlled directly or indirectly under financial or editorial control of the country government.

Private media: refers to private owned corporate media and commercial broadcasting

1.11 Organization of the Study

The researcher has organized the entire study into five chapters. Each of the chapters was focus on different features of the study. Chapter one was encompass necessary aspects for the foundation of the study purpose beginning from background of the study, statement of the problem, research question, objective of the study and scope of the study. Chapter two is literature review which is discusses theories relevant to the study and provides literature

previously done by other authors on media and transition, media, short history of Ethiopia media development, theory of mass communication, role of media in transition, professional journalism in transition, media and journalism in pre and post – transition, media path dependency and Ethiopia governments and media.

Chapter three specifies the research methodology and the data analysis method. This chapter delivers the methodology of how the research was conducted through a questionnaire survey and interviews. This chapter discusses the research design, sampling procedures, data collection methods and analyses that would have been used in the study. Chapter four mainly focusing on findings that extensively explains the outcomes of the data analysis from the questionnaire on comparative of media function and other related items in authoritarian and democratic regime in between state and private media that analyzed by descriptive statistic and thematic way. Finally, chapter five are conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides on media and journalists in transition time. in particular, the review is presented in the following manner. First introduction short history of Ethiopia media development, definition of media and transition, theory of mass communication, media, journalism, authoritarian and democratic regime, the role of media and journalists in transitional, empirical evidence of media in transition, path of media in transition in Africa and Ethiopia, and media and journalist in Ethiopia.

2.1 Definition of Media and Transition

2.1.1 Transition

Some scholars define the term transition in different ways and have not consistent definition. However, the term transition is used interchangeably with terms like ‘democratization’ or ‘democratic transformation’ (Christians, Glasser, Mcquail, Nordenstreng, & White, 2013).

Transition is sensitive change of economy, government, political ideology and media in a particular country (Fairclough, 2005). And also, Fairclough define transition is social, organizational and strategical changes in a new way within a particular interested representations imaginary of change.

According to Brooten, et al., (2019) transition refer to political regime change or a period of major state reforms which is moving from dictatorship toward democracy (Carothers, 2002). While, it is a new development that renewed the relationship between the ruler and the ruled respect of both old and new democratizes are on the same journey (Christians et al., 2013). Similarly, transition define as a mixture of old and new regime instead of the old regime replaced by the new regime (Stark & Bruszt 1998, Verdery 2000 cited in Fairclough, 2005).

2.1.2 Media

Media are organized institutional actors which includes; newspapers, radio, television and news magazines in their traditional or digital formats, or purely digital newspapers, radio and

television channels to the extent that they are organized and operate as institutional news media (Brooten, et al., 2019).

Media is a source of information and cumulative coverage about politics and society in order to reaching their goal to make profit or provide high quality of journalism. Alongside, it can influence public opinion and behavior. In addition, media coverage on politics and society becomes increasingly guided by media logic and political logic (Stromback & Esser, 2014).

2.2 Theory of Mass Communication

Authoritarian theory

Authoritarian theory is taken the dictatorship governments, in addition, it can also be seen in democratic as well as dictatorial nations (Bajracharya, 2018).

The English monarchs influenced and overpowered printing press. In addition, media must respect what authorities want and work according to the wishes of the authorities and cannot against the dominant groups (Bajracharya, 2018). Press is under indirect control of the ruling classes by different mechanisms like authorities providing ambiguous rights and license to some media and not to some in order to control media unless they cancel the license. And also, sensitive issues are mostly censorship like political, military, religious, economic, because they said, those do not encourage homogeneous and national culture. Generally, press and media cannot work independently and their works are suspected to censorship (Bajracharya, 2018). Therefore, authoritarian state continues to influence press practices even when a government officially promised free media (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, 1956) and press is taken as a powerful weapon to stay the power of the rulers. Similarly, authoritarians believed that state information, might put security at risk and cause to be a national threat, is greater than individual rights. Therefore, the state controls the media, particularly in the time of internal or external wars and conflicts (Bajracharya, 2018).

Media have an obligation to speak about authority national interest (Norris, 2008). In addition, media construct news frames along official political interest (Entman, 1991) and media watchdog role for only authority (Bennett 1994 cited in Norris, 2008). Similarly, Wolfsfeld (1997) cited in Norris, (2008) noted that the media news is produce based on official frames of

the conflict in political conflicts as ‘faithful servants’ to the authorities and also media act as ‘semi-honest brokers, or ‘advocates of the underdog’, provide a significant amount of time and space to opponents to air their views against the authorities, but official voices maintain some influence.

According to Bajracharya (2018) stated the major Features of Authoritarian Theory of Mass Communication:

- Direct control of the media by government and authorities
- Power exercised to control media
- Control by the powerful ruling minorities or a group of ruling majorities
- Media has no power to criticize the government, its work, decisions and policies
- Media cannot offend the ruling parties in any way
- Punishment and threats are given to the people who try to offend the government and the powerful
- Licensing of media by the state and giving limited rights (registration)
- Cancellation of license if the media does anything wrong to the government
- Clear limits on what media can publish
- Ownership is mostly private
- Concept of propaganda
- Control some particular or all issue
- Media is used as a weapon to empower the ruling party.

Democratic Theory

All these ill practices should be removed for the media to be democratic and be easily accessible or participatory. It considers there should not be monopolization (public/private), centralization of press and top-down approach in the media (Bajracharya, 2018 and Norris, 2008).

Democratic theory believed media promote the right to information, to express, use new technology, freedom to local data and participate in social action. In this process the government expected to support media in financing, technical difficulties and facilitate training (Bajracharya, 2018).

Media have role in community level to give local information and feedback and social action. The theory is not motivating media uniform and framing, monopolized and commercialized media culture. But local media provide relevant information to the small group of population in the community (Bajracharya, 2018). The press should be pluralistic, decentralized, bottom-up or horizontal and must have equality.

When it is free, independent press that strongly observes and holds the government accountable is a fundamental pillar of a democracy, media is considered as “fourth estate”. Media as “watchdog” of democracy, just act independently and check accountability of the state activity by investigating and critically reporting for the public (Norris, 2008).

Sometimes democratic theory is more relevant in liberal democratic in developing countries when media are completely non-political and do not control by political party and elites; its main objectives being encouraging national development, supporting local culture and maintaining a good relation with other countries (Bajracharya, 2018). But some barriers are expected in transition period such as lack the infrastructures and professional skills needed for free media in democracy (Ibid).

Democratic state controls the media, particularly in the time of internal or external wars and conflicts. Some social minority views are not censored because of preserve social order and harmony (Bajracharya, 2018). In addition, media guard and against abuse society’s democratic process and try to solve post conflict in the country (Norris, 2008).

According to Bajracharya (2018) stated the major Features of democratic-participant Theory of Mass Communication

- Encourages horizontal and bottom-up approach in media;
- Supports democracy, existing political rule, national socio-economic development efforts and to implement policies;
- Media has supportive rather than critical role;
- Government controls some aspects if Media does not act as it should by the process of registration, licensing, censorship, by preparing guidelines for media, monitoring, etc;
- Self-regulation of media is also encouraged;
- More applicable to new media;

- Development of creativity and innovation in small media;
- Replacement of media from big media houses to small media;
- Participation and interaction of media and audience (as both are from the same group of population);
- Different communities, groups and organizations possessing their own media.

2.3 The Role of Media's and Journalism in Transition

Media plays crucial role as a vehicle of development, gradients of democracy and sharper of the values and opinions. Media are a robust instrument which shapes the lives millions of peoples, creating awareness and reinforcing opinions and attitudes of readers, listeners and viewer, present alternative views and approaches the problem, initiate and provide events to the public discussions (Kisasa, 2002). Thus, during transitional periods people depend more on the media as a source of knowledge and reassurance compared to periods of stability, and they turn to communicate heavy users of the media and seekers of information (Farag, 2006). In a democratic society and process mass media have a key role to play transparency and develop a sense of responsiveness to the wants and problems of the society and its role mainly investigates, exposes, stigmatize people and institutions involved in corrupt practices (Chachage,1996 cited in Kisasa, 2002).

2.3.1 Role of Media in Transition

Communication scholars have suggested different list of function the media are expected to fulfill. Norris and Odugbemi (2009) noted three political function of the media in view of what we expect the media to do in and for the democracy such as hold government officials to account by action as a 'watchdog' that bring misuses of power and lead to policy failures; provide citizen with the information they need to participated in the democracy process in a meaningful and effective manner; and serve as a forum for different voice, both officials and alternative to mobilize public support for their causes.

Most scholars like McQuail, (2013); McNair and Brian (2009); Ismaeli (2015); Baran (2004); Gil de Zuniga, 92015); and Dyck & Zingales (2002) are categorized role of media in democratic

such as: watchdog, public opinion and sphere, voice of the people, and representative/Advocative.

Media watchdog/Fourth Estate

Media academics like McQuail, (2013) and McNair and Brian (2009) noted the importance of the media's 'watchdog' role which is monitoring the exercise of power and inspection of state activities in order to prevent the abuses (McNair, & and Brian, 2009). Media detect different important reports on institutions and people in power as guardians of the interests of the people towards the benefit of the citizens (Tranoy, 2006). Therefore, such types of roles called the Fourth Estate. Because, it has great impact on society and the main bodies of the state government for developed democracies (Limani, 2006).

McQuail (2013) summarizes the essential elements of watchdog as: the media focus on the interests of the mass; create the role of independence from government; holding to account of power holders and governments by publicity and advocacy; and abridge channel government and citizens.

National and international political actors try to protect their reputations by prevent making wrongdoing through media, particularly it has negative significances on their position and elections (Schudson, 1982). Therefore, it gives opportunity for citizens to choose between the rights and wrongs of politicians stand (Ismaeli, 2015). Similarly, media as a 'watchdog' allows rational discourse and debate over the current issues that affect the masses. As well as give credible and objective news and information for the mass (Baran, 2004). In addition, Dyck & Zingales, (2002) described that journalism considered as watchdog that oversees the activities of public administrations on behalf of citizens, and work as a mediator between politicians and citizens. Access to information is a vital role for the health of democracy by two reasons. First, it ensures that it give alternative information and create responsible citizen. Second, information serves a checking government activity. In some societies, an antagonistic relationship between media and government represents a vital and healthy element of fully functioning democracies.

The main role of media in conflictual tension-ridden is disseminate information as a way of mediating between the state and all facets of civil society remains critical (Hackett & Zhao, 2005).

After and before transition, media used as watchdog and active recorder of events is widely accepted. The watchdog press is guardian of the public interest, warning and inform actions of officials and institutions for citizens against those who are doing them harm (Coronel, 2020). Similarly, some scholars like Norris and Odugbemi (2009) described that from the perspective of normative theory what media are actual doing for democracy are watchdog government officials to accountability and misuses of power or policy failures to the knowledge of the public.

Representative/Advocative

The media in democratic societies serve as a network for the advocacy of political viewpoints. Political parties are delivering their policies and programs to a mass audience, thus journalism serves as “advocacy journalism,” that articulation of parties’ policies and programs (Ismaeli, 2015).

According to Janowitz (1975) asserted that the main role of journalism as “advocacy journalism” are active participants and interpreters about politicians that represent specific group interests by the desire to balance power imbalances in society (Waisbord, 2012). In addition, advocacy journalism organized groups to influence reporting, and public policies in order to forms political mobilization to increase the power of people (Ibid) by taking step toward manage the reality of society, without influencing it. Media provide meaningful and effective information to citizens what they need to participate in the democratic process. In addition, media serve as a form for difference voice, in order to mobilize public support for their cause (Norris & Odugbemi, 2009).

In a democratic society and process mass media have a key role to play transparency and develop a sense of responsiveness to the wants and problems of the society and its role mainly investigates, exposes, stigmatize people and institutions involved in corrupt practices (Chachage, 1996 cited in Kisasa, 2002). However, diverse political and economic pressures are practiced over media media organizations, which affected the coverage of news, undermined their credibility, and affected the value of journalism. As a result, audiences understand the news and dropped compared to the first years after the revolution (Allam, 20178). Recent studies also supported that the excessive coverage of negative news makes people lose their interest and become disconnected (McIntyre & Sobel, 2017).

Voice of the people

In political viewpoints, the media ensure that the voice of the public is heard and the key functions of media is representing people to those in authority. Thus, the journalist plays a mediator role between the citizens and politician, and represents. As so, the media provide a voice to those relegated people and represent their views and interests of the society (Ismaeli, 2015).

Krumsvik (2011) described that media as voice of the people emphasizes that different opinions are expressed and collide with each other in a public space. In order to develop healthy democracy within a country. Similarly, McNair and Brian (2011) argue that citizens direct access to the public sphere and participation in studio debates about public affairs. Awhile, a society promotes different perspectives discussion are considered as rights of citizens, freedom of expression, and the functioning of democratic systems in the governance (McQuail, 2013).

On the other hand, media raise important issues and manage regarding to viewers and listeners' thoughts about information for various events of politicians' negotiations, decision and critical attitude towards power and government officials (Leka & Kosumi, 2017). Alongside, all political parties are concerned in democratization and they try to seek the ratification of the media in order to gain and strengthen their positions at the expense of the opponents' (SahidUllah, 2009). Hence, media identifying a full range of political interest and practices via public debate about issues of social political importance (Ibid). Thus, media clearly show activists idea about politicians and spoke person's group's interest and their interest as well as explore how power holders exercised power and accountability (Gurevitch & Blumler, 1990 cited in SahidUllah, 2009). Furthermore, media provide information about programmatic position, the proficiency and honesty of political parties who are running for office in a fair manner. Thus, this help to enable the citizen to make intelligent choice in their own interest (Christians et al., 2013). Due to this, media providing political information and interpretation help to empowered citizen to participate over the political processes in order to make sense of their political environment and enable them to participate in meaningful public life (Gurevitch & Blumler, 1990; Randell, 1998 cited in Sahid Ullah, 2009).

Public opinion and public sphere

Habermas believes that public opinion is functioned primarily through face-to-face interaction (Copeland, 2006). In principle, participants have equal right to speak on the content of social position and material resources and positions are given up through rational debate (Gripsrud 2010) as well as journalism should provide public debate need to inform citizens about the subjects related to their life, the actions of governments, and the political actors (McNair & and Brian 2011). Media is a main platform for individual's political choices by circulate information freely make peoples rational, make peoples able to participate in the democratic process and responsible choices (Ibid).

Tranoy (2006) noted that the main purpose of the media in democracy, give factual and accurate news about the current issues for their audiences. In addition, Himelboim and Limor (2008) described the role of media for democratic political summarized in four basic points. First, it carries out the necessary information for citizens in order to understand the public or political perceptions enabling them to make independent selections. Second, it gives actual and recent news to the people which consider both collective and individual approaches. The third role of media in transition is provide pluralism in comments, debates and pluralism. Lastly, it produces content to motive diversity in cultural expressions (Ibid).

During the transition period, the media may set the agenda for political debate, offer alternative interpretations of the ongoing events, and create support for emerging political parties. While previous research suggests that the media tend to be most supportive of democracy in the early stages of transition (Randall, 1998), their performance is vulnerable to political control which manifests itself in highly prejudiced and politicized reporting during transition phases.

2.3.2 Professional Journalism in Transition

Hallin and Mancini (2004) put general concept of "professionalism" noted that professions are oriented toward an ethic of public service. Thus, professional journalism should contain the platform for foster citizenship and democracy, debate, show the state realities. In addition, codes of ethic should include self-regulation, which in some systems are formally organized (Ibid). Professional journalism ethics should include: getting most important and correct information (Accuracy); not taking sides (Impartiality); Journalists have obligations to the people they report

about, and to the society to whom they report the news (Responsibility) that help to remove our personal values and bias (Howard, 2003). Hallin and Mancini (2004) stated important elements of professionalism such as public service, autonomy, and codes of ethics.

Individual journalist and their views/ideological materialized in terms of professional journalist such as service to the public, serve as organization context, oriented toward facts, provides timely and relevant information, requires at least intellectual autonomy and independence (Deuze and Mark 2005). Alongside, journalist as a professional contains ethical and professional obligations towards their occupation; belong to the community; contractual relations with the media company as the employer. But those journalists who are not in the line of the profession they establish biased rapports based on their personal interest (Rexha, 2014).

In political journalism, scholars labeled “The excellence of journalism” as influencers of social developments, (Rexha, 2014). Which means, accuracy of interpretations given to the public, upon balanced information, therefore giving balanced and accuracy information, and interpreting all expressed viewpoints on a certain event and inform all essential facts of a certain event or situation for the audiences (Ibid). Similarly, journalists work hard toward professionalization of their journalistic roles and secure their autonomy (Bourdieu 2005). However, it is hard to address all reality because of the media are attracted by interests, including political ones.

Most of the times, journalists claim that they are biased by the pressures from media owners and advertisers that affect their profession (Herman & Chomsky, 1988) like express their own views or beliefs and balance their views of presenting (Baran, 2004). Now a day, there is governmental pressures over media functioning and it is difficult for media to free themselves (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). Therefore, conflicts are occurring between journalist with media company/owners and politician/government officials. Journalists influence by and/or willing collaborators with militants who have political power then they establish media outlets as instruments of political propaganda and they become passive victims of politicians (Rexha, 2014). Beside of this, Baran (2004) media owners have led to increased pressure on media to get big profit so as this practice has not effective of media objectivity. Not only that, in the literature of Ismaeli (2015) Pateja argues that press freedom is not only precondition good practice of professional journalism but individual rational autonomous that help to participate in the democratic process.

Conflict sensitive journalism is aware the problems regarding to national interest and journalists do not benefit from independence. Therefore, journalism must be accurate and fair in reporting the facts guided committed desire for peace and democratic governance and considering the damage and conflict in society. But, satisfy demands of leaders for support for the ‘national interest’, media soon becomes a vehicle for propaganda (Hattotuwa, 2002).

According to Howard (2003) conflict sensitive journalism should:

- Avoid reporting consisting of two opposing sides of the conflict;
- Avoid always quoting the leaders who make familiar demands;
- Avoid only reporting the major separate cause of conflicts;
- Avoid one side of suffering of the conflicts;
- Avoid the world by your own like terrorist, extremist or fanatic but call people what they call themselves;
- Avoid waiting solutions come from one side leaders.

In addition, remove like race or religion or caste in news. Such reports are often wrong and create prejudice and conflict (Howard, 2003).

2.4 Media and Journalism in Pre and Post – Transition

Pre-transition indicated that the beginning of transition which mean most scholars agree 1-3 year of new government come to the power. And also, media focus on the transition political issue and support new democratic process. While, post transition refers that media tend to transfer criticized the ruling party rather than support and build new democratic (Vltmer & Sorensen, 2016).

When authoritarian regime far from reaching consequences for democratic politics or/and lost their autonomy, they become dependent on media in order to deliver their propaganda and the regime continuously relationship between political power and the media (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999 cited in Vltmer & Sorensen, 2016).

Major political parties set agenda for their own propaganda rather than respond the fact to the public through the media to gain trust in public (Blumler, 2014). Therefore, political actors pass the media gates and receive news coverage effect “agenda-constraining” (Walgrave et al., 2010

cited in Christians, 2013). This showed that the political influence of the media depends on political parties' and institutional issue agendas (Blumler, 2014). Finally, media limited to make decision on some issue especially political issue as well as media adaptation of media logic move toward political logic.

On the other hand, journalist reliance on authoritative source and selected issues (Christians et al., 2013) and most political agenda information are controlled, manipulated and repressed by the state, journalists are now going through a true. In other words, (Voltmer & Sorensen, 2016) described that media are no longer external to politics, a tool that can be used or not, but have become an integral part of politics. Different trajectories had happened on media in past regimes (Voltmer, 2006). So far media often make mistake to implement democratic and watchdog role and old regime has ended to exist (Christians et al., 2013).

In authorities' regime, enormous public are hungered by factual news and political because of media controlled by authoritarian regime. Due to this, media tended to give to support transition government particularly political support because of they are free from authorities' control. Therefore, media helping to build the pave of democratization (Randall, 1998 cited in Jebril, Stetka, & Loveless, 2013). According to theory of media dependency, at early stage of transition period citizens become use the media as a primary source of information (Voltmer & Schmitt, 2006). Indeed, honeymoon of free speech get its quick relief by post transitional in new forms of political control, there is usually no return to the censorship of the old regime. During the new way of democracy, Journalists new role models lead them to re-construct their professional identity and to reposition themselves vis-à-vis political power (Voltmer & Sorensen, 2016). Therefore, journalists feel new sense of freedom and old regime activist get enough chance of voices after downfall of the old regime.

Barrera and Zugasti (2006) cited in Christians et al., (2013) described that media and new government are partner and inseparable each other and media are committed to stabilization the successful transition. Media took adversarial and critical role for democracy grow and drive journalist unity. In addition, media watchdog capacities are the crucial part for increase responsive and responsible of government (Christians et al., 2013).

According to Voltmer, (2013) stated that there are two important roles for the media support the establishment of a new democracy. These are journalists are expected to giving attention to transition accountability and wrongdoings and fulfill a role as watchdog (Norris and Odugbemi, 2010 and Voltmer, 2013). Second, the media are expected to fulfill a civic role, where the journalist educates the common citizen about difference issue and motive them to participated in political events in order to establishment and consolidation of new democracies.

Once the liberalization of the media has been achieved, democratic unity and human development facilitating greater transparency and accountability by government via quality new reporting (Norris, 2009). However, the major challenges on transition media are post-conflict of individuals or political parties going to one side of a past conflict either strategically or inadvertently dramatize conflict-related issues by past conflict in authoritarian regime. Due to this, journalists can't to stay neutral professional standard as defined by fairness, accuracy, balance, and detached, fact-based reporting (Laplante & Phenicie, 2009). Authoritarian to democratic rule have created a wide range of chaos and it difficult to judge how democratic the new democracies actually are. Therefore, some of media, institution, individuals seem to be fixed in transition no longer there, but not yet here (Christians et al., 2013). In addition, in normal period and stable society democratization is extremely political charged environment and increase level of uncertainty associated with transition within a few years (Voltmer & Schmitt, 2006).

Moreover, new democracies may have divided societies in which the forgoing authoritarian regime allowed priority voice for particular group, minority, and dominate political institutions (Christians et al., 2013). In addition, new democracy shares some problems such as social instability and tensions between supporters of the old and the new order (Voltmer & Sorensen, 2016). Alongside, based on the level of political conflict the two journalistic roles might in times of transition. And also, different political actors' criticism, views opposing the government, civic opposition voices, and critical voices of parties may not largely get coverage in the news (Mellado & Dalen 2017).

Different political communication increases unpredictable arena of challenged truths and counter-narratives that forces political actors use new multichannel environment offers entirely new opportunities of communicating with targeted audiences (Voltmer and Sorensen, 2016).

Beside of this, Thesen (2011) cited in Aelst, Thesen, Walgrave & Vliegthart, 2014) asserted that when opposite parties react to negative news to attack government, because this will help politicize government incompetence, while government use positive news (Blumler, 2014) government reflects positive developments in social problems because this could politicize policy success by setting agenda in order to trying to preserve their grip on power (Blumler, 2014). Therefore, media has shown itself unable to resist the pressure and pull of politics (UNESCO, 2011). Similarly, media's role in the democratization process gets gradually weaker as the political system complex (Jebril et al., 2013). Therefore, democratic change is stifled by an overpowering state inherited from the previous regime, the lack of respect for the autonomy of the media and attempts by political elites to bring the media under their control (Vltmer & Sorensen, 2016) in order to secure their own legitimacy with a more critical. During such condition UNESCO, (2011) described that 'The press became pluralistic, but not independent,' and 'The press became free, but not independent.'

The relationship between the media and politics in the transition period has been very complex and characterized by many contradictions (UNESCO, 2011). So that, democratic progress was limited and declined again in the post honeymoon period before the foundation of democracies via media (Bernhard et al. 2003 and Catterberg & Moreno 2006). Most political leaders and press freedom fighter largely unprepared for the transitional democracy and media governed by profit rate instead consequences for the viability of the young democratic institution (Christians et al., 2013). Therefore, activists have quickly learned how to utilize, sometimes even manipulated, the media for their own purposes (Ibid).

2.5 Empirical Evidence of Media in Transition

Media performance and role in transition time is routinely assessed by different scholars. However, the media in transition is obviously one of the hottest issues in media studies. Some scholars like Hallin & Mancini (2004) focus on the use of media democracy models in different in political philosophy rather than the existence of media and its characteristics in transition period.

Some studies have been focused media operates as an engine for change in moments of transition. Randall concludes that elite interests captured the media promoting notions of

democracy and citizenship that influential in earlier phases of political transition for further change. While McCargo argues that generalizations the role of the media in transitions are impossible (Hughes, 2005 cited in Al-Mljaw, 2008). Therefore, this part mainly illustrates some countries media behavior and influenced by different regimes associated with theories of media in transition.

In most countries, there is strong connection between media and transition. In 1998, O'Neil stated that civil society requires media to understand the process democracy and participate in politics. In addition, he added that politicians use media for their current views and interact with the society. Moreover, media are the major vital channel of society and state (O'Neil, 1998) and Randall in the literature of Ocitti (1999) noted that media has been powerful tool in authoritarian regimes that lead by elite interests that promote their desire.

After the collapse of Saddam's government, Collation Provisional Authority (CPA), who is transitional government, try to established healthy and standards of free Iraqi media Network (IMN) by the help of former director of the Voice of America. But, IMN mission is weakened by its goals because IMN is pushed as both the voice of an occupying force and an inspiration for Iraqi to produce fair and balanced news coverage. But many Iraqi peoples named IMN propaganda network media. Poll finding in 2003 in the literature of Al-Mljaw (2008) shows that 67 % of Iraqi peoples prefer Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera, rather than from IMN. The main problem of IMN was identified by Iraq media assessment shows that budgets were undefined and not devolved, there was no serious professional training, and program planning was nonexistent (McCaul,2003 cited in Al-Mljaw, 2008).

Rugh (2007) noted in titled 'Do National Political Systems Still Influence Arab media?' most Arab countries control the media for their power sustainability. Rugh concluded that nearly all Arab regimes control broadcasting directly or indirectly and not permit private ownership except Lebanon. Most Arab countries was control media indirectly, which means prohibit media criticism of the head of state or the military, religion or even of friendly governments. As a result, media are consistently loyal to the regime in power (Rugh, 2007). Even Al Jazeera, the media outlet that tends prohibitions and imposed political realities of Arab governments, and pays attention to the national political environment of its home country, Qatar (Ibid). Similarly,

in 2010 Burma election, senior generals and cronies control state-owned media for their propaganda (Mietzner, 2011 cited in Rugh, 2007).

Milojevic and Krstic (2018) stated state owned media behavior state budget play important roles in manipulating the media market. many media outlets in Serbia were partially or totally funded by state, provincial, municipal or city budgets due to these media employees felt obliged to report on the activities of their bankers and become mouthpieces for the public authorities. While, the interview indicated that government officials influence media for their public companies and use specific media outlets for direct their advertisements. Moreover, the result shows that government officials control private media indirectly like prohibited public companies' advertisement in private media. Therefore, those media leave the industry due to lack of fund or become loyal to the government body or friendly media in order to sustain their program in order to received private companies' advertisement. Alongside, federal communication of America (2019) described that liberal and left lean against monopolistic corporate practice of government's role in the media regulation as protecting the public interest. In addition, they protest the regulation of government financing for public media because the media outlets can sometimes support important program. However, according to McQuail, development of media theory sustainability of media freedom in developing countries compared to developed countries (Ocitti, 1999) are not depend on transitional stage from authoritarianism to economic and political reforms.

On the other hand, empirical evidence show that Brazil's media movement show during the period of military dictatorship (1965-1985) and democratic transition (1985-1995) were influence and use media for their political propaganda particularly Brazil's largest television TV Globo. In addition, between 1965 and 2001 government officials influence media and continues still up to 2006. For instance, during the five Brazil presidential elections (1989, 1994, 1998, 2002 and 2006) the prime-time daily news program of TV Globo was allotted more time for the main candidates and the coverage was unequal and biased toward one or another party (Mauro, 2012). Generally, history of TV Globo was influenced by authoritarian and democratic regime and TV Globo was directly watchdog for the regimes.

Conversely, media have great contribution in transition as well as independence after authoritarian regimes and accountability. Developed countries like Eastern European media's

crucial play initial phases of democratization in 1989–2000 and media as facilitators of political, market, and cultural competition, political, economic, and cultural option (Gross, 2002). Beside of this, journalistic roles are shifts over time, which means watchdog and civic roles increases at certain times and decreases again at other times. But, sometimes, journalistic roles move steadily and become increasingly democratic for instance, after the end 2009 of Polish communist regime journalists still valued to criticize and monitor power of democratic and active in transition government and kept a strong professional identity perceived watchdog, cynical of the public officials' actions and investigating government's claim (Oledzki 1998).

The study conducted in South Korea in titled 'media Exposure and Regime Support Under Competitive Authoritarianism' by Cho, Lee and Song (2017) described that in the end of 1960, weak government of South Korea during president Yun Bo Soon and a prime minister Chang Myoon poverty, political instability, and social stagnation were happened and media was left uncontrolled. Those lead to Park's coup-born regime and overthrow Chang government (Youm 1996 cited in Cho, Lee & Song, 2017). The Park regime also used broad cast media to propagandize and legitimize the coup-born regime and media considered Park as national top priority (Kwak, 2012 cited in Cho et al., 2017). But, in the early stage of Park's coup-born regime (1961-1962) Park's introduce censorship and influence different media through laws and norms. For instance, supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR) announce article No 1 and 4 Prohibiting the press and media from agitating, distorting, exaggerating or criticized of his new revolution. Moreover, in 1967 election, the government control the media and refused to support the opposition party. In addition, private broadcaster, was essentially owned and managed by the ruling elite and later Korean Broad Casting System (KBS), a state-owned broad caster, lacked autonomy from the state (Cho et al., 2017).

After Taiwan political power alternated, the major Party such as Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and the Chinese Nationalist Party or Kuomintang (KMT) have continued to apply indirect control over Taiwan media (Hung 2013). Those party leader personnel decisions have been influenced media that cover government campaign messages and promoting policies in favorable condition. The main influencing method are Taiwan government purchased advertising in order to get widely media coverages (Warren 2007). Therefore, Taiwan media have not adequately addressed economic, social, and cultural issues (Hung 2013) even if the journalist try to address

Socio-political realities the media put those issues to self-censor' (LaMay 2001). On the other hands, those party leader hands go longer to prohibit private companies advertising their product on media who are not friendly to the party. While, big companies involved in disputes, Taiwan government and private media managers who fear losing advertising dollars avoid covering the issues (Xu 2005). Generally, the evidence shows that Taiwan media professionals was unethical and don't reflect the realities what happened in the country and it is highly politicized industry.

In authoritarian regimes, the state extensive control over mass media to propagate their ideology to enhance popular support for their regimes becoming a focal point for political mobilization that could undermine the regime's legitimacy (Cho et al., 2017). For instance, Levitsky and Way (2010) asserted that authoritarian regimes often control state-owned as well as private-owned media to create an uneven playing field and way elections in favor of the ruling party. For instance, Enikolopov, Petrova, and Zhuravskaya (2011) find that Russia government control of state-owned television played a crucial role in Putin's electoral victory in 2000.

In 1980's and 1990's Africa media found itself circle in the democratic struggle and Africa states are the major play in media industry. This shows that power struggle saw the birth and death of many media house (Mecharia & Mukhongo, 2016). Kenya's media has been continued over control by Kenya government during political transition moments such as in the early independence of 1960's, attempted coup in 1982, the advent of multiparty politics in the early 1990's and disputed election of 2007 (Mecharia & Mukhongo, 2016). Beside of this, Kenya, Nigeria, and Ghana, commercial broadcast can play an important role in promoting the public interest through their program service rather than state owned media (Buckley, Duer, Mendel, and Siochru, 2008 cited in Mecharia & Mukhongo, 2016).

During Egyptian political shifts in 2011, many private satellite TV stations were launched. Neo-authoritarian system is under control of the former Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak (Pioppi et al., 2011 cited in Allam, 2017). Like authoritarianism concept, Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak falls under the broad the system which is the media act as a vehicle that transports state messages and plans to the common people. Therefore, audiences' consumption for news dropped compared to the first years after 2011 (Allam, 2017) because political and economic pressures affected the coverage of news, undermined their credibility, and affected the quality of journalism. Thus, Egyptian national media almost lost its credibility after 2011 because of its

unbalanced coverage of the political happenings, ignoring hot domestic issues that affect Egyptian citizens, continued side government's content and keep it in favor of its agenda and keep protocol news framework of officials' activities (Khamis, 201; Abdel Baky, Al Ahram weekly, 2015 cited in Allam, 2017). Finally, Allam (2017) finding shows that journalists from the state and the private media organizations stated that practice of constructive journalism in Egypt is the most challenging in authoritarian system.

Jone (2005) stated that political pluralism in Mozambique, Frelimo continued to control the media, in particular TVM during in the period 1994 and 1999 elections. Due to this, the Carter Foundation and the US State Department accused TVM of playing the game of the ruling party.

Larbi Chouikha Who is political analyst in Tunisian described his experience on Tunisia National TV interviews in August, 2011 on the relation between Tunisian transition and media. Larbi Chouikha described that dismantling of the authoritarian regime has given dream of freedom of expression and media professionals (Reporters without Borders, 2003). After a few years journalists exercising their profession and condemnation authoritarian regime. Eventually, journalist was imprisoned, information was controlled, manipulated and repressed by the state. Now a day, many journalists had to hold back to express the criticisms and observations because of escaping from the propaganda machine has meant working freely. Generally, he concluded that professionalism, objectivity, accuracy, adherence to professional norms and ethics, and adaptation of editorial rules based on professional criteria have not been fully understood and taken on (Ibid). Therefore, authoritarian use of the media to reflect the views of the ruling elite. Still Africa needs to overcome this authoritarian perception of the truth and grant the media freedom (Ocitti, 1999).

2.6 Media Path Dependency in Africa

In the context of the historical-institutionalist approach, scholars define path dependence approach is institutions change less than might be expected and constrain advancement. Because of unchanged policymakers make assumptions, inability or unwillingness to commit for change, and fail to learn from experience (Banton, 2019). Path dependency define as the practice of media based on historical preference or use. Therefore, media path dependency means media trend has been continue along set path as usual by the influence of different factors.

Time is the basic reinforcement of any behavioral patterns, which is show the relationship between political and media as well as it is the major contributor for the process of media path dependency in previous and the current regime that design the media complement with the regime. The state has been long formalized and bureaucratized the media that change behavioral norms then reformers must help undo fixed relationships and develop new ones (Brooten, Venkiteswaran, and McElhone, 2019).

In history, the political change pattern of Africa are military regimes, democratic, and one-party systems and often followed each other interchangeably (Ocitti, 1999). Most Africa political change pattern has been supported and facilitated by media.

Africa before their independency, colonialist was reflected their policy and influence Africa societies through their media (Ocitti, 1999). Then, African media were the outcome of colonialism and historically use as struggles for independence and freedom from colonial rule (Karikari, 2007). While, Africa elites try to advocates Africa's political independence via their own media or they become a journalist and use their position for Africa independency (Ocitti, 1999). In pre colonization Africa newspapers set a powerful forum for political struggles between the Africans and the colonial powers. For instance, *Liberia Herald* had been against early European oppression particularly vocal quite on against early European oppression (Ocitti, 1999).

Manty Africa countries use the press an important instrument for African independency and political change. This indicated that pre-colonial governments media usage has been a relationship to post-colonial governments and in economic and political developments (Karikari, 2007).

Like that the new government of Africa use the media like the colonialist to maintain their power, which means they control the media and use as propaganda machine. In addition, Ocitti added that Africa government utilized the media for political centralism but their policies do not encourage criticism of government official activities and policies. Similarly, media often has been undermined in the post-colonial era. States did not allow media for critical voices, and pressured into silence, and media pluralism was discouraged in favor of state control of the media (Berger, 2014). In this way, Africa media regulatory frameworks cannot support

journalism to defend against political interference. Furthermore, countries cannot support journalists stay connected with citizens and ensuring greater accountability for public (Wasserman & Benequista, 2017).

Generally, in many African countries' media remain high on the political agenda over the value of democracy and public interest. In some African countries like Ethiopia, Egypt, Tanzania, the media have not timeline for political agenda because of suppressed, or masked democratic media's is not open for discussion (Wasserman & Benequista, 2017).

2.7 Ethiopia Media Path Dependency in Regimes

1964-1974

Television broadcasting was beginning in 1960. However, the broadcast was giving priority and widely coverage for Emperor Haile Selassie the I (1930-1974) as well as nominate the King as a national Hero. For instance, the broadcast widely coverage the King birth day and his crown Day in ever years.

During the second provision of Ethiopia national constitution in 1955 include press freedom in Article 41 by the influence of some elites. However, some issues were prohibited particularly criticized the King; the Monarchy system who rule the country; King family and their higher officials; subversive; anti-revolutionary; comment on National Budget; and clarify parliaments debate and so on. Therefore, the broadcast had been a great contribution to stable the monarchy system for a long period by using different propagandas such as: the King is selected by God connected with Biblical words. The empirical evidence indicates that broadcast hide 1974 'Wolo famine' in order to keep the King positive image. Generally, the broadcast was mouthpieces for the rulers.

1974-1991

Then in 1974, Derg military regime (1974-1991) overthrew the Monarchy system. The early years (1974-1976) of the revolution, the press had freedom and those years said 'golden age of the journalist.' Because, press freedom helps to facilitate and support the new military government and help to show for the public about the revolution had a recognition by subversive students and some elites, but it could not last long. After the citizen accept the new regime,

media landscape was changed for the purpose of propaganda in order to spread of socialist ideology in the name of “Ethiopia Tekidem,” dogma.

After the full control of the power, some party like communist Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party /EPRP/, Eritrean People's Liberation Front /EPLF/ Tigray People Liberation Front /TPLF/ and Ethiopia People Democratic Movement/EPDM/ and Oromo People Liberation Fort /OLF/ and others were against Derg regime and socialist ideology. Then, the Derg regime was highly control the media used for communist propaganda and eradicate the “enemies of the revolution” who was against the regime for instance Mengistu (The former chairman of Derg) began his campaign and he delivered words "Death to counter_revolutionaries!, Death to the EPRP!" by using the media.

During the imperial regime, censorship was official under control of ministry of pen in 1942, and later under ministry of Information and Tourism (Getachew, 2003). Similar trend was continued in military regime (1974 -1991) that controlled the media and flow of information. However, government media had been accountable to the government body. Until the raise of gruella fighters who are TPLE was no any private television media in the country, but there were a lot of private press after the fall of Monarchy government.

1991-2018

During Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (1991-2018), private press has been emerged and served as reflecting different issues and have space for literate elites to participate in political debates. According to the government political ideology “Ethnic Federalism” regional governments established their Television in their language and two federal television was established by the government. However, all reginal and federal televisions are accountable to their house of people representative. Similarly, all those media are shaped by federal and regional government for the purpose of propagandas. Particularly, state media

After 1991 the country conducted democratic election compare to the previous regime elections Abbink (2006). Eventually, FDRE government was much more control the media particularly 2005. Not only that, FDRE imprison journalists for their reporting on sensitive issues like criticize the government. In addition, in 2005 Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) report shows that FDRE increasing the censorship of media coverage of the anti-government protest as

well accused and killed more than 40 people were killed by security forces. Similarly, CPJ described that private press blames the Government was direct control and disable media outlets for propaganda tool working behind opposition political forces. Since 1964, State media top leaders has been appointing by government regarding with political support of the ruling party. According to the review of International Press Institution (IPI) stated that general and top manager of state and regional media are shaped the organization's content by deciding on the story, the story's angle and who undertook the assignment (2005). Therefore, journalists stated in the review of IPI same story from the same angle was appeared across all state media (Ibid). In addition, journalists on news content were direct censorship by top government officials particularly coverage of sensitive political news affecting their positions (Nolawi, 2006). And also, International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) stated that self-censorship was comes from the fear of offending government officials and powerful business entities which have direct or indirect control on the media organization in Ethiopia (IREX, 2010)

Generally, FDRE governments use state media as well as some private media for propaganda especially enforce journalists doing documentary for disseminating hate about oppositional parties labeling name by their close leaders. The FDRE completely control television broadcasts that originate from inside the country. However, few private media exist avoid sensitive topics and also some private media leave the industry due to their sensitive topic news.

Regarding on some private media sensitive news the government-controlled media via media regulatory challenges and refusal of advertisers to advertise. For surprise, due to the domestic media influenced by the government in between 2010 and 2012 most peoples of the country get political and other news from outside of the country broadcast transmitted through satellite like Voice of America (VOA) Deutsche Welle (DW), Ethiopian Satellite Television & Radio (ESAT), Oromo Media Network (OMN). However, the FDRE was accused peoples who watch and listen those media as well as deliberately and repeatedly jams these broadcasts, preventing people inside Ethiopia from accessing these stations. Especially, the two popular diaspora-run television networks such as Ethiopian Satellite Television (ESAT) and Oromia media Network (OMN) were repeatedly jamsby the FDRE.

According to Human right watch study on reports on the title of “Journalism Is Not a Crime” Human right watches difficult to get journalist and unwilling to be witnesses for to be

interviewee because of extreme fear of FDRE dictator's terrorist law (Human right watch, 2015). Generally, FDRE was heathen for media development and completely opposed Ethiopia's constitution and international law that respect the right to freedom of expression and media freedom.

2018—2020

Prosperity Party (PP) come to the power in 2018, then in the early phase the government has opened up the space for the media in playing constructive roles in peace building and democracy in the country without government control.

In the early year of new government, Some Ethiopian diaspora media such as OMN and ESAT are investing in national media sector due to considering positively political reforms in the country. The main positively political reforms are amended media and Information Access Law, Civil Society Law, and Anti-Terrorism Law. Those amendments were the major benefit and motivations for many journalists and bloggers. Due to political reform and some law amendments, the prime minister of Ethiopia won global press freedom hero in 2019.

According to Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions (PJSI) (2020) stated that state-owned broadcaster especially Ethiopia Broadcast Corporation (EBC) interested in on the political reforms and has made changes on program content as well as become independent state broadcaster. However, PJSI rapid assessment on Ethiopia media in the transition stated that media are still seen as partisan because media are not giving effective coverage on current national issue of ethnicity.

According to Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions (PJSI) (2020) stated that state-owned broadcaster especially Ethiopia broadcast corporation (EBC) interested in on the political reforms and has made changes on program content as well as become independent state broadcaster. While, some experienced journalists interviewed by Ethiopia News Agency (ENA) in 2020 argued that state media has been continued their past trend because of still in shale of fear influenced by the previous regime. The other interviewed journalist described the status of media change in the new reform was good and some enhancements within one year but state media still similar pattern with their previous trend which was bark for the government policies and ideologies. Similarly, state media transformed to propaganda mouth-piece of the ruling party

to principled public service media (PJSI, 2020) and Private broadcasters tend to focus on non-political issues. Journalist interview's in PJSI stated as “There is partiality among media outlets and state broadcasters are to press conferences.

Anteneh Tsegaye, who teach in journalism and communication in Addis Ababa University, journalist Melese and Sisay G/mariam are argued that there is some positive reform but journalist still do not follow media ethics and they are challenges practice such new press freedom and ethics in the industry (ENA, 2020). Alongside, Anteneh describe that journalist are sensitive, imbalanced, and forget professional ethics. Generally, those professionals argued that journalists are not ready to operate their responsibly. Furthermore, most journalists who welcome comments and news critical to prime minister Abiy Ahmed are harassed online by the supporter of the PM and PP party. This infiltrated government bureaucracy which gives power to influence media. Therefore, journalists censor their news “for fear reprisal from the public” and this may lead to political crisis in the country (PJSI, 2020).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is very crucial that helps the researchers how to address the research problems and provides the overall structure for the procedures that researchers should follow. It is also very important to get meaningful data to achieve objectives of the study. Thus, in this study the methodology was going to apply are research design, population of the study, sampling size and techniques, instruments of data collection, data analysis, validity and reliability pilot study, ethical considerations.

3.1 Research Design

Comparative design allows controlled variables in a particular case to differ between the cases being compared and it conduct in particular to variables that are unit level features (Pickvanc, 2015).

The study used comparative explanatory research design. Because, comparative explanatory research understands different communication phenomena in different settings including different political parameters and organizational behaviors. Within those systems comparative explanatory show differences found in communication phenomena level surrounded within the societies (Esser & Vliegenthart, 2017). The study was investigated the difference of media in democratic and authoritarian regime based on media watchdog function, journalist professional ethics, media role in democratic and authoritarian regime, autonomy and freedom of journalist, and challenge of media.

3.2 Research Approach

The study used mixed design. According to Creswell, (2014) stated that the combined use provides an expand understanding of research problems and to explain or build the results of research by triangulating different qualitative and quantitative data sources. In addition to Creswell, (2014) described quantitative research is an approach for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables. These variables can be measured, typically on instruments, so that numbered data will be analyzed using statistical procedures. Beside of this

Kothari, (2004) stated that qualitative research is concerned phenomenon and takes place in the natural setting. This enables the researcher to develop a level of detail about the individual or the organization. Then, this approach helps to apply mixture methods of data collection, analysis, description and interpretation of the circumstances at the time of the study.

3.3 Target Population of the Study

There are 79 radio and 28 television media in Ethiopia. Most media are established for business and public interest service, but in the current transition some media are tend to use as a political media (EBA, 2018).

Some television stations like Walta and Fana television are private station but the owner of the the station are political parties which is the core four party of the ruling party such as Tigray Peoples Library Front, Amhara People Democratic Movement, Oromo People Democratic Organization, and Southern Ethiopia Peoples Democratic Movement. Generally, those TV station seems like EBC and other state and regional TV station because those party lead state media as well as the same function held in those TV stations. Due to this this study consider those two TV station as state media

The study target television media in Ethiopia which is not include religious television. Among 28 television media there are 3 state media, 9 regional media and 16 privates. However, from 16 private media 6 media are focus on entertainment and business and all state and regional media are pluralism.

3.4 Sample Size and Techniques

The study employed stratified sampling techniques was employed and strata was made based on the nature of media which is allocate their budget from government and private corporate. The study was purposively selected 12 privates and 3 state media who have head office in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Because, the current political instability throughout the country do not allow to collect the data easily. Alongside, the study was purposively selected 6 privates from 12 and 3 state media, who have more than 5-year experience in TV/radio, based on their concentration and diversity of content and wide news coverage in the country and having most viewer/audience on their channel news. The media from state and privet was selected by using random sampling.

Table 1: Sample of the study media

No	Television media	Sample of the study media	Selected media
1	State media	3	2
2	Private media	6	2
	Total	13	4

Then, the rationale for using stratified sampling technique is that it can help the researcher to get more accurate representative sample (Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009) and to make more accurate inferences about a participant (Lodico, Spaulding, & Voegtle, 2006).

Table 2: sample size of the study participants

No	media organization	Selected Television media	Participant of the study	
				Total
1	State media	Ethiopia Broad corporation (EBC)	425	644
		Fana Broadcasting corporation (FBC)	219	
2	Private media	Ahadu television	11	26
		Ethiopia Satellite radio and television (EAST)	15	
		Total	670	

The sample size of the study was determined based on the Krejcie and Morgan, (1970) formula recommend in order determining the sample size of the participants in the study. Therefore, the study applies a formula in order to determine the sample size of their participants in a study.

Where,

$$S = \frac{x^2 NP(1-P)}{d^2(N-1)} + x^2 P(1 - P)$$

S= required sample size.

X²= the table value of the chi-square for 1 degree of freedom at the desired confidence level

(3.841).

N= the population size.

P= the population proportion (assumed to be 0.5 since this would provide the maximum sample size).

d= the degree of accuracy expressed as a proportion (.05).

Thus, the sample size for this study was decided by using the above formula.

N=670

$$\text{➤ } 643.4 \div 1.67 + 0.960$$

$$\text{➤ } 643.4 \div 2.63$$

$$\text{➤ } 244.6 = 245$$

The study employed simple random selection to select the respondents in 4 governments Television media.

Table 3: Selected participant of the study

Finally, the study was selected participants by using simple random sampling technique in both private and state media as follow:

No	media organization	Selected Television media	Participant of the study		Selected participants	
				Total		Total selected
1	State media	Ethiopia Broad corporation (EBC)	413	644	225(35%)	145
		Fana Broadcasting corporation (FBC)	234			82
2	Private media	Ahadu television	11	26	20(77%)	9
		Ethiopia Satellite radio and television (EAST)	15			11
		Total		670	245	245

35% (225 (145 EBC and 82 FBE)) of state participants were selected from 644 in both media and 77% (20 (9 Ahadu and 11 EAST)) of private media participants were selected from 26.

In addition, the study will be used purposive sampling to select 2 top managements and 2 senior editors for the in-depth interview in both state and private media. Participants will be selected based on their specific positions of hierarchical authority in order to gain information on criteria of news selection, political interference, government and commercial pressures and employee success. Because it given a chance for the researcher to apply his/her expertise knowledge to select samples which he/she thinks represent the population.

3.5 Tools of Data Collection

In this study, the data was gathered using two tools which includes:

Questionnaire

Questionnaires was the main data collection instruments to conduct the study. In this particular study questioners utilized to assess the media roles and practice in current regime and new ongoing transitional period challenges on media role and practice.

The Questionnaires developed and modified from different journalists conducted in Weaver and Willna (2012) and with Likert scale. The questionnaires measure media practice difference in previous regime and current transition based on the following themes:

- i. 6 Prediction of future media practice questions items were modified from 6 questions item of Jyrkiainen and Heinonen (2008) surveys.
- ii. 22 media function questions items were adapted from 9 questions items of Voakes, and Wilhoit (2007), 9 questions items of Ramaprasad and Kelly (2003), and 4 questions items of Kirat (1987) surveys.
- iii. 9 challenges on media role questions items were drawn from 9 questions item of Skovsgaard, Alaek, Bro, and Claes de Vreese servey (2007) survey.
- iv. 9 Journalist professional ethics and standards questions items were adapted from 13 questions items of Lealand and Hollings (1998) survey.

But other questions were constructed based on literature review such journalist autonomy and freedom, journalist leaning.

Interview

Interview was the main data collection instruments to conduct the study. During this particular study interview was utilized to assess effect and challenges of old regime and ongoing transition Ethiopia government on media ethical role and development. Then, the interview was developed for top managers of the media and senior journalist to explore the challenges of media in both old regime and ongoing transition.

The study was used Semi-structured interview style so as to deal with key themes of the study topic. In addition, it helps to allows flexibility for the researcher to reply to the answers of the interviewees.

The interview provided face to face interaction media and senior journalist were selected in both private and state media. The interview was included open ended questions. The interview guide for in-depth interviews consisted of open-ended inquiring to provide clarification on challenges of media ethical role practice and its role in ongoing transition.

3.6 Data Analysis

This section describes how each study variable was measured then explains the data analysis techniques will be employed to achieve the study objectives.

In this study data analysis method was employed to answering the research question. The quantitative data was analyzed with the help of SPSS Version 26. The major descriptive statistics techniques will be used for the questionnaire. Such as frequency, percentage, graphs, standard deviation, and mean.

On the other hand, qualitative data from the open-ended interview part was analyzed using thematic analysis methods. According to Creswell (2014) noted that thematic analysis which is based on the frequent theme of data can be used to make sense of qualitative data. It can be used to analyze qualitative information and to systematically gain knowledge about a person, an interaction, a group, a situation, an organization or a culture. This study also administers

qualitative data in terms of content and where applicable and a quotation form analyze source of challenges on house project in the study site.

3.7 Data Collection Procedure

Before the main data collection process, links have been made with the media managers and get approved in order to establish understanding for conduct of the study.

Purposive sampling technique was employed to for senior journalist and media managers. Alongside, random sampling was used to screen to administer the interviews for government media journalist. After the sampling procedure was over for all respondents, the researcher was distributing the questionnaire for respondents and interviews will conduct to media managers and senior journalist.

During the data collection and interview time the researcher was explained the objectives of the study in Amharic language for all participants. In addition, before interviewing the researcher requested the interviewer participant permission to audio records.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

Creswell, (2014) stated that validity is a quality of data gathering instrument that enables it to measure what it is supposed to measure. In addition, Creswell describe validity is about whether one can draw meaning and useful inferences from score on the instrument. To ensure the content validity, the instrument will be reviewed by researcher advisor and other experts. In addition to these, the study questionnaire found unsuitable for measuring the variables in the study will be either rejected or adjusted to ensure that the right data will be gathered for the study.

3.9 Pre-testing

The purpose of pretest is to find out unclear word, instruction of the instrument as well as its comprehensiveness to the respondent.

Pre-testing was conducted using 10 convenience respondents, who will exclude from the final sample, after they finished doing so, a discussion was held with respondents to point out clarifying ambiguous questions and eliminating redundant ones in order to ensure measuring

study variability. Pilot study participants was asked question clarity and applicability and also asked to provide additional comments or concerns regarding the survey instrument. This is to check the applicability of the questions design for the major study to be conducted.

3.10 Ethical consideration of the research

There are several procedures to be followed and measures to be taken before, during and after the research will over. The following points are discussing the procedures.

Ethical approval of the research was obtained from the ethical review of College of Humanity Language Studies, Addis Ababa University. The researcher got support letter from Journalism and Communication Department, Addis Ababa University in order to get permission from the media managers to investigation the study.

After that organization managers were informed about the purpose of the study that contribute necessary information for media ethical role and practice during transition period.

After getting the permission from the media managers the researcher was informed about the objective of the study, important of the study and specific place for the participants. Finally, the researcher required to perform member check to ensure validity of the finding. The researcher announces the participants that information gained from them can be used only for research purposes and secured and remain confidential. Finally, researcher requested media managers and senior journalist permission to tape record the interviews and interviews will be recorded.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA INTERPRETATION

This chapter presents the results of the study with data analysis and interpretation. The part of data analysis and interpretation conducted on the information gathered from primary data sources through the distribution of printed questionnaire and interview to private and state media journalist.

4.1 Response Rate

245 questionnaires were distributed to both state and private media journalist then 209 questionnaires were returned and among 209 the researcher was rejected 10 questionnaires because of incomplete. Therefore, total response rate was 81.2% that used to analysis the response of participants.

According to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (*OECD*) and Programme for International Student Assessment (*PISA*) argued that the minimum response rate weighted 80% (Sturgis et al., 2006). Similarly, Saldivar (2012) noted psychology, sociology, and communication, fields in University of Texas in a 2007 research report stated that 80-85% of response rate was good. Therefore, the study response rate according to the above was good.

4.2 Participants Profile

Table 4.2.1: Participant profile

	Characteristics	Freq.	%
Gender	Male	142	71.4
	Female	57	28.6
	Total	199	100.0
Education	Diploma	2	1.0
	Degree	158	79.4
	MA	39	19.6
	Total	199	100.0

	3-5	11	5.5
	5-10 Year	84	42.2
Work Experience	10-15 Year	72	36.2
	>15 Year	32	16.1
	Total	199	100.0
	State media	184	92.5
Organization	Private media	15	7.5
	Total	199	100.0
	20-30 year	124	62.3
	30-40 year	68	34.2
Age	40-50 year	3	1.5
	>50 year	4	2.0
	Total	199	100.0

From the above table age profile of the participants, 62.3% of participants are between 20 and 30 age which is the majority age group and 34.2% of participants are between age of 30 to 40. Regarding on work experience the majority 42.2% of participants have between 5–10-year experience in media, 36.2 %of participants have between 10–15-year experience. In addition, most (79.4%) participants are degree holder and secondly, 19.6% of participants have MA degree. There are 71.4% and 28.6% of participants were male and female respectively. And also, participants from state and private media were 184(92.4%) and 15(7.5%) respectively.

4.3 Quantitative Analysis

Collected questionnaire were analysis by using mean and standard deviation on media role function, journalist professional ethics, challenges and other variables are analyzed as follow.

4.3.1 Media Role Function

Table 4.3.1.1: Comparison of media -by- media role function in both old and ongoing regimes

No	Items	Organization		Old regime		Ongoing regime	
			N	Mean	Std. De	Mean	Std. De
Propaganda function		State	184	3.56	.74	3.65	.85
		Private	15	2.37	.74	3.66	.644
1	Actively support government policy on national development	State	184	4.22	1.19	3.98	1.25
		Private	15	1.03	1.03	3.73	.88
2	Cultivate nationalism and patriotism	State	184	4.34	1.40	4.41	1.48
		Private	15	2.37	1.24	4.40	1.12
3	Highlight the benefits of the current economic model	State	184	3.33	1.30	3.55	1.20
		Private	15	2.20	1.03	4.27	.96
4	Convey a positive image of political leadership	State	184	4.49	1.17	3.84	1.34
		Private	15	2.67	1.91	3.40	1.80
5	Set the national/regional/ local politics agenda	State	184	3.15	1.38	3.29	1.18
		Private	15	2.21	1.29	3.93	1.33
6	Endorse government policies without any questions	State	184	3.84	1.55	3.82	1.23
		Private	15	2.12	1.75	2.00	1.73
Citizen-oriented journalism function		State	184	2.82	.95	1.04	1.02
		Private	15	3.73	1.04	1.22	1.15
1	Develop intellectual and cultural interest of multi-nation	State	184	2.85	1.45	3.00	1.42
		Private	15	3.87	1.06	3.73	1.38
2	Provide political information for the citizens in order to make political decisions	State	184	2.16	1.54	3.16	1.23
		Private	15	4.13	1.18	4.07	1.33
3	Educate people about controversial and complex topics	State	184	2.41	1.38	2.61	1.24
		Private	15	2.93	1.71	3.27	1.71
4	Motivate people to participate in civic activity	State	184	2.87	1.30	2.96	1.40
		Private	15	3.87	1.45	4.00	1.36
5	Motivate people to participate in political activity and discussion	State	184	2.48	1.36	2.92	1.23
		Private	15	3.80	1.26	3.80	1.56
6	Ensure coverage of local issues	State	184	3.28	1.18	3.68	1.33
		Private	15	3.87	1.18	4.02	1.54
7	Ensure relief for the citizen distressed	State	184	2.64	1.38	2.81	1.42
		Private	15	3.67	1.34	3.73	1.75

Means Values Scale: 1= Strong Disagree, 5== Strong Agree

The comparison of media role responses across the surveyed private and state media clearly shows that there was a change in old and ongoing regime. In addition, the above table result illustrated that private and state media role were differ in both old and ongoing regimes. Regarding on “Actively support government policy on national development” shows private media was low mean score (M=1.03) than state media (M=4.22) in old regime. However, during transition both private and state media were almost giving equal coverage on the issue M=3.98 and M=3.73 respectively. Indeed, state media was slightly decrease on support government policy on national development than old regime. Contrary, private media was highly increased coverage of support government policy on national development from old to ongoing regime M= 1.03 and M=3.73 respectively.

Concerning on “Cultivate nationalism and patriotism” the above table result indicated that state media was similar concerning and coverage and high mean score in both regimes. However, private media was less role in old regime M=2.37 and covered the issue score in ongoing regime M=4.40. Similarly, state media cover benefit of the current economic model (M=3.3), convey a positive image of political leadership (M=4.49) and set the national/regional/ local politics agenda (M=3.15) in old regime. In addition, the state media respondents’ responses show that the media was equal coverage on benefit of the current economic model (M=3.55), convey a positive image of political leadership (M=3.84) and set the national/regional/ local politics agenda (M=3.29) in ongoing regime. On the other hand, private media role in old regime was shows that cover benefit of the current economic model (M=2.20), convey a positive image of political leadership (M=2.67), and set the national/regional/ local politics agenda (M=2.21). But, during ongoing regime, private media was highly increased coverage of government propaganda on cover benefit of the current economic model, convey a positive image of political leadership, and set the national/regional/ local politics agenda with mean score of M= 4.27, M=3.98, and M= 3.29 respectively. Generally, state media was given highly coverage of government propaganda in ongoing and old than private medias. However, private media was low coverage compare to state media on government propaganda in old than ongoing regime.

Lastly, media role difference on endorse government policies without any questions shows that private media less role in both old (M=2.12) and ongoing regime(M=2.00). But state media

covered government policies without any questions than private media as well as approve the policy in old (M=3.84) and ongoing regime(M=3.82).

To sum up, propaganda function in two media functions were similar in ongoing regime. However, state media was similar function in both old and ongoing regimes. Private media role was very low function in old but highly increased in ongoing regime. The comparison of media in old, private media role was low function than state media. In addition, private and state media role during ongoing regime on government propaganda were almost similar function.

Regarding on Citizen-oriented journalism function on the item of “develop intellectual and cultural interest of multi-nation” respondents’ response indicated that private media was active in both old and ongoing regime M=3.73 and M=3.87 respectively. Whereas, state media was low function on the issue in old (M=2.85) regime than ongoing regime (M=3.00). Generally, private media function was higher than state media in both regimes.

Concerning on “Provide political information for the citizens in order to make political decisions” state media was highly increased from old to ongoing regime. However, state media is low coverage of the issue than private media. While, private media has been similar score on “Provide political information for the citizens in order to make political decisions” in both old and ongoing regimes M=4.13 and M=4.07 respectively. Both state (M=2.14) and private (M=2.93) media were low function on educate people about controversial and complex topics in old regime. Both media were enhanced their function on the issue. Private media was good function on motivate people to participate in civic activity in both ongoing and old regime M=4.00 and M=3.87. But, even if there are a few changes, state media was score on the function of motivate people to participate in civic activity in old and ongoing regimes M=2.87 and M=2.96 respectively.

Regarding on “Motivate people to participate in political activity and discussion” show that state media was low function on old compare to ongoing government. However, private media was higher function than state media on the issue in both ongoing and old regime. And also, private media was consistent function to motivate peoples to participating in political activity. Both state and private media was limited to cover local issue in old regime compare to ongoing regime. However, private media are better cover local issue than state media. Similarly, both

media was a little bit limit to ensure relief for the citizen distressed in old but enhance in ongoing regime.

Table 4.3.1.2: Comparison of media -by- media role function in both old and ongoing regimes

No	Items	Organization		Old regime		Ongoing regime	
			N	Mean	Std. De	Mean	Std. De
Disseminate information		State	184	2.72	.96	3.17	1.03
		Private	15	3.61	1.45	4.16	1.15
1	Provide news information quickly	State	184	2.63	1.36	3.61	1.44
		Private	15	3.67	1.44	4.33	1.11
2	Report factually	State	184	2.47	1.31	3.08	1.42
		Private	15	3.60	1.72	4.27	1.22
3	Provide information to stop rumor	State	184	2.26	1.35	2.78	1.33
		Private	15	3.67	1.71	3.87	1.40
4	Stay away from stories where factual content cannot be verified	State	184	3.42	1.36	3.63	1.28
		Private	15	3.67	1.34	4.33	1.11
5	Focus and stand to the truth	State	184	2.05	1.21	2.73	1.33
		Private	15	3.47	1.72	4.00	1.51
Adversary		State	184	2.39	.96	2.68	1.10
		Private	15	3.25	1.22	4.15	1.03
1	Investigate the government's claims and statements	State	184	2.67	1.38	2.64	1.39
		Private	15	3.80	1.65	4.33	1.11
2	Balance interests of government and political party	State	184	2.04	1.35	2.45	1.40
		Private	15	3.13	1.64	3.93	1.58
3	Balance government and public interests	State	184	2.13	1.34	2.57	1.33
		Private	15	2.67	1.54	4.20	1.01
4	Counterattack foreign propaganda	State	184	3.22	1.49	3.23	1.38
		Private	15	3.07	1.33	3.93	1.16
5	Be an adversary of public officials by being constantly skeptical of their actions	State	184	1.90	1.35	2.48	1.36
		Private	15	3.60	1.59	4.33	1.04

Means Values Scale: 1= Strong Disagree, 5== Strong Agree

The above table indicated that state media was low function regarding on provide news information quickly for the public (M=2.63) in old than ongoing regime (M=3.61). While private

media also similar enhancement of providing new information from old (M=3.67) to ongoing regime (M=4.33). The comparisons between both media on the above issue private media has been better trend to provide new information in both regime than state media. Concerning on reporting factual information both media shas been enhanced from old to ongoing regime. Which means state media (M=3.08) and private media (M=4.27) in ongoing regime. But private media has been better than state media on the issue in both old and ongoing regimes.

The comparison between state and private media on provide information to stop rumor shows that private media has been better function in both regimes than state media. While, state media has some difference on provide information to stop rumor from old(M=2.26) to ongoing(M=2.78) regime. Similarly, private media has difference on provide information to stop rumor. Generally, both media has been good function in ongoing regime than old on the issue but private media is better than state media for the function of provide information to stop rumor.

Regarding with “Stay away from stories where factual content cannot be verified” shows that both media has been good function in both regimes. However, both media are improved their function on the issues from old to ongoing regime. And also, the above table revealed that private media has been good practice on stay away from stories where factual content cannot be verified than state media in both regimes. In addition, concerning on “Focus and stand to the truth” shows state media are poor function on the issue in old (M=2.05) and ongoing regime (M=2.73). While, private media function on focus and stand to the truth indicated that in old (M=3.47) and ongoing (M=4.00) regime. This shows that both media has been some functional improvement on the issue from old to ongoing regimes. However, private media is better function on the issue than state media in both regimes.

To sum up, disseminate information on both media in both regimes has been difference. Private media are better to disseminate information in both regimes than state media. Indeed, both media are improved to disseminate information from old to ongoing regimes.

Regarding on “Investigate the government’s claims and statements” shows that private media (M=3.80) is better than state media (M=2.67) in old regime. Similarly, private media also (M=4.33) higher function than state media (2.64) in ongoing regime. State media has been almost consistent function on investigate the government’s claims and statements in both

regimes. While, private media are increase on investigate the government's claims and statements in ongoing regime than old regime. Media comparing on balance interests of government and political party in both regimes indicated that private media are better role than state media in both regimes. In addition, private media are better role on the issue in ongoing (M=3.93) than old (M=3.13) regimes. Contrary, state media are almost similar role to balance interests of government and political party in both regimes and much low function in old (M=2.04) and ongoing (M= 2.45) regimes.

On the other hand, the above table result of state media shows that M=2.13 and M=2.57 to balance government and public interests in old and ongoing regimes respectively. Similarly, private media role on balancing government and public interests indicated that M= 2.67 and M=4.20 in old and ongoing regime respectively. When we see the comparison of both media on the issues, private media are better function than state media in both regimes. Similarly, both media are better function on the issue in ongoing than old regimes.

Regarding on “Counterattack foreign propaganda” shows that private media are better function in ongoing regime than old regime. And also, both media have similar function on the issue compare to other adversary items in both regimes. However, state media are consistent function to counterattack foreign propaganda in both regimes.

State media function performance on adversary of public officials by being constantly skeptical of their actions shows that M=1.90 and M=2.48 in old and ongoing regimes respectively. Alongside, private media function performance on adversary of public officials by being constantly skeptical of their actions shows that M=3.60 and M=4.33 in old and ongoing regimes respectively. Therefore, private media are better than state media on adversary of public officials by being constantly skeptical of their actions. Indeed, state media and private media are better function on the issue in ongoing regime than old regimes.

4.3.2 Media Watchdog Role Practice

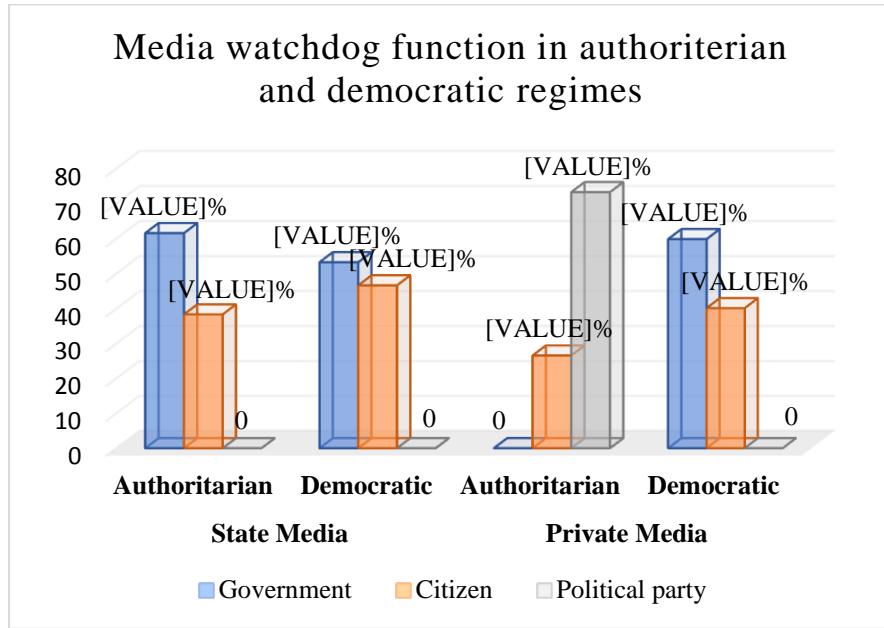


Figure 1: Comparison of media watchdog practice in old and ongoing regime

The above figure shows the clear difference of media watchdog role in old and ongoing regime. From four watchdog role respondents were not respond media as watchdog of business elites in both media. 73.3% of respondents' response illustrated that practice of private media watchdog were inclined to political party in old regime. In addition, 53.3% and 46.7% of respondents were agree practice of private media watchdog was government and watchdog of citizen in ongoing regime respectively. Similarly, 61.6% and 38.4% of respondents' respond shows that state media was government and citizen watchdog in old respectively. And also, 53.3% and 46.7% of respondents' response show that practice of state media watchdog was government and citizen in ongoing regime.

4.3.3 Journalists' Professional Ethics Practice

Table 4.3.3.1: Comparison of Journalists' Professional ethics practice by media in both regimes

No	Items	State media (Mean)		Private media (Mean)	
		Old regime	Ongoing transition	Old regime	Ongoing transition
1	Analysis of important issues	2.62	2.87	4.87	4.50
2	Journalists Practices Ethical code of the media	2.61	2.57	3.08	3.47
3	Journalists' story choices are driven by journalistic values	2.87	3.01	3.87	4.17
4	Unknowing facts are omit/distort	2.87	3.24	3.88	3.93
5	Free to tell truth as journalist see it	2.23	2.51	3.88	3.85
6	Perform media watchdog role well	2.41	2.45	3.60	3.58
7	Report information simply without embellishment	2.41	2.60	1.33	1.89
8	Avoid Conflict sensitive	2.74	3.27	3.73	3.13
9	Responsibility to record important events	2.67	2.99	3.59	3.67

Means Values Scale: 1= Strong Disagree, 5= Strong Agree

As we see the above table old and ongoing regime were compared by journalist professional ethics in both private and state media as follow. The above result indicated that state media had not freedom to analysis of important issues in old regime(M=2.62) but in ongoing state (M=2.87) media get a little bit freedom in ongoing media. Contrary, private media was highly analysis of important issues in (M=4.87) than ongoing regime (M=4.50) because state media were not analysis the issue as expected as so private media replace their role whenever the old influence the private media. And also state media analysis of important issues in ongoing regime then private media was a little bit decline because of those conditions.

Regarding on ‘‘Journalists Practices Ethical code of the media’’ shows that journalist has been unethical practice in ongoing regime (M=2.57) than old regime (M=2.61). But private media was

more ethical in ongoing regime(M=3.47) than old regime(M=3.08). Both media journalistic values on story selection were higher in ongoing than old regime. But private media journalists were higher than state media journalist in both regimes. In addition, “Journalists’ story choices are driven by journalistic values” and “Unknowing facts are omit/distort” shows that state and private media were higher in ongoing regime than old regime. Alongside, private media journalist ethics was higher than state media on the above issue in both regimes.

Journalist professional ethics in state media within “Free to tell truth as journalist see it”; “Perform media watchdog role well” and “Responsibility to record important events” shows that the ethics were constant mean value in both old than ongoing regime. Similarly, private media journalist ethics on the two issues were similar mean value in both old than ongoing regime. However, private media journalists have been higher professional ethics than state media journalist professional ethics.

State media journalist were highly exaggerated information in the ongoing transition state (M= 2.60) rather than the previous regime (M= 2.41). In addition, private media was relatively embellishment report information in ongoing regime (M= 1.89) than old regime (M=1.89). Generally, private media journalist was lower report information embellishment than state media journalist. Similarly, state media journalist was lower to avoid conflict sensitive in old regime (M=2.74) than ongoing regime (M=3.27). Contrary, private media journalist response shows that journalist was not sensitive to avoid conflict in (M=3.13) ongoing regime compare to (M=3.73) old regime.

4.3.4 Journalist Political Leaning

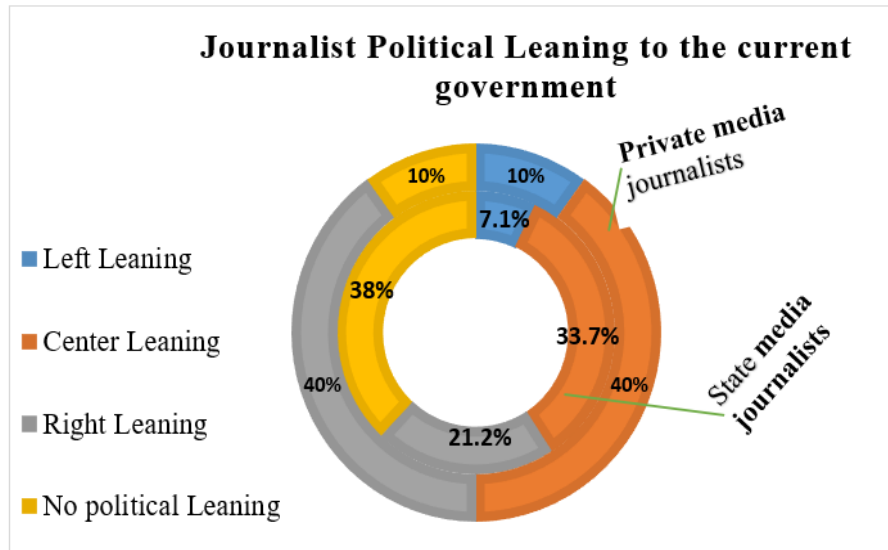


Figure 2: Journalist political leaning difference in media for ruling party

The above figure shows that both media journalist political leaning difference on current government. 7.1% of state media journalist were government left leaning or oppose the government political ideology. But most 38% and 33.7% of state media journalist were do not leaning any political party and central leaning respectively. Lastly, 21.1% of state media journalist were support the current government political media. Beside of this, 40% of private media journalist were support the current government politics and 10%, 40%, and 10% of private media journalist were left, central, and do not lean any political ideology of the government political system respectively.

As journalist ethical code, we see journalist do not leaning any political party and central leaning. State media journalist were higher than private media journalist by do not leaning any political party. In addition, 40% private media journalist were central leaning of any political party than 33.7% of state media journalist. While, there were more private media journalist right leaning of the government politics than state media journalist.

4.3.5 Journalists' Sense of Professional Autonomy and Freedom

Table 4.3.5.1: Comparison of journalists' professional autonomy and freedom by media

No	Items	State media		Private media	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%
1	Almost Absolute free	6	3.3	1	6.7
2	Somewhat free	91	49.5	8	53.3
3	Rarely free	60	32.6	3	20.0
4	Never free	27	14.7	3	20.0
	Total	184	100.	15	100.

The above table shows that 49.5 % and 32.6% of state media journalist freedom and autonomy was rating Somewhat free and rarely free respectively. While 3.3% and 14.7% of those respondents responded that almost absolute free and never free journalist autonomy and freedom. On the other hand, most of (53.3%) of participants responded that freedom and autonomy of media was Somewhat free in private media. 20% of respondents also agree on private media freedom and autonomy was rarely and never freedom. Generally, the above result of majority of journalist response on media and autonomy was inclined to somewhat free in both state and private media.

4.3.6 Media Challenges

Table 4.3.6.1: Difference of challenges in state and private media

No	Items	State media	Private media
1	Audience figures	2.89	2.47
2	(Risk of) Budget cuts	3.91	4.07
3	Owners/ stakeholders	4.14	3.20
4	Pressure from sources	3.52	3.73
5	Advertisers	3.64	4.20
6	State-owned	3.92	3.00
7	Managers reflect political leaders standing point	4.10	2.73
8	Manage conflict interest of political challenges	3.84	3.27
9	Editorial policy	2.92	2.93

Means Values Scale: 1= Not challenged at all, 5= Very challenged

Concerning on the comparison of state and private media on audience figures shows that state media (M=2.89) was higher challenges than private media (M= 2.47). However, the main constrain of the two media were lack of budget that means both media are almost similar challenge on budget. While, owners/stakeholders were more challenge for state media (M= 4.14) than private media (M=3.20). Private media was much more influenced by pressure from sources (M=3.73) and advertiser companies (M= 4.20) than state media.

Regarding on the challenge of “State-owned “ shows that state media was influenced by state-owned than private M =3.92 and 3.00 respectively. Similarly, manage standing for political leaders was the main challenge for state media (M=4.10) than private media (M= 2.23). And also, concerning on “Manage conflict interest of political challenges” show state media was challenge than private media M=3.84 and M=3.27 respectively. While, editorial policy was similar constrain for both media.

4.3.7 Media Future Development

Table 4.3.7.1: Media future development perceived by state and private media

No	Items	State media (Mean)	Private media (Mean)
1	Analytical and critical journalism	3.27	3.53
2	Journalists' independence & autonomy	2.93	3.20
3	Following rules of professional ethics	2.89	3.53
4	Dif. between journalistic & other content production	3.01	3.93
5	Social significance of own work	3.18	3.40
6	Significance of journalists in society	3.21	3.43
7	Appreciation of journalistic work	2.56	2.72
8	Balance ruling party and other political party	3.11	4.20

Means Values Scale: 1= Clear decrease, 5= Clear increase

The above table illustrated that the future development of media perceived by journalists' forecast based on their experience on media development trend in history and the current condition of political transition of the country. The above table of all items on future development of media in autonomy and freedom shows that state media participants predict state

media development was lower than private media participants. However, private media participants forecast their media on “Balance ruling party and other political party” with mean value 4.20 than state media (M=3.11) autonomy and freedom forecasting.

Generally, based on participant response mean value, private media participants predict development of private media in autonomy and freedom (M= 3.5) was higher than state media development (M=3.02).

4.4 Qualitative Analysis-In-deep Interviews

Data gathering on qualitative analysis was held in interviews. Participants interviews are put in thematic as follow:

Trend of media experience influence on the current media development

From state media participant interviews, they argued that some previous media trends were influence the current media development. The critical reason is the nature establishment of the media which is formed by government and/or ruler parties. Thus, most state media journalist are considered themselves as government employee because of the media top managers who are the supporter of the ruling party are directly appointed by government. As so, journalists have feeling to support the ruling party of the country. Journalist are support the ruling party by doing negative documentary previous regime or positive on-going regime by their willing or top manager directions. This condition has been rolling in transition regimes and influence media and journalist professional role development in the state media. Furthermore, some government leaders have been taking experience from the previous regime political leaders how to use the media for propaganda and they perceived and imagine state media is supporter of government political ideology and responsible.

Most private media have been pointed out a mistake from government officials rather than develop democracy, then those government officials may lose their loyalty from the ruling party. Due to this, government official attitudes toward private media are a vital influence on those media to disseminate information about governmental activities. Which means those officials have negative attitude for private media because they fear those media misuse their information and fear to give appropriate answers for journalist questions as well as fear their unconditional

speech that make them criticize by audience or governments bodies. Therefore, government body has not been invited private media for critical press release. As participant response government give priority for state media such as advertising and supporting. Moreover, regional government official perceived private medias are considered as the enemy of the political elites. Thus, those officials are refused to give information and may banned the media enter in to the region. Such types of trends still not yet stop government bodies/officials' attitude toward private media.

Private and state media function

Concerning on the comparison of media autonomy and freedom difference between private and state media in both regimes are as follow. Both media were losing their autonomy and freedom in old regime. Especially, private media who are control the government activities was longer stay in the market because of old regime was prisoned journalist and banned the media. Thus, most private media was focusing entertainment rather than social responsibility because of ruling party influence on media. However, ruling party was directly frame state media contents and news and use media as propaganda machine. As participants interviews medias was 'dog-guided' rather than watchdog function. Generally, both media were totally not independent and freedom. But state media was the main propaganda machine for ruling party than private media. Particularly, after the strong party raised in 2005 most private media was banned in domestic and state media was strongly controlled by the ruling party. State media had a great role to vanished and split strong party.

After 2018 in transition period, there are similar pattern of press freedom and autonomy like the previous regimes. But there is some wide freedom that compare to the old regime. All participants were argued that the government is not yet test that either influence the media or develop media democracy for the future. Since the transition, it seems good way of press freedom compare to the previous regime. Almost all private and state media have been accepted and support transition government, and also, they blame and criticize old government in the same sound.

Some private television media was fled out of country by government influence in authoritarian. Indeed, those media have gotten new opportunity and participate in domestic media industry. Both state and private media has been freedom and autonomy but some media are use the media

for ethnic propaganda that cause for ethnic conflict. Still some political leaders give direction and frame media content through informal communication in state media. In addition, state media still give more media for government activities rather than social responsibility.

Private media are less coverage for government that compare to state media because private media less focused and/or don't invite by government bodies. Since 2018 some private media coverage government activities than old regime. Particularly, state media still influenced and being propaganda machine. As participants views the previous trend still influence the media because there are no any new media strategies then state media still used the previous strategies. Generally, most private focus on commercial business and state media focused government activities rather than carryout social responsibility.

Media challenges

Media owners are the major challenges for both media. Media owners interfere and influence the media which reflect their political standing. In addition, some editorials pull journalist thought to their ethnic standing or prohibited some programs to proceeding. Particularly, state media journalist is followed top managers who are appointed by government for political implication. Beside of this, top managers or journalist are sensitive for their origin area and ethnics (unwilling to criticize and give priority for their origin area/ethnics).

Lack of instability throughout the country are the major challenge for media to disseminate factual information. Then, most audience are shift from social media and also political leaders are influenced and lead by social media. Therefore, most journalist are depending on social media rather than gather information from the original source. In addition, some official leaders announced or post news by their own social media page rather than give priority for television or radio media. Therefore, most audience are far from television media because they can get information (even if not factual) from social media after that could not trust media news.

Both media participant interview argued that there is lack of journalist professional ethics and skill. In addition, self-censorship is dominant in both media thus journalist do not want to criticize the government, officials, and specific ethnics group except the old regime dominant group. Because journalist fear of hateful comments from officials or specific ethnic group and their supporters in addition fear about their safety due to lack of security guarantee. Dominant

political groups are the main challenge for private media in different reason include dominant political groups could not tolerate positive criticize, political party and ruling party want to use media to make their public relation function, and hide and/or compromise their mistake. Those condition push journalist profession and ethics in to risk and cause of social, government, and media development downfall.

Human resource and equipment are the major challenges for private media than state media. Similarly, media equipment is extensively high taxation due to this media can't afford those material easily. Beside of this, private media complain about media license which is the Ethiopia Broadcasting Authority (EBA) set specific criteria and limited private media to get public media license. Therefore, those media pushed to be commercial media and they mainly focus on commercial activities like entertainment in order to sustain in the market rather than doing their function for citizen oriented.

Media in the future

Both media participants responses shows that there is a little hop for media and journalist autonomy and freedom compare to the old regime. However, they fear media and journalist autonomy and freedom development for the future because of government officials, journalist professional ethics, and political party. Media future are depending on the Integrity of the above bodies. Therefore, without one of the stakeholders it's difficult to enhance media in the country. All participants argued that media will be slightly develop that compare to the old regime, when the current condition keep going in the the future.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Conclusion

The beginning of 1990's, FDRE government had been good relation to respect international press freedom. When strong parties and strong condition come to oppose and criticize the ruling party, the new transition and old regime influenced state media and media become act government watchdog in post transition. Then, journalist had obligated to do unethical news and documentary for propaganda to protect the ruling party in both regime and in pre and post transition period. For surprise, state media journalist was considered themselves as government employee and they have been obeyed what the manager commands.

Journalist professional ethics were influenced by government officials in old regime and journalist had obligated to do unethical news and documentary for their propaganda and agenda. Then journalist was ambushing those government officials to criticize ruling party what they know and can't report the issue for public. Moreover, journalists were work joyless until coming ongoing transition. Due to this audience were seek factual information through new media and from foreign satellite media.

Beside of this, Private media had similar influence like state media by omit news and information related to sensitive politics or stand opposite to state media. Therefore, domestic private media didn't touch official's woe and focused more in entertainment rather than educate citizen and develop democracy in the country. But the only way those media disseminate factual and real information for the public were establish their television program outside of the country. Furthermore, some private media were not directly influenced by the ruling party and ruling party was not command private media to become government propaganda machine. Private media were better to be responsible than state media whatever they focused in commercial and entertainment.

Generally, misused of media by the government lead to failed both of them badly to develop journalist professional ethics and media industry and sustain the power strongly. Particularly, state media surrender and retreat for ruling party as mouthpiece.

After the fall of old regime, the ongoing regime was given autonomy and freedom to medias. At the early year of the transition media are take part in domestic media industry and beside of new government which is democratic government. All media and journalist except some journalist or media who support old regime got good environment to exercise their full freedom and autonomy to criticize the previous regime and pointed out a mistake whether the information factual or not rather than become watchdog for the citizen and develop democratic process in the country. Private and state media function and journalist professional ethical practice was ambush to point out and select the previous official mistakes rather than their colleagues' mistakes who have a power in transition government. Furthermore, state media still influenced to proceed right media function than private media function due to the above reasons. Alongside, state media journalist professional ethics was better in old than ongoing regime than private media journalist.

In early transitional period, media have good press freedom, there were some similar influence routines began in state media such as officials still interfere state media in order to cover their error and use media as propaganda machine than private media and media managers appointed by ruling party. In addition, state media journalist was felt government employee and inclined to self-censorship than self – regulation. Journalist was difficult to make comment ruling party ideology or popular ethnics part because of their security and safety. Not only that the current government officials took experience from previous regime how to handle and manipulated media for their purpose. Therefore, officials frame state media contents as they want with collaboration of journalist who are free willing without any influence but not in private media. Path dependency of media was influencing their function, and press freedom practice in the country especially in state media rather than private media.

Unethical profession was derived by old ruling party influence rather than by their own in old regime. Especially state media journalist profession unethical was arose by ethnic identity in in transition government. Therefore, state media journalist professional ethics practice was better in old than in ongoing transitional period. Conversely, private media journalist professional ethics was better in the transitional period rather than old regime.

The current main challenges for both media was equipment, instability, social media, journalist ethnics identity, finance, were limited media development. particularly, human resource, government official attitude toward private media were the main challenge for private media to

disseminate factual and reliable information for the public. Moreover, media path dependency was one of the factors for both state and private media development.

Future media development will have a good hope in both state and private. But those prediction was depending on the integration of ruling party, politicians, media and journalist. However, press freedom will be depending on the conditions that develop media in the country in a new way or repeat the same routine as the previous or the worst.

When the raise of strong political party and individuals' idea that challenge ruling party political ideology, the ruling party and officials will interfere and use state media for objection and propaganda by frame the contents of media programme. Finally, the ruling party will control state media and influence or/and prohibit (directly or indirectly) or banned private media to disseminate political and sensitive issues that against ruling party-political ideology. In addition, when private media is criticizing government governance, the ruling party will influence the media. Therefore, journalist do what they don't want and become unethical by the interfere of ruling party. Furthermore, government officials do not invite private media who are criticize them and unwilling to give information for private media.

After the fall of old regime, the transition government and media might have similar agenda and common enemy, indeed they will work together hand to hand and keep press freedom. Which means the new government do not influence the media that criticize the previous government activity. Alongside, those officials have free willing to give information for any media at the belonging of transition. Bedside of this, the media may ensure press freedom by strong financial, journalist professional ethics, and human resource from the starting transition time to the fall of the ruling party. Unless, lack of capital and human resource media become weak to criticize the ruling party in order to sustain in the industry. On the other hand, media fulfil their capacity they struggle the ruling party influence or they pushed by the ruling party media may find alternative way to feed information for the public.

Moreover, when the government become democratic, the media will work for the development of democratic process and become a bridge between government and society.

5.2 Recommendation

On the basis of findings, the study suggests the following recommendations:

- ❖ Media should be break path dependency or frame-breaking change by media standard function discourse regarding to new knowledge/ perspectives supplemented by information from external consultants. This could create new path which is bring government officials and journalist to new thinking ways and being in relationship with each other's in healthy way. Path creation process is ensured by build their capacity in terms of human resource, capital and credibility and set strong and significant rules and legitimation that force agents (government officials) order to stop ruling party hand in media function who makes media dependency routines. All of the above help to use as stepping stone of one way of communication (ruling party to society) to two way of communication. Eventually, media develop to listening deepest desires and greatest needs of social voice and putting themselves into social place rather than pushed aside.
- ❖ Government should be facilitating training for all journalist based on international standard and experience sharing with developed countries media. Particularly, arrange experience sharing regarding to ethnicity sensitivity from countries has been similar phenomena with Ethiopia. And also, facilitate training for government officials and stakeholders how to use media for the development of democracy.
- ❖ State media top managers should be appointed by merits rather than appointed by their political leaning who are support the ruling party directly or indirectly.

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APPENDICES

Addis Ababa University

College of Humanity Language Studies,

Journalism and Communication

Questionnaire to be Filled by

EBC, FBC Ahadu and ESAT Television Journalists

Dear

The questionnaire is designed to collect data for the research entitled on “*Ethiopian media and Journalists in Transition a Comparative Analysis: The Case of Selected TV Station*” as a partial fulfillment of MA Degree in Journalism and Communication. The study is intended to explore the previous regime influence on government media role and its practice and ongoing transitional government media utilization. The questionnaires need your exact feeling of answers, which makes my study sound and complete. Whatever you answer is considered right; so, feel free and give your true feelings on in each item. Your response will remain confidential and not transferred to other bodies. Hence, I kindly request you to fill this questionnaire honestly and genuinely. You are not required to write your name at any place in the questionnaire.

Thank you very much for your kind cooperation!!!

PART-I: Personal Information

Instruction: Please indicate your answer by making a "√" mark or writing where it is necessary in space provided.

1. Gender Male Female
2. Education status Diploma Degree MA/MBA PhD
3. Experience in year 3-5 5-10 10-15 >15
4. Age in year 20-30 30-40 40-50 >50
5. Working media: _____

PART- II: Previous trend of media role

Instruction: The Following Questions are designed to evaluate Previous regime trend of media role. Rate the Following questions on Previous regime trend of media role by Putting a Tick (√) in Space Provided.

No	items	Strong Disagree	Somewh at Disagree	Not sure	Some what Agree	Strong Agree
	Propogandist function					
1	Actively support government policy on national development					
2	Cultivate nationalism and patriotism					
3	Highlight the benefits of the current economic model					
4	Convey a positive image of political leadership					
5	Set the national/regional/ local politics agenda					
	Endorse government policies without any questions					
	Citizen-oriented journalism function					
1	Develop intellectual and cultural interest of multi-nation					
2	Provide political information for the citizens in order to make political decisions					
3	Provide political information for the citizens in order to make political decisions					

4	Motivate people to participate in civic activity					
5	Educate people about controversial and complex topics					
6	Ensure coverage of local issues					
7	Motivate people to participate in civic activity					
	Disseminate information					
1	Provide news information quickly					
2	Report factually					
3	Provide information to stop rumor					
4	Stay away from stories where factual content cannot be verified					
5	Focus and stand to the truth					
	Adversary					
1	Investigate the government's claims and statements					
2	Balance interests of government and political party					
3	Balance interests of government and political party					
4	Counterattack foreign propaganda					
5	Balance government and public interests					

PART- III: Current trend of media role

Instruction: The Following Questions are designed to evaluate current regime trend of media role. Rate the Following questions on previous regime trend of media role by Putting a Tick (√) in Space Provided.

No	items	Strong Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Not sure	Some what Agree	Strong Agree
	Propogandist function					
1	Actively support government policy on national development					
2	Cultivate nationalism and patriotism					
3	Highlight the benefits of the current economic model					
4	Convey a positive image of political leadership					
5	Set the national/regional/ local politics agenda					
	Endorse government policies without any questions					
	Citizen-oriented journalism function					
1	Develop intellectual and cultural interest of multi-nation					

2	Provide political information for the citizens in order to make political decisions					
3	Provide political information for the citizens in order to make political decisions					
4	Motivate people to participate in civic activity					
5	Educate people about controversial and complex topics					
6	Ensure coverage of local issues					
7	Motivate people to participate in civic activity					
	Disseminate information					
1	Provide news information quickly					
2	Report factually					
3	Provide information to stop rumor					
4	Stay away from stories where factual content cannot be verified					
5	Focus and stand to the truth					
	Adversary					
1	Investigate the government's claims and statements					
2	Balance interests of government and political party					
3	Balance interests of government and political party					
4	Counterattack foreign propaganda					
5	Balance government and public interests					

PART- IV: Media Watchdog function

Instruction: The Following Questions are designed to evaluate the current regime trend of media watchdog function. Rate the Following questions on the Previous regime trend of media role by Putting a Tick (√) in Space Provided.

No	Items	Act as watchdog of government	Act as watchdog of politics parties	Act as watchdog of citizen	Act as watchdog of business elites
1	Your media watchdog function in the current time				
2	Your media watchdog function in the previous regime				

Instruction: The Following Questions are designed to evaluate the Previous regime trend of media watchdog function. Rate the Following questions on the Previous regime trend of media role by Putting a Tick (√) in Space Provided.

No	Items	Act as watchdog of government	Act as watchdog of politics parties	Act as watchdog of citizen	Act as watchdog of business elites
1	Your media watchdog function in the current time				
2	Your media watchdog function in the previous regime				

PART- V: Journalist freedom and political leaning

Instruction: The Following Questions are designed to assess journalist **freedom and political leaning** in the current regime. Rate the Following questions on provided space by Putting a Tick (√).

1. Political Leanings of Journalists in transition media

- A. Left leaning
- B. Center leaning
- C. Right leaning
- D. None political leaning

2. Freedom Perceived by Journalists in transition media

- A. Almost absolutely free;
- B. Somewhat free;
- C. Rarely free;
- D. Never free

PART- VI: Challenge of media

Instruction: The Following Questions are designed to evaluate media role in the current transition period. Rate the Following questions on challenge of media role by Putting a Tick (✓) in Space Provided.

No	Items	Not challenged at all	Rarely challenged	somewhat challenged	often challenged	Very challenged
1	Audience figures					
2	(Risk of) Budget cuts					
3	Owners/ stakeholders					
4	Pressure from sources					
5	Advertisers					
6	State-owned					
7	Manage Reflect political leaders standing point					
8	Manage conflict interest of political challenges					
9	Editorial policy					

PART- VII: Journalist Ethics and Standards practice

Instruction I: The Following Questions are designed to assess journalist ethics and standards practice in the current transition period. Rate the Following questions on journalist ethics and standards practice by Putting a Tick (✓) in Space Provided.

No	Items	Strong Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Not sure	Somewhat Agree	Strong Agree
1	Analysis of important issues					
2	Journalists Practices Ethical code of the media					
3	Journalists' story choices are driven by journalistic values					
4	Do not knowingly omit/distort facts					
5	Free to tell truth as journalist see it					
6	Perform media watchdog role well					
7	Report information simply without embellishment					
8	Avoid Conflict sensitive					
9	Responsibility to record important events					

Instruction II: The Following Questions are designed to assess journalist ethics and standards practice in the the previous regime period. Rate the Following questions on journalist ethics and standards practice by Putting a Tick (√) in Space Provided.

No	Items	Strong Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Not sure	Somewh at Agree	Strong Agree
1	Analysis of important issues					
2	Journalists Practices Ethical code of the media					
3	Journalists' story choices are driven by journalistic values					
4	Do not knowingly omit/distort facts					
5	Free to tell truth as journalist see it					
6	Perform media watchdog role well					
7	Report information simply without embellishment					
8	Avoid Conflict sensitive					
9	Responsibility to record important events					

PART- VIII: Estimates of Future media practice

Instruction: The Following Questions are designed to predict future media practice in the current transition period. Rate the Following questions on prediction of future media practice by Putting a Tick (√) in Space Provided.

No	Items	Clear decrease;	Slight decrease	Difficu It to say	Slight increase	Clear increase
1	Analytical and critical journalism					
2	Journalists' independence & autonomy					
3	Following rules of professional ethics					
4	Dif . between journalistic & other content production					
5	Social significance of own work					
6	Significance of journalists in society					
7	Appreciation of journalistic work					
8	Balance ruling party and other political party					

Interview Question

1. Does media trend in previous regime influence on ongoing media? How?
2. What is the current ongoing media trend differing from previous regime media trend? How?
3. What is the factor that influence media role practice and journalist ethical practice in the current transition? How?
4. What do you expect the future media and Journalism development?
5. What do you suggest to enhance future development of media in Ethiopia?

Addis Ababa University
College Of Humanity Language Studies,
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Questionnaire to be Filled by
EBC, FBC, ESAT and Ahadu Television Journalists

Dear

The questionnaire is designed to collect data for the research entitled on “*Ethiopian media and Journalists in Transition a Comparative Analysis: The Case of Selected TV Station*” as a partial fulfillment of MA Degree in Journalism and Communication. The study is intended to explore the previous regime influence on government media role and its practice and ongoing transitional government media utilization. The questionnaires need your exact feeling of answers, which makes my study sound and complete. Whatever you answer is considered right; so, feel **free** and give your true feelings on in each item. Your response will remain confidential and not transferred to other bodies. Hence, I kindly request you to fill this questionnaire honestly and genuinely. You are not required to write your name at any place in the questionnaire.

Thank you very much for your kind cooperation!!!

5	ሐገራዊ፣ ክልላዊና አካባቢያዊ አጀንዳዎችን በመቅረጽ መስራት					
6	ያለምንም መጠይቅ/ምርምር የመንግስት ፖሊሲዎችን ማስተጋባት					
	ሕዝብ ተኮር የጋዜጠኝነት ሚና					
1	የብዙ ብሔሮችን ባህልና አውቀት ማሳደግ					
2	ለፖለቲካዊ ውሳኔ ይረዳቸው ዘንድ ለዜጎች ፖለቲካዊ መረጃዎችን ማቅረብ					
3	ሕዝቦችን ስለ ውስብስብና አከራካሪ ርዕሰ ጉዳዮች ማስተማር					
4	ሕዝቦች በማህበራዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ ንቁ ተሰታፊ እንዲሆኑ ማበረታታት					
5	የሕዝቦችን ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎና ውሳኔ ለማሳደግ ማህበረሰቡን ማበረታታት					
6	ለአካባቢያዊ ጉዳዮች ሽፋን መስጠት					
7	ሰፊውን ተመልካች ሕዝብ ማእከል ያደረጉ ዜናዎች ላይ ትኩረት ማድረግ					
	የመረጃ ስርጭት					
1	የዜና ወሬዎችን ቶሎ ቶሎ ማድረስ					
2	ትክክለኝነት እና አውነታውን መዘገብ					
3	መረጃን በወቅቱ በመዘገብ ሐሜትን ማስቀረት					
4	ትክክለኝነታቸው ያልተረጋገጡ መረጃዎችን ከማስተላለፍ መቆጣብ					
5	ከአውነት ጎን መቆም					
	መተቸት					
1	የሕብረተሰቡን ቅሬታዎች መስማትና አስተዳደራዊ በደሎችን ማጋለጥ					
2	መንግስትን እና ፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎችን በእኩል አስራር ማስተናገድ					
3	የሕዝብን ጥያቄና የመንግስትን ፍላጎት ማመጣጠን					
4	ለአሉታዊ የውጭ ፕሮፓጋንዳዎች የመልስ ምት መስጠት					
5	በህዝብ ተቀባይነት ያላቸው አካላት ሲያጠፉ መተቸት					

ክፍል- 3: ሐገራዊ ለውጡና የሚድያ ሚና

መመሪያ:- የሚከተሉት ጥያቄዎች በቅርቡ ከተፈጠረው ሐገራዊ ለውጥ አንጻር የሚድያ አሰራር እና ሚና ለመመዘን እንዲረዱ የተዘጋጁ ናቸው። አሁን የምስራብት/ሪቦት ቴሌቭዥን ውስጥ የቴሌቭዥኑ ሚና በማስታወስ ለያንዳንዱ ጥያቄዎች በተሰጡ ማራጮች ወስጥ የ”√” ምልክቱን ያስቅምጥ/ጫ።

ተ.ቁ	አይነት	በጣም አልሰማም	በተወሰነ ደረጃ አልሰማምም	እርግጠኛ አይደለሁም	በተወሰነ መልኩ እስማማለሁ	በጣም እስማማለሁ
	የጥብቅና ሚና (ዘብነት) /Watchdog function					
1	የባላሃብቶችን ጥቅም ማስቀድምና መድግፍ					
2	የመንግስትን ጥቅም ማስቀድምና መድግፍ					
3	የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎችን ጥቅም ማስቀድምና መድግፍ					
4	የዜጎችን ጥቅም ማስቀድምና መድግፍ					
	የፕሮፖጋንዳ መሳሪያ					
1	በሐገራዊ እድገት ዙሪያ የመንግስትን ፖሊሲዎችን መደገፍ					
2	የሐገር ፍቅርን እና ጀግንነትን ማወደስ እና ማሳደግ					
3	ስለ ወቅታዊው የኢኮኖሚ ስርአት ጥቅሞች ግንዛቤ መስጠት					
4	የፖለቲካ አመራሩን መልካም ገጽታ ብቻ መገንባት					
5	ሐገራዊ፣ ክልላዊና አካባቢያዊ አጀንዳዎችን በመቅረጽ መስራት					
6	ያለምንም መጠይቅ/ምርምር የመንግስት ፖሊሲዎችን ማስተጋባት					
	ሕዝብ ተኮር የጋዜጠኝነት ሚና					
1	የብዙ ብሔሮችን ባህልና እውቀት ማሳደግ					
2	ለፖለቲካዊ ውሳኔ ይረዳቸው ዘንድ ለዜጎች ፖለቲካዊ መረጃዎችን ማቅረብ					
3	ሕዝቦችን ስለ ውስብስብና አከራካሪ ርእሰ ጉዳዮች ማስተማር					
4	ሕዝቦች በማህበራዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ ንቁ ተሰታፊ እንዲሆኑ ማበረታታት					
5	የሕዝቦችን ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎና ውሳኔ ለማሳደግ ማህበረሰቡን ማበረታታት					
6	ለአካባቢያዊ ጉዳዮች ሽፋን መስጠት					
7	ሰፊውን ተመልካች ሕዝብ ማእከል ያደረጉ ዜናዎች ላይ ትኩረት ማድረግ					
	የመረጃ ስርጭት					
1	የዜና ወሬዎችን ቶሎ ቶሎ ማድረስ					

2	ትክክለኛነት እና እውነታውን መዘገብ					
3	መረጃን በወቅቱ በመዘገብ ሐሜትን ማስቀረት					
4	ትክክለኛነታቸው ያልተረጋገጡ መረጃዎችን ከማስተላለፍ መቆጥብ					
5	ከእውነት ጎን መቆም					
	መተቸት					
1	የሕብረተሰቡን ቅሬታዎች መስማትና አስተዳደራዊ በደሎችን ማጋለጥ					
2	መንግስትን እና ፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎችን በእኩል አስራር ማስተናገድ					
3	የሕዝብን ጥያቄና የመንግስትን ፍላጎት ማመጣጠን					
4	ለአሉታዊ የውጭ ፕሮፓጋንዳዎች የመልስ ምት መስጠት					
5	በህዝብ ተቀባይነት ያላቸው አካላት ሲያጠፉ መተቸት					

ሰነድ- 4: የጋዜጠኞች ነጻነትና የፖለቲካ አቋም

መመሪያ:- የሚከተሉት መጠይቆች አሁን አገሪቱን በመምራት ላይ በሚገኘው አዲሱ መንግስት ውስጥ የጋዜጠኛው በነጻነት የመስራት እና የፖለቲካ ውግንናው ምን እንደሚመስል ለመዳሰስ ታስበው የተዘጋጁ ናቸው። ከዚህ በታች በተዘረዘሩ ጥያቄዎች መሰረት ትክክለኛ ምላሽ በሚያመለክተው ባዶ ቦታ ላይ የ”√” ምልክቱን አስቀምጥ/ጩ።

3. አሁን አገሪቱን ለሚመራው መንግስት የአንተ/ቺ የፖለቲካ ውግንና

- ሀ. የሚነቅፍ
- ለ. መሀል ላይ ያለ
- ሐ. የሚደግፍ
- መ. የፖለቲካ ደጋፊ ያልሆነ

4. አሁን አገሪቱን ባለው ለውጥ ውስጥ የሚዲያ ነጻነት

- ሀ. በብዛት ፍጹም ነጻ ነው
- ለ. በተወሰነ መልኩ ነጻ ነው
- ሐ. አልፎ አልፎ ነጻ ነው
- መ. በፍጹም ነጻ አይደለም

ክፍል 5፡ የሚድያ ተግዳሮት

መመሪያ፡ የሚከተሉት መጠይቆች በዚህ የለውጥ መንግስት በሀገራችን ሚድያ ላይ ተጽኖ የሚያሳድሩ ጉዳዮች ምን እንደሆኑ የሚያሳዩ ናቸው። ክዚህ በታች በተዘረዘሩት ጥያቄዎች ውስጥ ክትስጡት አማራጮች የ^{ሥ/ታ} ምልክት በተሰጡት ባዶ ቦታዎች አስቀምጥ/ጩ።

ተ.ቁ	አይነቶች	ምንም ተግዳሮት የለውም	አልፎ አልፎ ተግዳሮት አለው	በተወሰነ መልኩ ተግዳሮት አለው	ባብዛኛው ተግዳሮት አለው	በጣም ተግዳሮት አለው
1	የተመልካች መቀነስ					
2	የበጀት ችግር					
3	ባለቤቶች(ባለድርሻ አካላት) ጫና					
4	መረጃ ምንጭ ችግር					
5	ማስታወቂያ					
6	የመንግስት ቁጥጥር					
7	ስራ አስኪያጆች የፖለቲካ መሪዎችን አቋምና ፍላጎት ያንጸባርቃሉ					
8	የመንግስት ሹማምንት ለግል ዝና እና ለራስ ፖለቲካ ትርፍ ሚድያውን መጠቀም					
9	ኢ.ዲ.ቶሪያል ፖሊሲ					

ክፍል 6 ፡ የጋዜጠኝነት ስነምግባር እና ሞያዊ ትግበራ

መመሪያ 1: የሚከተሉት መጠይቆች በዚህ የለውጥ መንግስት በሐገራችን የጋዜጠኛው ስነምግባር እና ሞያውን በተገቢው መንገድ የሚተገብርበት ሁኔታ ምን እንደሚመስል ለመዳሰስ የሚጠቅሙ ናቸው። ክዚህ በታች በተዘረዘሩት ጥያቄዎች ውስጥ ከትስጠት አማራጮች የ"√" ምልክት በተሰጡት ባዶ ቦታዎች አስቀምጥ/ጨ።

ተ.ቁ	አይነት	በጣም አልሰማም	በተወሰነ ደረጃ አልሰማም	እርግጠኛ አይደለሁም	በተወሰነ መልኩ እስማማ ለሁ	በጣም እስማማለሁ
1	ጠቃሚ ርእሰ ጉዳዮችን መተንተን					
2	ጋዜጠኞች የሚደያ ስነምግባር ኮዶችን መተግበር					
3	ጋዜጠኞች ዜና/መረጃቸውን ከጋዜጠኝነት እሴት አንጻር በመመዘን ያቀርባሉ					
4	ባለማውቅ እውነትን ማዘባርቅ/ማለፍ					
5	እንደ ጋዜጠኛ ያዩትን እውነት መዘገብ					
6	ሚደያው የቆመለትን አላማ ማሳካት					
7	አንድን መረጃ ሳያጋንኑና ሳይጨምሩ እንዳለ መዘገብ					
8	ጸብን ማስወገድ					
9	ጠቃሚ መረጃዎችን ሪከርድ አድርጎ በሀላፊነት ማስቀመጥ					

መመሪያ 2: የሚከተሉት መጠይቆች ባለፈው መንግስት በሀገራችን የጋዜጠኛው ስነምግባር እና ሞያውን በተገቢው መንገድ የሚተገብርበት ሁኔታ ምን እንደሚመስል ለመዳሰስ የሚጠቅሙ ናቸው። ከዚህ በታች በተዘረዘሩት ጥያቄዎች ውስጥ ከትስጠት አማራጮች የ”√” ምልክት በተሰጡት ባዶ ቦታዎች አስቀምጥ/ጨ።

ተ.ቁ	አይነት	በጣም አልሰማማም	በተወሰነ ደረጃ አልሰማማም	እርግጠኛ አይደለም	በተወሰነ መልኩ አስማማለሁ	በጣም እስማማለሁ
1	ጠቃሚ ርዕስ ጉዳዮችን መተንተን					
2	ጋዜጠኞች የሚደያ ስነምግባር ኮዶችን መተግበር					
3	ጋዜጠኞች ዜና/መረጃቸውን ከጋዜጠኝነት እሴት አንጻር በመመዘን ያቀርባሉ					
4	ባለሙያዎች እውነትን ማዘባርቅ/ማለፍ					
5	እንደ ጋዜጠኛ ያዩትን እውነት መዘገብ					
6	ሚደያው የቆመለትን አላማ ማሳካት					
7	አንድን መረጃ ሳያጋንነና ሳይጨምሩ እንዳለ መዘገብ					
8	ጸብን ማስወገድ					
9	ጠቃሚ መረጃዎችን ሪከርድ አድርጎ በሀላፊነት ማስቀመጥ					

ክፍል 7 ፡ የወደፊቱን የሀገራችንን ሚዲያ አሰራር የሚያሳይ

መመሪያ: የሚከተሉት መጠይቆች ከዚህ የለውጥ መንግስት እና ካለፉት ስርአቶች በመነሳት የወደፊቱ የሀገሪቱ ሚዲያ አሰራር ምን ሊሆን እንደሚችል ለመመዘን የሚጠቅሙ ጥያቄዎች ናቸው። ከዚህ በታች በተዘረዘሩት ጥያቄዎች ውስጥ ከትስጠት አማራጮች የ”√” ምልክት በተሰጡት ባዶ ቦታዎች አስቀምጥ/ጨ።

ተ.ቁ	አይነት	በሚገባ ይቀንሳል	በተወሰነ ደረጃ ይቀንሳል	ለማወቅ ይከብዳል	በተወሰነ ደረጃ እየጨመረ ይሄዳል	በሚገባ ይጨመራል
1	መረጃዎችን በደንብ መተንተንና መተቸት መቻል					
2	ገለልተኛ ሚዲያ መሆን					
3	ነጻ ሚዲያ መሆን					
4	የሚደያ ስነ-ምግባሮችን አክብሮ መስራት					
5	ማህበራዊ ፋይዳ ያላቸውን ዘገባዎች መስራት					
6	ጋዜጠኛው ለሕዝቡ የሚኖረው ፋይዳ ማርጋገጥ					
7	ጋዜጠኞችን ማበረታት					
8	መንግስትን እና ፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎችን በእኩል አሰራር ማስተናገድ					

Interview question

1. Does media trend in previous regime influence on ongoing media? How?
2. What is the current ongoing media trend differing from previous regime media trend? How?
3. What is the factor that influence media role practice and journalist ethical practice in the current transition? How?
4. What do you expect the future media and Journalism development?
5. What do you suggest to enhance future development of media in Ethiopia?