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# **The Practice of development Journalism in the Ethiopian media landscape**

by

**Abayneh Tilahun**

A Thesis submitted to

**The Graduate School of Journalism and Communication**

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements**

**for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication**

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**Addis Ababa University**

**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

**June ,2017**

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Abayneh Tilahun Mihret, entitled: *The Practice of development Journalism in the Ethiopian media landscape*, and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepts standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator

## **ABSTRACT**

### **The Practice of development Journalism in the Ethiopian media landscape**

**Abayneh Tilahun**

**Addis Ababa University, 2017**

This research attempted to study the practice of development journalism in Ethiopian media landscape, through comparing the development issue coverage and challenges of government and private owned media. It was informed by public serving development journalism and social responsibility theory of theoretical frameworks. Its focus was on a practical nature of development news coverage and challenges in Ethiopian media. The research emphasizes on the ownership, actors, nature, sector, aim, source and trend of development issue coverage and the challenges of the coverage. A Content analysis and in-depth interview was conducted on the news carried by the four selected media to explain the extent and explore the challenges of coverage of development issues respectively. The analysis shows that both the government and privately owned media in Ethiopia had their own kind of problems in their practice of development journalism: The government media, Focuses on the government development actor's success only. They are not applying critical journalism. To the worst, the government media are not considering the development contribution of non state actors . The government media are event oriented They lack professional integrity for the public interest by ensuring transparency and accountability by exposing corruption and investigating crimes that hinder the national development process through ethically participation in the development activity in a process oriented manner and are not finding solutions for development problems through participating the grass root. Structural censorship, Self censorship of journalists, unethical conduct of journalists, professional limitations, law commitment of media leaders to enforce the policy, lower level of Public culture of information exchange, trespassing of editorial policy and government official's perception of DJ as a development success only reporting are challenging the practice. In contrast, privately owned media in Ethiopia covered less development issues than the government media, gives very little time and space for the development issues of Ethiopia

compared to the government media. But, in that little amount of coverage, they focus on government development actors failure and dissimulate non-state actors failure. Paradoxically, the private media in Ethiopia similar to government media are not applying investigative journalism and watchdog the public property. They have no role in exposing corruptions and crimes committed on public properties. Practically, they are also event oriented and Addis Ababa based one side story tellers more than the government media. Resource limitation (human, Material and financial), wrong perception of government PR officers and officials towards private media and prohibition of information, government tax and null incentive for private media, lower level of public culture for information exchange and freedom of expression are the top line challenges which affected their coverage of development issues of the private media.

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last but not the least, I am thankful for EBC, which made everything possible to complete my MA.

**Declaration**

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

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Date of Submission: June 2017

Place of Submission: Addis Ababa University

## **Acronyms /Abbreviations**

DJ: Development Journalism

DIN: Development Issue News

DINC: Development Issue News Coverage

EBA: Ethiopian Broadcast Authority

EBC: Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation

ENA: Ethiopian News Agency

EPA: Ethiopian Press Agency

FDRE: Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

GNI: Gross National Income

GOM: Government Owned Media

GTP 2: second Growth and Transformation Plan

LDC: Less Developed Countries

MOFED: Ministry of Finance and Economic Development

PASDEP: A Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty

POM: Privately Owned Media

SDG: Sustainable Development Goal

SDPRP: Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Programme

UNCT: United Nation Country Team

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background**

Different literature of Development Journalism notes, a development journalist unlike liberal or authoritarian and totalitarian journalists is expected to participate in reporting and promote the success stories in order to help the change and wellbeing of the society.

The function of all journalism is to furnish the people ultimately responsible for that policy with the facts-the shocking as well as the flaccid, The ominous as well as the reassuring, The dissenting as well as the agreeing.(Simon and schuster,1966,p.291)

Likewise, Melkote and Murthy further assured that development journalism is very committed for the public interest.

In the contemporary world, to a greater extent than ever before, the mass communication media have increasingly become central to every aspect of human lives. With the immense power of the electronic media, enhanced by The advanced computer and satellite technologies, media have assumed key position in the political, economic and socio-cultural activities of a society, making media indispensable to governments and the public, principally in a democratic political setting where government power emanates from the people. Most importantly, in developing world, where majority of the citizenry suffer from undesirable socioeconomic and political conditions, the media have long been recognized as engines of development (Melkote, 2001 and Murthy, 2006).

So, Media whoever its owner is expected to work for the development of the developing nation for best interest of the public. But the Ethiopian media seems working against this Principle of DJ. Different scholars agree with the siding nature of media in Ethiopia. There is polarization of media where the private media often negates the development efforts of the government and the government media mostly cover favorable news about its activities (Nigussie, 2011).

Principle of Development journalism does not prohibit the coverage of failure stories and critically report the story to encourage public participation in solving the problem and come up with solutions, unless it could be difficult to say development journalism is practiced.

Banda (2006) notes that development journalism is “an intellectual enterprise in which the journalist form a kind of free intelligence and should critically examine the aims of national development and the applicable instruments in a rational discourse and solve them by reasonable criteria free of social constraints.”

What Mairegu said Ethiopian private media due to its nature of opposition of the government is always stands against the government development programs.

"As far as the private media is concerned, generally, it seems to take antigovernment position, and as it is said, the private media has been owned or sponsored by opposition groups or some other vested interests." (Mairegu, 2000, p.132)

Negeri (PHD) recommended by his study that, DJ is a crucial practice which has lot of contribution to the people. This means it is the duty of media to cover all the success and failure stories in developing countries who they want to see positive changes for them.

Development journalism is one which prioritizes the actual development problems of the people, i.e. pressing the socioeconomic, political and good governance issues so as to bring about improved living condition for all.(Negeri, 2010,p.125).

In the researcher's observation as working journalist and audience, both government and private media are on two extreme positions in covering development issues. In both of the ownership models the profession is the same; it is journalism, so it is expected to be applied in a way that it can create the betterment of the societies change and wellbeing. Blind support or hatred of development issue is not the nature of ethical, critical and independent media.

## 1.2 Statement of the problem

Different scholars' studies in different perspectives development issue coverage and came up with strong findings in showing the challenges of development journalism in Ethiopia at its start up.

Negeri (2010) also studied and conclude that the two media are in the two extreme positions:

"Ethiopian journalism, whether practiced by public or private media journalists, needs to have shared values in order to address the real development and governance problems of the people. Ethiopian journalism has to serve the right purpose in the right context and should never operate as 'hired guns'. To this end, we have to decolonize our mindset from adoring irrelevant journalistic perspectives and promote our own ways of thinking, solving problems and also embrace relevant models from elsewhere so as to deal effectively with the pressing problems of our country". (p.135)

Geremew Chala also has done a comparative study on a government Owned and a private media (Ethiopian Herald and The Reporter) and show differences in their development issues coverage.

The commitments of newspapers are usually conditioned by their ownership status. The privately owned newspapers coverage is relatively more direct in their reports. They usually give coverage to issues which they think might make them acceptable and help them to be profitable. Thus, they relatively report true stories; they usually tell the story as it is without fear or favor. Perhaps, that is why some of them are more enthusiastic in criticizing the government policies, and report some possible drawbacks of development projects, making their relationship with the government challenging. As a result, some of them are pursued and neglected by of the government. In contrast, in the government newspaper, the opinion and involvement of the government are more important than the development projects themselves. The government media in Ethiopia are blamed to be as servants of the government.(Geremew,2012,p.90)

Even if This study has highlighted that the selected private newspaper (The Reporter) covered less development news than the selected government newspaper it doesn't show whether the two news papers are biased when the issue is success or failure and when the cause of that failure or success is government actors or actors other than government (like individuals, NGOs, corporate companies, civic associations etc)

The above two researches done by Negeri (PHD) and Geremew (MA) strongly shows the Ethiopian media are not practically working in all side of public interest. But the previous researches do not show the extent and the nature (BIAS) of the Development issue coverage, When the issue is success or failure of development and, when the cause of that success or failure is government actors or not. And also don't clearly justify the reason for such framing and coverage varies when the nature and the actor of the development varies. Therefore, this study explains the extent of development issue coverage and investigates the challenges on both government and private media in covering development issues, When the development actor and nature varies.

### **1.3 The objectives of the study**

#### **1.3.1 General Objective**

This paper aims at examining the Practice of development issues reporting in Ethiopian media landscape.

#### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

- Explaining the nature of government owned media coverage of development issues.
- Exploring the nature of private owned media coverage of development issues.
- Identifying the level of difference between government and private owned media in reporting development.
- Pin pointing the reasons why the Ethiopian media cover development issues in a certain way.

### **1.4 Research questions**

- How do the government owned media give coverage for development issues?
- How do the Private owned media give coverage for development issues?
- What is the difference between government and private owned media development issue coverage?
- Why Ethiopian media cover development issues in a certain way?

## **1.5 Theoretical frame work**

Banda's public serving Development journalism theory and social responsibility theory of press informed this research.

## **1.6 Significance of the study**

This study by finding the fact how media in Ethiopia covers development issues ,It will provide possible recommendations what Government and private Media, policy makers, the society and journalists should do to make development journalism contribute to the betterment and wellbeing of the peoples of Ethiopia.

## **1.7 Scope of the study**

The study will carried out in news items of the four Addis Ababa based media outlets on assessment of development issue coverage. Data will be collected Using quantitative and qualitative research method from Addis Zemen Newspaper, The Reporter Newspaper, EBC TV station and Sheer 102.1 FM. In-depth individual interviews are carried out with editors and reporters of those media.

## **1.8 Limitation of the study**

The issue of study needs to address from various perspective. To come up with more comprehensive outlook and wide application it needs to conduct in many places and contexts. But due to time and resource constraints, the research was limited to collect data from only 4 national media.

## **1.9 Organization of the Study**

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter one presents a general background of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, and research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study and limitation of the study. Chapter two focuses the essence and concept of development with theoretical frame works. It also deals with the challenges to development. Chapter three is about methods, procedures and sampling techniques employed in the research. The fourth chapter entirely discusses the data obtained through quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the study in light of the introductory chapters and the theoretical perspectives in chapter two. The chapter also forwards the results of the data. The last chapter focuses on the conclusion and suggested recommendations based on the outcome of the research.

## **1.10 Operational definition**

Operational definition of the following key terms has been essential to properly understand the notion of this study.

### **Definition of development success and development failure**

Development is a complex terminology which is defined by different views, This study takes Tudor's argument.

Development must be seen as multidimensional process involving major changes in social structure, popular attitudes, and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty. (Tudor ,1977)

As Miriam Webster's Definition success means, The correct or desired result of an attempt, someone or something that is successful and, failure mean a failing to perform a duty or expected action . This study claims the combined meaning of the above meanings of development and success/failure to define Development success and development failure.

## **Government owned media versus State owned media**

### **Government owned media:**

State media or state-owned media is media for mass communication which is controlled financially and editorially by the state. The news outlets may be the sole media outlet or may exist in competition with corporate and non-corporate media. State media is not to be confused with public-sector media, which is funded directly or indirectly by the state, but over which the state does not have tight editorial control.

### **private owned media:**

The fact of being owned by a private individual or organization, rather than by the state or a public body.

## **Government actors versus Non government**

**actors** This study accepts the website based teachers association [www.wikispaces.com](http://www.wikispaces.com) definition of government/state actors and non state actors.

### **State-Actor:**

A person or organization that plays a role in politics and directly represents the governing power of a state and/or receives direct, obligatory direction from a state.

### **Non-State Actor:**

Non-state actors are non-sovereign entities that exercise significant economic, political, social, power and influence at a national and in some cases international, level. This includes multinational corporations, NGOs, and super-empowered individuals.

## **CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Development journalism as philosophy of media practice is introduced in 1960's in East Asia. As literatures reveal it takes different forms and approaches in supporting, ensuring and contributing for national development in different parts of the world specially in Asia, Latin America and Africa.

The definitions of development and the arguments of Press philosophies makes Development journalism very complicated concept to understand and practice. Not only development journalism, but also development itself is a very complicated concept different scholars defined it differently.

In this chapter the legacies of previous literatures which deals with history, definition, roles, contents, approaches, debates, critics, and policy issues of DJ are discussed, and also the debates and dilemmas of DJ are critically discussed to evaluate the practice and its challenges in Ethiopia.

The draft policy document which is entitled 'Basis and directives for an operational philosophy of our democratic and developmental media'<sup>1</sup> is also scrutinized to understand the policy issue of development journalism in Ethiopia. This study tries to discuss Development journalism in a social responsibility media theory and Public service DJ model of Banda theoretical framework.

### **2.2 Development**

#### **2.2.1 Development in Global Context**

The term 'development' is very broad, complex and multidimensional which varies according to the context.

Mostly international inter-government organizations (IGO's) are seen defining development at a global level. As UN agencies development is directly related to the achievement of sustainable

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<sup>1</sup> (skjerdal,2011) furthermore has detail information

development goals (SDGs) which substituted the agenda of millennium development goals (MDGs). MDGs were more poverty reduction centered and SDGs focuses on sustaining those MDGs results in a more human centered and environment conservation manner (UN, 2015). It, therefore, has a much more instrumental element which is likely to be favored by practitioners within the development community notably in international development agencies. Poverty reduction objectives in general and the MDGs in particular, now play a major role in the thinking of the international agencies (Tovar and Smith, 2009).

As Gore, in (Geremew,2014) The key feature of MDGs is, it is focused on the outcomes of change so that it has a relatively short-term outlook, labeled it as ‘a historical’. This is somewhat problematic to many of the more academic members of the development community because it presupposes a set of (essentially bureaucratic or government) goals or objectives which may not be shared by many of the people who are supposedly benefiting from development.

This means that there is a paternalistic assumption as to what is good for people’s wellbeing based on a set of universal values and characteristics. This raises the question of ‘ownership’ not so much in the context of governments or of countries but more in the context of peoples, and the poor in particular. There is a concern that this short-term and instrumental view of development loses the (grand) vision of societal transformation that Gore, (2000) highlighted, and separates the conception of development from socio-economic structures, social relations and politics and That is why SDGs (relatively long term and transformative) substitute MDGs (UN, 2015).

These overall multiplicities of definitional debates include a general agreement on the view that ‘development’ encompasses continuous ‘change’ in a variety of aspects of human condition. The dimensions of development are extremely diverse, including economic, social, political, legal and institutional structures, technology in various forms(including the physical or natural sciences, engineering and communications), the environment, religion, the arts and culture (Serves, 1999).

Other scholars such as, Holder (2000) defines development as an economic, social and political process which results in a cumulative rise in the perceived standard of living for increasing proportion of a population. Such a definition suggests that an increased standard of living involves a social and political process as well as an economic one; that a rise in the standard of living must be cumulative rather than just temporary; and that it has to be significant enough to be perceived by an increasing numbers in population.

Clearly, this kind of definition holds the concepts of equality and equity as a crucial aims in any development process. And it is highly alienated with sustainable development goals. The Brundtland Commission's brief definition of sustainable development as:

"the ability to make development sustainable—to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Kates et,al , 2005,p.10)

As Geremew (2014) also stated, it is difficult to state development within a single definition. The difficulties of trying to embody all possible criteria in a simple definition of development are immense, and one way of avoiding this problem is simply to describe the characteristics of less developed (LDC) economies that (Todaro and Smith,2009) note,

LDC economies are characterized by low levels of living, reflected in such indices as low income, high inequalities, poor health and inadequate education, low levels of productivity, high rate of population growth and dependency burdens, high and rising levels of unemployment, substantial dependence on agricultural production and primary export products, the prevalence of imperfect markets and limited information, dominance, dependence and vulnerability, in international relations. (p. 40).

According to Seers (1979), the purpose of development is to reduce poverty, inequality, and unemployment. For Sen (1987), development involves reducing deprivation or broadening choice that represents a multidimensional view of poverty which includes hunger, illiteracy, illness and poor health, powerlessness, voicelessness, insecurity, humiliation, and a lack of access to basic infrastructure (Narayan et al. 2007).

As Todaro and Smith (2009) contend, development is the process of improving the quality of all human issues. Three equally important aspects of development are:

(1) raising people's levels of living-their incomes and conceptions levels food, medical services, education, etc., through relevant economic growth process;

(2) creating conditions conducive to the growth of people's self-esteem through the establishments of social, political, and economic systems and institutions that promote human dignity and respect; and

(3) increasing people's freedom by enlarging the range of their choices, variables as by increasing varieties of consumer goods and services.

So, based on the above development definitions, development should generally be sustainable, human centered, transformational, inclusive, broad based (all sector round) and work for positive change of the society's life.

### **2.2.2 Development in Ethiopian Context**

The Ethiopian government proclaimed the second growth and transformation plan as a national development focus:

As a vehicle towards the realization of Ethiopia's vision of becoming lower middle income country by 2025, the Second Growth and Transformation Plan (GTPII) is built on Sectoral Policies, Strategies & programs, lessons drawn from the implementation of the first GTP, the post-2015 sustainable development goals

(SDGs). It has also taken into account global & regional economic situations with direct or indirect bearings on the Ethiopian economy. (Mofed,2015:16)

The overarching objective of the Second Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP II) is the realization of Ethiopia's vision of becoming a lower middle income country by 2025. Thus, GTP II aims to achieve an annual average real GDP growth rate of 11 percent within stable macroeconomic environment while at the same time pursuing aggressive measures towards rapid industrialization and structural (ibid,16).

In order to achieve the objectives of GTP II set out above, the government of Ethiopia pursued the following pillar strategies:

a) Sustaining the rapid , broad based and equitable economic growth and development witnessed during the last decade including GTP I;

b) Increase productive capacity and efficiency to reach the economy's productive possibility frontier through rapidly improving quality, productivity and competitiveness of productive sectors (agriculture and manufacturing industries);

c) Enhance the transformation of the domestic private sector to enable them become capable development force;

d) Build the capacity of the domestic construction industry, bridge critical infrastructure gaps with particular focus on ensuring quality provision of infrastructure services;

e) Proactively manage the on-going rapid urbanization to unlock its potential for sustained rapid growth and structural transformation of the economy;

f) Accelerate human development and technological capacity building and ensure its sustainability;

g) Continue to build democratic and developmental good governance through enhancing implementation capacity of public institution and actively engaging the citizens;

h) Promote women and youth empowerment, ensure their effective participation in the development and democratization process and enable them equitably benefit from the outcomes of development;

i) Building climate resilient green economy;

Therefore, the Ethiopian government development strategies and the plan itself is economic centered, all sector growth appreciating, infrastructure focused, human development concerned, inclusive and participatory, interventionist, and promoting environment conservation and sustainability.

### **2.3 The Three classic Development approaches and role of media in national development**

Banda (2007) explained that the concept of development journalism, particularly in the African context, could be discussed with reference to the historical evolution of the theory of development communication, especially the three historical paradigms.

As he argued, the first paradigm is the “modernization” paradigm. This paradigm “dominated the period from 1945 to 1965 and stressed the transfer of the technology and socio-political culture of modernity from the developed North to the Third World. It found its coherent articulation in Everett M. Rogers’s ‘diffusion of innovations’ perspective” (p. 155).

The second paradigm is the “dependency-dissociation paradigm.

"This approach is “associated with the elevation of the aspirations of the newly independent nations of the Third World for political, economic, and cultural self-determination and an ideological distancing from Western forms of modernization” (Banda 2007: 156).

In line with this paradigm, Banda asserted that the developing countries including African and Asian newly independent states, had taken many initiatives. These include the establishment of the non-aligned movement, which preferred not to be dragged to the cold war between the west

and the former Soviet Union, as well as the establishment of Pan-African News Agency (PANA), which established by the organization of the African Union, in order to draw the attention of the international news to the voice of Africa and African peoples. The African states were disappointed on how the west press and news agencies cover the events of Africa and African people. They complained about the huge amount of negative news published or broadcast about African in major news corporations in the West. In this context, some African leaders have used the concept of “revolutionary theory of press” in 1960s. As (Banda,2007:165) cited, the Nkrumah of Ghana “articulated this theory in 1963 during the second conference of African journalist. He told them that the “the truly African revolutionary press” existed in order to present and carry forward our revolutionary purpose, and establish a progressive political and economic system upon our continent”.

The third paradigm is “emancipator journalism”. It is referred to as the “multiplicity” or “another development paradigm” (Banda,2007,p.157). Simply put, it meant participatory journalism. This paradigm considers cultural identity of locals. In the next part the three paradigms are discussed to understand the role of media in each of the paradigms. In the following section the above the role of media to play significant role in national development process in the three paradigms are discussed.

### **2.3.1 Modernization Paradigm (1945-1960’s)**

It is the oldest and dominant paradigm founded in Western Neo-classical economic theory. It was the first attempt to articulate the problem of underdevelopment. This paradigm stresses the transfer of technology, socio-political culture of developed societies (industrialization) to the traditional societies as the quickest means to let them enjoy development. In other words, imitation of Westerns or Westernization is development (Servaes, 2002).

The causes of underdevelopment were seen internal to third world nations that can be cured by external factors (by technological aid). Lack of (information, knowledge, big capital, expertise, and modern social organizations), indigenous culture, backward technology, corruption, traditional values and attitudes are all causes of underdevelopment. Anything against industrial

development was assumed as the cause for underdevelopment. The role of media and communication is so identified in modernization perspective as:

"The problem of underdeveloped regions was believed to be an information problem, media communication was presented as the instrument that would lead directly and play a central role to solve it. Later, even seen as, the proxy to development. The media were both channels and indicators of modernization. They are motivators and movers for change and modernization since the mass media could speed up and ease the long slow transformation."(Ameyu,2014,p.3)

### **2.3.2 Dependency Paradigm (Late 1960s to 1980s)**

As Serves (2002) This paradigm came as counteract to dominant paradigm and it is the first development theory that was formulated in poorer nations. The chief architect of dependency theory was Raiil Prebisch, an Argentine economist. This paradigm was informed by Marxist and critical theories and highly focused on the effects of dependency. This paradigm views modernization as dependency on ones culture.

Theorists of this paradigm believed underdevelopment is a result of the world process of capital accumulation and it cannot be seen apart from development. Dependency paradigm is well known for its cultural imperialism approach that proposes a dominant sociopolitical group influences and shapes the culture of weaker groups, or nations, through mass media and other practices and institutions. And recommends isolation as a solution.

The causes of underdevelopment in this perspective is External; political or underdevelopment caused by their reliance and dependence on more economically developed countries. I.e. capitalism. The flip side of developed world became underdevelopment for the third world

nations. The developing world politically and culturally dependent on Western nation particularly US. The role of media communication in this approach is so defined as:

"This paradigm did not undermine the role of media for development; rather, departure was on the balance of information flow and the creation of self-reliant media system of the people to promote national and public goods rather than as pipelines for capitalist instead of relying on Western media outlets to support development albeit greater state control."(p.5)

### **2.3.3 Multiplicity Paradigm (Since 1980s)**

This paradigm is also referred as participatory communication for development or another development. It came up with a new say which stresses, one way or another, there is interdependence of nation states. Development is an integral, multidimensional, and dialectic process that can differ from society to society. This paradigm emphasizes on cultural identity. Therefore, development problem is a relative one. Servaes labeled this theory of development as "The best of both world views".

"The causes of underdevelopment is contextual: Internal as well as external factors inevitably influence the development process. Development has to be studied in a global context, in which Center and Periphery, as well as their interrelated subdivisions, have to be taken into consideration. "(Servaes, 2002,p.271).

The role of media communication in this Participatory approaches give much emphasis to poor people so that to make them active participants in their own development. In the participatory model, communication is a process, not a series of products.

Servaes (2002) asserted The role of mass communication here (in multiplicity approach) was to narrow the knowledge gap between the information rich and the information poor. Moreover, communication was considered as a catalyst for change and assumed vital of mass media when used in non-commercial and non-Western style of communication. The participatory school

(alternative paradigm), which rejects the two extremes (imitation and dissociation) advocates a two way communication through creating a media landscape that could relate to the grassroots specific realities and needs. Therefore, as a social institution,

"The ultimate goal of communication for development is to democratize citizens and cause positive, effective and sustainable change in a society. People empowerment, mutual understanding, creating awareness, dialogue, initiating for participation and mobilization as well. The critics of Alternative Development have focused on the inadequate concern with the role of external factors and the process of globalization (p.8).

## **2.4 Development Journalism**

As it has been discussed the underdeveloped world after second world war was trying different development approaches. All the three made the development process successful in some countries and some are on process based on the poverty context. In that process of development as (Banda,2007 and Ameyu,2014) communication played different roles in national development process. The era of development journalism also goes in line with that role of communication in development of the underdeveloped world.

### **2.4.1 Origin of Development Journalism**

The concept of development journalism was originated in Philippines and was developed into a coherent doctrine in the 1960s across Asia and the Middle East (Ogan 1980:8). As Ogan wrote In the subsequent years, development journalism gained universal currency with a strong following in the Second and Third World. The conceptual basis of development journalism relies heavily on development communication theories.

As most of the literatures agreed In 1968, a not for profit organization, the Thomson Foundation sponsored a course called The Economic Writers' Training Course. The Course Chair, Alan Chalkley was the first to coin the term "development journalist" (Ogan 1980,p.11). Working with the Philippine Press Institute, Chalkley and Erskine Childers began to conduct development oriented seminars to encourage the Philippine journalists to report more development

news. Chalkley (ibid,p.7) explained that a journalist's main task was to inform and give his or her readers the facts. His or her secondary task was to interpret, to put the facts in their framework and, where possible, to draw conclusions. Chalkley added that the third task of the development journalist was to positively promote facts of economic life and to interpret those facts, to open eyes of readers to the possible development solutions.

In 1968,the Press Foundation of Asia (PFA) was formed with funding from the Ford Foundation to promote development journalism. The PFA set up Depth-News, an acronym for development, economic and population news. The PFA implored journalists to write technical and scientific articles in easy to understand terms for the ordinary people. In its working guidelines the PFA stated that the “media are encouraged to be development conscious, to disseminate as much information as possible about the potentials of a country and the efforts being extended to fulfill these potentials and to encourage the public to participate in these efforts.” (Ogan ,1982)

So, the origin of Development Journalism is from the east Asia , and we can understand here it is a new look and orientation of underdeveloped nation media and journalists towards the role of journalism for national development unlike the western (developed) world watchdog journalism or other journalism like communist, authoritative press.

#### **2.4.2 Definition of DJ**

Development journalism is defined in numerous literatures with some kind of difference according to the context. Ogan described the essence of development journalism as:

"critically examine, evaluate and report the relevance of a development project to national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation and the differences between its impact on the people as claimed by government official and as it is actually is". (Ogan,1980,p. 8)

Banda (2007) defined development journalism as consisting of 'news' that: Should examine critically, evaluate and interpret the relevance of development plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues. It should indicate the disparities between plans and actual accomplishments, and include comparisons with how development is progressing in other countries and regions. Ogan (1980) also stated DJ has the role of investigative reporting in countries where government has the will of democracy.

"Far from being a mouthpiece for government propaganda, the journalist would fulfill the watchdog role of the press in the truest sense; This approach to development journalism would also require that governments be willing to support a press system which will be so openly critical" (p.8 )

And this philosopher Clearly shown the term development journalism /communication has at least two conceptual meanings; When it is used. as development Support communication; the concept refers to the communication process used only to serve the development goals of the government in power; Development journalism defined to mean the critical examination; evaluation and report of the relevance; enactment and impact of development programs; demands that the mass media be independent of government (Ibid,15). (Ogan, 1980) quoted Choudery (the Philippine journalist)

"Third World governments are often reluctant to choose between a socially responsible practice of development journalism is perfectly compatible with the social responsibility theory of the press, press which functions independently. and one Which is controlled: by an authoritarian power" (P.15)

Here it means unless practically the government have a commitment to be investigated by journalists it is difficult to DJ play a critical role in the development process and press will remain government mouthpiece.

Tshabangu (2013) stated, DJ also should provide contextual and background information about the development process, discuss the impact of plans, projects, policies, problems, and issues on people, and speculate about the future of development. And development news should refer to the needs of people, which may vary from country to country or from region to region, but generally include primary needs, such as food, housing, employment; secondary needs such as transportation, energy sources an electricity; and tertiary needs such as cultural diversity, recognition and dignity.

News relating to the primary, secondary, and tertiary needs of a developing country. Primary needs are food, clothing, and shelter. Secondary needs are development of agriculture, industry and all economic activity, which lead to the fulfillment of the primary needs, plus development of education, literacy, health environment, medical research, family planning, employment, labor welfare, social reforms, national integration and rural and urban development. Tertiary needs are development of mass media, transport, tourism, telecommunication, arts and cultural activities. (Machado, 1982,p.11)

Gunaratne (1996) described developmental journalism as it appreciates participation and inclusiveness as DJ is : an integral part of a new journalism that involved "analytical interpretation, subtle investigation, constructive criticism and sincere association with the grassroots (rather than with the elite).

Kunczik (1986 cited in Wimmer and Wolf 2005) saw development journalism as an intellectual enterprise in which the journalist should form a kind of free intelligence and should critically examine the aims of national development and the applicable instruments in rational discourse and solve them by using reasonable criteria free of social constraints.

Therefore, as it is been discussed by the scholars above Development Journalism would be critical or mouth piece of the authority. But if government has a willing DJ can be critical, Participant in development process, Participate the grassroots people and work for the life change of the rural people. That means in nation where the government is unwilling in media

role in development (undemocratic) development journalists will remain being mouth pieces of the government to serve the authoritative rule.

### **2.4.3 Purpose of Development journalism**

Development journalism has the roles: To motivate the audience to actively cooperate in development and, To defend the interests of those concerned (Tshabangu,2013). Domatob and Hall (1983 in Wimmer and Wolf 2005) state that by its name, development journalism recognizes the reality of underdevelopment, that development is a valid social goal and that media have a contribution to make towards it; that is, the media are expected to actively pursue this role. The main characteristic of development journalism is the deliberate and active role in pressing for change. It is geared towards mobilizing the people for national development. development journalism is a process oriented reporting of development issues: development journalism "is not reporting about events, but processes, and not reporting about personalities but issues". (Wimmer and Wolf, 2005,p.11)

In Africa, early theorists of development journalism argued that development journalism should promote Pan Africanism. Such theorizing saw the media as a revolutionary tool of African liberation from colonialism and imperialism.

Ahmed (2016) In the same vein, the media worked as extension of government policies of social, economic and cultural development. African theorists also argued that development journalism meant, above all, nation-building, creation of national consciousness, and unity. The duty of development journalism was to awaken citizens to the new cultural imagery of patriotism, nationhood, inculcate a viable degree of 'we feeling', cohesion across tribal, racial, regional, religious, and linguistic loyalties. Development journalism also entailed that the media should contribute to national development goals, inform citizens of relevant governmental policies, introduce national leaders, foster political stability, and promote national integration and education.

rationalized the argument of development journalism when he noted that: Because Third World nations are newly emergent, they need time to develop their institutions. During this initial period of growth, stability and unity must be sought; criticism must be minimized and the public faith in government institutions and policies must be encouraged. Media must cooperate, according to this guided press concept, by stressing positive, development-inspired news, by ignoring negative societal or oppositionist characteristics and by supporting governmental ideologies and plans. The late president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, a former journalist, believed in development journalism. (Ansah 1998,p. 12)

According to Ansah (1998:12) Nkrumah used his paper, Accra Evening News to whip up support for his political party during the struggle for Ghana's independence and rejected the idea of an independent press. He believed in activist journalism, that a journalist should have high ideals, be a political activist and party member, and his newspaper a collective organizer, a collective instrument of mobilization and a collective educator, a weapon first and foremost for the overthrow of colonialism and imperialism and to assist total African independence and unity. Nkrumah (1965 cited in Odhiambo, 1991,p.24) thus claimed “the true African newspaper is a collective educator – a weapon, first and foremost, to overthrow colonialism and imperialism, and to assist total African independence and unity.”

In conclusion, development journalists has so the duty of emancipating the society or the public from an identified crisis to the safest living conditions. DJ is also a purpose based reporting to change the public life positively.

## **2.5 A Free Press for Development**

According to UNESCO ( 2008,p.110) a free press can be said to influence human development via three mechanisms:

- it acts as an intermediary between individuals and government by apprising the latter of the needs of the population and acting as a bulwark against crises and situations of extreme deprivation. This bears out Amartya Sen's theory;
- it makes governments accountable and their actions more transparent;
- it is important not only for anti-poverty efforts but also for economic development in the broad sense of the term. Along with other indicators of good governance, it creates an environment favorable to business, more effective conduct of public affairs, and so on.

And, UNESCO suggested that a free press can contribute to attainment of the SDGs and, most importantly, can help ensure that the different dimensions of human and societal development are satisfied. By upholding press freedom, States and international organizations give themselves a powerful lever of development.

An important finding may be recalled here: no country has both a free press and a very large percentage of its population living below the poverty line. A traditional argument against a free press in poor countries is that it is a "luxury". But as James D. Wolfenson quoted in (UNESCO, 2008): To reduce poverty, we must liberate access to information and improve the quality of information. People with more information are empowered to make better choices. A free press is not a luxury. It is at the core of equitable development.

"In theory, a press promoting development should have been free to produce investigative pieces checking the soundness or the relative success or failure of the projects being covered. But this was seldom the case. What emerged instead was what E.G. Rose defined as 'sunshine stories,'... there will be a hydro-electric works in five years, new universities in three years, and so on. In other words, development journalism presented a view of development bereft of pain and difficulty, bereft of conflict and compromise, and bereft of graft and corruption."(Louise, 1995,p.173)

Xu (2009) also recommended the free press and high quality journalism for media institutions to play significant role in national development process

- (a) Media freedom is fundamental in democracy therefore it should be non-negotiable.
- (b) Media must report the truth without undue misrepresentation of facts, sensationalism, propaganda and bias.
- (c) In reporting, the media must take cognizance of national security and the welfare of the people.
- (d) Media practitioners must not be influenced by the interests of ownership, both government and corporate.
- (e) Ownership of the media should be spread to avoid the monopoly of a few, powerful individuals, corporations or governments.
- (f) Display or transmission of pornographic and violent media materials should be controlled to reduce negative influence on societies.

So, as the above literatures and scholars recommend press freedom is at the center of media's role in development process. In an environment where press is suppressed and dependent on vested interests and authoritative rules it is impossible to expect press ensuring development.

## **2.6 Contents of News stories in Development Journalism**

According to Wimmer and Wolf (2005), development journalism comprises the reporting on ideas, programmes, activities and events, which are related to an improvement of the living standard, mainly in the rural regions. (1988 in Gunaratne, 1996,p.10) conceptualized developmental journalism as news that related to the primary, secondary or tertiary needs of a country's population; news that satisfied the needs of a country's population and contributed to self-reliance; and news that related to development or to social, economic or political problems.

As Banda noted development seems consistent with the ten proposals of development journalism posited by Galtung and Vincent (in Gunaratne 1996,p. 7-8):

- Whenever there is a reference to development, the development journalists should try to make it concrete in terms of human beings. They should report people as subjects, actors and agents rather than as objects or victims with needs deficit.
- Development journalism should focus on more than economics because all other factors – military power, political power, cultural power, etc. – have to do with development in some way or other.
- Mere economic growth data will never do without accompanying dispersion data. In other words: development journalists must look at the income of the bottom 50 percent or 10 percent, as well as of the top 10 percent or 1 percent.
- Development journalism should focus on both differences and relations within and between countries. For example, journalists should substantiate the relationship between the rich and the poor. How, for example, does a wage freeze affect wage earners in relation to business people?
- Development journalism should focus on the totality of concrete life situations – the rich, the middle class, the working class, the poor, the dirty poor, etc. In other words, human life is rarely captured in black and white; there are always shades of gray.
- Development journalism should dwell on the dimension of democracy. Investigative journalism, for example, can serve as an aspect of the developmental role of the media.
- Development journalism should sometimes engage in ‘constructive’ criticism, highlighting success stories, where necessary.
- Development journalism should allow for people to talk. A useful approach is for journalists to sit down with people from high to low discussing the meaning of development thereby generating an enormous range of visions as well as how-to insights.
- Development journalism should sometimes let the people, more or less, run the media. This means giving people some media control, by, perhaps, enabling them to produce their own programmes. An example of this on the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Radio I, and to some extent on the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)’s Ukhozi FM in Kwazulu Natal, was the radio listening clubs

project, which enabled women to record their voices and have them transmitted on public radio.

- Development journalism lets people run more of society, and then reports on what happens. In other words, development journalists should report on people's movements and organizations, on people's struggles to construct, deconstruct and reconstruct social meanings for themselves. In a sense, development journalism becomes a recording of human existence, in all its manifestations.

## **2.7 The Ethiopian media and Development journalism**

### **2.7.1 The Ethiopian news media landscape**

Ethiopia has witnessed significant changes in national media policy since 2007. Both the broadcasting law (1999) and the general media law (1992) have been replaced by new and more liberal laws, although certain control measures persist. The government shows improvement in the area of transparency by means of introducing an access to information proclamation (2008) and by hosting weekly press briefings which are open to both the private and the state media.(skjerdal,2011).

In this order, now (2016/17) the Ethiopian mainstream media under the regulation of Ethiopian Broadcast Authority (EBA) has the following face in different type of medium.

The largest national TV news media institution in Ethiopia is the state-owned Ethiopian broadcasting corporation EBC, TV station, which employs over 2100 workers (EBC,2017). Ethiopia now is on process to have (2016/17) 5 private TV stations. EBC is still the monopolist in terrestrial antenna news transmission. As the EBAs' report 2017 there are 10 private FM radio stations in Ethiopia on service, taking license from EBA. State owned EBC national radio is also a giant radio station in the country with its area coverage. There is only 1 government and 5 private newspapers which have more than 2000 circulations at a publication and expected to serve independent news to the general public of the nation, and also distributed in more than one

region in 2016/17. Totally, 18 national mainstream media(1 TV, 11 Radio and 6 newspapers) are serving news for 100 million people in 2016/17( EBA Report, 2017).

The government owned media including EBC and EPA are still under the direct control of the Ethiopian government /FDRE. Because the head of the directors board of the two media are still the ministers of the Government communication affairs secretary (which are the members of the council of ministers). The Ethiopia had a draft policy document in 2008, namely the development journalism policy document (EPA,2008). Ethiopia as a country of over 100 million people is under a question of media pluralism in number even (Freedom house, 2016).

### **2.7.2 The Ethiopian development journalism policy**

There is no any approved policy document that guides the Ethiopian media philosophy and practice in their role of development. Only the draft policy document published by Ethiopian press agency(EPA) in 2008 is considered as the main official document ; In this policy draft document the basic pillars of DJ are included in a way that it will guide the Ethiopian media practice In a certain way. Therefore, this draft document can be considered as an official development journalism introducing document.

Written in Amharic, the title of the policy document on development journalism for the Ethiopian state media could be translated as: 'Basis and directives for an operational philosophy of our democratic and developmental media' (The title is taken from Skerjal's translation for his research purpose). The policy document (EPA, 2008) was mainly produced on higher management level, contrasting the process of previous editorial policy documents which gave ample opportunity for all journalists in the media organizations to give comments. The development journalism policy document has not yet been formally ratified (2017), but is still taken as an official document.

The key concern that frames the Ethiopian development journalism policy is economic poverty. The document states that the goal of the government is to level Ethiopia among middle- income countries within 20-30 years, and all

societal forces, including the media, are expected to take part in the process.  
(Skerjal,2011,p.6)

Skjerdal (2011) also refer the policy document itself in answering what makes the policy framework initiated? and state the following

The previous regimes in Ethiopia, on the other hand, are accused by the policy document for having used the media for their own ends only. The Ethiopian empire (until 1974) saw the media as a means to reinforce feudalism as a divine ruling system, while the Marxist military junta (1974–91) introduced strict censorship and treated the media as mere propaganda tools. This is contrasted with the current situation, which supposedly caters for media pluralism. The policy document argues, however, that the private media in Ethiopia have fallen short because they have been driven by hatred and do not respect the rule of law. Concurrently, the state media are admitted to be in "a state of chaos" (EPA 2008,8) as well, mainly due to unprofessionalism. Thus the need for policy directions.(ibid,p.6)

He further analyzed the document as: a philosophical level, the policy document draws a dichotomy between authoritarian and libertarian ideologies. In short, authoritarianism is condemned for suppressing the free will of people, while libertarianism is disapproved for being driven by profit instead of national and human interest. The solution to these supposedly deficient ideologies as foundations for media systems is a middle-of-the-road approach defined as the development journalism philosophy. This philosophy opens up for a combination of privately-owned and government-run media.(Ibid,7)

Here it is clear that, the policy draft document appreciates both media ownerships. The policy recognizes both media ownership are essential in the Ethiopian political economy (national

development), even though it speculates possible differences in practicing DJ by the two ownership models.

The policy document supports people participations in media production, as evident from the way the document defines development journalism: Development journalism is a journalism that makes people understand, accept and actively participate in the implementation of appropriate development ideas that may extricate people from poverty and backwardness by bringing about rapid national change and building on positive values of development and democratic change. (Ethiopian policy document on development journalism, EPA 2008)

This definition has significant implications (Skjerdal, 2011) for the role of the media worker. The journalist is seen as an active change agent rather than as a passive reporter. The aim is to bring about 'rapid national change'. In stimulating development, the journalist is requested to focus on positive success stories. Critical coverage is less emphasized. At one stage in the document, the media are requested to hold government bodies accountable before the public, but this duty is densely uttered in a paragraph where the main focus is on the importance of securing a strong democratic administration. The main concentration in the policy document is on positive promotion of development efforts rather than critical investigation.

The researcher disagrees with Skjerdal, because the document gives sufficient implications for the necessity of investigative role of media in Ethiopia. Ofcourse the document disqualifies the notion of western scholars which preaches as watchdog is the only role and priority of any independent media. As the Amharic policy draft document stated: one of the 7 key goals the policy aimed at is exposing and weakening rent seeking (corruption).

Our development and democratic system is hindered by rent seeking. This accident is an obstacle for to make development ideology hegemonic. The government is relentlessly struggling to weaken rent seeking and corruption in the political economy of the nation. Our development journalism practical philosophy

should so proficiently support our duty of rent seeking exposition and weakening (EPA,2008,p.34).

It also states:

"Media should identify development plan failures and implementation gaps through investigative journalism and should teach development actors from their failure practically" (ibid,41).

But, Skjerdal comments, official Ethiopian development journalism policy is framed by the poverty situation of the country; assumes an interventionist role of the media; calls for public participation; and emphasizes success stories more than critical reporting.

The researcher agrees with Skjerdal's summery except, which he said, the draft policy emphasizes success stories more than critical reporting. It is I think pessimism towards Ethiopian development journalism policy document. Because it gives opportunity for both success and failure development story coverage. Critical does not mean always only failure reporting as the fourth estate journalism proponents claim, but it means reporting both success and failure based on the reality. Why only failure? In this assumption the document gives proper place for critical reporting public success and failure. It is subtle if there are other practical reasons which push the practice to remain always report government actors success only. The draft policy document unlike Skjerdal critics encourages critical reporting too, by discouraging sensationalism in reporting.

media should identify problems at any level and should analyze the proper cause and image of the problems to imply solutions. they have to participate and encourage the public for the solutions. In other words should find solutions for problems and create consensus over the solutions (ibid, 38)

In summation, the Ethiopian development journalism policy draft document is qualified in promoting media role in the national development process. It is in line with the nations

development plan and agendas and multiplicity communication paradigm (which it is the champion of the other two approaches), It is also consistent with basic principles and philosophical recommendations of above stated DJ scholars and literatures.

## 2.8 Theoretical framework

### 2.8.1 Public service development journalism model of Banda

Banda (2006,p.15) following the public journalism model, focused on five practical suggestions for implementing a development journalism agenda within the context of PSB. These steps include: treating audiences as citizens; cultivating the art of public listening; promoting a deliberative/dialogical culture among citizens; supporting citizens’ framing of the development agenda; and cultivating engaged and engaging development journalism.

Banda (2006) compared the integration between basic characteristics of the public service broadcasting and development journalism the way he put under the below table, and justified the necessity of PSB to properly implement DJ.

<b>Public Service Broadcasting (PSB)</b>	<b>Development Journalism (DJ)</b>
Universal accessibility	Focus on rural (remotest) areas
Universal appeal	Views ‘development’ holistically, as ‘appealing’ to all
Attention to minorities	Inclusive of hitherto unheard voices
National identity & community	Cultural identity and community
Distance from vested interests	Journalistic ‘agency’ or ‘free will’
Direct funding & universality of payment	Distant from the influence of the market and of the state

Good programming	Values 'quality' content, by infusing grassroots voices as well
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### 2.8.2 Social responsibility theory

In mid 20th century most of the developing countries and third world nations have used this social responsibility theory of press which is associated with “the Commission of the Freedom of Press” in United States at 1949. In the book “Four theories of Press” (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm) it’s been stated that “pure libertarianism is antiquated, out dated and obsolete.” That paved way for replacement of Libertarian theory with the Social responsibility theory. One of the well known Communication scholars Denis McQuail (2005) summarized the basic principles of Social Responsibility Theory as the following:

- Media should accept and fulfill certain obligations to society.
- These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance.
- In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions.
- The media should avoid offensive content triggering crime, violence, or civil disorder or harm to minority groups.
- The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and rights of reply.

- Society and the public have a right to expect high standards of performance, and intervention can be justified to secure the, or a, public good.
- Journalists and media professionals should be accountable to society as well as to employers and the market.

### **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Under this section the research method which is applied to objectively carried the research is briefly discussed. Mixed method of Quantitative content analysis and in-depth interview are used to conduct the research. The researcher collects 6 months news items of Addis Zemen Newspaper, Reporter newspaper, EBC and Sheger 102.1 FM for quantitative content analysis ,and purposely selected editors and reporters for in-depth interview for qualitative data.

This helps the research to have sufficient information from both private and government, print and broadcast medium. As EBC is a Government owned TV station and has news transmission six times a day, Sheger 102.1 FM is a private owned radio station which transmit news more than twice a day, Addis Zemen is a government owned daily newspaper publish news a daily base, and The Reporter is a private owned newspaper with the highest number of circulation amongst nine private news papers and it is biweekly.

The selection purposely comprises all types of Media ownership and mainstream media technologies. Among the 16 mainstream media operating in Ethiopia at a national level 4 (25%) are selected as a sample.

In describing the government (EBC TV station and Addis Zemen news paper ) and private (Sheger 102.1 FM radio and The Reporter newspaper) development issues news coverage (DINC) from the beginning of July 1st, 2016 to the end of December 31st, 2016, six month development issue news items (DIN) were coded for analysis. 1437 DINs are obtained from the six month inventory count in the above listed two government and two private owned media.

The study was targeted investigating the extent and the reason why both Ethiopian government and private challenges in covering development issues when the development issue is success or failure caused by government or non government actors (When the actor and nature of the development project varies), and to find the challenges behind. To succeed this target Quantitative content analysis and in-depth interview was conducted.

Based on this, quantitative data of contents of the 1437 DIN were entered into SPSS computer software as per the code book prepared in line with operational definition and categorization of variables in a way it can describe the practice of DINC. The percentage statistics of nominal data obtained from the code sheet is applied to describe the relationship between media ownership and actor, nature, sector, source, and trend of the coverage are step by step analyzed in describing DINC in Ethiopian media landscape. The coding reliability of coders is 86% which is sufficient for valid argument.<sup>2</sup>

The qualitative data obtained from an in-depth interview from the four media 18 informants reporters, editors and leaders also presented integrated with the content analysis. The qualitative method is designed only to answer the single research question which it is designed<sup>3</sup> to find out the challenges they are facing in their development reporting.

### **3.1 Quantitative Content Analysis**

Wimmer and Dominick (2011) identified five main purposes of content analysis:

- 1 .describing patterns or trends in media portrayals;
2. testing hypotheses about the policies or aims of media producers;
3. comparing media content with the real world;
4. assessing the representation of particular groups in society;
5. drawing inferences about media effects.

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<sup>2</sup> refer appendix B : Coders reliability test statement

<sup>3</sup> refer appendix D : Questioners

So, from the five purposes listed above the first one justifies the necessity of content analysis for this research, because it is a method that can show how characteristics of development issue coverage varies when the content of the news varies by the owner of the media, the Actors of development, the theme (nature of) the development stories covered.

### **3.1.1 Universe of content analysis**

The 4 mainstream media (Addis Zemen, The Reporter ,EBC and Sheger 102.1 FM) development news is universe of the analysis. The analysis focuses on the period from June 1st 2016 to December 31st 2016 (6 months period).

### **3.1.2 Content analysis Sample**

Analyzing all development stories covered by all Ethiopian media all the time they are established would hundred percent represent the population of the study. But it cannot be applicable. So the research needs appropriate samples bounded in time and space. Purposive selection of development news of four media outlets ( Addis Zemen , The Reporter , EBC and Sheer 102.1 FM) are selected to conduct the research. The sample period is from June 1st 2016 to December 31st 2016 (6 months) and is conceptualized as a complete inventory count in this period of time.

### **3.1.3 Unit of analysis**

The researcher included any self-contained development issue news in the news pages or news packages . Not to be analyzed are articles, feature programs, documentaries and cartoons and caricatures, weather reports, content lists, fictional stories like serialized novels, letters to the editor, and any advertorial content.

The research does not also include news which its focus is not Ethiopian people social, economic or political development. That means any news cannot be coded unless it is Ethiopian people development issue news.

### **3.1.4 Categories of content analysis**

All category systems should be mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and reliable. A category system is mutually exclusive if a unit of analysis can be placed in one and only one category. If the researcher discovers that certain units fall simultaneously into two categories, then the definitions of those categories must be revised. (Wimmer and Dominick, 2011 ,p.166)

Therefore, in order to code contents<sup>4</sup> of each of selected development news exclusively, contents are coded under the following categories as defined below:

- **Ownership Category** : The ownership of that media which cover the specific news being analyzed (weather the media that development news published is government or private owned)
- **Actor Category** : This refers the body who is attributed as the cause of the success or failure of development in the analyzed development news : It could be government actors (Prime minister, ministers and directors, President, public relation and communicators, Government experts, council of ministers ministry and agencies commissions other state actors) OR non-state/government (Multinational corporations, NGOs ,Political Parties, Individuals, Civic associations and humanitarian organizations Paramilitary Groups, Private business, Other non state/government actors)
- **Nature of the story category**: This refers to the successfulness or Failure of the development itself in the analyzed development news. The development success stories contains the following specific nature :-
  - ✓ Development increments compared to last time
  - ✓ Development good performance compared to the plan
  - ✓ Development positive change in peoples life
  - ✓ Development accomplishment on/before planed time
  - ✓ Development Project plan introduction, discussion or launching,
  - ✓ Development gain in finance and material
  - ✓ Development agreement of contributors
  - ✓ Other kind of success

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<sup>4</sup> refer appendix A : codebook

The development failure stories to the contrary contains the following specific nature :-

- ✓ Development decrements compared to last time
- ✓ Development bad performance compared to the plan
- ✓ Development negative change in peoples life
- ✓ Development delay compared to the plan period
- ✓ Development project plan seas, opposition and interruptions
- ✓ Development loss in finance and material
- ✓ Development disagreement of contributors
- ✓ Other kinds of development failure

➤ **Sector category :** This refers to the central idea, message or main focus of the news. The major themes of the stories related to the development news coverage were coded as Generally (Economic development, Social development, political development) , OR specifically (Agriculture ,Industry ,Trade and investment, Mining, Infrastructure , Road , Rail ways Telecom Energy, Water supply , Transport ,Construction, Education ,Health ,Democracy, Good governance , Capacity building and Others ).<sup>5</sup>

➤ **Aim category:** What is the purpose of that news? (Awareness and promoting, scale upping best practices, Image building, Solution finding, Investigating scandals of development or undefined)

➤ **Source Category:** This refers who produces the original story. The source could be one of the following categories : Home report from the spot, Home report from events, Government wire news and press release Private wire news and press release or another kind of source

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<sup>5</sup> refer online dictionary (Reverso,2016) cited in [www.reversodic.com](http://www.reversodic.com)

### **3.2 Qualitative method**

Qualitative method is essential in order to explore factors which lead media institutions and practitioners towards manipulating development story's contents towards a certain coverage characteristics. The above quantitative content analysis method explain the extent and the characteristics of development news coverage in the Ethiopian media landscape, when the content of development issue varies according to the actors and the nature of the story. Exploring what factors led the reporters and the editors or media institutions towards that kind of coverage would only be explored through qualitative method. Therefore explaining how development stories are covered and exploring what are the factors towards that coverage gives full information and evidences about the practice of DJ in Ethiopian media landscape.

As (K.Jensen and J.Nicholas 2002) quoted (Ericson et al., p.377) News is a product of transactions between journalists and their sources. The primary source of reality for news is not what is displayed or what happens in the real world. The reality of news is embedded in the nature and type of social and cultural relations that develop between journalists and their sources, and in the politics of knowledge that emerges on each specific newsbeat (p. 87)

So, to explore social, economic and political factors that hinder the coverage of development news, content analysis is not sufficient. There is a need to collect qualitative data through In-depth interview to explore the reason behind in covering development news in a certain way.

#### **3.2.1 In depth Interview**

According to Jensen and Nicholas (2002) interview has a number of advantages. One is that it can cover variety views on a given subject. This could be done either by interviewing different informants in order to get diversified opinions or by preparing interview questions that cover over a wide area of subjects. Interview can also be useful as “heuristic devices”; leading to new perspectives and generating questions for later inquiries.

For the purpose of this study, an in-depth interview is used to complement the data gained through quantitative content analysis from those selected news contents so as to verify the reason (challenges) that led journalists and media institutions towards that nature of development issue coverage or practice.

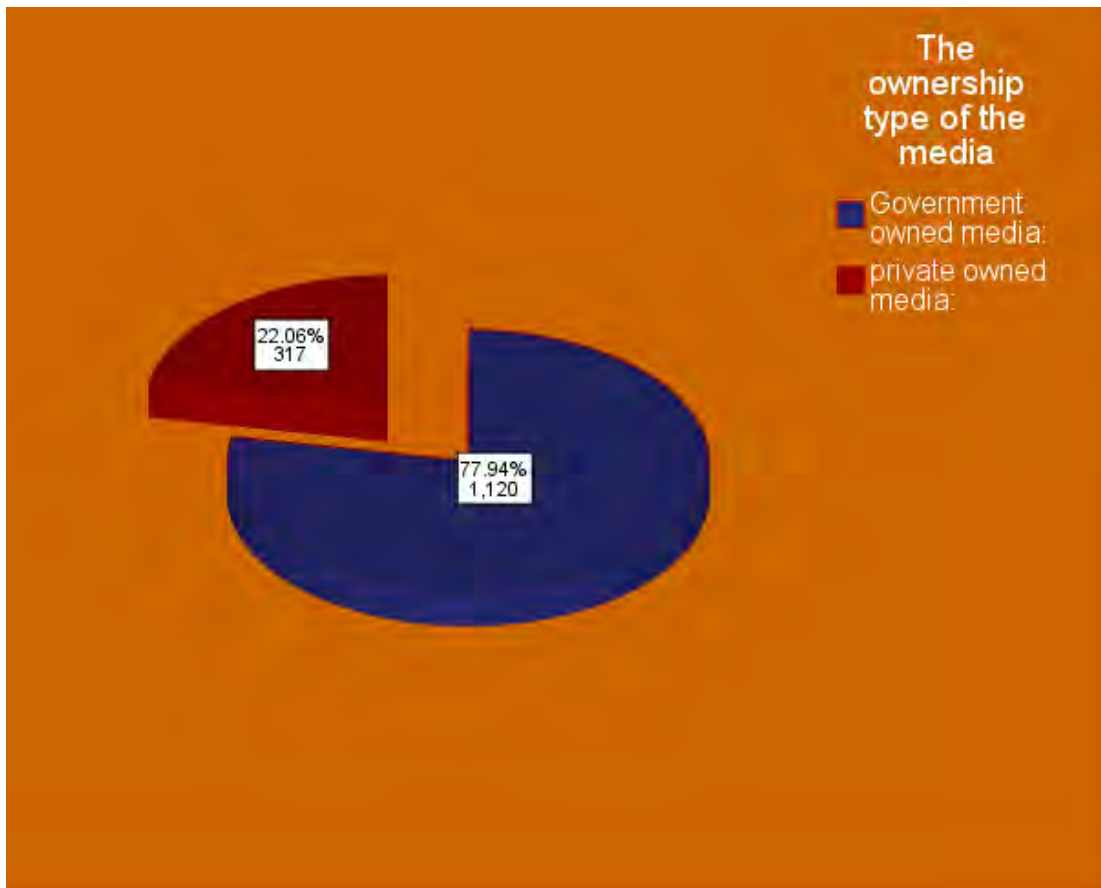
The 18 key informants<sup>6</sup> for the in-depth interview are purposely selected based on their relevance for the study until data saturates. This includes the Managers, Chief Editors and reporters of the four media (Addis Zemen, The Reporter, EBC and Sheger FM).

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<sup>6</sup> refer Appendix C: list of informants and their biography

## CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

### 4.2 The Coverage of Development Issues by Ownership Difference

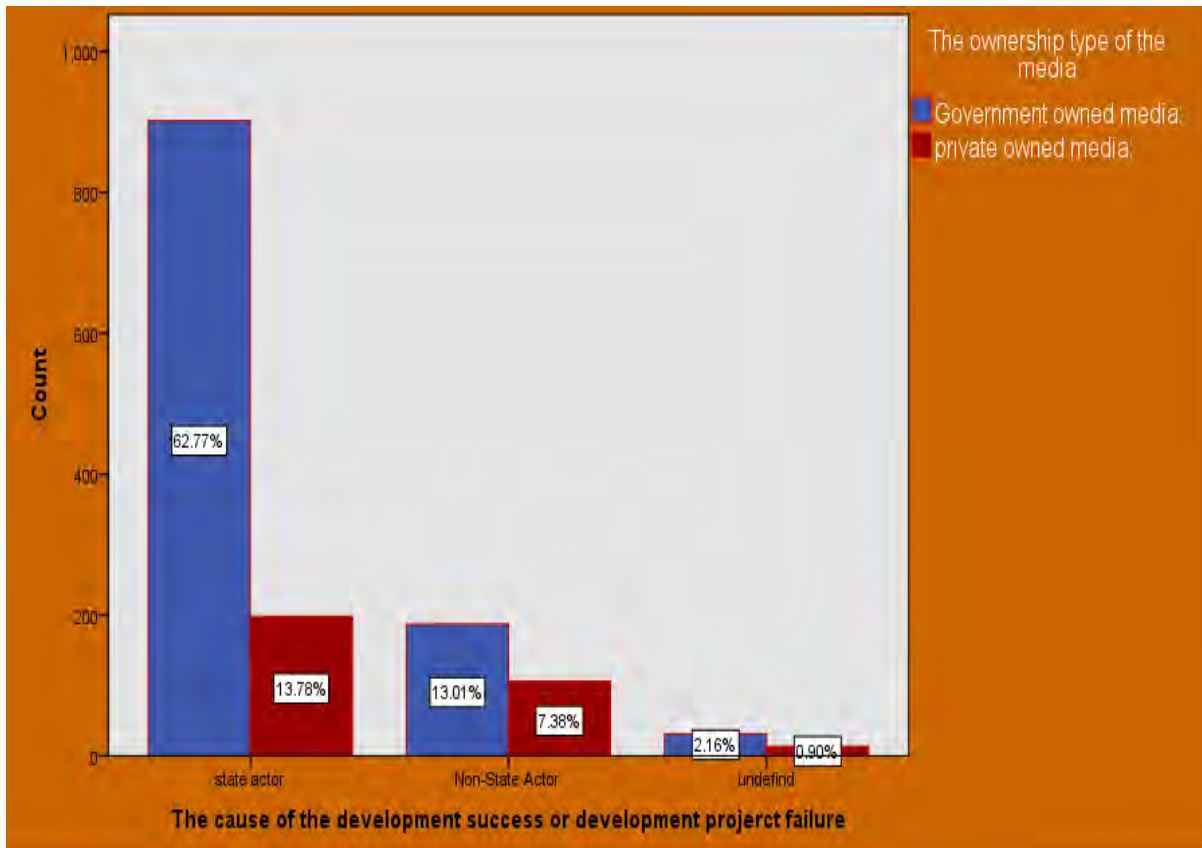


**Chart 1: Overall coverage of development issue news**

The above chart depicts the government owned media covers 1120 (77.94%) DIN , and the private media only covered 317 (22.06%) development issue news (DIN) among the 1437 DIN covered in the sample media during the sample period . So before any relationship analysis made it manifested that, the government media are more convenient in development issue coverage (DINC) than the private media.

### 4.3 Government and Private Media Difference Of Development Issues Coverage by General Actor And Specific Actor.

#### 4.3.1 Coverage Difference by General Actor



**Graph 1: The coverage of development issues by different general actors**

The above graph illustrates 62.77 % of development news attributed to government body actors and covered by government owned media, actors which directly are accountable for the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) in the sample period. 13.01% development issue news are attributed to non state actors. Only 2.16% of the total development news are reported without crediting or indebteding their success or failure to any actor from the government or non government side.

On the other side, the private media in Ethiopia during the sample period covers only 13.78% of the total development issues which their success or failure is attributed to the government bodies. The private media only covers 7.38% development news attributed to actors other than the government. 0.9% (almost) none of the development news are reported without attributing their cause to no one.

Therefore, one can understand from the above data, government media in Ethiopia gives over emphasis to the development issues in which the cause of the story are government bodies, and gives very little coverage to the development issues of non state actors. And private media gives little coverage to the development news in general and gives a balanced coverage to the government and the non government actors caused development issues.

### 4.3.2 Coverage Difference by Specific Actors

	% within ownership type	
	Government	private
Prime minister H/mariam Desalegni	4.1	1.6
Ministers and directors	1.3	0.3
President Mulatu Teshome (PHD)	1.3	0.3
public relation and communicators	0.3	0.3
Government experts	1.1	1.6
Ministry, authorities, bureaus, secretariats	53.9	45.7
Commissions, institutes, universities or research centers	12.1	4.7
Government profit making corporations and organizations	6.3	7.6
Multinational corporations,	0.8	8.5
NGOs and IGO's	1.2	3.8
Opposition political Parties	0.7	0.9
Individuals( farmers, business owners, professionals etc)	2.2	0.9
Civic associations	2.3	1.9
Religious institutions	0.7	0.3
Private business	6.3	16.1
Cooperatives or share companies	0.9	1.3
Parliamentarian or citizens	1.4	0.0
Other non-state actors	3.2	4.1
Total	112	317
	100.0	100.0

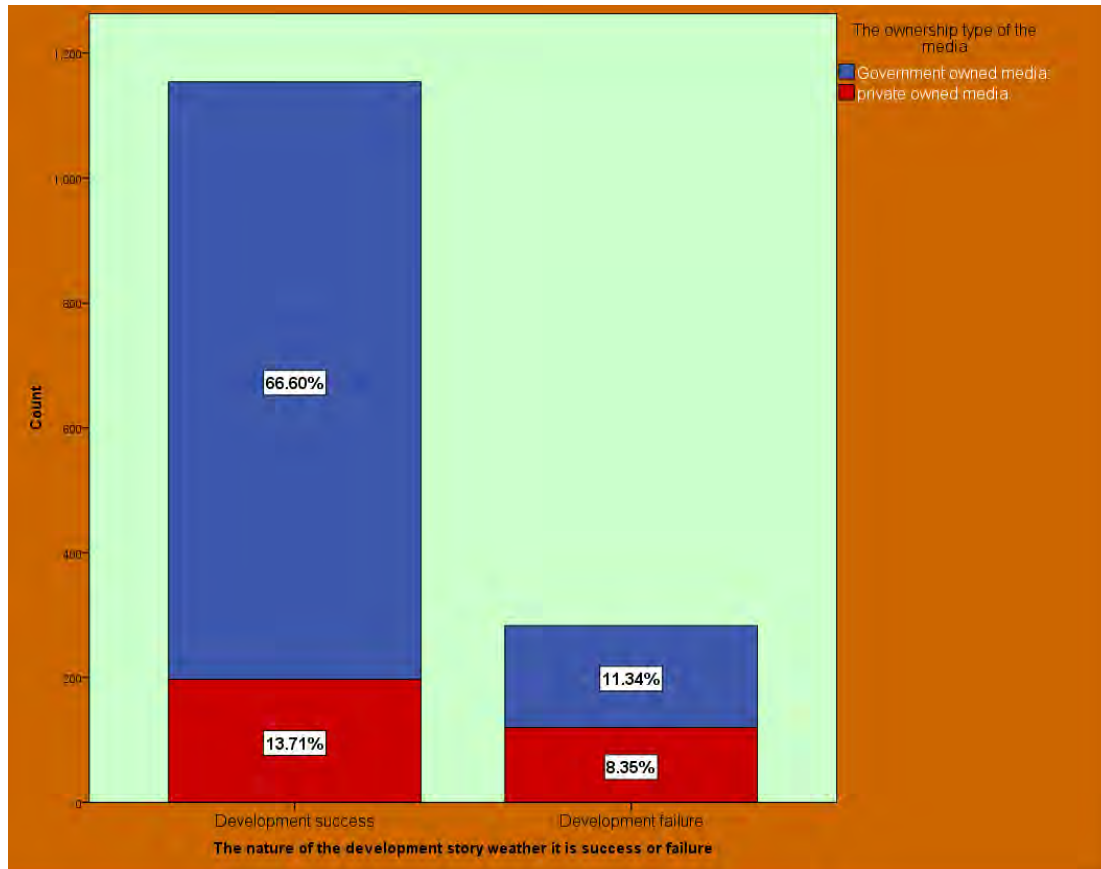
**Table1: The coverage of different specific actors caused development issue**

Based on the above table, The Government media covers 53.95% ministry, authorities, bureaus, secretariats, 12.1% commissions, Institutes, universities or research centers and, 6.3% government profit making corporations and organizations 0.7% political parties, 6.3% Private business and 4.1% Prime minister H.E H/mariam Desalegni attributed development news. And the Private media covers 45.7% ministry, authorities, bureaus, secretariats, 16.1% Private business 8.5% Multinational corporations, 7.6% government profit making corporations and 4.7% organizations, and commissions, Institutes, universities or research centers attributed development news from July 1st 2016 to December 31, 2016.

The tabular data portrays, the government media are kin to authority based development news coverage specifically, and tongue-tied to the non state actors development stories. In contrast The private media are favorable to cover business oriented institutions development story and.

#### 4.4 Government and Private media difference in development issues coverage by general and Specific Nature of the development

##### 4.4.1 Coverage difference by general nature



**Graph 2: Coverage difference by general nature of the story**

As it is depicted on the graph below, among the total counted development news from the Ethiopian media the government owned media reported 66.6% success development stories and only 11.34 % development failure stories. The private media covers 13.71% development failure and 8.35 % development failure stories.

Just as the statistics government owned media in Ethiopia are success oriented. There is also a huge gap in terms of the success and failure development stories they covered. To their best, the private media coverage seems balanced in reporting development and slightly skewed for success reporting.

Just as the statistics government owned media in Ethiopia are success oriented. There is also a huge gap in terms of the success and failure development stories they covered. To their best, the private media coverage seems balanced in reporting development and slightly skewed for success reporting.

#### 4.4.2 Coverage Difference by Specific Nature

% within The ownership type of the media	ownership type	
	Government media:	private media:
Development increments compared to last time	4.8	5.0
Development good performance compared to the plan	5.2	2.8
Development positive change in peoples life	7.9	3.2
Development Project plan introduction, discussion, launching, implementation or inauguration	37.3	29.0
Development gain in finance and material	4.5	5.4
Development agreement of contributors	3.9	6.0
Development project visit, award, recognition, recommendation, problem solving or proper management	20.3	9.1
Development decrements compared to last time	0.4	1.3
Development bad performance compared to the plan	1.6	2.2
Development negative change in peoples life or inadequate services	1.3	4.1
Development delay compared to the plan period	3.1	6.0
Development project plan seas, opposition and interruptions, corruption and mal-management	3.3	10.1
Development loss in finance and material	1.3	2.8
Development disagreement of contributors	2.1	4.1
Development project side effects, negative impacts, accidents or market problems	1.3	6.3

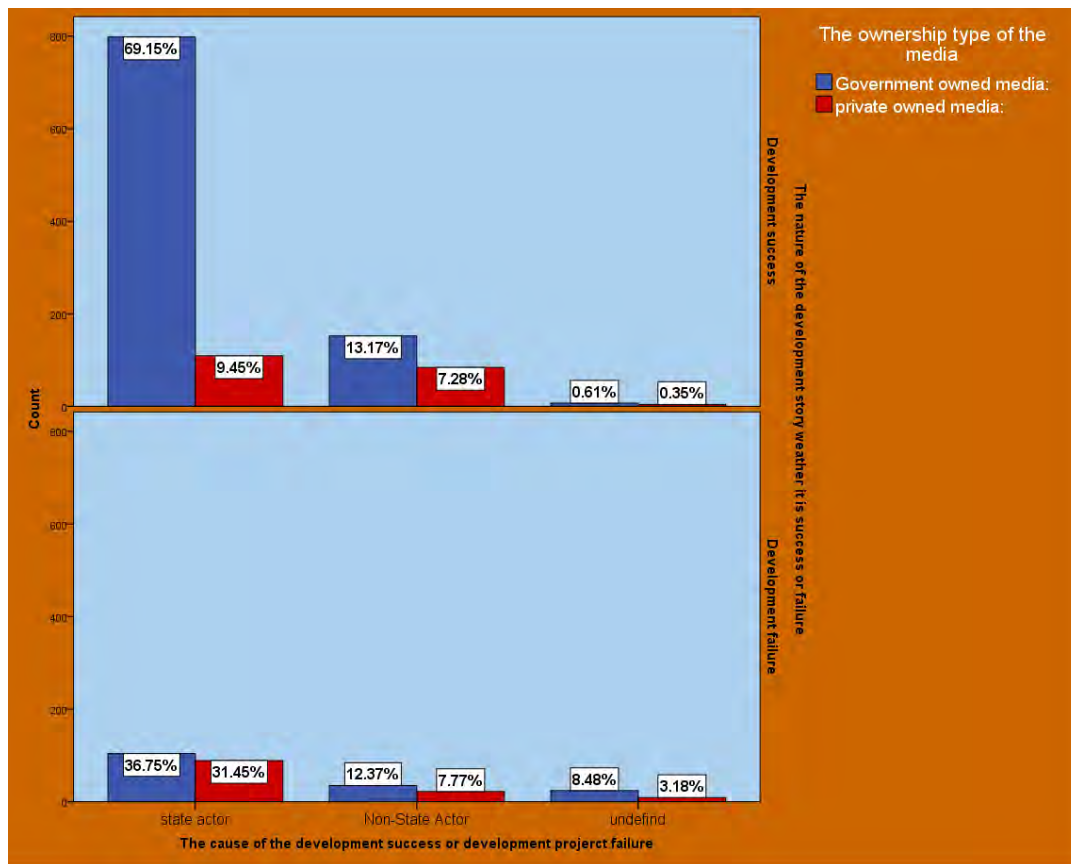
**Table 2: Coverage difference by general nature of the story**

By the operational definition of this thesis all types of all development success and all development failures are not one and the same. There are list of specific failure and success in it, based on the specific characteristics of the story.

Based on the above percentage statistics of the specific nature of DINC in Ethiopian media one can infer that, both ownership types of media focuses on some specific kinds of development success and failure. The government media are always busy in reporting development Project plan introduction, discussion, launching, implementation or inauguration and development project visit, award, recognition, recommendation, problem solving or proper management. And they are reluctant to give coverage for impacts of the development project on peoples life and negative performances which needs improvement. The specific nature of development which the government media give focus are not process oriented rather they are a day based events, by which public relation departments organize for persuasions (propaganda). This means government media are not critically reporting positive and negative development stories in a process oriented base. Simply they are following the footsteps of government higher officials during their visit and inauguration ceremonies of successful projects.

The private media also covered the development Project plan introduction, discussion, launching, implementation or inauguration, but they cover development project plan seas, opposition and interruptions, corruption and mal-management in a better proportion compared to their overall development issue reporting. Here it is proven private media are better in covering negative stories of development. But specifically they were also focused on failure stories focused development project plan seas, opposition and interruptions, corruption and mal-management only. And they are weak at exposing corruptions and investigating crimes of both sides.

#### 4.5. Coverage by General Actor and General Nature



**Graph 3: The DINC by General development actor type and nature**

#### Who covers more development success story of whom?

As the above graph portrayed, among the total development news covered by the 4 media During the sample period the government owned media (EBC and Addis Zemen) covers 69.15 % state

actor development success stories and only 13.17% development success stories of non-state actors.

To the opposite the private owned media gives much more coverage for development success news caused by non-state actors than the government owned media. The private owned media (The Reporter and Sheger 102.1), cover 9.45 % development success stories of the government (state) actors and 7.28 % non state actors caused development success stories.

0.61 % development success story news of the government media were not attributed for no body. Similarly, 3.18 % of the development success news were not attributing no body (state or non state development actors). No one is taken the credit of the success in those stories.

According to the above data, Media in Ethiopia are covering in a sided orientation as per the ownership of the media. The government owned media gives much more coverage for development success stories caused by state actors than the privately owned media. The government owned media also gives much more coverage for non state actor's success than the Private media.

But, there is a wide gap between private and state owned media in covering development success itself, based on the credit given to the actor category for who causes the development success, the government media covers much more success stories which are implemented by the government body than the development success caused by actors other than the government. The private media covers almost similar coverage for both state and non-state actors caused development success stories. The state owned media are highly affiliated to government success only, and the private media are somehow fair in covering state and non-state actors caused success in their coverage of development issue.

### **Who Covers more Failure story of whom?**

The above graph again portrayed, among the total development news covered by the 4 media During the sample period the government owned media (EBC and Addis Zemen) covers 36.75

% state actor development failure stories and only 12.37 % development failure stories of non-state actors.

To the opposite the private owned media gives much more coverage for development failure news caused by non-state actors than the government owned media. The private owned media (The Reporter and Sheger 102.1,) covers 31.45 % development failure stories of the government (state) actors and 7.77 % non state actors caused development failure stories.

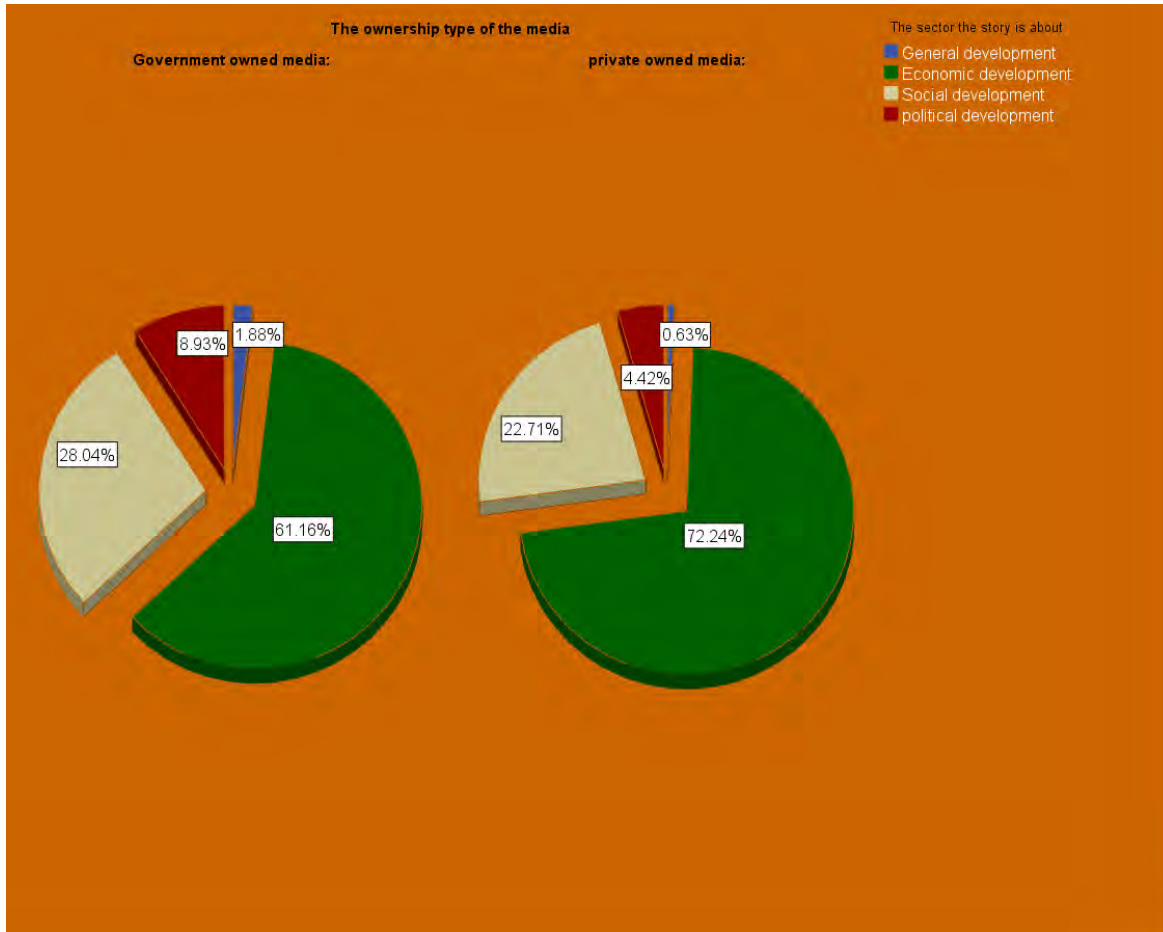
8.48 % development failure story news of the government media are attributed to nobody. Similarly, 0.35 % development failure news were attributing to nobody (state or non state development actors). No one is indebted for the failure in those stories.

According to the above data, Media in Ethiopia are covering development failure in a sided orientation as per the ownership of the media. The government owned media gives much more coverage for development success stories caused by state actors than the privately owned media. The government owned media also gives much more coverage for non state actors success than the Private media.

But, there is a wide gap between private and state owned media in covering development success, based on the responsibility taking body. The private media covers much more failure stories which government body done than the development failure caused by actors other than the government. The government media covers almost similar coverage for both state and non-state actors caused development failure stories. The private owned media are highly affiliated to state actors caused development failure only, and the government media are somehow fair in covering state and non-state actors caused failure in their coverage of development issue. This means private media opposite to the government media affiliation of state actor's development success, the private media denies coverage for non state actor's development project failure.

## 4.6 Development News coverage by General Sector and Specific sector

### 4.6.1 Development News Coverage by General Sector



**Chart 2: coverage of development news by general sector**

The above chart shows the government media (among the total development issues they covered in the sample period) covers, 61.16% economic, 28.04% social 8.93% political and 1.66% general issue development news. The private media in the sample period also covers 72.24 % economic 22.71% social 4.425 political and 0.63% general issue development news.

According to the above chart, both the Government and private media are highly comfortable for economic DINC and less interested in political and moderate in covering social DINC. Truly DJ

encourages such kind of composition in news item selection. But the question is would they keep this composition in specific sector.

#### 4.6.2 Development News coverage by Specific sector (percentage)

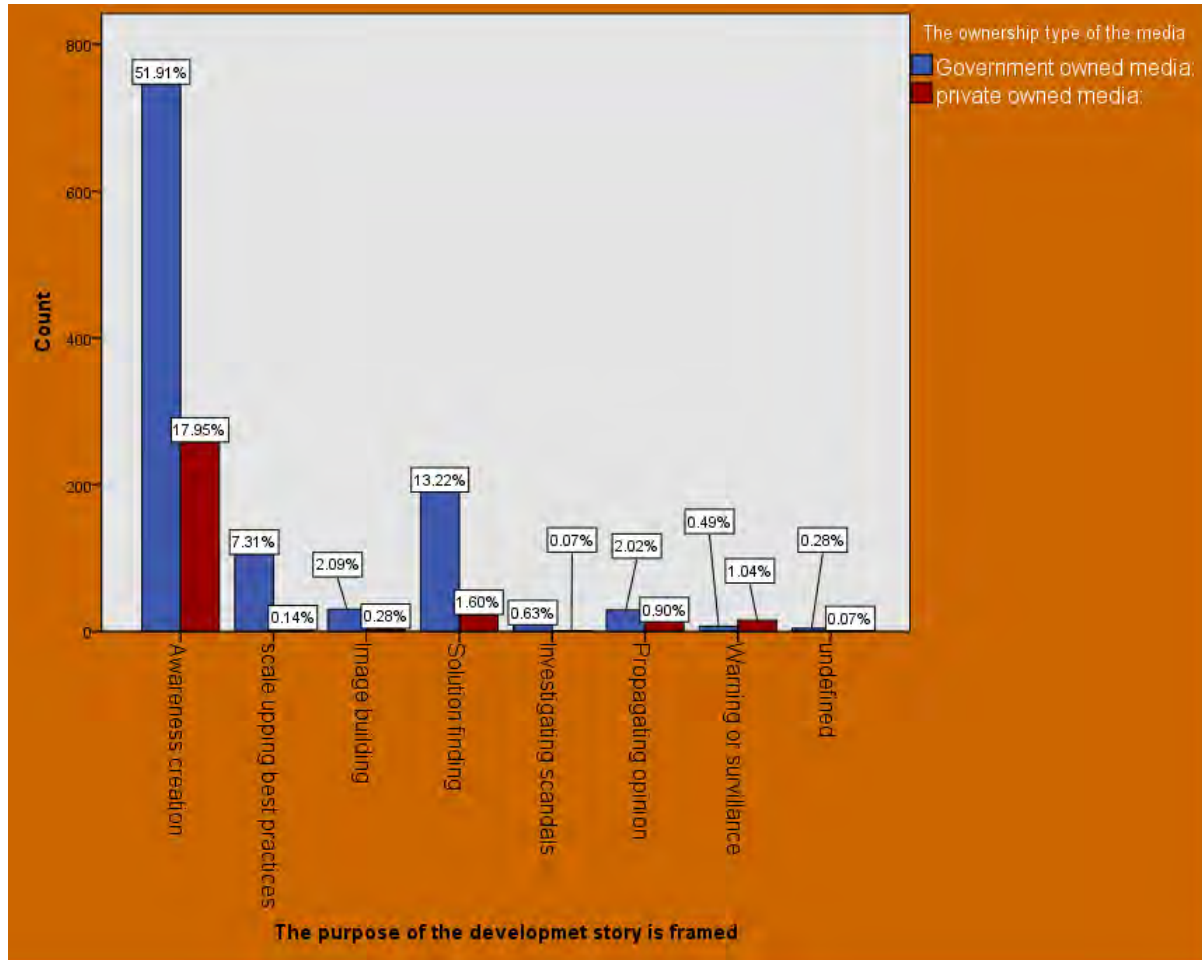
	The ownership type of the media	
	Government owned media:	private owned media:
No specific sector	2.1	0.6
Agriculture	15.0	2.8
Industry	9.0	14.5
Trade and investment	3.4	5.7
Mining	0.5	4.4
Infrastructure	3.5	2.8
Road	3.3	2.2
Rail ways	2.1	1.9
Telecom	0.3	1.3
Energy	4.8	7.6
Water supply	1.4	1.3
Transport	4.0	9.1
construction	3.5	5.7
finance	5.3	9.8
market	2.2	1.6
other economic	2.4	1.6%
Education	11.9	4.1
Health	7.6	6.6
Tourism and hospitality	3.5	4.1
culture and arts	1.0	0.9
Aid and philanthropy	3.2	6.0
other social	1.2	0.9
Democracy	2.2	1.6
Good governance	2.8	0.6
Capacity building	2.9	1.6

Diplomacy	0.7	0.6
Total	1120	317

**Table 3: The specific sector the DIN is dedicated for**

As per the contrast, government media are more comfortable to agriculture, education, health and infrastructure sub sectors DINC, and deny coverage for sectors like democracy, culture and arts, good governance and mining. In contrast the private media gives much more DINC for Manufacturing industry, Finance, Transport, health, aid and philanthropy. Private media in Ethiopia are also not interested in covering agriculture, good governance, culture and arts and democracy. This means, government owned media are taking agendas from the government. Because the government of Ethiopia who official declared as it follow developmental and democratic state model, development priorities are agriculture, education, health, and infrastructures. The Private media development agenda industry and finance (the sectors whose actors potentially are financial sponsor for them) , health and transport(sectors which the public want to be alert) exposed for sensitization . This shows both the government and private media are loyal to their lords of ideology and source of finance. The flip side meaning is their development agenda is not Public interest oriented and editorial freedom is compromised in both media ownership due to ideology factors and financial motives.

#### 4.7 Aim of the Development news coverage



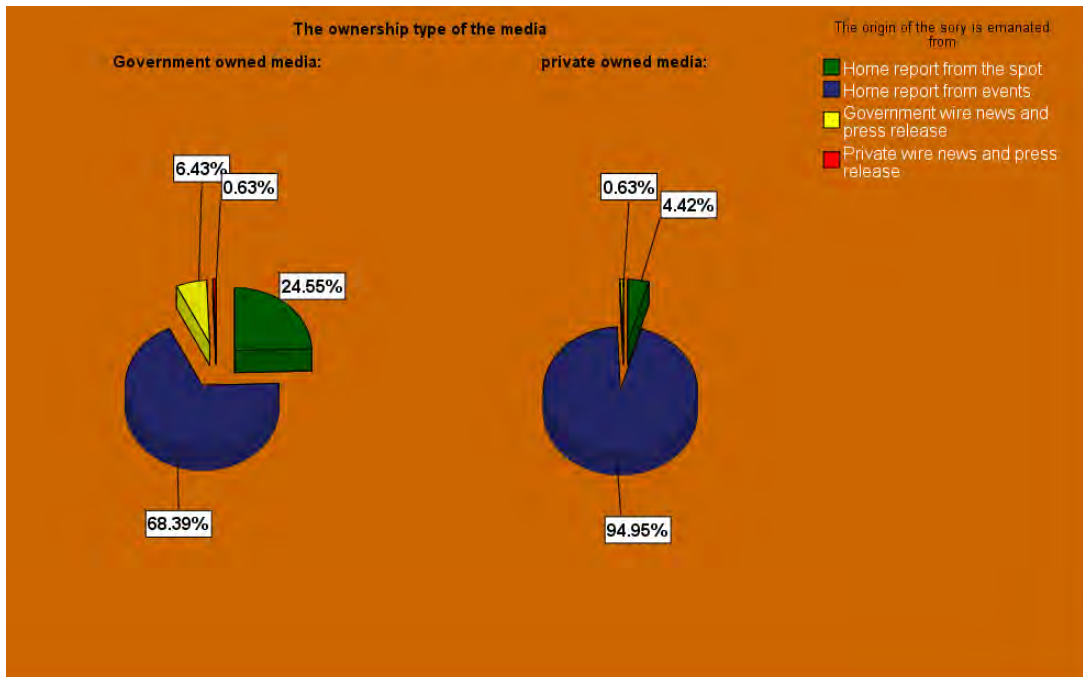
**Graph 4: The aim of development news**

As graph 4, among the total 1437 development issues reported during the sample period 51.91% are government media development news aimed at awareness creation, 13.22% solution finding, 7.31% scale-upping best practices, 0.63% investigating scandals, 2.09% image building, 2.02% propagating opinions, 0.49% warning or surveillance and 0.28% development news aim are undefined. And 17.95% are private media development news aimed at awareness creation, 1.6% solution finding, 0.14% scale-upping best practices, 0.07% investigating scandals, 0.28 image building, 0.9% propagating opinions, 1.04% warning or surveillance and 0.07 development news aim are undefined.

It clearly reflects the level of their aim and commitment of GOM and POM in their development reporting. Government owned media are highly committed in creating awareness and promoting development projects. They are somehow good at scale-upping (multiplying) best practices. Their problem is they are not identifying development problems and find solutions, forecast and warn the public from possible development damages, they investigate corruption and scandals very rarely and they never propagate the voice of the grass root. This means government owned media are not serving the public in the way which it can increase the public participation. Rather they are fallow tubes who are engaged in transmitting the achievements of developers.

The same is true for private media. The POM are also highly affiliated in reporting awareness creation and promotion. They are handicapped in commenting bad performances and finding solution, multiplying best practices, warning and surveillance and amazingly they fail in their watchdog role where always the private media in western nations proud of and advise the African media to focus on.

#### 4.8 Source of the Development news



### **Chart 3 : The source of the covered development issue news**

As the above chart shows private media in Ethiopia cover 68.39% development issue by their own reporters from events organized by actors who are the causes of that development project. They got 24.55% development news information by their staff reporters from the spot where the development issue is implemented. They also received 6.43% development news information from government owned wire news, press releases or public relation departments' news and 0.63% from private organization press releases or wire news.

This reflects government media reports development stories very highly from events. This makes them not to report critically the impacts, the real challenges of development processes deeply. That is why the government media development news becomes shallow and top down persuasion, and trapped in one side story telling. Because of this the government media lost their power and mandate of participating the grass root people in development process and remain as the mouth pieces of the executive body officials. They cover very small amount of DIN deploying their reports on the spot where the projects are taking place and include the voices of all the stakeholders and the grassroots.

Private media in Ethiopia reported 94.95% development issue by their own reporters from events organized by actors who are the causes of that development project. They got 4.42% development news information by their staff reporters from the spot, where the development issue is implemented. They also received 0.63% development news information from government owned wire news, press releases or public relation departments news and denied any reports from private organization press releases or wire news.

Amazingly, the private media are also fascinated in deploying their reporters on events more than the GOM. Almost all the DIN of the private media comes from events held in Addis Ababa. They have no appetite for process oriented; staff reporters originated development news coverage in a planned manner at peripheries. They are practically much more one-sided story tellers than the government media in reporting development.

#### 4.9 The aim of the news versus the source of the news

% within The origin of the story is emanated from

		The origin of the story is emanated from			
		Home report from the spot	Home report from events	Government wire news and press release	Private wire news and press release
The ownership type of the media					
Government media:	Awareness creation	46.5	74.3	65.3	28.6
	scale upping best practices	18.5	5.2	19.4	
	Image building	0.7	3.4	2.8	
	solution finding	28.4	13.1	11.1	57.1
	Investigating scandals	1.1	0.8		
	Propagating opinion	4.4	2.0	1.4	14.3
	warning or surveillance	0.4	0.8		
	undefined		0.5		
		100.0	100.0	100.0%	100.0
private media:	Awareness creation	57.1	82.7	50.0%	
	scale upping best practices		0.7		
	Image building		1.3		
	solution finding	28.6	6.3		
	Investigating scandals		0.3		
	Propagating opinion		4.0	50.0%	
	warning or surveillance	7.1	4.7		
	undefined	7.1			
		100.0	100.0	100.0	

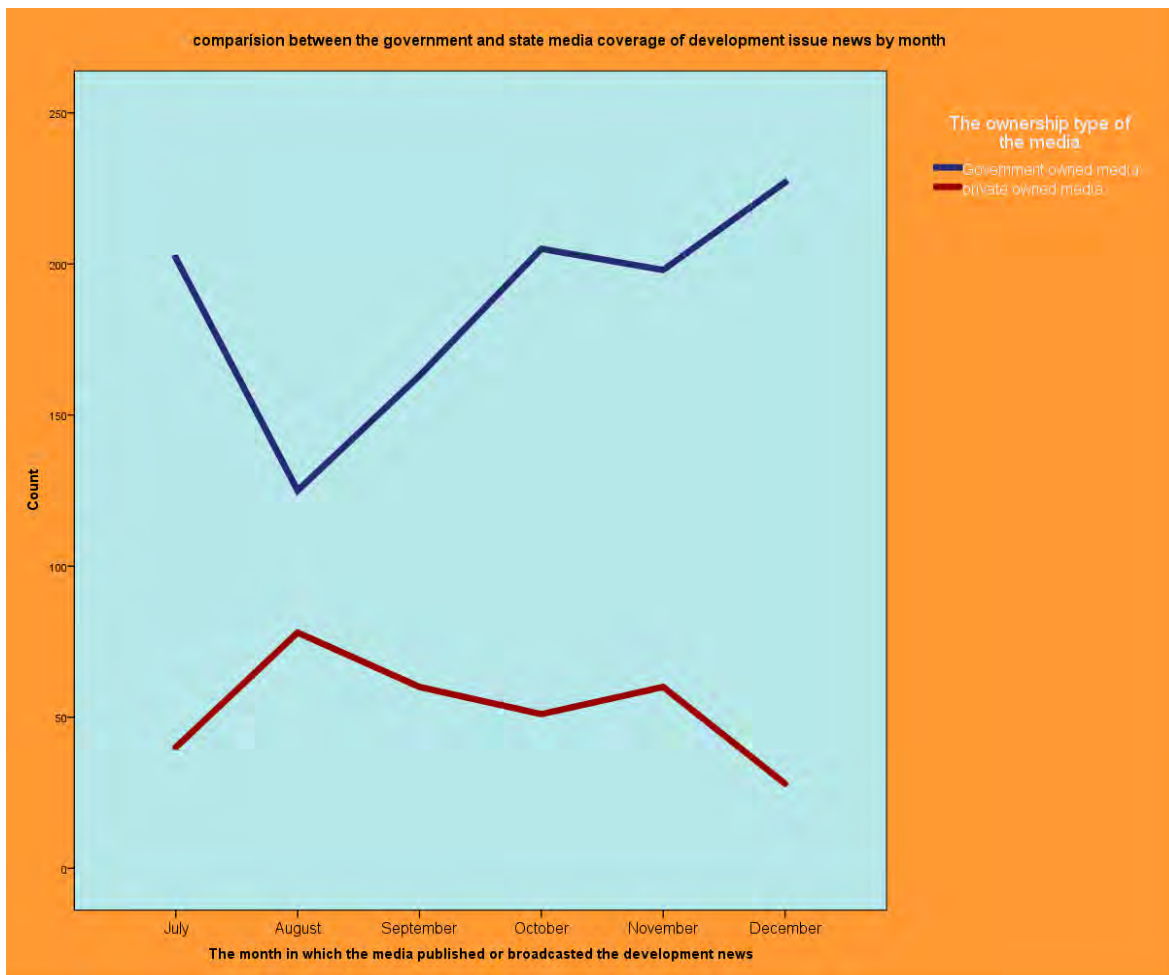
**Table 4: The DIN aim and source combination**

As the above table (combination of aim and source of development issue reporting) shows the government media, as it has been said is event oriented, this makes them to here always success stories from the owners even when they had the chance to report from the spot(development

project location). But they are trapped in awareness creation and promoting the success of the project, missing their chance of reporting the impacts and the thing that needs improvement.

The private media are also fail in love with events organized by the Public Relations (PR). This events mostly are planned for positive media coverage And simply the PR officers trap journalists in different unethical mechanisms (providing bags, flash disk, sometimes per dime and lunch or dinner invitations) to gaze only positive achievements in reporting. That is why the number of development news which are dedicated for investigating corruptions, and solution finding for problems remain very rare.

#### 4.10 Trend of development news coverage by month



**Graph 5: Development issue coverage trend from July-December,2016**

As the above Graph shows the red and blue line moves opposite across months. The red line represents the number of the development issue news (DIN) covered by the private media and the blue line is the government DIN. As the lines depicts when the government media decrease their coverage of DIN the private media increases, and when the government media increases covering DIN the Private starts decreasing.

The graph also manifests at August and November, 2016 it was lower time of DIN coverage for government media and was a pick time for privately owned media in their coverage of development news. In those months (August) there was a massive public protest and poetical unrest in the two most populous and productive regions (Oromia and Amhara) And November, 2016 was the month in which the FDRE proclaim state of emergency. As it is analyzed above in the cause of the development and the nature of the story category the government media don't want to talk government failure and the private media are more seen giving coverage for government and government actors caused development issue stories, when the nature of the story is development failure.

At those historical points (the political unrest and state of emergency) in 2016, different development institutions like mechanized farms, manufacturing industries were burnt and tourism was interrupted. overall development of the nation was affected by the phenomenon. This increases development failure stories and decrease development success stories in the country over all. In turn the media DIN coverage according to their orientation of bias based on ownership seen affected. The government DIN decreased and The Private media increased their DIN.

#### **4.11 Qualitative data analysis**

According to the qualitative data obtained from 18 informants (11 from EBC and Addis Zemen and 7 from The Reporter and Sheger 102.1), there are variety of factors (challenges) which made

the government media and private media development news reporting varied and remain with its kind of deficiencies in the national development process.

All (11) informants from the government media agreed, the government media are more favorable for Development issue news coverage in different reasons. The resource (finance, human and material) are much more available for them because they use public resources. As the government media respondents stated the Government media even if their administration is with its kinds of problems but they do have hundred millions of birr annual budget and are always supported by the government from the public money.

To the contrary all (the 7) informants from private media said, private media works with a limited capacity of resources. Even they don't have vehicles to report they use public transportation and taxis to report development news. They also said numbers of journalists who actively report news generally are limited in number (sometimes less than 5).

All reporters from government media informed, the government media had also access of using government institutions logistics in reporting development, however this had the potential to host vested interests. And also almost all the government side journalists believes development journalism is the non optional practical philosophy for media in Ethiopia where it is a nation list developed and its public is under backwardness, underdevelopment and tangible poverty.

Somehow, the private media informants agree the practice what they see in the government media is not what in principle development journalism (DJ) is. But, what they know DJ in principle is critically and encourages investigative reporting and exposing corruption for the best interest of the public. Only one of the Private media informants said, DJ is political dependent for the ruling parties elsewhere in the world. And it can't be a philosophy for independent public or Private media.

8 of the 11 informants from the government media journalists admitted, they are intimate with government actors caused success stories. One of the informants, informant 8 from the government media said:

“If there is a joint contribution of private and government actors on the success of the project, we attribute the praise to the government institution only, which is there to inaugurate the ceremony. We do this because if we commend the private companies and individuals the editorial will drop the news just as it had no value to show the government's effort. Or the journalist will be considered as if he received unpermitted benefit either money or something ”

Government media Informants also agree sometimes when their reporters are seen accepting brown envelopes when they report for non-government development actors events which is unethical. And sometimes the media institutions themselves allow to formally accept allowances from government institutions.

Informant (13 and 14) said Non government actors to the contrary should pay formally for EBC to watch their success news aired. This much is the bias in between the two actors. Amazingly EBC accepts payment for non government actors caused success story news coverage, trespassing its editorial policy which it says "There should not be payment for news". That is why the private banks and insurances got better coverage of their annual profit increment in EBC news.

The government officials and public relation officers are also more collaborative for the reporting process when they think the government will attributed as the cause of the development success (all informants). This makes the government success reporting very easy and safest. They will also pay allowance formally to journalists, offer different benefits in kind and built good relations for further report.

The problem is the government officials and public relations are not as so collaborative when the reporting is critical. The informants indicated they prohibit you information, insult , Torch and sometimes send journalists to prison to keep their statuesque (all respondents from the government media said) .

Besides Internally the journalists believe they don't have the full commitment and professional competence to handle investigative reporting's and also hate confrontation and fear they will lose

their jobs, because of this, they refrain themselves from reporting it to the public (the government media journalists self-censors themselves). But when the government media journalists sometimes encouraged and start investigating they will be commanded to stop investigating or their news will be prohibited not to be broadcasted or published.

Informant said "many times investigative news remain un-broadcasted after we produce the news, because of illegal prohibitions of top media leaders order. Higher government officials orders informally to stop EBC investigating in the name of national interest and consensus. They perceive development journalism is a positive story reporting only"( Here also all government side informants agrees with this say).

Informant 9, from Addis Zemen news paper also stated "unless the government officials and government communication affairs office pick their hands from the practice of development journalism, It is impossible for journalists to manipulate the power of development journalism for exposing corruption which it is assumed being the major problem of development and democracy in Ethiopia."

One of the informants (informant13) said "in The previous regime censorship was legal and institutional. Today government officials to maintain their statuesque by using the government structure they can stop you from criticizing and exposing their weakness and corruption."

This kind of prohibition is not self censorship. It is censorship from external authorities by the help of media leaders. The researcher cannot call this self censorship rather it is 'structural censorship'.

The researcher call this kind of censorship 'structural censorship' is because of three main reasons. First, It is the government structure based illegal network of higher officials which forces not to publish or broadcast negative stories about themselves. Second, The government media leadership is not professional and merit based, they are political appointees of the ruling party like other executive body structures. Thirdly, The media institutions heads of board of directors are from Government communication affair ministry, which they are among the government structure (member of EDRE council of ministers).

Almost all of the respondents also agree that there is attitudinal and practical problem of government officials towards development journalism. They (government officials) thought DJ as only success reporting of government actor success only.

The government media leaders also responds there is a huge professional competence problem of graduates who they hire as a junior reporters.

The government media journalists (informant 8,9,14) also said government media gives priority for government development news because government is the major owner of projects in the national development.

But they admitted because of the non government bodies nature and culture of media relations they fail to cover as much news as they could cover. Beside the editorial body of their media also prejudice the journalists as they will collect brown envelopes. The ethical issue are not addressed in a professional way. The easiest option they dramatize is denying the coverage (Informant 8, 9, 11, 15).

The problem of development news in the private media is not like the government media. The private media are free to report a development news in the way they want out of the powerful officials and individuals structural intervention. Even when there are problems they admit the problem is related with resource capacity and there problem of self censorship. (all the 7 informants agreed)

Amazingly, the private media journalists accept underdevelopment is a biggest problem of this country and they believe media has big role in developing and changing the life's of Ethiopian. They also are optimist for development journalism to the opposite of expectations.

The informants (media leaders and Journalists) agree that there is no owners interference in the reporting process. Both agree that their institutional capacity is at its infancy. As they are working in a very crowded and underdeveloped market system they are also challenged in there sustainability, let alone there less contribution to the national development.

The main problem they are facing is intentional exclusion of government offices from reporting development issues and prohibition of information from PRs and higher government officials (all of the 7 informants agreed on this)

Informant 1 (owner of newspaper) on personal interview ( may 3), told the researcher tax and paper (generally cost of publishing) is challenging the private media sustainability. This has its kind of challenge affecting the role played in development process. These are questions of all of the private media owners. The researcher proved most of the private media owners also agrees with his idea; attending the national conference held at Elille hotel (Addis Ababa) on May 3, press freedom day.

All of the seven informants from private media agreed the resource limitation makes them weak at reporting development , and obliged to be event oriented, and Addis Ababa area based; in there development issue reporting.

Informant 6 said "it could be a resurrection for Ethiopian development and journalism if the private media are considered as the pillars of the Ethiopian development and given relevant emphasis from the whole stakeholders."

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMERY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

### **5. 1 Summery of the Analysis**

#### **Ownership of media affects development news coverage in Ethiopian media landscape**

In general, the government media are more convenient in development issue coverage (DINC) than the private media. Government media in Ethiopia gives over emphasis to the development issues in which the cause of the story are government bodies, and gives very little coverage to the development issues of non state actors. And private media gives little coverage to the development news in general.

#### **Ethiopian media biases between state and non state actors development**

The government media are kin to authority based development news coverage and tongue-tied to the non state actor development stories. In contrast the private media are favorable to cover business oriented institutions development story and authorities.

#### **Not only actor's nature of the development story biases the media**

Generally, government owned media in Ethiopia are development success report oriented. There is also a huge gap in terms of the success and failure development stories they covered. To their best, the private media coverage seems balanced in reporting development and slightly skewed for success reporting.

Specifically, both ownership types of media focuses on some specific kinds of development success and failure. The government media are always busy in reporting development Project plan introduction, discussion, launching, implementation or inauguration and development project visit, award, recognition, recommendation, problem solving or proper management. And they are reluctant to give coverage for impacts of the development project on peoples life and

negative performances which needs improvement. The specific nature of development which the government media give focus are not process oriented rather they are a day based events, by which public relation departments organize for persuasions (propaganda). This means government media are not critically reporting positive and negative development stories in a process oriented base.

The private media also covered the development Project plan introduction, discussion, launching, implementation or inauguration, but they also cover development project plan seas, opposition and interruptions, corruption and mal-management in a better proportion compared to their overall development issue reporting. This means, private media are better in covering negative stories of development than the government one. But still like the government media has a problem of under reporting development in a process oriented manner.

### **Actors and nature of the development jointly devastates the bias**

There is a wide gap between private and state owned media in covering development success, based on the actors, who causes the development success (the credit given to the actor). The cause of the success of the development affects the coverage given to the development news by state and non-state ownership of media. The state owned media are highly affiliated to government success only and the private media are affiliated to the non-state actors caused success in their coverage of development issue. Government media are negligent to non-government caused development success.

The affiliation totally changes its character, when the issue is development failure. There is difference between private and state owned media in covering development Failure, based on the body who causes the development success (The actor indebted for the failure). The cause of the failure of the development affects the coverage given to the development news by state and non-state ownership of media. The state owned media are affiliated to Non state actors development project failure and the private media are affiliated to the state actors caused failure in their coverage of development issue. The government media intentionally ignores government caused

development failure news. The private media to the opposite are slightly ignorant at covering non-government bodies failure.

### **Ethiopian media focuses on economic development**

Similarly, both the Government and private media are highly comfortable for economic Development issue, and less interested in political and moderate in covering social development issue. DJ as change agent, of course encourages such kind of composition of sectors in news item selection. But, as per the contrast of sub sectors, government media in Ethiopia are founded more convenient to agriculture, education, health and infrastructure sub sectors DINC, and deny coverage for sectors like democracy, culture and arts, Good governance and mining. Private media gives much more DINC for Manufacturing industry, Finance, Transport, health, aid and philanthropy. Private media in Ethiopia are also not interested in covering agriculture, good governance, culture and arts and democracy.

This means, government owned media are taking agendas from the government. Because all the sub-sectors are given priority in second GTP planned by the government of Ethiopia who officially call itself developmental and democratic and its priorities are development priorities are agriculture, education, health, and infrastructures. The Private media are taking their development agenda from industry and finance (potentially who are or who will financial sponsor for them),And health and transport (sectors which the public want to be alert on) exposed for sensitization .

This shows both the government and private media are loyal to their lords of ideology and source of finance. The flip side meaning is their development agenda is not Public interest oriented, and editorial freedom is compromised in both media ownership due to ideology factors and financial motives.

### **Propaganda and promotion dominated reporting Style**

Government owned media are highly committed in creating awareness and promoting development projects. They are somehow good at scale-upping (multiplying) best practices. Their problem is they are not identifying development problems and find solutions, forecast and warn the public from possible development damages, they investigate corruption and scandals very rarely and they never propagate the voice of the grass root. This means government owned media are not serving the public in the way which it can increase the public participation. Rather they are fallow tubes who are engaged in transmitting the achievements of developers.

The same is true for private media. The POM are also highly affiliated in reporting awareness creation and promotion. They are handicapped in commenting bad performances and finding solution, multiplying best practices, warning and surveillance And amazingly they fail in there watchdog role where always the private media in western nations proud of and advise the African nations to use it as their media policy.

### **Event oriented reporting**

Government media reports development stories very high from events organized by public relations. This makes them not to report critically the impacts, the real challenges of development processes deeply. That is why the government media development news becomes shallow and top down persuasion, and trapped in one side story telling. Because of this the government media lost their power and mandate of participating the grass root people in development process and remain as the mouth pieces of the executive body officials. They cover very small amount of DIN deploying their reports on the spot, where the development project are taking place and include the voices of all the stakeholders at the grassroots.

Amazingly, the private media are also passionate in deploying their reporters on events more than the GOM. Almost all the DIN of the private media comes from events held in Addis Ababa. They have no appetite for process oriented; staff reporters originated development news coverage in a planned manner at peripheries. They are practically much more one-sided story tellers than the government media in reporting development.

### **Event oriented propaganda and persuasion development reporting**

The combination of aim and source of development issue reporting shows, the government media as it has been said is event oriented, this makes them to here always success stories from the owners even when they had the chance to report from the spot (the development project location). But they are trapped in awareness creation and promoting the success of the project, missing their chance of reporting the impacts and the comment on things that needs improvement.

The private media are also fall in love with events organized by the PRs. These events mostly are planned for positive media coverage and simply the PR officers entrap journalists in different unethical mechanisms (providing bags, flash disk, sometimes per dime and lunch or dinner invitations) to gaze only positive achievements on their reporting. That is why the number of development news which are dedicated for investigating corruptions, and solution finding for problems remain very rare.

### **Ownership affects commitment in critical times**

August and November, 2016: it was lower time of DIN coverage for government media and was a pick time for privately owned media in their coverage of development news. In those months (August) there was a massive public protest and poetical unrest in the two most populous and productive regions of Ethiopia (Oromia and Amhara) And November, 2016 was the month in which the FDRE proclaim state of emergency. At those historical points (the political unrest and state of emergency) in 2016, different development institutions like mechanized farms, manufacturing industries were burnt and tourism was interrupted. Overall development of the nation was affected by the phenomenon. This increases development failure stories and decrease development success stories in the country over all. In turn the media DIN coverage according to their orientation of bias based on ownership affects the coverage. The government DIN decreased and the Private media increased their DIN. As it has been proofed the government media don't want to talk government failure and the private media are more seen giving coverage for government and government actors caused development issue stories, when the nature of the story is development failure.

### **Practical Challenges of Development Journalism in Ethiopia**

The government and private media faces different types of challenges in there development reporting:

**challenges of government media :** Structural censorship (government officials intervention in media practice to maintain their statuesque) , Self censorship of journalists (to avoid confrontation and to remain safe), unethical conduct of journalists, professional limitations, law commitment of media leaders to enforce the policy, lower level of Public culture of information exchange, lower motivation of committed development journalists, trespassing of editorial policy and government officials perception of DJ as a development success only reporting only are the major hindrances towards Development journalism in Ethiopia media landscape.

**Challenges of Private media:** Resource (human, Material and financial) limitation, wrong perception of government PR officers and officials and prohibition of information (bias of access to information) , high government tax and null incentive for private media, lower level of public culture for information exchange and freedom of expression are the top line challenges which affected their coverage of development issue.

## 5.2 Conclusion

Both the government and privately owned media in Ethiopia had their own kind of problems in their practice of development journalism.

### **The government media:**

- Focuses on the government development actor's success only. They are not applying critical journalism to cover failure stories of the government development projects.
- The government media are not considering the development contribution of non state actors (like multinational corporations, private companies, individuals, civic associations, NGO's e.t.c) in national development process and alike the government body DINC they focus on the non state actors development failure. This means they are not participative and inclusive.
- The government media are event oriented and one way (one side) tubes for passing government information to the public. They lack professional integrity for the public interest by ensuring transparency and accountability by exposing corruption and investigating crimes that hinder the national development process through ethically participation in the development activity in a process oriented manner and find solutions through participating the grass root. They are also weak in scale upping best practices of development activities among the grassroots.
- During critical times government media seen decreasing development issue news coverage. Because of fear of unsafe conditions for reporting.
- Structural censorship (government officials intervention in media practice to maintain their statuesque) , Self censorship of journalists (to avoid confrontation and to remain safe), unethical conduct of journalists, professional limitations, law commitment of media leaders to enforce the policy, lower level of Public culture of information exchange, lower motivation of committed development journalists, trespassing of editorial policy and government officials perception of DJ as a development success only reporting, are

the major hindrance towards the government development journalism practice in Ethiopia media landscape.

**Privately owned media:**

- Gives very little time and space for the development issues of Ethiopia compared to the government media. But, in that little amount of coverage, they focus on government development actors failure and dissimulate non-state actors failure.
- Paradoxically, the private media in Ethiopia similar to government media are not applying investigative journalism and watchdog the public property. They have no role in exposing corruptions as always the western scholars advise the private media to take it as their policy.
- Practically, they are also event oriented and Addis Ababa based one side story tellers more than the government media.
- Resource limitation (human, Material and financial), wrong perception of government PR officers and officials towards private media and prohibition of information, government tax and null incentive for private media, lower level of public culture for information exchange and freedom of expression are the top line challenges which affected their coverage of development issues of the private media.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

The above conclusion shows how far both government and privately owned media are problematic in applying development journalism. So in order to improve the Ethiopian media landscape practice of developmental journalism analogous to the professional standards the following recommendations are given:

#### **The government media:**

- 1) Should decrease its government development success issue news and give fair coverage for development issue news success of non state actors (like Private business ranging from small scale to multinational corporations, grass root individuals and communities ,civic associations and opposition groups), to work fairly on the development status of the nation. And should be critical on the development failure of both state and non state actors to find solutions and expose corruptions through participating the grassroots.
- 2) Should encourage planned news and decrease highly the event based reporting of development issues. Journalists should actively participate in the national development process and report in a process oriented manner from the spot, where the development policy is practical on (grassroots).
- 3) The government higher officials should raise their hands from government media development journalism practice. Definitely, the chain that made the government media board of directors led by the communication affair ministers, and the weakly media committee conference chair by the government communication affairs should be cut off, and government media has to be free and independent public servicing institutions by abolishing 'structural' and 'self' censorship.
- 4) During critical times, (like public unrest and state of emergency), the government media should specially motivate journalists who report in dangerous conditions.

### **The private media:**

- 5) Should increase the overall amount of their time and space allocation for development issue reporting, And should be fair in treating state and non state actors development failure stories, They should increase non state actors development failures reporting.
- 6) Should critically report the development in process oriented manner (decreasing event based reports), investigate crimes and expose corruptions, and participate in the nations development process committed.
- 7) Should build their institutional capacity and deploy more journalists throughout the nation, in order to properly and rigorously report development issues.
- 8) The government should incentivize the private media in Ethiopia through tax reduction, duty free import of vehicles and materials should give equal opportunity of information access like government media, and the public itself should develop its culture of information exchange and enjoy relentlessly their right of freedom of expression to give information for journalists. Generally, The DJ practice in Ethiopia requires new sense of reinforcement in accordance with the actual sense of the policy.

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## **Appendix A: Code book for content analysis**

### **Development journalism practice in Ethiopian media landscape**

#### **Key interest**

How do different Ethiopian media cover the topics of development when Actors and nature of the story varies?

#### **Method:**

- Content analysis of 4 mainstream media development news [ Addis Zemen , The Reporter , EBC and Sheger FM ]
- The analysis focuses on the period from June 1st 2016 to December 31st 2016 (6 months) and is conceptualized as a complete inventory count in this period of time.

#### **Hypothesis:**

HYP1: when the issue is government actors caused development success story the government owned media are more comfortable to give news coverage than the private one.

HYP2: when the issue is government actors caused development failure story the private owned media are more comfortable to give news coverage than the government one.

HYP3: when the issue is non-government actors caused development success story the private owned media are more comfortable to give news coverage than the government one.

HYP4: when the issue is non-government actors caused development failure story the government owned media are more comfortable to give news coverage than the private media.

## **Coders responsibility**

Please read the codebook carefully, especially the explanations and examples given for most of the categories. Even if things seem obvious or lengthy, please take the time and have a good look at the definitions.

### **Criteria for news to be analyzed:**

The researcher wants to include any self-contained development issue news in the news pages or news packages .Not to be analyzed are articles, feature programs, documentaries and cartoons and caricatures, weather reports, content lists, fictional stories like serialized novels, letters to the editor, and any advertorial content.

Please keep in mind the key interest and the research questions of this survey and decide, if a news covers the survey's topic or not (e.g. do not code the news which its focus is not Ethiopian people social, economic or political development)

## **FORMAL CODING**

### **1 .id**

Please add an id to every news you code, which consists of an abbreviation of the media and a number, e.g. ebc01 for the first news you code of the EBC, or r02 for the second news you code of Reporter newspaper.

### **2. Media**

- 01 Addis Zemen Newspaper
- 02 The Reporter
- 03 EBC
- 04 Sheger 102.1FM

### **3. Date**

In dd.mm.yyyy format, e.g. 24.12.2016 (which would mean December 24th, 2016).  
*Please do not forget the periods between year, month and day!*

### **4.Length**

Number of sentences the news story contain.

### **5.Placement**

10 - Headline(TV and Radio) or Front page(NP)  
20 - Not Headline(TV and Radio) or inner page(NP)

## **CONTENT CODINGS**

### **6. Ownership :** The ownership of that media which cover the specific news being analyze

100 Government owned media:

110 Government Radio  
120 Government TV  
130 Government News paper

200 private owned media:

210 private Radio  
220 private TV  
230 private News paper

### **7.Actor\_type :**The type of The body who is attributed as the cause of the development success or failure

300 State-Actor  
400 Non-State Actor

## **8. Actor\_specific\_type**

State-Actor: A person or organization that plays a role in politics and directly represents the governing power of a state and/or receives direct, obligatory direction from a state.

### **persons**

- 310 Prime minister
- 320 ministers and directors
- 330 President
- 340 public relation and communicators
- 350 Government experts

### **organizations**

- 360 council of ministers
- 370 ministry and agencies
- 380 commissions
- 390 other state actors

## **Non-State Actor:**

Non-state actors are non-sovereign entities that exercise significant economic, political, social, power and influence at a national and in some cases international, level.

- 410 Multinational corporations,
- 420 NGOs
- 430 Political Parties
- 440 Individuals
- 450 Civic associations and humanitarian organizations
- 460 Paramilitary Groups
- 470 Private business
- 480 Beneficiaries of the project
- 490 Other non state actors

## **9. General Nature of the story (development success or failure)**

- 500 Development success
- 600 Development failure

### **9.1 Specific Nature of the story**

## **500 Development success**

- 510 development increments compared to last time
- 520 development good performance and accomplishment compared to the plan
- 530 development positive change in peoples life
- 540 development Project plan introduction, discussion or launching
- 550 development gain in finance and material
- 560 development agreement of contributors
- 570 other kind of success

## **600 Development failure**

- 610 development decrements compared to last time
- 620 development bad performance compared to the plan
- 630 development negative change in peoples life
- 640 development delay compared to the plan period
- 650 development project plan seas, opposition and interruptions
- 660 development loss in finance and material
- 670 development disagreement of contributors
- 680 other kinds of development failure

## **10. General Theme of the development news** :Aligned with economical, social and political, dimensions of development and MDG's. When the news contain two or more themes code the most focused and first stated general theme only

- 700 Economic development
- 800 Social development
- 900 political development
- 100 General development

## **11. Specific Theme** (When the news contain two or more themes code the most focused and first stated specific theme only)

### **700 Economic :**

- 710 Agriculture
- 720 Industry
- 730 Trade & investment
- 740 Mining
- 750 Infrastructure
  - 751 Road
  - 752 Rail ways

753 Telecom  
754 Energy  
755 Water supply  
756 Transport  
760 construction  
770 finance  
780 market  
790 other economic

**800 Social development :**

810 Education  
820 Health  
830 Tourism  
840 culture and arts

**900 Political development :**

910 Democracy  
920 Good governance  
930 Capacity building  
940 Others

**12. Aim of the news**

1010 Awareness creation and promoting  
1020 scale upping best practices  
1030 Image building  
1040 solution finding  
1050 Investigating scandals  
1060 undefined

**13. Source of the news**

1110 Home report from the spot  
1120 Home report from events  
1130 Government wire news and press release  
1140 Private wire news and press release

### Appendix B: Evaluating Consistency & Reliability

Applying the inter coder reliability formula suggested by Holsti (1969) cited in Wimmer and Dominick (2006), which suggested a method of computing inter coder reliability by calculating a coefficient of reliability. It is calculated by dividing the number of stories placed in the same category by dividing the number of units coded.

The researcher first trained the code book and coding instructions for two coders. The two coders first discussed on the coding instruction carefully and coded the 4 media development issue news items to check inter coder reliabilities.

$$\text{Coefficient of reliability} = \frac{\text{Number of units in the same category}}{\text{Total number of units coded}}, \text{ or}$$

$$R = \frac{2M}{N1+N2}$$

Where M is the number of coding decisions, on which the two coders agree, and N1 and N2 are the total number of coding decisions made by the first and the second coder respectively. Thus, the two coders judged a sample of 60 news stories about development issues and agreed on 52 of the categories, and made varied decisions in 8 categorization. So,

$$R = \frac{2(52)}{60 + 60} = \frac{104}{120} = 0.86$$

When this coefficient was changed to percentage the coders decision is 86% reliable, so as (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006) stated , if reliability exceeds 80 % coding is reliable

**Appendix C: list of informants (interviewed march - may,2017 after content analysis)**

<b>No</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Informant code</b>	<b>Media</b>	<b>Position</b>
1	Amare Aregawi	Informant 1	The Reporter	Owner
2	Informant 2*	Informant 2	The Reporter	Editor
3	Informant 3*	Informant 3	The Reporter	Senior reporter
4	Yeneneh Sisay	Informant 4	Sheger 102.1	Editor
5	Yeneneh kebede	Informant 5	Sheger 102.1	Senior reporter
6	Informant 6*	Informant 6	Sheger 102.1	Senior reporter
7	Informant 7*	Informant 7	Sheger 102.1	Senior reporter
8	Mihret mogess	Informant 8	Addis Zemen	Editor
9	Fekadu Mola	Informant 9	Addis Zemen	Editor in chief
10	Selamawit Niguse	Informant 10	Addis Zemen	Junior reporter
11	Merid Kiflu	Informant 11	Addis Zemen	Reporter
12	Biruk Berhe	Informant 12	Addis Zemen	Senior reporter
13	Abera Bulcha	Informant 13	EBC	Senior Journalist
14	Hunachewu Taye	Informant 14	EBC	Senior Editor
15	Demis Mekuria	Informant 15	EBC	Senior Reporter
16	Informant 16*	Informant 16	EBC	Senior Reporter
17	Merkeb Reda	Informant 17	EBC	Editor
18	Informant 18*	Informant 18	EBC	News Room Director

\* Personalities are unnamed because of their request for confidentiality

### **Appendix D: In depth interview guidelines (Questioners)**

1. How do you think DJ is useful for Ethiopian media practice.
2. Do you think your institution is contributing to The Ethiopian people development? How?
3. How much is your media treating development issue coverage fair, without bias, for state and non state actors of development success and failure stories?
- 4 .What are the major challenges you and your media are facing in reporting development?
5. Why did your media become event based?
6. Why does your media always is short falling in applying critical journalism with a focus of investigation?
7. What are reasons behind in decreasing/ increasing development issue news coverage in your media during Amhara and Oromia unrest and State of emergency.